

**The Misogyny of the *Trümmerfilm* -
Space and Gender in Post-War German film**

A thesis submitted to the University of Reading

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Modern Languages and European Studies

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January 2017

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisors Dr Ute Wölfel and Prof. John Sandford for their support, guidance and supervision whilst my thesis was developing and being written. It has been a pleasure to discuss the complexities of the *Trümmerfilm* with you both over multiple coffees during the last few years. I am also grateful for the financial support provided by the Reading University Modern Foreign Languages Department at the beginning of my PhD study.

My thanks must also go to Kathryn, Sophie and Isabelle McKenzie, with my parents and sister, for their forbearance whilst I concentrated on my thesis. In addition to my supervisors and family, I would like to record my thanks to my friends; Prof. Paul Francis, Dr Peter Lowman, Dr Daniela La Penna, Dr Simon Mortimer, Dr J.L. Moys and D.M. Pursglove for their vital encouragement at different points over the last few years.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the debt that I owe to two people. Firstly, Herr Wilfred Muscheid of the Frankfurt International School who introduced me to the intricacies of the German language ultimately making my PhD study possible. Secondly, I would like to acknowledge the influence of the late Prof. Lindsey Hughes, lecturer in the former Reading University Russian Department, who, with her departmental colleagues, taught me many of the basic academic tools and determination that I have needed to complete my PhD.

Richard M. McKenzie
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Declaration

“I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.”

Signed:

**The Misogyny of the *Trümmerfilm* –
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Abstract

Scholarly reviews of the *Trümmerfilm*¹ have hitherto concentrated on the its redemptive qualities. In these readings of the films, the defeated German soldiers, *Landser*, or émigrés return to Germany and into the arms of their beautiful and faithful wives. The wives provide the safe space that the returned men need in order to be restored, reconciled and re-integrated into the new Germany. In this role, Germany's women are responsible for 'setting their men on course' to rebuild the new nation and bring it out of its defeat.

Robert Shandley has suggested² that it is possible to view the original *Trümmerfilm*, Wolfgang Staudte's 1946 film *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, through a genre lens, namely that of the Western movie. He notes that the genre expectations of this film were "thwarted" (Sieglohr, 2000, 99) by the intervention of the film's female lead, but he does not carry this idea on by examining the gender implications of this thwarting, nor does he conduct a Cross-German study of the *Trümmerfilm* in its western and eastern forms to explore whether this is a trend.

This thesis will build on Shandley's comments and will first attempt to show whether the *Trümmerfilm* can indeed be seen as constituting a "genre" and then explore the implications of Shandley's comments across eight *Trümmerfilme*, four from the western zones and four eastern zone. These films will be examined through the lenses of the Western and *Kriminalfilm* genres. These are used at Shandley's suggestion and are genres that have clear sets of codes, spaces, gender relations and trope outcomes. This use of a genre lens reveals that male dominance of space is slowly ceded to the films' leading women and the standard trope outcomes are "thwarted", thereby contradicting trope expectations. The transgression of the expected genre expectations and the

¹ Pinkert, Anke, (2008), Can Melodrama Cure? War Trauma and Crisis of Masculinity in Early DEFA Film, In: *A Journal of Germanic Studies* – Vol. 44, No. 1, (February), pp. 118-136

Kapczynski, Jennifer M. (2008), *The German patient: crisis and recovery in postwar culture*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press

² Shandley, Robert R. (2001), *Rubble Films, German Cinema in the Shadow of the Third Reich*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press

ceding of the control of male spaces expose the implicit criticism of German women inherent in these films. The interpretation of the films thus changes from redemptive to critical and this study thereby exposes the misogyny of the *Trümmerfilm*.

Preface

Thomas Elsaesser and Michael Wedel have suggested the term “National Foundation” film (Elsaesser, Wedel, 2001, 20) for those texts that help to define a nation’s view of itself and assist in the national understanding of self. Once these “National Foundations” become clear it is possible to assess what effects, if any, these foundations have on the present day. They wrote:

it no longer seems too farfetched to think of the common basis of several directors' cinematic versions of 'national foundation films' as rooted in the classical movie tropes, such as the frontier with its definition of national identity and otherness, its geography of homelands, enclaves of civilization, and minority reservations (Elsaesser, Wedel, 2001, 20).

Elsaesser and Wedel suggest that it is possible to understand the influence of a group of films on the “national foundation” by examining the film through another classic film genre such as the Western or the Road Movie.

This thesis flows out of work undertaken in completing my MA (Res) dissertation, which examined two major German Democratic Republic (GDR) anti-fascist films using the genre lens method suggested by Elsaesser and Wedel. In order to examine the films in my dissertation, I had to undertake a short investigation of the earliest post-war German films. This aroused my interest, but I found many of the conclusions drawn about the interpretations of the *Trümmerfilm* unsatisfactory. However, there was not the space within the confines of a Masters to explore this.

In order to investigate this further, I began to examine post-war Germany’s “Foundational Film”, the *Trümmerfilm*, using the lens of films of the classic Western and *Kriminalfilm* genres adding a new layer of spatial examination, concentrating on the characters’ control of space, to expose the films’ meanings. In examining German manifestations of the post-war film it became clear that the existing scholarly narrative concerning these films could be challenged. I will, therefore, attempt to

construct a new narrative, which will then be used as a basis to re-examine the *Trümmerfilm* as a whole.

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Chapter One

The *Trümmerfilm*

When Wolfgang Staudte died in 1984, *Der Spiegel* described the director of Germany's first post-war feature film as a man who made films in a time when "das Wort Null noch Hoffnung bedeutete ("Stunde Null")" and went on "[er] drehte Filme, von denen man hoffen konnte, mit ihnen würde nicht nur ein neuer Film, sondern auch ein neues Deutschland seinen Anfang nehmen" (*Der Spiegel*, 4/1984). Staudte is credited with creating not only the first post-war feature film, but also the reflective and dark German "*Trümmerfilm*" with his brooding expressionist melodrama *Die Mörder sind unter uns* (Germany (East), 1946)³. If Staudte's film marked the beginning of the *Trümmerfilm*, Thomas Brandlmeier, in his article "Von Hitler zu Adenauer", identifies them as a distinct strand in German cinema from this point onward through to Peter Lorre's dark 1951 film *Der Verlorene* (FRG, 1951) (Brandlmeier, 1989, 44). For the purposes of this work these will be the accepted limits of the *Trümmerfilm*.

Staudte's film's opening sequence begins with a black screen, and the words, "Berlin 1945, *Die Stadt hat kapituliert*" flash up. An atonal jazz piano chatters away, while the screen fills with the image of two sandy and makeshift graves sitting amongst the detritus of war in the middle of an ordinary Berlin street. The graves' recently deceased occupants are only remembered with a

³ Films made in the period of occupation were produced under an Allied licence in each occupation zone. I have referenced them according to the convention used by Filmportal.de. Films made in the western occupation zones are labelled as being produced in "Germany (West)" and those made in the Soviet Zone are labelled as being produced in "Germany (East)".

German steel helmet and bunches of pathetic flowers wilting in tin cans. The camera pans up to show a post-apocalyptic and berubbed street, where children play amongst the graves and abandoned German tanks. A gently staggering man, blind to the juxtapositioning of death, new life and rubble wobbles into view. His trajectory is unsteady. However, he veers neither left nor right until his image completely fills the screen. He shudders to a halt and slowly turns back on himself, taking in the devastation around him. After turning through 270 degrees, he spies an open doorway in a damaged but complete building, above which is a sign boldly stating "*Das moderne Kabarett, Tanz, Stimmung, Humor*". Finally seeming to make up his mind, he continues his uncertain journey towards the door, enters, and the film begins.

Similarly, the final scene of the last acknowledged *Trümmerfilm* (Brandemeier, 1989, 44), Peter Lorre's out-of-time and possibly ill-judged production *Der Verlorene*, also ends with a close-up of a lost man. He is Dr Rothe, the protagonist, played by Lorre himself. He wears a distinctive black overcoat and appears unable to deal with the memories of his murderous past. He sits alone in the canteen of a Displaced Persons camp and seems to have made up his mind about something. Finally, he walks slowly and deliberately onto a nearby railway track. He stands resolutely between the rails and in the background, we hear a locomotive's whistle as a train thunders towards him. He puffs on a cigarette like a condemned man who knows that his fate has come. The locomotive descends on him, running him over, and the screen fades to black. The film and the canon have come to a decisive and depressing end. In the five years, from 1946 to 1951 that the *Trümmerfilm* held sway we see an arc of development from a time when *Null* was, in *Der Spiegel's* words, a word of hope to *Null* becoming something hopeless - a word to be left behind decisively as the two Germanies started their forty-year division.

Research question

I will explore *Trümmerfilme* as a set of foundational texts for the new Germany, or Germanies, forming after the defeat of 1945. This dissertation approaches the breadth of the genre from a Cross-German basis, presenting these texts within their own historical reception as part of the liminal space between Capitulation and Division, where the past has failed. I will examine the films in a context where the sexes battle for control over the country's domestic, public and private spaces to decide the future direction of the new nation. This approach explores whether current narratives concerning the *Trümmerfilme* properly consider gender relations and domestic power structures. I will show that the first texts in a new nation, the *Trümmerfilme*, expose the nature of a new and as yet uncertain, future.

Many contemporary scholars, as will be explored later in this work, see the *Trümmerfilm* as a vehicle to either express the grief that follows the loss of a total war, such as Thomas Brandlmeier in the 1980s. Anke Pinkert and Jennifer Kapczynski in the 1990s and 2000s saw the films as texts that attempt to normalise relations between men and women, allowing the female characters to act as agents of spiritual healing to their war-damaged men. Their view sees the films in a somewhat kitsch but positive light whereby, melodrama feeds the souls of the main cinema audience of the time, women. In contrast, I will examine the films in the light of a different interpretation: that of the defeated nation where Germany's women are forced into independence in order to ensure that they are safe from sexual violence and to find enough food to feed themselves, their children and parents. This research is based a wide review of the films themselves, film archives, state archives, original material and consultation of scholarly sources in order to produce a new interpretation of the *Trümmerfilm*. I will adapt a gendered and spatial view enabling me to examine whether it is, perhaps, attempting to warn the new nation of the dangers that are presented by female control of traditionally male roles and spaces. I will consider whether these films, instead of lauding women for their redemptive powers by domesticating their violent men, in fact criticise them. I will explore

whether *Trümmerfilme* argue that, in constraining the returned men, women inflict a second and more abusive defeat on the nation.

This argument shows *Trümmerfilme* in a different light and resets their influence on the foundations of the new Germany. As a backdrop to my investigation, I will use the classic film genres of the Western and the *Kriminalfilm*⁴. Shandley has already identified that it is possible to classify the *Trümmerfilm*, not by its basic feature *Trümmer*, but through the classic film genres: the Western (Shandley, 2001, 25-46) and the Detective (Shandley, 2001, 2). In each of these genres, a strong male character overcomes the odds to restore “natural” justice to the scenario. Shandley notes that Susanne in *Die Mörder sind unter uns* perverts the “natural” ending of a Western by preventing Mertens from shooting Brückner as the Western genre suggests (Shandley, 2001, 41). I wish to expand on this insight and argue that the *Trümmerfilm* concentrates on the female characters and how they continually “thwart” the classic genre expectations. In thwarting their men, the female characters act as proxies for the victorious Allies inflicting on Germany’s men a more terrible second defeat than that of merely losing a war. In this discourse, the loss of the war is merely the consequence of being honourably overpowered by stronger forces, and the true defeat comes in the dishonourable actions of Germany’s women.

I will show that it is possible to review these foundational films in a new light, where the physical defeat of Germany is not the same as the spiritual defeat of Germany that they portray. This second defeat has a critical effect on the nation as it restricts the returned soldiers from reinvigorating and building a strong “masculine” nation. It is in their domestication that the actual defeat of Germany occurs. I will read classical genre types with their spatial and gender stereotypes, as suggested by Shandley (Shandley, 2001, 25-46), Elsaesser and Wedel (Elsaesser, Wedel, 2001, 20), to trace how in each genre the female partner counters the male type in its genre destiny. In

⁴ I have used the genre description used by Hickethier and Schumann: *Filmgenres Kriminalfilm*, (2005) in their book of the same name as it covers the width of the genre from the detective, to courtroom and prison subgenres, which will be covered later in this thesis.

countering the male from reaching his trope goal, such as Mertens shooting Brückner, the female partners are exposed as agents of the invisible Allies and thus inflict on the martial Germany a spiritual defeat, from which the new Germany cannot recover.

Research method

As a foundation to this research into the *Trümmerfilm* and to assess its place in German filmmaking, it was necessary to construct a provisional *Trümmerfilm* canon since none existed. This was achieved using “canon” fragments, and then cross-referenced against available film databases (notably *FilmPortal.de*). This emerging list was, then, compared with contemporary film reports available in the archives of *Der Spiegel*, *Neues Deutschland* and the *Berliner Zeitung*. This established a canon from which films could be chosen for review as shown in Appendix 1. Not all of these films are commercially available. Therefore, the film archives of the *Deutsche Kinemathek* were consulted to view some of those films not publicly available via DVD or online. These viewings were supported by a thorough review of the scholarly literature pertaining to the *Trümmerfilm*, in particular, and the German post-war war film genre from 1946 to the present day, in general. This literature was augmented for insight into the contemporary view of these films and the contexts in which they were made by research in the archives of the *Bundesarchiv Film Berlin*, *Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle der Filmwirtschaft (FSK)* Wiesbaden and the UK National Archives, Kew. In addition to this, the online archives of the above named newspapers and also of *Die Zeit* were used to add further depth to the research.

This mix of secondary and primary sources was then used to help create the contextual and genre filters through which to examine the films and draw a fresh conclusion about the messages delivered by this canon. From a close review of approximately half of the films⁵ that make up the

⁵ The films that were viewed in preparation for the thesis were as follows: *Irgendwo in Berlin* (Germany, (East), 1946), *Die Mörder sind unter uns* (Germany (East), 1946), *Zwischen gestern und morgen* (Germany (West),

new “canon” it was possible to choose a cross section of eight films made in the Eastern and Western Zones to produce a representative sample with which to work. These films have been granularly examined to help resolve this new narrative that will be discussed as the work develops.

The Question of ‘Genre’

Barry Grant claims that “popular cinema is organised almost entirely according to genre categories” (Grant, 2007, 1). ‘Genre’ has been described as a “collection of shared rules that allows the filmmaker to use established communicative formulas and the reviewer to organise his own system of expectations” (Moine, 2008, 27) with each genre relying on a, perhaps unspoken, set of “rules that reflect a particular application of those rules” (Moine, 2008, 31). Edward Buscombe and others argue that the origin of genre begins with the work of Aristotle (Buscombe, 1977, 24), where he “anticipated the descriptive attempts of film genre [...] to enumerate the formal properties of genres, [and] the common elements that allow a number of films to be grouped together and conceived as a category” (Grant, 2007, 4). Genre is described by Raphaëlle Moine as a tool by which the viewer, producer and cinematic industry can assign “an identity that is greater than the sum of its specific components” (Moine, 2008, 2).

1947), *In jenen Tagen* (Germany (West), 1947), *Razzia* (Germany (West), 1947), *Ehe Im Schatten* (Germany, (East), 1947), *Und über uns der Himmel* (Germany (West), 1947), *Film ohne Titel* (Germany (West), 1948), *Wege im Zwielicht* (Germany (West), 1948), *Morituri* (Germany (West), 1948), *Chemie und Liebe* (Germany (East) 1948), *Straßenbekanntschaft* (Germany (East), 1948), *Der Apfel ist ab* (Germany (West), 1948), *Liebe 47* (Germany (West), 1949), *Die Buntkarierten* (Germany (East), 1949), *Rotation* (Germany (East), 1949), *Nachtwache* (FRG, 1949), *Der Ruf* (Germany, (West) 1949), *Unser täglich Brot* (Germany (East), 1949), *Hafenmelodie* (FRG, 1950), *Der Rat der Götter* (GDR, 1950), *Die Sünderin* (FRG, 1950), *Der Verlorene* (FRG, 1951)

Mode of Production

Grant calls genre:

[a] particular mode of film production – a convenient consumer index, providing audiences with a sense of the kind of pleasures to be expected from a given film; and a critical concept, a tool for mapping the taxonomy of popular film and for understanding the complex relationship between popular cinema and popular culture” (Grant, 2007, 2).

Thus, genre functions as a form of ‘road-map’ to “stabilise or regulate [the] particular desires, expectations and pleasures offered by the cinema” (Watson, 2012, 197). The use of a genre label to describe a film is at the same time “extravert and inherently inclusive” (Watson, 2012, 189), in other words the genre term both explains and draws in at the same time. It becomes a form of consumer index allows the audience to understand what they will be seeing, in relation to other films that they may enjoy. The potential audience is then able to calculate their own pleasure/displeasure risk before they leave home to decide whether to see the film or not. The description of a film in terms of a genre “becomes a cognitive mechanism of film comprehension” (Watson, 2013, 206) for both the audience and critic alike, as identified by Grant (2007, 2).

It seems therefore, that genres and the financial aspects of film production are linked as a way of allowing filmmakers to benefit financially from the product that they are making. This monetary element has been identified by Grant as the ‘Hollywood’ system where, in the 1920s and 1930s, the newly formed studios developed a “factory based (Fordist⁶) mode of production” (Grant, 2007, 7). This “factory” production system is in contrast to the *atelier*, workshop system, employed by *auteurs*, in Europe, (*ibid.*) who craft films to meet their own tastes and interests. In terms of genre this Hollywood bias will strongly inform discussions of genre around the globe. The “factory” system used the repetition of imagery, situations, locations, “themes and actions” (Tudor, 1977, 17)

⁶ Grant links the Hollywood studio system to the production line systems employed by Henry Ford at the Ford motor company at a similar time.

in order to reduce the production risks at the box office “through the repetition and variation of commercially successful formulas” (Grant, 2007, 7) which, not only sped up production, further reducing costs, but also created films which “audiences could understand” (Grant, 2007, 8). In this, Hollywood, view a genre is a production process, much like *Kaizen*⁷ or *Six Sigma*⁸ in today’s modern industrial environment. However, this production-led description does not give a comprehensive understanding of the term genre in relation to film.

Genre Formulas

The use of a genre Hollywood category for a film allows the film to become more “intelligible” (Tudor, 1977, 16) to the audience and critics. For a genre to be effective it has to be, to a certain extent, be “formulaic but at the same time flexible enough to incorporate the ongoing changes affecting all genres” (Gehring, 1988, 3). In addition to this it needs to have a set of “plot formulas, settings, character, network icons and conventions” (Sobchack, 1988, 9) to allow the audience to recognise it and empathise with the story (Langford, 2005, 1). This assumes that all genre films have “certain themes, certain typical actions [and] certain mannerisms” (Tudor, 1977, 17), which have been drawn from the “tradition” and “conventions” (*ibid.*) set down by previous films and to which it can be compared. The understanding of these “traditions” and “conventions” is culturally and temporally based within the cultures from which they come. For instance, even though the genre type of the Western may seem to be universally understood, there is little or “no basis for assuming that a ‘Western’ will be conceived in the same way in every culture” (Tudor, 1977, 19). Thomas Sobchack agrees with Grant that a film’s genre can be defined through its “reliance on preordained forms, known plots, recognizable characteristics and obvious iconographies” (Sobchack, 1977, 42)

⁷ A process of Japanese manufacturing practice for continuous improvement within the manufacturing environment based on the book *Kaizen: The Key To Japan's Competitive Success* written by Masaaki Imai in 1986.

⁸ An American manufacturing process of continuous product improvement developed at US corporation, GE, in the 1980’s and 1990’s.

and Moine supports this by arguing that the genre system “exploits a convergence of narrative, iconographic and stylish conventions” (Moine, 2008, xii).

These elements are reinforced by constant “repetition” and “variation” (*ibid.*). Grant widens this description to suggest that the term ‘genre’ operates on three different levels. Firstly, there is the “generic system” (Grant, 2007, 2) which is the “relation of individual genres to each other and to Hollywood production in general” (*ibid.*). Secondly, there are “individual genres” (*ibid.*), which “define their common elements” (*ibid.*). Finally, there is the level of the “individual film” (*ibid.*) where films are read “within their generic contexts” (*ibid.*). Genre in these three levels can be identified through their “conventions and iconography” (Grant, 2007, 8) and the repeating “of certain visual patterns [which] allows audiences to know immediately what to expect” (*ibid.*). These conventions are made up of “dialogue, musical figures, patterns of *mise-en-scène*” (Grant, 2007, 10) that, when repeated in film types begin to accrete and become the understood conventions of a genre. Thus, a horror film may rely on tight framing of the camera’s subject which will only allow the audience to see a disembodied hand laid on an innocent shoulder. The concept of style is not limited to the film itself: for instance, an element of intertextual linkage may be brought in, whereby a typeface, poster-style or promotion style is utilised in the advertising. This creates a semiotic bridge between the film and the potential audience. This is probably most easily identified in the Western or War Film genres. Here the use of a Western or pseudo-military typeface on the poster immediately communicates genre information to the audience (Grant, 2007, 8-11).

Moving from the plotting and intertextuality of film, Steve Neale argues that the iconography of a film revolves around three elements: firstly, the identification and description of “motifs”, which are essentially the objects and events depicted; secondly, the iconography of secondary or conventional meanings conveyed by these motifs; and finally the interpretation of these motifs - sometimes, for instance, a fedora is just a fedora and sometimes it is an indicator that the wearer means ill and will act violently (Neale, 2000, 14). Similarly, Grant argues that a film’s iconography

turns around the repetition of “familiar symbols”, “objects”, “archetypal characters” or even “specific actors” (Grant, 2007, 12). When a director casts the German Hans Albers, the American John Wayne, the British David Niven or the Australian Russel Crowe as his leading man, that is a ready signal to the audience about the type of film which they are about to watch. The positioning of objects within the narrative and the centres of action may also create a meaning to the film and genre, beyond the object’s mere existence. Thus, a church or brothel positioned at the centre of a movie’s landscape will indicate whether the town it is located in and whether it is destined for heaven or hell.

These elements however, also give an early indication of the hybridity and inconsistency of genre. The hero in the genre system is at the centre of the story. It is their story that is, after all, at the centre of the film and its narration falls, according to Grant, into four categories. Firstly, the story is a myth and the “hero is superior to other men” (Grant, 2007, 18). This puts the hero into a position where he cannot fail. Secondly, the story is a Romance, where “the hero is superior but mortal” (*ibid.*). He cannot fail, but he is fallible like the audience. Thirdly, the story is described as “high mimetic” where “the hero is superior to men but not to the environment” (*ibid.*). If the story is not high, then it is “low mimetic” where the hero is the everyman, “one of us” (*ibid.*). Then finally, the story is “ironic” with a “protagonist anti-hero” (*ibid.*).

These transmissional acts are held within a genre description, but how are the films to be categorised, and what might a definitive list of genre descriptions look like?

How Many Genres?

As Moine notes, there can be no definitive list of genres and any classifications that have been attempted will “differ in number, name and content as well as their definition” (Moine, 2007, 10). Critically for this study of the *Trümmerfilm*, he points out that film genres are fluid and it is perfectly possible for the same film to be allocated to a range of genres (*ibid.*). Steve Neale identifies more than 70 genres, while the French film reviews *L’Officiel des Spectacles* and *Pariscope* contradict him by suggesting a mere 16 genres and 22 genres respectively (Moine, 2007, 8). Moine takes it on himself to disagree with the French authorities and Neale at the same time by only identifying 43 different types of genre, while Rick Altman, in his book *Film/Genre* (Altman, 1999) tops Neale by identifying 82 genres. Grant adds to the confusion by coming close the *Pariscope* number by identifying at least 27 different genres in his 2007 book. The publishers of the *Filmgenres* series in Germany, *Reclam*, currently have 18 genre books available⁹. Significantly, *Reclam* does not currently publish one of its *Filmgenres* series about the *Trümmerfilm*. With such diversity, how is it possible to decide what the key genres are?

When the genre views of the film scholars are tabulated,¹⁰ they do however appear to agree on a number of key genres: comedy, detective, *Film noir*, horror, melodrama, science fiction, war and Western. These have developed over the history of cinema and have created a “body of films, to which [other] films can be usefully compared” (Tudor, 1977, 16). The Western and detective or *Kriminalfilm* genres will be discussed in detail later in this thesis, however, as noted earlier, it is clear that films can be assigned a number of genres or different genres by the critics leading to a sense of hybridity, whereby films combine parts of other genres to make a whole. This hybridity of genre

⁹ See the full list at https://www.amazon.de/s/ref=nb_sb_ss_i_1_10?_mk_de_DE=ÅMÅŽÕÑ&url=search-alias%3Dstripbooks&field-keywords=filmgenres+reclam&srefix=filmgenres%2Cstripbooks%2C133&crd=2WA3809FZ40TV (Accessed 31/10/16)

¹⁰ See Appendix 2 for the full table

means that a film in one genre could easily show traits from another, and two others from the above list deserve a closer look.

Melodrama

Shandley identifies Staudte's first film *Die Mörder sind unter uns* as belonging both to the melodrama and Western genres (Shandley, 2001, 25-46). It is the former genre with its "family relationships, star-crossed lovers and marriages" (Elsaesser, 1986, 280) that has been closely identified with the *Trümmerfilm*. The melodrama sets its dilemmas within a family environment but because it is contained in this environment, it is "claustrophobic" (Elsaesser, 1986, 300) and riddled with an "emotional pattern [...] of panic and latent hysteria, reinforced stylistically by a complex handling of space in interiors" (*ibid.*). These films privilege their female protagonists "allowing her significant access to point of view structures and the [...] filmic discourse" (Doane, 1987, 13). The films gender their heroines' problems into "female problems revolving around domestic life, the family, the children's self-sacrifice and the relationship between women and production vs that between women and reproduction" (*ibid.*). Moine describes the melodrama as a genre that uses a "fictive mode of expression" (Moine, 2007, 15) which is principally aimed at females sitting in the audience and will make them tend to tears because it "emphasises the conflicts between generations or sexes" (*ibid.*) which they are living through and is often told through "flashback or narration" (*ibid.*).

Neale sees a confusion in the term 'melodrama' as it was used in the 1940s (Neale, 2000, 180). He argues that the term could as easily be used to describe a film consisting of "crime, guns and violence" (Neale, 2000, 179), as a film which is close to home and "registers heightened emotionalism" (Neale, 2000, 181). He continues that in the 1940s the term was connected to the use of music, "*mise-en-scène*, emotion and traditional aesthetic categories like irony and pathos" (Neale, 2000, 183). The melodrama, he argues, can be gendered either male or female, and it is only when

one narrows down the term to consider the woman's film that the melodrama is truly gendered towards women. In this sub-genre a film will place a woman at its centre and will concentrate on her battles to overcome the struggles that are put before her. These struggles can be set in any potential environment, however they are principally confined to her successes or failures in a "domestic" (Neale, 2000, 190) environment. These struggles do not show a vision of a world where women are filmicly 'tied to the kitchen sink,' however, they sign-post a desire to recognise women's struggles and their desire for the world off-screen to be better (Neale, 2000, 191). Neale claims that the term women's film was first used around 1910 (*ibid.*) for films that only showed women in "domestic or familial" (Neale, 2000, 192) terms and consequently perpetuated their confinement in the home spaces. The women's film, in Neale's view, continued a tradition of melodramas that concentrated on "the romantic, the familial, and the domestic, on women as actual or potential wives and mothers" (Neale, 2000, 194). These films strengthened the apparent "Cult of True Womanhood" (*ibid.*). Thus women, who were the main cinema audience of the period, received a narrative which sought to tie them to the home and motherhood.

Film noir – A Non-genre ?

Unlike the melodrama, which can be seen as occupying a comparatively coherent location in the "hybridized and overlapping" (Neale, 2000, 3) world of genre, *film noir* is more problematic, representing, in Neale's words, a "critics' confection" (Neale, 2000, 153). Rick Altman comments about *film noir* that "of all major genre, only the *film noir* has failed to attract critics...to a shared corpus of major texts" (Altman, 1984, 14). The question of whether *film noir* can be considered as a genre or a mere "cycle" has a bearing on whether the *Trümmerfilm* can be accepted as a genre or not.

The term *film noir* was first coined by French critics, who "unable to view American films during the occupation, were struck in the post-war moment by the despairing mood in 1944...and

popularized the term in a series of articles published in 1946” (Dimendberg, 2004, 4). The film critic Nino Frank wrote an article in the French film journal *L’Ecran* edition no. 61 on the 28th August 1946 “*Un nouveau genre policier : l’aventure criminelle*”. In it he wrote in relation to US *Kriminalfilme* that:

And so these “dark” films, these *film noirs*, no have anything in common with the ordinary run of detective movies...the step forward is a big one; after films like these, the characteristics of ordinary detective films will seem puppets... (Frank, 1946 – Quoted in Dimendberg, 2004, 5)

These films included “such expressionist elements of *mise-en-scène* as chiaroscuro lighting, contrasts of dark and light in the image, imbalanced compositions that imply entrapment and doom” (Grant, 2007, 24), and its protagonists are generally failed men who are trapped by their lives in the big city. Frank himself identified the films as being connected by their “impression of real life [and] of lived experience” (Dimendberg, 2004, 5). Therefore, the films are a “mode of textuality and a mode of cultural representation, the *film noir*, reveals practices of representing and inhabiting space and suggests how culture itself can be understood as a mode of representational and spatial practice” (Dimendberg, 2004, 11). This obscure definition allows Edward Dimendberg to comment that;

No single level of analysis can satisfactorily define *film noir* in its complexity, regardless of how one designates it. The reality is...that nothing links together all things described as *noir* – not the theme of crime, not a cinematographic technique, not even a resistance to Aristotelian narratives or happy endings (Dimendberg, 2004, 11)

Yet despite this “complexity” William Luhr, describes *film noir* together as a genre stating that “film after film concentrates upon the doomed plight of an individual as presented from that individual’s perspective, so we get not *their*¹¹ story but, rather that person’s perception of the story” (Luhr, 2012, 5). He locates the genre in its time and he goes further to comment that the genre holds

¹¹ Italics in original text

together as a genre because it “connects the dots among numerous coalescing trends, which included new representations of human psychology, gender relations and social dynamics” (Luhr, 2012, 21). This definition brings the *film noir* together as a genre, and could equally apply to the films that have been identified as *Trümmerfilme*.

Grant argues that, the directors of films later described as belonging the *film noir* genre did not “recognise [the] genre as a distinct entity” (Grant, 2007, 24). Thus, producers and directors did not set out to make a *film noir* film in the same way that they would set out to make a Western or melodrama. When the genre *film noir* is assigned to a film from the period, the critic who assigns the term they may be “referring either to genre or style, [where] in the classic period the two accompany one another and cannot be easily separated” (Park, 2011, 7). This style is one where there is a “specific atmosphere” (Fluck, 2001, 380) with a “reliable” (*ibid.*) list of elements which binds them together, these being “a *femme fatale*, a morally compromised detective in an urban setting, voice over narration, convoluted plot structure chiaroscuro lighting and skewed framing” (Fluck, 2001, 380).

The directors of these films “had no awareness that they were creating a new genre called *film noir*” (Fluck, 2001, 384). Until the genre name was attached to them, these films were simply cheaply made B-movies that were united by a sense of post-World War Two *Angst*, the involvement of émigré German filmmakers, and the need to supply cinemas with B-movies quickly. This group of films - time limited from the mid-1940s to the early 1950s -was thus identified and unified into a genre *post-facto*.

Genre-Cycles

The case of the *film noir* raises the question of how many films are needed for a “genre” to come into being. Robert Altman suggests that there is a development pattern whereby filmmakers create cycles of similar films, since this would give them a unique product that could be fully exploited before being copied by others and potential revenue levels reduced. (Altman, 1999, 59). If a cycle of films fails to capture the public’s imagination, it will wither and fail to spawn a genre, but if other filmmakers appreciate the commercial opportunities provided by a cycle they will seek to develop it and make it their own. Thus, a genre comes into being. If the Hollywood model is accepted and it is taken as read that a film is a product that has been created to make a profit, a very successful genre will however, eventually “work against the economic interests of the studios that spawned the genre” (Altman, 1999, 59). Its own seam of success will have been mined so profitably that it becomes ‘worked out’ and no longer profitable. Once the seam has been ‘worked out’ the by now fully formed genre is put on the shelf until such a point when another filmmaker “associates new types of material or approach with [the] already existing genre” (Altman, 1999, 60). Thus, the Western genre develops out of the production of the director Edwin Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery* (1903, USA), which combined the “railway film”, the “crime film” and the “scenics” (*ibid.*) to create the new, stronger but hybrid Western genre.

Altman argues that, rather than these genres being identified and worked on by the filmmakers, it is actually the “critics” (Altman, 1999, 81) that assign a genre label to a particular movie, this being most obvious with the *film noir* genre. He argues that all genres are riven with “transience” (Altman, 1999, 50) and that “films [are] made under a genre-film regime and [...] subsequently assimilated to that genre [these are] genres that once existed, that now exist, and that have not yet fully begun to exist” (Altman, 1999, 54). This genre assimilation is a confusing process and it is worth repeating Moine’s comment and asking whether a genre is “the same for everyone, everywhere, in all periods” (Moine, 2008, 11). In the problem of defining what genres exist and what

effect a genre has, it is clear that film cycles receive the appellation of a genre from the perceptions of the audience and the critics. As stated at the beginning of this section the very designation of a cycle as a genre is by its nature “fluid” (Moine, 2008, 8). It is possible to develop a rough-and-ready description for a grouping of films but it has to be remembered that a genre is not a “pure” description, including as it will a “hybrid” mix of conventions which will fit more or less comfortably into the genre to which they have been allocated.

Trümmerfilm – A genre?

The *Trümmerfilm* is a description that has been applied to some German films which were made in the immediate post-war period. However, little work has been done on whether these films can be classified as a “genre”. Erica Carter, opens for those who do not agree that the *Trümmerfilm* can be called a genre defining the films as a “project” (Carter, 2015, 92) which was “too stylistically diverse” to be a complete genre and not “defined by manifesto or [...] coherent collective organisation” (*ibid.*). She continues, however, that the films do appear to be linked because of their “common preoccupation with the issues of individual and collective guilt, and the historical responsibilities of the German nation” (*ibid.*). Thus, despite calling the films a “project”, she seems, later, to contradict herself by assigning the films some characteristics of a genre. The period of the *Trümmerfilme* is limited to the years between 1946 and 1951 (Brandlmeier, 1989, 44,) and unlike popular genres such as those of the Western, War or *Heimat* film, this type of film does not allow itself to be transferred easily to other periods. Taking Altman’s approach, the group of films identified as *Trümmerfilme* might best be described as a cycle rather than a fully blown genre, indeed it is a “cycle” (Bergfelder, 2002, 2) that Tim Bergfelder identifies in the introduction to *The German Cinema Book*.

However, in his book, *Rubble Films* (2001), Robert R Shandley contradicts Bergfelder and Carter, using the term *Trümmerfilm* and “Rubble Film”, without attempting to examine whether the term can be used to describe a genre or not. This indicates a level of acceptance of the concept of

the *Trümmerfilm* as a genre, like that of *film noir*. Hester Baer's book *Dismantling the Dream Factory* (2009) supports Shandley's view and also uses the English term *Rubble Film* (Baer, 2009, 30). It appears that she implicitly assumes that the reader will understand the term, without attempting to define the "rubble film's" constituent parts but using Brandlmeier's definition of its temporal limits. Sabine Hake attempts, perhaps to bridge the Carter/Bergfelder and Shandley/Baer view in her book *German National Cinema* (2002) referring the films as the "'so called' *Trümmerfilme*" (Hake, 2002, 98,). But, having introduced a hint of personal wariness of the terminology, proceeds to work comfortably with the English translation of the term as she describes the *Trümmerfilme* composition and features (Hake, 2002, 98-99). Hake does however give the genre definition a wider twist and reinforces its authority as a genre by internationalising their reach by including Roberto Rossellini's *Germania Anno Zero* (Germany (East), 1947) and Billy Wilder's *A Foreign Affair* (US, 1949).

In contrast to the modern reviewers of the *Trümmerfilm* Peter Pleyer, in his oft-quoted original review of the film's *Deutscher Nachkriegsfilm 1946-48* (1965), refers to *Trümmerfilme* not by their "genre" name but - as the title of his book suggests - by their location in history. He calls Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns* a film of the *Nachkriegszeit* (Pleyer, 1965, 53) and uses the same phrase to describe *Zwischen gestern und morgen* (Pleyer, 1965, 61). However, by 1989 however Brandlmeier has become comfortable with the term and ascribes it to the film production between 1946 and 1951 (Brandlmeier, 1989, 32-34) as if it were a fully blown genre, rather than a cycle or stage in film history.

Jaimey Fisher looked to contemporary sources and claims that in the post-war period the term was used to describe the films but in a derogatory sense. This is because of the preponderance of rubble in the background (Fischer, 2001, 92). It is also clear that in the pages of the contemporary media the term *Trümmerfilm* was certainly in the public discourse about these films. *Der Spiegel* first uses the term in its 29/1947 edition reviewing the production before release, claiming that Werner Klingler's film *Arche Nora* (Germany (West), 1948), "kein 'Trümmerfilm' werden soll" (*Der Spiegel*,

29/1947) and later that same year describes von Baky's *und über uns der Himmel* (Germany (West), 1947) as "Schon wieder ein Trümmerfilm" (*Der Spiegel*, 50/1947). The term would continue in currency with the journal going on to describe Rudolf Jugert's film *Hallo, Fräulein!* (FRG, 1949) as a "Zeitfilm aber kein Trümmerfilm" (*Der Spiegel*, 12/1948).

The term was current in the 1940s and continues to be applied in genre terms by scholars today. It will become clear that the *Trümmerfilm*'s hybridity "plot formulas, settings, character, network icons and conventions" (Sobchack, 1988, 9) are similar enough for them to be grouped as constituting a genre, just as *film noir* is accepted as a genre, and to be described as such. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, the *Trümmerfilm* will be described as a genre, albeit one without a guiding studio, and - as will be seen - a high level of hybridity, fluidity and overlap with other key genres of the period.

A Genre filter

The preceding paragraphs to this section have shown that all genres can be hybrid and as will be seen in future chapters the *Trümmerfilme* to be studied are subject to high levels of genre hybridity. This hybridity creates a tension as to the meanings of a film and may render opaque some of a film's deeper meanings.

How then is it possible to clear a way through this opacity? This will be achieved by looking at the films through the genre filter of the Western genre and the *Kriminalfilm* genre. But, what is the point of applying a filter to the review of the films? A short review of the literature pertaining to the application of filters to prime lenses in still and film photography gives a clue. The key magazine for the amateur photographer in the UK describes the use of post-lens physical filters as "filtering out certain wavelengths of light [...] changing the contrast between different areas" (Sheard, 2012). The article continues that the objective of a filter is, especially in the silver-halide process, to change the nature of the light entering the camera and striking the chemical layers of the film (Sheard,

2012), thus changing the nature of the resulting image. Larry S. Miller also describes the purpose of a photographic or cine filter in the same way as “changing the composition of available light before allowing it to strike the sensor” (Miller, 2015, 38). He continues that “these changes may be desired for artistic effect to increase or decrease contrast or for photographing certain colours to the exclusion of other colours” (*ibid.*).

It is clear that the use of a filter in photography and filming changes the nature of the light that will travel through the camera and strike the film or sensor. This will allow the image that is created to have a different quality to that which was originally visible. The application of a filter allows the director or photographer to imbue the image that they are creating with a different meaning. In the same way, the application of a genre lens to the understanding of the *Trümmerfilm* will change that which the review will be able to see. The genre lens will help clear the way through the genre’s hybridity and allow a new reading of the genre to be observed.

What is a *Trümmerfilm*?

With the *Trümmerfilm* being understood as a genre, it will now be examined to establish the “rules” that influence the genre and how its “system of expectations” is constructed. Robert Shandley has described the *Trümmerfilm* as:

Products of German cinema from the early post-war period [...] during which Germany lay in physical, political and moral chaos. [...] They are topical films from a time often regarded as devoid of topics. [...] They are films that take the *mise-en-scène* of destroyed Germany as a background and metaphor of the destruction of Germans’ own sense of themselves (Shandley, 2001, 2).

Martina Moeller has a simpler description, calling it “rubble, ruins and the trauma of the past” (Moeller, 2013, 302). Erica Carter, despite dismissing the films as a “project” rather than a genre (Carter, 2015, 92), explains that “rubble films nonetheless shared a common preoccupation with the

issues of individual and collective guilt, and with the historical responsibilities of the German nation” (*ibid.*).

Shandley and Moeller both point to a definition. However, their genre description needs to be extended and incorporated to include the indications given by Anke Pinkert, Jennifer M. Kapczynski, Elizabeth Heineman and others who emphasise the melodramatic genre elements of the films in order to be able to organise and define the range of the genre. Based on Shandley’s definition and a review of the scholarly literature coupled with a personal viewing of a wide selection of the films, I propose that the genre definition can be widened as follows:

A Trümmerfilm is one which is made in Germany between 1945 and 1951 and shows a high level of genre hybridity. It has some or all of its narrative set in the period 1945-1950 and features a domestic story. This domestic story represents the national conflict between men and women. It takes its *mise-en-scène* from the rubble of the period and deals with the difficulties involved in rebuilding lives shattered by the war. The films seek to exonerate returned soldiers from personal responsibility for the Nazi persecution of others and also seek to present the *Landser* as a victim. The films may rove into trying to understand the histories of the characters of the film before 1939 or even 1933. The story may also touch on the Holocaust but will always come back to the rubble and try to show how a new life can be forged out of the disaster of the immediate past.

This definition spans the mass of the genre. However, as with any definition, it leaves outlier films, which are only grazed by the definition, but logically fit within the codes laid down by the genre, such as Kurt Maetzig’s *Ehe im Schatten*.

Thomas Brandlmeier and Robert Shandley demonstrate that the genre is made up of films produced in the American, British, French and Soviet zones of occupation in the years before and just after the division of Germany in 1949 and is limited to the circumstances of that period. The films are unified by the time period they are made in, their combination of expressionist, neo-realist

and melodramatic film techniques and their concentration on the issues faced by families and returned soldiers following the collapse of National Socialism in 1945. I adopt the convention of referring to the *Trümmerfilme* as a genre albeit one that is flexible and in flux. It is a body of work which has been recognised as making up the genre that represents a time, as expressed in *Der Spiegel*, where artistic endeavour was developing the way forward for cinema and, perhaps, a new beginning could be found for Germany (*Der Spiegel*, 4/1984).

The twelve years of National Socialist control of filmmaking were at an end and it remained to be seen whether filmmakers would be able to create a decisive break (Pleyer, 1965, 32) with the propagandist melodramas so beloved by Germany's film audiences and the National Socialists. This difficulty in breaking with the past and choosing which features to use in the future was expressed in the biographies of the filmmakers themselves (Shandley, 2001, 6). Indeed, Wolfgang Staudte, making his first film at DEFA with a Soviet Licence, had a National Socialist past, having directed comedies for Tobis studios in Berlin during the war. Other directors such as Wolfgang Liebeneiner, the director of *Trümmerfilm, Liebe 47*, had a career that began under National Socialism in 1938, most famously as the director and scriptwriter of the notorious "euthanasia" film *Ich klage an* (Germany, 1941). Yet other directors, such as Kurt Maetzig, director of *Ehe im Schatten* (1947) and *Die Buntkarrierten* (1949), worked with the socialist underground. Peter Lorre, director of the final *Trümmerfilm*, and Fritz Kortner, writer and leading man of *Der Ruf*, were returned exiles, who spent the National Socialist period living in the US, and were trying to find a way back into German filmmaking. Whatever their connection to the past, filmmakers used a mixture of expressionist, neo-realist and National Socialist melodrama (Fischer, 2005, 461) (Pinkert 2008b, 20) techniques to create a body of work which began the filmic discourses about how individuals and society should deal with their wretched present and confront their Nazi past.

While there has been considerable discussion around the *Trümmerfilm*, this scholarship has been based on a narrow selection of films, usually: Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, Josef von

Baky's *Und über uns der Himmel*, and Helmut Käutner's, *Liebe 47* and *In jenen Tagen*. From this base of films, a core of "interpretations" of the genre has been established centring on the films' "redemptive nature". This redemption has been based on heteronormative gender relations and has been effected through the medium of the female characters lavishing their love on the returned *Landser* in a standard marriage relationship. This allows the returned soldier to return "redeemed" and resocialised to society. Thus, the gender relations and roles are key to an understanding of the genre and an understanding of these roles and their post-war contexts is vital for a full understanding of the *Trümmerfilm* itself.

Gender roles

The gendered approach to the cultural history of the *Trümmerfilm* that is adopted in this thesis allows an opportunity to examine the films' criticism of the female characters. Two key presentations of male types are discussed in detail: that found in the Western genre and that found in the *Kriminalfilm*, with the key features exposed and the standard outcomes for each trope discussed. This will show how the interventions of the key female characters disrupt the standard outcome and the male characters are left incomplete with the female dominant. I examine the standard characters by describing their features as described in German films and then explore how the genre destiny of each of these characters is changed by the interventions of the female characters. The character tropes examined in the *Trümmerfilme* are: Cowboy, Detective and Defendant. They all interact with female characters in the films and, for the thesis to function
1..... fully; I will examine how previous writers have understood the connection between women and war in the time preceding the production of the films. This will reveal how the representation of women in *Trümmerfilme* contrasts to contexts of the time and other portrayals of post-war normative relations.

Germania and other stories

Germania, the female symbol of the German people, has long held a place in German mythology. Girded by a breastplate, her firm facial features protected by a helmet, and carrying a sword she has represented an unobtainable aspiration for martial German men since before the Enlightenment. She conforms to John Berger's view of female "surveyor" (Berger, 1972, 46) of male observers and stands firm, inviolable and strong against any invasion. She belies Laura Mulvey's (1989) understanding of the role of the male "gaze" as a controlling and misogynist force. For Germania "a man appears to be the object of the female gaze, which functions as a weapon and is an unconscious source of female power" (Ousmanova, 2000, 157-158). In 1809 Heinrich von Kleist described Germania as "sacred, familial and emotional" (Brandt, 2009, 91) while others writers wrote about her as "sinful", "other", "wild" and "sexualised" (Brandt, 2009, 91). Germania was unobtainable as she could only be obtained on death for the Nation when she would become the eternal prize of the recently sacrificed hero.

With this image of unobtainable martial virginity, it is clear that the image of German women in relation to war and their role in society was at best confused. This confusion remains throughout the 19th Century with the popularity of Germania waxing and waning as the German states became more or less martial and engaged in wars of unification. Sarah Colvin and Helen Watanabe have argued that in German thought women with their connection to life and death, through the act of giving birth, display both "subversive agency and passive obedience" (Colvin, Watanabe, 2009, 2). In their view, this tension is slowly resolved during the 19th Century with women becoming associated with the Nation, through Germania, as both needed "protection by their masculine sons and lovers" (Colvin, Watanabe, 2009, 2). As Germany emerged from the provincial chaos of the 18th Century to become the world's most powerful industrial state, state building itself became "man's business" where it is "presented as the accomplishment of great men, and not so great men – men decided to go to war, and men fought wars" (Frevert, 2009, 169). Ute

Frevert continues that in this discourse “modern wars allowed for male soldier’s only and relegated women to the roles of moral supporters” (Frevert, 2009, 181) with Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) writing:

Und wenn der Mann nicht die Waffen trägt

Und das Weib sich nicht fleißig am Herde regt

So kann’s auf die Länge nicht richtig sein

Und Haus und Reich muß zu Grunde gehen (quoted in Frevert, 2009, 181).

In the 20th Century the solid Germania came under assault, on film, from Weimar film’s male “hysteria” where male and female roles of the 19th Century became blurred (McCormick, 2001, 4-5). In the camera lens women became both the “surveyor” and “surveyed” (Berger, 1972, 46) as the male gaze caused women to lose their sense of self as it was “supplanted by a sense of being appreciated as herself by another” (Berger, 1972, 46) and put into a context where it is man who “acts” (Berger, 1972, 47), whereas women merely “appear” (*ibid.*) and are thus disempowered by the camera’s male gaze. They are disempowered as Weimar film concentrated on “voyeurism” and “objectification of the female” coupled with the “castration anxiety of the male” (McCormick, 2001, 4-5). Germania, with her penis substitute sword, is now a threat to the male hegemony where her emancipated heirs in the chaotic Weimar society were “considered decadent excesses of modernity that if not controlled would threaten stable, rational scientific modernity” (McCormick, 2001, 55). In this reading of male and female relations only a man had the right to control society, through his “scientific modernity” (*ibid.*). As the political and social chaos of the Weimar period grew, views on the role of women in society and therefore film hardened with the National Socialist theorist, Alfred Rosenberg, author of the notorious *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* claiming that while “all possibilities for the development of a woman’s energies should remain open to her” it was only possible for men to be “judges, soldiers and rulers of the state” (Rosenberg, 1930, 113). Women may

be allowed to be “transmitters of patriarchal German culture” (Rich, B. Ruby, 1993 68). Despite nearly half a million women serving directly in the Wehrmacht during the Second World War (Seifert, 1993, 187), Nazi cinema would present itself “through a series of stylised masculine roles” (Gleber, 1993, 106) and the only “acceptable” roles for women were those in which women held subservient positions and as a “frame” for male activity (Gleber, 1993, 116).

As German filmmakers came to make *Trümmerfilme* in the ruins of defeated Germany the role of women was once again open to debate. The failure of Germans to be “man enough” to resist the “temptations” of Hitler (McCormick, 2001, 96) led to a gendering of the catastrophe, with women being assigned the role of the street temptress whose charms had somehow led upright German men into supporting Hitler. This view built on the discourse of Weimar films where the upright bourgeois man is destroyed by the temptation of the *femme fatale* in such films as Joe May’s *Asphalt* (Germany, 1929) or Josef von Sternberg’s *Der blaue Engel* (Germany, 1930). McCormick suggests “in political discourse [...] and in literary and cinematic representation, Germany’s post-war problems were blamed on women who had become independent and were not sufficiently supportive of the embattled German male after a lost war” (McCormick, 2001, 171). This distaste for the tempting woman defeating the German male expresses itself most strongly in relation to one of the late *Trümmerfilme*, Willi Forst’s *Die Sünderin* (1950). It was criticised because it appeared to counteract attempts to “re-establish the ‘myth of masculinity’” (Fehrenbach, 1993, 142) when men needed the “soft hand of the mother” from women who had become independent and “masculinised” during the war (Fehrenbach, 1993, 142).

Contemporary commentator Walter von Hollander described the situation where women were unwilling to hand over the “leading” role in families to their broken men to allow these men to “summon their will to reassert their authority” (Fehrenbach, 1993, 141). He continued that the way out of the “abyss” (Herzog, 2005, 87) that Germany found itself in was “heteronormative love in marriage” (*ibid.*). As a leading contributor to the women’s magazine *Constanze*, he argued that

women could take part in the restoration of the nation by “pliancy and femininity, that atmosphere of the playful, the cheerful vibrancy, that man simply needs from the woman” (Herzog, 2005, 87). Another of the magazine’s correspondents noted that women’s participation in the new Germany was the restoration of “the fundamental relationship between man and women” (cited in Herzog, 2005, 86).

From the eastern side magazines “feierten den Ingenieur, der die Stromversorgung wieder in Gang gebracht [...] und nicht die Mutter von drei Kindern, der es gelungen war, den letzten Teppich gegen einen Sack Kartoffeln einzutauschen”(Merkel, 1994, 363) and expressed that “die Zukunft, die Zeil die Normalität , die Rückkehr der Frauen in die Familie [ist]“ (Merkel, 1994, 364). Women’s magazines such as, *Die Frau von heute*, carried advertisements for soap and hand cream to remind women that better times would come where they could make themselves beautiful for their husbands (Merkel,1994,364) and discouraged women from fulfilling their “natural desires” (Heineman, 1999,129) outside the confines of heteronormative marriage. It also went as far as to encourage East German women in adopting their husbands’ extra-marital children as a way of reconciling marriages (*ibid.*). In the discourse of the time, women needed to apply themselves to the family in order that the dislocated family system be re-established to create a bulwark against the re-assertion of Nazism, the restoration of marriage as an institution and the creeping attractions of American consumerism (Fehrenbach, 1993, 144). In short, women needed to submit to the dictates of their men in a nuclear family in order to ‘re-civilise’ them and to allow German culture to survive.

History's "first draft"

Alan Barth, editorial writer for *The Washington Post*, coined the phrase in the 1940s that newspapers contain the rough first draft of history (Barth, 1943, 677) and emphasised their importance in creating a snapshot of a historical event or narrative at the time it happens. While scholars have pondered on the meanings of the *Trümmerfilm*, the contemporary newspapers of the period, both east and west, give a flavour of how the films were greeted by the public for which they were made. As part of this study, three publications have been examined to build a picture of the contemporary reaction to the films. The archives of *Der Spiegel* in the West and *Neues Deutschland* with *Die Berliner Zeitung*¹² in the East provide a particularly clear picture of contemporary opinion in the post-war period. *Der Spiegel* appears to have a better record in reviewing the *Trümmerfilm* output from all occupation zones, while the eastern press is more partial and less complete in its overview.

None of the newspapers identify the films as a group. The term *Trümmerfilm* is rarely used. Where there is an indication of a cycle it is in the personal, the grappling of the 1940s *Gegenwart* and the ubiquity of rubble. In describing Gerhard Lamprecht's *Irgendwo in Berlin* the *Berliner Zeitung* describes the film's location as:

leblös und tot, erstarrtes Entsetzen, versteinertes Unheil. Aber die Menschen, zum Leben gezwungen, fügten sich in das Geschehene, Sie räumten den Schutt und die Trümmer beiseite und legten hier und dort Boden frei (*Berliner Zeitung*, 6/9/ 1946).

Summing up the film in January 1947 *Der Spiegel* wrote:

In Berlin ist ein öffentlicher literarischer Streit um den „zeitnahen“ Film ausgebrochen. Schon vorm Start der neuen deutschen Filmproduktionen verlangten Theoretiker und Literaten, der neue deutsche Film müsse ein Abbild des heutigen Lebens werden. Er könne

¹² The publications have been chosen since they have extensive and accessible archives, which almost completely span the period under review.

nur Probleme von heute behandeln und Konflikte, welche die Konflikte des „einfachen Mannes des Volkes“ seien (*Der Spiegel*, 1/1947).

We can see here a number of key elements of what would become the *Trümmerfilm* genre such as its dealing with the problems of the post-war “present” day and the conflicts that the “ordinary” person has to face. In the same article, *Der Spiegel* notes that the films show “Ruinen und zerlumpte Heimkehrer” (*ibid.*). The *Berliner Zeitung* supports this view in its generally extremely critical review of Harald Braun’s *Zwischen gestern und morgen* saying that “Ruinen[sind] wohl eines der Hauptmittel unserer Zeitfilme” (*Berliner Zeitung*, 5/1/1949). It notes that, “Das wirkliche Leben, hieß es namentlich auch unter den Frauen, sei heute traurig genug. Im Kino wolle man sich erholen, wolle man „vergessen“, aber nicht an die Nöte des Alltags erinnert werden” (*ibid.*). The newspapers are in solid agreement that the ruins are a major part of the backdrop of post-war Germany; how could they not be, however, as *Der Spiegel* puts it the films should allow returnees and their families to “ein neues Nest bau[en] in der verrückten Nachkriegswelt” (*Der Spiegel* 50/1947).

The films have a political edge to them; however, this edge is tempered. Following the premiere of Wolfgang Staudte’s first film in 1946, *Neues Deutschland* comments that it is “ein politischer Film” but “er ist nicht deshalb politisch, weil er eine spezielle Parteirichtung propagiert, sondern aus der Konsequenz seiner Handlung”. The article continues by summing up the essence of the *Trümmerfilm* when it states “Ein Arzt findet nach dem 8. Mai 1945 nicht wieder in das Leben zurück, weil er ein Kriegserlebnis, das das Kriegserlebnis Hunderttausender ist, seelisch nicht überwinden kann” (*Kind*, 17/10/1946). Thus, the parameters are set: the films are politically unpolitical and concentrating on the male experience of war and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. In a *Der Spiegel* interview with the genre founder, Wolfgang Staudte, admits a political edge to the films, but this sharp edge needs to be softened and Helmut Käutner’s *In jenen Tagen* is praised because in the middle of a “Trümmerfeld” it does not point the “politische[n] Zeigefinger” (*Der Spiegel* 24/1947). In reviewing Maetzig’s *Ehe im Schatten*, *Der Spiegel* noted, that this was the first film to

be shown in all four sectors of Berlin and commented positively that at the end of the first showing “rührte sich nach Ende keine Hand. Es war nicht zu erkennen ob es Ergriffenheit war oder Beklemmung darüber, daß man die ganze Schande der 12 Jahre noch einmal hatte an sich vorüberziehen sehen” (*Der Spiegel*, 41/1947). In relation to another DEFA film, Werner Klingler’s *Razzia*, *Der Spiegel* quotes a “Politbüro”¹³ member who states “Alle [DEFA] Filme haben bis in die Details hinein im Parteisinne ideologisch richtig zu liegen” (*Der Spiegel*, 19/1947). For a Hamburg-published and British-licensed magazine, it seems unlikely that this was seen as a positive political influence.

After the initial flurry of *Trümmerfilme* the newspapers seem to tire of the greyness of the genre, yearning for more diversion than a didactic genre could provide. Even in 1947, *Der Spiegel* lamented “schon wieder ein Trümmerfilm” about von Baky’s *Und über uns der Himmel* (*Der Spiegel*, 50/1947). Regarding Gustav Fröhlich’s 1948 film *Wege im Zwielflicht*, *Der Spiegel* predicted “Die Jugend in Deutschland wird diesen Film ablehnen” (*Der Spiegel*, 16/1948) and saying of Rudolf Jugert’s film *Hallo, Fräulein!* (FRG, 1949) that it was a “Zeitfilm aber kein Trümmerfilm” (*Der Spiegel*, 12/1948).

From this short review of the contemporary newspapers, it is apparent that the *Trümmerfilm* genre was seen at the time as a diffuse body of work. The review does, however, expose the elements of the *Trümmerfilm* as seen from the 1940s. These elements are: *Trümmer*, wrecked lives, returning soldiers and the suffering of the immediate German post-war years. At the beginning of the occupation period, there seems to be a common view across the occupation zones whereby filmmakers have held up a mirror to a capitulated Germany. Later, as the division of Germany became inevitable, the political bias of the newspapers creeps into their reviews. However, they are both in agreement that the films portrayed an image that was too harsh, stark and political to be truly popular in a nation that craved diversion and simple warm entertainment.

¹³ Although DEFA did not possess a *Politbüro*, this is the term used in the text of the *Der Spiegel* article

The second draft of history – The scholarly review

Mirroring the newspapers' 1940s view of the films and at the other end of the division of Germany, the *Deutsches Filmmuseum* Frankfurt am Main held a retrospective exhibition about the *Trümmerfilm* genre in 1989. The retrospective, perhaps surprisingly given that it was held in West Germany, understood the genre as a *gesamtdeutsches* where, "Trotz der zonalen Spaltung Deutschlands kann der deutsche Nachkriegsfilm in den ersten Jahren nach Kriegsende[...]noch als Einheit begriffen werden" (Brandlmeier, 1989,40). The retrospective also tried to catalogue the whole genre and contributes to the creation of a genre canon. It saw the genre as having three major phases, the first being a reflexive expressionist phase where the main subject was the returning *Landser* who has to be resocialised to deal with his grief at losing the war. Examples of this are *Die Mörder sind unter uns* and *In jenen Tagen*. The next phase is described as the "Shock of the Past" beginning around 1947, including films such as Maetzig's *Ehe im Schatten*, and the final phase beginning in 1949, described as "History through the Family", where the failure of Germany is seen through the history of one family. An example of this is *Die Buntkarierten* (Brandlmeier, 1989, 44).

When discussing the meanings of *Trümmerfilme*, the *Deutsches Filmmuseum* claims that genre is one, which expresses a liminal period between capitulation and division and that the genre actually limped on until around 1951. The use of connectives in the titles such as *Und über uns der Himmel*, *Zwischen gestern und morgen* or *Irgendwo in Berlin*¹⁴ indicate the vacuum and uncertainty of the times that the films were produced in (Brandlmeier, 1989, 33). The review describes the key message of the films as a call for a return to "zeitlose ethische Werte" (Brandlmeier, 1989, 40). These "ethical" standards are humanist rather than religious and the genre mocks the flight to religion or superstition (Brandlmeier, 1989, 40). The retrospective noted an implicit criticism, in all zones, of the Americanization of Germany. The sound of jazz, sometimes very atonal, was a signal that "Jazzmusik galt noch lange nach 1945 als Synonym für alles Negative; Schwarzmarktschieber

¹⁴ Underlining my emphasis

und Nachkriegs – Promiskuität werden durch „Negermusik“ charakterisiert“ (Brandlmeier, 1989,35). This jangling jazz sound can be heard, for example, in the opening scenes of *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, in Peter Pewas' *Straßenbekanntschaft* or in *Und über uns die Himmel*. Furthermore, this anti-Americanism can also be seen in *Und über uns die Himmel* in the *Trümmerfrauen* scene where the expression “No Time for Love” is daubed in English on one of the tubs being used to remove the rubble or in the shadow of a sexual predator American GI throwing a *Nosferatu*-like shadow on to a wall in Slatan Dudow's *Unser täglich Brot*. The next element identified by the *Deutsches Filmmuseum* is the role of women. It sees the films as a historical text exposing the independence of the post-war generation of women. In stressing their independence, the *Deutsches Filmmuseum* points out the fact that women such as Hildegarde Knef in *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, Sibyle Schmitz in *Zwischen gestern und morgen* or Maria Gorvin in Helmut Käutner's *Der Apfel ist ab* “[sind]stärker und selbständiger als die pathetischweinerlichen Männer”. Their independence is seen as regrettable as it led to the female characters becoming as promiscuous as the men (Brandlmeier, 1989, 48).

In the final analysis, the *Deutsches Filmmuseum* indicates that the films are expressions and outworkings of grief. The films express the grief of the returning soldier who, has lost his honour and needs spiritual restoration, and also the grief of the female characters. This is a grief borne of suffering on the home front where women lost their homes, security and dignity. This is displayed at its most poignant when the main female character in Hans Müller's 1949 film *Hafenmelodie*, Kirsten Heiberg, sings *Das Lied von abfahrenden Schiffen*:

Als der Dampfer auslief, Charley
Wurde das Herz mir so schwer
Und ich winkte dir zum Abschied
und sah ich dich nicht mehr
Dann hast du mich längst vergessen
Und du bist niemals dabei (Brandlmeier, 1989,48).

Scholars like Pinkert (2008) and Kapczynski (2008), both of whom have written widely about the *Trümmerfilm*, plough a similar furrow in relation to the genre. Elizabeth Heineman (1996) broadly agrees with both Pinkert and Kapczynski but from a more gender basis. They see the genre as one, which allows the 1940s to deal with its grief and to come to terms with the “illness of fascism” that had “infected” society and disrupted the nation. Pinkert contends that the “rubble films attempted to develop a cinematic language that was strong enough to confront the recent past and supply narratives of individual and collective [...] transformation (Pinkert, 2008a, 20). In her book, *The German patient: crisis and recovery in post-war culture* (2008), Kapczynski argues that the first explanation that German society reached for to explain its fall into National Socialism was that of an illness infecting the body politic. In this argument, the choice of the shell-shocked Mertens as the central figure in *Die Mörder sind unter uns* connects “guilt and pathology” (Kapczynski, 2008, 26). Pinkert supports this, reading the turn to expressionist film techniques by Staudte and subsequently other *Trümmerfilm* directors as a way of “explor[ing] [...] madness and pathology” (Pinkert, 2008a, 22). In these analyses, the genre shows the gentle healing, by adoring wives of the “ill” returning *Landser*, petty “perpetrators who were conscripted, compromised and ultimately ruined by the choices of their superiors” (Kapczynski, 2008, 103). Women in the *Trümmerfilm* help bring about emotional male stabilisation in an age of *Frauenüberschuss*. This all took place in a context where there was an influx of fit and healthy occupation soldiers. In the Pinkert and Kapczynski analyses the female roles “provide the template for the catharsis and integration of the war damaged soldier” (Pinkert, 2008a, 27). Thus, the woman’s role is positive and normative, returning the male soldier to himself and the headship of the family.

In his review, Marc Silberman (2010) concurs with Pinkert and Staudte, seeing the *Trümmerfilm* as part of the Allies’ efforts to re-educate the Germans. First the Soviets and then the Western Allies realised film’s potential for re-education. They understood that since the population had been used to watching National Socialist propaganda they would also probably be susceptible to Allied efforts in “denazification, re-education and democratization” (Silberman, 1995, 101) through

film. Barbara Mennel, in *Cities and Cinema* (2008), also agrees with Pinkert, proposing that the *Trümmerfilm* becomes “the site for negotiating guilt, redemption and rebuilding in regard to the Holocaust and Second World War” (Mennel, 2008, 104). Mennel continues that the long vistas of the ruined city, which are a feature of the *Trümmerfilm*, hark back to the Romanticism of the 19th Century, where the ruins took on the role of a location for contemplation and consideration as in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich. In Mennel’s view the perimeter of the *Trümmerfilm* expands beyond films made solely by German directors and includes Rossellini’s *Germania Anno Zero* (Italy, 1948) and Carol Reed’s *The Third Man* (UK, 1949) both of which were filmed in the defeated Reich. Mennel supports Pinkert in seeing the films as grief-ridden. However, the redemption is not of the wounded soldier but of the society as a whole.

Robert Shandley in *Rubble Films, German Cinema in the Shadow of the Third Reich* (2001), makes a rare attempt to look at the whole genre. He summarises the meaning of the *Trümmerfilm* into seven essential Rs: redemption, reconciliation, redefinition, restablization, reintegration, reconstruction and reprivitization (Shandley, 2001, 182) and notes that these essential Rs do not include “reflection” or “remorse” (Shandley, 2001, 185). His view is that the films are liminal texts that express the uncertainties of the period of transition from defeat to division (Shandley, 2001, 2). His analysis sees the use of the berubbled Berlin *mise-en-scène* as an outworking of the Germans’ own sense of internal destruction at *Stunde Null* (Shandley, 2001, 2). Like Pinkert and others he sees the films as a “vivid portrayal of the post-war crisis in male subjectivity” (Shandley, 2001,2), but in viewing a wider range of the films he is one of the few critics to understand that the genre is made up of more than just *Trümmer*. He identifies that the genre contains romance, melodrama, *Heimkehrer*, gangster and detective films (Shandley, 2001,2). He begins to explore the films in a wider sense, linking the berubbled landscape with the wastelands of Arizona and thus connecting the genre to the Western (Shandley, 2001,25-46). Dagmar Barnouw, in *A Time for Ruins* (2008) looked at Staudte’s response to the films, claiming that he wanted his films to be an “honest confrontation with the military and moral catastrophe” that, in his view, “the Germans had brought

on themselves” (Barnouw, 2008, 48). Staudte’s identification of the ruins as a character established the essential *mise-en-scène* for all *Trümmerfilme*, while in subject matter he “affirmed the official Allied attitude toward vanquished Germany as a collective of guilty perpetrators” (Barnouw, 2008, 47). For example, in *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, Mertens, the traumatised alcoholic main protagonist is returned to sanity by Susanne, the female lead played by Hildegard Knef, whose role is to “re-establish [...] order” and to “redeem [...] mental and material chaos” (Barnouw, 2008, 52-53).

Many commentators have, so far, ignored the role of DEFA in creating the genre. In doing this, the genre’s anti-fascist roots are also ignored, as is the genre’s role in establishing the anti-fascist credentials of DEFA. In doing this, scholars have avoided the importance of DEFA films in building anti-fascism as a key “foundational fiction” (Gemünden, 2001, 32) of the GDR. This anti-fascism (Kannapin, 2000,8), while an eastern *Leitmotiv*, informs the genre as a whole since *Trümmerfilm*’s origin is in DEFA and *Die Mörder sind unter uns*. Kannapin explores the DEFA productions from two points of view: aesthetic and political. In common with many commentators he identifies the use of expressionism as a way of linking the films back to the “demokratische Traditionslinie” (Kannapin, 2001, 147) of Weimar filmmaking. He also notes the use of melodrama allowing the *Stunde Null* audience to feel a sense of continuity with their recent past (Kannapin, 2000, 162). Beyond taking up a pre-war tradition, the use of expressionism allows the post-war madness and inner search for a new identity to unfold. It also allows an exploration of how these inner searches work themselves out in the cocoon of the home. The private outworking of these conflicts enables a new society to emerge, presumably with the ‘curse’ of National Socialism dealt with (Kannapin, 2001, 149). Kannapin’s sees the role of the *Trümmerfilm* genre as that of discussing the recent National Socialist past through the themes of “Schuld und Sühne der Menschen” (Kannapin, 2000, 92). He pre-dates Shandley’s analysis, recognising that the genre, at least in its DEFA form, could be read as a detective story in the model of Fritz Lang’s *M-eine Stadt sucht einen Mörder* (1931). Finally, Kannapin decides that the genre, at least in its DEFA form “[ist] ein Dokument des Übergangs, vom Gestern der NS Vergangenheit in die damalige Gegenwart des Jahres 1946, ein

erster, noch unvollkommener Versuch, auf die Geschichte vom deutschen Fascismus und Krieg aufmerksam zu machen" (Kannapin, 2001, 99).

Georg Seeßlen considers the *Trümmerfilm* as an East/West war film genre that attempts to come to terms with the issues of *Stunde Null* (Seeßlen, 2000, 256), which could be called in 1940s terms, *Gegenwartsbewältigung*, and differs depending on when it was made and who made it. Thus in *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, which was released on the day the sentences of the Nuremberg trials were passed, the last line declares in relation to the crimes of the National Socialist past that Germans have "das Recht Anklage zu erheben" (Seeßlen, 2000, 257). Seeßlen notes that in the East there is more emphasis on victims and an exploration of the Holocaust through films like *Ehe im Schatten* and Erich Engel's *Affaire Blum* (Germany, (East),1948), while the western films, such as *In jenen Tagen*, simply compartmentalise the guilt of the war, walling it off from the ordinary citizen (Seeßlen, 2000, 257). Despite the genre's failings, Seeßlen sees it as unique in German film history in attempting to honestly struggle with Germany's troubled past and one which can stand proudly in comparison with the war films that followed in both German states in the 1950s and 1960s. It appears that few scholars have leant on what the filmmakers believed their films to be.

The *Trümmerfilm*: breadth and depth

In some respects, *Trümmerfilme* have been well researched but little work has been done on an East/West basis or Cross-German basis. This effect of concentrating solely on a small number of films without considering and understanding an overall canon, has robbed the studies of their genre context.

While it is not proposed to review every film within this thesis, the establishment of an outline "canon" allows the edges, flows and centres of the genre to be identified. Out of the many reviews and discussions of films, such as *Die Mörder sind unter uns* or *Und über uns der Himmel*, only four books give a fragmented list of films which make up the genre: Roger Manvell's 1974 work,

Films and the Second World War, the *Deutsches Filmmuseum Frankfurt am Main's* catalogue for its 1989 exhibition *Zwischen gestern und morgen-westdeutscher Nachkriegsfilm 1946-1962*, Robert Shandley's 2001 *Rubble Films* and Peter Pleyer's 1965 *Deutscher Nachkriegsfilm 1946-1948*. These works have been crosschecked with the German film website *Filmportal.de* and the synopses of the films listed are examined. In addition to this, I have investigated *Filmportal.de* to confirm whether other works made by the *Trümmerfilm* directors during the post-war period could be considered as part of the genre's canon.

Between Manvell, the *Deutsches Filmmuseum*, Pleyer and Shandley and my researches a total of 52 *Trümmerfilme* are identified. This full list, with details of directors, cameramen, scriptwriters and producers can be seen in Appendix 1. Of the 52 films, 16 are DEFA films made either in the SBZ or GDR with the balance being made in the western zones or Federal Republic. Brandlmeier clearly identifies that the genre begins with *Die Mörder sind unter uns* but he identifies the last films as those released in 1951: Peter Lorre's *Der Verlorene*, Walter Janssen's *Alm in der Grenze* (FRG, 1951) and Richard Häußler's *Die Martinsklause* (FRG, 1951). Jaimey Fisher also supports the contention that the genre runs from 1946-1951 (Fisher, 2005, 462). Including these films, stretches the genre from 1946 to 1951 with the peak year being 1947. Despite the prevalence of the genre, it is not necessarily evidence that it was popular. *Der Spiegel* noted in 1949, in its review of Boleslaw Barlog's *Wohin die Züge Fahren* (FRG, 1949) "die beste Zeit des Trümmerfilms [ist] vorbei" (*Der Spiegel*, 24/1949), similarly in 1947 when the production of the *Trümmerfilm* was already beginning to tail off, the journal commented about *Irgendwo in Berlin* that "Es zeigte sich daß ein großer Teil des "normalen" Kinopublikums den Gegenwartsgehalt, die "Lebenswahrheit" des neuen Films ablehnt" (*Der Spiegel*, 1/1947).

Filmmakers

Born between 1887 and 1911 the *Trümmerfilm* directors represent the last Wilhelmine generation, who were, in the main, young adults during the Great War, and also the Weimar generation who were too young for that war, but whose early adulthood was marked by the collapse of democracy and the rise of Hitler. These directors were not members of the wartime generation, who fought in the *Wehrmacht* under Hitler. They, like the rest of their generation, were implicated in the rise of Hitler and benefited to a greater or lesser extent from the National Socialist investment in filmmaking. Some like Staudte would find that a left-wing background was not a barrier to progression, even if they could claim they were but 'bit players'. Others played key roles and made significant National Socialist movies. Peter Pewas, the director of DEFA's *Straßenbekanntschaft*, partnered Wolfgang Liebeneiner, the director of the *Liebe 47* on the infamous National Socialist propaganda film *Ich klage an*. In addition to this, Josef von Baky, the director of *Und über uns die Himmel* and *Der Ruf*, directed the Nazi blockbuster *Münchhausen* (Germany, 1943) while the DEFA director Hans Deppe, director of *Kein Platz für Liebe* (Germany, (East), 1947) and *Die Kuckucks* (Germany, (East), 1949), directed the National Socialist *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Germany, 1933).

Of the *Trümmerfilm* directors, three spent the war in exile and one was a member of the socialist underground. The *Exilstaffel* is made up of the DEFA directors, Erich Freund and Slatan Dudow, and the western director, Peter Lorre. Freund, the director of *Grube Morgenrot* (Germany, (East), 1948), spent the war in London working on propaganda broadcasts for the BBC, while Dudow, director of DEFA's 1949 film *Unser täglich Brot*, spent the war in Switzerland. The most famous member of the *Exilstaffel* is Peter Lorre who, following his forced exile from National Socialism, built a successful career in Hollywood. His film, *Der Verlorene* (FRG, 1951), as well as being the genre's final film, has been widely interpreted as an attempt to work out the implications of his exile and reconcile himself to the nation that rejected him. As the main character, Dr Rothe, is unable to deal with his past and kills himself, Lorre was unable to find reconciliation with his homeland and

returned to the US. The only director associated with the resistance movement is Kurt Maetzig, the director of *Ehe im Schatten*, *Die Buntkarierten*, and *Der Rat der Götter* (1949).

When examining the other part of a film's image making team, the cameraman, we see the same pattern repeated, with the cameramen all being born between 1885 and 1919. It appears from their biographies that few of the cameramen worked on major National Socialist film projects apart from Bruno Mondl, cameraman for DEFA's *Chemie und Liebe* and *Rotation*, and also the cameraman on *Kolberg* (Germany, 1945) and *Jud Süß* (Germany, 1940). Friedl Behn-Grund cameraman on *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, *Razzia* and *Ehe im Schatten*, was also cameraman for *Ich klage an* and finally, Robert Baberske, cameraman on *1-2-3 Corona* (Germany, (East) 1948), *Die Kuckucks* (Germany, (East), 1949) and *Unser täglich Brot* was also the cameraman on a range of films between 1933 and 1945. Only one cameraman avoided involvement with the Nazi UFA machine, the Czech Vaclav Vich, cameraman on *Die Sünderin* who, despite a Weimar film career, spent the war working in the Italian film industry in Rome.

It is also clear that the immediate post-war period saw a sorting out of destinies and locations. DEFA's early start in filmmaking attracted a number of filmmakers who would eventually pursue their careers in the West. It is also the case that the traffic of filmmakers was almost exclusively East to West, rather than in the other direction. Of the directors that started their careers in the East - Gerhard Lamprecht, Wolfgang Staudte, Werner Klingler, Kurt Maetzig, Hans Deppe, Rolf Meyer, Erich Freund, Erich Engel, Peter Pewas and Slatan Dudow - only Maetzig and Dudow remained in the East. Of the 35 *Trümmerfilm* directors only one, Hans Müller, the director of *Und finden dereinst wir uns wieder...* (Germany, (West), 1947) *1-2-3 Corona* and *Hafenmelodie* would move to DEFA film production. The cameramen show the same tendency for East/West movement. In this case it is, in fact, an exclusively east-west mobility with none of the DEFA cameramen who filmed *Trümmerfilme* remaining in the East throughout their career.

Topics

As with any film genre, the *Trümmerfilm* can be divided into a number of sub-topics, which give each film its character. By either watching the film, if available, or examining the synopses of each film as published in Filmportal.de, it is possible to identify the three most common sub-topics of the genre: love, family and *Heimkehr* films. This is perhaps, little surprise, in a context where families are broken, relationships are dislocated and soldiers and families are on the move, having being displaced by the war. A film is entertainment and stories of love and family will probably best appeal to the female audience who in a time of *Frauenüberschuss* made up the majority of the genre's audience. It is, therefore, to be expected that, in a time of defeat and physical or spiritual dislocation, the themes of love, family and *Heimkehr* make up over a third of all the topics used in the *Trümmerfilm* genre.

In a period where the OMGUS produced their film about the concentration camps, *Todesmühlen*, and following the revelations exposed in the Nuremberg Trials it is, perhaps, not a surprise that the Holocaust will be directly or tangentially addressed within the *Trümmerfilm* genre. With its narrative of "critical cinema" DEFA was the first to tackle the Holocaust in *Die Mörder sind unter uns*. It would go on to deal with it in Maetzig's film *Ehe im Schatten*, Erich Engel's *Affäre Blum* and Staudte's *Rotation*. While DEFA addresses the issue head on, there are a number of Western films that deal with the Holocaust within its narrative, such as: Helmut Käutner's *In jenen Tagen*, Harald Braun's *Zwischen gestern und morgen*, Eugen York's *Morituri* and von Baky's *Der Ruf*. These western Holocaust films are extremely significant, since the Holocaust and any culpability for it would become a taboo subject in films dealing with the war in the 1950s and 1960s until the release of the American TV series *Holocaust* (USA) in 1979.

Directors' vision

This thesis argues that these “foundational films” accuse Germany’s women of compounding the physical defeat of Germany by inflicting a spiritual defeat on its returned soldiers. This spiritual defeat is more grievous than that of the physical because Germany’s women will restrict the returned *Landser* and prevent them from fulfilling their ‘natural’ role of building a new and strong nation. Before this thesis moves to examine this claim, it is important to consider the filmmakers’ intentions when producing these films and to understand whether they set out with the specific intention of pointing an accusing finger at Germany’s women.

The directors’ personal voices and opinions in relations to their own films are a little hard to discern under the layers of commentary of their films since 1946. However, it is possible to find the intentions of a number of the genre’s filmmakers. Wolfgang Staudte, the genre’s first director, described himself as a “politischer Mensch und demzufolge auch ein politischer Künstler” (Kersten, 1974, 1). The theme of *Vergangheitsbewältigung* runs through his films. It is seen in his 1949 DEFA *Trümmerfilm*, *Rotation*, and also in his West German output such as *Rosen für den Staatsanwalt* (FRG, 1959) and *Kirmes* (FRG, 1960). Staudte identified the rage against the past in his films as stemming from an incident at the end of the war, when he was threatened by an SS Officer whom he encountered in a canteen (Orbanz, 1974, 35-36). He saw that National Socialism was deeply engrained German society and stated:

Als der Krieg glücklich verloren war, da war das eigene Nest hoffnungslos verdreckt von oben bis unten. Und kein revolutionäres Großreinemachenstattfand, wurde der Dreck versteckt, so gut es ging, aber er blieb im eigenen Nest. Es gab kollektive Schuld, aber keine kollektive Reinigung (Schmidt-Lenhard, 2013, 28 Cited from Film und Fernsehen 1986, Heft 9:39).

Thus, Staudte appears to have claimed for himself the role of applying the cleaning of the German soul through his films. Whilst he described himself as a political director, he also claimed that his

films were “psychological” (Kersten, 1974, 4). His drive was always to represent the past to remind Germans where the hubris of National Socialism had led them. He noted with horror the rapid rehabilitation of the generals and fascism and this led directly in 1948 to his film *Rotation* (Kersten, 1974, 4). He believed that his films were necessary to constantly remind Germans where they had come from.

Other directors such as, Lamprecht and Braun, appear to have wanted to give the population new hope in the future. In the case of Lamprecht, he saw hope in the next generation (Jacobsen, 2013, 127) and, Braun, in reconciliation between the “inner” emigrants and the exiles (Aurich, 2014, 137). Braun, the son of the Manse, also believed that the way to *Vergangheitsbewältigung* was through reconciliation with religion. He described his film making in terms of “soziale Verantwortung” (Aurich, 2014, 139) and that for him “soziale Verantwortung heist [...] christliche Verantwortung” (*ibid.*).

The exile Kortner described the film *Der Ruf*, in his biography, as being one which was driven by his poor relationships with the American occupation authorities (Kortner, 2005, 460) and by the need to expose the “[noch] auflebender Neofaschismus und den zum Teil noch unbeseitigter Antisemitismus” (Kortner, 2005, 461), which he saw around him as he returned to Germany. He saw that this was particularly the case in the German university system (*ibid.*). His biography also makes it clear that, despite society’s ingrained anti-Semitism, he still loved his homeland, which he had returned to against the wishes of his wife and friends after the capitulation (Kortner, 2005, 462).

Thus, it is clear that these directors, at least, did not set out a personal thesis of criticism of Germany’s hard-pressed women. However, the way in which the first Trümmerfilm came to be approved for production is instructive in the establishment of this criticism. Staudte described the meeting where his script was approved for production as being cordial (Orbanz, 1974, 36). The film as originally written had a different title and ending where Mertens shoots Brückner in vengeance for his war crimes. However, Staudte quotes the Russian officer who approved the film as saying:

Eins is natürlich unmöglich, dass ist der Schluß. Wenn der Film ein Erfolg is, und die Leute kommen aus dem Kino, dann gibt es Geknalle auf der Strasse [...] Den Wunsch nach Rache, der Können wir verstehen, aber es muß gesagt, daß das genau der falsche Weg ist (*ibid.*).

The course of the *Trümmerfilm* has in, this sentence, been unalterably changed before it starts. The occupation authorities have “thwarted” Staudte’s desire to show vengeance being taken. When the film is made this agent of thwarting will be the film’s leading lady, Susanne, and the pattern will be set for all subsequent films. This change in the ending combined with the prevailing narrative from correspondents such as Walter von Hollander allowed the films to, perhaps, fall in line with a national *Zeitgeist* whereby, German women can be blamed and accused of holding their returned menfolk back. In doing so becoming agents of the victorious Allies in inflicting a spiritual defeat on the nation.

The review of the scholarly consideration of the *Trümmerfilm* reveals a strong consensus where the films hold a liminal position between capitulation and division, expressing an unspeakable grief at defeat, failure and loss. These readings of the films show failed men, who cannot come to terms with their defeat by a stronger enemy, nursed back to productive life by caring women. The films show the cataclysmic defeat of Germany, and the *mise-en-scène* created by the ruins is an outward sign of the key protagonists’ internal failure. The films have a political role, with the DEFA films being more explicitly political reflecting the studio’s origins in the SBZ and the GDR’s anti-fascist “foundational fiction”. The vision of the defeated city is what strikes the viewer and that overpowers the protagonists, as they stumble about trying to find love, hope and redemption within the catastrophic rubble canyons of Berlin. These canyons define the films and we turn to an examination of them as they affected the population of Berlin in 1945.

Chapter Two

The Contexts of the *Trümmerfilme*

Rubble

The *Trümmerfilm* is the result of the context of defeat, destruction, hunger and loss in which it was made. A *Times* correspondent writing in June 1945 described the ruined Berlin as a city, where:

You can walk for hours and see no small thing, not a stick of furniture, a rag or scrap of paper to suggest that there was ever any life here. Fire has consumed all [...]. Here, in what was the heart of an empire, a few old folk gather firewood; a family trudges behind a loaded hand-cart; a half-crazed keeper in the Tiergarten stands mumbling beside his elephant which, alone in this wilderness has not lost its home (*The Times*, 13/6/1945).

German cities had been bombed into a “preindustrial Steppe” (Evans, 2010, 11). Over 300,000 civilians had been killed and over 700,000 wounded. These losses were compounded by around 7,500,000 civilians who had been “dehoused” by the bombing campaign (US Strategic Survey, 1945). The troglodytes who occupied these ruins were for the most part, women, children and the elderly. There were over 16 million men missing from the population with, over 5 million soldiers killed between 1939 (Lockenour, 2000, 621) and, in 1945, 11 million men mouldering in POW camps around the globe (*Stern*, 14/3/2005).

This lack of men led to a highly “feminized” society (Evans, 2010, 15). Women made up the majority, with 123 women for every 100 men at capitulation (Kirk, 1958, 5). Such were the proportions of women and men in post-war Germany that it became known as a “nachkriegs matriarchat” (Merkel, 1994, 362). It became necessary for women to take over key traditionally male roles, in order to survive. German men were, in 1945, simply absent. In addition to the lack of men, this lack of strong authority led to gangs of what, today, would be called “feral” teenagers occupying the ruins. They lived without identification papers and were outside the law, education and parental control. The lack of parental control, feral children and destroyed cities had led to the ruins being described as “spaces of disorder” (Evans, 2010, 20).

The war and Germany’s defeat had thrust her women into the front line. Not only did they have to endure the British and American aerial war campaign, but also in the last months of the war they had to bear the brunt of defeat. In 1945, since German men were either dead, crippled or in prisoner-of-war camps, Germany’s women had to take the lead in German society in a new way. Men who remained in Germany appear to have lost their “nerve” (Anonyma, 2003, 172) in the face of total defeat. The anonymous author of *Eine Frau in Berlin* wrote in her diary “[unsere] Männer haben jetzt Angst. Der Verstand sagt ihnen, daß sie besiegt sind, daß jedes Aufzucken und Aufmucken nur Leiden schaffft und nichts bessert” (*ibid.*). She continues to say that those German men who remained in Berlin immediately after capitulation “hatten einen elenden Hundeblick” (Anonyma, 2003, 236). Women were forced to carry on “Wir haben kapituliert. Trotzdem spüre ich Lebenslust”(Anonyma, 2003, 177).

Food

In order to survive, women had to overcome enormous physical and emotional obstacles to ensure that the dead were removed, they could find enough food and water, ensure that the food they had was fairly distributed, and act as intermediaries between the occupation authorities and the population. The need to simply find more calories, because a “Hausfrau” fell into one of the lowest ration categories, receiving only 300g of bread, 400g of potatoes and 15g of sugar a day (Anonyma, 2003, 213-214), forced women to report for work parties clearing the rubble. In filling the gaps, left by their missing men and clearing the rubble the iconic image of the period was created: the “Trümmerfrau”.

In 1947, *Der Spiegel* pointed out that despite the “deutscher Normalverbraucher”¹⁵ having a daily requirement of 2,500 calories a day, the “Normalverbraucher” only received 1,050 calories in the British Zone of Occupation, 1,270 in the American, and 880 in the French (*Der Spiegel*, 29.03.47)¹⁶. It also stated that, in 1947, Germans in the occupation zones were only receiving 53% of the calories that they had received in 1938. The physical effects of this lack of nutrition could easily be seen in the faces of German women. In November 1947, the average weight of a German woman was 6 ½ Stone (Heineman, 1996, 374). The desire to make up for the lack of officially provided food became an obsession with life’s rhythms was controlled by the ten-day ration cards, known as “Dekaden” (Steege, 2007, 27). In 1947, two years after capitulation and after one of the coldest winters Europe had suffered for more than twenty years, the US military government’s Berlin Health Department noted “the nutritional status of the German civilian population, in the US sector of Berlin, continues to be unsatisfactory and is deteriorating” (Steege, 2007, 45). The constant lack of food gave the black market an almost “mythical” position in the battle to survive and the need to

¹⁵ It is perhaps illuminating that *Der Spiegel* based the calorie intake level on a man’s needs rather than on that of a woman.

¹⁶ *Der Spiegel* pointed out that while the Western Occupation zones had a base calorie level the SBZ had six different levels of calorie allowance depending on the job performed, with the lowest level providing 1,250 calories daily (*Der Spiegel*, 29.03.47)

survive led Germany's women to blur the boundary between everyday morality and immorality (Steege, 2007, 49). This constant search for extra food led to a revival of "Hamstern" (Steege, 2007, 53), with city residents travelling into the surrounding countryside to exchange goods for food with better-set farmers. It would also lead to a new vocabulary that would set the depths of morality, which women had to plumb in order to survive. Thus, *Schleichhandel* was used to describe goods that a retailer provided "under the table" for the purchaser because he liked her or in exchange for some kind of favour. *Kompensationsgeschäft* described goods, which were bartered outside the formal economy - a practice that was partially supported by the authorities and leading to the US occupation authorities eventually establishing barter markets. *Schwarzhandel* described the traditional and illegal black market. Finally, the term *Groß Schieberei* described highly criminal racketeering (Steege, 2007, 50). As bombed outstations and town squares became "unofficially" sanctioned *Kompensationsmärkte* the caustic wits of Berlin's cabarets penned the following song to be sang to the tune of the German national anthem:

Deutschland, Deutschland, ohne alles,
Ohne Butter, ohne Fett,
Und das bißchen Marmalade
Frißt uns die Verwaltung weg,
Hände falten, Köpfe senken
Immer an die Einheit denken (Steege, 2007, 86).

Women and sexual violence

The pragmatic leading role that German women were taking in the struggle to find enough food took place against a background of the dramatic violence meted out to Germany's women by the Allies and, especially, the Soviet soldiers at the moment of victory. This violence was not simply the violence of the victor against the vanquished, but included violent acts where German men ran away and all too often "seemed...anxious to trade womens' safety for their own" (Heineman, 1996, 364). This is borne out by comments made by witnesses and victims. Ingeburg Menz in speaking to the makers of the film *BeFreier und Befreite* (Sander, Jahr, 2005) said "Wir [Frauen] waren Frontsoldat, Leichensbestätter, Rache-und Lustobjekt in einer Person" (Sander, Jahr, 2005, 83). Estimates vary, yet the authors of *BeFreier und Befreite* estimate that around 110,000 women and girls between the ages of 14-45 were raped in Berlin in the first days of capitulation. This represents around 10% of the female population present in Berlin at capitulation (Sander, Jahr, 2005, 54)¹⁷. This rape of German women had a number of effects. Firstly, there was a marked increase in the suicide and abortion rates for the months of May to December 1945. Secondly, women were forced to bond together for mutual support and created networks where penicillin for their Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) could be obtained on the black market. This became the root of Carol Reed's *The Third Man* and Peter Pewas' *Trümmerfilm Straßenbekanntschaft*, the latter of which will be covered later in this thesis. Thirdly, women began sexual relationships with their occupiers. These relationships were initially for protection: a woman who had a relationship with a Soviet soldier was less likely to be raped by his comrades and was more likely to be able to access extra food.

Some women who "voluntarily" slept with a Russian soldier were discriminated against by other women as "Russenliebchen" (Sander, Jahr, 2005, 18), but rape or the threat of rape became the "centrality of experience" (Steege, 2007, 89). Women supported each other through this horror,

¹⁷ This figure is arrived at by calculating that there were 600,000 women resident in Berlin in 1945. *BeFreier und Befreite* claim that there are records that show 9.5% of the age group 18-45 were raped. To obtain the 110,000 figure they applied the 9.5% figure to the next age group down, the 14-18 age group. For full details see *BeFreier und Befreite* p54.

often beginning conversations between each other with, “How often?” (Steege, 2007, 89). This growing tradition of support and understanding was not shared by the returning *Landser* and those men who remained in Berlin. Heinemann comments, “fiancés reacted with disgust even as women returned tattered and bleeding [and] could not express their sympathy” (Heineman, 1996, 367). Despite this depth of violence and hunger, men still expected women to be the bearers of purity and moral integrity and the future. Dr. Werner, the first post-war Oberbürgermeister of Berlin, put it: “das Schicksal Deutschlands [liegt] zum großen Teil in den Händen unserer Frauen. Eine Frau[ist]...aber schon ihrem natürlichem Wesen nach anders als der Mann, niemals nur kurzlebige Verheißung, sondern zugleich verheißungsvolle Trägerin der Zukunft” (Merkel, 1994, 362). With this weight of unexpressed hurt and guilt, returning soldiers found re-establishing relations with their wives and female relatives difficult or impossible, and often forbade any discussion of what their women had suffered under occupation (Steege, 2007, 89). The female victims of rape at *Stunde Null* felt let down and ostracised by their men where “die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Männer daß [verkroch] sie sich hinter den Frauen, [hatten] Angst und [waren] feige –unvorstellbar feige [...] sie sprachen nicht in tragischem Ton von den Vergewaltigungen, und bald sprachen sie überhaupt nicht mehr davon” (Sander, Jahr, 2005, 28).

In contrast to the hard historical facts of the post-war experience for many German women, the world as presented in existing readings of the *Trümmerfilm* is one of reconciliation, love and redemption amongst the ruins. The films show a world where an ‘innocent’ and ‘damaged’ soldier returns home to rebuild his life with a woman whom he loves. The soldier and his reintegration into society is the centre of the film. The films avoid, for the most part, the real the post-war world, where disrupted families and German society are led by women. It avoids the fact that Germany’s women are hungry, desperate and frightened. When watching the *Trümmerfilme*, it is hard to see an indication of the experience of Anonyma and her fellow women. Having looked at the central realities of German women following capitulation, we will now look at the two dominant groups of German men present in the period, the returned *Landser* and returned exiles.

Proud soldiers

Into this mix of rubble and women who had been forced by their circumstances to become independent, we must consider the returned *Landser*. The former soldiers slowly dribbled back into Germany from 1945 on from all over the world where they had been held as POWs and are the great majority of men populating the *Trümmerfilm*. The war had swept up a huge proportion of German men born between the end of the 19th Century and 1929 into either the *Wehrmacht* or the *Volkssturm* as cannon fodder. These men held a wide range of views about the war and National Socialism. In order to gain vital intelligence about the German military, the British and American Allies, as part of their interrogation technique, recorded the cellblock conversations of their captured *Landser* as they talked to each other in their cells. In doing so they recorded the soldiers' opinions of the war, National Socialism and their conduct during the conflict. These recordings reveal that POWs only slowly began to question the views that they held whilst in service. They were quite likely to have brought these opinions and prejudices back into their civilian lives as *Heimkehrer*. Despite fighting in one of the most political armies in the world, many *Wehrmacht* soldiers considered themselves apolitical, stating "Ich weiss, wenn Du nach Hause kommst ein Bier, deine Arbeit und deine Familie hast, dann ist alle Politikscheiße" (Römer, 2012, 66). They may have believed that politics is "Scheiße" but they were extremely sure that they were fighting for something important, Germany¹⁸. They saw themselves as "Deutscher und Soldat!" (Römer, 2012, 74) or even that they were an "anständiger Soldat und anständiger Deutscher" (*ibid.*). They were proud of being German and proud of being "anständig". So they were unable to understand those that had not fought or women who stayed at home and did not remain "anständig". The returned *Landser* was proud of what his nation had achieved during the war, despite having lost. Indeed, it almost appears that losing a war or a battle was not the worst thing that could happen: the loss of a

¹⁸ The Allies found that the levels of political acceptance and support for Hitler differed with the age of the soldiers. Their questionnaires of POWs revealed that only 58.3% of those born before 1916 claimed to have supported the Nazis, while 68.2% of those born between 1916 and 1919, 71% of those born 1920-1922 and 74% of those born after 1923 supported the Nazis (Römer, 2012, 81)

battle is just *Pech*. The nation that had suffered what Germany had suffered made it unique and special, despite having lost the war (Römer, 2012, 74). Even in captivity, German soldiers compared acts of derring-do and their medal hauls (Römer, 2012, 123). The German soldier was expected to display the qualities of being “physically adroit, tough and with great endurance” to have “courage, energy, toughness, willingness to act and decisiveness” (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 21). *Heldentaten* and the recognition of their bravery was the core of their personal narrative (Römer, 2012, 123). To be accused of being a *Feigling* was a terrible thing indeed (Römer, 2012, 120) “Härte zählte in jedem Fall zu den gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen, die man im “Dritten Reich” an einen Mann stellte, der den Waffenrock der Wehrmacht trug” (Römer, 2012, 122). To have been an infantry soldier was the highest calling of manliness and many infantry soldiers, and others, who had fought without giving of quarter, hoped still to be awarded an Iron Cross First Class while they languished in captivity (Römer, 2012, 134). They never thought of betraying their calling as a German soldier as capture was a last resort, but their “honour” demanded that they refuse to cooperate and to work for the Allies even in defeat.

Despite only 15% of all *Landser* having been awarded the lowest award for bravery, the Iron Cross Second Class (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 41), the *Wehrmacht* bred a culture of bravery and violence for every soldier, which was a standard part of their “frame of reference” (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 53). This built a narrative of supreme toughness and one where cooperation with the enemy would bring not only disgrace on themselves but also on their families and particularly on their “pure” German wives (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 21). But while their wives might be inviolate, that did not mean that *Wehrmacht* soldiers did not accept casual sexual violence as part of their routine in relation to the women of occupied countries or of the concentration camps where “attractive forced labourers were required to service soldiers’ sexual desires” (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 118). Whilst in captivity and being recorded by the Allies, they spoke unashamedly of “sexual abuse” (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 118) of the women of occupied Europe and it is clear that this abuse was a “part of the routine inventory of soldiers’ conversations and was not greeted with any sort of moral

objections [on the part of other POWs]) (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 118). Many German soldiers felt that women soldiers were an abomination and held a particular contempt for the Soviet *Flintenweiber*, those women who fought in the front line with men on the Russian front with the Soviet army (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 92). Where German women served in the colours as *Blitzmädel*, they were assumed to have joined up simply because they had loose morals and were in uniform for sex (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 112). The narrative of the average German soldier was that the *Blitzmädel* acted 'disgracefully' and slept with not only the rampant soldiery but also blacks and ethnic minorities of the countries that Germany had occupied (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 173).

The men that returned from captivity were emotionally hardened to violence but also immensely proud that they had served and displayed the military toughness that the *Wehrmacht* demanded. They were men who, while in captivity, had only to make tentative steps towards *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 131). These men, when they returned, retained their military attitude to women. They appear to have maintained their belief that sexual violence towards non-German women was acceptable. They believed that those women who betrayed their country by sleeping with foreigners or by being involved with some kind of military or organised cadre were, potentially, little better than 'whores'. The returned soldier was convinced that he had earned his right to return to the head of the family and lead Germany by dint of hard-fought service on the front line. The effects on nation-building and the conflict that would ensue between the returned soldier and his independent and hardened wife will be played out in the *Trümmerfilm*.

Righteous exiles

While the largest group of men to return to Germany was the *Landser*, there was a smaller group, the exiles¹⁹, who had been forced out of Germany between 1933 and 1939 because of their artistic, racial background or political affiliations. The writings of such returned exiles such as filmmakers Konrad Wolf or Billy Wilder, show that the life of an exile is one of dislocation, the search for a lost country and lost life that had been torn from them by the forces of oppression or poverty.

Reintegration for exiled men was often difficult. Some exiled men, such as the future West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, the future American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger or the future East German auteur, Konrad Wolf, and many thousands of others returned to Germany in the uniform of the victor nations. When Konrad Wolf, who served as a Red Army propaganda officer, was lecturing young Germans at Leipzig University about anti-fascism, he was faced with the words “Vaterlandsverräter” (Herlinghaus, 1982, 10) chalked onto the lecture theatre’s board. He experienced directly the hostility of those that stayed behind. But, as he himself admitted, although he had been born in Stuttgart:

Meine Heimat war Moskau geworden. Dort hatte ich Kindheit und Jugend verbracht. Es dauert auch lange, den wirklichen Zugang, den Weg zum Herzen und Verstand meiner Landesleute zu finden (Herlinghaus,1982,16).

Similarly, the filmmaker Billy Wilder, who returned temporarily to Germany as a Film Officer, “wondered [at the end of the war] where we should go now the war was over. None of us – I mean the émigrés - really knew where we stood. Should we go home? Where was home?” (Borneman, Peck, 1995, 161).

These men had become at home in their exiled land and faced painful internal conflicts in order to reconcile with their land of origin. Those that returned to Germany as Allied soldiers

¹⁹ While both men and women were forced to flee by the Nazis, the *Trümmerfilme* that discuss the experience of the returned exile concentrate on the male experience only.

described themselves as “ghosts” (Miller, 2002, 50) who “wore Allied uniforms and delighted [themselves] with fantasies of facing the corruptors and the murderers, and making them pay” (*ibid.*). However, these fantasies were often “thwarted” as “all [they] could find was rubble, and people talking pathetically of the catastrophe which had destroyed their houses” (*ibid.*). Those that returned, and stayed, felt that they wanted to do “good” in Germany by helping the nation to become a new democratic nation. They felt that in doing so they could repay the “debt” that they felt to their adopted countries (Hardt, 1996, 175). Directors, Billy Wilder and Peter Lorre, attempted to work through their exile experience through film making, but found the return to Germany too hard and returned to Hollywood. Exiled actor, writer and director, Fritz Kortner, expressed his difficulties of return by making the film *Der Ruf*, which is investigated as part of this study, and stayed in Germany. Wilder’s and Lorre’s experiences of not being able to settle were similar to many of the exiles who attempted to return to their homeland.

The ability to be able to return or not was often based on their reasons for exile in the first place. Those who had escaped National Socialism for political reasons like Willy Brandt, were “more likely to return” while those who left for “ethnic reasons” (Gemünden, 2014, 183) were less likely to do so. As “few emigrants were welcomed with open arms” (Gemünden, 2014, 188) but they struggled with “prejudice” and “resentment” because they represented (Gemünden, 2014, 183) a “reminder” (Hardt, 1996, 174) that the majority population had made a wrong choice and that a different Germany might have been possible had they acted differently in the early 1930s (Gemünden, 2014, 184). While the exiles felt that they had earned the right to return, by dint of their own suffering, they were surprised to be so widely greeted with indifference and resentment from those that had oppressed them in the first place. The professor in another film discussed in this study *Zwischen gestern und morgen*, says to the returned hero that he knows nothing about Germany because he was not there. He is seen as part of the problem, not the solution.

Those exiles that returned to Germany or decided to stay after Allied military service had to dodge the barbs of *Staatsverrat* and deal with their own conflicted emotions. The exiles were a reminder of a defeat, which many of those men who returned from captivity as POWs were coming to terms with and did not accept. It was the attitudes of those men who fought in the *Wehrmacht* that would form the leading discourse in the years immediately following the collapse of Germany.

It is the narrative of the *Landser* and his battle for leadership in the domestic spaces of Germany that will inform the debate of the *Trümmerfilm* and will be discussed in the following chapters. It is his attitudes that are shown to clash with the independence of Germany's women and set out the terms of the arguments of nation building in the subsequent years following defeat, occupation and division.

The Allies

The Allies are the missing "Other" - missing from the screen in almost every *Trümmerfilm*. However, they are still ever-present in the background. Their attitude to film production is crucial to the story of *Trümmerfilm* production. Their position begins with the introduction of Military Law 191 passed on November 24, 1944, which stated:

The printing, production, publication, distribution, sale and commercial lending of all newspapers, magazines, periodicals, books, pamphlets, posters printed music and other printed or otherwise mechanically reproduced publications, of sound recordings and motion picture films; and the activities or operation of all news and photographic services and agencies, of radio broadcasting and television stations and systems, of wired radio systems; and film laboratories, film exchanges, fairs, circuses, carnival houses and other places of theatrical or musical entertainment and the production or presentation of motion pictures, plays, concerts, operas, and performances using actors or musicians are prohibited (Laws and Orders of Military Government, 1945, 32).

This law gave the Allies complete control of the German whole media landscape and would, if fully enacted, utterly shut National Socialist media. This absolutist position would be quickly undermined by the liberated population as they posed these questions to their conquerors: “When will the cinemas reopen? When shall we see ‘Gone with the Wind’?” (Psychological Warfare Division, 1945, 62). While the Allies sent teams to confiscate and impound National Socialist films to prevent their distribution and viewing, the issue remained; “When will the cinemas reopen?” The law was amended on 12 May 1945 to allow the cinemas to reopen. This enabled each occupying force to find an answer to this question in their own occupation zone within the constraints of the Potsdam Agreement and its goals of: Demilitarisation, Denazification, Democratisation, Disarmament and Decentralisation.

The Soviets interpreted their role in Denazification and Democratisation as building a structure with the help of German anti-fascists who would re-educate Germans through the medium of film (Berghahn, 2005, 13) and, which would also permit the Soviets to exercise “ideological control” (Berghahn, 2005, 16) over the population. The decision to use film for this purpose had been agreed before the capitulation. As Hans Rodenberg, the future head of DEFA in 1944, while he was in Soviet exile, stated “ zuviele Menschen werden keine Zeitung lesen, geschweige denn ein Buch, aber auf alle Fälle ins Kino gehen” (Berghahn, 2005, 13 - Cited in Heinemann, 1994, 26). Rodenberg, perhaps, also realised that, in the turmoil of the immediate post-capitulation period, two hours spent in a cinema would not only be a useful diversion from the trials of the everyday but also provide two hours of warmth that a bombed out apartment would not. Rodenberg’s understanding of the power of the cinema was borne out by the post-war audience figures with approximately 150 million people visiting cinemas in the western zones in 1945, rising to 474 million visiting in 1949 (Pleyer, 1965, 462).

In line with the amendment to Military Government Law 191, the Soviet Occupation authority (SMAD) quickly began reopening cinemas and licensing NS entertainment films for

presentation. The Soviet army had captured the city of Babelsberg and also had the Tobis studios under their control, which gave them the opportunity to initiate film production. On 2 August 1945, the Soviets established the *Zentralverwaltung für Volksbildung*, which was made up of men who had been either members of the KPD or in the socialist resistance (Berghahn, 2005, 16). This group of cultural leaders then called a film group together to create a *Filmaktiv*²⁰. As part of the *Filmaktiv*, the socialist writer Friedrich Wolf called for a new “critical cinema” (Allan, 1999, 3) to be established. The Soviets had the advantage in filmmaking as they controlled not only UFA’s assets in the east but also controlled Germany’s only producer of film stock, *Agfa Wolfen* (Berghahn, 2005, 15). This fact, as will be discussed later, become critical for the other zones’ film production, especially for the British.

Thus, the elements of film production were in place: the talent and the facilities, were combined by the SMAD in the, initially Soviet owned, DEFA film production company. The head of the Soviet cultural section, Colonel Tulpanov, declared when the initial film licence, for *Die Mörder sind unter uns* was issued:

Die Filmgesellschaft DEFA hat wichtige Aufgaben zu lösen. Die größte von ihnen ist der Kampf um den demokratischen Aufbau Deutschlands und die Ausrottung der Reste des Nazismus und des Militarismus aus dem Gewissen eines jeden Deutschen (Berghahn, 2005, 38-cited in Mückenberger, 1994, 38).

Apart from the oft-cited example of Staudte being asked to change the title and ending of his first film, Kurt Maetzig commented in a 1999, interview that in the initial post-war period, there was little political interference in the film-making process (Maetzig, 1999, 83). He went on to claim that “they [SMAD] gave us an enormous amount of freedom” (*ibid.*) he continued “but this wonderful first period lasted only three or four years, then everything changed with the creation of the GDR and

²⁰ The *Zentralverwaltung für Volksbildung* consisted of: Carl Haucher, Willy Schiller, Kurt Maetzig, Alfred Lindemann, Adolf Fisher and Hans Klering. *Filmaktiv* included the above and Friedrich Wolf, Gerhard Lamprecht, Wolfgang Staudte, Georg Klaren and Peter Pewas.

ensorship passed into the hands of the new State authorities (*ibid.*). For a man like Maetzig this censorship and control did not negate his desire to fulfil Wolf's call for "critical cinema" as he remained at DEFA while other *Filmaktiv* members such as Lamprecht, Staudte and Pewas would eventually move to West Germany. Maetzig explained that "I never considered leaving the German Democratic Republic, because I felt that I could only fight for the kind of democratic socialism I was hoping for from within the system and not from without" (Maetzig, 1999, 85).

Thus, armed with an ideological brief, DEFA would lead the way in the production of the *Trümmerfilm* and while it was not numerically the largest producer of the genre, as will be detailed, it was, perhaps, the film company most associated with the genre. The US forces, in their narrative about the future production of film, were not guided by the Soviets' belief that film could be an instrument of ideological and educational control but saw it initially as a didactic and documentary tool, with which to 'confront' Germans with their own crimes. Documentaries like *Die Todesmühlen* (OMGUS, 1945) filmed the horrors of the concentration camps and graphically presented Germans with the consequences of their support for National Socialism. By August 1945, there was already doubt as to whether this confrontational cinema could sustain itself. Billy Wilder, who had been sent back to Germany to investigate how the German film industry could be re-established and re-organised in the American Zone of Occupation, commented that:

A good job has been done, no doubt. Germans on the whole are receptive and the overall reaction is favourable. Attendance ranges from capacity to satisfactory. And yet we all realize that once this novelty has worn off [...] we shall find it increasingly difficult to deliver our lessons straight. Will the Germans come in week after week to play the guilty pupil? (Wilder, 1945).

The US military authorities followed a twin track of "economic colonization and re-education" (Shandley, 2001, 11). They recognised the truth of Wilder's concerns and that they could not make enough films which would "impress upon the Germans the totality of their military defeat, the

impossibility of rearmament [...] and the possibility that through work and cooperation Germany may again be accepted into the family of nations” (Shandley, 2001, 11). In order to fill this gap and, perhaps, answering the comments of the Psychological Warfare Division “when shall we see ‘Gone with the Wind?’” (Psychological Warfare Division, 1945, 62), the US film industry made available a large selection of films, which had been banned under National Socialism. This could be seen as re-education by stealth but its effect seemed to be “merely” entertainment, because, as US Film Officer Robert Joseph, noted in 1945 “the [...] people who valorised Siegfried for twelve years cannot understand that Joe Smith [...] is a guy who looks like John Garfield, thinks like Spencer Tracey, and acts like James Cagney, and that his opinion is just as valuable as anyone else and not a bit more” (Shandley, 2001, 13).

The Americans had captured the Geiseltal studios in Munich, and so, like the Soviets, had a studio and facilities available for film production. This availability collided with necessity and opportunity when the OMGUS came up against the issue of currency convertibility for the films sent by the US film industry. The US film industry established the MPEA, the Motion Picture Export Association, to enable US studios to take advantage of the newly-opened markets in Europe. The flood of American films was very strong in the German market. However, the fact that the *Reichsmark*, with which German citizens paid for their cinema tickets at the box office, had no value in Germany and was not convertible internationally, prevented the MPEA benefiting financially from their opportunity. Eric Pommer, who also returned to Germany in the role of US Film Officer, was the third element in the restoration of film production in the US zone. In his August memo, Wilder, set out the thought that “we [the US] are not here to produce films ourselves, but only to control the ones the Germans will be producing” (Wilder, 1945) and, following which, Pommer began the process of re-establishing studios and licensing films.

The control of films used a ‘light touch’ approach, with the Allies censoring their own films, but only intervening in German film-making in the western Zones if “the security and prestige of the

Occupying forces is affected” (Foreign Office (1947-1950) FO1056/266). The US and the UK began working together very early on to try and coordinate their film efforts. As the US moved to open Germany to the MPEA in 1947, the UK argued that the British Zone and Germany in general should be available to British film making while ensuring that it retain the right to censor not only German films, but the films from the other Zones as well. It is interesting to note that in 1948 the British Occupation Authorities banned all films, books and magazines from the Soviet Zone (Foreign Office (1947-1950) FO1056/266). The British had a different concern to that of the Soviets in that, while they wanted to restore cultural life to their occupation zone where they quickly established newspapers and radio stations, they had not captured any filmmaking facilities. Their occupation film authorities, headed by the former member of the British documentary movement, Arthur Elton, were more concerned with the censoring of British and captured German films for licensing in the British Zone. In a 1946 memo, the British attitudes and concerns about film making are summarised as recognising the “desirability of using British Cinema films in [the] re-education of Germans”, the “impending shortage of German films [despite] 60 British films being provided”, the issues of the lack of “rawstock” without which the “whole scheme of re-education will collapse” and the British not being able to “resist strong US pressure to supply their films in the British Zone” Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159).

The British clearly recognised their own weaknesses, which hampered their efforts to re-educate the Germans. The British tried to address the “rawstock” issue with attempts to restart production in the British Zone and by pooling resources with the US or by begging supply from the Soviets (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159). It was believed by the British Occupation authorities that the British Zone needed approximately 156 titles a year to meet the needs of cinemas in 1947-1948 (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159). They estimated that with a combination of Allied titles they would be approximately 75 titles short in that year. The authorities also recognised that while re-cut pre-war production would make up some of the short-fall “current [1946] evidence shows that German audiences are tired of pre-1945 German films, critical of Allied

films and asking increasingly for new German films” (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159) - emphasis in memo. The centres of pre-war German film making “Babelsberg, Tempelhof, Geiseltal, Prague and Vienna” (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159) were either out of British control, or, in the case of the last two, out of Germany. The British noted in 1946 that there was a “strong stimulus” (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159) for the establishment of a filmmaking centre in the British Zone. They also recognised that that film production in the British Zone would be hampered if film-makers “have to hire studio space in other Zones (or sectors of Berlin) to complete their work” (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159) and as a result a new studio was established in Göttingen where “suitable buildings have been found” (Foreign Office (1945-1949) FO 1032/2159). In December 1946, these buildings, former *Luftwaffe* hangers, were requisitioned and a new studio was designed to develop a core of indigenous filmmaking.

Conclusion

The *Trümmerfilm* genre has been the subject of many studies and reviews. However, these have not sought to combine a Cross-German approach with an effort to deconstruct its gender messages in the genre. This work will concentrate not on the directors’ efforts to rehabilitate the returned *Landser* but on how the various male types shown are “thwarted” in reaching their destinies by the female counterparts. In reviewing the films from this point of view, the current, published, discourse regarding the *Trümmerfilm* is turned on its head and a new reading of the genre will be exposed, where the misogyny of *Trümmerfilm* is revealed.

Chapter Three

The Western genre space and gender roles

In the classic Western, *The Big Trail* (USA, 1930), which was licensed for viewing in the US Zone of occupation after 1945 (Pleyer, 1965, 454), John Wayne sums up the motivation of the Western hero in his famous 'snowstorm' speech saying:

We're blazing a trail that started in England. Not even the storms of the sea could turn back those settlers. And they carried on further. They blazed it on through the wilderness of Kentucky. Famine, hunger, not even massacres could stop them! And now we've picked up the trail again. And nothing can stop us – not even the snows of winter, not the peaks of the highest mountains. *We're building a nation!* (Wills, 1997, 51).²¹

This chapter explores the strong textual connections between the Western and the *Trümmerfilm*. It examines the narrative structure, spaces and trope expectations of the Western and its implications for nation building in the new Germany. I discuss how the *Trümmerfilm* adopts the central themes of the Western only to frustrate trope expectations, particularly with regard to gender relations and nation building in 1945. I begin by discussing the origin of the Western genre and then present the types of hero, spaces and plot types described by it. This establishes a trope baseline and its nation building implications. I will then draw on this to examine the influence of German writer, Karl May

²¹ My italics

and his creations Winnetou and Old Shatterhand on German Western and Adventure film making before 1945. I thereby show a new reading of the *Trümmerfilm* genre where the films examined move from redemptive and restorative texts to ones which signpost grave warnings of female independence for the building of the new post-war Germany.

The Hollywood Western was part of the cinematic life of occupied Germany, at least in the American and other western sectors. The US occupation authorities licensed a number of Westerns for viewing in its zone, including the key Hollywood films John Ford's *Stagecoach* (USA, 1939) and *My Darling Clementine* (USA, 1946) (Pleyer, 1965, 452-458). The British and French authorities were, however, more niggardly in their permissions for American films with the British only permitting *My Darling Clementine* and the French permitting neither (*ibid.*). In addition to this, Westerns made under National Socialism were also permitted in the American and French Zones while the British only permitted one National Socialist Western to be shown (Pleyer, 1965, 432). There is evidence that some later German directors, such as Konrad Wolf, were directly influenced by Westerns (Elsaesser, Wedel, 2001, 21) whereas, there appears to be little direct evidence that the *Trümmerfilm* directors watched the Westerns that were available to them in occupation cinemas. The panoramas of rubble and the *ersatz* canyons created by the shells of destroyed buildings as identified by Shandley develop a *mis-en-scène* that points the viewer towards the Western, even if the original intention of the film-maker was to create a text that spoke to the current, in 1945, situation of Germany. It is from this context that this dissertation will discuss the films in relation to the Western genre.

The Western hero is here defined as someone who is never at peace but is always striving to travel forward against all the odds to build his new nation. He is in contest with himself for spatial dominance over the town and landscape, the latter of which is the true hero of the Western. Director John Ford's Westerns of the 1930s and 1940s, such as *Stagecoach* or *My Darling Clementine*, set the popular perception of the Western with his depiction of the extensive space of

Monument National Park. Human space such as the masculine frontier town is dwarfed by this landscape. The heroes and villains struggle with each other become insignificant in this massive space and under an endless sky.

Andre Bazin described the Western genre as one, which is “cinéma par excellence” (Bazin, 140, 1967a). The Western, he continued, is “inseparable from its geographical setting” (*ibid.*) of majestic landscapes and frontier towns. Shandley takes this emphasis on the landscape to create the textual link between the post-war German rubble landscape seen in the *Trümmerfilm* (Shandley, 2001, 136) and the Western. His intertextual description of the original *Trümmerfilm*, *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, transposes the action from Berlin to an imagined Tombstone, Arizona (Shandley, 2001,137) and reads the film’s action as strongly reflecting those of the classic “Ford” Western. This chapter will chart the origin of the Western genre in order to describe the types of hero, spaces and plots essential to it. This will establish a trope baseline, which serves as a discussion of the genre’s nation building implications. It will then examine the influence of German writer, Karl May, and his creations Winnetou and Old Shatterhand on German Western and adventure film-making before 1945. The genre inventory as well as the German tradition of Western will then be used as a measure as it constitutes the paradigm through which genre relations of the *Trümmerfilm* will be re-read.

The Western: Hollywood’s foundation stone

Georg Seeßlen claims that “Die Geschichte des Westerns beginnt mit der Geschichte des Films“ (Seeßlen, Weil, 1979, 37). The US film industry used contemporary stories at the turn of the 20th Century as source material for its early output. The Edison Film Company first used a ‘Western’ theme when it featured the Sioux dancers who formed part of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West exhibition in 1894 (Scott, 2003,6) to produce the film *Sioux Ghost Dance* (USA, 1894). This documentary film marks the beginning of the US film industry’s interest in the ‘west’ as a subject and setting. As with

any pioneer film, it contains some of the key themes of what would become the Western genre. For example, the hero is strong, male and asexual in nature. He has a civilising mission to bring order to the chaos and wildness of the frontier. Women are connected with nature and therefore, somehow “other”; and Native Americans are shown as simple and childlike (Scott, 2003, 26). The first Western feature film was, Edwin S Porter’s 1903 *The Great Train Robbery* (USA, 1903). In 12 short minutes, this silent film describes the spatial contestation between the robbers and the town’s menfolk for control over the railroad and the forest. This film lays down the basic tenets of the genre where the central motor of action is the spatial conflict between the hero, villains and townsfolk. This male contestation of space ends in the death of the villain and the triumph of the hero. The hero, while winning the temporal battle for space against the villain, will struggle to win the spatial battle between himself and the vast spaces of the frontier. In this interpretation of nation building there is no role for women.

Urban canyons and Western tropes

John Ford’s 1946 film *My Darling Clementine* has been labelled as a “classic” (Simmon, 2003, 197) and has been described as the “perfect example of the classic Western” (Simmon, 2003, 197). The film tells the story of Wyatt Earp, played by Henry Fonda. He has to come to terms with himself as a justice bringer and his task is to pacify the lawless Arizona town, Tombstone. Earp struggles against the “emptiness” (Simmon, 2003, 197) of his soul, against the male characters around him, against the villains, against his entanglements with women and ultimately against the landscape around him to restore order and contribute to the construction of a new honest nation.

Tombstone becomes a metaphor in the Western genre for a lawless space and the unsettled frontier, where good men contest the space with evil men. Tombstone stands in for the nation and its efforts to found itself on order and justice. This contest between good and evil takes place against the backdrop of the Arizona sky. The film gained its central role in the narrative of the Western

genre because of the gunfight, which took place in 1881 at the OK Corral. This was immortalised by the American author, Stuart Lake, in his 1931 book, *Wyatt Earp: Frontier Marshall*. This book provided a highly fictionalised version of events and inspired a glut of Westerns with at least eight movies being released between 1931 and 1946²². The years from 1933 to 1945 were the period when the US had to wrest itself from the depths of the Great Depression to rearm, re-energise and refocus in order to join the world order and fight fascism. In the cultural imagination, this was echoed in the stories of the Western hero who comes from the outside to bring justice, law and order to a fractured world where the sense of honesty and the rule of law has been lost. Released in 1946, *My Darling Clementine* visually represented the high point of the American national metamorphosis from ‘depression bum’ to ‘global policeman’ where the US will come to dominate the world even though it does not want to. At the end of the film, the hero having brought order to the frontier town, rides off into the sunset and away from the complexities of civilised life.

In the *Trümmerfilme*, which I examine in Chapter Four I will identify the Western echoes in the characters and particularly in the use of spaces. The film, *My Darling Clementine*, will serve as an appropriate Western classic and template through which we can frame a new reading of the *Trümmerfilm* and their “Western” reflection on nation building.

²² IMDB identifies eight films, which are set in or around Tombstone in the period between the publication of Lake’s book and 1946. These are: *Tombstone Canyon*, James Alan, (USA, 1932), *Frontier Marshal*, Alan Dawn, (USA, 1934), *Tombstone Territory*, Robert N Bradbury, (USA, 1935), *Law for Tombstone*, WB Eason WB, James Buck, (USA, 1937), *The Law West of Tombstone*, Glenn Tryon, (USA, 1938), *Frontier Marshal*, Alan Dunn, (USA, 1939), *Sherriff of Tombstone*, Joseph Kane, (USA, 1941), *Tombstone: The town too tough to die*, William C McGann, (USA, 1942), *West of Tombstone*, Howard Bretherton, (USA, 1942), *My Darling Clementine*, John Ford, (USA, 1946).

Characters: The hero

At the centre of a Western, is the male hero who Laura Mulvey describes as an “encapsulation of power and phallic attributes” (Mulvey, 1989, 36). He functions to the audience as someone who “acts” (Berger, 1972, 47) and is a provocation to the weak men in the audience. He challenges them to bold deeds, is a “surveyor” (*ibid.*) of women and at the same time is a “gaze” object for the women in the audience. The actor, Henry Fonda, who plays Wyatt Earp, is tall handsome, powerful and unsettled but “touched by civilisation” (Parks, 1974, 109). He stands out as a man of culture in the uncultured setting of the frontier town, but as someone who is “carrying something like the burden of our past into his solitary darkness” (Simmon, 2003, 203). In this respect, the cowboy can act as a reflection of the returned *Wehrmacht* soldier in 1945. Earp begins the film working in harmony with his brothers to drive cattle across the prairie. He is not planning to spend time in Tombstone but is, like all Western heroes, “zum Handeln gezwungen” (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, 13) by the Clantons murder of his brother. The murder forces Earp and his brothers to move from the freedom of the prairie to the entanglements of the provisional town, Tombstone. He is a man who “dislikes guns but can shoot straight” (Leniham, 1980, 11). He is persuaded to become the sheriff and the die is cast for him to become a “town tamer”²³ (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, 22-28) and to build up the nation. The hero has to fight his brother’s murderers, the Clantons, for the domination of the space in the final showdown and is shown to be a “good, bad man” (Carmichael, 2006, 219) - that is a man who is deep-down honourable but can use dishonourable methods to win his battles. He becomes a “gaze” object for the film’s women but is unable to form strong relationships outside of his homo-social world of cattlemen, gunslingers, deputies and rustlers. He

²³ Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger identify a number of Western types, these are: The Union Pacific Story, The Ranch Story and the Empire Stories, Discovery of New Borders, The War Against the Indian or Custer’s Last Stand, The Process of Civilisation, Revenge and Justice, Town-Tamer or Marshall Stories, The Break out into the Wilderness and the Indian Adventure, The Collapse of the Ruling Dynasty (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, pp22-28)

will ride “off alone into the sunset and be unable to be assimilated into a civil society” (Carmichael, 2006, 225). Thus, the hero is a man who comes to the frontier town as a man with no past. Eventually, he cannot be contained by the space of the town, but will mobilize the townsfolk to stand up against the villain and build up the nation.

Characters: The villain

The Western genre has been described as a binary genre with “good versus evil, [and] populists versus profiteers” (Carmichael, 2006, 1). The hero needs to be opposed by a ‘bad, bad man’ - to misquote Carmichael - in order for the contest over the space to be resolved and the frontier to be slowly civilised. In *My Darling Clementine*, the shifty-eyed Old Man Clanton represents the villain. He leads the Clanton gang who terrorise and oppress the townsfolk. They rustle cattle with impunity, occupy the best seats in the saloon, and fear no one. In most respects, the hero and villain are the same. They are both logical, intelligent, crafty, brave and have boundless energy. They share the same world, perhaps even the same worldview, and may even love the same woman but they share that world from “opposed perspectives” (Gallafent, 1996, 302). Neither the town nor the vast spaces of the new nation can hold two characters with the same characteristics in the same space. A showdown for dominance is a foregone conclusion.

Characters: The women

Mirroring the binary relationship between the hero and villain, a similar relationship exists between the key female characters in *My Darling Clementine*. The Western genre is littered with “a cavalcade of virgins, whores, tomboys, matrons, good/bad and bad/good girls abandoning city comforts for parched ravines and the scowling slopes of the wilderness [...] where women only become intelligible if they can somehow be taught to be more like men” (Gallafent, 1996, 302). Out of this “cavalcade” two main female archetypes appear in John Ford’s film; that of the schoolmarm and the saloon girl. Clementine Carter represents the schoolmarm and Chihuahua, the saloon girl. Chihuahua, as her name suggests, is of “other heritage” and is of Indian/Mexican parentage. She is “explicitly erotic, sexually acting and not above a little infidelity” (Gallafent, 1996, 305). This contrasts with Clementine Carter who arrived from distant and refined Boston in the East and is “sexually inactive or at least faithful to one man” (*ibid.*). The schoolmarm exemplifies “the virtuous moral fibre of the good community and its susceptibility to physical danger” (*ibid.*). Both types are analogues for the frontier town. The former with her dusky skin and dubious morals is desirable but not ‘marriage material’. She is a temporary relief for each Western hero with whom she entangles herself. The schoolmarm is not without allure but her sexuality is muted and whilst both women are desired they are both ultimately abandoned.

Anatomy of a showdown

The key element of the Western is the showdown, which is likened to a dance (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, 13) because of its partner aspect. The final scene of *My Darling Clementine* gives us the “conventions” (Plantinga, 1998, 72) that, like a formal partner dance, has only two participants and a number of specific steps that mark it out as a formalised moment in the film. There is the ‘flirtatious stage’ where the villain and hero first encounter and rebuff each other. There is the ‘deadly two-step’ and the final act during which both participants face each other alone. This leads

to the final climax: the hero's weapon will fire and he will leave the villain lying dead on the dusty ground. The hero will refuse to shoot his opponent "in the back or ambush his opponent in a surprise attack" (*ibid.*). The hero is an honourable killer, who makes the killing of his opponent "graceful, aesthetic and even fun" (*ibid.*) as he commits his "ritualized sacrament of purgation and regeneration" (*ibid.*). The villain is despatched after having had every opportunity to surrender and faces the just punishments of the law.

Spaces: Monument Valley and the prairie

John Ford's beautiful *My Darling Clementine* has created Monument Valley as the classic Western frontier landscape where the hero and villain will dance their quadrille of death. This huge space on the Utah/Arizona border is punctuated by enormous buttes, rising 1,000ft, creating deep canyons and massive barriers. These rise like walls corralling and constraining the landscape and its people. It is a landscape where sandy, dusty rubble lies about in mounds between the scrub, and where the sun beats down against the parched ground. Its wildness and connection with nature give it a traditional feminized character as 'other' to be tamed. Silhouetted against this massive backdrop are the puny machinations of the Western hero as he struggles to build the nation and bring order and a measure of civilisation to its feminized unruly frontier. The space is open and up for contestation. He who defeats the space will liberate the innate wealth of the frontier and settle the fate of the nation. The space, thus, acts as a referee for other conflicts and it is being slowly compressed by the new towns and crisscrossed by the railroad, which anchor the wilderness and the eastern civilisation together. The landscape is large enough to allow the showdown to take place. Yet, at the same time, the landscape controls all and mocks man's attempts to bring some kind of frontier order to the disorder of nature.

Spaces: The frontier town

Within the large space of Monument Valley, the frontier town of *My Darling Clementine* might be described as a colonial outpost at the edge of an expanding empire. It is a provisional town on the cattle trail to California where all the buildings are made of wood and the church has yet to be built. It is a lone masculine space in the prairie. The town is surrounded by imposing cactus trees which, with their twin branches, seem to mimic Christ's cross - marking this place as a metaphorical Calvary of dreams, hope, ambitions and freedom. In the face of such sacrifices the town becomes the crucible of the nation whose fate is decided by the showdown between the Clantons and Wyatt Earp.

Spaces: The street

Tombstone's spaces become the locations of conflict and movement within the film. The town's most prominent space is the main street. It is a place of obvious surface and impermanence: the shops, workshops, saloons and civic buildings are fronts with little substance behind them. The construction of each surface is indistinct and made of wooden panelling. In order to differentiate the spaces behind the surface each one must have its title written on it. Thus, the street is an indistinct collection of surfaces delineated by titles such as saloon, barber, sheriff to indicate places of safety, consumption and pleasure. The surface of the street is simply the ground upon which the town is trying to build itself on. The dirt and dust of the street mock the inhabitants' attempts to quell the space and remind them of their temporary status in the landscape. The street is a place where all classes, races and sexes mix but also a reminder of the solely masculine struggle to subdue the space. It is a site of tension and danger as it is subsumed into the masculine battle for dominance, as hero and villain square off against each other in the final showdown.

Spaces: The sheriff's office

The weak, masculine forces of law and order are represented by the sheriff's office. Placed in the centre of the town it should stand as a male dominated place of safety and as the last redoubt in the battle to coerce the frontier into submission. However, the sheriff is weak, he does not really inhabit 'his' space. He is unable to protect the town; the office becomes his last redoubt or even his own prison. The office may also contain the town jail, where the villain and his henchmen are occasionally held overnight. This male space, like that of the sheriff's office, is weak and will rarely detain the villain for long. Like the town itself, the sheriff's office is a provisional place and containment cannot be guaranteed. If the sheriff is to tame the town, he has to leave his space of safety and fight the villain in the street or corral.

Spaces: The church

As the outpost of a Christian civilisation surrounded by heathen natives, one might expect that the church as a space of spiritual safety and moral guidance would be a key element in the Western. The church is, however, an absent space, a void, it has yet to be built or is awaiting completion. Because the church has yet to be built the town lacks a nurturing space where kindness and spiritual support can be found in the provisional town. A Western town is either only aspiring to godliness or is simply godless. Even the Christian God, represented by the spreading civilisation, is not large enough to compete with the powerful female domination of nature. In *My Darling Clementine* the church is in the process of being built. The framework of the bell tower has been built but it is provisional and as such cannot be a space of contestation. The church has no established influence over the town.

Spaces: The saloon

Tombstone's key space is the town's saloon that doubles as drinking hole, casino, restaurant, guesthouse, theatre and brothel. It is the place where the hero and the villain are entertained in a feminized but neutral space, where both the hero and villain will visit. Both will be present at the same time, but neither will be able to dominate. It is as if in the presence of women and alcohol, they balance each other out allowing it to become neutral. Earp, Doc Holliday and the Clantons butt up against each other and Earp will confront both Chihuahua and Clem. The saloon has a long bar against which the hero and villain lean to issue bold threats against each other but they are neutered and unable to see their threats through. There are dancing girls and prostitutes, who will try and tempt the men of the town upstairs, where they can ply their trade. In the absence of the church the saloon functions as the town's meeting place, but instead of it being a place of prayer it is a centre of licentiousness.

The German Western

The Western and adventure novels by German writer, Karl May, presaged the Hollywood movie. His novels created, in the 19th Century, a literary genre that was at the same time entertainment and a fantasy of German nation building. His stories underpin notions of German male superiority and aloofness from the emotional travails of the everyday as exemplified by his two main heroes, Old Shatterhand and Winnetou, who represent a world of male homo-social brotherhood based on conquest, the defeat of the villain and wilderness spaces. The books describe the Indians' struggle to defend their *Heimat* against the encroaching Anglos, which found a strong resonance in the defeated Germany of the post-Versailles world (Koepnick, 1995, 5). Heroic masculinity and self-sufficiency appealed to male readers in a post-First World War Germany, offering an answer to the threatening liberations of Weimar women. May's stories reflected military values and thus prepared German men for the male comradery of National Socialism and the *Wehrmacht*.

Old Shatterhand is a German pioneer and frontiersman. Winnetou is an Apache chief and is an incarnation of the 'noble savage' who begins the novels as Old Shatterhand's enemy and ends as his friend. Old Shatterhand is a man's man; he knows how to handle himself and is contemptuous of the inexperienced "Greenhorn" who cannot tell the difference between a "Racoon and a Possum" (May, 1992, 12). Old Shatterhand is drawn to the freedom of the frontier and never feels comfortable with the *ersatz* civilisation of "Back East" (*ibid.*). He is not a man to be taken lightly and favours the rule of the gun over book learning; he follows his *Drang nach Westen* following the railway "durch das Indian Territory, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona und Kalifornien zur Pazifik Küste" (May, 1992, 12). Old Shatterhand is a masculine "leader" who sees Winnetou as his muse (*ibid.*). This relationship feeds into German Western films and, finally, into the narrative of the *Trümmerfilm*.

The growth of mass cinema in Germany in the Weimar period saw May's novels picked up as source materials for feature films allowing a mass audience to be exposed to this homo-social propaganda as an antidote to Weimar society's failings. They also provided a cultural cover to the "Blut und Boden" message propagated by the National Socialists (Schneider, 1936, 45). The National Socialist Western films, *Der Kaiser von Kalifornien* (Germany, 1936), *Sergeant Berry*, (Germany, 1938), *Wasser für Canitoga* (Germany, 1939) and *Gold in Neu Frisco* (Germany, 1939) follow closely the Hollywood type, but are overlaid with a "May" sensibility, where the German hero shows the Anglos who surround him how to bring physical order to the frontier, such as in *Der Kaiser von Kalifornien* and *Wasser für Canitoga*. All of these films, except *Wasser für Canitoga*, were available to view in either the US or French occupation zones between 1945-1949 (Pleyer, 1965, 43-44).

Western Motifs – German spaces

Spaces: The desert and forest

National Socialist Westerns also show the depth and beauty of the landscape; however, it is used in a different way to that of the John Ford model. In Trenker's film, we see the landscape in its majestic beauty. However, it does not overawe and quell the efforts of our hero, Sutter. He overcomes this difficult and testing landscape by being able to travel safely through its heat, obstacles and dangerous inhabitants. The landscape becomes a test but it is not a barrier. Much of Trenker's film shows his arduous trip through the desert and mountains but Sutter is a *flaneur* rather than a victim of the space. When he arrives in California the landscape will change to a more suspiciously looking Bavarian space where he quells the landscape and makes it bloom. Our hero Montstuart in *Wasser für Canitoga* is placed in a Canadian arboreal wilderness. The landscape's wooded and mountainous outlook, links the landscape to that of Germany's forests. As an engineer his role is to quell the landscape and to harness its potential. The wilderness in the German model becomes a place of opportunity where German heroes struggle against the landscape, and win to create a new Germanesque *Heimat* in a new land.

Spaces: The frontier town

The town of the German Western mirrors that of the John Ford model. Wooden, provisional and on the edge of the continent, the state of California in *Der Kaiser von Kalifornien* is a place that is nominally under the control of the film's hero. Sutter is indeed *Der Kaiser*. However, he faces a villain that is every bit as fierce and pernicious as that of the Clanton gang; that is the US government. Sutter has legal title to the land and the towns but is unable to stand against the invasion of money grabbing Anglos because the US government refuses to recognise his claim.

Despite Sutter having brought wealth, food and security to the provisional town, the US government's perfidious refusal to back his legitimate claim causes the town's provisionality to be exposed as the Anglos burn it to the ground and kill his offspring. Unlike the Western hero of the Western model, he cannot ultimately defend the town, as he is undone by the Anglos. Montstuart's town is a true frontier town, rough and full of rough prospectors and engineers. It is threatened, not by a gang of rustling villains, but by corrupt Anglo-engineers. Montstuart is able to use the town's lawlessness to hide from the town's many law officers, and will save the town by giving his own life to save the people. He has shown that not only is he as a German engineer, a better engineer and more rational man than the Anglos, but also that he is braver and bolder than them too.

Spaces: The saloon

Both films feature the central hub of any Western, the saloon. The saloon in the centre of *Wasser für Canitoga* is a traditional feminized neutral space, where the engineers, cowboys and roughnecks can drink and relax. It is a place where hero and foe can intersect but not confront each other.

Montstuart is able to enjoy the company of the prostitutes and dancing girls and flirt amiably with the madame. It is for him a place of safety. In *Der Kaiser von Kalifornien* the saloon takes on a more dangerous quality. It remains a feminized space but it is not a neutral space. It is the place where the Anglo invaders plot and plan against Sutter. They are surrounded with a mix of black women, prostitutes and bar girls who add to the danger that the space represents. If Sutter were to enter this space it would not be a neutral space and he would be in great danger. The danger comes not just from the malevolence of his foes but also from the force of the United States that backs them.

The heroes of these films must struggle through these spaces and find other Germans in the landscape with whom they can build a new *Heimat*. The struggle together in a dangerous landscape reflects the brotherhood won through battle and struggle reflecting lives of millions of young German men as they were conscripted first into the Kaiser's then Hitler's army (Koepnick, 1995,

253). This world of brotherhood, without the intervention of women, will be transgressed by the *Trümmer* Western highlighting the films' criticism of their female characters.

The review of the Hollywood and German Western traditions and Shandley's description of *Die Mörder sind unter uns* as a "John Ford Western" leads to the investigation of the *Trümmerfilme* themselves. The following chapters will examine four *Trümmerfilme*, two from the Soviet occupation zones and two from the Western occupation zone. The first film of the genre *Die Mörder sind unter uns* will be studied as will Gerhard Lamprecht's 1946 film *Irgendwo im Berlin* to give a DEFA connection between genres. To provide a perspective from the Western Zones, Josef von Baky's 1947 *Und über uns der Himmel*, and finally Harald Braun's 1949 religious film *Nachtwache* will be reviewed. These films will be re-read as Westerns in order to understand how the adoption of Western conventions in relation to space and gender reveals to a new reading of the genre.

Chapter Four

The *Trümmerfilm* as a Western – The films

Die Mörder sind unter uns

The famous opening scenes of Staudte's *Ur-Trümmerfilm* run for nearly three minutes with no dialogue. The titles flash up "Berlin 1945" and then "Die Stadt hat kapituliert". The camera focuses on a mound of earth in an apparently desert-like landscape, it pans up and the mound resolves itself into a grave. As the camera continues to pan up, we see a man, in some kind of drunken stupor, stumbling from right to left through a canyonscape of ruins. He walks until he is almost facing the camera then turns around on himself and staggers into a saloon, marked, "Tanz, Stimmung, Humor". His stagger is accompanied by crazy jazz music played on a blues piano. The scene then cuts to a train moving left to right and the music changes. The atonic blues is replaced with violins mimicking the sound of the engine's pistons hissing in and out. These sound almost martial, implying intent and direction. The train draws into the station but we do not see who the train has brought so purposefully into the station. Is this train bringing our hero who will build the new civilisation on the frontier? The music changes to a more romantic tone and a beautiful blonde woman in a white dress walks down the steps of the station. She is moving left to right across the screen. The scene changes again and the first character, dressed in his cowboy's battered fedora, is walking, again right to left. He is a drunk and the people he passes on the stairs gossip and criticise as he passes: how could he, a doctor, let himself get in this state?

Thus, we are introduced to the protagonists of *Die Mörder sind unter uns*. They are set in a dusty landscape reminiscent of a Western genre desertscape and, like all good Western heroes, the film's heroes are people with no past. All we know is that they are walking towards each other and are, perhaps, destined to meet in some sort of showdown through which the nation will be built or destroyed.

Originally titled *Der Mann, den ich töten werde* (Baer, 2009, 31) with a censored vengeance ending, Wolfgang Staudte's film *Die Mörder sind unter uns* presents the story of three characters. These characters are thrown together in a ruined Berlin immediately after the war: Dr Hans Mertens, former military doctor and drunk; Susanne Wallner, beautiful former concentration camp inmate and graphic artist; and Ferdinand Brückner, industrialist and Mertens' former Commanding Officer (CO). Wallner returns to Berlin from her incarceration to reoccupy her former flat only to find that the drunken Mertens has already taken up residence there. Mertens and Wallner eventually find a figurative and actual arrangement with each other in the flat and fall in love. This peaceful moment is shattered when Mertens renews his acquaintance with his former CO, Brückner. He is guilty of war crimes but living a relaxed *bieder* life without any care for his guilt or his crimes. Mertens determines that, for justice to be done and the nation to be built up, Brückner must pay for his crimes. He must set out to wreak his vengeance on his former CO.

Die Mörder sind unter uns – Literature review

This film was Staudte's debut and it was also famously the first German feature film to be made in Germany following the "film pause" (Rentschler, 2010, 9) enforced by the capitulation. Staudte offered the film to the British and Americans in Berlin before it was finally accepted by the Soviets for production by DEFA (Orbanz, 1974, 36). The Soviets accepted it for production but with a critical change to the final scene of the film, removing the shooting of Brückner by the righteous Mertens. This would have a critical effect on the film and, potentially, the whole genre.

It was described by *Neues Deutschland* as a film “der zu dem tiefen Ernst der deutschen Situation paßt, die nach knapp 1½ Jahren schon wieder bedenkliche Zeichen des Vergessens aufweist” (Kind, Enno 1946a). *Die Berliner Zeitung* called it “kein Unterhaltungsfilm, sondern ein Film mit einer Handlung, die mitten hinein in unsere deutsche Gegenwart führte, voller Probleme, die uns Tag und Nacht beschäftigen” (WL, 1946). Although, when released, it won plaudits from around the world, British occupation documents²⁴ show that the French occupying authorities refused to show it in their zone because of the “inconclusiveness and the complete absence of any sense of guilt on the part of the doctor hero himself, who despite of his apparent protests at the shooting of the Russian men, women and children on Christmas night does nothing about it except to give his pistol to the Nazi industrialist to finish himself off” (Foreign Office 1947 FO371/1287). However, Daniela Berghahn claims that the German audience would have understood the ending as a call to hand war criminals over to the authorities (Berghahn, 2005, 67). In the British Zone the occupation authorities noted that the welcome by the civilian population had actually been lukewarm despite the international “fanfares” because they actually preferred less “cultural themes” (Foreign Office 1947 FO371/1287). When reviewing the film in the 1950s, the West German film censor (FSK) described the film as important because it showed how German women could play a role in rebuilding Germany by saving their damaged men and rebuilding the traditional family. It said “[dieser Film ist] zu begrüßen, der das Unrecht im Kriege entsprechend brandmarkt” and continues calling it “ein historisches Filmkunstwerk” for describing the horrors of Germany’s recent past but clearly

²⁴ The National Archive in Kew contains a great deal of documentation relevant to the Occupation and the film policy of the British and later Bi-Zone Occupation authorities. For further information see Foreign Office (1945-1949), FO 1032/2159 Foreign Office (1946), FO946/8 Foreign Office (1947), FO371/1287 Foreign Office (1947), FO946/70 Foreign Office (1947), FO946/55 Foreign Office (1947), FO946/69 Foreign Office (1947), FO946/85 Foreign Office (1947), FO946/87 *Export of German film* Foreign Office (1947-1950), FO1056/266 *Film censorship* Foreign Office (1950-1952), FO1056/423 *Film censorship*, Foreign Office (1947-1948), FO946/88 London, National Archives

indicating that Susanne will shortly become “[die] zukünftige Frau von Mertens” (Arbeitsausschuß der FSK, 1959). These reviews give the contemporary view of the films and this work will now move to the scholarly view of it.

Genre description

Elizabeth Ezra, looking at the film in the 21st century, clearly supports the initial interpretations of the film claiming that it is “a hard edged look at the difficulties of reconstructing post-war Germany” (Ezra, 2004, 9). Sabine Hake, agrees with Ezra, noting that the film introduced the “main elements of the rubble genre [and] also outlined the position of depoliticised humanism that [...] characterised subsequent representations of the Third Reich and its post-war legacies” (Hake, 2002, 98). In contrast to the *mis-en-scène*, Anke Pinkert emphasises the melodramatic elements where the love affair so approved of by the FSK gave its audiences a “kitschy [...] distraction” from their difficult and painful lives (Pinkert 2008b, 20). She also commented that the film links to the Weimar expressionist past where films “explored madness, psychopathology as a source of social anxiety, escape and criticism” (Pinkert, 2008b, 22). Christiane Mückenberger looks for a historical origin to the film claiming that it had been based on a real incident which Staudte witnessed at the end of the war (Mückenberger, 2003, 61) and that it is one of “guilt and atonement, of revenge and catharsis” where these are played out in a way that mirrors the “spirit of anti-war film of the early 1930s” (*ibid.*). This catharsis is facilitated not on the basis of Mertens’ guilt as a perpetrator but through an assumption of a lack of “complicity” (Berghahn, 2005, 69) in the crimes of the Third Reich.

On the other hand, Robert Shandley, when reviewing Staudte’s *Ur-Trümmerfilm* from a genre point of view clearly states the film is one that calls on “many generic tactics, [including] German Expressionism” (Shandley, 2001, 27) to address the problems of the post-war period. It is Shandley who, provides one of the starting points for this thesis. He notes that the film finds genre solutions to the issues of the post-war world “in some surprising places” (Shandley, 2001, 26). He continues that “in its presentation of the landscape, the hero, the heroine and much of the plot, it

echoes [...] the American Western. Likewise, Staudte works with another familiar genre, the domestic Melodrama" (*ibid.*).

Shandley sets the stage for a 'hybrid' genre and the opportunity to consider the film from different viewpoints. Peter Pleyer, perhaps the *Ur*-reviewer of the *Trümmerfilm*, does not seek to assign the film a genre label beyond that of a *Nachkriegszeit* (Pleyer, 1965, 53) film. But Shandley seeks to build an argument that widens the film's meaning beyond that of a historical document stating that the mixture of the Western and Melodrama creates a "counter narrative [which] creates internal tensions" (*ibid.*) and that this "counter narrative" works to allow the film to discuss the recent past (*ibid.*). He also claims that the use of the Western genre gives the film permission to suggest that "the things that get done in Westerns are the things that need doing in Germany". But, what does the ending of the film tell us about the position of the protagonists in relation to the Western genre?

Shandley does not stop, however, at identifying only two genres being evident within the film, he goes on to claim that the film also "evoked the Weimar-era street films" (Shandley, 2001, 27). Shandley is joined in his identification of *Die Mörder* as a street film by Jaimey Fisher who links, Staudte's film and generally all *Trümmerfilme* to such Weimar films as director, Karl Grune's, *Die Strasse* (Germany, 1923), and Walther Ruttmann's *Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (Germany, 1927) because of the street scenes and the element of *Flaneur* (Fischer, 2005, 463). In addition to the *Strassenfilm*, Shandley suggests that film also has elements of "Italian neo-realism" and "film noir" (Shandley, 2001, 28) films of the same era. It is, however, in the end, to the conjunction of the Western and Melodrama that he returns. Shandley decides, finally, that the *mis-en-scène* of ruins and dust place the film firmly, but metaphorically, in "Tombstone, Arizona".

Similar to Fisher, Hester Baer suggests that there is a strong sense of genre hybridity and identifies that the film displays a strong sense of genre "ambivalence" (Baer, 2009, 28). Baer argues that post-war film makers had to find a new way to "fill the representational vacuum" (Baer, 2009,

27) caused by the *Frauenüberschuß* of the post-war period. She also claims that directors, in their attempts to “re-legitimate cinema [...] often exhibited clashing codes and styles” (Baer, 2009, 28) Despite the hybridity she tends towards describing the film as a ‘woman’s film’ melodrama. She claims that this is because directors actively filmed the “female experience” due to the need to create films that would appeal to the principle cinema-going audience, women. Baer claims that the film, despite its genre hybridity and with its concentration on Susanne as an observer rather than a gaze object, “contains elements of the domestic melodrama” (Baer, 2009, 31). Hake discusses the film’s hybridity as, “enlist[ing] expressionist styles and melodramatic effects” (Hake, 2002, 98) and that in doing so, that Staudte had “introduced the main elements of the rubble genre” (*ibid.*). Finally yet importantly, Anke Pinkert points out that this film, as the first DEFA film and the first *Trümmerfilm* is also the first post-war anti-Fascist film (Pinkert, 2008b, 118). This fact was recognised by the GDR itself when its Culture Ministry claimed in 1973 “die DEFA begann ihren Weg mit Filmen [wie *Die Mörder sind unter uns*], die es sich zur Aufgabe machten, das Bewusstsein für die eigene Vergangenheit zu wecken. Sie konnte nur bewältigt werden, wenn Klarheit über die Ursachen, Zusammenhänge und Triebkräfte gewonnen wurde, die diese Entwicklung bewirkt hatten” (Barnert,2008,11).

Scholars thus, identified a multiplicity of genres within the film. These genres range from Melodrama, Western, film noir, *Strassenfilm*, neo-realism and finally a DEFA anti-fascist film. The film is of course the first *Trümmerfilm* with its own codes, modes and narratives. This high level of hybridity appears to be a result of the director trying to find a formula while creating a new genre that can adequately address Germany’s post-war issues. The interplay of genres creates a strong tension in the film, which obscures some of the film’s message because it simply creates too many messages results in conflicting messages, which can be clarified if a genre lens, such as the Western, is applied to the film’s narrative.

Die Mörder sind unter uns as a Western

Having reviewed the complex hybridity of the film, it will now be reviewed through the lens of the Western genre. Shandley links the rubble canyons of defeated Berlin, in *Die Mörder sind unter uns* to John Ford's film *Stagecoach*. He also notes that *Stagecoach* was one of the first US films to be passed for release in Germany following the capitulation (Shandley, 2001, 136), which ties the films together in time. He argues that the bombed out buildings form "urban canyons" (*ibid.*) with the empty spaces of the city acting as an indication of Mertens' "inner life" (*ibid.*). In this respect, Shandley suggests that Staudte is using space in the same way as John Ford (*ibid.*). Shandley quotes Staudte who said when the film was released "wir wollen mit der Kamera an die Landschaft des menschlichen Gesichts heranfahren, wollen in die Empfindungswelt des Menschen hineinfahren" (*ibid.*). Shandley notes that the landscape of Berlin is covered in rubbish and paper which blows around the streets in a manner reminiscent of the tumbleweed in a Western (*ibid.*) and acting like "symbols of the past being delivered to a character" (*ibid.*). He identifies the two key *Trümmerfilm* characters, Mertens and Susanne, as stereotypical Western characters. Mertens is the male lead, who has a past which he is reluctant to discuss. Susanne is the heroine, who in her first scene wears a white dress indicating her purity. Her role in this *Trümmer* Western is to act as a catalyst spurring Mertens into action and to "provide a moral compass to Hans's disturbed personality" (Shandley, 2001, 137).

Mertens should be a "righteous vigilante" (Shandley, 2001, 137) who is driven to the inevitable showdown as vengeance bringer and enforcer of justice, against Brückner, in a town where justice is not strong enough to exert its own influence. He fulfils the role of standing for the "just" in the battle between the "Gesetzstreu und Gesetzlosen" (Kiefer, Grob, 2003, 25). Mertens must battle Brückner, not only for justice, but also in order to fight for the soul of the new nation. The landscape of rubble and broken buildings echoes John Ford's vision of Arizona and makes the backdrop against which the issues of injustice and retribution are fought out (Shandley, 2001, 138).

Shandley has linked the *Trümmerfilm* to the Western via the landscape of defeated Berlin and plotline. An examination of the films in the next section will show that the film's spaces provide other intertextual links between the *Trümmerfilm* and the Western.

Spaces

The first scene gives us two key Western locations: the mixed surfaces of the street - a "wasteland" (Shandley, 2001, 137) and the 'Western' saloon. The street immediately focuses the viewer on a death that needs to be avenged. The first thing the camera shows is the rough desert cemetery containing the graves of two soldiers. The graves are provisional, shallow and humped, indicating their freshness. Before the action of the film has started, two "innocent" men have already been killed and roughly buried. In the Western version of Berlin, evil is already stalking the streets. The street through which Mertens staggers is an unruly place covered in dust and rocks that have been strewn around by the force of war. The cityscape is fringed with canyon-like buildings, which are beautiful when silhouetted against the broad sky, but they constrain the people on the ground and force them to travel in directions that they do not necessarily want to go. Mertens will attempt to avoid his destiny as a doctor and as a justice bringer by walking constantly through the city streets, which have become rubble canyons. He believes that he can control the canyons, because of his great knowledge of them and of what misdeeds they cover up. However, he does not realise that he is being directed and driven by them towards his destiny.

Like Wyatt Earp in *My Darling Clementine* and Montstuart in *Wasser für Canitoga*, Mertens is an avid user of the town's saloon. Staudte has placed the feminized space of the saloon at the centre of the town and surrounded it with by rubble canyons. The dissonant jazz/blues emanating from the entrance of the saloon reminds the audience of a saloon of the Wild West. It is a classic surface, *bürgerlich* in public and sinful behind the surface. The saloon not only provides the sustenance for Mertens' alcohol addiction, but is also full of saloon girls who dance in the cabaret

and bestow their sexual favours on men. In *Wasser für Canitoga* Montstuart is a 'player', he is at home with the saloon girls and occasionally sleeps with them or even the saloon's madam. In *My Darling Clementine*, the saloon is a place of dancing, drink and sexual favours, where the hero and villain mix in this neutral female-dominated space while enjoying its favours. In *Die Mörder*, Mertens also enjoys the saloon's favours and indeed has privileged access to the saloon girls, like Montstuart. Despite having this access to the backstage area, Mertens is exposed as an emasculated hero unable to take advantage of the opportunities that the saloon offers.

It is in the film's internal spaces that the story progresses. Staudte does not present any male-dominated spaces such as the church, police station or civic buildings, emphasises the lack of masculinized order and the need for a hero to take the law into his own hands. Two key "inside" spaces act as analogues for the external space and will be where the majority of the action will take place. The first of these spaces is Susanne's flat, which is, at first, being squatted by Mertens.

The flat has a direct connection with the 'wilderness' landscape not just because of the dust but also because it lacks any glass in the windows and it is covered with papers, which blow tumbleweed-like across the rooms. The flat is the Arizona desert-like microscope under which Mertens' character will be tested; it is neutral but it will quickly become a feminized space. Susanne will gain control of it and deal with the dust. As a result, the wilderness retreats and Mertens loses his space to manoeuvre, and with this feminized 'civilisation' of the space, his alcoholism and mental disturbance disappear. This reduction in his 'failings' takes Mertens further away from fulfilling his role as a justice bringer. Susanne further dominates the flat by turning it to her workshop for producing posters. As she creates the poster for the campaign *Rettet die Kinder*, she increases her agency in the flat by turning it in to a female-dominated place of production, traditionally a male role. She dominates the space by removing the 'wilderness', then removing Mertens' agency by preventing him turning it into a doctor's surgery and 'place of production'. This removal of agency will fundamentally weaken Mertens' opportunity to fulfil his role as vengeance bringer.

It is only when Susanne brings a Christmas tree into the flat, returning a sense of the wilderness to the ordered space, that Mertens is provoked to take vengeance on Brückner, in the film's other key 'inside' space, the factory. As Mertens tracks Brückner down, he finds him in his factory where the war criminal is piously preaching peace to his workers. The factory is, as yet, without a roof and a Christmas tree has also been erected in the middle of the yard. This links the space to the wilderness and gives an intertextual link to the gunning down of the train robbers in *The Great Train Robbery*. The workers and Brückner stand in the open as snow floats down. The internal space of the factory has been transported to the external and it is in the corridors and yards that the final showdown will take place. The transformation of the factory to the "OK Corral" have transformed the masculine space of production to the masculine space of the shoot-out. The canyons have led Brückner and Mertens together at the factory/forest analogue in order to allow justice to take place.

Hero, villain and schoolmarm

The three main characters, Mertens, Brückner and Susanne are all found together in the last scene. Mertens, who will take on the role of the avenger, is at first occupied with "alcohol and brothels" (Shandley, 2001, 137). He appears to be a typical Western hero with a "mysterious past that he refuses to discuss" (Shandley, 2001, 137) and a calling: the juxtapositioning of the graves and his stagger to the saloon makes this clear but he seems reluctant to take his calling up. His clothes are significant in his position as a Western hero. In the first scenes, we see him wearing a fedora at all times, even indoors, which ties him visually to the cowboy in the Western. It is significant that in the domestic scenes, when Susanne has taken control of the flat, he has lost his hat and only regains it when he picks up his gun in order to despatch Brückner.

He is a man with a secret. Like Doc Holiday, Mertens, is a doctor who has given up medicine in favour of drink. As he hides his profession behind the face of an alcoholic, he appears to be

debarred from moral authority in relation to Brückner, but this authority will be restored when he performs an emergency tracheotomy on a young girl who is choking. This act not only restores his moral authority in the film but also ties him back to Doc Holiday, who undergoes a similar authority change when he returns to medicine to try and save the life of his girlfriend. Thus, Mertens' back story as a shell-shocked Wehrmacht doctor is, like that of a Western hero, only slowly revealed through the conflict of his former CO Ferdinand Brückner, who committed the war crime that caused Mertens' trauma.

Brückner is the villain in this story. At first sight, he is the portly former officer in the time of hunger, who is getting on with life running his factory again. During the war, his factory made steel helmets but now it makes pots and pans. He lives with his loving wife and blonde-haired sons in a flat, where the dust of the surrounding desert has already been cleared away and forgotten. These elements mark him as a man with no conscience; he is happy to make money and cares not from whence that money comes. He is also a man who has brushed his past away. But what past has he forgotten to remember?

The first clue comes in his reunion with Mertens. Brückner explains to Susanne that he had been injured during the war and he decided that death was better than capture so he asked Mertens for his side arm, in order that he could commit suicide. But Brückner was saved, and at the dinner table where Mertens is eating with his family he hands the pistol back to Mertens saying "es ist ein eigenartiges Gefühl nochmal eine Waffe in der Hand zu haben"; indicating how he clearly enjoyed being a soldier and delights in the handling a weapon. The next clue comes when Brückner is shown at breakfast calmly eating while reading the paper with the headline, "*2 Millionen Menschen vergast*", but from Brückner there is no perceivable reaction. He is cold and unmoved. The final evidence of Brückner's guilt comes in the form of a flashback by Mertens himself. His shell-shock returns and he is admitted to a hospital. During his delirious flashback, Mertens is transported back to Christmas 1944, when Brückner and Mertens were serving in the same unit in Poland. In the

officers' mess there is a Christmas tree and decorations that will create a nexus between 1944 and the post-war present. Outside there is a firing squad facing a line made up of men, women and children. They are to be executed for partisan activities, and Mertens pleads with Brückner for the release at least of the children and women. Brückner refuses, citing the war as reason enough and the execution goes ahead. Brückner is unmoved and merely indents for the use of munitions. He has commissioned the murder of innocent civilians, a crime that, in the wild desert, that Berlin has become, cannot go unpunished.

Brückner and Mertens were accidentally reunited by Susanne. She is the third party in this quasi-Western, taking the role of the schoolmarm "out of place in this lawless wasteland" (Shandley, 2001, 137). She provides a "moral compass to [Mertens'] disturbed personality" (*ibid.*). Dressed in white, indicating her purity, she can deal with the remnants of his past by removing the papers blowing around the flat and brushing the dust away. In doing this, she takes control of the space feminizing it, thus, removing agency from Mertens. She is able to transplant Mertens by constraining the past and deciphering it so that Mertens can come to terms with it. To do this, she replaces the broken glass of the windows with x-rays, which she has found in Mertens' possession. The x-rays are part of his medical history and able to act as a lens through which his recent past can be understood. Susanne is an independent working woman who manages the past, deals with the present and is building for the future as she returns to her former profession of a graphic designer creating posters for the campaign; "Rettet die Kinder". In laying her poster over the centre of the room, she completes her domination of the space, turning it in to a female controlled place of production. Her genre role is to provoke Mertens to return to normality. She is not, however, free from competition for Mertens' affections.

In the early scenes of the film, Mertens spends his time in the company of the saloon girls and it is here that the first instance of frustration of the Western film genre expectations occurs. The saloon girls fit expectations as they exude easy sexuality and availability. Mertens has special

privileges at the saloon: he is allowed to spend his time backstage while the girls are in various states of undress. In principle, this is a greater right than that which is granted Monstuart or Wyatt Earp. Mertens, however, cannot profit from this special status. He is a form of lapdog for the saloon girls' amusement. They completely dominate backstage. He is chastised by the girls for not stealing Susanne's Leica in order to be able to take their pictures. Instead of mirroring Hans Albers or any other Western hero, he is far closer to the pathetic Dr Rath played by Emil Jannings in *Der blaue Engel*. His hold of the saloon space is at best tenuous and his defeat in this space by the female characters echoes the post-war emasculation of Weimar Cinema after World War 1. The genre arrangement of spaces and gender roles will be tested through a series of showdowns for control of the situation.

First showdown: The loss of the flat

The first showdown is between Susanne and Mertens and takes place in the first few minutes of the film. We have seen the two protagonists travelling towards each other, Mertens from right to left and Susanne from left to right. They meet at the flat, which is covered in small pieces of rubble and dust. Papers blow across the floor and the scene is set for a showdown. The showdown is fought verbally with the two main characters sparring for possession of the space and Mertens having to yield to Susanne. As she arrives and knocks on the door, and the protagonists face each other across the dusty space of the flat:

Susanne (S): Ich bin die Besitzerin der Wohnung.

Mertens (M): Nein sind Sie nicht, der Besitzer der Wohnung bin ich.

S: Es ist doch meine Wohnung. Ich bin Eigentümerin.

M: Eigentümerin sind Sie auch nicht. Sie sind bestenfalls die Mieterin.

M: Na, und was wollen Sie?

S: Ich möchte hier wieder wohnen.

M: Es ist ausgeschlossen!

S: Hier wohne ich. Ich habe das Recht. Ich habe einen Vertrag, ein „gültiger“ Vertrag.

M: Kommen Sie mal mit.

Mertens, as the Western hero, should dominate the space, at least until another Western hero challenges his dominance, and he clearly believes that possession is nine tenths of the law. The dust and rubble in the flat turns it filmicly in to a quasi-desert and his role is to attempt to quell the space. In the lawless West, a contract can only be enforced with a gun and he is determined to express his right as occupier and prevent entrance. Susanne appears not to be armed with a conventional weapon as she a woman and therefore stereotypically should not be able to overpower Mertens. She does, however carry a concealed weapon, which is far more powerful than anything Mertens can carry and that is her *Vertrag*. With this she is able to re-gender and re-designate the space and, contrary to Western genre conventions, supplant him as the civilising force. Susanne has used the existence of her *Vertrag* as her weapon, which is far more potent than anything Mertens may be packing.

Thus, the space is shared but the trope type has not yet been completely subverted as the showdown continues into the next scene where Susanne and Mertens decide which rooms they are to occupy. The decision is made by Susanne who stands in the kitchen and says to Mertens “bringen Sie meinen Mantel her”. Who has control of the space now? She emphasises her control of the space by concluding, “Sie dürfen hier wohnen bis Sie etwas Anderes gefunden haben”. Within a few moments, Mertens has moved from being in control and occupation of the space to having grudging permission to live in the flat, and only until he finds somewhere else. As Susanne has subverted the genre expectation and defeated the man, she, not he will bring civilisation to the space. However, this showdown is not Mertens’ last battle for spatial control of the flat.

Second showdown: The saloon

The next showdown takes place between Mertens, Brückner and the saloon girls in the highly feminized space of the saloon. Mertens' position in the club is already ambiguous and, on the face of it, Brückner seems a more likely candidate for Western hero and dominator of the saloon space. Once Brückner and Mertens are reunited they begin to visit the saloon together. Brückner seems imbued with Western spirit and actively flirts with the dancing girls. They appear to accept his advances: one even allowing him to drop ice cubes down her cleavage. Yet, ultimately, even this attempt at sex is rebuffed. At the moment of potential victory, the girls rush off to perform their can-can-esque cabaret dance. Brückner, who at one point appeared to be in control of the girls, cannot actually resist their power. They can control him by flirting and by teasingly showing him their underwear as they dance before him. This exposure of underwear, but non-consummation of a desired sexual relationship, forces Brückner to stand to attention, phallus-like, at the edge of stage. He is aroused but unable to control the saloon or its girls. Both Brückner and Mertens have been defeated and the saloon remains a feminized space.

Third showdown: The canyons

The key showdown is still to happen as Mertens has yet to take his revenge on Brückner. After being rearmed, Mertens is leading Brückner through the canyon-space ostensibly to a new saloon but in reality he intends to shoot his former CO. The canyon-space is classic shootout territory for a vengeance narrative to be played out. The tension builds as Mertens leads Brückner deeper into the canyons while Brückner appears not to have an inkling that this day will be his last. Just as Mertens finds the perfect space to shoot Brückner, a distraught woman appears begging for help as her daughter is choking to death. Mertens, the surgeon, hesitates but Brückner has no hesitation in volunteering his companion as a potential saviour. Should the Western hero shoot the murderer and avenge the war crime which Brückner committed at Christmas 1944 or should he save a life?

Mertens decides to do the honourable thing and save the girl but, in doing so, is defeated. Once again, we see the justice bringer unable to fulfil genre expectations because of a woman. Brückner escapes vengeance and goes home safe. Mertens has lost control not only of his internal spaces, the flat and the saloon, but now he has had to yield the external space to a woman too. Even the positive effect that this field surgery has on Mertens, which is to bring him to his right mind and return him to his profession, causes him to completely lose control of the external space. He decides to return to work. In returning to work, he has abandoned his battered fedora, a sign of his agency as a vengeance bringer, and lives a conventional life with Susanne. They are walking, arm-in-arm, through the ruins and it is clear that Susanne now dominates the internal and external spaces of Mertens' life. To all intents and purposes they are Dr and Frau Mertens as hoped by the FSK. In John Wayne's words (Jwayne.com, 2013), he is no longer a cowboy.

Final showdown: The factory

Brückner's crimes still demand an answer and the final showdown will take place in Brückner's factory. However, it will be a showdown between Mertens and Susanne. Susanne's purchase of a Christmas tree, intertextually connecting the flat with the Western exterior and Poland, where Brückner's crime took place, provokes Mertens' memory of the Christmas massacre. He has his old service weapon, returned to him by Brückner, and, thus armed, is determined to kill Brückner for his crimes. Mertens proceeds to the factory where the pious and hypocritical Brückner is lecturing the workers on the benefits of peace. The factory's roof is open with a Christmas tree erected, also connecting it to past events. The factory is in the shape of a corral, similar to that of the OK Corral in *My Darling Clementine*.

Brückner feels secure in his male space where he dominates until he is cornered by Mertens; once again wearing his fedora. Brückner offers Mertens money, the factory, anything, to persuade him to drop the gun but Mertens' shadow grows larger and larger until it engulfs Brückner in an

expressionist echo of Murnau's film *Nosferatu* (Germany, 1919). Brückner knows that his time is up and is reduced to shouting "Ich bin doch unschuldig". At this moment of tension and expectation, it seems that Mertens will win. However, as Mertens prepares to pull the trigger he is confronted by Susanne. She demands that he put down the gun shouting "Wir haben nicht das Recht zu richten". With that one sentence, Susanne defeats Mertens and wins the film's final showdown. She uses her most powerful and invisible weapon, the law. However, it is the wrong law, a weak feminized law. The "law" of the male-dominated Western demands that Brückner die and it is clear that Mertens has established the moral stature to shoot him. He could ignore Susanne and fire, affirming himself as the vengeance bringer and laying the foundations of a new just nation. But Mertens has lost the power of autonomous agency and he yields to Susanne and is reduced to saying "Nein [...] aber wir haben die Pflicht Anklage zu erheben, Sühne zu fordern im Auftrag von Millionen unschuldigen hingemordeten Menschen".

Showdowns lost and their implications

The hybridity of the film where the audience has to juggle the codes of Melodrama, Western, *Strassenfilm*, neo-realist and anti-fascist film has created a tension within the film that has obscured some of the meaning. Shandley has reviewed the film as a melodrama and a western and much of the film's tension is caused by the film's love story disrupting the Western ending. But what is the implication of the frustration of the expected Western genre ending?

For the West to be won, "bad good men" are needed because the forces of law are not numerous or strong enough to bring criminals to justice and to punish them sufficiently. Mertens with his fedora hat and street-wise nature should be that man. Despite this, Mertens is slowly disempowered. He loses control of masculine spaces, and therefore showdown after showdown, to a parade of women, and principally to Susanne, the independent working woman. As he loses each showdown to the different women, he becomes weaker until his position is completely usurped by

Susanne, who decides to entrust Brückner to the fickle hands of the completely absent authorities. This independent, working woman, has dominated the spaces and destroyed Mertens' opportunity to operate.

The implications of this defeat are stark; Susanne in re-gendering the space has removed his opportunity for agency. In doing this, she has effectively stood in for the unseen Allies and defeated German manhood again. She has fulfilled the desires of the Soviet occupiers and prevented Mertens, and by implication German men, from taking revenge. Susanne becomes a proxy for the Allies and she has removed his agency, thus, ensuring that Mertens is unable to bring justice to the nation. She has made the Allies, not German men, responsible for justice possibly fatally weakening the future.

Irgendwo in Berlin

The 'Indians' completely control the 'canyonscape' and the only white men who feel safe there are duplicitous and dangerous. The 'townsfolk' cower in their fort, trying to make ends meet and assiduously avoiding any contact with the 'Indians'. Criminals prey on the 'townsfolk' in their frontier town. They are waiting for a hero to save them. Suddenly, a man appears, his face silhouetted in the sun, which hangs listlessly in a broad sky. We do not know who he is or where he has come from. His craggy bronzed face speaks for him: he has seen the world and travelled a long distance. His presence might masculinize the space and bring control to the disorder. He is the only white man walking through the hot and dusty desert. He utters no words, only observes the desert and the Indians. Is he the long-awaited hero of *Irgendwo in Berlin*?

Like Staudte's film, Gerhard Lamprecht's 1946 film, *Irgendwo in Berlin*, is also set in a domestic setting and revolves around the domestic trials of families living in the wrecked centre of Berlin. Its opening titles, with a map of the centre of Berlin, attempt to place us squarely in the area around Alexanderplatz in the Soviet sector. The film centres around the Iller family, Frau Iller and her son, Gustav, who wait patiently for the return of Gustav's father. Frau Iller makes ends meet by working as a seamstress at home repairing and making dresses for other women, turning expectations upside down as she turns her home in to a place of production. Gustav spends his days playing with a group of feral boys and the occasional girl in the ruins of Berlin. Gustav's best friend is Willi, an orphan from the East. He lives with a foster mother, Frau Birke who runs a stationer's. A lodger who makes his living by supplying Berlin's burgeoning black market joins this patchwork family. The action takes place in the fort-shaped apartments on the edge of the rubble fields. It is there that we meet the petty criminal, Waldemar. He steals from the ordinary citizens of Berlin and lives by manipulating adults and children alike. The scene is one of anarchy with no one really having the time or energy to look after the boys. This anarchy leads to exciting games for the boys but will also later lead to Willi's tragic death when a schoolboy dare goes wrong.

Irgendwo in Berlin – Literature review

Brandlmeier identified a sub-group of *Trümmerfilme* which use a connective or indistinct word in the title, in this case *irgendwo*, where the title represents the confusing liminal and provisional time in which they were created (Brandlmeier, 1989,33). He argues that this sub-group called for a return to "zeitlose ethische Werte"(Brandlmeier, 1989,40). This is the first *Trümmerfilm* to have a "liminal" title²⁵. Surprisingly for a film made at a time when the people were yearning for entertainment, Lamprecht's film was not licensed for viewing in the British Sector or Zone (Foreign Office, FO1056/266) but it was described by *Neues Deutschland* as being a film which "[schildert] Schicksale aus unseren Tagen" (Lt, 1946). Because the film's two stars, Gustav and Willi, were only 11 when it was produced, *Neues Deutschland* called the film as one "mit Kindern und über Kinder, aber nicht für Kinder" (Lt,1946)²⁶. *Der Spiegel* was more critical. It noted the move towards naturalism shown in films of the immediate post-war period, led by pioneers such as Rossellini²⁷, but noted in relation to *Irgendwo in Berlin*:

Im Kino wolle man sich erholen, wolle man "vergessen", aber nicht an die Nöte des Alltags erinnert werden. Ruinen und zerlumpte Heimkehrer (wie sie in "Irgendwo in Berlin" vorkommen), wolle man nicht mehr sehen. Man wolle freundlichere Eindrücke haben (*Der Spiegel*, 1, 1947).

From an academic standpoint, the film has been reviewed as one that builds on some of the themes identified by Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, which overtook it in production (Fisher, 2001, 105). This is because *irgendwo* highlights the generational conflicts evident in the post-war period

²⁵ *Irgendwo in Berlin* is the first of the *Trümmerfilme* with a "liminal" title. This sub-group of films identified by Brandlmeier is concentrated on the films made between 1946 and 1947 when the future was at its most uncertain. This group of films consists of: *Irgendwo in Berlin*; *Zwischen gestern und Morgen*, which will be examined later in this dissertation; *In jenen Tagen*; *Und über uns der Himmel*, also examined later in this dissertation; and *Und finden dereinst wir uns wieder: Trümmerfilm* Database Appendix 1.

²⁶ The same article, written before the film's release also notes that the film was planned to be the first German film to be released after the war. It does not explain why Staudte's film pipped it to the post.

²⁷ Rossellini produced his neo-realist film *Germania, Anno Zero* in 1948 with the assistance of DEFA in the rubble of Berlin and covered similar themes of childhood, hunger, the lack of housing and the difficulty of returning soldiers to integrate back into society in Berlin. His film also contained a 'Waldemar'- type character.

describing them as “generational duels” (Fisher, 2001, 105), which the defeat had engendered as a result of absent fathers and weak controls of post-war children. Fisher continues that the film depicts youth as “anti-social” and that their “disciplining [is] the socially productive answer” (Fisher, 2001, 106). These “duels”, showdowns or disciplining are felt to be the mechanism by which the past can be discussed and create an opportunity to forge a new future (*ibid.*). These duels take place in a context where society and the city itself has “lost its markers” (Mennel, 2008,111), which, perhaps transports the context away from the present to somewhere else.

Pinkert, concentrating on the male lead, argues that this film shows the depth of shell-shock in the returned soldier and the extent to which the film centres around the “psychic and moral rehabilitation of this male protagonist with transformative narratives of female innocence and domestic love” (Pinkert, 2008, 122). She continues that the film strives towards a “closure and post-war beginning” (Pinkert, 2008, 123) whereby codes of the past are completely abandoned and new social mores developed which exclude memory of the recent past. This new beginning would be effected by:

Successfully re-establishing nuclear families in a functioning private sphere [...] since domestic harmony and traditional family structures would not only help integrate the veterans but also funnel the vigorous youth towards the building of socialism in East Germany” (Heiduschke, 2013, 291).

Thus, this film has a reconstructive narrative, not just for a new man, but also as part of the reconstruction of a new anti-fascist state. This building of a new “clean” state leans the narrative to that of the Western and is reinforced by Mark A. Wolfgram where he comments that Iller must, in an echo of Wyatt Earp, “reconstruct himself as a man” before he can “rebuild the external world” (Wolfgram, 2007, 160). In these views, Iller is the central hero, who has the moral task not only to rebuild himself, but also to build a new nation. He is potentially the quintessential Western-like hero.

Genre description

Shandley has described Lamprecht's *Trümmerfilm Irgendwo in Berlin* as "picking up on his earlier "tendencies" of detective and street films (Shandley, 2001, 119) but also as always having "children at the centre" (*ibid.*). Barbara Mennel agrees with Shandley describing the film as being about "children" (Mennel, 2008, 112), where they "are the symbol of the future [...] that will rebuild [the future] as a socialist collective" (*ibid.*). She joins Shandley in reinforcing the notion of the film as a children's film and expands the identification of the film to that of an anti-Fascist film. Mennel also locates the film within the melodramatic genre describing it as one with its "centre [in] the incomplete family" (Mennel, 2008, 111). Thus, two reviewers have already identified multiple genres in this one film. This, however, is not the end of the film's hybridity. Hake has also identified the film as having strong "documentary" (Hake, 2002, 98) elements and she also claims that these elements are used to help "imagine a future committed to Socialist humanism" (*ibid.*).

Anke Pinkert and Jaimey Fisher, agree with Mennel, as both emphasise the elements of the children's film. Fisher claims "Somewhere in Berlin, seems an explicit echo of Lamprecht's earlier *Emil and the Detectives* (Germany, 1931)" (Fisher, 2007, 185). He claims that the film centres the around the crisis of "disciplining children" (Fisher, 2007, 186) when their parent's morality has collapsed. He continues by again identifying the film as an anti-fascist film, arguing that the disciplining of the children is the "socially productive solution" (*ibid.*) to returning German youth to order. Pinkert, agrees, saying that the film was an "entertaining revival Lamprecht's earlier children's film *Emil and the Detectives*" (Pinkert, 2008, 44). She also claims that the children are responsible for reconciliation between the Iller family members at the centre of the film (Pinkert, 2008, 46). As an aside Fisher hints at a Western genre film or perhaps an adventure film saying that Lamprecht has "arranged a confrontation with the past by way of generational conflicts" (Fisher, 2007, 186), which the film arranges through a "series of duels" (*ibid.*) or showdowns.

In addition to the identification of the film as a children's film, Lamprecht's film has been identified as a neo-realist film by Laura E Roberts who said that "in the absence of a strong, benevolent masculine force [...] the film is dominated by Willi and Gustav, who prove as in neo-realism, the motor of the film" (Roberts, 2007, 40). She continues comparing the film to Italian director Vittorio De Sica's neo-realist film *The Bicycle Thieves* (Italy, 1948). She is supported by Barton Byg who claimed that the film forms "a neo-realist bridge between Weimar cinema and Berlin film" (Byg, 1999, 32).

Lamprecht's film shows a high level of hybridity with several genre types being identified. This ultra-hybridity causes a tension within the film that obscures some of the messages and requires a strong filter in order to allow an unobscured message to come through. Thus, to filter the film's ultra-hybridity, *Irgendwo in Berlin* will be reviewed through the filter hinted at by Fisher, that of the Western.

Irgendwo in Berlin as a Western

The film is set in an "irgendwo", which is immediately indicated in the opening titles and the ambiguous title of the film. The film opens with a map, which does not really centre the film geographically, as it resembles a sketch with hardly any fine details on it. Only the railroad route is sketched in, everything else seems aspirational. It resembles the map of a frontier town, which has been recently established; the railroad is there and the city fathers want to show what their town can become. The church is inked in, but we never see it in the film, further emphasising the town's provisional nature. The title *Irgendwo* gives the film an unfocused quality, positioning it in an uncontrolled space, similar to John Ford's Arizona where women dominate the towns and 'Indians' dominate the desert of an imaginary West.

The film has three key characters: the feral youth, who act like an Indian tribe, wild and free; the townsfolk dominated by women living their largely independent lives constrained in their fort-

like houses; and the hero who enters half way through the film. This positions the film as a form of *Indianer* Western (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, 23) in which the farmers and townsfolk live in a civilised fringe on the edge of the wild Indian lands. As in *Stagecoach*, we expect that a young male hero will be pushed into a position of leadership to bring the townsfolk together to defend the weak women folk and defeat the Indians. The emphasis on the Indians also has a resonance with the stories of Karl May, where again, the male Old Shatterhand becomes the leader with Winnetou as his guide and confidant. The Indians will be brave, noble and innocent, but their reactions to the situations they are in, visceral and uncontrolled. The Indians are looking for a leader, someone to help them to build an accommodation with the encroaching Anglos. In civilising or defeating the Indians, the hero will bring civilisation to the desert spaces.

Spaces

The opening sequence of the film clearly develops the Western theme and establishes the position of most of the Western spaces in the film. The camera shows a provisional-looking market, made of wood and canvas, similar to that of John Ford's *Tombstone*. This is a makeshift town with no sign of moral authority. A man is running away from a posse of faceless townsfolk. He has apparently stolen a wallet containing 900RM. The posse is led away from the market and the camera pans down and shows the villain, Waldemar, running into the canyon-like landscape. Waldemar is played by Fritz Rasp, reprising the pederastic role he played in Lamprecht's film *Emil und die Detektive* (Germany, 1931)²⁸. He knows the canyons and quickly loses the posse by hiding in a cave-like cellar. The 'real owners' of the wild places, the Indian-like children, quickly outsmart him and lock him into the cellar, thus capturing him. The camera has shown us the canyonscape with its majestic peaks, framed in the film like an Ansel Adams photograph or John Ford shot of an Arizona butte. The Indians are

²⁸ Both of Lamprecht's films *Emil und Detektive* and *Irgendwo in Berlin* are intertextually linked by subject matter, personnel, narrative and execution of that narrative.

predominately male - except for one token squaw, again mirroring the gender balance in *Emil und die Detektive*. They range across the space in a violent, wild innocence. By contrast, the townsfolk's spaces are cramped and closed and are dominated by the women who work hard to survive in this difficult landscape.

The motif of the fort positioned on the edge of the desert connects *Irgendwo in Berlin* to *Stagecoach*, where John Wayne leads the coach from walled strong point to walled fort to walled strong point in order to escape the Indians. The townsfolk are walled in against the canyons and only seem to have two windows out onto the desert. The first of these windows being the artist, Eckmann's, workshop that faces out on the desert; from here he paints pictures of the ruins being colonised by flowering trees. The other window in to the desert is the balcony of the flat occupied by a widow and her shell-shocked son. This balcony faces out onto the desert and is only used by the son, and then only to express his inner demons. As a former soldier, the female-dominated space of the flat constrains him and prevents him from expressing his inner brokenness (Pinkert, 2008, 124).

The Iller's flat is a key location in this narrative. It should be a place of rest, albeit female-dominated. Frau Iller has contrived to turn it into a place of production and fills her day making dresses behind her American Singer-sewing machine in her flat. The Singer will become a *Leitmotiv* for the independent woman in the *Trümmerfilm*²⁹. It also links her to the unseen Allies and signals her complicity in the coming defeat of Iller, and the other returning *Landser*. In turning the family home into a female-dominated space of production she has supplanted the male role of production. Her dress-making has kept the family going, and she has a number of clients, as we see four or five finished dresses hanging behind her while she is making another. This twisting of the genre by Frau Iller will reduce Iller's opportunity for agency when the time comes for resolute action. Iller's opportunity for agency is further reduced as his wife removes his 'desert' clothes, his marks of

²⁹ The Singer sewing machine with its link to the Americans and the defeat of the *Landser* is seen in a number of films including *Und über uns der Himmel* and *Straßenbekanntschaft* both of which will be studied later in this dissertation.

experience, and dresses him in his old suit. She strips off his clothes, not in the bedroom, but on the shop floor of her new powerful trope-defying domain, her clothes factory.

The final key location for a Western is that of the saloon. Whilst *Irgendwo in Berlin* is set at the nexus between the desert and the townsfolk's fort, the saloon seems to be a little deeper towards the centre, where it will make a cameo, but critical, appearance in the film's narrative, hosting one of the film's showdowns. As with any saloon in a Western, it contains a bartender and saloon madame. The madame, will turn out to be the woman who lost the 900RM.

Villain, hero, schoolmarm

The first named character Lamprecht shows us is Waldemar. He is a thief and somehow a Fagin-like "false father" (Fisher, 2001, 107) figure who is the only one who can make any kind of real connection with the children. He hides his intentions from the children and adults, under a conventional suit. The Cuban heels of his shoes identify him as someone from across the border who, like Chihuahua and the half Indian saloon owners in *Stagecoach*, is someone that cannot be completely trusted. Waldemar is a dangerous man because he steals from the townsfolk and is at home with the Indians. The audience will see that he is only interested in pursuing his own interests and neither supports the collective spirit of the Indians nor the supportive structures of the townsfolk. His dangerous potential unfolds as he threatens the sanctity of Iller's home. Later in the film, Iller's failure to confront Waldemar will leave the latter unchallenged to become a renegade Old Shatterhand, leading one of the Indians off to a life of crime in the film's penultimate scene.

Iller, the film's apparent hero, is a returning POW with a "passive gaze" (Fisher, 2001, 111). He walks into the film as a man who has no past and who cannot compose his future. He is the great hope for the townsfolk and for his son Gustav. Iller is also the owner of a garage, which has been completely destroyed. Its reconstruction represents for his son and the townsfolk a return to civilisation, rationality and the re-establishment of male-dominated places of production. Iller's role

should be to lead the townsfolk on to reclaim the desert; to start to build a new future based on the male virtues of production, technology, progress and brick-built buildings. Unfortunately, he resolutely fails to live up to this expectation. He returns to the frontier with a stare which only seems fixed on some distant unknowable point and he seems to be “literally and symbolically always hungry” (Fisher, 2001, 106). This “hunger” should drive him on to feats of heroism and he certainly appears, at first glance, to be a classic hero in the model of John Wayne or Old Shatterhand. Yet, during his long walk through the canyonscapes, the camera pans back to show that, while his face may look experienced and brave, his clothes, ragged and torn, tell another story. He has potential as a leader and on his first appearance in the film he is as listless as Mertens in *Die Mörder* but he will have to rely on the moral encouragement and provocation that should be provided by his working wife, Frau Iller to see him fulfil his potential.

Iller’s wife, should fulfil the schoolmarm role. However, in the scene where Iller returns, she is seen accepting a present of onions from her neighbour, and Iller’s friend, Kahle. In contrast to Susanne in *Die Mörder*, Frau Iller is wearing a black blouse signalling, perhaps, her inner failure. She is one of the few characters seen working but the financial independence does not come without a cost: Gustav is allowed to run free and has become an Indian playing constantly in the canyon. She is not able to exercise any influence over him. In the Western trope, she should fulfil the schoolmarm role: upright, honest, hardworking and the character who will eventually provoke the hero into action but her black blouse and dress-making show that she will fail in her role as trope type.

The noble savages – The Indians

The feral boys, street-children, and pseudo-Indians are the key group of the film. Dressed in the fringed trousers of an Indian, carrying bows and arrows and led by a slightly older chief, *Der Kapitän*, the group of 10 to 12-year-old boys range far and wide across the canyonscape³⁰. They are bound together by bonds of friendship and honour, vowing never to leave each other “im Stich”. They are brave and the highest insult that can be thrown at one of the Indians is that he is a *Feigling*. To the townsfolk, they appear to be a lawless band but *Der Kapitän* drills them and trains them to be bold braves. Usually they are armed with bows and arrows and, like the Indian tribes of Hollywood, they are always trying to get hold of more modern and powerful munitions. A supply of fireworks obtained from Willi’s foster father is put to good use as the Indian’s additional materiel for their war games. This allows them to project their power across the desert to the fort, as rockets fire through the window of Eckmann’s flat on the edge of the town. It hits the picture that Eckmann is painting by burning a hole in it, underlining the impossibility of conquering the canyonscape without a strong male hero leading the townsfolk.

The fireworks are a direct threat to the townsfolk and they bring pressure on Gustav, who is the only Indian character we see with parents, to destroy the fireworks and stop attacking the homes of the townsfolk with them. The pressure on Gustav is successful and he refuses to play with the fireworks. This leads to accusations of him leaving Willi “im Stich” and of being a *Feigling*, which will have devastating effects on the cohesion of the group. Neither Willi nor Gustav are the leaders of the Indians. Both fulfil the role in an Indian Western of sitting between both groups - the townsfolk and the Indians. Gustav is the natural son of the Illers, he is yearning for his father to return and is vulnerable to the attentions of “false fathers” such as Waldemar and *Der Kapitän*. Willi has no family and is uncomfortably lodged with Frau Birke³¹. He is searching for acceptance first

³⁰ The subject of feral children is also a key element of the British Ealing Comedy ‘*Trümmerfilm*’ of the same era British director: Charles Crichton’s *Hue and Cry* (UK, 1947)

³¹ The issue of housing will be a feature of many *Trümmerfilme* and is a central point of Wolfgang Liebeneiner’s film *Liebe47* (Germany (West), 1949) which was based on Wilhelm Borchert’s short radio play *Draussen vor der*

from her and finally from the Indians. It is his desire for acceptance that will eventually lead to his own death and ultimately to Willi taking up the mantle that his father has singularly failed to pick up by starting the clearance of the garage and the building of the future. Gustav will become the leader and supplant his father.

The Western genre leads the audience to believe that the hero, Iller, will work through a number of showdowns to his filmic goal of building a new nation by clearing the desert away and opening his garage, thus transferring the seat of production from the flat to this new male-dominated site. Indeed, five key showdowns will expose the strengths and weaknesses of each protagonist's character.

First showdown: Waldemar v Frau Iller

The first showdown is between Waldemar and Frau Iller. While playing, Gustav has been tricked into inviting Waldemar in to his home so that his mother can repair Waldemar's jacket. Her independence and sewing has attracted the villain into the hero's home. Frau Iller tolerates him for Gustav's sake but indicates that her welcome is only provisional. Thus, a power struggle builds up between the two for domination of the space. Waldemar sees the opportunity not just for a bowl of soup but perhaps for a more permanent arrangement as the hero, Iller, has still not returned from the war. Frau Iller seems incapable of resisting Waldemar's advances and it is clear that, in the showdown for control of the space, Waldemar is winning. She is saved by the arrival of the *Kripo* who are looking for a consignment of fireworks, which the boys have obtained. This is the cue for Waldemar to yield to the police but not before hiding the wallet he stole under the dresser. He is the winner of this showdown and will be able to come and go as he pleases from the Iller family flat. Frau Iller has, on the other hand, shown that, by concentrating on financial independence, she has

Tür. The topic is also the centre of Roberto Rossellini's neo-realist Italian film *Germania Anno Zero* which was shot in Berlin with the assistance of DEFA.

become unable to successfully discipline Gustav and prevent him becoming feral on the streets of Berlin or to defend her place of production.

Second showdown: Iller v the toy

The flat is also the venue for the next showdown. This also takes place with Frau Iller and Gustav present, but it is staged between Iller and a toy. Iller has finally returned home from the POW camp. Frau Iller's removal of her husband's agency by removing his uniform and replacing it with his old pre-war suit allows her to dominate him in her own domain of the home. This reinforces her control of the feminized space of the flat and, thus, the Western paradigm is reversed. His scruffy clothes are the badge of his honour and travels, the lack of them weakens his character so that he is emasculated and unable to act. Iller then looks around the flat and he sees a tinsplate, armoured car sitting on the dresser, which appears to be Gustav's only toy. Gustav is proud of it pointing out "es kann richtig schießen". Iller picks up this representation of the war he has just fought, throws it to the ground and stamps on it until it is flattened. This could be described as a failed showdown with the past. Iller was not strong enough to resist the war in real life or control the peace that has followed after the removal of his "desert" clothes. The only showdown he can win is between him and a piece of crudely folded tinsplate. Frau Iller is only interested in feeding up her husband, so that he fits his suit and her purposes. From this point on Iller will have no ability for separate agency. He will not be able to influence the spaces around him.

Third showdown: Iller v the saloon madame

When Gustav bends down to pick up the remains of his toy, he finds the wallet, which was hidden by Waldemar. His father is resolved to return it to its owner and joint owner of the saloon, Frau Timmel, who fulfils the role of the film's saloon madame. In the classic Western, the hero would be very at home in the saloon and have agency in this feminized space. However, in this showdown, Iller will be defeated by the Timmels. Iller returns the wallet. However, instead of receiving a reward as he expected, he is chastised by the Timmels who claim that the wallet is 100RM short. Frau Timmel humiliates him in front of his son and accuses him of being a thief. Iller meekly submits to the upbraiding and withdraws from the fight. He has been defeated by the saloon woman. This failure and passivity becomes a pattern for Iller.

Fourth showdown: Iller v Waldemar

In all these cases, Frau Iller's role in provoking her husband to great deeds has been missing. She has neither chastised him for his passivity nor encouraged him to stand up for himself. It is clear that she is failing in her schoolmarm role to provoke Iller into action. The fourth showdown takes place when Waldemar exercises his perceived right to come and go from the flat. Frau Iller's domination of the space has weakened Iller's control and rendered the space vulnerable.

Waldemar breaks into the Illers' flat and finds, to his surprise, the "Care Packet" which Willi had purloined from his foster parents store of illicitly gained black market goods. As Waldemar finds that the wallet has gone and he helps himself to the goods from the "Care Packet". Gustav is at home and he launches himself at Waldemar. Gustav's fearlessness shows him again in the typical position of the Indian and he has no fear. When his parents return to the flat, Iller at first looks as if he will finally rise to the challenge of a showdown. Egged on by Frau Iller, he challenges Waldemar and is again humiliated by the fact that the goods are stolen and that Waldemar caught Gustav in

possession of them. Waldemar, despite his obvious criminal traits, uses the law, as Susanne does in *Die Mörder*, as a stick with which to beat Iller.

In the classic showdown trope, Iller and Waldemar would proceed to open ground and shoot it out. However, Gustav's father immediately backs down. He instead turns on his own son, chastising him. Iller's focus has changed and he becomes the man who cannot defend his family and can only defeat those, like his son, who are weaker than himself. Iller has lost the showdown with Waldemar, who flounces off out of the flat unchallenged. The position of Frau Iller in the altercation is important, her role should be to encourage Iller to defend their family and in doing so fulfil his role as leader of the 'decent folk' and calmer of the Indians. Yet, she fails to do so and her son suffers and, thus, the trope is perverted twice. Firstly, Iller is reduced to bullying his defenceless son rather than dealing with Waldemar. Secondly it will be Gustav and not Iller who rebuilds the family's garage allowing the son, not the father to civilise the desert.

The final showdown: Willi v *Der Kapitän*

Iller takes no part in the film's final showdown, but the discovery of the "Care Packet" causes the Iller family to return the goods to Willi's foster father who punishes Willi by throwing him out.

Eckmann, the artist, takes him in and says he can stay the night but must return to his foster family in the morning. It is ironic that the "brave Indian" can only find shelter in the single male-dominated residential space in the fort where Eckmann lives alone. He paints pictures of the ruins and, thus, allows his flat to become an *Ersatz* for the Indian-dominated desert spaces. *Der Kapitän*, who fires an arrow at him, challenges Willi. On the arrow is a message saying "Du hast mich feige Memme geschimpft. Bist selber eine Memme, wenn du nicht sofort kommst". In order to retain his position within the "tribe" Willi accepts the challenge sneaking away from Eckmann to join his challenger in the ruins.

This is the ultimate showdown between two braves, which replaces the “thwarted” hero-villain showdown caused by Iller’s disempowerment by his wife. This showdown between the two boys follow the classic pattern with the two protagonists exchanging insults with each other. The exchange results in Willi challenging *Der Kapitän* to climb the hugely ruined wall, which is shot in such a way as to make it tower above the surroundings in the same way that the buttes of Arizona tower above the desert. Willi proves his bravery by climbing the wall, while *Der Kapitän* declines the challenge. As Willi climbs higher the Indians start to encourage him to climb higher. This clamour brings the adults out and they are torn between their admiration of Willi’s bravery and his foolhardiness at climbing so high. Willi obtains the summit, winning the challenge, but in the moment of his triumph he falls and thumps to the ground, mortally wounded. He has won the showdown but at the cost of his life.

The power relationships of both groups, townsfolk and Indians, are irrevocably changed by Willi’s fall. It might be expected that Iller, as the returned soldier and healthiest man would take control of the situation and wait at Willi’s bedside as Old Shatterhand would for Winnetou until Willi’s health returns. But Iller, yet again, fails to meet trope expectations so that even this role is taken by one of the other ‘townsfolk’, the widow’s shell-shocked son who stands vigil over Willi. The accident has shaken Iller and he promises to rebuild the garage, although he makes no efforts to do so. He is still unable and unwilling to restore the male domination of the space. Willi expires and Iller’s potential power as a leader is permanently broken.

Final failure

The film's final scenes show Iller's subjugation to the Indians as a result of his failure to win the showdown with Waldemar. Waldemar slinks out of the area taking *Der Kapitän* with him as Gustav and the other Indians try to pelt him with stones, allowing Gustav to take the leadership of the Indians. Gustav fulfils the role abdicated by his father and arranges for the *ersatz*-Indians to begin the clearing of the garage and the nation's symbolic rebuilding. Iller is brought to the site of the garage and is greeted with the sight of the boys clearing the rubble under Gustav's command. Gustav, the "child Indian", has become the leader and has fulfilled Iller's role as creator of the nation. Iller has no choice but to enthusiastically join in but he is a broken character. He is no longer the leader having lost the power of agency when his wife undressed him. Iller's lack of agency has allowed Gustav, his son, to supplant him.

Showdowns lost and their implications

The film's tension gives us perhaps two readings of the ending. In the melodramatic, family oriented ending Iller has stripped off his coat and is rebuilding the garage. He has found himself and his calling. He will rebuild the garage and the nation will follow. The film ends on an upbeat ending. But, is this really the ending of the film? A closer analysis of the timelines of the endings and a review through the Western lens gives us another reading and a more sinister meaning. Who was it that led the clearing of the site, Iller or the young boys? It was clearly the young boys who began to clear the site and it was Iller that followed their lead, not the other way around.

In the Western, Iller would be expected to lead the clearing of the site and rebuilding of the garage as a place of production. Instead he followed not led. The 'Indians' took the lead and they remain in control not only of the desert but they are now colonising the town by occupying it and clearing it. He has failed to reach the expectations because he has lost agency to his wife and this has resulted in his own moral weakness. Moral weakness is not a barrier to heroism in the Western

and in many Westerns heroes start the film from a weak position but are provoked to greatness by the schoolmarm, such as in *My Darling Clementine*. In this case, however, the 'schoolmarm' has robbed Iller of agency by turning the flat into a feminized place of production and removing his 'desert' clothes. This has weakened him so that he is not able to stand up to the challenges he faces and can only bully those weaker than himself. In this respect he has become like Waldemar. Frau Iller has chosen Iller's clothes and is trying to make him in her own feminized image of masculinity. She fails in her trope task of provoking Iller to greatness because she was busy making dresses for other independent women around Berlin and so was too distracted to fulfil her principal role. Because of her lack of provocation, Iller, who entered the film so strongly, has failed to fulfil his destiny and to reclaim the desert. This leads not only to the Indians taking the primary role in the film and rebuilding the garage but also to Willi's death. Her independence has not only prevented Iller from clearing the desert but has also led to the waste of Germany's most precious resource, its children³².

³² Independent women will be criticised for causing the death of German children or of returned Soldiers in the post-war period in a number of *Trümmerfilme* including: Willi Forst's *Die Sünderin*, *Nachtwache*, *Und über uns der Himmel* and *Der Ruf*. These last three films will be discussed in the *Kriminalfilm* chapters later in this dissertation.

Und über uns der Himmel

Josef von Baky's 1947 film, *Und über uns der Himmel*, opens with a song and the film's titles projected against the sky that fills the screen. The song "*und über uns der Himmel*" will become a *Leitmotiv* for the whole film with its melancholic opening lines:

Es weht der Wind von Norden

Er weht uns hin und her.

Was ist aus uns geworden?

[...]Denn über uns der Himmel läßt uns nicht untergehen.³³

Like in *Irgendwo in Berlin*, the hero of *Und über uns der Himmel*, Hans Albers, enters the film by striding through a collapsed and desert-like landscape. He is dressed, like Iller, in his 'desert' clothes wearing a threadbare greatcoat and battered fedora. He appears to be a man of great experience. However, in contrast to Iller he appears to have a cheerful countenance but exclaims sadly in his first scene, "Ruine bis zum ersten Etage". The *mis-en-scène* is established: the hero is returning through the desert like landscape. He finds his own home battered but still standing. Our 'cowboy' hero approaches it and says "das war, mal, mein Schloß". He has made the fort, he removes his overcoat to reveal a leather jacket and proceeds to the fort's stables where he finds Florian his horse and his old stagecoach. Thus, the film has opened and von Baky has, through his use of rubble and place, set the film in an 'other' Berlin, the Berlin of the Western. He has transported us from the endless rubble to a place of big skies, large stories, canyons and destroyed buildings. It is a place where the Allies are present, through their signs in Russians and their Sector divisions but are not there in body.

³³ The words of the song are: "Es weht der Wind von Norden. Er weht uns hin und her. Was ist aus uns geworden? Ein Hüfchen Sand am Meer. Das Sturm jagt das Sandkorn weiter, dem unser Leben gleicht. Er fegt uns von der Leiter. Wir sind wie Staub so leicht. Was soll nun werden? Es muß doch weiter gehn! Noch bleibt ja Hoffnung für uns genug bestehn. Wir fangen alle von vorne an, weil dieses Dasein auch schön sein kann. Der Wind weht von allen Seiten. Wo laßen Wind doch wehn! Denn über uns der Himmel läßt uns nicht untergehn".

They are in the background but the law and order that they are supposed to bring is completely missing, leaving the city as a lawless place that needs a hero to tame it.

The film's director, Josef von Baky, and the leading man, Hans Albers, had already worked together on the fantastical 1943 classic of National Socialist film making, *Münchhausen. Und über uns der Himmel*, however, is set in the dilapidated present of post-war Berlin. Licensed by the American military authorities, the film tells the story of crane driver, Hans Richter's, return to Berlin. On reoccupying his flat he meets the widowed Edith Schröder who is struggling to bring up her young daughter in the hunger and ruins of Berlin. Hans is sweet on Edith and becomes involved in the black market as a way of obtaining more calories for her and her daughter. The apartment building resembles a fort with sturdy walls and a courtyard in the centre. Werner, Hans' son, returns from the war temporarily blind due to mental disturbance caused by shell-shock. Werner is upright and honest. When he regains his sight and sees the fine life his father is living as a black market baron, while "ordinary" Berliners work and starve in the rubble and he is deeply offended. Werner challenges his father. Hans Richter's re-integration takes place to the song, "und über uns der Himmel" with its yearning for stability and reconciliation while feeling blown hither and thither by recent experiences (Ritzel, 1998, 296). He rejects the black market in a witty showdown and returns to his old life as a crane driver.

Und über uns der Himmel – Literature review

At its core, the film is a "comedic, commercial, entertainment film" (Moeller, 2013, 265). Von Baky, in the first of his *Trümmerfilme* to be examined in this dissertation, uses the star qualities of his leading man, Hans Albers, to try and create a commercial success. The comedic centre does not, however, prevent the film touching Germany's 1940s present, and Oliver Speck sees the film as one where the hero has to learn to navigate and conquer a new space (Speck, 2010, 219), the "labyrinthine landscape of a destroyed city" (Speck, 2010, 216). The 'Hans' at the beginning of the

film is displaced by a new 'Hans' at the end of it, whereby the audience, especially the male members, are invited to "identify" (Speck, 2010, 219) themselves with the film's "gaze" object: film star, Hans Albers (*ibid.*). He argues that in the comparison of the 'failed' present and glitzy past the audience is able to begin their own *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Fisher, 2005, 470). While not directly alluded to by Fisher, his concentration on the *flaneur* gives an intertextual link to the National Socialist Westerns of *Der Kaiser von Kalifornien* where the hero is seen travelling through the wilderness of the west as an observer to reach his goal. The film shows a hero regaining his "moral bearings" (Speck, 2010a, 106), and it is in the flashbacks and shots of the present that we see the depth of the ruination that the hero must climb.

This seems to indicate an apparent cleanliness of the past and possibly also pokes fun at Allies attempts to de-Nazify Germany. This combination of the 'clean' and bustling past contrasted humorously with the ruined present did not necessarily indicate that the film would be universally accepted, however. *Der Spiegel* noted wearily when the film was released "schon wieder ein Trümmerfilm" (*Der Spiegel*, 50/1947) and *Neues Deutschland* set the film in the context of the youth of Germany being exploited by the older generation, explaining that Werner had returned to Germany "mit dem unbedingten Willen zu ehrlicher Arbeit" but his father believes that "diese Arbeit in heutiger Zeit nicht lohnend [ist]" (Dn, 1947).

Genre description

Like the DEFA *Trümmerfilme* so far reviewed, von Baky's 1947 film also exhibits a strong sense of hybridity. Its regular flashback structure to the busy streets of pre-1933 Berlin is identified by Fisher as tying it to the Weimar *Strassenfilm* (Fischer, 2005, 463). Hake describes the film as a "comedic commercial entertainment film in the classic style with Hans Albers [as its star]" (Hake, 2002, 225). Martina Moeller agrees bluntly simply calling the film a "comedy" (Moeller, 2013, 194). The film appears to be a comedy genre film with its lighthearted jokes, but it has also been described as a

“star” vehicle film (Shandley, 2001, 161) with Hans Albers, with his pedigree in National Socialist blockbusters. The character he plays, owes much of his humour and joie-de-vivre borrows to Albers’ earlier outings under National Socialism in von Baky’s UFA colour classic *Münchhausen* (Germany, 1943) and in Herbert Selpin’s *Wasser für Canitoga* (Germany, 1939).

Hake builds on these descriptions of the film’s genre by labelling it as a form of melodrama as well as a comedy where it “relies on the family problems and generational conflicts to work through the traumas of the nation” (Hake, 2002, 98). Thus, the relationship between the male and female protagonists, Hans Richter and the widow Edith, becomes the central engine to “reconstruct” (Shandley, 2001, 161) fractured post-war family relationships. Shandley makes an observation that the film is also a “fantasy” with “music” (Shandley, 2001, 162) linking the film to the musical genre, albeit a musical with just one song. Stephen Brockmann moves to claim that the film’s song, “und über uns der Himmel” is used in the film’s final sequence to explain its whole message (Brockmann, 2004, 251).

As the film’s “generational conflicts” (Sorlin, 1999, 104) play out it does so in a genre hybrid fashion. The film has been identified as being, as a comedy, a melodrama, part of a *Strassenfilm* movement and above all, a star film. As with the other films already surveyed this intense hybridity creates a complex film in which some of the messages are obscured by a sense of genre hybridity. The focusing of the discussion via the lens of the Western film, will remove the film’s genre tensions and bring a new meaning into sharp focus.

Und über uns der Himmel as a Western

The opening sequence hints at the Western genre in that it resembles the opening scenes of John Ford's 1946 Western, *My Darling Clementine*. The intertextual links from one Western to another are further reinforced through the introduction of the star, Hans Albers. On Albers' first appearance he is shown with his head in close up, wearing a fedora and a few days' growth of stubble. This may have immediately reminded the audience not of his recent collaboration with von Baky as Baron Münchhausen but of Albers' 1939 outing as Captain Oliver Montstuart, alias Bauingenieur Nicholzen, in Herbert Selpin's film *Wasser für Canitoga*. The link to Selpin's film is further reinforced when Richter returns home and sheds his bedraggled army greatcoat for a battered leather overcoat, which is very reminiscent of that which Albers wore in *Wasser für Canitoga*. This leather overcoat will also link him to the clothes worn by Old Shatterhand in Karl May's stories and marks him out as a capable man who is no "Greenhorn". He is thus presented as a strongly masculine character who, in a Western, typically brings civilisation and order to the desert. Thus, the reading of the film as a Western becomes inescapable. But the question remains: what sort of Western?

As the film develops, its characters, location and plot arc are strongly reminiscent of *My Darling Clementine*. This similarity to Ford's film marks the film as a "town tamer" story in which a stranger comes to an isolated provisional frontier town that has been taken over by gangsters and who is provoked to free the town from their pernicious influence (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, 25). The town is firmly isolated in the magnificent surrounding of the desert and under an endless sky which is intersected with monumental buttes. As in *My Darling*, the audience expects to see the film's hero slowly establish himself in the provisional town and to end the film in a deadly showdown with the villains. In despatching the villains, he will establish the primacy of the rule of law and will have established the moral boundaries of the nation. The visual intertextual connection with *Wasser für Canitoga* has a similar effect, where Montstuart had to correct the injustice caused by a criminal chief engineer. Thus, with the trope established, we can now examine the film's spaces.

Spaces

Before the audience sees Hans Richter's face, they see the ruins of Berlin. The ruins point in up to the sky, like the buttes of Arizona, and are a significant feature throughout the film. Later, the scene moves to a long shot of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in the Kurfürstendamm pointing accusingly into the sky. This composition gives a double meaning: one of accusation of the depths to which Germany has fallen, and also an intertextual link to *My Darling*. In Ford's film, the church bells have been erected on a scaffold, but the church itself is yet to be built. In von Baky's film, the church is present but unusable and inert. In both films, the civilisation that God and his masculinized infrastructure brings has not quite made it to the frontier.

Irgendwo in Berlin shows the famous rubblescape of Berlin's streets as a wide vista that is slowly being cleared by Berlin's women. The destroyed city resembles the Western prairie in its unproductivity and dangerous landscape. It offers no luxuries, no diversions, only struggle and toil. Women are shown abandoning their traditional roles in the home and are taking leading, trope-defying roles in working industrially to build a new Germany. Richter strolls through this female-controlled vista and appears to be the sole man in a sea of industriously working women who are clearing the rubble. Germany has become a feminized prairie with Berlin as its frontier town. However, the domination of the space illustrates the film's underlying confusion of the genre type.

Eventually, Richter meets with three old male friends who have declined to take part in the cultivation of the desert, simply concentrating on their own allotments to grow the occasional salad crop. They are indolent, leaving their businesses and companies to lie idle thus, ceding control of the scene to Berlin's women and allowing the wilderness to win in its battle against mankind. This indolence is emphasised by the factory chimneys, which stand behind the place where Richter meets his friends. The chimneys are cold and no smoke issues from them. These men are similar to Mertens and Iller in that they have no agency and in contrast, it is only Richter who shows any sign of potency, chiding his friends for their passivity, reminding them that the motivation of the present

should be to build a new future. Richter's friends remain passive for the majority of the film and will only be released to become cowboys again and after Richter has lost a key showdown with the schoolmarm character, Edith.

The ruins disappear very quickly from view in the film and we are presented with the film's fort. After Richter has returned from the war, he walks through the ruins and approaches a solid building, which is one of the few that are standing amongst the rubble. He looks up and says, "das war mal mein Schloß". The fort will serve as a refuge for the film's characters but it is a fallible fortress as it has not protected Richter, Edith and the other residents from the dust and rubble of the desert. The building is a classic Berlin apartment building. However, this very shape reinforces the impression of it being a fort. It is built square with a courtyard in the centre. In the middle of the courtyard there is a stable where Richter's horse is stabled and his stagecoach is stored. No reason is given for him having a horse and Western stagecoach in his possession, especially since his profession is given later in the film as crane driver. The stagecoach, which appears to be a *doppelgänger* for those seen in Westerns, creates a link between *Und über uns der Himmel* and the John Ford film, *Stagecoach*. In the latter film, the fort creates both a place of safety for the inhabitants and a trap from where they can be betrayed to the Indians. It is this place, with broken windows and suffering people, which Richter must protect and nurture. Every surface of the interior of the fort is covered in dust, acting as reminders of the characters' pasts: reminders of what has passed and where they actually are.

Within the fort there are three key spaces, which highlight the characters of the films principle figures. The first space is Richter's flat. When Richter has returned from the war, his flat is the same as the other flats within the fort. It is covered in desert dust and has broken windows and window frames. Against the wall, there is a piano, perhaps indicating a deeper sense of culture, but it is never played. In his first night in the flat following his return from the war, he looks around it, and, in one short scene, is framed by the broken window frame. This frame forms the outline of a

coffin shape, revealing that, for all his energy, he is spiritually dead and in need of being revived. Richter immediately shows that he is a hero of a different cut than Mertens and Iller as he decides to clear up the flat and bring order into the chaos of the internal desert. It is here that we meet the film's female protagonist, the widow, Edith. Her daughter comes and greets Richter with the cry "Pappi". The daughter has identified Richter as the father figure of the film, despite not knowing what a father is. Richter sets out to civilise the flat. Despite having the role of town-tamer, he can only initially tame the space of the flat, rather than that of Berlin. He achieves this civilisation by becoming a racketeer with the black market, which enables him to be able to redecorate and clean the flat up. The more that Richter civilises the flat, the more attractive he becomes - not only to Edith but also to the other young woman seen in the film, Mizzi. As his flat becomes cleaner and more elegant, the more the space becomes feminized, with glass in the windows, curtains on the frame and walls painted in pastel shades. With this feminization, Richter's clothes become more dandified, he exchanges his leather jacket - with the link to Mont Stuart - for a light coloured suit.

Richter's love interest, Edith, lives in the flat next to his. She is a widow with a young daughter. At the beginning of the film, her flat is similar to that of Richter's, dusty and poor but it is also occupied by a number of other women. Her flat, however, is not merely a home, it is also a place of production. Yet again, the humble Singer sewing machine is the vector by which this transformation from home to place of production is affected. Like Frau Iller, Edith uses her sewing machine to make dresses for the inhabitants of the flat. She will make the dress that Mizzi will wear when she abandons the flat for "irgendwo, wo ich aufatmen darf" at the film's saloon: the nightclub, Haiti. The film shows that the spaces that Richter and Edith occupy have been transformed. Richter lives in a feminized space as his flat becomes more dandified and Edith lives in a place of production. This relocation of the spaces becomes an indication of the powershift between the two. Edith will become the dominant of the two and, eventually, divert Richter from his task as town-tamer on the Western frontier.

The third key location is the flat of teacher Herr Heise and his wife. Their flat stands in for the respectable townsfolk who struggle against the poverty of the west, while attempting to retain their middleclass mores. Herr Heise is a teacher and their flat is, at first, also coated with dust. Its walls are covered in books, indicating their attachment to learning, and it is these books that the Heises consider selling in order to raise cash to purchase extra food on the black market. The Heises reject this easy option, preferring to attempt to sell other heirlooms like a small clock and the family linen. Herr Heise retains his honour as we see him fail to sell anything in the black market, while still wearing his spats but without socks. It is only the Heises that retain their honour throughout the film. They are poor and truly suffer, but their honesty and integrity will be repaid at the end of the film when Herr Heise is seen teaching children the Lord's Prayer once more and once more fulfilling his role as educator.

Each Western town needs a saloon and the Haiti nightclub, which acts as the centre for the local black market, takes this role. With its luxury and colour, the Haiti stands in contrast to the severe protection of the fort. Like all good Western saloons, and especially that of Tombstone, the saloon has a long bar against which all the key characters - Hans, Werner, Mizzi and the black-marketeers - will lean and discuss their deals. The long bar is also the place over which punches will be thrown and under which the barman will cower as brawls take place. The Haiti is portrayed as an unrighteous place – yet, it is not a unique space. It is simply separated from the general black market on the street by the scale of the deals, which take place in it. Spatially, the black market spills out from the Haiti in to every part of Berlin. The audience will see the depth of the corruption spewing forth through the city as they are treated to a tour of Berlin's black market spaces in the course of the film. There are no dancing girls in the Haiti but, in every other respect, it is a classic saloon – a feminized neutral space where the law and villain mix uneasily but freely.

Against this backdrop of the contrasting spaces of the fort and saloon spaces, we see an army of *Trümmerfrauen* toiling away in the ruins of Berlin. These women are bearing the burden of

reconstruction, but they are, for the most part, faceless. In clearing up the rubble, they are already disturbing the expected trope of the Western. It should be the men who build the city and the women who support. They are a mass of apparently independent women who have supplanted men and are building the new nation with their bare hands. These working women are thrown in to sharp relief by the film's two key female characters, Edith and Mizzi.

Schoolmarm, saloon girl, hero and the Clantons

The first key female character in the film is Edith Schröder, widow and mother. She is rarely seen outside the flat and appears to have control not only of her own flat but also, eventually, Richter's as well. In many respects, she appears to be the ideal schoolmarm figure. However, her claim to be the schoolmarm figure is undercut by her occupation as dressmaker. She has undermined the schoolmarm trope by the conversion of her home in to a place of production and this has given her an agency that Richter will not be able to resist. It is clear that Richter has great affection for her - in one of their early encounters he leaves a flower for her - there but there is no suggestion of a physical relationship between the two. Edith's morality appears to be strong but she is happy to accept Richter's black market extra rations and building materials without criticism and it is only when Werner enters the scene that she turns against Richter's occupation.

Mizzi fills the role of the saloon girl. She does not start that way but, egged on by Edith, who makes her first nightclub dress, and encouraged by Richter, Mizzi sees herself living the high life in the Haiti saloon. When Richter sees her in her dress, she cries that she just wants to go somewhere with tables that have tablecloths and where there is music and dancing. If Edith's sexuality is muted, Mizzi's is obvious. She is like Chihuahua in *My Darling* who is "explicitly erotic, sexually acting and not above a little infidelity" (Gallafent, 1996, 305). We see her sunbathing on a rubble roof with her boyfriend, Walter. He is bemoaning the fact that he cannot find work - since his papers are not in order, he does not officially exist - while she suns herself, opens her blouse to her belly button and

brushes her blonde hair. Walter cannot possess her as she is only interested in food, dancing and pleasure. We meet her again in Richter's flat where she is seductively sitting on a table waiting for him to come home.

Richter has brought a bag full of booty, including *Wurst*, chocolate and other things, which he places on the floor of his flat where it takes the shape of an engorged phallus from which his black market goods will spout. He lets Mizzi take a bite from the *Wurst* where the viewer is treated to an indication of Mizzi's inner thoughts as she bites in to its tip. She is slowly drawn into the world of the Saloon. For Richter's part, he acts as Montstuart does in *Wasser für Canitoga* with the dancing girls in the saloon. He steals an illicit full-mouthed kiss from Mizzi, smacks her on the bottom and sends her on her way. Despite her light-hearted attempt to seduce Richter in his kitchen for the black market goods he brings home, she becomes ever more drawn into the life of a saloon moll. She effectively becomes the property of the black-marketeers who use her in exchange for a meal and a dance. She assuages her conscience by occasionally bringing luxuries home, where she is described as having a "gutes Herz" for doing so. Even so, her new life of low-cut dresses and dancing will eventually lead not only to her downfall but also to the death of her boyfriend, Walter, who is unable to compete with her new friends for her affection.

In the Western trope, Richter appears to fulfil the Wyatt Earp role. He arrives in the town following a long journey. He is a man who not only knows how to get things done but is also an excellent horseman. When we first see him, we see him in a bedraggled state wearing an old great coat. However, the fact the hero is played by Hans Albers, ensures his *élan* becomes quickly obvious. As time passes, he echoes the progression of Earp and becomes more and more dandified. As Earp develops a taste for pomade and cologne at the barbers, Hans starts to wear silk shirts and handmade suits. The relationship between Hans and Werner follows a similar path to that of Earp and Doc Holiday: they try to avoid conflict where possible, but finally they are "zum handeln gezwungen" and realise that the injustice of the frontier needs to be addressed. When the final

showdown comes it will be Hans' finesse at driving a crane that brings the black-marketeers to justice rather than his skill at arms. Like Earp, Richter has to be provoked, traditionally by the schoolmarm, but it is Werner who provokes his father in to action. But it will be Edith who will eventually dispatch Richter. Werner is the man who, though blind, really sees things as they are. He is moral and upright, refusing to take part in the black market with his father.

The final group from the cavalcade of characters in the film is that of the villains. Ford's film has the Clantons and von Baky's has the black-marketeers with their hangout at the *ersatz* saloon, the Haiti club. The gang consists of four men, who are initially using Richter as a glorified 'mule', and one woman, who is a diamond dealer. As Richter becomes more integrated into this group he begins to resemble them. Yet he always retains his humanity and humour, which separates him from them. The black-marketeers are marked out as villains by the way they ostentatiously waste food in a time of hunger, dress in the finest clothes, while the citizens of Berlin are in rags, and always carry huge wads of cash on them. They have no morals and will use anyone and anything to make a dishonest percentage. The villains argue that they are only doing the same as the populace on a larger scale. But, while the population trade on the black market to survive selling a skein of cotton so that they can buy 100g of butter, the occupants of the Haiti are working on an industrial scale and have no compunction in taking little people like Mizzi or Werner and destroying them.

As the film is set along the lines of a Western, it will proceed through a series of showdowns, the first of which is that between the black market gang and Richter.

First showdown: Richter v the black-marketeers

Richter is sent by the gang to fetch a parcel from Bernau to the city. To do this, Richter has had to navigate across all four sectors of Berlin and into the Russian Zone proper. For this journey he has had to outwit the police and make sure that his horse, Florian, is looked after. It is because of his humour, guile and bravery that the “*Hamsterfahrt*” goods are brought back to the Haiti. In doing this with panache, Richter has already marked himself out as a different and more successful hero than both Iller and Mertens. He has returned from the war, vibrant and full of initiative, and this shows itself after the foraging trip. Von Baky sets up the first Western set piece move: that of a showdown at the saloon over the result of a poker game. The black-marketeers and Richter are in a backroom and they are negotiating Richter’s payment for the delivery of the goods. Von Baky has arranged them around a table, like card players. The point of the game is to deprive Richter of his rightful gain from his part in the deal. First they offer him a mere 100RM for his trouble, which he counters and demolishes their arguments. Eventually, the black-marketeers empty all the marks from their bulging wallets and Richter, the male hero, has dominated the space and walks away from this showdown the clear victor. Richter proves, yet again, that he is a different sort of hero - one that could easily outwit the villains and be a rightful hero to rebuild the nation.

Key showdown: Richter v Edith

Richter’s difference and agency will be punctured in the film’s key showdown, which occurs approximately two thirds of the way through the film. Edith appears to have been installed as Richter’s housekeeper. Her constant presence in the flat naturally feminizes it, and creates the impression that the two are man and wife, turning him from the lone hero to a *de-facto* married man and fulfilling John Wayne’s warning that married men cannot be cowboys. Furthermore, the *mis-en-scène* of the flat has changed. When we first see the flat, the surfaces are covered in dust, there is no glass in the windows, and there are no curtains. This dusty covering links it to the desert

outside and links it intertextually to Susanne's flat under Mertens' occupation in *Die Mörder*. By this subsequent point in the film, it has been gentrified and feminized. The dust has been swept away, the walls are repainted, there are curtains and there is glass in the windows. The desert and its links to the past have been removed. This dandification, however, has not been the result of Edith's agency but it is the result of Richter's own work. He has voluntarily given up the life of a cowboy, agency and ability to lead, in order to woo Edith.

Edith, Werner and Hans are at the table. Werner accuses his father of building up his new life on the backs of the poor through his work with the black market. Werner claims that his father is exploiting his neighbours. Hans counters by telling his son that his black market money paid for Werner's treatment and recovery in a Kudamm clinic. The verbal fight flows backwards and forwards with Werner accusing Hans of having "dreckige Hände" and Richter weakly countering that "die Zeit ist verrückt". With these weak words, Richter verbally overpowers his son and Werner storms out. But this fight between the film's two leading men is merely the preface to the actual showdown, which Richter will lose.

The fight looks like a high-scoring draw between two male characters and yet the final shot of the showdown has yet to be fired. Hans turns to Edith for support. She looks outraged at what Richter has said and quietly says "Ich kann ihren Sohn verstehen". She has fired a warning shot at Richter, indicating that she agrees with her son and signalling her intent to complete the feminization of the space. Richter can only counter with weak repetitions of the arguments he deployed with his son. Despite his skill in dealing with the black-marketeers and ability to evade the authorities while doing his tainted deals, he is unable to fire off a verbal salvo that has the ability to stop Edith in her domination of the space and ultimate feminization of this, previously, male space. As a hero and nation builder, he is mortally wounded and Edith then moves in to deliver a verbal *coup-de-grace*. She looks at him in his fine clothes and coldly comments that when they first met he

was a “good” man struggling through like everyone else. She then fires the kill-shot saying “damals [...] gefielen Sie mir besser” and, with these words storms, out of the flat.

The tables have been turned on Richter, his domination of the space is at an end. Despite voluntarily feminizing the flat to woo Edith, he has, up until this point, been able to dominate the space and keep control. Her short speech has delivered a kill-shot to his domination and she has in effect annexed the space. His role as the film’s town-tamer is over despite the showdown that is to come. His body lives but, as he admires himself in the flat’s coffin-shaped mirror, it is clear that he is spiritually mortally wounded. The coffin-shaped mirror reminds the audience of the wooden coffins used to bury the villains at the end of a Western. He has lost this showdown with Edith and she now controls his destiny. She has taken control of the space. The independent woman has defeated the hero.

Harbourside showdown: Richter v black-marketeers

Despite Edith winning the film’s key showdown, the fighting continues. Richter walks contemplatively through the ruins and it is clear that he is in turmoil. He comes to a decision and tells the black-marketeers that he is finished in the business. Werner arrives at the same time and yet again accuses Richter of moral delinquency. The black-marketeers proceed to attack Richter and his son. In this classic Western scene, the barman protects his precious glass from damage by removing it from the bar and then ducking down behind the bar. Richter uses his fists to escape, as the brawl surges around him. This is the incident that causes the barman to remove the glasses from the bar. The action then cuts to the harbour where Werner is at work in a crane cabin. The black-marketeers are robbing goods from the harbour. Richter has alerted the police who arrive in a fleet of police lorries to round up the gang. The gang’s ringleader uses the diversion caused by the police’s arrival to make good his escape and to jump on one of the barges, which has just cast off, in order to sail away to freedom. However, Hans is quicker and more adroit. He races up to the crane and takes

control of the levers, deftly manipulating them so that the ringleader is picked up in the crane's bucket and then unceremoniously dumped in the river. To add to the style of this showdown, Hans positions the bucket over the police lorry and deliberately soaks the policemen waiting below to arrest the gang's leader as he is deposited from the bucket. It appears that Richter has, as a result of the verbal mauling he received from Edith in her role as schoolmarm, regained his position as town-tamer. He has, after all, rejected the feminized finery and criminality of the Haiti and stood on the side of townsfolk. However, it is quickly seen that his hero status is forfeit.

Final showdown: The hero's defeat

Following the harbour showdown, the scene returns the domestic, feminized scene of Richter's flat. Edith appears to be permanently installed and the coffin-shaped mirror remains in place. Richter's clothing has changed, instead of his fine suit he is once more wearing the leather jacket in which we saw him in the film's first scenes. This jacket superficially links him with his role as Mountstuart in *Wasser für Canitoga*. However, it is implied that Richter and Edith will soon be wed and that his contribution to the rebuilding of Germany will not be as a loner who survives on his wit, elan and panache but as a member of the townsfolk. His defeat is complete he is no longer a cowboy, indeed his fall has been greater than that of Mertens or Iller. Both these men began their respective films as broken men who should have been motivated by the schoolmarm figure to achieve greatness. In contrast to these broken heroes, Richter started the film as a hero and his stature only grew throughout the film. He has been domesticated and can only make the contribution of a drone, rather than a hero. Richter will no longer fulfil the words of the theme tune and continually "von vorne anfangen". Edith has grasped control of Hans' life and deprived the nation of the bold upright hero in its hour of need.

Showdowns lost and their implications

Richter is a different kind of hero to the DEFA heroes of *Die Mörder* or *Irgendwo in Berlin*. Perhaps with Hans Albers playing the key role, it cannot be otherwise. In one reading the film is a star comedy with Albers at the centre. The tensions of this approach are visible at the end of the film. True, Richter defeats the racketeers and dunks their leader in the river. Showing commendable *joie-du-vivre* he then soaks the police who are racing to arrest the racketeers. He does this with a smile and in doing so he is reconciled with Edith and returned to domestic bliss. But it is in this returning to domestic bliss that the star film ending fails.

Through the genre lens of the Western, it can be noted however that the film appears to follow the story arc of a town-tamer Western closely. Richter, the man with an uncertain past, arrives from the desert at the fort. He has to establish himself with the town-dwellers and become their law-giver. He is the Wyatt Earp figure who is “zum Handeln gezwungen” and who eventually gives up the finery of the saloon to take on the villains in the final showdown. The clues to Richter’s failure and the diversion from genre type are visible throughout the film and show themselves in Richter’s flat. Because of his desire for Edith he has feminized his own environment. She is moved into his masculinized space and the desert space is transformed into a domestic space. Richter abandons his leather jacket and becomes one half of a ‘married’ couple. Instead of motivating Richter to great deeds of heroism, she has encouraged him to surrender his agency by voluntarily transforming his flat into a feminized space. The fine clothes he wears are yet another sign of his loss of agency, as they are in *Irgendwo in Berlin*. His finery hides his defeat and his death as a hero is only hinted at when the audience see him examining himself in the coffin-shaped mirror.

His defeat is not at the hands of the quasi-Clantons, the black-marketeers, but at the hands of the woman whom he loves. His love of Edith and the feminization of his space in the fort restrict his ability to *Handeln* and to have the freedom to move on to other towns and defeat other gangs. Edith uses his love of her as a weapon against him. Once the space of the flat has been feminized,

she is able to metaphorically shackle him to the kitchen table with one small phrase “damals [...] gefielen Sie mir besser”. With these few words, the hero will become a ‘domesticated poodle’ weakly driving a crane as a member of the faceless townsfolk rather than, at the end of the film: abandoning her, moving on and rescuing other towns from the new ‘quasi-Clantons’.

As a crane driver, Richter will be fulfilling an important role in the distribution of food and goods for the population of the new Germany. He will be married and a step-father to Edith’s daughter. He is not, however, fulfilling his potential as a town-tamer. The townsfolk in a Western are anonymous for a reason, they are doing mundane jobs and they need a true hero - a town-tamer who can truly civilise the frontier and ensure that the nation is built on heroic values. However, Richter, potential town-tamer has been tamed. The values of “courage, energy, toughness, [the] willingness to act and decisiveness” (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 21) have been rejected and will be lost to the nation. Germany has been robbed of a flamboyant town-tamer. We cannot predict what the effect of this loss of a hero will be. However, Edith has ensured, on behalf of the absent Allies, that German men will not be able to forge a new creative and flamboyant nation. At a time when Germany needs resourceful men who will play the black-marketeers at their own game bringing justice to the defeated nation, Richter, the town-tamer, has been domesticated, settled and defeated. He is no longer free to build the nation and fight evil. He cannot move on. He is defeated by the woman he loves. In the words of John Wayne, he is no longer a cowboy.

Nachtwache

A train is travelling across the prairie somewhere in Germany. A man is sitting on the train's open balcony vestibule above the buffers in a dark suit³⁴. It is not possible to tell where he has come from or where he is going. Despite his serious attire, he smiles at a small child sitting next to him. It appears that he is her father. This family unit looks incomplete, missing as it does a mother. This fact seems to be emphasised by the father attempting to find ways to entertain, Lotte, the little girl. The man attaches a note to a piece of string and lets it flutter past the open windows until a beautiful woman notices it. Dressed in white, she puts her hand out to pull the note in. On the note, she reads words "ich heie Lotte. Wie heit Du?" The woman smiles and replies that her name is Cornelia and that she is 100 years old. Lotte reels the note in and her father then writes a reply "bist Du allein?"

Thus far, we have looked at three different *Trmmerfilme* that reference three different types of Western trope: the vengeance trope, Indian film trope, and town-tamer trope. In each film, we have examined the expected outcomes and the implications for Germany of the frustration of those outcomes. In the final film of this section, we again approach the town-tamer trope, but one where the battle between the male and female characters is the central theme of the film and where the outcome will have grave consequences not only for Germany's men but also its children.

Harald Braun's 1949 film, *Nachtwache*, opens with this attempt at communication between the generations and genders. Both parties are attempting to reach out across the wide prairie so that they would no longer be "allein". But what begins, as a love story will turn into a battle for faith between Heger, the man in the dark suit, and Cornelia, the beautiful woman on the train. The film will set the two genders against each other, with each attempting to struggle for dominance over the space of the hospital where they both work. Cornelia is already marked out as a different sort of

³⁴ The vision of Germans clambering on trains and travelling from the city to the prairie is also seen in Rudolf Jugert's 1948 film *Film ohne Titel*, and Gustav Frhlich's 1948 *Wege im Zwielicht* and Hans Mller's 1947 *Und finden dereinst wir uns wieder...*

heroine to that of the previous films as she is educated, middle class and obviously holds a leadership role at the hospital. In *My Darling Clementine*, the doctor is a male and the Clantons are also male. Heger is also a different sort of hero. He will become the film's town-tamer but he does not need to be provoked to do this, his role as the hospital's chaplain has already pushed him in to a position of leadership. He too is educated and motivated right from the beginning of the film. In addition to these transgressions of the basic trope, we also see that, while Cornelie has a leadership role, Heger is also undertaking a nurturing role raising his daughter following the death of his wife.

Both Heger and Cornelie work at the same hospital in the small German town of Burgdorf. Heger is the hospital's chaplain and Cornelie is its head doctor. Their back-stories should bring them together: Heger's wife was killed in a bombing raid, leaving Lotte without a mother, and Cornelie's daughter was, similarly, killed in one of the last bombing raids of the war. This potential natural bond is tested by Heger's and Cornelie's religious differences, which will eventually tear them apart as they clash in a series of showdowns. The later showdowns are made particularly bitter by the reappearance of Cornelie's former lover, ex-*Luftwaffe* pilot and father of her lost child, Gorgas. The clash between Gorgas, Cornelie and Heger will eventually lead to the death of both Lotte and Gorgas with Cornelie finally fleeing Burgdorf for good³⁵.

³⁵ This description of the ending is based on the print of the film watched at the *Deutsche Kinemathek*, Potsdamer Platz, Jan 2014. The description of the film quoted in *Filmportal.de* (http://www.filmportal.de/film/nachtwache_c2c203ce98ef4cb6a9ab5b7c0be88e8e) for this film gives the film a different ending and, I believe, is based on a reading of the book of the same name, published by Braun in 1950. The film is not commercially available and I suspect that the review in *Filmportal.de* has been based on either a reading of the book or a review of the book. I adopt the ending based on the film seen in *Deutsche Kinemathek* as the definitive version.

Nachtwache – Literature review

The film has been reviewed as being “told calmly and later more vividly” (Seiden, 1951, 258) because of the central character Heger having such a positive outlook. It has also been argued that it does not seem to “fit into the frustrated post-war era of Germany” (Seiden, 1951, 258) as a result of the dynamism of the two central characters. The film describes “eine Gessellschaft im Aufbruch, die sich von der finsternen Vergangenheit lösen will” (Schütz, 2013, 355). It is one where the options open to Germany are described in religious terms - either “ein Leben ohne christliche Ausrichtung” or a “geregelt[es] Leben in Orden der Diakonissen” (*ibid.*). The benefits of the latter are shown to be “Sicherheit” (*ibid.*). Erhard Schütz hints at the transgression of the Western trope when he notes that it is Cornelia, not Heger that is “traumatisiert” (Schütz, 2013, 354) by her war experiences. This hints at a 180-degree switch where it is Heger who will fulfil the role of the schoolmarm and Cornelia that of the Western hero. In the face of a nation steeped in the guilt of National Socialism. The contemporary West German press praised the film for its religious motifs and the pious hope that the Evangelical and Catholic churches could work together in future (*Der Spiegel*, 14/1949).

The FSK described the film as being licensed for, general release, viewing by under 16s and “Zur vorführung am Karfreitag, Buß- und Betttag, Allerseelen und Totensonntag freigegeben”. In addition to these permissions, the film was described as being “kulturell wertvoll” and “künstlerisch wertvoll” (*Arbeitsausschuß der FSK: Jugendentscheid*, 1949d). The description of “wertvoll” caused howls of derision from *Neues Deutschland* because Gorgas, the father of Cornelia’s lost child, is a former *Luftwaffe* pilot. They reviewed the film as “künstlerisch wertvoll für den nächsten Bombenkrieg”. It seems that the East German newspaper could not stomach the fact that the audience was expected to have any sympathy for Gorgas, the former *Luftwaffe* pilot, who probably also had the blood of dead English and Russian children on his hands (Winzer, 1950).

Genre description

When viewed in genre terms, this film is clearly identified as a “religious film” (Moeller, 2013, 266) by a number of reviewers. Martina Moeller continues in her description of the film as one in which “Braun, as the son of a pastor, proposes to resolve the existential crisis in the post-war period by propagandising blind trust in God” (*ibid.*). She does not, however, confine her considerations to that of a “religious film” she also continues by describing the film as one in which that its “classic style and narration are strongly reminiscent of the filmic patterns under National Socialism [i.e. Melodrama]” (*ibid.*).

In addition to the review as a religious film by Moeller, Carola Schiefke claims that “Braun auf der Suche nach einem neuen Konzept des “religiösen Films” [war]” (Schiefke, 2013, 353). Ann C. Paietta confirms this by saying “this film’s theme is about a Protestant pastor and a Catholic Priest, both struggling to retain their faith’ (Paietta, 2005, 586). These reviewers have concentrated on the religious aspects of this film and few have concentrated on the fact that at the heart of the film there is a love story where “a disillusioned doctor whose spirituality is reawakened by a chaplain” (Bock, 2009, 60).

This film shows a much lower level of hybridity as it only manages to be a *Trümmerfilm*, religious film and with only a hint of melodrama at the same time. As a religious film we would expect that the righteous pastor at the centre of the film and his God will be triumphant. The film will show that God’s power and majesty are greater than those of the air. The pastor will save the woman at the centre of the film and redeem the town. It is necessary, however to look at this film through another genre, that of the Western, to understand why this does not happen and the pastor fails in his mission.

Nachtwache as a Western

The transport of the main characters to the prairies of Germany and Heger's role as the man attempting to impose religious order on the hospital and the town of Burgdorf marks the film out as a town-tamer story (Kiefer, Grob, Stiglegger, 2006, 25). However, the fact that he has to care for his daughter gives him a nurturing role which is in contrast the normal town-tamer trope, where the hero normally only has to "die Stadt befriedigen" (*ibid.*). This contrast already marks Heger as a different kind of hero. He arrives as a stranger to the hospital that has been without strong religious leadership. The wild parties and licentiousness of the nurses threaten the order of the hospital as will Gorgas' open-air theatre. Someone has to take a stand. The expectation of this trope is that Heger has to face a number of showdowns until he is finally victorious, win the girl and then leaves.

Unlike in the other *Trümmerfilme* discussed so far in this chapter, Burgdorf where the action takes place only shows evidence of minimal war damage. Despite this, it seems to be a long way from civilisation. Heger, Lotte and Cornelia have to take a long train journey through the prairie to get there. They appear to have been sent from some point of civilisation to bring their professional expertise there.

Spaces

The town's name, Burgdorf, is significant, indicating not only a sense of being a fort, surrounded by danger but also hinting at Psalm 46 and Luther's hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*. Burgdorf is far from being a place of God's peace with its lawless fun fair, street presentation of Faust, chaplain-less hospital and corrupt officials. In fact, it is represented as a place where God's servant must succeed or be humbled. As in John Ford's *Tombstone*, there is already a sheriff: the Catholic Chaplain, who however is ineffectual and therefore it is up to Heger to bring religious order to the town.

Heger lives in a flat-cum-office in the hospital building. This masculine space is at the heart of the feminized space run by Cornelia and her nurses. He has a piano in his flat, which he regularly plays for his grieving daughter. The sound of the piano becomes a *Leitmotiv* for his civilisation and her refinement, which is occasionally drowned out by the noise of wild swing music emanating from Cornelia's rooms. It is not clear where her rooms are but, from the spatial positioning of some of the action, it is implied that they are immediately beneath Heger's flat. Therefore, we immediately see the location of the key Western elements in the hospital: the town-tamer's flat acting as the sheriff's office and court from where wisdom, justice and education are dispensed. Immediately below is the saloon, from which raucous music flows. The nurses, fulfilling the roles of the saloon girls, gobble precious chocolates and play swing music - with all its implications of immorality. Furthermore, the nurses are dancing with each other. There appear to be no men in the saloon, which, in addition to the American music and dancing, implies their rejection of 'good' German men. The juxtaposition of these two spaces gives a strong sense of spatial contestation between the severe sheriff's gaol and the saloon that is full of swing music - loving, independent women.

The hospital is not the only place of spatial contestation. In addition, we have the centre of Burgdorf itself. The town has a central square where the war-damaged main church is situated. In better times, the church would have dominated the town. However, in these difficult times, a funfair and a travelling theatre physically squeeze the space and the church's dominance. These crowd the church square, which is damaged but remains standing. Its spire has gaping holes and there is still much restoration work to be done. The fair and theatre, on the other hand, are loud, garish and vibrant. The funfair creates an intertextual link back to the madness and depravity of Robert Weine's *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (Germany, 1920). While, seemingly innocent with its swing boats and roundabouts, it appears to dominate the square and it will be the place of Lotte's mortal injury. The theatre is an open-air stage surrounded by garish paintings and depictions of scenes from the play, Goethe's *Faust*, which points to man's susceptibility to the devil's temptations of self-advancement. The theatre is also the vector, that has delivered Gorgas to the town. It is Gorgas who destroys any

chance of a loving relationship developing between Heger and Corneilie, eventually causing the death of Heger's only child.

Thus Heger's office, Cornelia's flat and the town square seem to be at war with each other for domination. Heger's flat; as sheriff's office or court is in opposition with Cornelia's saloon and the church is struggling to hold on to its dominant position in the town in the face of frivolous entertainment.

Hero, schoolmarm and villain

Heger is the town's tamer. He has been sent from a centre of civilisation to bring order to the hospital and to Burgdorf. Like all Western heroes and the returning *Landser* in the post-war period, he arrives without a past but he shares the deprivation of the people. He is dressed soberly wearing his town-tamer's fedora and we only see him in clerical dress when he is performing his religious duties. Heger is a gunman who does not, ordinarily, need to carry his weapon, in this case his cross, to quell the town. He has an innocent side-kick who acts as his inspiration and motivation: Lotte who suffered a terrible bereavement in the loss of her mother. Despite Heger's nurturing role, it is in fact Lotte who has been allotted the role of schoolmarm and Heger's inspiration. He is also surrounded by a posse of support characters who look to him for leadership and who defend him to the hilt. The first of these is the chief nurse who acts as Heger's henchman in the hospital, upbraiding Cornelia and keeping the nurses in order. His right-hand man is the Catholic chaplain, Kaplan von Imhoff, who is defeated and demoralised saying when he first meets Heger, "Die Türen sind zu". To which Heger replies "die Pastoren sind immer draußen". Heger is an outsider and this only emphasises his Western connections.

Characters: Cornelia and the Clantons

Cornelia is Heger's opponent and, with the flighty nurses, forms a female Clanton gang. She arrives in Burgdorf wearing a dress, which is similar to that worn by Hildegard Knef in *Die Mörder sind unter uns*. This dress, however, gives us only an indication of what she could become if she submits to Heger's gentle flirting. She is hardened by the loss of her daughter, saying to Heger that "ich kann nicht beten" and refusing to accept that "Gott weiß, das was er tut". She is happy to be "allein" and feels free to use her flat in the hospital as a female-only saloon. She rejects all men including Heger and the father of her dead child, Gorgas. After the war, Gorgas sought the freedom of being an actor over the religious duties of becoming a priest. Although, during the war both Cornelia and Gorgas held strong religious views. He has brought the theatre to Burgdorf as he hopes to affect a reconciliation with Cornelia. He is constantly dressed in a leather overcoat, which is reminiscent of those worn by secret policemen of the National Socialist era. He is a sinister spiritual sidekick for Cornelia.

Once again, we see the binary relationship of the Western at work in this film: Heger has his religious posse of priests and nurses while Cornelia has her gang of villains, made up of saloon girl nurses and actors. To tame the town, Heger must overcome Cornelia's gang and allow his inspiration, Lotte, and by implication the children of the new Germany, to grow into the woman she should become in a safe and moral environment. The two groups battle it out in a series of showdowns and at the end of the film, only one group will be left standing.

First Showdown: Cornelia v the head nurse

The first showdown takes place against a background where Cornelia has already demanded to know of her fellow medical staff why the hospital needs a chaplain at all. Heger is in his masculinized sheriff's office flat, trying to work as swing music wafts up to his desk from the feminized space of Cornelia's flat. It is impossible for him to concentrate and he goes down to Cornelia's rooms to ask her to turn the music down. The two sides, male and female, face each other down: Heger and his posse, consisting of the head nurse on one side and Cornelia supported by the saloon girls on the other. It is not Heger who shoots first, but his posse. The head nurse spits that the nurses have no right to take such pleasures and that they should dedicate themselves to "Demut vor Gott, dienst für die Anderen und Verzicht auf sich selbst", to which Cornelia replies "denkst du dass eine Frau ganz ohne Freude leben kann?" Cornelia has quickly disarmed the head nurse by the use of the familiar form to speak to her rather than treating her with the respect and the *Sie* she deserves. The head nurse, thus disarmed, can only retort ironically "Sind Sie glücklich?" The head nurse's contempt for Cornelia in replying to her *du* with a *Sie* fails and the head nurse, humiliated, storms out.

Second showdown: Cornelia v Heger

The next showdown is between Heger and Cornelia directly. Heger is in his flat, playing the piano with Lotte. They are both singing a hymn when Cornelia enters the flat and begins to question the basis of Heger's faith. She explains that her only daughter was killed in an air raid and since then she can no longer pray. There is an implication that she may have had faith but this was destroyed on the death of her daughter. Heger tries to explain but Cornelia can only reply that he must have "Angst" and that he is wrong. To this Heger answers weakly that "Gott weiß was er tut". As happened between Mertens and Susanne in *Die Mörder*, the male gun-slinger is not able to contest the logic of the leading lady. He is reduced to falling back on God rather than being able to refute

Cornelie directly. This failure leads eventually, to the final confrontation and the collapse of his ambition to tame the town.

Third showdown: Gorgas v Cornelie v Heger

Gorgas is desperate to win Cornelie back but is as determined as her that he will have nothing to do with God. Gorgas arrives unexpectedly at von Imhoff's home and they talk about the war and the way their lives have been lived since the war. Gorgas is offered a cigar and he blows the smoke over a statue of the child Jesus in von Imhoff's office. He says "hat die Entscheidung getroffen, an nichts mehr zu glauben". The die is cast; he has set his face against all that Heger believes and will be enraged to discover that Heger is slowly winning round the mother of his child. Gorgas sets out to meet Cornelie at her office. There she tells him for the first time that their daughter is dead and that she wants nothing more to do with him. She tells him that their affair was nothing more than a wartime fling and is over. Gorgas cannot accept this and pleads, "du bist noch da [...] wir waren doch glücklich. Waren wir doch?" The question hangs in the air and Cornelie refuses to reassure him. She tells him that all she wants is peace and to be left alone. Gorgas retorts that she cannot hide herself in a bunker and that if they faced the death of their child together that would be a start. Coldly, Cornelie reiterates the fact that their relationship is over by saying "Ich liebe dich nicht". Gorgas storms out of her office, locking her in and turning the gramophone on and turning the volume up to its loudest in order to drown out the sound of the nuns singing. There is an aural showdown between the crazy swing music pouring out of the gramophone and the nuns' voices.

This tension is only resolved by Heger arriving and confronting Gorgas with the words, "Also dass war ein Stück Theater". Heger has won this showdown but has teed up the next one. This takes place between Heger and the head nurse. As a result of the cacophony pouring out of the gramophone's speaker, Cornelie is forced to explain who Gorgas is and that she fell pregnant by him during the war. The head nurse begins to upbraid Cornelie for the example that this has set to the

hospital's nurses. Instead of Heger agreeing with his posse, he steps into defend Cornelie. She tells Heger that she has decided to leave the hospital but he says to her "Bleiben Sie hier bei mir". To which she replies "Sind Sie ein Christ?" Heger parries "Ich will Einer werden". Thus, with the questions of faith slowly resolving themselves and with Heger beginning to defend her, we see that the pair are slowly drawing together. This relationship could resolve the film with Lotte, at last, gaining a mother, Cornelie gaining a daughter and giving Heger a wife. Yet, this will prove not to be the case as the rejected Gorgas begins to perceive that Heger is responsible for his rejection and he determines to defeat his rival through a form of asymmetric showdown.

Asymmetric showdown: Heger v Gorgas

Gorgas' asymmetric showdown with Heger takes place in the next scene. Heger is leading a service and Lotte is in attendance but bored. She slips out of the service and is found by Gorgas outside the church, where she is looking longingly at the funfair's swing boats. Heger had previously not allowed her to have a ride on them but Gorgas sees the chance to spend time with a proxy for his lost daughter and to find a way of possibly using Lotte to confront Heger. He pays for her to go on the swing boats and he makes them swing higher and higher and higher until Lotte is thrown from the swing boat and hits the hard cobbles below. It appears that Gorgas' intention was merely to terrify Lotte and send her home to her father, crying. Thereby, showing that Heger and his dreams lie within his power. Unfortunately, this attempt at terrorising Heger has backfired and he has mortally injured Heger's daughter. All the while that this asymmetric showdown is taking place, Heger is unaware that his daughter is missing and continues the service leading it with the words "Der Herr segne uns und behüte uns". In this respect, the Lord has failed to bless or protect Lotte who has fallen victim to Gorgas' asymmetric rage. Lotte is unconscious and is rushed to the hospital where the doctors prepare to operate on her brain. Heger is informed of his daughter's injury and rushes to the hospital, while Gorgas is consumed with guilt over his evil deed. Gorgas' attack on Heger appears to have worked. Heger is unable to pray while his daughter is undergoing surgery. The accident

happened in the afternoon and Gorgas is forced to appear later in his play at the open-air theatre. The pressure and the guilt build up in him and, just as his parallel character in the play suffers from satanic torment for the actions he is playing, we see Gorgas' features become distended and dull because of his own torment. He has lost his own daughter and robbed another good man of his daughter. At the moment when death appears in the play uttering the word "Abrechnung", Lotte dies.

Gorgas is forced by the word, "Abrechnung", to take part in a final series of showdowns but this time directly with Heger. He comes to see Heger and explains that the war has led him to believe in the philosophy "sterben und sterben lassen" instead of the more common "leben und leben lassen". He declares that Heger had become his enemy by taking Cornelia from him and therefore deserved judgement. The two men face each other inside the bell tower of the church in another showdown, looking out through the hole caused by wartime bomb damage. Heger has the opportunity to push Gorgas out of the tower, but he declines. He merely states that "ich Ihnen nicht helfen [kann]" and steps aside as Gorgas jumps from the tower to kill himself. Heger returns to his flat where he plays the piano alone and mournfully sings the hymn that he used to sing with Lotte. Cornelia waits outside the flat but cannot go in. Heger is surrounded by von Imhoff and the nuns and Cornelia states that he "braucht mich nicht" and leaves. The showdowns have taken place and the honours are even with a member of Cornelia's gang, Gorgas, and a member of Heger's holy posse, Lotte, dead. Gorgas, the twisted war hero, lies at the bottom of the tower and Lotte has died because of his actions. The cause of this conflict, however, remains. Cornelia is free to leave the hospital and carry her poison to other places. Heger is a broken man and is left leading the next children's service knowing that he was not able to protect the person that was most precious to him, his daughter.

Showdowns lost and their implications

As a religious film we would expect that Heger would be able to claim the hospital, town and finally Cornelia for God. His daughter would live and she would be adopted by Cornelia, who would then come to terms with her own loss through love of Heger's child. Heger's hospital would be a place where not only people's health would be restored, but their faith would be restored as well. This is patently not what happens, Heger's child is killed, Cornelia flees the hospital and town, while Heger is tied to the ineffective Catholic chaplain in uselessness.

Cornelia's independence as a working doctor and rejection of God, her desire to be merely happy at the cost of doing her duty and her rejection of the father of her child, who by the pious law of the town she should have married, has led to a significant disruption of the Western type. The town-tamer has been defeated and was unable to defend either the town from Cornelia's influence or protect his daughter from death. The father of her child and her rightful husband has been killed and denied the opportunity either to continue to woo her or to build a new life in the pacified Burgdorf. This reading of the film leads to the conclusion that Cornelia can only be condemned for her independence. This independence has led to the new nation's women being led astray, the weakening of the town-tamer's authority and the loss of its most precious resources: its young men and innocent children. The film makes clear that Cornelia's independence has caused her to reject God and has caused the death of Lotte. She has defeated the hero and she is guilty.

Chapter conclusion

The analysis of these *Trümmerfilme* has shown that when they are reviewed through a Western lens these films end in a way that contradicts the viewer's genre expectations. In each film, a Western ending is forestalled because of the intervention of the female lead, usually fulfilling a schoolmarm role, and her influence on the leading male character. In doing, this she inflicts a second defeat on the male character and by implication on German manhood.

These films make up a significant part of the whole *Trümmerfilm* corpus and reflect a range of Western scenarios: town-tamer, vengeance, and Indian films. The implications of these Western scenarios is that the directors clearly indicate that the new Germany has scores to settle with itself and that the returned soldiers have a pivotal role in building up a new heroic pioneer nation. The hero should build a new "clean" nation from the desert. The women, who had been expressing their independence during the war, have allowed the children to run wild and they also need strong leadership to be brought under control. Directors have identified that the new nation faces immense problems and their films coalesce around an impression that that the new nation's development will be stifled by strong, independent women who have undermined and emasculated the upright and worthy men who should build a new nation. This inflicts a second defeat on the nation's men.

This can be seen when the films are compared. Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns* can be read as a Western vengeance trope film which was emasculated at the start by the Soviet occupying authorities. The hero, Mertens, is a man with a past but who has morally redeemed himself to become the worthy executioner of the war criminal Brückner. The Western genre leads to the expectation of a showdown and shoot-out in the final scene, but is "thwarted" and forbidden by Susanne. She has shown her independence by going back to work as a graphic artist, caring more for the creation of slogans than fulfilling the role of motivator of her man. She defeats him in the key battle for space in their first scene together and from that point on, as she turns the flat in to a place of production, he loses agency and the ability to fulfil his trope type. As a result, Mertens is unable to

fulfil the genre expectations of the vengeance trope and kill Brückner because of the intervention of this independent working woman. The intervention by the Soviets at the film's inception has led to a pattern being created and this pattern is similarly seen in the subsequent *Trümmerfilme*.

It is possible to read Lamprecht's *Irgendwo in Berlin* as an Indian film of the Western genre. The audience might expect our hero to be able to quell the Indians and to take them in charge, slowly civilising them after being provoked by his schoolmarm woman. In this film, however, Frau Iller is shown as an industrious working woman sewing dresses for other women. She has used her skills, while sitting behind her American sewing machine, to become financially independent. She has dominated the space, again by turning it in to a place of production and again robbing the male protagonist of agency. This concentration on work leads her to neglect her son and to fail to provoke Iller's hackles against the Indians and the 'other' Waldemar. This lack of provocation not only causes Iller eventually to be led by his own son in the clearing of the garage, but will also lead to the death of Germany's precious resource, its children. She is doubly guilty.

Von Baky's film, *Und über uns der Himmel*, displays strong elements of the Western town-tamer trope. Hans Richter returns to the fort and is able to operate effectively in the black market becoming a "player" in the saloon. He is surrounded by saloon girls and, even if he enjoys their company, he keeps his heart for the schoolmarm. Edith is happy to accept the benefits of his black market to augment the money she receives from making clothes for her neighbours and for Mizzi, in particular. She is happily able to enjoy the enrichment that the black market has brought to her life in terms of material improvements to her flat and to number of calories that she is able to consume. She is willing to carry on until her conscience is pricked by the arrival of Richter's puritanical son. The film moves in a slightly different direction from the first *Trümmerfilme*, as it is Richter himself who feminizes his space rather than Edith. But the effect is the same: he has lost agency in his own space. In a key showdown, she wounds Richter who, despite defeating the evil black-marketeers in their attempt to rob goods from the port, gives up his freebooting Western hero life for the timid

domesticity of a working husband. Edith's independence has emasculated the hero and disrupted the trope. This is not the only effect of her independence: she was the one woman in the film who encouraged Mizzi to go out and enjoy the highlife, against the protestations of Mizzi's mother. It was Edith who also made Mizzi's first dancing dress. This act sets in motion a series of events which will eventually lead to the death of Mizzi's soldier boyfriend and, indirectly, to the killing one of the nation's returned heroes.

The final film of those under consideration in this chapter, *Nachtwache*, can be strongly connected to the religious Western town-tamer trope with the hero being specifically called to minister peace to the town of Burgdorf. The director Harald Braun sets up a world where the hero, Heger, is directly opposed to Cornelia, the hospital's head doctor. Their spaces remain mutually exclusive, his, the sheriff's office and hers, the saloon, but these spaces are in opposition to each other and become place markers for the contestation of the wider spaces, the town and the hospital. At first, it looks as if Heger will win the battle to bring holiness to the hospital. However, the influence of the working woman's space is stronger. The strength of the independent women in the saloon will eventually lead not only to the death of Heger's child but also to that of Gorgas the returned pilot. Cornelia, the independent woman has caused to the death of Germany's most precious resources: its children and its returned soldiers.

In each of these films, the trope expectation is disrupted. The hero does not live up to genre conventions because of the films' independent women. This reading of the films under investigation tells us what the consequences of the trope disruption will be: the death of the future and removal of men's agency. These films show that Germany's independent women are not only acting as proxies for the unseen Allies in defeating their returned men but are also mortgaging the nation's future by robbing the next generation of life. Thus, the misogyny of the *Trümmerfilm* is revealed.

Chapter Five

The Trümmerfilm as a Kriminalfilm

If the Western film is a story of man challenging the open wilderness to prove himself and to build a new nation in the desert, then the detective story is one where the detective struggles in an urban environment, where the veneer of modernity hides layers of sin, destruction and the arrogance of man. If the Western story is one of civilising the wilderness, the *Kriminalfilm*³⁶ story is one of the struggles against a corrupt civilisation.

The *Kriminalfilm* genre sees the hero acting like a modern saviour in an urban environment. His purpose is to step into society's secular morass to attempt to rectify its failures. His task is similar to that of the Western hero, in that he is an outsider, which allows him to defeat those who represent the "disorder" in the ordered streets and homes. He does this either alone, using his broken character to work through the issues presented in the film or, in a few rare cases with a supporter these only exist to validate the hero. Women, if they are represented at all, lead only subsidiary lives in the background. At the end of the film and despite having despatched the agents of chaos, the hero cannot fully integrate himself into society. The corruption of society continues and the hero's work as nation builder is never really over or complete.

³⁶ I have used the genre description used by Hickethier and Schumann in their book of the same name as it covers the breadth of the genre from the detective, to courtroom and prison subgenres, which will be covered here.

This chapter reviews the history of the *Kriminalfilm* genre, the role of internal and external spaces in it and provides an overview of the genre's history as it developed up to the *Trümmer* period. Also examined in this chapter are the contexts of the post-war period and the struggle that took place to re-establish a new Germany. Finally, genre expectations are examined to provide a foundation for a detailed investigation of the films themselves, the themes they discuss and their implications for nation building.

It is my contention that the *Trümmerfilme* that will be discussed in chapter six and then subvert the basic tenets of the *Kriminalfilm* genre, by allowing women to ultimately emasculate the male heroes. Thus, the female characters hold back their male counterparts in their role as nation-builders and rob them of their power as they struggle to create a new, upright Germany from the ruins of the defeated nation. Through such representations the films overtly and covertly accuse the post-war German woman of inflicting a second defeat on German men.

The films which will be examined in chapter 6 in terms of the *Kriminalfilm* are: Werner Klingler's *Razzia*, Peter Pewas' *Straßenbekanntschaft*, Harald Braun's *Zwischen gestern und morgen* and *Der Ruf*. The discussion explores how these films, while conforming to the *Kriminalfilm* type, also confound genre expectations because of the detectives' interactions with the films' leading women. I argue that this adds to the argument, begun by the films analysed in the previous chapter, of the female characters being criticised for their independence and sexual freedom, which leads to a hobbling of the men and damages their ability to build a new nation.

The genre

The basic tenant of the *Kriminalfilm* is that of puzzle solving. The puzzle narrative goes back to the origins of literature itself and one of the earliest appearances of the puzzle narrative can be traced back to the Biblical story of Cain and Abel (Symons J., 1985, 27). However, early puzzle narratives are simple puzzles without being detective stories. They lack the multifaceted elements of the detective story that set it apart from the puzzle story.

What is it, then, that makes a *Kriminalfilm*? According to Seeßlen the *Kriminalfilm* is concerned with “ Probleme, Rätsel, die gelöst werden von einem, der vor allem das Interesse hat, das Problem zu lösen, weil es ihn fasziniert, weil er etwas davon hat” (Seeßlen, 2010, 7). The detective stands at the centre of society’s chaos. He can only solve the puzzle through a “process of deduction” (Symons J., 1985, 13). This process and, indeed, the arc of the story are formulaic and were described by Monsignor Ronald Knox³⁷, in his 1928 book *Essays in Satire*, as having ten key commandments ranging from the fact that the criminal must be mentioned early on to there being no supernatural intervention, no Chinamen involved and that the detective cannot have committed the crime³⁸ (Symons J., 1985, 12-14). W.H. Auden, reviewing the genre, described the detective story as having four key stages: a murder occurs, many are suspected; one by one all, except the guilty party, are eliminated from suspicion; the murderer is exposed; finally, they are arrested or die (Symons J., 1985, 14). These basic elements are carried across a breadth of genres spanning from the *Kriminalfilm* to the court film, although it must be remembered that there is a strong difference

³⁷ Monsignor Ronald Arbuthnott Knox 1888 - 1957 priest, theologian, author of detective novels and satirist.

³⁸ Arbuthnott’s 10 Commandments. 1. The criminal must be mentioned early on in the story. 2. There must be no supernatural involvement. 3. Only one secret passage is allowed. 4. No undiscovered poison or machine is allowed. 5. No Chinaman. 6. No accident can help the detective. 7. The detective must not be responsible for the crime. 8. The detective shall not hold back any clues from the audience. 9. The detective’s stupid friend must only be slightly more stupid than the audience. 10. No twins or doubles are allowed to have committed the crime unless their existence has been disclosed to the audience early on in the story. (Symons J., 1985, 12-14).

between the strictures of a court film set in the Anglophone world of the Common Law and the German world of the *Gesetzbuch* (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 17-37).

The location for these genres is generally urban. The Western revels in the open spaces of the Arizona Badlands, while the detective film is stuck in the chaotic structure of the city. One of the earliest detective stories, *Mémoires* by Eugène François Vidocq was set in Paris. His novels were based on his own life story as he moved from the criminal to the head of the French *Sûreté Nationale*. When Edgar Allan Poe also set his detective novels of the 1840s in Paris, the die was cast (Knight, 2010, 24). The civilised, yet chaotic, city allows the story to examine where civilisation has failed and discover a male hero who is able to combat the chaos by attempting to restore (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 36). It is the hero of the film, our detective, who stands in for the audience as a rational and secular saviour to stand against the encroachment of the urban chaos.

Our hero: The detective

The detective stands in our stead as a “sacred witch doctor, who is able to smell out the evil that is corrupting society” (Symons J., 1985, 19). He is the opposite of the criminal, as he has to remain spiritually ‘clean’ while the criminal mastermind is spiritually ‘sinful’. The detective is our *ersatz* “saviour” (Symons J., 1985, 22) of the rational age. He is, naturally, a male character. However, Symons argues that he is free from the constraints of sexual desire (Symons J., 1985, 14), which would be a distraction from his main task of undertaking “die Rekonstruktion des Tätergangs und die Suche nach dem Täter” (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 17). This freedom from sexual entanglement also allows him to fulfil his role as social “saviour” and “Nietzschean superior man” of modernity (Symons J., 1985, 66). Thus, he forms the centre of a homo-social world of criminals and sidekicks as “Einzelkämpfer und Verteidiger der Gerechtigkeit” (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 17). No matter how urbane the detective is, he remains an “einsamer und letztlich immer misstrauischer Wolf [der] durch den Großstadtdschungel [schürt]“ (*ibid.*).

The detective is surrounded by a supporting cast, which plays the role of foils to the great man's wisdom and deductive insight and which is much less intelligent than him (Symons J., 1985, 12). The 'sidekick' marks the position of the audience in comparison to the detective and allows the detective to "demonstrate" his "superiority" (Symons J., 1985, 67). But, it is the detective's antagonist, the villain, who is the most important supporting character. The criminal is the hidden master of disorder and criminal darkness hiding in plain sight until exposed by the detective's reason. The detective and criminal are matched together like the two halves of an industrial mould and the story weaves in and out between them until the detective is ultimately successful and society's apparent, ordered, status quo restored.

Sherlock Holmes

The characteristics of the urban and male genre, that is the *Kriminalfilm*, bring us to its two key antecedents, who influenced the German *Kriminalfilm*, most strongly in the post-war *Trümmer* period. Both are creatures of the city and both reflect the times in which they live. The first character is Arthur Conan Doyle's hero, Sherlock Holmes. He is the filmic *Ur-Detektiv* followed in German film terms by director Fritz Lang's creation *Kriminalkommissar Lohmann*, who was first introduced in his film, *M-Eine Stadt sucht einen Mörder* (1931). These two film detectives are different but connected to each other and together they form a type against which the *Trümmerfilm* can be measured.

Holmes resides in a flat at 221B Baker Street, in the north-western corner of London's West End between Paddington Station and Oxford Street. This puts him in a well-to-do neighbourhood at the height of Britain's Imperial power before the failures of the First World War. His address distances him from the professionalism of the Metropolitan Police, based famously at Scotland Yard³⁹. This geographic division of a few short miles marks Holmes out as a man of leisure, an amateur who hunts down only the cases of his choosing and who can separate himself from the

³⁹ The original home of the Metropolitan Police was at Scotland Yard on the Victoria Embankment.

humdrum of normal policing. This fits in with the traditional and ingrained British suspicion of the professional and with the swashbuckling reputation of the Empire. As such, he stands in contrast to those professional detectives around him, such as Scotland Yard's Inspector Lestrade, who is an "unimaginative positivist [...] who miss[es] everything that is not presented directly before [his] senses" (Saler, 2003, 604). Lestrade's location at the heart of Imperial London's bureaucracy positions identifies him as part of the state authority and Imperial administration. Lestrade is a professional but a dullard.

Holmes' uncanny but internally logical ability to see the facts and then to be able to think 'round corners' enables him to match the less than vivid clues to the facts and to "outwit [...] the criminal" (Haralovich, 1979, 54). He is an aesthete, a violin player who may enjoy the walk across Hyde Park to the Royal Albert Hall and its musical diversions. His home is situated between London's centres of learning in Kensington and Bloomsbury. He is, however, not necessarily an educated man but he lives at the centre of Imperial London's intelligentsia and is able to dispense deep wisdom. His ability to rethink problems to their logical conclusion, in a way that those around him cannot, has however, left its mark of "an abundance of idiosyncratic personal characteristics". These include: violin playing, a cocaine habit, being unable to form meaningful relationships with women, pipe smoking and a desire to dabble in the "squalor and anomie of modern urban existence" (Saler, 2003, 608). He is set apart from the merely educated, such as his everyman 'sidekick', Dr Watson. Yet he needs to have the educated Watson to interpret and describe his actions.

The first Sherlock Holmes films were made in the US, Germany and Denmark (Steinbrunner, Michaels, 1991, 8) in the early silent period before the Great War, because Conan Doyle's stories were robust enough to translate to the silent screen (Maloney, 1975, 45). This early start in film history has allowed him to become the "most popular motion picture detective of all time" (Steinbrunner, Michaels, 1991, 7). His translation into a "modern icon" (Saler, 2003, 604) was due to the ability of film to transmit Sherlock's ability to "utilise reason in a manner magical and

adventurous” (Saler, 2003, 604), thus feeding his ability to entertain an audience. Holmes is able to “solve [...] cases by relating seemingly discrete facts to a more encompassing and meaningful configuration” (*ibid.*). It is this centring on the urban and on the daily chaos of the city which has allowed Holmes to become a permanent film fixture and a cornerstone of the detective genre.

The antagonist: Dr Moriarty

Holmes lives in West London where he acts as a middle-class ‘bulwark’ against the criminality and evil flooding over from East London as represented by his nemesis, the educated Dr Moriarty.

Moriarty is described in *The Final Problem* as:

The Napoleon of crime [...] he is the organizer of half that is evil and of nearly all that is undetected in this great city. He is a genius, a philosopher, an abstract thinker. He has a brain of the first order. He sits motionless, like a spider in the centre of its web, but that web has a thousand radiations, and he knows well every quiver of each of them. He does little himself. He only plans (Doyle, 1894, 4).

Thus, while Moriarty is not the agent of every crime that Holmes encounters, he is at the centre of every criminal act, silently pulling the strings. Moriarty is as intelligent, as observant and as deductive as Holmes, but incalculably evil. He lives on the other side of London to Holmes in the dock-side streets of Limehouse. It is the centre of the male-dominated places of production such as factories and docks, with their cellars and basements where crime can fester. It is a space where in the 19th Century the Chinese and other migrant communities congregated, creating a zone of opium dens and possible ‘eastern contagion’. They are not, however, the only foreigners living in the area. Limehouse was the home of immigrants from all over the world: Jews congregated around Brick Lane and along the Mile End Road, African sailors settled around the docks and the East End of London was the home for eastern European immigrants escaping the persecution in Russia and Poland.

Nation-building spaces

The metropolis

The *Kriminalfilm* is principally an urban genre with its action set squarely in London, Berlin, New York or Los Angeles. The city has been described as “the most important form of social organisation” (Shiel, 2001, 2) and the cinema has been intrinsically linked with the city since its inception (*ibid.*). It has been through the cinema that the viewing public have found a structure and codes to understand the urban life they are leading through a process of “cognitive mapping” (Shiel, 2001, 6). The city space exists as a mixture of multi-levelled, multi-nodal, ultra-connected, hierarchical spaces, which has matched the cinema’s tendency to exist in a “spatial rather than textual medium” (Fitzmaurice, 2001, 19).

As the cities in Europe and North America underwent massive changes and growth in the 19th and 20th Centuries a “deep rift between a new urban-industrial capitalist society and feudal rural life” (Shiel, Fitzmaurice, 2003, 2) was exposed. The city becomes a place characterised by “a bitter antagonism between the bourgeois and proletarian classes” (Shiel, Fitzmaurice, 2003, 2). Thus, the city is a place of tension between classes, which expresses itself not only in political action, but also in film production and in-built hierarchies. These rivalries create a kinetic energy which ensures that the city, its people, policies and built environment exist in a spiritual state of Brownian motion as it is constantly static and at the same time on the move. It creates a multileveled labyrinth. As a result, the city is a place of “Potemkin Fronts” (Gaughan, 2003, 48) where evil hides beneath the surface of bright, chromed and curved modernity. The city is a “Fassadenkultur” made up of “Glanz, Asphalt and Oberflächen” (Ward, 2001, 9).

Film, and especially Weimar film – with its tendency in films such as F.W. Murnau’s *Der letzte Mann*, (Germany, 1924), Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis*, (Germany, 1926) or Joe May’s *Asphalt* (Germany, 1929) to concentrate on the metropolis - constructed a “Potemkin” out of surface and sets within the confines of a Babelsberg studio. This creation of surface in the film studio becomes a

suitable depiction of the city. Berlin, the newly elevated *Reichshauptstadt* of the newly created Germany, attracted a great deal of attention from urban sociologists who were fascinated at the creation of this new, New York-like, city.

The sociologist Georg Simmel⁴⁰ turned his attention to the effect that this new metropolis had on its residents and citizens. He noted that money, not culture is at the heart of the city and that it is a centre of production for consumers who are a mass and, as such, are unseen and unsee-able (Simmel, 1950, 409). Simmel believed that relationships had been replaced with transactions, bringing capitalism into the most basic blocks of human relationship (Simmel, 1950, 409). Simmel's description of the city naturally leads to a picture of a set of cogs in a machine that have to fit into each other in their perpetual motion and follow a set pattern in order to work efficiently. If they do not mesh correctly, mass chaos ensues and purpose reverts back to what the city really is; that is a body in a state of perpetual Brownian motion but without direction.

Berlin's attraction as a centre of urban study and role model for the city become stronger when the status of German cities was reclassified in 1910. Towns with a population of over 100,000 people were classified as cities and Berlin, with a population over 1,000,000, becoming Germany's only "official" metropolis (Frisby, 2001, 160). With its lack of history and modernist surfaces, Berlin become Europe's most Americanized city (Frisby, 2001, 161). It is a vertical city, with the poor living in multi-storeyed tenements, with department stores with multiple floors. When the factory basement spaces are added then a multi-level city is created, which translates relationships to the vertical rather than the horizontal of agricultural era relationships.

Whereas the desert of the Western was empty and 'virginal', the city is a place of corruption, motion, mass and mayhem. The metropolis' spaces and locations are crowded. It is amongst this collection of multi-layered and multi-nodal surfaces that the film detective has to operate. To imagine the various spaces of the city in its confusion, it is perhaps useful to try and

⁴⁰ German sociologist 1858-1918

picture the real Berlin with the city surrounded by a large ring road and intersected by key roads entering the city limits from the North, South, East and West. It is a vertical space with workers' tenements, factories, shops and offices rising up into the sky and underground railways, cellars and basements burrowing into the ground.

The capitalist ethos of the city, as evidenced by the shops and factories, divides the space into those of male-dominated production and female dominated consumption. This division genders the space since consumption with its female-dominated shops becomes a feminized space and production with its male blue-collar working population becomes a male space. In addition to the link with production and gender, city spaces have a link to safety from the chaos of the city. This complexity creates a "beautiful temptress", whereas the natural world of the Western and the wild countryside comes to represent a mere "dowdy wife and mother" (Mennel, 2008, 26) in comparison to the temptations of the city.

The city is a highly gendered place where the "loosening of morality...[and]...liberated erotics" (Mennel, 2008, 23) leads to an empowering of women. The Weimar fear of the *neue Frau* with her bob-cut, sexless attire and liberated economics is commonplace. She can only thrive in an environment where she is free of the stultifying control of the rural man. In the city, men lose their agency and are reduced to "surveyed" (Berger, 1972, 46) objects or *flaneurs*. They become feminized as they watch, losing their own agency and rarely produce anything at all while they observe the *neue Frauen* around them becoming "surveyors" (*ibid.*) and consumers. In its consumption, the city is a "prostitute", where women are able to take on a destabilising role to the status quo, exhibiting both "male agency and female passivity" (Mennel, 2008, 29) and simultaneously become "surveyor" and "surveyed" (Berger, 1972, 46). Women combine with the city and death to form a dangerous triangle that will rob men of both agency and life. As men struggle to express their own agency in the city's key spaces, such as those of production, relaxation and work have become established for and dominated by women.

The chaotic street

The first space in the city is the street. It connects all the other spaces and is, by its nature, a collection of surfaces. The street is a “commodified” (Frisby, 2001, 31) space, which connects all the other spaces allowing heroes to move between these spaces like a *flanuer* (*ibid.*). The natural *terra firma* has been disguised under a surface of asphalt (Ward, 2001, 9) and its boundaries are delineated by the surfaces created by shops, factories, offices and homes. It is in the street where all classes and sexes mix, turning the street into the most democratic of spaces. The shops, offices and homes that bound the street make it a feminized space since shops provide places of consumption for women and play for children (Mennel, 2008, 29). The shops that surround the street become the surface *par excellence* pandering to the false desires of their female *neue Frauen* (*ibid.*). In the new world of Weimar Germany with women flooding into these workplaces to undertake administrative roles these offices are increasingly feminized spaces as well. The home is, traditionally, a feminized space, and the “public space represents the internal turmoil of the interior space” (Mennel, 2008, 32). The street is a place of battle and conflict where the detective and his adversary will fight for control. In the city, with its places of consumption, where the shop surfaces become the altars upon which independent women can prostrate themselves and, in doing so, place themselves in danger.

The factory and its dangerous basement

The shop is contrasted with the factory, where men can have agency and honestly toil to earn money to allow consumption. A factory as a centre of production may have a permanent sheen but it is just as much a surface as the shops. Factories are “transitory” (Gaughan, 2003, 41), thrown up quickly and, as history will prove, can disappear just as quickly. The fiery darkness of the factory hides misdeeds and corruption as much as the streets and shops display their corruption and, thus, cannot be considered as a place of safety. It is a place with a “cramped, claustrophobic, enervated and dilapidated world” (Bould, 2005, 28). The factory may have a cellar, basement or warehouse,

which gives us a reflection of the city's "vertical organisation" (Mennel, 2008, 6) where not only the results of production are stored, but where criminals know that they can gather and plot. This ability to hide criminality makes the factory a very dangerous place and one in which the honest production of the workers is negated by the consumption of the criminal. Each factory and building has a basement. It is to these underground spaces that the male criminals have retreated to plan, commission and execute their crimes. The protection that they offer is "transitory" despite offering some respite for the criminal. The basements are merely three-dimensional surfaces that only offer the illusions of consumption rather than the certainties of production.

The *Lokal* safe/nightclub unsafe

The bar and nightclub offer the city liminal spaces of consumption. They lie on the margins of the male/female gender above/below ground matrix and also a place of safety/danger matrix. The *Lokal* or *Kneipe*, with its *Stammtisch* and smoke-filled rooms, is a place of safety where men are safe to let off their "pent up emotions" (Lang, 1989, 11). It can, perhaps, be seen as a womb for the working man. He can drink and smoke with his friends, while enjoying being served by a playful barmaid. She is attractive, witty and acerbic but never a threat to the working men who she is serving. He can discuss the worries of the world, while gaining a respite from that world.

If the bar space sits just on the right side of the boundary of legality, then the nightclub clearly sits of the wrong side of the same boundary. The nightclub is an "Americanized" (Gaughan, 2003, 44), feminized space full of *neue Frauen* (*ibid.*) where women have agency and power. In contrast to the playful barmaid, they are full of "sexuality [and] songs" (Jelavich, 2003, 59) and as a result they are dangerous to men. Men come to do deals and plan crimes, but women dominate the space itself. The nightclub's surface is one of glitz and implication of bright colours and loud noise in a black and white and possibly silent movie. However, in its consumption of light and noise, it will also consume those men caught in its web as they are enticed in by the prostitutes, dancing girls and

highly feminized, sharply dressed men, where the “underworld and illicit sexuality” (Bould, 2005, 27) mix freely. Woman’s “sexuality” is the embodiment of surface, where an alluring dress and *Bubikopf* hide death and destruction for unwary men. It exemplifies Mennel’s triangle of city, women and death that equates “female sexuality with criminality” (Mennel, 2008, 28). It is where space and gender coalesce to threaten men’s agency.

The hospital

The city’s spaces so far discussed are made up of gendered places of consumption and production. The discussion now moves to two key places of apparent safety (Frisby, 2001, 68) but where the writ of the law is only lightly adhered to as it is, in reality, a place that is in a “state of disarray” (Butler, 2005, 484). These are the hospital and mental asylum. Both are feminized spaces controlled by the female staff, who dominate the workforce. The hospital or asylum is the “modern” way to control criminal illness, where criminally ill perpetrators, such as Dr Mabuse are held rather than being left to the mob (Covey, 2009, 1412). It is a place where there is the appearance of control and the production of health (Covey, 2009, 1413). However, in their feminized space, criminals are able to continue to control their networks (*ibid.*) and despite being locked up are able to project their power into the city. As with the city the hospital becomes a place of surface where the “Potemkin” spaces of the cells and public areas are joined by “winding corridors” (Wedding, Boyd, Niemiec, 2005, 167). This creates a contained analogue of the city street. The first *Kriminalfilm*, Wiener’s *Das Kabinet des Dr Caligari*, is set in a mental institution and the theme carries on throughout the German *Kriminalfilm* genre. Lang does not show us the mental institution that housed Beckert in *M*. The audience learns, however, that he was able to dupe the doctors and nurses into seeing him as harmless, but all the time remaining a danger to society and can only be truly dealt with by his execution. In the later *Mabuse* films, Lang shows the audience that the mad criminal, despite being locked up, is still capable of running a criminal network. The mental institution and hospital are merely holding points where the criminal is inconvenienced rather than reformed. It is a failed

institution in terms of its nation building capabilities; its feminized nature allows criminality to flourish putting the nation in danger.

The police station

In the Weimar German *Kriminalfilm*, the police station becomes the home of the detective figure rather than the bachelor flat of the Holmes stories. It is the crucible where criminality is plotted against (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 19). It is a male-dominated space where the law is robustly upheld (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 18). It stands as a beacon of rationality where the forces of the Rule of Law and the constitution forge their campaigns against criminals. The police station, or police station ersatz, as seen in Lang's *Mabuse* films (1922), is where the scientific tools of professional investigative policing couple with the power of the administration to logically uncover the crime. It is also a place where "die Unfähigkeit des Apparats" (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 19) is made clear. In *M*, the detective uses technology to record everything and particularly individual elements of failure, such as mental illness, subsequently using it against the criminals. We see him use mandated state violence against criminals in order to jovially extract confessions out of them (*ibid.*). The king-pin of the police station is the detective figure, like *Kommissar Lohmann*, who is the only one who is able to harness the power of the administration and science. Despite the concentration of police officers and their powers of deduction, crime carries on unabated and criminals are still able to consume the production of others without paying for it.

The home spaces

The home spaces sit between the two contrasting but parallel key spaces, that of the detective's home and the criminal's lair. The latter is a place of safety for the criminal. The criminal is able to control and manipulate those who are within his power. The detective's home is his place of safety and where he is able to contemplate the crime before him. In his home, he can use his methods to uncover the crime and see what others are unable to see. The detective's home and the criminal's lair are the centres from which they fight over the street and the surfaces that sit between the two. For example, Holmes and Moriarty are in competition for this capitalistic and urban paradise on either side of London. As the *Kriminalfilm* moves to Germany and the 20th Century, the detective character, by contrast, lives at the centre of the city in the central police station on Alexanderplatz. This is in the centre of the city's working class districts. In being located centrally the detective is a democratic hero at the centre of the spider's web that is the city and can hold the masses in control.

The prison

In the narrative of the Weimar *Kriminalfilm*, prison precedes the courtroom. It is the place where the audience is able to watch at close hand the types, the hierarchies, foibles and, possibly, the humanity of the criminal class (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 22). These strongly male environments tend to offer a pessimistic point of view, showing the audience that prison is like the feminized mental hospital. The prison film, however, is the logical extension from the courtroom film as it is the ultimate destination for criminals and shows the audience the consequences of crime. The prison is a place of containment rather than redemption (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 22). In the Weimar genre, the Fritz Lang *Mabuse* films end with the criminal being conducted to a lunatic asylum, while other Weimar *Kriminalfilme* such as Joe May's *Asphalt*, Gerhard Lamprecht's *Emil und die Detektive* and Fritz Lang's *Spione* (Germany, 1933) have the criminal being escorted directly to

jail. It is only when Lang makes *M-die Stadt sucht einen Mörder* (Germany, 1931) that the court makes a significant entrance. In the Weimar trope we see the implication that the criminal is mad and should be delivered directly to prison or the mad house, rather than being subject to a trial. The prison and lunatic asylum have a democratic effect of showing the consequences of trying to subvert the Rule of Law. The prison, as opposed to the asylum, has a cleansing effect as it upholds the law. Where the Rule of Law is not observed, as in National Socialist Germany, the prison becomes an arbitrary repository of the innocent, the possibly guilty and the sinned against. If there is no Rule of Law how can the audience tell who deserves to be in prison and who does not?

The courtroom

It is in the male-dominated courtroom film where “die Fäden der Aufklärung eines Verbrechens zusammengeführt und [...] die Lösung ermittelt wird“(Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 21). It is also in the courtroom that a divergence between Anglo/American jurisprudence and Continental/Roman law, such as applied in Germany becomes clear. In the Anglo/American model it is the jury that decide who is guilty or not guilty, following an adversarial contest fought by prosecution and defence attorneys. The courtroom is a stage on which the two teams of male lawyers shadow box in front of the choir. The male judge is not an advocate or inquisitor but a referee and guide, ensuring that the shadow boxing does not enter into the realms of fantasy. In the German system, it is the panel of judges, again male, that makes the decisions of guilty or not guilty. They are judge and jury. They are able to enquire, accuse and investigate the positions made by the defence and prosecution counsels. The advocates are not there to argue guilt or innocence but to present a case, which it is the judge’s duty to interrogate. Echoing the trauma of the Nuremberg trials, the trial allows “troubling questions [to] be laid to rest” and allows a “closure narrative” (Rosenberg, 1994, 344) on the past to be developed. This closure is vital for the rebuilding and nation building of post-war Germany to allow it to move forward and develop. However, it is interesting to see that, as noted

above, Weimar's *Kriminalfilme* seem to avoid the courtroom whereas the National Socialist⁴¹ film wants to show the process of criminality being dealt with. It is as if *Schein* has become more important than *Sein*.

Spaces

In this 20th Century vision of surface, both sides fight for control over the city - not just through the production of actions one against the other but also through the use of modern communications. The spaces of the city are all interlinked by the telegraph, telephone, radio, advertising and modern transport. The detective and criminal are both able to project their power because they are able to interconnect their 'safe space' with any other part of the city in a way that would not have been possible in the 19th Century. In the 20th Century the detective could, if he wanted to, speak directly to his adversaries in their lair and his adversaries have exactly the same freedom. Modern communications allow criminals to broadcast their plans directly to their henchmen, while remaining aloof and protected from them. A consideration of the map of Berlin shows that this interconnectedness instantly creates a chaotic, multi-nodal matrix since all spaces are directly connected to each other. Detective and criminal are able to move along these modes of transmission to be at each node at once. This gives them great power and allows both sides to think that they are able to subdue the city. But ultimately both will be seduced and defeated by it.

Hitherto, this chapter has reviewed the *Kriminalfilm* in general terms, concentrating on the trope in its generalities. As has been alluded to in this section, there are particular German elements of the genre, which are critical to an understanding of the genre in relation to the *Trümmerfilme* examined in chapter six. It is to these German elements that will now be examined.

⁴¹ In contrast to the Weimar film output, the process of the courtroom provides NS filmmakers with a procedural device in an era when the rule of law has been suspended. Thus, both Karl Hartl's *Der Mann, der Sherlock Holmes war* (Germany, 1937) and Erich Engels', *Dr Crippen an Bord* (Germany, 1941) strongly feature court scenes.

Deutscher Sherlock: Kommissar Lohmann

If Sherlock is the father, his German son is *Kommissar Lohmann* who features in Fritz Lang's *M* and *Das Testament des Dr Mabuse* (Germany, 1933). Lohmann himself was based on the Weimar detective, Ernst Gennat (Kaes, 2003, 147), who helped establish the Berlin *Mordkommission* as the world's first murder squad, using scientific methods to track down murderers in Berlin and across Germany. In both films, Otto Wernicke who bore a striking resemblance to Gennat, played Lohmann. Lohmann "enters the urban battlefield like Sherlock Holmes, looking for clues and relying on logic and reason" (Kaes, 2003, 147). He is an heir to the Holmes tradition but he has now become a democratic professional, rather than an imperial figure, as the head of Berlin's *Mordkommission*, applying scientific methods and the power of administration to detect crimes. He deploys the instruments of bureaucracy, such as the police's extensive filing system and large police force, to capture criminals and detect crime. In Fritz Lang's film *M*, the police force seems powerless to discover who the child murderer is. In contrast, Lohmann is seen poring over "case histories" (McElligot, 2001, 238) - the "case history" itself being a recent German invention, which will lead eventually to Beckert's arrest. Lohmann is convinced that modern police science will turn up much better clues than traditional police methods, such as door-to-door searches (McElligot, 2001, 239). He is "contemptuous" (Chang, 1979, 308) of the public, who add nothing but confusion to the serious scientific study of detection. To Lohmann, only deductions from the scientific method will suffice to apprehend criminals. In this view, to arrest criminals, you must be able to understand them, and recognise their patterns of behaviour. Lohmann is a professional and this divides him from the British tradition of the amateur sleuth who relies on intuition and reasoning to solve crimes.

Lohmann's base and home is the *Mordkommission* at Berlin's central police station in Alexanderplatz. This places him at the centre of Weimar Berlin. Different from Holmes' stuffy and satisfied Imperial London, Lohmann lives in a chaotic country, born out of the loss of the Great War,

where democracy and order are provisional and constantly under social, political and economic threat. Lohmann's position at the democratic centre, in Alexanderplatz, is at the centre of the city with its female-dominated shopping streets. It is surrounded by places of production, with its cellars and basements, which are the basis of the criminal underclass. Female-dominated nightclubs - with their opportunities for sex and transgression - also circle the police station. The centre is also full of bars where criminals can plan their next crime.

In order to understand his antagonists, Lohmann is able to become like those he hunts. In *M* his scenes are cross-cut with those of the leader of the criminal underworld as they both hunt for Beckert. But Lohmann is closer than the mere binary opposite of those he opposes: "Police Inspector Lohmann represents the prototype of a detective whose class and status were not so far removed from the small time crooks whom he supervised" (Kaes, 2003, 154). He has a rapport with and an intimate understanding of those who he refers to as his "children" (Chang, 1979, 301). He is capable of extreme bonhomie with the criminal underworld. In one scene in *M*, Lang shows a roundup in a seedy club where Lohmann is checking identity cards and searching the criminals for clues. Lohmann knows that the identity cards he is checking are false, the criminals know that he knows, but they are playing a game in the common cause of capturing Beckert. Like a criminal, Lohmann knows when to break the rules and the Rule of Law is a concept that is preserved in the breach rather than by adherence (Kaes, 2003, 155). Although Lohmann is a "bad, good man", he does have a strong grasp of the Rule of Law, which keeps him ultimately, on the right side of the law.

On one level, Lohmann is portrayed as an attractive character. His physicality, as shown by Lang, is at odds with his apparent jocular manner. In *M*, he is shown sitting at his desk he is shot from a very low angle with the camera setting his distended and prominent testicles in the central section of the 'rule of thirds'⁴². This emphasises his animalistic, bull-like character and making him

⁴² The 'rule of thirds' is a graphic rule, used in painting, photography and film which divides an image in to nine sections with notional lines. These lines delineate the important sections of the image. If an part of the picture occupies the intersection of these lines or fills one of the central sections it will have greater import than those that sit outside these intersections and sections.

like a *Neue Sachlichkeit* character in an Otto Dix Painting (Stewart, 2014, 34). It is little wonder that this bull-like man is never seen in the company of a woman and, indeed, appears to live in his office. In this masculinized space he is surrounded by an army of professional, male, policeman assistants and from where he can dedicate himself to the protection of the public. Lang appears to have used *Neue Sachlichkeit* aesthetics in his film to show the audience the essence of the people in his story and this is one example where the audience can clearly see that Lohmann's cheerfulness is not what it seems in the first instance. In fact, this prototype of a new German detective is a dangerous mixture of bonhomie, casual violence, power and utter ruthlessness mixed with a raw, childish delight in the game of "hide and seek" (Kaes, 2003, 147) that is the life of a detective solving a crime.

The underworld

The criminals that Lohmann fights are, in the case of *M* and *Das Testament*, both evil and unhinged. *M* works alone but is a former inmate of a mental institution. He is a deviation from the norm hiding in plain sight. It is only when Lohmann starts to look through the state's bureaucracy that this deviation is observed. As a personality, Beckert is ordinary and his true nature is only visible when he stands looking in the window of a knife shop. The knives are arranged so that they point directly towards his heart. In another example of *Neue Sachlichkeit* aesthetic, this scene instantly tells us that Beckert looks mild-mannered but his heart is for murder. Beckert is not a criminal but criminally ill. In *Das Testament*, Lohmann's adversary, Dr Mabuse, is brilliant and evil, like Moriarty, but clearly mad. He is incarcerated in a lunatic asylum but his writings are powerful enough to influence the asylum's director and make him become the "Mr. Big" of a huge criminal enterprise that terrorises and endangers the nation. Both Beckert and Mabuse share mental illness and their influence endangers the public. These "master" criminals are in stark contrast to the moral but criminal characters with which Lohmann has such a close affinity because of the fluid nature of the city as he passes from the centre to the edges to deal with crime.

Lohmann then takes the detective tradition into a German professional 20th Century context. He is a combination of analytic wisdom, German science and administration, ruthless street policing and gentle bonhomie. His steadfastness makes him a representative of the forces of good in the Weimar Republic and a sign of what could have been, had the catastrophe of Nazism not taken hold (Walker, 2011, 10). He is Weimar's last hero standing in as the people's "guard" and succeeding where they have failed (Joubert, Joubert, 2011, 228). Both Holmes and Lohmann operate in the city and the city is where crime is commissioned, albeit the cities are different: one Imperial, one chaotic. In the Western genre the desert and the desert town is the stage upon which the fate of the nation is decided. Whereas, it is the city that becomes the stage against which the fate of the nation is decided in the *Kriminalfilm* genre.

German *Kriminalfilm*, German outcomes

The German *Kriminalfilm* is made against a background of the struggle and ultimate failure to establish democracy in Germany in the years following defeat in the Great War. The *Kriminalfilm* derives its stories from the discovery and uncovering of transgressions of the law that are brought to the court for resolution and for justice to be dispensed, sometimes. The Rule of Law is the crucial pillar upon which society is built. The Weimar experiment in democracy and the Rule of Law derived its legitimacy from the Weimar Constitution, which opens with the words:

Das Deutsche Volk, einig in seinen Stämmen und von dem Willen beseelt, sein Reich in Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit zu erneuern und zu festigen, dem inneren und dem äußeren Frieden zu dienen und den gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt zu fördern, hat sich diese Verfassung gegeben (Weimarer Reichsverfassung 1919).

This democratic system, and the Rule of Law, derives its power from the "people" who imbue the constitution with power and allow lawgivers to issue laws in order to ensure good order, peaceful co-existence and prosperity. The early history of Weimar, however, was a time of uncertainty, where

the government was not able to meet in Berlin because of the revolutionary chaos, taking place on the streets.

The early *Kriminalfilme* express this feebleness with the centres of action not being the *Großstadt* or metropolis but the small bourgeois towns. The setting of Robert Weine's *Das Cabinet des Dr Caligari* (1920) reflects the chaos of post-first world war Germany. Francis the hero "detective" has to discover and uncover a murderer. This story, however, is contained in an expressionist chaotic shadowland in a provincial German town, while itself being contained in the madness of a mental institution.

Weimar Kriminalfilm

Criminality as a mental illness becomes a stock motif of the German detective story, as Fritz Lang's 1922 *Mabuse* films (Germany, Pt 1, 1922, Pt2, 1922) confirm. The eponymous anti-hero is a madman who is able to use extraordinary mental powers to manipulate and overcome weak men. These films' hero "detective" creates a filmic bridge between the enlightened amateurism of Sherlock Holmes and the gritty working class "everyman-ness" of *Kommissar Lohmann*, who appears in the next Fritz Lang *Kriminalfilm*, by creating the character of von Wenk. He is not an amateur, but a *Staatsanwalt* and a professional lawman, who is to use the bureaucratic apparatus of the state against Mabuse. It is with this apparatus that he is able, finally, to overcome Mabuse and to temporarily drive back the disorder.

In the late 1920s, as the Weimar Republic undergoes its brief "Golden Age" and before it collapses following the Wall Street Crash in 1929, the film-makers finally move the *Kriminalfilm* to Berlin. In Berlin's crowded streets, we see the forces of democracy at the centre of the city in the Alexanderplatz police station as they struggle to hold back the ever-increasing forces of destruction. In city films, like Joe May's *Asphalt*, the danger of the *neue Frau* becomes clear. She exudes a dangerous sexuality that threatens to pervert the course of justice, and this while being hidden

under a *Bubikopf* and behind enticing eyes. These *neue Frauen* populate the streets, shops and homes, turning honest production into dishonest consumption. The street is populated with a mass of people and traffic, watched over, but never truly controlled by honest policemen. These policemen run only to remain only one step ahead of the criminal gangs that infest the city. In Lang's 1931 story, *M* we see that the criminal classes run a shadow organisation which mirrors and runs alongside the state's. Criminals have their own locations, with Mabuse hosting his criminal organisation in the basement of a print shop and the criminals of *M* using the doss houses and basements to build their organisation and to conduct their mock trial. This criminal organisation has detective organisations, spying organisations and, ultimately, even its own form of kangaroo courts. It is powerful and its power places a question mark over the state's right to dispense justice. The criminals will always be powerful. They appear to have more popular support than the police, but they lack the legitimacy provided by the Rule of Law and this fatally weakens them, and allowing the police ultimately to gain the upper hand. The power of the police derives from the people, whereas that of the criminals derives from their own avarice and sense of entitlement. In a democratic state, the police, prisons and courts unite to ensure that this entitlement cannot prevail.

The city *Kriminalfilm* connects madness with criminality. The criminal may be a rich madman like Mabuse, who, even after incarceration and death, continues to influence good and educated men from a mental institution. Alternative the madman may be a killer hiding in plain sight such as Beckert in Lang's *M*. It is clear that Mabuse is mad and must be resisted but Beckert is much more dangerous as it is only possible to see his evil in abstraction. It is only the detective who is able to; work from the centre out, using his native intelligence, affinity with the criminal class, abilities to understand case notes, interpret patterns in hospital records and to manipulate the levers of the democratic state to bring his quarry to justice. It is only in *M* that the courtroom starts to make a strong appearance in the *Kriminalfilm* but in the context of the underworld's kangaroo court. As democracy is collapsing around the film's production, Lang inserts a long scene, which has the trappings of democracy - a bench, a defence lawyer and an attempt to save Beckert - but it is a scene

in which the verdict of guilty and the penalty of death has already been decided. *M* was made while Weimar's democracy was dying and under National Socialism any sense of justice will become a farce as the Rule of Law is suspended and justice is meted out inconsistently and arbitrarily.

As an agent of the state, the detective becomes an agent of democracy protecting the citizenry through the Rule of Law. As a nation builder, he is a civil saint reinforcing the precepts of the law. The law is fixed and he must find ways of bringing the criminal to justice using the law and within the law. He is trying to bring filmic order to a society that knew no peace and finally collapsed when the National Socialists grabbed power through the 1933 *Ermächtigungsgesetz*. This short one-page document made a mockery of the Weimar Constitution, simply suspending it and allowing the Rule of Law to become an ephemeral construct with no firm foundation. Thus, with the suspension of the Rule of Law, the *Kriminalfilm* changes tack to reflect the changing circumstances for jurisprudence and National Socialist prejudices.

National Socialist *Kriminalfilm*

The first change is the position of the Law. Reflecting the loss of the Rule of Law the heroes of the National Socialist (NS) *Kriminalfilm* make the law what they want it to be. They reflect the NS narrative of a nation that is entitled to a better settlement and is simply taking that to which it is entitled. Thus, Hans Albers playing the role of Morris Flint in director Karl Hartl's 1937 film, *Der Mann, der Sherlock Holmes war*, can simply assume the mantle of Sherlock Holmes because the staff of the hotel simply believe that he is Holmes. Petty thieves - the Berry sisters - are entitled to a better life simply because they want a better life, not because they are willing to work for one. Thus, entitlement is at the centre of the film. Flint's trial becomes a cabaret act, where he plays to the gallery, and makes not only the gallery, but also the public prosecutor and bench laugh. He defends himself simply by saying that no one asked who he really was and is simply let off, despite having committed fraud. The farce is reinforced by the sudden appearance of Conan Doyle who

miraculously appears in the courtroom at Flint's trial. This slippery flexibility in relation to the law is clear during the trial of Lucy Talbot in Erich Engel's *Dr Crippen an Bord*. Again, the trial becomes a moment of theatre and conjecture with the prosecutor constructing a scenario rather than an active attack on the evidence. Lucy Talbot, Crippen's co-defendant, is an accessory to murder and the public prosecutor distorts the evidence to save her from conviction. In doing so, he is able to redeem her simply because she is young and was willing to give up her lover, Dr Crippen. She is guilty and culpable but the law can be bent to the extent that she is able to walk free from the courtroom and return to a blameless National Socialist life. Democracy has been subverted and the law is unable to provide a light, however dim, to the struggling detective.

The second change in the NS *Kriminalfilm*, is the location of the films. Instead of being set in a multi-layered *Großstadt*, the city begins to fall from view and the locus of action moves to the less complex provincial town and to mythical non-city locations. Thus, we see *Der Mann, der Sherlock Holmes war* set in a hotel and railway carriage; Director Arthur Maria Rabenalt's 1940 propaganda *Kriminalfilm*, *Achtung! Feind hört mit!* (Germany, 1940) is set in a middle-sized industrial town, and finally *Dr Crippen an Bord* is set in a provincial town and on board a liner sailing the mid-Atlantic. The locations have been simplified and mythologised so that they become flexible and the tensions of surface and actualisation found in the urban environment are lost.

The final change is that of the detective. No longer is the detective a doughty, intelligent and wily defender of the constitution, he is a chancer as in *Der Mann*, or a member of the Gestapo as in *Achtung! Feind hört mit!* or middle class *Anwalt* as in *Dr Crippen*. As with the location, the central character has been subverted and the detective has moved away from the Lohmann model. It becomes clear, however, that the detective is no longer a democrat standing up for the people against the forces of chaos but he is an amorphous deliverer of entitlement to whomsoever he decides is the most deserving.

Thus, two differing nation-building themes are constructed through the Weimar and National Socialist *Kriminalfilme*. The first is where the detective defends the majesty of the law. This is a democratic tradition where the forces of order and chaos struggle for dominance on the streets on Berlin. The second is where the National Socialist tradition subverts the democratic tradition, as the constitution itself had been subverted. In this tradition, the trappings of democracy remain but a sense of entitlement allows the films' characters to break the law if they feel it is their right. The law is flexible and uncertain in its effectiveness.

There are two nation-building themes in the mix by 1945. The *Trümmerfilme* are set against the background of this democratic confusion but also set against the Allies' attempt to restore the Rule of Law and sovereignty of the court system through the Nuremberg Trials.

The Nuremberg trials

The importance of the trial in the post-war development of the genre and its ability to finally cleanse criminality brings us to a key element of the *Trümmer* period, the Nuremberg Trials. The trials attempted to re-assert the primacy of the Rule of Law and insist that it even held sway over the custom and practice of warfare. As such, the court sought its legitimacy, it being constituted by the United Nations and the various international pacts and conventions signed by Germany up to the Second World War (Shawcross, 1945, 2-3)⁴³. Those leaders of National Socialist Germany who had survived the war were charged with one or all of four indictments⁴⁴. In his opening statement, Chief American Prosecutor, Justice Robert H. Jackson, described the trials as ones in which “flushed with victory and stung with injury [the Allies] stay the hand of vengeance and voluntarily submit their captive enemies to the judgement of the law” (Jackson, 1945, 1). As the court was dealing with

⁴³ These conventions were: the Hague Convention 1899, the Kellogg-Briand Pact 1928, the Anti-war Treaty of Non-aggression and Conciliation 1933 and the Covenant of the League of Nations, signed by Germany in 1927 (Shawcross, 1945, 2-3).

⁴⁴ These indictments were: Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of a crime against peace; Planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression and other crimes against peace; War crimes and Crimes against humanity.

crimes conducted in a European context and led by a mixture of nations which combined an Anglo-Saxon Common Law and European Roman Law background, the court allowed for the benefits of Anglo-Saxon cross examination of witnesses and European investigation by the judges (Taylor, 1993, 63). It gave the world the opportunity for “war leaders of a defeated nation to be prosecuted in the name of the law” and the chance for them to “plead for their lives in the name of the law” (Jackson, 1945, 3) where those men who were so obviously guilty would be given the unique position of “a presumption of innocence” in which the victors deliberately hobble their case by giving themselves the “burden of proving criminal acts and the responsibility of these defendants for their commission” (Jackson, 1945, 3). The court tried to reassert the primacy of the Rule of Law by allowing the defendants the chance of a defence and an attempt to establish innocence, or at least to mitigate their involvement and prevent the Allies inflicting a “collective punishment” (Shawcross, 1945, 5) on the defeated Germany. Although it would eventually condemn twelve defendants to death and imprison seven, the Rule of Law demands that those tried are innocent until proven guilty and, surprisingly the court acquitted three of the defendants.

When the International Military Tribunal met in October to present its verdicts *Die neue Zeit* greeted them with the following words:

Auf diese Stunde haben Millionen von Menschen gewartet – viele Jahre lang. Daß die Stunde des Gerichts kommen würde, war für jeden gewiß, der den Sinn der göttlichen Weltordnung bejahte und an die sieghafte Kräfte des Rechtes glaubte (Bramer, 1945b, 1).

Thus, by 1945, we have a number of competing nation-building themes swirling through the *Kriminalfilm* genre. On the one hand, we have the Weimar democratic detective, the Lohmann figure, who is standing in the breach to uphold the Rule of Law, which has been given to the state by the people. He has the bureaucratic, scientific and legal forces of the state behind him he is able to protect the state’s democracy for its people. The Lohmann figure upholds the law and advances the nation based on the law.

On the other hand, we have the National Socialist detective who can act because he can. He is not an upholder of the law, as the Rule of Law as derived from the people has simply been suspended. There is no law; the detective and perpetrator are one and the same. They simply take that which they feel entitled to and make the law what they want it to be. In this system, the law has no meaning beyond that which the strongest party on the screen wishes it to be. The courts have lost their rationale: they are simply rubber stamps of this unclear and entitlement-based system. Thus, it was into this atmosphere of increasing disbelief, disavowal, discrediting and attempted reconstruction and against Nuremberg's attempt to reassert the Rule of Law that the detective films were made and we can move to the review of the *Trümmerfilme* as *Kriminalfilme*.

Chapter Six

Trümmerfilm as Kriminalfilm

Razzia

The camera pans across a nondescript conference room in a police station in the Soviet Sector of Berlin. The detectives look serious and are being lectured by a central figure, Kriminalrat⁴⁵ Hugo Lembke, who is railing against the injustices of the black market. He asks what is the black market? He describes it angrily as citizens stealing from other citizens. He understands that it is “aus Not und Elend” that citizens are forced to bilk their neighbours but the time has come to simply “ausschalten” the black market. The police have to deal with the “Hintermännern”. Thus reinforced the detectives fan out and start their campaign against the men standing behind the black market.

Building on the review of the background to the *Kriminalfilm*, presented in Chapter 5, this dissertation will now move to the first detective film under review: Werner Klingler’s 1947 DEFA detective *Trümmerfilm, Razzia*. It covers similar ground to Josef von Baky’s *Und über uns der Himmel*, namely the black market and endless search for food. Klingler’s film deals with the black market as a gritty daily reality wrapped up in betrayal, murder and danger. His film delves into the underworld where the black market ranges from the *Kompensationsgeschäft* of bartered products in

⁴⁵ This equates to the British Police rank of Superintendent. Berlin Police ranks and their approximate British equivalents are as follows: *Polizeimeister* = Constable, *Polizei Obermeister* = Sergeant, *Polizei (Kommisar)Anwärter* = Inspector, *Polizei Kommisar* = Chief Inspector, *Polizei Rat* = Superintendant based on: <http://saint-claire.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/UK-German-Rank-Comparison.pdf> Accessed 25/7/15.

barter markets - which were partially supported by the authorities- and especially the US - to *Schwarzhandel*, the traditional and illegal black market, and finally to racketeering, the so called *GroßSchieberei* (Steege, 2007, 50). Like *Die Mörder* the film opens to the sound of crazed American piano jazz and the scene of a barter market in front of the Reichstag in the British Sector of Berlin, being raided by the police. The key link in the black market chain is unknown and is only described as being a “komischer Kerl”. This “komischer Kerl” will eventually lead the police to the Alibaba, a glitzy nightclub in the American Sector of the city. The club is owned by the gangster, Goll, and it is the place where, if you have enough cash, you can spend the evening amongst beautiful girls and eat and drink as much as you like. The Alibaba will become a Calvary for honest people: a place where good police officers will lose their reputations and lives. From the Alibaba spreads a web of evil that the police must combat and put down.

Razzia: Literature review

This “rubblefilm” and “crimefilm” (Prager, 2014, 151) is set on the streets of Berlin. It is a city which, following the war, “is a constantly new city, built hollow”, a place of surface and space but no substance. This “procedural” (*ibid.*) police drama which Shandley claims was deliberately shot by DEFA to be “entertainment” rather than “education” (Shandley, 2001, 121) takes place with ruins of buildings framing the action and the city’s ruins even pile up against the doors of the fashionable black market nightclub, the Alibaba. These ruins and the multi-layered collapsed city create a film that Brad Prager claims “recalls the literal and figurative labyrinths of expressionist film” (*ibid.*). It was described by *Berliner Zeitung* as a “Zeitfilm” (*Berliner Zeitung*, 1947) because it dealt with the daily indignities of the black market in such a gritty way. *Neues Deutschland* said of the film that “Man würde der Idee des Filmes nur ungenügend gerecht, versuchte man diesen Film, der die Polizei in ständigem Kampf mit Schwarzmarktexistenzen zeigt, auf das Gleis des bloßen Kriminalreißers zu schieben” (Melis, 1947, 2). It clearly pointed the finger at Goll, calling him “eiskalt” with a “zynische Brutalität” (*ibid.*). *Der Spiegel* wrote of the film “Dieser fleißig geschriebene, mit viel entrüsteter

Deklamation gegen den Schwarzen Markt und mit Familienglück und -sorge durchsetzte Film wurde von Werner Klingler präzise inszeniert“ (*Der Spiegel*, 19/1947). The film was praised in both newspapers for its fine camera work and excellent acting. However, in reviewing the film in 1950 the FSK encouraged its viewers to “Nachdenklichkeit” but commented that the film was not recommended for “Prädikat” status (Arbeitsausschuß der FSK: Jugendentscheid, 1950a). The film “[berichtet] vom Kampf gegen grosse, organisierte Schieberhändler und [bezieht] damit ein für die Nachkriegszeit aktuelles Problem in [sein] Geschehen ein“ (Pleyer, 1965, 98). It is a film that tries to have sympathy for the “Zufallskunden” and “kleiner Mann” (Pleyer, 1965, 99) who is caught up in the tentacles of the black market in order to survive. The film attempts to awaken in the audience support for the police in their measures against the black market *Bonzen* but also to teach the audience that in becoming a “Zufallskunden” they themselves undermine these efforts (Pleyer, 1965, 99).

Genre description

The film is shot with a *film Noir* aesthetic, linking it to the detective films created in Hollywood at the same time, however in contrast with the gumshoes of Hollywood’s genre, Shandley claims that the DEFA detectives of *Razzia*, with one dishonourable exception, are “absolutely on the side of the angels” (Shandley, 2001, 130), linking them directly to *Lohmann* and Weimar *Kriminalfilme*. Despite the fact that “*Razzia* communicates its social message through a series of peachy monologues” (*ibid.*) the film went on to become one of the most popular DEFA films of the genre, gaining an audience of 8 million viewers (Moeller, 2013, 106).

The film clearly reads as a *Kriminalfilm*, its concentration of detectives and detection seems to suggest no other outcome. Shandley confirms this review claiming that as well as being a *Trümmerfilm* the film is also post-war “Germany’s first attempt at a detective film” which takes “the black market as its primary social problem” (Shandley, 2001, 126). Stefan Soldovieri agrees with

Shandley calling Klingler's film "arguably the first of DEFA's crime films" but he hints about an ambivalence in this genre description by continuing that this genre appellation is awarded "because it centres mainly on its policemen" (Soldovieri, 2001, 159). He continues that the film is not only a crime film, but it is also a "rubble film" (Soldovieri, 2001, 159). In his apparent ambivalence, he also echoes Shandley who continued in his description of *Razzia* as a "detective story without suspense" (Shandley, 2001, 127). Shandley claims that, while the film begins with "typical detective story conventions" (*ibid.*), it travels to a point where melodrama intrudes (Shandley, 2001, 128) confusing the film's genre clarity and increasing its hybridity. His assessment of the film coalesces around the position that the film is actually a form of social problem film which was produced to attempt to "educate the audience" (Shandley, 2001, 129) as to the evils of the black market.

Hake takes a different view and identifies *Razzia* as a "Gegenwarts" (Hake, 2002, 110) film, connecting it to the *Trümmerfilm* genre and perhaps also to DEFA anti-fascist film. Soldovieri's analysis sees a wide range of genre links within the film, he links the film clearly to "Weimar film" (Soldovieri, 2001, 159) and he also links the film to "*film Noir*" because of its didacticism (Soldovieri, 2001, 160). His genre links continue and he connects the film to the expressionist film genre because of its "literal and figurative labyrinths" (*ibid.*). His highlighting of hybridity has not yet ended; he further identifies the film as one which is genre linked to Rossellini's *Germania Anno Zero* because of the film's "rubble-strewn post-war landscape" (*ibid.*)

For a film that should at first glance be an easy one to read, this *Kriminalfilm* displays a very high level of genre hybridity. It is not clear that the film is a detective film in the classic sense. Shandley has highlighted the lack of tension and Soldovieri sees the film as an expressionist, neo-realist, *film Noir*. The film will be examined through its key genre, that of the *Kriminalfilm*. It is hoped that this will help tease a clearer message from this tension of hybridity.

Razzia: a Kriminalfilm?

Razzia is clearly a *Kriminalfilm* where “die Detektion konzentriert sich auf die Rekonstruktion des Tätergangs und die Suche nach dem Täter. Ermittlung und Aufklärung hat der Detektiv auf seine Fahnen geschrieben” (Hickethier, 2005, 17). The detectives attempt to contain the “pandemonium” (Frisby, 2001, 68) of the city, Berlin. The film’s features, of the key male, dedicated detective located in the midst of a dangerous Berlin, steer the film towards the democratic Lohmann model. Goll, the nightclub owner, is the “master opponent” (Lang, 1989, 11) but the family status of *Kommissar Naumann* hints at a more complex story. Naumann, the central detective, is a family man. Despite his ability to interact with the criminal underworld and his unorthodox methods, he is unable to close the black market centred on the Alibaba. His domestic entanglements hold him back from becoming the film’s actual Lohmann figure, this being *Kommissar Lembke*. The return of Naumann’s son, Paul, whose sense of entitlement will eventually lead to his father’s death and the apparent victory, halfway through the film of National Socialist *Kriminalfilme* entitlement motifs.

The true detective figure at the centre of the film is Lembke, an authentic Lohmann character, wedded to the job, apparently single, independently minded and unafraid of mixing with the criminal classes but always remaining aloof from them. He is the film’s “extraordinary man” with a “penetrating” and “sharp intelligence” (Maloney, 1975, 35). He relies on the bureaucracy and team around him but also uses his independent nature to weigh the information that he has been given by the system to uncover the answers. Most importantly for his democratic credentials, he is able to mix with the criminal milieu whilst defending his own honour. In one key scene, we understand his moral values and his determination to uphold the law in the new Germany, he is rolling a cigarette made from very shaggy tobacco. He comments that he is not very good at rolling cigarettes and that this wayward tobacco has come from the plants that he has been growing on his balcony at home. This indicates that he does not partake in the black-marketing but he will uphold the law in all elements of his life and he remains untouched by the corruption that he has to deal with on a daily

basis. He is the $\chi+1$ factor that will tip the scales of justice in favour of the people and eventually defeat Goll's racket. His character and the way he operates puts this film firmly in the democratic tradition of the German detective.

Black markets

Razzia opens with a view across the Reichstag and the semi legal open barter market in front of it. The position of the market is important. The Reichstag is firmly in the British Zone and, therefore, the capitalist part of the city. It stands, however, close to the sector border with the Soviet and, in the narrative of the film, "democratic" sector. It is able to influence the citizens of the Soviet Sector by its proximity. Suddenly police lorries appear: it is a raid, a *Razzia*. The words *Razzia* appear on the screen and the film begins. This short opening title sequence has set the tone for the film. The black market is rife, its criminality affects male and female, honest and dishonest. It is the chaotic microcosm of the feminized street with its surface and temporary shops. It produces a system where citizens are forced to break the law to survive and where dishonest men exploit the weaknesses and the hunger of their fellow citizens for profit. Klingler has established these petty barter markets as the feminized entry point into the black market. This black market is dark and sordid, and is spreading itself across the fabric of the western half of the city. The barter markets are simply the final point of the black market's tentacles of evil corrupting the city. They are the place where the "honest" woman paid 200RM for a bottle of Schnapps to cheer up her husband on his birthday. Like Lohmann in Lang's *M*, Naumann and, eventually, Lembke know that mass actions by the police will not get to the heart of the matter. They need to target specific points and attack the problem scientifically by working on the centre of the problem, the night club Alibaba where, as Naumann says "[etwas] stimmt nicht".

The heart of evil: Alibaba

If the barter market is where Berlin's "Not und Elend" is clear, it is at the night-club that the glitz and disgrace of the black market become clear. Once visitors to the club have traversed the rubble outside, they are confronted with a white and bright male-controlled feminized space. The gendering of the club is marked by a large poster of Yvonne, the club's singer that dominates the foyer. The bar dominates the public space where beautiful women sit in fine cocktail dresses sipping cocktails from long-stemmed glasses waiting, apparently, to pick up powerful men. Opposite the bar is the band area, which is dominated by the exotic singer, Yvonne. She appears to be of Southern European origin and sings love songs in a seductive accent. Yvonne is Goll's moll and also the lover of *Kriminal-Anwärter* Becker who works for Naumann. This duality of relationships links her to the Weimar *femme fatale* and her "insatiable libido" drives her to criminality (Hales, 2007, 227). This makes her either willingly or unwillingly "prey" (Hales, 2007, 227) on the initially unsuspecting Becker. The club follows the pattern set by Lang in the *Mabuse* series of a multi-faceted, multi-level space. The club and Yvonne's dressing room is above ground. Yvonne has her own space behind the dance floor. From here she entices Becker to betray his secrets and to tell her when the next police raid on the club will take place. She preens herself in front of three mirrors and, as she speaks words of love to Becker, the audience can see her from two sides exposing the two-faced nature of her interactions with Becker. Becker's love affair with Yvonne will cause him to fail as a policeman and will see him drawn down into the next level of the club: Goll's office in the basement.

The deadly basement

Like *Mabuse's* lair, Goll's office is underground in the building's complex of cellars and *Luftschutzkeller*. His office is full of looted goods such as wall hangings and religious icons. It has the sense of a blasphemous space where the gods of capitalism are worshipped. We see an auction of looted medicines, which have been stolen by his organisation from an old Wehrmacht store. These will be sold on the black market. Lembke is aware that the shipment is on the way and he rails against the injustice that a product that costs a mere 12RM a piece in a chemist but will be sold for hyper inflated prices on the black market for 15,000RM. A monstrous profit and a price which will cause Berlin's citizens to either have to go without medicine or pay an over-inflated price for medicines which have been cut with other materials until they are rendered useless or perhaps fatally dangerous⁴⁶. Yvonne's role is to entice punters and marks into the club. Those that are deemed useful are drawn down, as Becker and Naumann are, to their doom in Goll's office. Goll's office, however, is not a destination in itself. It is a place of transit and connection to the underworld of Mierisch's warehouse and also a place of death where good men are destroyed. The *Luftschutzkeller* (LSK) leads via a hidden door to the complex and confusing basement itself. It is not only where Goll stores his high value goods, like the medicines.

It also makes serves as a link to the warehouse of Franz Mierisch, who, with the "komischer Kerl", Willi, runs the logistics of Goll's business. This is also where Naumann will be killed when he gets too close to exposing Goll. The club more than adequately fulfils Lang's vision of a criminal centre. With its multiple levels and locations, it reaches through the fabric of the city and it physically undermines the police's efforts to protect the people's democracy. The club's location in the city is a key facet. Twice we see the police lorries pass a sector sign as they travel towards the club to raid it. Twice the camera is positioned so that a sign saying "You are leaving the American

⁴⁶ This subject becomes a key issue in Peter Pewas' 1948 film, *Straßenbekanntschaft* which will be examined later in this chapter. It is also the central theme of Carol Reed's 1949 film *Noir, The Third Man*

Sector” is prominent. In this case, Klingler has located the film in the American Sector. He has deliberately placed the heart and tentacles of the black market in the Western half of the city.

The centre of democracy: The police station

In contrast to the Alibaba the police station is shabby and rundown. We only see three spaces, all male dominated and without any women at all: the black market squad office, Lembke’s office and a conference room. For such an important squad as the anti-black market squad it can be assumed that it is positioned, like Lohmann’s office in the central police station in Alexanderplatz, in the centre of working-class East Berlin. This gives these police officers not only a central legitimacy from their position in the heart of “democratic” Berlin but also makes them heirs to Lohmann. The dust of the outside world coats the male space of the police HQ, which will signal the feminized criminal corruption that will seep into the police station. Becker has been corrupted by his relationship with Yvonne and by giving himself into love has threatened Naumann’s life. He knows that he is not loved by Yvonne but cannot stop, he asks her, “*liebst Du mich eigentlich?*” To which she replies “*so etwas darf man eine Frau nicht fragen*”.

Home: Naumann’s flat

If the male police station is not a true place of safety, then surely Naumann’s feminized family flat is? Nauman’s domestic arrangements put the flat outside the Lang model of a detective story. At the beginning of the film, the family consists of Naumann, his wife and his daughter Anna. Naumann’s wife stays at home but his daughter, Anna, works. Lorenz is courting her with the benign approval of her father. The family seems in balance, having a simple life and honestly working through the trials of the post-war settlement. This situation is thrown out of balance by the return of Naumann’s son Paul, who had been held in an American POW camp in Bavaria. Here he has come under the feminizing and corrupting influence of the Americans. He is an unemployed musician but feels

entitled to more in life than that which can be provided by his basic ration card. He needs a job but is consistently rejected until he then bumps into his old Wehrmacht pal and black-marketeer, the “komischer Kerl” Willi. Willi says to him “ich hätte was für dich”. Paul agrees and wants to be paid in the black market currency of cigarettes, although he does not smoke. He engages in a form of Oedipal struggle against his father in which he will become an accessory in the murder of his own father. Paul is part of Goll’s black market racket, while his father is trying to protect the city and defeat Goll. By contrast we do not see any part of Lembke’s domestic arrangements. He, as the true Lohmann character, does not have a domestic life but only a professional life. The only thing that we know about his domestic arrangements is that his flat has a balcony and on that balcony he grows his own tobacco so that he does not have to purchase black market cigarettes. Until his fall at the end of the film, we are only shown Lembke *im Dienst*.

We have two key spaces that tie the film to the detective genre and one additional new space: The Naumann family flat. The police station and Alibaba act as battlements from which the fight for the Rule of Law is joined. The police station is a male-dominated space while the second space the Alibaba. is a “fascinating [...] underworld” (Bould, 2005, 27) in the literal and metaphorical sense, a female-fronted male space. Goll, the chief racketeer, uses Yvonne and the other club girls as bait to entice customers and corruptible policemen in, making it a space where “female sexuality and criminality” (Bould, 2005, 27) are intertwined. Yvonne appears to work willingly as a lure and the film condemns her as she becomes an accessory in Naumann’s death. The exceptional place within the genre is Naumann’s flat. As it seems to be controlled by his wife, it is a female-dominated space the order of which is brought into question by the arrival of Paul, Naumann’s son. Goll, through his ability to use Paul and Yvonne, has created a pincer, which will eventually crush Naumann. The fact that he has a home life and a domestic life are perhaps signs that his ability as a policeman, in the classical Langian sense, is compromised. A “true” detective does not have emotional entanglements and his home should be the police station as it was for Lohmann. The feminized space of the flat

appears to be Naumann's fatal weakness and, as we will see at the end of the film, will be the undoing of other police colleagues.

The battle for democracy: The first raid

Razzia has a number of set pieces around which the film is structured, showing us who the true detective hero of the film is. The first set piece is the first raid on the *Alibaba*. Naumann is on the hunt for a "komischer Kerl" who has been described as the supplier of illicit schnapps bottles at inflated prices. Naumann, who hitherto the audience understands to be the central detective of the film, is briefing his team, Lorenz and Becker. He says to them "Ich habe das Gefühl dass wir einen ganz komischen Kerl da treffen". Immediately, the action cuts to the *Alibaba* where our "komischer Kerl" Willi, is talking at the bar discussing schnapps and cigarettes with a group of fellow black-marketeers. They have a line of cocktails in front of them and are fully integrated into the life of the *Alibaba*. Willi, wears a casual bow tie while the others wear shirt and tie, perhaps connecting him to a feminized American sense of dress, and says "Feierabend unser Besuch kommt" indicating that they are obviously fully briefed about the raid. The action then cuts to Yvonne's dressing room, where Yvonne and Goll are discussing the evening. It is clear that the information about the raid has come through her. She has a *Spitzel* amongst the ranks of the police who she has been able to ensnare by using her sexuality. As far as the audience know, only Naumann, Lorenz and Becker knew about the raid beforehand. One of them must be the informer. From their discussion, we understand that Yvonne and Goll are in a relationship and that he is perfectly happy for her to have a relationship aside with the, as yet unknown, policeman. Goll brushes her concerns about the risks involved in her relationship and walks around the club checking that "alles in Ordnung [ist]" before the raid.

The club is completely clean as the tip off has allowed them to remove any contraband. As the police arrive in the club, they pass an oversized poster of Yvonne's face in the foyer. The raid

interrupts Yvonne's melancholy song, "die Liebe ist wie ein *Chanson*", which is played in front of a band whose stands display the English word "Swing". Naumann and his colleagues check the *Ausweise* of the club-goers and Becker enters Yvonne's dressing room to check her and Goll's *Ausweise*. Becker and Yvonne only speak to each other so that Becker can see her pass. However, it is clear from their mutual body language that they are in a relationship together and that he is the source of the leak. The police find absolutely nothing and Naumann's attempts to bring the bar staff into conversation so that they will tell him Willi's name come to nothing. The raid has failed. As the Naumann drives the detectives away from the club he poses a question to Lorenz "ist etwas dir aufgefallen?" and Lorenz replies no. Naumann has noticed that they found absolutely nothing and that it is extremely unusual that a club would be completely clean like this. Naumann considers the fact that they found nothing and ruminates "das gefällt mir nicht, überhaupt nicht".

The club is a feminized, Americanized space dominated by Yvonne and swing music. Its feminized glitz hides hard men doing dangerous deals that will impoverish and harm their fellow citizens outside the club. When the police arrive, they are unable to penetrate the cover that Yvonne gives the private spaces like the dressing room. While the public spaces of the club hide danger, it is in the private spaces that the threat becomes palpable and where the next set piece plays out with Naumann's exposure as a failed detective.

Democracy defeated: Naumann's murder

Naumann realises that either Lorenz or Becker betrayed the raid. He goes to Becker's private room and asks him whether he had said anything to anyone, which Becker strenuously denies. Naumann is playing the role of key detective and in this role he sees a photo of Yvonne on Becker's nightstand. Her image not only betrays Becker but acts as a flag indicating the feminization of this masculine space. Naumann follows him to the club as Becker runs off directly to the Alibaba and then proceeds backstage to Yvonne's dressing room. Becker's loss of personal agency to Yvonne draws Becker in to the club's underworld and his doom.

Naumann, for all his avuncular connection to Lohmann, is exposed as a failed detective. Becker's loss of agency to Yvonne not only affects his ability to be an honourable policeman but also removes agency from Naumann and prevents him from being able to resist the dangers of the *LSK* leading to his death. Yvonne is shown to be the agent of transfer, moving Naumann from the public to the threatening and fatal space of the club's underground cellar.

Democracy victorious: The second raid

Naumann's death provides the opportunity for the film's true detective hero to show himself. On Naumann's death, Lembke has to "act down" to take over Naumann's role heading up the black market squad. He has two questions to address: firstly, who betrayed the raid; secondly, how to stop the importation and sale of the black market medicines. It is in the interrogation of Becker and Lorenz that Lembke begins to show his Lohmannesque qualities. Becker incriminates his fellow officer Lorenz by placing false evidence on him, thus trying to also remove Lorenz's agency. Lembke is confronted with apparently overwhelming evidence that Lorenz is the source of the leak. Lorenz, however, presents Lembke with Naumann's notebook. This piece of bureaucratic paperwork allows him to show his male Lohmannesque characteristics and gives him the logical clues he needs to find the *Spitzel*. He thereby holds the evidence against Lorenz to one side and uses his intuition to set a

trap for the true *Spitzel*. He shows that he values paper and the link that this gives to the male power of administration above Becker's feminized verbal accusation.

Lembke briefs both Lorenz and Becker about a raid on the Alibaba that evening and, in doing so, sets a trap for Becker who is exposed as the source of the leak. The police storm the club and the power dynamic *vis-a-vis* Goll and the police is reversed. This time the camera rejects Yvonne's attempts at agency and does not linger on the poster of Yvonne. Goll says, "darf ich bitten" trying to retain dominance and agency over the club but Lembke asserts his own dominance by retorting, "das Fragen überlassen Sie uns" and rebuffs him. Paul, Naumann's son, flees the scene and with the words spoken by his mother ringing in his ears when she said "dein Vater wird stolz auf dich gewesen". He redeems himself by returning to the club and prevents Goll's escape. Here, Lembke shows his Lohmannesque qualities once again. He realises that Paul has been mixed up with Goll but instead of arresting him with the others says that he will visit the Naumann family "privat" and overlook Paul's involvement. This ability to weigh justice and the law links him to Lohmann who also understands when the Rule of Law should be applied to its fullest extent and when justice is better served by mercy.

Lembke's credentials as the Lohmann character have been confirmed in that he has been able to overcome the feminization of the club and deal effectively with Goll. He has understood when the Rule of Law is to be applied and when it is to be ignored. The case is complete, however his credentials are destroyed at the end of the film, when agency will be transferred from Lembke to Frau Naumann. Lembke visits Frau Naumann "privat" in the final scene and he is carrying a bunch of flowers for Frau Naumann.

He enters the room and presents the bunch to Frau Naumann. She compliments him on the flowers and enquires where he obtained such a festive bunch. Lembke hesitates and then admits:

Ja, es gaben ni-irgendwelche dann habe ich sie[...]tja ich habe sie[...]tja auf dem schwarzen Markt nennt das man wohl[...]wenn ich nicht irre.

Thus, the upright hero who went to the trouble of growing his own tobacco in order to remain untainted by black market cigarettes is undone by his growing affections for Frau Naumann. In order to satisfy those affections, he moves from a democratic hero, who upholds the Rule of Law, to a detective who feels entitled to use the black market to satisfy his affections and wooing of Frau Naumann.

It is clear that the film's central female role, Yvonne, is a trap for the policemen that fall within her grasp. She sits like a spider at the centre of a web: the Alibaba whose strands spread from the American Sector throughout the city. Her picture is set above the entrance of the club and although Goll is the owner and the driving force of it, she serves as a form of fetish goddess tempting men to their doom. She is the seductress who sings at the club in a revealing dress in front of an American-style swing band. As a 'figure of transfer' she is responsible for the corruption of Becker and the ultimate destruction of Naumann. The film clearly criticises her and holds her responsible. While her condemnation is obvious, what is less obvious but more telling is the condemnation of the ordinary women of the film. It is the wife who wants to buy a 'present' of black market schnapps for her husband who is fuelling the black market and who is giving women like Yvonne their ability to destroy the bringers of democracy.

Nation building implications: Lembke defeated

Despite the film's hybridity it appears to function clearly as a *Kriminalfilm*. Lembke has defeated these black-market racketeers. The interjection of genre confusion has brought in the element of romance and his love of Naumann's widow. In allowing himself to surrender to the pleasures of the heart and the possible delights of Naumann's widow the expected *Kriminalfilm* ending is frustrated. The police are battling against women at both ends of the scale, from the housewife who buys a bottle of schnapps to Yvonne the singer. But the destructive power of women is only clearly seen at the end of the film where Lembke has brought one of several bunches of black market flowers for

Frau Naumann. This is a man upon whom the integrity and the democratic future of the new nation rests. Frau Naumann has warped these credentials and this has allowed her to become another agent of transfer, like Yvonne. She has removed Lembke's agency and he has become, like Naumann before him, a man dependant on another women and a man playing the black market. With his loss of agency, we cannot now be sure whether he really is a man of the new democracy. She has inflicted a second defeat on him. If he is prepared to betray his principles for a mere bunch of flowers for Frau Naumann, what else will he be prepared to do?

Straßenbekanntschaft

An organ grinder is playing in a Berlin street. A man is sitting in a cafe, staring out of the window at the frontage of the local laundry across the road. He seems to be watching out for something. Then, suddenly, a van pulls up and a middle-aged man wearing a black overcoat jumps out and enters the laundry, where he is greeted by the two women who are working there: Erika and her friend Else. Both are dressed in white but Else's black underwear is plainly visible at the top of her housecoat. She is extolling the virtues of the man in the black overcoat because of his ability to get her *Strumpfhose* and take her to parties where there is lots to eat. Because of his ability to keep her the things that she desires the most, *Strumpfhosen* and *Kotelett*, she says "ich bleib ihm treu". He gives her a new pack of stockings and she tries them on in the middle of the laundry.

So opens Peter Pewas' 1948 film *Straßenbekanntschaft*, which was produced as an *Aufklärungsfilm* and feature film (*Der Spiegel*, 16/1948). Pewas himself claimed that the film was not a documentary but actually a *Spielfilm* (It 1948), warning young people of the perils of sexual permissiveness and the dangers of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), particularly syphilis and gonorrhoea. The film ignores the core originators of rampant syphilis and gonorrhoea in Berlin, Soviet soldiers, during the 'rape of Berlin' in the final days of the war. As with all *Trümmerfilme*, the ruins of the city are evident everywhere but there is no discussion of the reasons for the ruins or whether there is a connection between the city's moral turpitude and the ruins. Whilst the Allies themselves are nowhere to be seen, the film's central driver is the decision by the Allies to consider that women were the vector of sexual infection. Therefore, they considered it legitimate to round up women found at large in bars and clubs and forcibly test them for infection. Allied forces, however, did not do this themselves but used the local police forces as their enforcers thus, bringing the local police into disrepute (Weindling, 1994, 284-289); (Heineman, 1999,104).

Straßenbekanntschaft: Literature review

When released, the film was not universally praised. *Der Spiegel* hinted at Pewas' original career as illustrator saying "Die Plakate stammen von den besten Männern ihres Faches. Der Film nicht" (*Der Spiegel*, 16/1948). It hints at the terrible experiences of the "rape of Berlin" but opines that perhaps there is already enough greyness in modern German life without having to add to it with this weary and depressing film (*ibid.*). The magazine continued saying that:

Für die mehreren hundert Neuerkrankungen, die allein Berlin allmonatlich aufzuweisen hat, ist sicher keiner der drei dargestellten Fälle besonders typisch. Die verschiedenen Milieus sind in brutalster Schwarz-Weiß-Manier gezeichnet, und weil es ein DEFA-Film ist, muß es ein Sündenpfehl bei einem alten Exzellenz sein, in deren Makartmeublement man jezt und hin und wieder ein "frisches junges Ding" aus den unteren Kreisen vernascht.

Übrigens macht in dem ganzen Film kein Mensch eine "Straßenbekanntschaft"! (*ibid.*)

Neues Deutschland also saw the film as dealing with a very serious subject stating, "Ein Film, in dem nichts von Liebe vorkommt, sei überhaupt kein richtiger Film, behaupten viele Leute. Nun, in dem neuesten DEFA-Film, der am nächsten Dienstag uraufgeführt wird, kommt die Liebe wahrlich nicht zu kurz. Doch handelt er nicht vom Glück der Liebe, sondern von ihren Gefahren" (It, 1948). It claimed that the film was important because it showed the dangers that Germany's youth in the troubled years immediately after the war was presented with. Following Pewas' death in 1984, the film was given a new lease of life and has subsequently been described as a classic which uses "Die Kamera als Scheinwerfer" (Gehler, 25, 1991).

Genre description

Shandley sees the film as a “discourse of marriage, sexual propriety and multiple sexual partners” (Shandley, 2001, 138) hinting at a melodramatic genre identification. He sees the portrayal of Marion’s “betrayal” (Shandley, 2001, 135) by Pewas as the key to the destruction of her family’s “domestic bliss” (*ibid.*). He goes on to explain that in his view the film “motivates and informs a response to women’s non-traditional sexual relations as morally abhorrent and quite literally a threat to the health and welfare of the community” (Shandley, 2001, 138). His concentration is on the Pewas’ criticism of women, but he does not take this further or make the same leap that he does with *Die Mörder* to analyse the film through the lens of genre cinema. Despite Pewas’ background in National Socialist film “DEFA commissioned [him] to produce a feature film about venereal diseases” (Shandley, 2001, 133). At its origins, Shandley claims that film combines a traditional melodramatic feature film with a social message or social problem film. He claims that this ‘social problem film’ is supported by neo-realism following an encounter with Roberto Rossellini (Shandley, 2001, 133). He continues by claiming that this encounter also “stimulated Pewas’” commitment to 1930s realist cinema and the films of “Jean Renoir” (Shandley, 2001, 136).

Shandley’s genre identification does not end with the film as a social problem film. He goes on to claim that the film was originally written by the film’s writer as a *Strassenfilm* and that although much of the final screenplay diminished this genre root it remained at heart a *Strassenfilm* (Shandley, 2001, 136-137). The final genre identified by Shandley was that of the melodrama, because of the love stories at the centre of the film. He says that:

The [...] film and the screenplay promotes conventional forms of heterosexual domesticity, the film is [...] directly concerned with constructing a narrative in which the characters eventually re-establish themselves within that dominant paradigm” (Shandley, 2001, 137).

Despite the film’s DEFA origins few have identified the film’s socialist origins. Martina Moeller, however steps in to redress this balance by describing the film as “humanist” and “socialist”

(Moeller, 2013, 54), whereby the film's hero steps in as a good socialist idealist to "save a young woman who is endangered by prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases" (*ibid.*).

The film then, like the films we have already reviewed, displays a large level of hybridity above and beyond its key genre identification of a social problem film or a melodrama. This interplay again creates a high level of tension which may render other meanings and readings of the film opaque. In order to reveal some of the film's obscured messages it will be reviewed using the lens of the *Kriminalfilm* genre.

Straßenbekanntschaft: a Kriminalfilm?

In contrast to Lembke or even Nauman, Erika's boyfriend, Walter is not a police detective but is a journalist who has to act like a detective to uncover those guilty of spreading STIs. His role is not to identify and arrest those women who have been found to have an STI; he has a more strategic role in discovering and trying to prevent the causes of the epidemic. He acts as the Lohmann figure that is trying to stand against the Allies policy of considering women the vector of infection and return society to the Weimar policy of considering men the vector. The Weimar policy was based on its constitution where "motherhood is placed under state protection and welfare" (Stibbe, 2013, 146). This story brings the film in line with the detective genre however there is another key element to this story, namely the doctors and STI hospital. The doctors have the role of the judge, deciding who is guilty and not guilty of carrying an STI. The hospital fulfills the role of a prison where the contagion is contained and prisoners are redeemed (Hickethier, 2005, 22). *Straßenbekanntschaft* is a film of two halves: a detective story as overarching narrative and a prison story which "schildert die sozialen Beziehungen der Gefangenen untereinander, die Abhängigkeiten von internen Hierarchien [...] aber auch Ausbruchsversuche" (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 22). As the film makes a narrative out of a very topical problem of women suffering from an STI, it shows a world where criminality is, in fact, a problem of "bad blood" (Covey, 2009, 1389). The film suggests that women have a "physically innate

inability to control ‘uncivilised’ impulses” (Covey, 2009, 1389) and therefore the legal system led by the detective must strain every sinew to prevent this criminality. This mix of genres gives us a number of possible outcomes. However, the key detective story should see the detective stopping the key crime, that of malicious infection, and remain single at the end of the film.

Workspaces

The key workspaces shown are completely feminized and controlled by the leading female characters. Erika is a worker at a local *Wäscherei* a space managed and run by at least three women. The *Wäscherei* sits in the centre of the surface that is the street and where the *mis-en-scène* reinforces the sense of surface. It is a space that is completely white inside, implying some kind of innocence, despite the women taking men’s roles as breadwinners. But this white innocence hides the sins of the city as they are washed away. The *Wäscherei*’s appearance in the first scene of the film is surely significant in that it suggests that the whole of the city has metaphorical dirty laundry that needs to be washed out and aired. It is a place of surface, hung round as it is with Berlin’s dirty washing. This washing out, however, is not in the hands of the, expected, leaders of society but it is completely in the hands of the independent women that run the establishment. They are affecting a surface clean in lieu of a proper purge of the city’s morals or providing a moral lead to those citizens. The apparent whiteness of the establishment is in contrast to the actions and conversations of the staff that man the shop. Both Erika and Else are dressed in white. However, they are talking about men, and Else’s black under-slip is visible above the collar of her white work coat. It is the space where Erika’s first temptation will take place and her descent into immorality will begin in this female-dominated place of surface.

In the first scene, both women are preparing to go home from their shift at the *Wäscherei*. Else’s boyfriend appears in the shop, dressed all in black, in contrast to the women around him. Erika hides herself behind a net curtain to change. This surface belies the modesty that it is supposed to

engender, since it is only lightly opaque and Else's boyfriend is able to enjoy two "stripteases" for the price of one. He wants Erika to join them at another woman's flat, Annemie, for a party. Erika initially declines but is hooked by the offer of *Kotelett*. This female-controlled space is one of deception, the men merely appearing as supplicants having to offer favours, of *Kotelett* or *Strumpfhosen*, to attract the controllers of this space. The party breaks up and the women depart for their separate destinations. Annemie later enters the *Wäscherei* dressed in black, signifying her evil intent, and enquires why Erika no longer comes to the parties that she holds at her flat. Erika says that they have become boring, but Annemie says that if she finds the parties boring she could introduce her to a woman who holds salons, where Erika only needs to play cards with old men in return for cigarettes. The *Wäscherei*, as a place where men are not in leadership, has become a microcosm of the nation. The establishment's independent women appear to be clean and wholesome with their white overcoats and surrounds of white underclothes and tablecloths. But without the moderating hand of a male leader, they are easily tempted away from sobriety to prostitution and licentious behaviour. This behaviour by independent women in a female-dominated space of surface will lead to the propagation of disease and endanger the revival of the nation.

The tram

The next workspace is the tram. Marion, the film's other female protagonist, is a ticket collector and tram conductor. While the tram is driven by a man, he does this under the control of Marion, and it is filled mainly with women going off to work. Thus this originally male-dominated space is now female-dominated.

This job enables her to have financial and emotional independence. She is married, but does not stay at home to await the return of Herbert her husband. Instead, she works. When her husband, Herbert, returns to their new home in Prenzlauer Berg he finds that roles and dominance in the home are reversed, showing this as "morally abhorrent and [...] a threat to the health and

welfare of the community” (Shandley, 2001, 136). Marion has the commanding position in the household as the breadwinner, while he, the returned soldier, is reduced to domestic duties. His agency is, thus removed by this transposition of roles.

It is on the trams that we see Marion’s apparent innocence exposed. She admits to Olly, another female conductor, that she had a sexual affair with another man while her husband was away. Olly advises her to forget it and simply to ensure that she is “gesund”. We do not initially understand why Marion has to remain healthy. However, we later discover, when Marion collapses at work, that she has contracted an STI, which she has passed on to Herbert, who in turn will pass it on to Erika. Marion’s independence is linked to immorality, which in its turn has been facilitated by her job. Thus the workplace has become the vector by which Marion felt empowered not only to live her own life but also to give herself to another man. The consequences of such an empowering are devastating to Herbert, in the short term, as their roles are reversed and, in the long term, it endangers Erika’s health. Walter will become directly engaged with uncovering the damage that this empowerment will do. It is clear that the vector of infection is work.

Walter’s flat

The domestic spaces are critical to this piece. It is Walter’s flat that signposts him as the film’s Lohmann character. Although he is a journalist, he works at home. His typewriter is set up in the lounge and he gathers his information in order to uncover the truth. Initially, it is clear that he lives alone, dedicated to his job. Like Lohmann, he sleeps alone where he works in a shabby but comfortable male-dominated space. However, when Erika leaves her parent’s flat she comes to live with him and this image of solitary detective is disturbed and the space disrupted. The pair do not live as lovers; he gives up his bedroom for her and he sleeps on the sofa. He maintains his connection to Lohmann by moving in to the room that he uses as an office and sleeping there. However, his domination of the space is at an end. Her growing agency in this sexless flat will allow

Erika to explain to him why she feels entitled to spend her time enjoying herself, initially at Annemie's and later at the brothel. This contradiction of the space/gender trope will eventually lead to the prevention of Walter's attempts to unravel the injustices of the Berlin STI control system and to identify the true vector of infection. Because of her invasion into what should be a male-dominated space he will be prevented from realising that the vector of infection is neither male nor female but work.

Annemie's brothel

The domestic space of the other key woman in the film, Annemie, is also important. In her space women have complete agency and the men become their servants, exchanging sex for food. Annemie's female friends gorge themselves on the gifts that the men bring as entrance fee and give themselves sexually to those men. The scene shows the link between women and consumption: they consume the black market food brought by the supplicant men and they sexually consume the men. Herbert is driven to the flat because Marion's infidelity is exposed while he is cleaning up the flat. As Herbert arrives at Annemie's, Erika is given her first pair of *Strumpfhosen* and she is so delighted that she dances seductively with Herbert. They get closer and closer to each other, until he is seduced and kisses her. The next scene sees them waking up in bed together and Herbert rushing off home to confront his wife about her own infidelity. Marion defends herself against Herbert saying that her affair has "gar keine Bedeutung für uns". The conversation continues:

M: ich bin klar darüber...Du hast gar so wenig Gedanken gemacht [über uns zu Hause] als andere Männer. Wie wir Frauen gelebt haben....das weiß doch kaum....Jeden Morgen in Fabrik. Spät abends nach Hause...das kalte Zimmer... Alarm...und sogar die Angst und die Hilflosigkeit. Ist es so unverständlich das wir getäuscht waren?

H: Wir haben im Dreck gelegen.

M: Was habt ihr auch sonst dann getan?

Marion argues that she was entitled to seek a little comfort because of the terrible situation that she and the other women were in. It is the sense of entitlement that leads to Marion and Erika's downfall. Marion will pass an STI on, Erika will catch Marion's STI and end up in a brothel. This conjunction of entitlements expressed by the two key women will lead Walter to investigate the causes of Berlin's STI epidemic.

The hospital

The key space for this investigation is the female-dominated hospital, linking the film to *Mabuse* where the criminals are contained but not re-socialised. This key space is introduced the day after Erika has escaped from the brothel. She is at a local bar with Walter when there is a police raid⁴⁷. They are detaining all the single women for STI testing, as per the Allies' policy on sexual health. The women seem, in the main, used to this experience, there is some happy cackling heard under the complaints of a number of them, including Erika. Walter is frustrated when his date with Erika is postponed because of police action and he demands to know what is happening. The policeman declines to answer and he travels with the laughing women to the hospital where all is revealed. Here, Walter discovers how the disease is spread. He is told that all the single women are rounded up and compulsorily tested for sexually transmitted diseases. There is no choice in the matter. Walter displays his Lohmann-esque democratic credentials and his contempt for "mass" police actions when the administrative and scientific methods are more effective. He says that a "Razzia ist [...] ein Griff in das Privatleben". The female doctor running the tests retorts that he should not be so squeamish. The working woman overrules Walter's claim to democracy.

The female doctor states that the National Socialists allowed the medical authorities to act in such a way and she expects that the medical authorities will continue to be entitled to act in this way. Walter is shocked and tries to fight this entitled oppression with democracy but he is defeated

⁴⁷ This scene is repeated, without explanation, in Billy Wilder's *A Foreign Affair*.

when a male doctor, working under the female doctor as her assistant, explains that “Statistiken sind Tatsachen” are against him, explaining that during the war a “respectable” young woman infected more than 300 men in a three-month period before she was caught. To reinforce his point, he shows Walter a slide of a woman who has syphilitic lesions on her back. This is the key scene where Walter fulfils the role of detective. He is pushing the doctors for information and arguing that the way that they are trying to control the epidemic is wrong. A male doctor has lost all agency saying there is no other alternative to that suggested by the female doctor. Walter’s sense of injustice is aroused and he is driven to dig more deeply into the case. Once he feels that he has a case and a strong story, he tries to sell it to his editor, who is unimpressed. Walter has the scent of a campaign and looks like he will pursue it until he has changed the way that Berlin deals with infected women. His campaign, however, collapses when it is discovered that Erika has contracted an STI. She has, effectively, been found guilty and is forced to admit herself to hospital. All the time his relationship with Erika has prevented him from understanding the true causes of the epidemic: that is the vector of independent working women.

The hospital - containment and redemption space

In her first hospital scene, Erika is standing by the window looking out, already missing her freedom. The window has large crosspieces in it, which gives the impression of bars across it. The film has now changed course to become a prison film. We see a cross section of stock characters (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 22). Amongst the hospital population waiting to be allocated a room is a teenager, aged 16, who is in the hospital for the first time. She has a boyfriend, from whom she apparently caught the STI. She is worried that she may not be able to conceive children after having been ill. She is asked if she still loves her boyfriend and she replies “ich weiß nicht”. There are the old lags, who mock the young girl and the administration. One woman particularly stands out: she is fat, this in a time of hunger, and is wearing a brassiere. As all the other women, including Erika, are shown wearing slips rather than brassieres when in their underwear. The fat woman’s underwear and

weight seem to indicate a level of sexual activity above that of the other women. She obviously has agency and has used it to swap sex for food and modern lingerie. She also appears to know how to play the system and this is probably not her first time in the hospital. As per the prison genre Erika and her co-sufferers are looked over by a hard but fair nurse. The nurse tries to reassure the 16-year-old that everything will be all right and deals with the fat woman harshly.

This “prison” experience is too hard for Erika; she flees first to Walter’s flat then to Annemie’s flat. There she tries to find another way to be cured of the disease. Annemie tells her that she might be able to buy penicillin on the black market, the subject of both *Razzia* and *The Third Man*, but that Annemie has no money she can give her. Annemie also then tells Erika that she is infected with syphilis and that she will not go to the hospital. Erika sees the lesions on Annemie’s back and is so disgusted by them that she runs back to the hospital and undergoes her treatment. It is at the hospital that Erika is redeemed; she does her time and is cured. To emphasise this redemption, she is picked up at the hospital by Walter and they kiss at the gates of the establishment. Annemie however, refuses to “stand trial” and continues to ply her trade outside KDW near the Kurfürstendamm in the Western half of the city.

Nation building implications - a defeated detective

As a melodrama the film is perhaps a success, Walter and Erika kiss and Herbert and Marion are reconciled. Each pair will be able to live together to build a new Germany having found a new accommodation between man and women. Walter however, has not been a great success as a detective: his love of Erika enabled him to get closer to the story, but only part of the story. His attempts to get to the heart of the story have been fatally flawed by her moving in to his male space. He was able to unravel the injustices of how the Berlin authorities dealt with the STI crisis following the Allied notion of women being the vector of infection. However, the female domination of spaces, such as: the *Wäscherei*, Marion’s flat, his flat, the bar and the hospital overwhelmed him. His

attempt to build 'investigative' journalism based on a return to the Weimar constitution supporting democracy and human rights is destroyed by the entitlements of the women around him. The independent working woman, Erika, contracts an STI in the first place because she feels completely entitled to live a life unencumbered by the constraints of her parents. She believes that she has the right to eat more than just soup and to enjoy a wild social life after the traumas of the war years. She shows her rejection of the morality and 'pride' represented by her father. Herbert's working wife, Marion, revels in her independent life, while her husband takes on the domestic roles. She rejects the notion that women should remain 'pure' while their *Landser* men enjoy the foreign delights of their war. She believed that she had the right to some 'fun' after the terrors of the *Luftkrieg*. Walter's efforts to try and persuade the medical establishment to change how it deals with STIs are undermined by the female *Hauptärztin's* belief that the Allied way of dealing with the problem was the right way. She believes that history has entitled her to act as she does. It is this sense of entitlement expressed by working women in the *Wäscherei*, tramcar, home and hospital that prevents Walter campaigning for a more democratic way of building the nation.

Walter's efforts to try and prevent the STI epidemic spreading have been defeated by Erika's and Marion's rejection of their genre roles and his love of Erika. Yes, he is able to redeem Erika, but this redemption has emasculated him from his principal task, which is to try and prevent the epidemic. His love of Erika has blinded him to the wider picture, her rejection of traditional male/female roles has blindsided him into passivity. He cannot see the true vector of contagion, work, in operation. The nation has been fundamentally weakened by Walter being diverted from his task of chasing the epidemic down by the working women of Berlin. She has inflicted a second defeat on her new lover and the nation will not be able to overcome the infected peace to build a new nation. She has blinded him by her love to the true vector of infection, work. Erika, Marion and the female doctor have defeated his efforts and ultimately he has to capitulate and surrender his mantle of 'detective' journalist to kiss Erika when she comes out of hospital and live an ordinary life. They kiss in the street, the feminized domain where the detective's writ does not run. Because

Walter has failed to overcome the actions of the women around him, the STI epidemic will continue and the nation will be built up on a foundation of female entitlement to work rather than on a foundation of male democracy. As a result of failing to see the vector of work and preventing the epidemic, the nation is in danger of tending back to law based on entitlement rather than the Rule of Law.

Zwischen gestern und morgen

It is 1947 and a train is entering Munich's roofless *Hauptbahnhof*. The train has come from Basel, Switzerland. The camera shows us one of the passengers: a dapperly dressed man who dismounts from the train. The camera follows him as he walks through the ruined and barely recognised streets of his youth. Similarly, to the opening scenes of Staudte's original *Trümmerfilm* there is no dialogue. Our hero is walking to a new destination and a new future that we can only guess at. His gait is jaunty and proud in comparison to the crumpled people around the streets and their shabby clothes. He walks through the city until he arrives at the Regina hotel. From this point, the dialogue begins and the film starts.

Harald Braun's 1947, film *Zwischen gestern und morgen* is set in the 1947 present and uses flashbacks to one night in March 1938, around the time of the Austrian *Anschluß* and another in 1944 to try and plot a course into the future for the film's key characters. It is set against an atmosphere of the increased pressure on Jews and a strengthening of National Socialist oppression of those who tried to resist. The film becomes a detective story, where the key detective character "Mickey" Michael Rott is not a professional detective but a noted cartoonist, played by Victor de Kowa, who has to find a missing person and solve a mystery surrounding a supposedly stolen necklace. Unlike the amateur detective Walter in *Straßenbekannschaft*, he did not stay in Germany during the war but is a returned political exile after being forced to flee Nazi Germany in 1938 because of his anti-Nazi cartoons. The film is formed of a series of flashbacks that juxtapose one day and night in 1938, with another in 1944 and against the real time of 1947.

Zwischen gestern und morgen - Literature review

This film is another “liminal” film as identified by Brandlmeier (Brandlmeier, 1989, 33). He argues that the films call for a return to “timeless ethical values” (Brandlmeier, 1989, 40). Eric Rentschler uses the title to indicate that the use of the word *Zwischen* in the title signals “a retreat from the disturbing topographies of recent experience” (Rentschler, 2015, 143). Ulrike Sieglöhr’s view is that the director, Braun, as the son of a pastor, attempts with his “memory text” (Sieglöhr, 2000, 92) to reconcile the competing tensions of exile, complicity guilt and how Germans deal with their own *Vergangenheit*. Rarely amongst *Trümmerfilme*, Sieglöhr reviews the film from a gendered point of view, and supports the central narrative of this dissertation as she claims that the men of this film “are thwarted in the efforts” (Sieglöhr, 2000, 99). Jaimey Fisher describes the use of flashbacks as:

Representing the Air War, about which German culture has been alleged to remain silent, its restaging the past as flashbacks renders the Air War central to its narrative denouement, such that bombing actually resolves other traumatic pasts” (Fisher, 2006, 330).

Thus, in Fisher’s view, in the film the air war becomes central and allows the German people to recast themselves as victims and forget their complicity with National Socialism. This ‘forgetting to remember’ is effected through an “emphasis on labor and reconstruction” over “introspection and pain” (Wilms, 2012, 317).

When it released in 1947, *Der Spiegel* saw the film as centring on the glamorous figure of Hildegard Knef, who played Kat. Under the headline, “Kat, ein Mädchen dieser Zeit” (*Der Spiegel*, 19/1947) and began their article saying, “Kat ist ein junges Mädchen dieser Zeit. Sie ist durch die vielen Bemühungen und die kleinen Freuden des Alltags gegangen und hat den Kopf oben behalten. Sie ist schlau und schlagfertig, auch ein wenig skrupellos, wenn es sein muß.” Kat is identified as the film’s key redemptive figure but is also criticised for being *skrupellos*. It is also interesting to note that *Der Spiegel* completely glossed over the backstory of Jewish oppression and Nelly Dreyfuss’ suicide. *Neues Deutschland* was less complimentary saying, “Das einzige Echte an diesem Film, der

zwischen Gestern und Morgen, zwischen Starkult und Edel kitsch pendelt, sind die Münchener Ruinen“ (M, 1948, 3). Pleyer continues:

Harald Braun zeigt, wie das Leben der Menschen durch das nationalsozialistische Regime in Mitleidschaft gezogen wird; Rott muss seine Heimat und die Frau, die er liebt, verlassen; Nelly Dreyfuß wird in den Tod getrieben, weil sie Jüdin ist; den Schauspieler Corty zwingt man ohne Rücksicht auf seine künstlerischen Fähigkeiten zur Aufgabe seines Berufes; Kat verliert Eltern...und muss für ihren kleinen Bruder selbst sorgen; ein Professor wird zu einen verbitterten Menschen, weil seine besten Schüler...im Krieg fielen (Pleyer, 1965, 62).

Genre description

When Martina Moeller looked at the film as part of her 2013 book. She links the love story between the leading characters of Rott and Kat to the National Socialist melodramas in the “UFA style” (Moeller, 2013, 250). This entertaining melodramatic genre label builds on Jennifer Fay’s 2008 book where she claims that the US occupation authorities leaned on Braun to make an “entertainment” (Fay, 2008, 125) film, perhaps remembering the feedback that their Psychological Warfare Branch received when they arrived in Germany and were asked when *Gone with the Wind* was going to be shown (Psychological Warfare Division, 1945, 62). Fay’s genre labelling continues as she highlights the “rubble noir” (Fay, 2008, 128) qualities of the film.

It is interesting that the reviews of this film, while only mentioning the film in passing, have already given it the genre labels of melodrama and *film Noir*, the later giving it a link to the US detective genre. Fisher begins the genre descriptions of the film noting that the film is made up of a number of “cinematic flashbacks” (Fisher, 2006, 330). He continues that these flashbacks also give the film a “courtroom-esque” (Fisher, 2006, 342) quality and he compares each flashback to a “witness statement” (*ibid.*). This emphasis on the courtroom and statements coupled with the

description of the film as a *film-Noir* brings the film close to one which fits, if awkwardly, the *Kriminalfilm* genre.

This is not however of the genre descriptions of this film as Ulrike Sieglöhr adds some surprising glamour to this gritty genre description when she indicates that the film is actually a form of “star” film (Sieglöhr, 2000, 113). Sieglöhr argues that the film's heroine, Hidegard Knef playing Kat, became a “glamorous and charismatic” (Sieglöhr, 2000, 113) star through her *Trümmerfilme*, albeit one of slightly more modest status than Hans Albers. By doing this she links her analysis, with the review of the film in *Der Spiegel* above. In Sieglöhr's view the use of Knef as the leading lady would have been a draw and an indication to the audience of the sort of film that the audience would see. The women who went to the cinema to see a Knef film would be drawn to the cinema to see her playing the role of a “contemporary woman” (*ibid.*) who had the same roles as they did, that is to become a heroine while rebuilding the nation.

Thus, these short descriptions of Braun's *Zwischen gestern und morgen* have identified, if only in passing, a number of key genres in this one *Trümmerfilm*, the melodrama, Film noir, *Kriminalfilm* and “star film”. Yet again this one film, in its 117 minutes, has joined the *Trümmerfilm Staffel* as a film with a confused set of genres struggling for dominance and obscuring some of its own messages. To bring an element of clarity the film will now be examined through the lens of the *Kriminalfilm* in order to expose a new reading of it.

Zwischen gestern und morgen - a Kriminalfilm?

When Rott returns from his Swiss exile he finds himself living in a society where criminality is rife. He returns with a, supposedly, simple task to find out whether his former lover Annette has survived the war. He has the simple task to “reconstruct” (Hickethier, Schumann, 2005, 17) her movements before her assumed disappearance. He has been away from Germany since the 11th March 1938 and has had no contact with her. On his arrival at the hotel, the porter, Herr Hummel, is at first happy to see a former customer arrive back, but once he recognises Rott, he refuses him a room. The hotel’s owner, Ebeling, when meeting Rott in the corridor and challenged about Annette’s location simply says “bedaurere” and refuses to shake Rott’s hand. Thus, the mystery deepens and the film becomes a missing person film. Rott finds that his old room is, in fact, unoccupied and he takes up residence. Rott opens the door to another room to see whether it is occupied only to find that it leads to an abyss, as this side of the hotel has collapsed. The only remnant of the room is the shattered mirror, which hangs off a hinge on the wall. Its broken reflection mirrors the brokenness of both Ebeling’s and Rott’s lives.

Rott’s investigation of Annette’s disappearance leads to the discovery of another crime: the theft of Dreyfuss’ necklace. Rott’s investigation is hampered because he himself is under suspicion of this theft. This necklace was given to Rott by Dreyfuss to give to Corty on the former’s last night in the hotel in 1938. Ebeling, Annette and the hotel staff believe that Rott stole the necklace to finance his escape from Germany not knowing that he had indeed passed it to Corty in the last moments before his escape. In order to discover Annette’s whereabouts and to be reunited with her, he will also have to investigate and discover what happened to the necklace. Despite the Gestapo giving the film a gangsteresque aura, the film remains a detective story with Rott trying to resolve the mystery through its “witness statement” (Fisher, 2006, 342) flashback structure.

As a detective story, there are of course a set group of characters: detective, villain, *femme fatale* and, in this, case the gangsters in the background. Rott is our key detective, he must find

Annette, uncover the criminal that stole Nelly's necklace and hopefully "thwart" the gangsters. If Rott is the detective, what kind of detective is he? With the burden of being an exile from his homeland, a carnation in his button hole, smart suit and being an artist, it is hard to make the case for him being a detective cast in the same mould as Lembke or Lohmann. He does share some Lohmannesque characteristics in that he lives alone and his home, room 220, is also the space where he works to detect crime. But the comparison fails at this point and, therefore, it is necessary to consider an older antecedent to the detective tradition, namely Sherlock Holmes. The comparison to Holmes is much easier to make. Rott as an artist is used to seeing things that others cannot. Rott's dress sense sets him apart from the others in the film: he is more dapper, wearing a button hole and light silk tie in almost all the scenes. His room number 220 is also significant, while it is not 221b, Sherlock Holmes' address in Baker Street, it is very reminiscent and the numerical proximity reminds the audience of Rott's detective roots. Rott is an outsider to the current German society, like Holmes, who seemed to sit apart from his fellow men.

Although a German, Rott is an exile and, as such, this makes him a man under suspicion. His exile has 'othered' him and the citizens of the hotel have good reason to be suspicious of him. Firstly, he did not experience the destruction and defeat of Germany at first hand. His former professor upbraids him when Rott says "Ich war fort" by replying "wir waren hier". The professor continues that those who were not in Germany during the fighting and capitulation "weiß nichts". As with Holmes, Rott is single. The audience knows that he has had a relationship with Annette. However, but the audience does not discover that they had been lovers until half way through the film.

As well as his 'othering' as an exile in Switzerland, there is an element of Americanization to Rott's character linking him to the American Detective *film Noir* output of the 1940s and also feminizing him. In the flashback scenes he is referred to as "Micky" by Corty and is seen drinking Manhattans and Martini cocktails in the hotel's bar where a swing band is playing Americanized

tunes. This Transatlantic flavour gives the Rott character a swing away from the aesthetic Holmes character. Rott's Americanization may have been a sop to the American's who licensed the film but it also gives a hint of a nation whose Declaration of Independence was borne directly out of the Enlightenment, combined with English fair play, and promised its citizens "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (United States, Declaration of Independence, 1776).

The Holmesian, feminized and Americanized émigré, Rott despite his non-German roots is, possibly, the only 'true' German in the film. His name, Michael, is the key to this. He is the modern *deutsche Michel* the masculine figure of the true Germany that evolved from the failed revolutions of 1848. As the representative of the German spirit of 1848, he is the only one who can truly represent Germany and what the nation must become to move beyond capitulation. Not only does he share the name of the *deutsche Michel* but he also shares some of his characteristics. Rott, despite his artistic intellect, is a little slow on the uptake not realising until almost two-thirds of the way through the film that Annette and he are living under the same roof. He is also slow to anger and a pacific character, when in Ebeling's flat they discuss what happened to the necklace and its loss he does not become angry or attempt to strike Ebeling as he is accused of theft.

Thus, Rott is a man who is building a new nation based on his inner *deutsche Michel* of placidity and Americanized good nature. He is attempting to build a nation that is built on rights conveyed to him by dint of his humanity and inalienable rights. In order to build this new land, solve the case and find Annette he has to overcome the opposition of the film's villain the Hotel Manager Ebeling.

Ebeling's flat

Ebeling is not, perhaps, the obvious choice for the villain. He is, after all, a brave man who harboured Nelly Dreyfuss in his hotel when the Nuremburg Laws forbade her from staying there. Her uncovering and death was to cause Ebeling to undergo an interrogation by the Gestapo officers sent to arrest Rott. It is clear however, that this man, constantly dressed in black, opposes Rott and had always wished to have Annette for himself.

Ebeling has become the villain because he is a weak man, who is willing to make accommodations with the surrounding gangsters in order to be able to operate, despite having harboured Dreyfuss and Rott. He has become *der klein Mensch* who is overpowered by the Nazi gangsters. He runs his compromised empire from a flat somewhere at the centre of the hotel. The hotel looks solid, middle class and respectable. However, like Mabuse in Lang's films, Ebeling uses this space to project his power throughout the hotel. In a parallel with *Mabuse*, the flat has become a gilded prison for Annette. It is here that she is held by Ebeling, who destroyed the letters that Rott sent her to try and explain why he had to flee the country. It was here that Ebeling lied to her and prevented her from continuing her studies. His desire for Annette is signalled in an early flashback scene to 1938 where Rott is shown flirting with Annette in the feminized environment of the hotel's bookshop. Ebeling observes this and indicates his jealousy of Rott to the concierge. It is clear that Ebeling is jealous of Rott's devil-may-care attitude and good looks. Ebeling sets to capture Annette, succeeds and becomes her jailer, eventually preventing any relationship between her and Rott.

Kat's basement

Kat is a woman of her time. She has fled Stettin, lost her family and lives in a one-bedroom flat with her young brother who she struggles to feed and clothe. She is an independent, trouser-wearing, petty-criminal who rejects domestic work to scavenge for booty in the ruins of Munich. The audience first meet her while she is scavenging in the ruins of the hotel's basement, signalling a connection with criminality and danger. She justifies her actions by saying, "was im Dreck liegt, gehört niemand". She has rejected the Rule of Law assuming that possession is nine-tenths of the law. In a later scene, we see her working in the same basement before the great air raid. She is now the mistress of the space serving the users of the bar and controlling the space. This independence will allow her to eventually climb the stairs and insinuate herself into Rott's life where she will prevent him from fully resolving the theft of the necklace.

The hotel

The Hotel Regina becomes a city space within the narrative of the film, while the film does make excursions to the *Bahnhof*, University and Kat's flat, the hotel itself becomes an analogue for the urban environment. Its built nature gives us an example of surfaces, like the *Wäscherei* of *Straßenbekanntschaft* which create an illusion of masculinized order, but which in fact hide feminized chaos. In the Regina, we see *gestern* and *heute* played out as Rott tries to find his missing person. We do not see *morgen* played out in the film but it is in Rott's domestic space and Kat's domestic spaces that the possible answer to the questions of the future are to be found.

Rott's room

Rott's room, 220, with its amateur and masculinized Holmesian overtones has already been examined and is his base of operations. As a Holmesian detective, he needs a domestic space where he can relax and from where he can resolve the crime. In its 1938 guise, his domestic space is furnished as a normal domestic space, comfortable and plush with a telephone. In this domestic space we see the capture of Nelly as she tries to use the room as a refuge against the approaching Gestapo. It becomes her place of Calvary. In its 1947 version, the room is much plainer, reflecting the straitened circumstances of the nation.

The room, however, has one important feature, which is usually in frame but never mentioned. It has a window with glass in it. As we have seen from films such as Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns*, glass has a significance in the *Trümmerfilm* beyond its mere utility. The addition of glass indicates that Rott is in a position to see clearly that which other characters cannot see. This will contrast with Ebeling's flat where we do not see any indication of windows at all. This glass pane gives Rott an ability to navigate clearly into *morgen*. Or, at least, he would have this clear vision if the glass did not have a big letter "X" drawn on to it. Thus, the masculine objectivity and clarity that Rott seeks to resolve the crime is actually rendered opaque, preventing him from seeing properly. As the narrative of the film develops, it is clear that he is not a particularly efficient detective. It is only when this masculine dominance of the room is broken after Kat has visited him there, that he sees Annette for the first time. As a detective he needs a sidekick to help him complete his thoughts. Within the trope matrix, this should be a male. However, in this case, it will be Kat who fulfils the Watson role. She will divert him from his purpose and will use him to justify the theft of the necklace through her simple rubric "es muss doch weiter gelebt". This excuses her for her crime and makes Rott an accessory. His inability to see and loss of special dominance in his own space will preventing him from adequately resolving the crime and by adding Kat into the place/genre mix our expectations have already been subliminally "thwarted".

The hotel fulfils its role as town analogue by consisting of other rooms, which are situated on corridors reminiscent of a town's streets and an urban space is formed as these rooms form domestic streets. Their "apartment-like" qualities are reinforced by the fact that they have letterboxes and are self-contained worlds where families can draw strength, negotiate and take refuge together. Corty abandons his room, where he has been discussing the new rules for German film manhood with his shifty agent, so that he can spend the afternoon with his ex-wife in her room. For one short moment before her death, they have become a family again and are able to enjoy each other's company away from the prying eyes of the outside world. It is in Nelly's room that Corty shows his real face, one of indecision and fear, and also where Nelly is able to reassure him of her love for him and constant support. The refuge of the home is violated by the Gestapo officers who eventually arrest Nelly. The power to shock is emphasised because this act takes place not in the public areas, but in Rott's "home".

The hotel's bar

The foyer acts as the hotel's main "High Street" with shops, offices, places of production and pleasure running off it. It also has a masculinized police station where the Gestapo control and oppress the hotel's citizens. The hotel's bar is a feminized, Americanized space where even in 1938, the band is playing big band swing numbers and the bar staff are serving Manhattans and other cocktails. As a feminized space, it is appropriate that Corty's jilted ex-girlfriend will betray Nelly there. As the film develops, the bar will change from a place of pleasure to a 'safe' space and 'asylum-like' refuge as it turns into an air raid shelter. In this space, now ruled over by Kat as its principal waitress, residents and citizens will cower. Their madness is contained but strong. Trunk and his Nazi henchmen are long gone, but those cowering in the shelter still have the voices of fascism in their heads as the voice of the *Gauleiter* is projected in to the shelter by the radio. These voices cause a woman to madly cry out to her husband "Du und dein Nazis". He hushes her up, but the madness of the shelter is obvious. Fascism is contained but not gone.

The street is where Corty decides to end his life after he has given the necklace to Kat for safekeeping. He is the only one who defies the *Gauleiter's* orders to stay undercover and calmly takes a seat in the foyer as bombs rain down around the hotel. The feminized space of the street has claimed its final victim as a *Volltreffer* hits the hotel bringing the building down around him and killing him. He has left the place of betrayal and of the influence of the gangster Nazis to choose the death of a free man.

Police station

The hotel's police station is created out of the left luggage room. It is a narrow and dark masculinized space. The Gestapo officers use the space to interrogate Corty, Ebeling and Annette about both Nelly and Rott. In the short time that the officers have had access to the room they have managed to fashion a bright light and a shade which shines the light directly into the eyes of the person they are interrogating. These gangsters keep asking deeply probing questions of both Corty and Annette and ensure that they are both deeply humiliated by the experience. They have complete control of the space and those unfortunate enough to fall in to their hands. Ebeling gets the lesser interrogation and appears to use the experience to try and protect Annette by marrying her. Thus, preventing any contact between Rott and herself.

Nation-building implications

The hotel has given us the background for the detective story; we see gangsters, criminals and a detective. Rott has exposed the criminal Kat and discovered his missing person. However, he has failed in his ultimate task of bring them to justice. The most powerful force in the film is the Nazis. Trunk and his henchmen are ever present and ever powerful in the 1938 and 1944 scenes. Despite being made immediately after the Nuremburg Trials there is no sense that they have been brought to book or publicly condemned. We do not know what has happened to Trunk, who has simply

disappeared and no more is said about him. The implication is that he is still out there somewhere. He is still free and able to return to his murderous control. He was able to act against Corty because a woman at the bar betrayed Corty to Trunk. Her condemnation is clear. However, there is no indication that Trunk has been brought to justice, by Rott or anyone. Annette's whereabouts have been discovered and it is clear that she wants to remain with her erstwhile "kidnapper". The status quo prevails but how does this situation occur? It is clear that the person who prevents Rott from resolving these situations is Kat. Her mantra of "es muss doch weiter gelebt" allows Rott and the other characters to simply consign the past to the dustbin and continue living. Rott was the only character who fought against Ebeling and the Professor's wish to forget the past. Indeed, when Rott has confronted Ebeling about Annette's disappearance, he rails against Ebeling's wish that "was vergangen ist, muss vorbei sein" - that is until he falls in love with Kat. It is only then that he is able to say to Annette "Lieb wohl – es muss doch weiter gelebt".

But what are the consequences of Rott's co-option to Kat's worldview and why does he fail as a detective? Kat is the one who had the necklace and the one that caused Rott to be accused of its theft. It is clear from the film that Corty gives Kat the necklace for safekeeping. She does as she is asked and puts the necklace in her locker. In 1947, she is able to retrieve the necklace and what does she do with it? Her first inclination is to sell it and benefit from Corty's loss. When she discovers that the necklace has been the cause of Rott's bad reputation she retrieves the necklace from her black marketeer boyfriend. What happens next is significant, Rott's adoption of the "es muss doch weiter gelebt" mantra means that no further action is taken. Kat is able to appropriate the necklace as her own and no efforts are made to return the necklace to the family of the rightful owner.

It is clear that Rott has failed in his efforts to be a detective. Because of his love of Kat. He has allowed her to dominate his room and to overpower his urge to discover the truth with her simple palliative "es muss doch weiter gelebt". In nation building terms it seems clear that this failure brings the nation to a *Stunde Null* position where the past must be simply forgotten and the

restitution of goods to those to whom they rightfully belong can be forgotten. The film blames the independent, trouser-wearing, Kat, who would rather spend her time dealing on the black market than finding gainful employment or looking after her family. It blames her for so distracting Rott that he is unable to complete his task and bring the criminal to justice. He has been side-tracked by love of the independent woman and the past is abandoned in a rush to the future.

Der Ruf

A lone man stands in the dock; he is surrounded by his peers and by young people. He appears to be giving an impassioned lecture about Plato, the merits of a democratic and meritocratic society but, in reality, he is on trial for his life. He demands that those in the room abandon the false ideology of National Socialism, where the cry '*Deutschland erwache!*' was really an excuse for the populous to put their consciences to sleep while terrible crimes were done in their name. He argues that the defeat of Germany is not, as it first seems, a cause for regret but indeed represents an opportunity for German youth to have a greater triumph as they build a new type of Germany that harks back to the ideals of Heine and to those that sacrificed themselves in 1848. This impassioned cry for a new way comes from a man who had to flee Germany in 1933 because he is a Jew. There is uproar amongst the audience and some storm out. The defendant's message chimes with some of the youth and with his young American colleagues, but for the hard core of judges, who fought the war or who suffered as National Socialism was crushed, his message is an insult to their sacrifice and a repudiation of everything they have fought for. They storm out in silent protest and our hero's defence of himself and of a potential new Germany is lost.

Fritz Kortner, who wrote the screenplay and played the leading role of defendant Professor Mauthner, delivers a sympathetic and believable performance of a Jewish academic, who was divorced by his wife to protect their child and reputation. He was then forced to flee the homeland that he loved, to make a new life in Los Angeles, where he has, apparently, everything he wants: an academic post, a beautiful, young and doting companion as a research assistant, servants and constant Californian sunshine. His life is as his German housekeeper says "Happy [...] aber [...] nicht glücklich". However, for him this *Happy* life is not enough: he, like Heine, whose poem *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* is referenced, wants to return to his homeland. He has received the rare opportunity to return to Germany as a result of an invite from his old university to take up an academic position and as he gets closer to Germany he becomes more and more disturbed. In Berlin,

he tries to reconnect with his ex-wife in order to discover what happened to their son, who was of military age during the war. As an émigré he is part of the occupation apparatus and we see, uniquely in a *Trümmerfilm*, the apparatus of the American government of occupation. In the offices of OMGUS Berlin he meets the man who will become his nemesis, inner-émigré Fechner. While in Berlin, Mauthner finds his wife and discovers that she brought their son up as an Aryan. He then travels to the university to take up his academic position, while his former colleague, Fechner, plots against him. One of the students that comes under Fechner's wing against Mauthner is Walter, Mauthner's son.

Der Ruf - Literature review

In many ways Josef von Baky's 1948 film *Der Ruf* sits as an exception to the canon of post-war German *Trümmerfilme* in that the film is set not only in Germany but also in the United States. Its opening scenes contrast the dismal state of post-war Germany with Los Angeles. It is a bilingual film with many of the scenes set in English and having subtitles in German for the home audience.

Der Spiegel described Kortner's depiction of the hapless Mauthner as a "ein halbes Selbstporträt" (*Der Spiegel*, 17/1949), concentrating on the intersection between Kortner's biography as an exiled educated Jewish actor returning to play the role of the Jewish professor returned to Germany to take a place up at a German university to teach *Tugend* to the highly politicised and brutalised German youth. The *Berliner Zeitung* described the film in more glowing terms, describing Kortner's performance as "Gegen den Krieg, gegen die Rasenhetze, gegen die nazistische Reaktion auf den Hochschulen – für den Frieden, für die Versöhnung, für [...] die Menschenliebe" (La. W., 1949). Despite the film's warm reception from the Western and Eastern media, the film appears not to have troubled the official licensing and censorship authorities east and west, with neither the *FSK* nor *HV-Film* holding records of their commentary of the film.

The scholarly review of the film has also concentrated on the elements of Kortner's biography and how Kortner's story and von Baky's direction try to deal with the issues of rebuilding Germany society following the catastrophe of defeat. Peter Pleyer described the film as discussing "das Problem des deutschen Anti-semitismus nach 1945" (Pleyer, 1965, 163). Moeller claims that, Mauthner becomes a modern version of the rootless, lost and ultimately doomed wandering Jew, she says:

It can be concluded that in [*Der Ruf*], the [...] motifs of the wanderer and the odyssey in to death accentuate the traumatic conditions of the "Jewish" Mauthner [...] who is doomed to endless wandering because he lacks a fixed geographical homeland (Moeller, 2013, 239-240).

It is a film where the Holocaust stands not only in the background but also in the foreground, albeit through emigration rather than the concentration camp. The concentration camp flows throughout the film which "deutlich [macht], daß durch Auschwitz jenes Deutschland, das Mauthners Bezugspunkt bildet, unwiederbringlich verloren gegangen ist" (Gallwitz, 1999, 293). Despite its humanity and sensitive handling of the post-war problems, the film presents no "Losung": "Kortners Professor stirbt einsam, ein Opfer der Konflikte, die er selbst, ohne es zu wollen, herausbeschworen hat. Er ist noch auf der Suche nach Gefährten. Es gibt kein patentes happy ending" (Koschnitzki, 1989, 349).

But, Von Baky's film "does not shy away from exposing the continued presence of National Socialism thought among Germans" (Wilms, 2008, 38) however it "rejects [...] generalization, especially the denunciation of all Germans" (*ibid.*). While Gerd Gemünden claims that the film "advocates a humanist message of optimism and reconciliation" (Gemünden, 2014, 161), Martina Moeller describes it as "a sinister portrayal of German post-war society in decline, defeat and crisis" (Moeller, 2013, 226). The film is identified as being one of the first that dealt with the problems which were still present in late post-war West Germany shortly before the Fall of the Berlin Wall

where “Doch rührt der Film hier auch Probleme an, die so sehr mit den grundstüzenden Umwälzungen des Deutschland von heute [1989] verknüpft sind” (Koschnitzki, 1989, 349).

Genre description

Moeller describes the film as “a sinister portrayal of German post-war society in decline, defeat and crisis” (Moeller, 2013, 225). She is particularly interested in the travel element of the film as the film’s hero Mauthner, travels from Los Angeles, to Cherbourg, to Paris, to Berlin and finally to his doom in Göttingen. She calls the film an “odyssey into decline and death” (Moeller, 2013, 239). In doing so she links the film backwards to ancient literature such as the Greek Odyssey or the Biblical story of the Jews Exodus from Egypt. In highlighting the travel element, she is also linking the film forward to the road movie genre, albeit this is a road movie with trains rather than cars. Movement, both physical and personal is a vital one to the genre because in travelling home the hero discovers himself. Hickethier states, “ [die] Odyssee ist weniger die Geschichte eines Aufbruchs als einer Heimkehr“ (Hickethier, 2006c, 129). Moeller also links the film, not to other filmic genres but to Romantic literature saying, “the Romantic motifs of the wanderer and the Odyssey on to death accentuate the traumatic conditions of the Jewish Mauthner” (Moeller, 2013, 239).

Moeller’s analysis of the film takes an interesting turn and perhaps builds on her view that the film is a “Romantic” story as she links the film to the horror genre. She notes that like in a horror film Mauthner travels from civilisation in to the ever deeper isolation and barrenness of occupied Germany. The misty *mis-en-scène* of the sea voyage and train travel reminds the audience of the isolation caused in a horror movie as the hero travels through the misty wastes to his confrontation with evil (Moeller, 2013, 241-242). She also uses the scenes set in the train, from France to Berlin, to note that von Baky has mirrored images found in Fritz Lang’s *M* (Moeller, 2013, 242). This ties the film, if only tangentially, to the Weimar *Kriminalfilm*.

Fisher takes a different tack with the film and clearly identifies the film as another “star” film with Fritz Kortner dominating the film in his first cinema outing since his return from exile. He says:

The star protagonist embodies exceptionalness by manifesting doggedly optimistic attitudes about reconstruction and his [Kortner’s] contribution to it (Fisher, 2007, 284)

Fisher continues that this “optimism [...] explicitly mirrors U.S. optimism about re-education” (*ibid.*).

Fisher goes on to note that this “starfilm” (Fisher, 2007, 246) as noted by the papers at the time.

During his speech, Mauthner his ideas are on trial and are being judged by the presiding narrative of youthful adherence to National Socialist ideals. He makes this key speech to challenge and begin the re-education of Germany’s “misled [...] infantilized and [...] victimized perpetrators of crimes” (Fisher, 2007, 17). Mauthner’s speech before the court of the past shows the “importance of intergenerational and pedagogical relations” (Fischer, 2007, 11), thus hinting at a ‘youth’ film.

Mauthner’s attempts to argue that the youth had been led away from the truths outlined by Plato.

Fisher argues that Mauthner’s trial is a place where he confronts the “young men in *Der Ruf* [who] are [...] passive carriers rather than active perpetrators of nationalist and racist evils” (Fischer, 2007,

17). Mauthner attempts to reconcile the unruly and indoctrinated youth of the university, indeed

this link of the youth needing to be socialised, links this film with *Irgendwo in Berlin* and ultimately to

the Weimar *Emil und die Detektive*. The trial, at the centre of the film, becomes an

“intergenerational duel” (Fischer, 2007, 17), which Mauthner loses. He loses because Mauthner’s

son, Walter, leads the protest against Mauthner’s ideal and does not recognise his own father

because he has been “led astray by his mother and by Fechner [...] a kind of “false father” (Fischer,

2007, 17). Walter’s resistance to Mauthner’s ideals “concludes not in youthful submission to its

elders but rather in their silent protest and exit from the hall” (Fischer, 2007, 18). Thus, Mauthner’s

lecture becomes a trial of National Socialist ideals versus the ideal of Germany as expressed by Heine

and the ideals written about by the ancient philosophers where he presents his case to Germany’s

youth. The film has “deploy[ed] the child to represent the cinematic crisis of the new marginal male”

(Fisher, 2007a, 46). In these genre reviews of the film we see that a number of genre themes, beyond that of the *Trümmerfilm*, are visible. *Der Ruf* has been identified as a film with a high level of hybridity. It is clear that these genre roots will have to be combed through to identify some of the key messages that are obscured by this hybrid mixture of genres. This work will use the 'comb' of the *Kriminalfilm* genre and this will be used to clear some of the hybridity and allow a new reading to become clear.

Der Ruf – a Kriminalfilm?

Thus, this trial motif centres the film within the *Kriminalfilm* genre as *Gerichtsfilm* where “troubling questions [are] laid to rest” and a “closure narrative” (Rosenberg, 1994, 344) in the masculinized environment of the court in relation to the immediate German past can be developed. This closure is vital for the rebuilding and nation building of post-war Germany to allow it to move forward and develop. The trial film is one where the “die Fäden der Aufklärung eines Verbrechens zusammengeführt und [...] die Lösung ermittelt wird“ (Hickethier, 2005, 21). As has been noted above, Weimar films, apart from Lang's *M*, do not appear to have concentrated on the court scene as an engine for dramatic motion. Lang's *M*, however, does provide us with a model of a court scene that is similar to that seen in *Der Ruf*. It is not however the democratic court scene, which ends *M*, that provides the model. It is the kangaroo court of criminals that appears to most closely model the action in *Der Ruf*. In *M* we see the trappings of democracy with a bench, the public and the desperate accused. The bench has already made up its mind that the accused is guilty and deserves the death penalty. As in *M*, the camera in *Der Ruf* lingers on the public and the public is baying for the accused's blood in the face of a predetermined verdict.

The film hangs on the exposure of truth and the winning through of that truth. In this case, recognising the truth as expressed by Mauthner in the “witness” box should allow recognition of the injustices done to him. It should also facilitate the reconciliation of the older generation with the

younger generation. The film sets up a tension between the “actual and the ideal” (Rafter, 2001, 10) with the nation defeated but with an opportunity to rebuild as expressed by the outsider and exile, Mauthner. The passed over and bitter *Privatdozent*, Fechner, becomes the film’s “injustice figure” (Rafter, 2001, 10) who is fighting an asymmetrical war for control of the University’s young and bitterly hardened students against Mauthner, the “justice figure” (Rafter, 2001, 10).

As an exile, Mauthner is trying to use his position as an outsider to redeem and reconnect the youth to a new future away from the tenets of National Socialism, to which they hitherto have been beholden. We expect that as the “justice figure” (Rafter, 2001, 10) his “moral courage [will] carry the day” (Rafter, 2001, 16). This film reverses the logic of the Nuremberg Trial where, instead of the unrighteous being put on trial by the righteous, the righteous Mauthner is put on trial by the unrighteous Fechner. Mauthner has to defend himself against the accusations of traitor by his guilty accusers in the courtroom of the university’s most important lecture theatre. As with the trials at Nuremberg, it is hoped that the law will “extend its authority and power [and] perpetuate the law’s reputation as an ever present social organiser” (Silbey, 2001, 112). Knowing that the film is a trial movie, the audience is led to believe that the “law fulfils its promise” (Silbey, 2001, 112) but the law will fail and its “authority and power” will be diminished rather than increased. The result of the trial is not the expected vindication of Mauthner, as the court will find him guilty and condemn him to death. He will fail in his task to reconcile the generations one with another and, in particular, the failure of a son to acknowledge his father and father to recognise his son.

Genre expectations

Genre expectations will be confounded, but not by the manipulative Fechner who, while pretending to be a repentant democrat, reveals himself to be an ardent anti-Semite. They are also confounded by the actions of Mauthner's ex-wife Lena, played by Johanna Hofer⁴⁸. Mauthner's speech from the witness box in the courtroom that the University's *Aula* should have settled the issue of this re-integration into German society and the reconciliation between father and son. However, Lena's betrayal in divorcing him and turning Walter against him results ultimately in Mauthner's death and his failure. The film turns on Mauthner's trial in the majestic and masculinized space of the university's *Aula* and we will now review the trial and its outcomes, to examine Lena's betrayal and its effects on post-war German nation building.

Despite having been rejected by Lena when the Nazis came to power and having a young American female research assistant as a companion, it is obvious that Mauthner is anxious to reconcile himself with his ex-wife and on arrival he begins his search for her. In Lena's first appearance on screen, we are not told who she is. Mauthner's appearance at a black market cafe causes her to recognise him and for her to run to a telephone booth to check her appearance in the booth's mirror. Here the camera is positioned behind her so we see the reflection of her face. This double-sided image suggests that something is amiss with her personality. As they both recognise each other, Mauthner starts to speak to her but in English rather than German. Mauthner's opening words of this conversation are "old enmities should be buried" indicating his willingness to rebuild a relationship with Lena and his former nation. However, as the conversation develops, the back-story is opened out and her betrayal of him becomes obvious. They talk about their son, who is now 22 and is a POW. This conversation ends abruptly as Lena gets up with a start and says simply "lebewohl" and tries to depart. Mauthner understands this and says, reasonably "I understand mention of

⁴⁸ Johanna Hofer married Kortner in 1924 and was forced to emigrate from Germany when Kortner left in 1932 because of the violent attacks made on him by the Nazis.

the boy stirs it all up". Lena departs, however, but is caught up by Mauthner and they agree to have a coffee in an occupation authority bar, where Fechner is holding forth about how he has been betrayed by Mauthner's return.

Mauthner's Los Angeles home

The film begins in the feminized space of Mauthner's home in Los Angeles. The city is shown as a direct contrast to the grey and collapsed cities of Germany. This is Mauthner's refuge and asylum. His fussy German housekeeper, Emma, rules it. As the *Oberschwester* of this *de facto* asylum, Emma, has the role of ensuring that Mauthner is occupied by the noise and entertainment that she provides. The film begins with a party and is populated by a mixture of German exiles that argue about poetry and brash American students. On the surface, Mauthner appears to be content in his alcohol-fuelled asylum, but for all its brightness and all its jollity, he wants to return. He wants to return to Germany and clear his name so that he no longer has to carry the verdict of "traitor" around his neck. He has kept this desire secret until one of his exile friends shows him his new American passport. The friend has obtained a passport, not because he wants to travel but because having being denied one and a nationality for so long by the National Socialists he wants to feel as though he belongs in the asylum that the States has become. This provokes Mauthner to tell his friends that he has been invited back to Germany to lecture at his old university and in turn this provokes uproar amongst the inmates. Why should Mauthner want to leave the safety of the asylum? Why should Mauthner wish to face those who accused him of treachery and sent him to this benign asylum in the first place? Perhaps Mauthner is the only sane man amongst the inmates and he decides that he must return and face his demons.

Walter's rooms

Mauthner's son has taken rooms in the university town. As a hard-bitten ex-soldier and Nazi, he has chosen his home in the city a masculinized barrack-like room, which is also occupied by fellow ex-soldiers. This should be a place of safety, but its layout, with bunk beds and only a small amount of personal space, appears to indicate that, while he no longer wears a uniform, he has a "Uniform im Kopf" forcing him to continue living a quasi-military existence. Walter's room is austere and plain as a barracks should be. It is a place where the perverted order of National Socialism is maintained in the face of Germany's defeat by the Allies. It is in this room that he plots how to bring his father down with Fechner and his colleagues. It is a room, much like that described by Neitzel and Welzer, where old soldiers will reminisce about the war and their experiences with pride. It is remarkable that the attitudes described by Walter and his friends fit most closely to those laid out by Neitzel and Welzer and Römer in their books about captured *Wehrmacht* soldiers. The ex-soldiers shown in *Der Ruf* betray their true colours in Walter's room. They are unrepentant and unable to understand what has befallen them. Walter's room is also significant as the place where Lena betrays her son and ex-husband again, by failing to tell him that Mauthner is his father.

The occupation bar

It is in the male-space occupation bar in Berlin, a *Kneipe ersatz*, where Mauthner would expect to feel safe that the first major betrayal is exposed. It is a place where there is a background sound track of Fechner complaining about being passed over and making actively anti-Semitic statements such as "I will wait for the second Exodus". It is also here that Lena exposes her double-nature and betrayal of her husband. In conversation with Lena, Mauthner bemoans the fact that he would not recognise his own son in the street. This may well be for the best since Lena brought him up as an Aryan. Defensively she replies:

I couldn't think of another way out. Should I have raised him as a half Jew? As an outcast – exposing him to their bestial persecution...? Add to that your name – They had such a blind hatred for you. You should have read some of the things that they said about you. I really had no choice.

I would do it again!

Her defence is that she felt that she had no choice, not that she should flee with Mauthner, not that she should try and go into hiding. She simply dropped Mauthner.

The conversation follows:

Mauthner (M): What's the procedure – I assume you had to take an oath that you disowned me.

Lena (L): Yes, please don't ask anymore.

M: So it was that simple.

L: Simple. Had they found out the truth [...] you know life counts nothing to them.

M: And who played the Father? Does the boy bear his name?

L: Yes and so do I.

M: Do I know the man?

L: Can't you spare me this?

M: But how come you chose him and not someone else?

L: Because he was an Aryan.

M: There was no other reason?

L: I don't know what you mean?

Thus, Mauthner had not only lost his son who had been deprived of his birth-right of knowing his father and heritage, but Mauthner also implies that Lena had not been faithful to him. We see her betrayal of him is on three levels. Firstly, she rejected him, in order to save herself. Secondly, she denied their son of a true father by giving him a false-father and false history. Thirdly and perhaps more superficially than the other issues, there is the implication that she was not faithful to him. This betrayal that is set before the film began will lead to Mauthner's efforts to reconcile émigrés with those that stayed behind, the younger generation with the older generation and peace with war. This denial of him as a father, and imposition of a false father and false history on their son, will lead the son to continue to seek out false fathers, and eventually to his *Widerstand* against his true father. This *Widerstand* will cause his father's death and will allow Fechner's brand of passive aggressive Fascism to be firmly rooted in the university.

The courtroom

The key statement of Mauthner's defence is in the university's *Aula*, which becomes the courtroom at the centre of the film. This is a masculine space at the centre of the film. The camera has panned back to show the magnificent carvings and the word *Aula* above the oversize door at the entrance to the room. The door overpowers the figures outside, in this case, Mauthner's maid, Emma. We see the smallness of the average person in relation to the majesty of the law. This is what Mauthner is up against. We see him standing in the dock. The camera shows him surrounded by an audience of the university's students. This scene mirrors the trial scene in Lang's *M*, with the key difference that Mauthner, who is spotlighted and the focus of attention, is innocent. We cannot see the judges, but later we will see a panel of hard-bitten faces, the hard core of former Nazis and soldiers led by the improbable democrat Fechner. They are the ones who will decide whether Mauthner has made his case or not. As in a National Socialist show trial they have already decided that Mauthner is guilty and will not issue a pardon or set him free. They are determined to find him guilty of being a Jew and guilty of being a traitor to the Fatherland. They will pass their judgement of execution as surely as

any Freisler at the head of a show trial. As he stands in the witness box, Mauthner will attempt to defend himself. It is the genre expectation that a man with such powers of intellect and oratory will win over the audience and the judge.

The depth of Lena's betrayal will play itself out while Mauthner is giving his defence from the witness box of the *Aula* of his new/old university. The *mis-en-scène* establishes the lecture for what it is, a trial. Mauthner begins his speech in German and then reverts to English. He begins:

Am zwölften Januar 1933 hier an dieser Stelle sprach ich von Platon und Zep über
Lernbarkeit und Tugend.

The speech changes to English thus distancing him from his audience and allying him to the forces of "justice" occupying Germany. He continues:

I raised my voice aware of the impending total renunciation of virtue aware of the
conspiracy against intellect that is against the mind all together. As the coup was landed
Plato's concepts seemed to have been abandoned all together.

In recognising that virtue had been renounced he again accuses the faculty around him, and distances himself from them. He should be justified to speak as he, alone, raised his voice while others accepted the new and vicious status quo. But he recognises that the *Pgs*, former soldiers and *Kleine Pgs* in the audience are passive victims when he states that they had "fallen heir to that period". They are the ones who have been left to pick up the pieces of the mess left by the National Socialists. He rails against the way that the students have been brought up believing in militarism and war and uses militaristic metaphors, calling them to the "colours" of peace and peaceful nation building. During the first part of the impassioned speech, the camera is focused on a close up or medium close shot of Mauthner himself, on the power of his words and justifications. He demands that the students turn to philosophers such as Plato. He tells them that Plato has the answers of the hour for his justification and for the reconciliation of Germany's youth with its past. Finally, he tells

them that Plato can help them reconcile the war of the past with the peace of the future. He manages a joke, saying that he is “pessimistic” that Germany’s leaders will make such a turn. It appears at this point it appears that Mauthner is slowly winning the court round to his way of thinking.

With the camera angle changing to the camera being placed within the audience and Mauthner speaking directly to us the audience, he continues:

Consequently, wisdom and science must supersede and replace [...] the scientist must battle for the recognition and acceptance of his findings and root out faulty thinking. Only after reaching the heights of insight and moderation and active kindness [...] only then would you be entitled to a claim on freedom.

It is at this point that the camera angle changes again. It focuses its gaze on to the clique of former soldiers led by Mauthner’s own unrecognised and unknowing son Walter and goaded on by the “so called” democrat who has revealed his true anti-Semitic colours, Fechner. These students, the effective ring leaders of the student body and “judges” sit stony faced, refusing to bow their minds to Mauthner’s speech and heckling aggressively in the background to try and disrupt him. This echoes the stony resistance of the criminal judges in Lang’s film, *M*. The judges have made up their mind, and have already decided that Mauthner is guilty of treason. Walter has already been betrayed by his mother into accepting a false father in his youth. This experience has allowed him to become a hardened Nazi who has fought and lost a racial war against his and his father’s race. This initial betrayal has left him vulnerable to another false father, and let him be taken in by the plausible and wounded Fechner, who is expressing his latent racism through the student body.

Mauthner attempts to overcome and reconcile this silent opposition by claiming:

It is an illicit freedom that encourages faulty thinking and permits its course to be followed until the fallacy transform into reality become disaster.

False thinking leads to false Gods.

It transforms you into heathens and false Gods demand human victims to be thrown into their flaming jaws.

At this point the camera pans across the faces of the other young students in an echo of the trial scene in *M*. It pans across those that fought and suffered but were not, perhaps, Nazis. The camera's gaze moves from face to face; they are undecided. If there was a jury to be won over, this is the role they would play. They are there to be won over and to be reconciled with the peace and with the future. However, this is a German court, where there are only the male ex-soldier judges, who have set their faces against him. Mauthner strikes out against war and against the education that the German youth had hitherto received:

The achievement of war in victory and defeat are peoples in anguish and misery everywhere, why time and again entrust life's problems into its death dealing hands.

The camera moves from the rapt faces of the students and moves to the stump of a student's leg. In this part of the speech, in which the subject refers to the wages of death paid to those who fight wars, the only picture on the screen is that of the cost of war. We do not see the student's face, only his stump. He has already paid the price for entrusting "life's problems into [war's] death dealing hands". And yet, despite having paid such a high price for prosecuting the war, this student still does not accept Mauthner's solution and the court is still set against him. Mauthner begins to wind up his defence speech:

You are now up against the gruelling sum total of it all [...] the staggering collapse is complete [...] In the dark night the herald cried "Germany Awake". That night you mistook for day and so you confused light and darkness [...] deed and misdeed.

Mauthner finishes:

It is morning [...] even if it is dismal morning, but it can grow into day.

He pleads:

Open yourself to it, recognise the meaning of creation. You are young and it could be [...] really there are lost battles that can be a greater cause for triumph than victories.

With this crescendo reached, the court scene is complete. Mauthner has made his plea, he has made his final attempt at justification and defence. The film leads us to believe that the court will acquit him and there will be a loud cheer of acclamation from the courtroom as the generations are reconciled. However, the fissure of betrayal prevents this. Walter, Fechner and their clique stage a silent protest and the student body files out without acclaiming Mauthner. It is left to Mauthner's young American assistants to try and drum up applause for Mauthner's speech. It is clear that Lena's betrayal of Mauthner and Walter their son has fundamentally split one generation from another and allowed National Socialism to continue to flourish despite the staggering defeat of the war. The verdict is silent and it will be verbalised at the reception for Mauthner's return in a *Kneipe*.

The *Kneipe*

In the narrative of a *Kriminalfilm* the *Kneipe* should be a male-dominated safe space but *Der Ruf* has subverted this expectation making it the space for Mauthner's final defeat. The *Kneipe* becomes an extension of the courtroom, as it is the place where Mauthner's judges, the biased group of National Socialist students led by their quasi-*Gerichts-Präsident* Fechner, will give their verdict. By combining the space with the courtroom in the narrative, the space has changed from a place of male safety, where men can come and meet without the interference of women, to a place of danger where the verdict on Mauthner's case is given. Outwardly, the space looks like a regular *Kneipe* with mixture of young and old, male and female and a selection of *Stammtische* for regular guests. It is in the constitution of those *Stammtische* that we recognise the danger that lurks within the supposedly safe place of the *Kneipe*.

The “judge’s” verdict will come during the *Empfang*. The *Kneipe* where it is held should be a masculine space where Mauthner could easily expect to be safe and secure. The verdict when it comes will be negative and will expose the depth of Lena’s betrayal as well as causing father and son to square off against each other with the father losing the encounter and expiring. The verdict is death. Mauthner has betrayed his Fatherland by leaving and returning with the victors and therefore under the National Socialist sense of logic he must die.

In the *Kneipe*, Fechner is holding angry court. He is fulminating about the relationship between Mauthner and Mary. Fechner is becoming drunker and drunker and more and more National Socialist in his outlook displaying his true colours to his ex-soldier colleagues. They are a table of lost boys still looking for leadership. Fechner provides that leadership as more and more students surround him to listen to his drunken babble. His rhetoric becomes wilder and wilder until he says “es muss nachgeholt werden was damals versäumt wurde”. He indicates that the Nazis were right in persecuting Jews like Mauthner and that he believes that this dreadful policy should be continued. On hearing this diatribe, one of the leading ex-soldiers shouts “Heil!” and Fechner repeats “Heil!” mimicking the *Heil Hitler* cries of a Nazi rally. This wide diatribe is not without resistance, however. One of the few students who applaud Mauthner’s speech in his “trial” comes over to the group and angrily argues with Fechner and is accused of being *undeutsch*. A fight ensues and the ripples of anger reverberate through the *Lokal*. One of the American students fights his way over to Mauthner and repeats Fechner’s outpourings. Thus provoked, Mauthner storms toward the melee demanding of the students “Schämen Sie sich nicht!” At this point Walter intervenes⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ This scene mirrors a similar *Stammtisch* scene in Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger’s 1943 British wartime colour classic *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (Great Britain, The Archers).

Verdict

Betrayed father and betrayed son square up to each other, unaware to whom they are speaking. The results of Lena's betrayal of father and son and of Mary's betrayal of her mentor are about to come to fruition. Walter shouts at Mary that she should take Mauthner home back to America. Mauthner intervenes and the camera cuts to both men facing each other, noses almost touching, anger and disapproval one of the other etched on to their features. Mauthner shouts into the face of his unrecognised son "Gehen Sie oder?" His son shouts back "oder?" and then repeats "oder was denn?" The unrecognised son has squared up to the unknowing father and dared him to hit him. Mauthner withdraws and is broken. His attempt to reconcile the generations has failed. His brokenness will lead to a full personal collapse and his demise, unreconciled with his own son. Mauthner's appeal of innocence and moving to a new future in the witness box of the university's *Aula* is rejected. In the court of the new Germany he has been found guilty again. He has failed. The "discrepancy between the actual and the ideal" (Rafter, 2001, 10) has been exposed and the actual has won over the ideal. The "injustice figure" (Rafter, 2001, 16), in this case Fechner, has overcome the "solitary figure's moral courage" (*ibid.*). Our expectation of Mauthner's acquittal and acceptance has been overturned and this causes such a strong reaction that he fades and dies before his son's eyes.

Nation-building implications of Lena's betrayal

Mauthner dies and the generations remain unreconciled while Mauthner lives, but who is responsible? The fog of genre hybridity makes this difficult to see, until the lens of the *Kriminalfilm*, is applied to the film. Once this filter has been applied then the film appears to accuse Mauthner's ex-wife, Lena of the responsibility. In a court film or even a melodrama the hero would be acquitted and then son and father be reconciled. But this cannot happen, Mauthner is dead and his dream has not taken root.

Lena has betrayed not only Mauthner but also their son Walter. In 1933 she appears to have given no explanation as to why she did not try and flee with Mauthner in order to keep the family together and stand by her husband. She simply divorces him, marries an Aryan and gives Mauthner's son a false father's name. She fails to make good her first betrayal, by constantly failing to tell Walter that Mauthner is his father. After the fracas at the *Lokal*, Lena learns of Walter's whereabouts and travels to the university, intending to tell Walter that Mauthner is actually his father. But she cannot bring herself to tell him, consistently judging that the time is not quite right. This second betrayal robs Mauthner and Walter of the opportunity to reconcile, even if it is at the last minute before Mauthner's sudden demise. The court finds Mauthner falsely guilty and his collapse robs him of the opportunity for a retrial.

But, what are the effects for the new German nation of this betrayal? The situation that Mauthner has found himself in is different from that of many others portrayed in the *Trümmerfilm* genre. He is not a returning *Landser* but a high-profile exile who has returned to Germany to rebuild his life and to try and effect a reconciliation between returnee and those who stayed and fought with the Nazis. Lena's betrayal is one of a generational nature. She has prevented Mauthner from helping the young people of this university town finally accept that they had "confused light and darkness, black and white, deed and misdeed" as Mauthner says in his defence. Her betrayal of her husband and son has prevented the youth of Germany grasping the opportunity that defeat has brought for those that survived where "it is morning, even if it is a dismal morning, but it can grow into day". She has robbed the youth of Germany of a new opportunity and possibly condemned them to their "false thinking" possibly leading them to believe that war is the answer to Germany's problems. This false thinking led them into one terrible war and allows bigots, such as Fechner, to flourish while they play a game with the occupying authorities of outward compliance. Fechner, thus, becomes a false father to the lost boys of the war-time generation and perpetuates the calumnies of the past. Lena's betrayal has condemned Germany's youth to continue the thinking of

the past. This seems a greater betrayal than robbing her own son of a father and causing the death of Mauthner, thereby, preventing a true reconciliation between father and son forever.

A nation betrayed

A review of these four *Trümmerfilm* through the *Kriminalfilm* lens once again has once again cut through the fog of gender hybridity and shows how these films have “thwarted” our genre expectations. In each film the female lead has been able to emasculate the male hero and prevent him from achieving the role that the genre trope would lead us to expect. In doing this, the female characters have inflicted a second defeat on German manhood. The four films have dealt with a variety of subjects, all of which are pertinent to the nation at the end of the war, namely: the black market, sexual health, return of property and the integration of returned exiles into German society. What is immediately obvious is that only the DEFA films have a detective that easily fits the republican and democratic Lohmann trope. The two western films have tried to step over the Weimar tradition to the *Ur Detektive*, namely the middle-class Sherlock Holmes. The two main characters in these films are middle class, educated and artistic whereas the DEFA detectives are tough and of the people. The women that they are faced with seem at first to be a more mixed bunch than that of the Western genre. *Razzia's* Frau Naumann is a conventional *Hausfrau* who on the surface should present Lembke with no problems. Erika is from a good upstanding working family who are trying to instil in her pride and self-discipline. True, she goes astray but is still redeemable. Kat is a young woman from the lost territories who is doing her best to bring up her younger brother and finally Lena comes from an academic household and is instilled with democratic and moral values. On the face of it, none of these women should present a threat to our detectives and defendant trying to bring order to the disorder of post-war Germany. But each in their own way will prevent the male character reaching their goal.

Frau Naumann allows herself to be courted by Lembke and he buys her bunches of flowers from the black market. Because of her, Lembke is defeated and succumbs to the beast that killed her husband and which is preying on the weaknesses and needs of Berlin's population. Erika and Walter fall in love. This allows Erika, the working woman, to be redeemed but prevents Walter from identifying the true cause of the STI epidemic from infecting the population. The authorities will remain the stooges of the occupying forces and will continue to ineffectually arrest women, rather than men, to prevent the epidemic. Kat, the trouser wearing independent woman, is beautiful and vibrant. She helps to re-integrate Rott back into German society by proving that he did not steal the necklace. Rott's love of her vitality will, however, prevent him from returning the necklace back to the Dreyfuss family. His love of her allows the theft to be legitimised. This legitimisation continues the nullification of Jewish property rights and eventually the withdrawal of human rights, which Rott was supposed to stand up against as a cartoonist. He has been nullified by his love of Kat. The betrayal of the final film is the most brutal. Lena's divorce and denial of parental rights over Walter, will lead to the double betrayal of father and son. It will lead to the death of the father and frustration of the son's ability to re-inhabit his birth-right and family. Lena, the independent minded woman, denies the two the opportunity for reconciliation. The film clearly shows that she had chances to reconcile father and son. However, she does not take those chances and Mauthner dies as a result.

In each case, our genre expectations have been "thwarted". The implications for the nation are dire. The key women of this film have dominated male spaces and inflicted a second defeat on the men of the film ensuring that the entitlement based law of National Socialism will continue. The detectives of this chapter have been given a democratic role of attempting to rebuild a new nation, by recognising the failures of the old nation, bringing them to trial and then pronouncing judgement on them. This is in accordance with the sentiments of the Nuremberg Trials. However, the actions of the films' women will ensure that the past is not clearly dealt with and the failures of the past will,

perhaps, be visited on the future. These films have yet again re-emphasised the misogyny of the *Trümmerfilme*.

Chapter Seven

A new reading of the *Trümmerfilm*

This thesis has closely examined eight films from the *Trümmerfilm* genre, which equates to approximately 15% of the canon. It looked at four films from the Western Zones of occupation and four from the Soviet Zone. The directors of these films came from different social, political and cultural backgrounds. They include pastor's sons, Socialists and individuals who cooperated with the National Socialist regime. Despite these differences, we see the same tendency to criticise Germany's women for their independence. This new reading through the genre lenses of the Western and *Kriminalfilm* has cut through the genre hybridity of the *Trümmerfilm* and shows the same implication that Germany's independent women are inflicting a second and more grievous defeat on the nation's honourable soldiers.

Further work and next steps

This thesis has concentrated on the *Trümmerfilm* and, as the thesis has developed, a number of ancillary work streams have emerged and that have had to be put to one side in order to home in on its key thesis. A number are, I believe, strong enough to deserve further investigation and may form the basis of the next steps of research following the successful completion of this work.

The first ancillary stream, which does not appear to have received much attention in scholarly reviews, is that of British and French Occupation policy to film production. Scholarly attention has concentrated on the efforts of the Soviet and American occupation film officers, such as Billy Wilder and Erich Pommer in the American Zone or Col. Tulpanov in the Soviet. However, little work seems to have been done on the efforts of the British or French in stimulating film production in their zones. This study has revealed some of the work undertaken by the British film office. In the course of my research, I have discovered a wealth of material in the National Archives at Kew, which deserves a deeper investigation in its own right.

The second ancillary stream is an examination of the links between British and German post-war films, in effect creating a European '*Trümmerfilm*' corpus. This thesis has already noted the links between Carol Reed's *The Third Man* and the DEFA *Trümmerfilm Razzia* as well as Billy Wilder's *A Foreign Affair* and Peter Pewas' *Straßenbekanntschaft*. In the course of this work textual links, namely rubble, hunger, grief and out-of-control children, have been observed between the UK Ealing Comedies of the immediate post-war period and the German *Trümmerfilme* made in all zones. A casual glance at *Hue and Cry* or *Passport to Pimlico* together with the aforementioned *The Third Man* shows a strong affinity between the film movements of victor and vanquished in the post-war period.

Conclusion

The *Trümmerfilme* made between 1946 and 1951 became, perhaps, an accidental genre identified by critics rather than an active project, where they were they provided for 2 hours of distraction. This took place in a time when it was difficult to find enough fuel to warm the home and difficult to find enough calories to keep body and soul together. It was better to watch a miserable film in the warm than sit at home in the cold. Thus, their purpose was distraction, entertainment and possibly re-education. The majority of the films' audiences would be female. These women had suffered on the home front while their men fought what they thought was an honourable war. As Marion Petzold says to her husband in Peter Pewas' film *Straßenbekannkschaft*:

Du hast gar so wenig Gedanken gemacht [über uns zu Hause] als andere Männer. Wie wir Frauen gelebt haben[....]das weist doch kaum[....]Jeden Morgen in die Fabrik, spät abends nach Hause[...]das kalte Zimmer[...]Alarm[....]und sogar die Angst und die Hilflosigkeit. Ist es so unverständlich, dass wir getäuscht waren?

Not only had German women suffered during the war - as they struggled to survive under constant bombardment from the RAF and USAAF, and later, the advancing Allied troops - they had had to survive the immediate wrath of the Allied soldiers as they advanced into Germany. As has already been noted, the witness Ingeburg Menz, speaking to the makers of the film *BeFreier und Befreite*, summed up the position of women when the Allies arrived in Germany by saying, "Wir [Frauen] waren Frontsoldat, Leichensbestätter, Rache-und Lustobjekt in einer Person" (Sander, Jahr, 2005, 83). Women bore the brunt of the war and defeat in a way that had escaped the *Landser* mouldering in a POW camp. Germany's women had to survive and become independent in order to overcome the tremendous difficulties that faced them at the end of the war. In the main, they had to face these difficulties alone. Anonyma puts it thus "Ich weiß nur, daß ich überleben will - ganz gegen Sinn und Verstand, einfach wie ein Tier" (Anonyma, 2003, 283). This desire to simply *überleben* put Germany's newly and forcibly independent women in the forefront of Germany's rebuilding. Berlin's

first *Oberbürgermeister* Dr. Werner commented “ das Schicksal Deutschlands liegt zum großen Teil in den Händen unserer Frauen” (Merkel, 1994, 362). The work undertaken by Römer, Neitzel and Welzer clearly shows that many of the returning and defeated *Landser* did not understand the enormity of what had happened to them. They remained proud that they had fought to protect their womenfolk and had remained “anständig” as soldiers and Germans (Römer, 2012, 74). Returning to Germany as proud men, many would take another 30 years to come to understand the implications of what they had been involved in (Neitzel, Welzer, 2012, 131).

While there is no evidence that Wolfgang Staudte set out to criticise women in his *Ur-Trümmerfilm*, the intervention of the Soviet authorities who forbade the original vengeance ending of the film sets a pattern which every other director, in the films studied, followed. The words of the film officer who prevented the original ending are critical here:

Eins ist natürlich unmöglich, dass ist der Schluß. Wenn der Film ein Erfolg ist, und die Leute kommen aus dem Kino, dann gibt es Geknalle auf der Strasse [...] Den Wunsch nach Rache, den können wir verstehen, aber es muß gesagt werden, daß das genau der falsche Weg ist (Orbanz, 1974, 36).

His intervention leads to Susanne’s role in preventing Brückner’s murder and her character becoming a Soviet construct. She is, in effect, a proxy for the Allies preventing Mertens and other German male heroes from dominating their own space and fulfilling their trope destinies. While this change may have been for the best reasons, this change to the ending of the *Ur-Trümmerfilm* led to a genre pattern being established. In a time when the national narrative is one calling on women to abandon their independence and return to domestic life, this loss of male spaces and the usurpation of male dominance leads to films with a very critical spirit. I would argue that this, inadvertent but explicit, criticism of independent women becomes clear when the fog of genre hybridity is cleared by reading the films through a Western or *Kriminalfilm* lens. The films’ women, rather than living supportive domestic roles, are shown making posters, sitting behind their American Singer sewing

machine or working on a tram, and have become a danger, rather than a helpmeet, to the returning man. The films show each heroine using her independence to encroach on the male role and eventually defeat him by domesticating him.

But what does this domestication mean? As the women slowly take control of the male spaces, what is the effect that this will have on the new Germany? Let us briefly review the evidence through a lens of the Western. In the first film we examined, Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns* the heroine Susanne is an independent graphic designer. I have shown how she slowly encroaches on the male spaces occupied by Mertens and finally prevents him from taking revenge on behalf of the nation by killing Brückner. She uses the flimsy diktats of the law from an unseen authority to prevent the nation being able to clean itself. In the next film, *Irgendwo in Berlin*, I have demonstrated how Frau Iller, the seamstress, sitting behind her Singer sewing machine, fails in her Western trope role to provoke her husband into action. She is more concerned with slowly removing agency from her husband and dominating the domestic spaces. As a result, he fails to win the key showdowns of the film. By failing in her schoolmarm role, she causes the death of Willi and ultimately allows the 'Indians' to take control of the wilderness. Following this, in the third film the hero, Richter, the swashbuckling town-tamer of von Baky's film *Und über uns der Himmel*, is defeated as well. He loses control, despite having agency and energy, in a pivotal showdown with Edith Schröder, his beautiful widowed neighbour and another seamstress. His ability to operate as a Western type hero is cut from under him by Edith because of her verbal 'killshot' and he returns to driving a crane rather than continuing as a town-tamer. I have shown how in the final film of the "Western" section, Werner Braun's religious film *Nachtwache*, we see the death of Germany's most precious commodity, its children, because of the spatial intrusion of Dr Cornelie into Pastor Heger's attempts to tame Burgdorf. Cornelie's independence and refusal to submit to Heger's authority over the space of the hospital and town not only causes two deaths but also emasculates Heger's attempts to fulfil his trope role as town-tamer.

For the *Kriminalfilm* I have shown how it is possible to reach the same conclusion. My thesis has proven how the first *Kriminalfilm*, Werner Klingler's *Razzia* has not one but two *femmes fatales*: in addition to the exotic Yvonne who dominates the space of the *Alibaba*, we see Lembke falling for the widowed Frau Naumann's charms. The actions of Yvonne and Frau Naumann have reduced the ability of the police to defeat the black market. I have demonstrated how Peter Pewas' film *Straßenbekanntschaft* gives the audience two working women who reject male control of spaces. This rejection of male control and independent work will lead to a chain of STI infections across Berlin. Erika diverts the film's Lohmann figure from his investigation of the vector of infection. He is emasculated by her presence in his home-cum-office, and he fails to release that it is women's independence as workers that enable STIs in Berlin to spread. The nation remains infected and cannot be healed as a result of her actions. The third film which I have examined, Harald Braun's *Zwischen gestern und morgen*, finds the hero Rott unable to reunite the stolen necklace with its rightful owner because of the trouser-wearing Kat. She is able to so confuse the detective that she can appropriate the stolen necklace with the simple phrase "es muss doch weiter gelebt werden". She has occupied Rott's space and then drawn on a mantra of entitlement to simply retain the necklace. I demonstrate that the final betrayal takes place in the backstory of von Baky's second film in this study, *Der Ruf*. Lena, educated, middle class and strong willed, betrayed her husband Mauthner by divorcing him then reinforced her betrayal by refusing to tell their son who his real father is. Thus, in doing so she is the cause of Mauthner's death and prevents the reconciliation between Mauthner and his son. She has not only betrayed the returning exile but also Germany's returning soldiers.

These *Trümmerfilme* warn of the dangers of Germany's independent women. Through the lens of the Western and *Kriminalfilm* we see that the independent woman will defeat the honourable returned *Landser* or the exile. She will prevent these men from achieving their manifest destinies as cowboy, detectives or star witness. In my new reading of these films the leading ladies have behaved as active proxies for the unseen Allies. These leading ladies have defeated the

expectations of the film and have inflicted a second, possibly unrecoverable, defeat on their returning men. This filmic attitude ignores the necessities of post-war Germany, the needs of German women to survive and make a life in the rubble of Germany's cities.

This thesis has taken two key concepts: Shandley's observation of the *Trümmerfilm* through a Western lens and Elsaesser's and Wedel's concepts of the "National Foundation" film as its starting point. Shandley's approach revealed that Staudte's *Die Mörder sind unter uns* fits the pattern of the Western but that it frustrates the expected Western ending. He does not seek to explain whether or what the implications of frustrating the ending are and nor does he attempt to understand whether this frustrated ending speaks to issues around heteronormative relationships in the post-war period. In my dissertation I have attempted to pick up the 'baton' from Shandley and apply the reading of the *Trümmerfilm* as a Western and *Kriminalfilm*, as a research control, across a range of the films and on a Cross-German basis. This wide and Cross-German approach has shown that the tendency for trope disruption is a trend across a significant number of *Trümmerfilme*. I have further examined this trend in order to provide a reading of these films in terms of this trend and understand what implications this trend had for the "National Foundation".

In my study of these films through the lenses of the Western and *Kriminalfilm* I have exposed a strong root of criticism for the independent women of Germany in the post-war period. In placing the films in their historical background and within the national discourses of gender I have suggested a new reading of the *Trümmerfilm*, which will add to the current discourse around the *Trümmerfilm*. This dissertation adds to the range of current interpretations of the *Trümmerfilm*. Hitherto, research has consisted of attempts to understand the films' narratives in terms of their historical significance of healing, or in terms of understanding how the restoration of normative relations between the returned men and their women could lead to a restoration of the nation. By using a genre 'lens' I have been able to add to this understanding examining the other side of the latter argument, asking what did the emphasis on the restoration of normative relationships say to

German women who had suffered so much on the home front during the war and immediately after capitulation? It is clear that the intervention of the Soviet film authorities at the *Trümmerfilm*'s birth allowed trope-altering conclusions of each film. This fundamental change to the first film led to a pattern being established where in a significant number of films women's independence is criticised, and where women are accused of inflicting a second and more grievous defeat on Germany's returning men. The films' criticisms of Germany's women are unwarranted and simply glosses over their suffering, turning them from victims to perpetrators of a second defeat.

This new reading of the *Trümmerfilm* allows a new tool to be brought to bear on the films as a whole and will, I hope, colour interpretations of these films into the future. It has moved the films from their key position as redemptive texts to one in which they criticise Germany's independent woman. Thereby the essential misogyny of the *Trümmerfilm* has been revealed.

Appendix 1 – List of Trümmerfilme 1946-1951

(After: Manvell, Brandlmeier, Shandley, Pleyer)

Film	Production Year	Release Year	Director	Znd Director	Writer 1	Writer 2	Writer 3	Camera Man	Camera Man	Producer 1	Producer 2
Igenkwo in Berlin	1946	1946	Lamprecht	Gerhard	Lamprecht	Gerhard		Kien	Werner	DEFA	
Die Mörder sind unter uns	1946	1946	Staudte	Wolfgang	Staudte	Wolfgang		Behn-Grund	Friedl	DEFA	
Freies Land	1946	1946	Habich	Milo	Habich	Milo		Baecker	Otto	DEFA	
Zwischen gestern und morgen	1947	1947	Braun	Harald	Braun	Harald		Anders	Günther	Büllz	Walter
In jenen Tagen	1946	1947	Käuter	Helmut	Käuter	Helmut		Oberberg	Igor	Käuter	Helmut
Razzia	1946	1947	Klingler	Werner	Petersson	Harald G.		Behn-Grund	Friedl	Klagemann	Eugen
Eine im Schatten	1947	1947	Maetzig	Kurt	Maetzig	Kurt		Behn-Grund	Friedl	DEFA	Eugen
Und über uns die Himmel	1947	1947	von Baby	Josef	Grindel	Gerhard		Kien	Werner	Käing	Richard
Kein Platz für Liebe	1946	1947	Doppe	Hans	Hackebell	Margarete	Deppe	Schulz	Kurt	DEFA	
Und finden dereinst wir uns wieder...	1947	1947	Müller	Hans	Haselbach	Ernst		von Rauteufeld	Klaus	Bentz	Albert
Zwiegel	1946	1947	Meyer R	Rolf	Meyer	Rolf		Anders	Günther	Werner	Albert
Der Engel mit der Posaune	1947	1948	Hartl	Karl	Hartl	Karl		Anders	Günther	Erich	Karl
Film ohne Titel	1947	1948	Jugert	Rudolf	Käuter	Helmut		Oberberg	Igor	Käuter	Helmut
Das andere Leben	1948	1948	Stenböck	Rudolf	Isch	Alfred		Sohn	Willi	von Struve	Viktor
Wege im Zweifelt	1947	1948	Föhlich	Gustav	Stemmle	Robert A		Weilmayr	Franz	Meyer	Rolf
Berliner Ballade	1948	1948	Stemmle	Robert A.	Neumann	Günther		Krause	Georg	Telchs	Alf
Morturi	1947	1948	York	Eugen	Kampendorf	Gustav		Kien	Werner	Brauner	Artur
Der Herr vom anderen Stern	1948	1948	Hilpert	Heinz	Illig	Werner		Bruckbauer	Georg	Telchs	Alf
Archie Nora	1947	1948	Klingler	Werner	Petersson	Harald G.		Klagemann	Eugen	Koppel	Walter
Die Söhne des Herrn Gaspary	1947	1948	Meyer	Rolf	Meyer R	Rolf		Bentz	Albert	Meyer	Rolf
Menschen in Gottes Hand	1947	1948	Meyer R	Rolf	Kampendorf	Gustav		Bentz	Albert	Meyer	Rolf
Das Verlorene Gesicht	1948	1948	Hoffmann	Kurt	Braun	Harald		Koch	Franz	Braun	Harald
Chemie und Liebe	1947	1948	Rabenalt	Arthur Maria	von Keller	Marion		Morfi	Bruno	DEFA	
Gude Morgenrot	1947	1948	Freund	Erich	Schleif	Wolfgang		Fiedler	Ernst W.	Westphal	Alfred
Blockierte Signale	1948	1948	Meyer	Johannes	Hannam	Edith		Bruckbauer	Georg	Laaser	Heinz
Lang ist der Weg	1947	1948	Federstorf	Herbert B.	Goldslein	Marek		Koch	Friedl	Wainstein	Abraham
Affäre Blum	1948	1948	Engel	Erich	Stemmle	Robert A		Behn-Grund	Friedl	Pinzter	Karl
Die Zeit mit Dir	1948	1948	Hurdialek	Georg	Oster-Sack	Maria		Kyrath	Ekkehard	Richter	Georg
Straßenbekanntschaft	1947	1948	Pawas	Peter	Pol	Arthur		Bruckbauer	Georg	DEFA	
Und wieder 481	1948	1948	von Wangenheim	Helmut	von Wangen	Gustav		Morfi	Bruno	DEFA	
Der Apfel ist ab	1948	1948	Käuter	Helmut	Käuter	Helmut		Oberberg	Igor	Käuter	Helmut
1-2-3 Corona	1947	1948	Müller	Hans	Kühner	A. Artur		Baberske	Robert	DEFA	
Wohin die Züge fahren	1949	1949	Bardog	Boleslaw	Ulrich	Walter		von Rauteufeld	Klaus	Holder	Erich
Liebe 47	1948	1949	Liebeneiner	Wolfgang	Liebeneiner	Wolfgang		Weilmayr	Franz	Telchs	Alf
Die Buntkarierten	1948	1949	Maetzig	Kurt	Maetzig	Kurt		Behn-Grund	Friedl	Pinzter	Karl
Duell mit dem Tod	1949	1949	Mey	Paul	Past	GW		Ashley	Helmut	Past	GW
Rotation	1948	1949	Staudte	Wolfgang	Klein	Erwin		Morfi	Bruno	DEFA	
Du bist nicht allein	1949	1949	Verhoeven P	Paul	Verhoeven	Paul		Wagner	Fritz Arno	Verhoeven P	Paul
Die letzte Nacht	1948	1949	York	Eugen	Jahn	Otto-Heinz		Winterstein	Willi	Willy	Walter
Heimliches Rendezvous	1949	1949	Hoffmann	Kurt	Pauck	Heinz		Koch	Franz	Braun	Harald
Nachtwache	1949	1949	Braun	Harald	Braun	Harald		Koch	Franz	Illig	Josef
Der Ruf	1948	1949	von Baby	Josef	Korner	Fritz		Kien	Werner	von Baby	Josef
Hallo, Fräulein!	1949	1949	Jugert	Rudolf	Wiss	Helmut		Bruckbauer	Georg	Richter	Georg
Die Söhne des Herrn Gaspary	1948	1949	Meyer R	Rolf	Walter	Kurt E.		Bentz	Albert	Meyer	Rolf
Unser täglich Brot	1949	1949	Dudow	Staan	Dudow	Staan		Baberske	Robert	DEFA	
Hafenmole	1949	1950	Müller	Hans	Kühner	A. Artur		Winterstein	Willy	Koppel	Walter
Der Rat der Götter	1949	1950	Maetzig	Kurt	Wolf	Friedrich		Behn-Grund	Friedl	DEFA	
Taxi Kitty	1950	1950	Hoffmann	Kurt	Walter	Kurt E.		Bentz	Albert	Meyer	Rolf
Die Sündenin	1950	1950	Forst	Willi	Manzel	Gerhard		Vich	Vadav	Meyer	Rolf
Der Verlorene	1950	1951	Lorre	Peter	Lorre	Peter		Vich	Vadav	Pressburger	Arnold
Alm in der Grenze	1951	1951	Janssen	Walter	Axel	Franz		Kien	Werner	Haller	Peter
Die Matrosenklause	1951	1951	Häußler	Richard	Hinz	Dief		Koch	Illig	Josef	Osternayr

Appendix 2 – List of Genres – Part 1

Genre identified	Moine 2000	Grant 2007	<i>L'Officiel des Spectacles</i>		Neal 2000	Altman 1999	<i>Film genres</i>
			<i>Pariscope</i>				
Action and Adventure		X			X	X	
Action - Comedy						X	
Adventure			X	X			X
Adult Humour						X	
Animal					X		
Animated Film				X		X	X
Apocalyptic	X						
Art		X				X	
Asian	X						
Avant-garde	X	X			X	X	
Aviation					X		
B Films	X	X			X		
Beach					X		
Beatnik					X		
Biblical					X		
Big Caper		X				X	
Biography	X	X	X		X	X	
Black action					X		
Blaxpotation		X			X	X	
Blockbuster					X		
Boxing film					X		
Buddy	X					X	
Calpyso					X		
Cartoon			X	X	X		
Chase					X	X	
Chick Flic						X	
Children's Films							X
Circus					X		
Classic Hollywood							X
Comedy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Comedy Action	X						
Comedy Animal					X		
Comedy black		X			X		
Comedy Burlesque	X				X	X	
Comedy Caper		X			X		
Comedy College						X	
Comedy Drama			X				
Comedy English	X						
Comedy family					X		
Comedy folklore	X						
Comedy parody		X					
Comedy Romantic	X	X			X	X	
Comedy Screwball	X	X			X	X	
Comedy Slapstick	X	X				X	
Concert						X	
Dance				X	X		
Detective	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Disaster	X				X	X	
Docudrama						X	
Documentary	X			X		X	
Drama			X	X	X	X	
Drama Costume	X				X	X	
Drama Drawingroom					X		
Drama Homefront					X		
Drama Police						X	
Drama Psychological				X			
Drama Romantic					X	X	

Appendix 2 – List of Genres – Part 2

Genre identified	<i>L'Officiel</i>				Neal 2000	Altman 1999	Film genres
	Moine 2000	Grant 2007	des Spectacles	Pariscopes			
Drama Sex						X	
Educational						X	
Election						X	
Epic	X				X	X	
Erotic			X	X			
Exploitation						X	
Fantastic	X					X	
Fantasy	X		X	X	X	X	X
Festival						X	
Film Noir	X	X		X	X	X	X
Flapper film					X		
Football film					X		
Gangster	X	X			X		
Gay						X	
Ghost	X						
Gothic					X		
Grossout	X					X	
Headline						X	
<i>Heimat</i>	X						
Historical	X		X		X		X
Homefront					X		
Horror	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Indian					X	X	
Karate	X		X	X		X	
Kidnap					X		
Labour film					X		
Lyric						X	
Mad scientist film					X		
Melodrama	X	X			X	X	
Melodrama Family						X	
Melodrama maternal						X	
Mid-Western						X	
Misc			X				
Monster	X						
Musical	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mystery		X					
Narrative					X		
<i>Neo-Noir</i>					X		
Newspaper					X	X	

Appendix 2 – List of Genres – Part 3

Genre indentified	<i>L'Officiel</i>				Neal 2000	Altman 1999	Film genres
	Moine 2000	Grant 2007	des Spectacles	Pariscope			
Newsreel					X	X	
Plantation						X	
Political Film				X	X	X	
Pornography		X			X	X	
Pornography gay						X	
Radio Star						X	
Racetrack					X		
Railroad					X	X	
Road	X	X				X	
Rock					X		
Romance						X	
Rouge						X	
Scenic						X	
Science Fiction	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Serial Killer Films		X					
Serial films					X		
Short Film				X	X		
Social Problem	X				X	X	
Sport Films					X	X	X
Spy			X		X	X	
Stag						X	
Stalker					X		
Studio Invented Genre eg	X						
Submarine					X		
Surfing						X	
Suspense						X	
Swashbuckler	X				X		
Sword and sorcery					X	X	
Teen Pic	X				X		
Terror			X				
Thriller				X	X	X	X
Thriller Suspense					X		
Toga	X						
Tragedy						X	
Tragicomedy						X	
Travel						X	
TV films							X
Video nasties						X	
War	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Western	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Western Pennsylvania						X	
Western Singing Cowboy						X	
Western Spaghetti	X					X	
Wilderness						X	
Wildlife			X				X
Women's film	X				X	X	
Women's prison						X	
World cinema						X	
Zombie						X	

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