



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND  
AUSTRALIA

**Perpetrators, Bystanders, and Victims: Representations of the  
Third Reich in Australian Fiction**

Kirril Robert Shields

Bachelor of Arts (University of Queensland)  
Master of Arts (University of New South Wales)  
Master of Arts (Research) (University of Sydney)

*A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
The University of Queensland in 2014  
School of English, Media Studies and Art History*

## **Abstract**

This thesis considers how, and in what ways, specificities of Australian history and culture have influenced literary representations of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim. I argue that the depiction of these three roles, in Australian fiction published from the mid-1940s through to the present day, shows some parallels with “shifts and changes” identified by European scholars in views of the Third Reich, and in perspectives on literary representations of this triad in cultural production. I contend that Australian fiction enables, in varying degrees, a rearticulation of what may be considered traditional representations of the triad. Furthermore, I argue that these Australian literary representations also show some extensions of traditional portrayals in Australia and elsewhere, of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim, in literary and other genres of cultural production.

My methodology draws upon some European discussion relating to the historicising and, in some instances, a move towards the normalising of the Third Reich through literary works, with a particular focus on debates surrounding the contextualisation of the categories of the Third Reich triad. I also refer to aspects of Australian history to argue that facets of the Australian past are influential in shaping narratives containing these triadic roles, at times enabling what could be regarded as less-considered representations of these typologies.

Chapter one explores significant “turning points” in German history in the aftermath of the Third Reich, relating this history to ethical, political and cultural influences that have shaped representations of the three characters in some European writing, both critical and analytical, and creative. Chapter two examines aspects of Australian history and culture to argue that this particular past has played a role in the formation of the triad in Australia’s fiction; mentioning, for example, a colonial and post-colonising past in relation to the Indigenous population, and ethnocentrically-loaded immigration policies. Chapters three through to eight discuss and analyse Australian literary representations of the perpetrator, bystander and victim; these characters are transplanted to an Australian setting, and/or depicted in war-torn or post-World War Two Europe. These chapters are framed by an analysis of how far “shifts and changes” in the conceptualisation and function of these characters,

in any specific narrative, can illuminate various understandings of the triad in the context and environment of Australian society and culture.

**Declaration by author**

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the University Library and, subject to the General Award Rules of The University of Queensland, immediately made available for research and study in accordance with the *Copyright Act 1968*.

I acknowledge that copyright of all material contained in my thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of that material. Where appropriate I have obtained copyright permission from the copyright holder to reproduce material in this thesis.

**Publications during candidature**

No publications.

**Publications included in this thesis**

No publications included.

**Contributions by others to the thesis**

No contributions by others.

**Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree**

None.

## **Acknowledgements**

I wish to thank Professor Carole Ferrier and Dr Margaret Henderson for their advice and their guidance. I thank very much Emma Hosking for her love and support and patience throughout this period. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Dr Irmtraud Petersson and Emeritus Professor Laurie Hergenhan for their conversations and input. My parents and sister also need thanking for their continuous support: Professor Linda Shields, Allan Shields, and Rosemary Shields.

## **Keywords**

Australian literature, Third Reich, Third Reich literature, perpetrator, migrant literature, Australian culture, German history, Australian history, European history

## **Australian and New Zealand Standard Research Classifications (ANZSRC)**

ANZSRC code: 200502 Australian Literature (excl. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Literature), 90%

ANZSRC code: 200209 Multicultural, Intercultural and Cross-cultural Studies, 10%

## **Fields of Research (FoR) Classification**

FoR code: 2005, Literary Studies, 90%

FoR code: 2002, Cultural Studies, 10%

## **Table of Contents**

Introduction	10
Chapter One - The German Past	38
Chapter Two - Australian History and the Holocaust	54
Chapter Three - Reflecting on Cultural Attitudes	77
1. Patrick White - <i>Riders in the Chariot</i>	
2. Les Murray - <i>Fredy Neptune</i>	
3. Christos Tsiolkas - <i>Dead Europe</i>	
Chapter Four - Communism Versus Fascism	93
1. Jean Devanny - <i>Roll Back the Night</i>	
2. Walter Kaufmann - <i>Voices in the Storm</i>	
3. Dymphna Cusack - <i>Heat Wave in Berlin</i>	
Chapter Five - A Migrant's Dilemma	118
1. Josef Vondra - <i>Paul Zwilling: A Novel</i>	
2. Manfred Jurgensen - <i>A Difficult Love</i>	
3. Angelika Fremd – <i>Heartland and The Glass Inferno</i>	
Chapter Six - Discussing the Triad from Afar	146
1. Barbara Yates Rothwell - <i>Klara</i>	
2. Lance Grimstone - <i>When the Tulips Bled</i>	
3. Caroline Cooper - <i>The Forgotten Holocaust: A Gypsy's Journey from Auschwitz to Freedom</i>	
Chapter Seven - The Bystander and the Everyday	162
1. Stephanie Meder - <i>Legacy of Love</i>	
2. Edward Kynaston - <i>Ordinary Women</i>	
3. Markus Zusak - <i>The Book Thief</i>	



**Table of Contents cont.**

Chapter Eight - A New Victim in Australia's Literature	194
1. Thomas Keneally - <i>A Family Madness</i>	
2. James McQueen - <i>White Light</i> and <i>The Heavy Knife</i>	
3. Helen Demidenko/Darville - <i>The Hand That Signed the Paper</i>	
4. Jackie French – <i>Hitler's Daughter</i>	
Conclusion	222
Bibliography	232

## INTRODUCTION

And we must look, again, and again, and again. Why? Because what is done to us by words and photographic images was done to others in actuality, to people more innocent than ourselves because they did not know that such things could be done, by people who had not known they were capable of doing them.

Inga Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*

In 2013, the German television miniseries *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* (*Our Mothers, Our Fathers*) caused controversy in Europe. The show focused on the lives of five German friends between the years 1941 to 1945. One of these individuals was Jewish German, the others non-Jewish German, and all five were affected by the war to such a degree that, of those who survived, their lives and their families were in tatters, and their beloved Berlin destroyed. Told from the perspective of Germans at war, the show was considered by some critics to relativise German “deeds and responsibilities” (qtd. in “TV Tiff” n.p.). It was also thought *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* brought into question German culpability for the crimes committed, crimes which would ultimately manifest as the Holocaust (Robson n.p.).<sup>1</sup> The show did not deny German responsibility for mass shootings or ideologically motivated killings, but it was thought by some to push responsibility aside by suggesting, for one thing, and to much ire from various Polish communities and institutions, that Poland was as anti-Semitic (if not more so) than Germany (Robson n.p.). The show also appeared to present a certain type of German responsible for the implementation of Third Reich ideology—uncompassionate and overt in political beliefs, and therefore, seemingly a minority. The “common” German as depicted in the television series, while knowing, for example, of the Jewish situation, was removed from large-scale complicity, or only acted on orders or due to self-preservation (Denby n.p.). Furthermore, in one of the show’s last scenes, a former high-ranking Gestapo member is shown working in a

---

<sup>1</sup> The terms Holocaust and Shoah are used in the thesis for the Nazi genocide, since they are the dominant terms used in much of the critical commentary. I also note the Hebrew term Churban, a term used by Jewish academics. For greater insight into the complexity of each term and some arguments surrounding them, see Brennan 85-86.

bureaucratic position for the American army; the Americans are brought into question regarding their own role as the adjudicators of justice. What the show prompted, regardless of the miniseries' historical authenticity or lack thereof, was, as German Professor of History Arnd Bauerkämper stated, a reawakening, a chance for Germans to “not feel guilt any more . . .” (qtd. in “The War” n.p.). Simultaneously, *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* “has reminded the public that this is their last chance to talk to survivors” (“The War” n.p.). Understandably, given the show's perspective, decades-old debates were also reignited regarding this past; arguments over how Germany, and Europe, and the world at large, should remember, and/or artistically revisit, the Third Reich and the regime's aftermath.<sup>2</sup>

Among texts produced in Germany and other parts of Europe—including literature, film, art and theatre—this television show is one of the most recent examples of depiction of the Third Reich epoch which has galvanised scholarly and public opinion. In the recent past, debate erupted, for instance, over novels that draw on this particular history, and these European works include Bernhard Schlink's *Der Vorleser* [*The Reader*] (1995), a novel which humanises the perpetrator, debatably drawn as a victim of her past; French American novelist Jonathon Littell's *Les Bienveillantes* [*The Kindly Ones*] (2006), in which the crimes of the regime are seen from the perspective of a highly-educated SS Officer; Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* (2001) that writes the perpetrators, as Liisa Buelens suggests, as sufferers of trauma (27).<sup>3</sup> Controversial and debated artistic texts that focus upon aspects of the Third Reich are not limited to Germany, or even greater Europe. Steven Spielberg's film, *Schindler's List* (1993), based on the Australian novel by Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's Ark* (1982), is one of the most well-known American creative endeavours to have re-represented the Holocaust, and the

---

<sup>2</sup> To distinguish between the terms “the past” and “history,” I use Keith Jenkins. Jenkins argues that there is a past/history distinction, in which history is the study or retelling of the past. “The past has occurred. It has gone and can only be bought back by historians. . . . History is the labour of historians” (8) In relating this distinction to the thesis, the novels I have studied act as a means of telling history, for each (even the most farfetched of these “histories”) attempts, in some form, to reveal a story tied to the actual past. As Jenkins further postulates: “The past that we ‘know’ is always contingent upon our own views, our own ‘present.’ Just as we are ourselves products of the past so the known past (history) is an artefact of ours” (15). Here, the divide between history and fiction is blurred. History has within it elements of fiction; fiction, as studied in this thesis, has elements of history upon which it relies.

<sup>3</sup> Rachel Seiffert is a British novelist born in 1971 in Oxford, whose parents are Australian and German.

film has drawn both praise and criticism. Two further examples which have created scholarly and more widespread conversation are the American author/cartoonist Art Spiegelman and his graphic novel *Maus* (1986), and Jodi Picoult's *The Storyteller* (2013) which, though different in literary style and genre to *Maus*, draws on the Holocaust as a means of attempting to explain individuals caught up in the war and the war's after-effects, intertwining the stories of a former Nazi and a former concentration camp inmate.

From after the fall of the Third Reich to the present day, the Nazi era has preoccupied numerous authors and film makers from many countries. Australia, as the Keneally novel attests, is no exception. Australian literature—the focus of my thesis—has included representations of the Third Reich in many of its genres: popular fiction, memoir, autobiography, pulp fiction, and the mystery thriller. It is mainly literary fiction that I examine in this thesis, and I suggest that some of the Australian authors explored in this study provide culturally and socially specific insight and commentary about this period in history. These authors and their works, I argue, offer a diverse range of perspectives regarding the Third Reich, and in particular, the representation of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim. While this literature presents a range of differences from European publications, I also note in some of the texts a degree of similarity. A number of the novels examined in this thesis, can relativise—akin to what some critics find occurring in *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter*—aspects of the period of the Third Reich and the crimes that ensued. In this regard, these Australian texts add, I would argue, to the ongoing debates centred on creative representations of the Third Reich period, and to discussions that Michael Rothberg calls “multidirectional memory” (3).

## **Methodology**

When I initially conceived of this study I intended my focus to be solely upon Nazi perpetrators as depicted in some Australian fiction. I defined perpetrators as Europeans who had committed crimes amounting to genocide during the reign of Germany's Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party. These perpetrators were citizens of European countries including Germany, Austria, the Ukraine, Poland, Belarus, Romania or Russia. In my reading I noted that some Australian novels had included fictional literary

representations of the perpetrator from as early as the 1950s (Walter Kaufmann's *Voices in the Storm* [1953], for example), and these perpetrators, although their portrayals differed from book to book, were present in numerous texts over the coming decades. The character of the perpetrator was, however, very often informed by, related to, or was reliant upon (as seen in James McQueen's work) victimised characters, or characters drawn as bystanders. While Nazis can, in some variety, be located in each of the books examined in this thesis, their representation consistently draws also upon a representation of either the Third Reich's victim and/or bystander. Nazi perpetrators in Markus Zusak's *The Book Thief* (2005), for instance, have been pushed to the periphery of the novel, their presence and their role as substantive characters mostly absent. Nazis preside in Zusak's novel, but their inclusion is by association with the German bystander. Discussing perpetrators was therefore difficult without also including the victim and the bystander, for the interaction between the three was important in defining and/or studying these particular representations. To focus upon the perpetrator alone, I concluded, would limit an investigation of the representational changes which have occurred in Australian literature in relation to portrayals of the Third Reich triad.

It was upon reading the Jewish historian and scholar Saul Friedländer's 1988 essay "Historical Writing and the Memory of the Holocaust" that I came to realise that much could be said about Australian literature, and simultaneously Australian culture if, instead of focusing simply upon the perpetrator, I looked at how the victim and the bystander, alongside the perpetrator, are drawn in Australian fiction. In relation to Germany's fiction, Friedländer noted a progression of literary "shifts and changes" ("Historical" 67) which accorded with representations of the Third Reich triad. Portrayals of the victim, bystander and perpetrator in German fiction were seen by Friedländer, and other commentators discussed below, to alter as a response to, or as a reflection of, historic and cultural events—from the fall of the Third Reich, to reunification in 1990, to a recent rise of neo-rightwing nationalism (Tebbutt 166). Australian history and culture clearly differ from that of Germany, past and present, even while certain European events have greatly influenced Australian society, such as the mass migration of Europeans following the conclusion of the Second World War. Yet Australian fiction, and

its depiction of the Third Reich, while shaped by a specific culture and history different from that of Germany, offers a further articulation of Friedländer's shifts and changes; Australian literature, as with any literature dealing with the past and with memory, captures "the individual, embodied, and lived side *and* the collective social, and constructed side of our relations with the past" [Rothberg's italics] (Rothberg 4). Fictional Australian depictions of the victim and perpetrator in particular have transmuted, diverging from both traditional and less-traditional contemporary literary depictions of these characters as produced in Europe.

This thesis is, therefore, an exploration of literary representations of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim as found in some examples of Australian fiction. I use the term "some examples" for I wish to emphasise that the literature chosen has been selected from a broad literary corpus which involves itself with and/or has a significant interest in various interacting characters that could be placed within these three categories. I do not, for example, examine Holocaust survivors' memoirs, nor do I investigate the autobiographies of Australian migrants who fled Europe. Further, I do not include certain sub-categories of fiction which are also occupied with victim, and/or perpetrator, and/or bystander, such as the proliferation of pulp fiction authored by Ray Slattery or Carter Brown.<sup>4</sup> Instead, I discuss predominantly literary fiction, mainly realist, historical fiction and the migrant novel or novella, which has been composed by an Australian author, whether that be a first, second, third or later generation Australian. In some instances the label "faction" has been employed as a means of describing these novels. This fiction, as the terms "historical" fiction or "faction" often suggest, draws on an actual past: whether this past be, for example, overarching tumultuous events associated with the Third Reich and the Second World War; particular individuals who escaped Germany or other European countries; the study of peoples and communities who may have survived the period or perished; the

---

<sup>4</sup> Populist paperback authors including Ray Slattery and Mack Kenton published a considerable number of war novels in the 1950s and 60s which incorporated the Third Reich and the triad of characters, as selected titles attest: *The Nazi Lover*; *The Nazi Friends*; *Swastika Castle*; *The Shame of Auschwitz*; *Experiment at Ravensbruck*. My rationale for the exclusion of such work from this study does not negate their commentary on the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim. These publications offer a legitimate statement about the author, or the society they inhabit, regardless of tone or their formulaic construction (Johnson-Woods, *Pulp* 61), even while they "posed no great philosophical questions" and were often "written, edited and published within weeks" (Johnson-Woods, *Pulp* 5).

past of individuals who participated in the politics and the ensuing crimes. The literary work examined in this thesis, therefore, draws upon actual events and occurrences, yet these texts have been published as “fiction.” I have chosen to investigate fiction, and generally literary fiction, as I agree with Stephen Brockmann that novels are “the primary mode of literary communication with larger social implication and resonances” (*Literature* 19), and that the novel is the most privileged literary sphere for reflection and social commentary (*Literature* 19). When the content has been considered and conceived aesthetically and with a degree of exactingness, the “serious” novel holds intellectual weight, and by recreating and/or re-representing history, it can contribute to the debates among historians and political scientists about how the past can be understood in our present.

As a means of further exploring the representation of the Third Reich triad in this selection of Australian fiction I also, however, make a point of discussing lesser-known authors, including some published by small, independent publishing firms. In some chapters I draw my examples from this category of novel, for these books provide a means of examining particular portrayals of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator. This is not popular writing: these novels will never sell large numbers of copies. Nor are they literary as compared with writing by Patrick White or Les Murray, for example. Nonetheless, they provide distinctive, sometimes controversial insight into representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator, regardless of the authors’ literary reputation or the literary quality of their novels.

The work I have chosen to investigate derives predominantly from non-Jewish Australian writers, for it is non-Jewish authors who, for the most part, offer untraditional representations of the triad.<sup>5</sup> Australian literature which reconfigures, or manipulates, or appears to lack an understanding of this particular period in time, can be seen to be often produced by Australian authors who are not of Jewish decent or heritage. By contrast, Australian portrayals of the Third Reich composed by authors who have a familial

---

<sup>5</sup> By the term “untraditional” I mean that the three character types I investigate are no longer considered from what may be regarded as a “pious” perspective in regards to the Holocaust, and there occurs a blurring, or a move away from, “traditional” binary portrayals of “good victim” and “evil perpetrator.” I extrapolate further on these traditional versus untraditional representational distinctions below.

connection to the Jewish faith and culture become largely occupied with relatively traditional and conventional compositions of Jewish victimisation—adhering, possibly, to the notion put forward in some critical discourse associated with Holocaust representation that “representing the ineffable” (Cheyette 18) should tend “towards the total suppression of representation itself” (Boswell 2). While this may explain, to some degree, hesitation from authors of Jewish background in publishing Holocaust narratives, for, as Nancy Keesing suggests, “there is not, and never has been, an identifiable school or group of Jewish writers of fiction in Australia” as a result of reasons she believes are associated with assimilation (*Shalom* 103), a corpus of literary work composed by such Australian authors which include the triad does exist. Fictional publications by authors of Jewish cultural background do much to add to our understanding of this period. David Martin’s *Where a Man Belongs* (1969), for example, follows two Australian men as they travel through Germany. Described by Rudolf Bader as one of the two “most outstanding Australian books about the holocaust,” *Where a Man Belongs* broadcasts the disparity of opinion over Germany and the nation’s role in the Holocaust.<sup>6</sup> There are also numerous short stories by Australians who foreground their Jewish identity including Barbara Schenkel’s “The Anniversary,” a story discussing a past of European concentration camps amid the Jewish Australian migrant present, or her “A Dream of an Auschwitz Prisoner” which positions the perpetrator as a man truly despised, for even Satan turns away in disgust from this individual. Stories such as these, as stated, adhere to relatively traditional renderings of the triad; the traditional victim is Jewish and the traditional perpetrator the diabolic Nazi. By comparison, what I notice in work written by some Australian novelists who have no connection to the Jewish culture or faith, are portrayals of the triad which are removed in varying degrees from traditional compositions, and can be seen at times to discuss the Holocaust with impiety, sometimes offering no reticence in moving “beyond the depiction of the Holocaust perpetrator as cipher for an unassimilable evil” (Adams, “Introduction” 1). It is predominantly these non-Jewish Australian texts that I focus upon to discuss the character composition of the triad.

---

<sup>6</sup> The second, Bader suggests, is *Schindler’s Ark* by Thomas Keneally (232)



This thesis, therefore, is an investigation of all three character types as found in some Australian fiction, the means by which the three relate to each other, and/or how these relationships vary according to an author's politics or cultural persuasion, and/or the period in which the books were written and then published. I suggest that Australian literature that includes people involved in or affected by the Third Reich sometimes adheres to the shifts and changes that Friedländer and others have noted in German representations of the victim, bystander and perpetrator; some Australian representations are, perhaps, at a remove from even the most recent literary shifts noted in European fiction of similar content. These differences, I argue, have been influenced by an Australian cultural and historical specificity, with certain aspects of Australia's past and culture showing particular styles of further shifts and changes in fictional portrayals of the Third Reich triad.

### **Key Terms**

Three terms used in this thesis to group the characters located in the Australian fiction under discussion are "victim," "bystander," and "perpetrator." In using these terms, and subsequently the moniker "triad," I need to emphasise that such categorisations are not so easily defined outside of a particular sphere of discussion, or even, at times within this particular discussion. I am, as I state in the descriptions of these three character types, drawing on what may be considered "traditional" renderings or ideas pertaining to these three, for it is ideas to do with "traditional" representations of victim, bystander and perpetrator that Friedländer and other scholars refer to in reference to literary depictions of these three loose groupings. Discussions to do with "traditional" representations are purely a means of attempting to collate collective cultural ideas pertaining to a complex and vast "gray zone" (Levi, *Drowned* 36) of individuals who were, in varying degrees, complicit with, or victimised by, the Nazis. By this I mean that those who perpetrated crimes were not solely those in uniform, or those who worked in the camps. It has been suggested by Christopher Browning, as one notable example, that even "ordinary" individuals who had no strong affiliation with the Nazi party could be coaxed (or ordered) to commit acts culminating in genocide. Similarly, I do not discuss the *Kapo* or the *Sonderkommando* in this overview (here the separate categories of victim and oppressor are blurred).

Therefore, to simply segregate the “triad” into three distinct groupings could be seen as problematic and reductionist. Yet, it is the grouping of these three as described below, that Friedländer refers to in his essay “Historical Writing and the Memory of the Holocaust,” for he suggests these “types” to be what is collectively remembered and/or discussed in a literary corpus, and this has had a bearing upon the fictional depictions of these character groupings over the ensuing decades. As a result of this reliance upon the “traditional” I need to emphasise that in outlining my descriptions of these literary characterisations below, the term “traditional” is employed as a means of suggesting a broad overview which is symbolic of a collective remembering, and which, by being so, is often removed from more particular, more nuanced and more educated discussions of the victim and the oppressor as exemplified in Primo Levi’s chapter on the grey zone in *The Drowned and the Saved* (1986).

The victims, as traditionally defined, were those deemed as deserving of internment in a concentration camp, those gassed, for example, or those who were “euthanized” (Friedländer, “Historical” 68-69). Among the multitude of diverse victims were Jews, Gypsies/Roma/Sinti, homosexuals, political dissidents, Russian soldiers, and the mentally ill. Holocaust scholar Raul Hilberg defines the “traditional” victim as an individual who, unlike the perpetrator or bystander, is “identifiable and countable at every turn” (x). The victims, Hilberg continues, “are remembered mainly for what happened to them all, and for this reason there has been some inhibition about segmenting them systematically into component categories. Yet the impact of destruction was not simultaneously the same for everyone” (x). In the books examined in this thesis, traditional victims are ostensibly Jewish. While each individual victim may suffer various fates, in some of the Australian novels examined the victim is drawn as a generic being, a member of a victimised collective, and the personalised victim is therefore removed. Furthermore, being positioned between survival and death during the years of Hitler’s rule does not define an individual as a victim. Rather, the traditional victim is a person who has been subjected in any form to the perpetrator’s crimes. These victims may have also experienced a bystander’s apathy as a form of victimisation. Their tormentors or the torments inflicted, therefore, denote these people (or, in a literary sense, characters) as individuals who have suffered in some way.

The role of the victim, however, in terms of a literary representation, alongside the bystander and perpetrator, “changes and shifts” (Friedländer, “Historical” 75), so those listed above who were either interned or killed are regarded as “traditional” victims by Holocaust scholars; a representation which could be equated with the view of Jenni Adams, who refers to “traditional” portrayals of those victimised as “the conventional pattern in Holocaust discourse, in which the reader identifies with the victim” (qtd. in Boswell 11). When the perpetrator is later described as victim, it is not the victim as outlined in any traditional or conventional sense. In that case, the perpetrator is a “victim” of possible circumstance, bad luck, history, and/or propaganda, and the repercussions are diminutive when compared with the violations acted out on “traditional” victims. Likewise, when the traditional victim is regarded as a perpetrator, as occurs in some of the texts studied in this thesis, these characters are not advocating on behalf of the Third Reich, nor do they participate in the ensuing crimes, but they are seen as perpetrators because of their own history or beliefs which have come into conflict with the dominating government. To clarify this point, Helen Demidenko/Darville’s novel *The Hand That Signed the Paper* (1994) is charged by a number of critics including Robert Manne of manipulating history; of suggesting that Jewish involvement in the Ukrainian famine (the *Holodomor*) of 1932-1933 was a causal reason that led to non-Jewish Ukrainian complicity in the Holocaust.<sup>7</sup> In this case, the traditional victims (the Ukrainian Jewish population) are perceived as the original perpetrators, and their demise a decade or so later is therefore justified. As a further example of a rewriting of traditional notions of Holocaust victimhood, Thomas Keneally’s Nazi party member, Oskar Schindler, could be read as a product of cultural naivety, and once the complicity of his countrymen in the genocide of the Jewish population becomes apparent, he attempts to make amends. When the war ends so, too, does the physical torture for many of the traditional victims (not all, for pogroms and the killing of individual Jews continued after the war’s completion), yet Schindler’s victimisation is sustained as his business

---

<sup>7</sup> Because of the two surnames the author used, the thesis refers to the author of *The Hand That Signed the Paper* as Demidenko/Darville. The author has in recent years changed her surname to Dale.

ventures fail, bankruptcy ensues, and he forever moves from city to city seeking the charity of those he saved (Pierce, *Australian Melodramas* 90).

I also refer to victims of Australian cultural apathy in later parts of this thesis. These victims are generally regarded as victims of everyday urban life in a society of democratic values; they may be subjected to taunting and/or bigotry, and/or social segregation. The two “victims,” the Nazi victim and the Australian cultural victim, are incommensurable, and I do not wish to equate the suffering of those who were persecuted during the Holocaust with the suffering of individuals who may, for example, have been subjected to schoolyard bullying.<sup>8</sup> The suffering inflicted on the victims of Nazis is not intended to be equated with that of the victims of “everyday” Australian suburban taunting and bigotry.

Perpetrators, as traditionally defined, are the Nazis and their affiliates, that is, any European who subscribed to Nazi ideology; or, if not politically affiliated, those who were to benefit from the Nazis in varying degrees. Hilberg describes the perpetrators as:

people who played a part in the formulation or implementation of anti-Jewish measures. In most cases, a participant understood his function, and he ascribed it to his position and duties. What he did was impersonal. He had been empowered or instructed to carry out his mission . . . and each man could feel that his contribution was a small part of an immense undertaking. . . . He realized, however, that the process of destruction was deliberate, and that once he had stepped into the maelstrom, his deed would be indelible. (ix)

While the archetype of the Nazi perpetrator could be deemed to be the SS officer, or more specifically a figure such as Adolf Eichmann or Rudolf Höss (the Auschwitz Camp Commandant), the definition of the perpetrator in this thesis extends well beyond the upper echelons of the Third Reich. It encompasses, among others, complicit Austrian, Polish, Latvian, Russian, Italian, French, and Dutch citizens who supported Nazi ideology and/or acted upon Nazi politics, or who benefited from German invasion, even though

---

<sup>8</sup> I do note here that some Indigenous commentators have compared genocide in Australian history and removal to prison (like) sites with the Nazi treatment of the Jews. This is dismissed further below.

these individuals may not have worn a Nazi uniform.<sup>9</sup> In his exposé of Nazis who fled to Australia post-Second World War, Mark Aarons describes perpetrators as groupings of:

many nationalities, not just Germans or Austrians. Strictly speaking, the Nationalist Socialist Workers' Party only covered people who were citizens of the Third Reich, but during the 1930s indigenous fascist organisations were established throughout Europe, most of which collaborated closely with the Germans during the war. (xix)

In the Australian fiction I discuss, perpetrators derive from a host of European nations: some travel to Australia with Nazi ideology brewing within them, others remain in the European country of their birth. Regardless of how they exist following the end of the war, these perpetrators have colluded with the Fascists, or have been singularly responsible for the torture and death of persons during Hitler's reign in Europe.

Bystanders are those Europeans who remained indifferent or passive to the regime's crimes. These are German citizens or citizens of the Reich's quisling states, and they lived, if not a conventional existence, an existence of relative ease when compared with the many others who were killed or tortured. Bystanders could have been, depending on their personal role and resistance to Nazi ideology, any number of the citizens. These are individuals who may not have joined the ranks of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) or the *Schutzstaffel* (SS), nor the army unless conscripted, yet they are deemed complicit for they benefit from the pain of others, or are seen as apathetic due to a lack of proactive protest against the reigning government. Or, the bystander may be regarded as an individual who was content to sow fields or sell newspapers as their neighbours disappeared. Friedländer describes the bystanders as those individuals "characterised by partial knowledge of crimes committed and by more or less sustained indifference or passivity" ("Historical" 68). According to Hilberg, in a similar vein, although less

---

<sup>9</sup> In her study of the perpetrators located in two of Rachel Seiffert's novels, Liisa Buelens divides the perpetrator into four categories, arguing that individual perpetrators "cannot be seen separate from the communities they live in," as "their relationship to that community determines their degree of perpetrations" (4). She proposes four categories: perpetrator—a general term to describe all perpetrators; active perpetrator—a person who did the killing; almost-perpetrator—a person guilty by association, such as being married to a killer; and monster-perpetrator—the traditional way of discussing the perpetrator as diabolic and the epitome of evil (4-5).

accusatory, bystanders generally viewed themselves as someone removed from the chaos, persons who were “not willing to hurt the victims and not wishing to be hurt by the perpetrators” (xi). Hilberg concedes, though, that this description is much too general, since the bystander’s role during the Reich was often defined by the region in which they lived, and by the character of the individual. “In some areas, bystanders became perpetrators. In many regions they took advantage of Jewish misfortunes and seized a profit, but there were also those who helped the hunted” (xi). Daniel J. Goldhagen in his *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996) is more ruthless, arguing that the everyday bystander as a member of German society, or of the expansive German Reich, was as guilty as the Nazi perpetrator because of their enforcement of, and complicity with, Third Reich axioms. Regardless of the political party in power, Goldhagen argues, these bystanders were motivated by generations of German racism. Even to delineate a divide separating the traditional perpetrator from the bystander appears a difficult task for Goldhagen (389).

I now move on to defining three terms frequently associated with the categories of Third Reich victim, bystander, and perpetrator, especially in scholarly conversations regarding German identity. I will use these terms in my argument since the shifts and changes noted by Friedländer in relation to the literary representation of the Third Reich triad can sometimes be seen to operate to enable processes of degrees of “normalisation,” “de-demonisation,” and “justification,” particularly in relation to perpetrators.

Normalisation as I use it in this thesis, even if not an overt agenda, may be observed in much of the action in books I examine set in Germany, which attempt to make sense of a particular German past. According to Michael Marrus in his 1988 paper “Recent Trends in the History of the Holocaust,” the term normalisation “was first introduced into discussions of Third Reich and Holocaust historiography in 1985 by the Munich historian Martin Broszat” (257). To normalise means to make normal: something is perceived as what a majority may feel represents a mainstream point of view. This is a narrative, contained within a culture or population, which could be wholly contrived, a product of popular literature, or of political rhetoric, or of mass media and advertising. It may be a manipulation of a people, taking a subject or viewpoint once considered taboo and remoulding it to become an acceptable

perspective. In her reading of *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, Sue Vice believes narratives which normalise and de-demonise are better understood as attempts to “domesticate” or “humanise” the Nazi and the Nazi period (141). Examples of humanising narratives may be evinced in some European-published books based on the lives of men conscripted into the *Wehrmacht*, “normal, ordinary” soldiers who are deemed to be acting on orders, either unconscious of any anti-Semitism, or brave enough to take small stands against the racist regime when opportunity arises. One notable illustration of this positioning is Guy Sajer’s *The Forgotten Soldier: War on the Russian Front—A True Story [Le soldat oublié]* (1965), an autobiography of a French/German soldier that vaguely hints at mass executions as witnessed from afar. Sven Hassel’s best selling novel *Legion of the Damned* (1954) further illustrates a process of normalising by positioning the soldiers of the *Wehrmacht* as victims. Akin to Sajer’s autobiography, this novel is the tale of a German man in the German army, forcibly sent to the Russian front. As the war ends the soldier reflects on his dire situation, painting a picture of Germans as victims, even as he and other members of the *Wehrmacht* continue to kill Russian soldiers and civilians in hideous ways. In this case, by emphasising the gore, the macabre is seen as inevitable, these colourful depictions helping to normalise, not so much the *Wehrmacht* as a killing machine, but the actions of the conscripted who openly dislike the Nazis and kill solely out of a need to survive:

I have always hated war, and I hate it today; and yet I did what I ought not to have done, just what I hated and condemned, and which I regret doing and still cannot understand how I did it. . . . I swore to myself, and as the fellow jumped into yet another shell hole I turned the flame-thrower on to it and sent a jet of flame roaring across the ground. . . . Let us promise each other that those of us, or the one of us, who escapes alive from this will write a book about this stinking mess in which we are taking part. It must be a book that will be one in the eye for the whole filthy military gang . . . so that people can understand how imbecile and rotten this sabre-rattling idiocy is. (Hassel 183, 185)

Similarly, in his autobiography *Too Young to Be a Hero* (2000), Australian author Rick Holz speaks of the innocence of German youths who join the *Hitlerjugend* as enthusiastic teenagers, later to realise their mistake when fighting on the Eastern Front becomes not a dreamt-of heroic pursuit, but a reality.

Issues arising from processes of normalisation have been examined by Marrus; he summarises some of Friedländer's arguments and contends that, if "you allow the immediate focus to shift away from Nazi criminality you risk seeing responsibility for the Holocaust diffused or ignored; indeed, without a spotlight to hold our attention, we may forget the essential character of the Holocaust altogether" (258). This is one of the criticisms pointed at Bernhard Schlink's novel *The Reader*, with scholars arguing that the book rewrites the German perpetrator as victim, whereas the true victims are faceless (Bartov, "Germany as Victim" 33). Stephen Brockmann suggests that normalisation is a means of escaping "from the burden of coming to terms with the difficult . . . past" (*Literature* 78). In relation to the 1980s *Historikerstreit* (which roughly translates as "history dispute") that took place in Germany, he argues that processes of normalisation stem, in part, from a collective desire for a normal literary canon coupled with a normal history from which to build the canon (*Literature* 78). Brockmann offers a strong critique of German writers and what he sees as their attempts to gloss-over a tumultuous and inescapable period of the country's past.

The aspect of normalisation upon which my thesis focuses is the normalising of life under the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Engaging with Broszat's view of normalisation in regard to literary representations of the Nazis, I concur with his idea that a "more appropriate narrative approach" than relatively binary expositions depicting the Nazis as only those individuals of rank and political privilege, "would generate a more 'colourful,' that is, authentic and empathetic description of everyday life, which would more accurately invoke the multi-layered complexity of the National Socialist period" (qtd. in Schödel 198). I discuss Broszat, and his opinions regarding normalisation, in my seventh chapter in which I examine novels that use the "everyday" as a means of questioning an individual's or a community's complicity in what occurred under Hitler's rule.



The term “de-demonisation” is also referred to in this thesis. According to Bill Niven, one aim of some of Germany’s recent corpus of literature centred on the Reich is to convince the reader of the ordinariness of “the evil doers.” Niven contends that de-demonisation with regard to literature has meant “a breaking down of self-defensive boundaries erected after 1945 between the majority of ‘normal’ Germans and the abnormality of Nazism” (“Literary” 21). This literary de-demonisation “might indicate the falling of the last taboos, an opening up of full acknowledgment of responsibility as one of the roads towards a new national identity” (Niven, “Literary” 21). Unlike normalisation as I define it (even though the de-demonising of a Nazi might be seen to help processes which normalise the period), there is a specificity to de-demonisation. To de-demonise means to reinstate or rewrite the perpetrators and bystanders in ways that identify them as human beings, corresponding with Vice’s ideas concerning the “humanising” of the perpetrator. These characters are constructed to enable the reader to relate to them. Alternatively, even if characters remain un-relatable, the reader at least questions the character’s criminal complicity.

Working alongside the narrative of normalisation, de-demonisation humanises the perpetrator: these characters are sometimes drawn as puppets of a regime, or as poor, misguided, uneducated beings. The film scholar Paul Cooke writes that an illustration of this process is the portrayal of Adolf Hitler in the German film *Der Untergang* [*The Downfall*] (2004). Alongside other recognisable and relatable human traits, the dictator’s “human side” is shown by his bestowing kindness upon his secretary and his pet dog (249). Similarly, the film director, Oliver Hirschbiegel, did not limit the depiction of empathetic Nazis to National Socialism’s despotic leader: “many of those who are convinced followers of National Socialism are seen not as perpetrators complicit with a barbaric regime but rather as having been duped by it and consequently are also portrayed to a lesser or greater extent as its victims” (Cooke 253). In an example located in an Australian novel, Rodney Hall in *The Day We Had Hitler Home* (2000) de-demonises through de-mystification; the text portrays a young incarnation of Hitler (or at least a person who might be Hitler, for there remains some ambiguity) as a sexually perverse individual, but a common man whose personality marks him as thoroughly capable of the crimes for which he is later responsible.

The term “justification” indicates that the crimes perpetrated are provided with reasons for their enactment. In many of Australia’s fictional accounts of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator, any justification for the crimes committed during the reign of the Nazis is uncommon. The last chapter of my thesis discusses novels which may be seen to justify perpetrations, adding to what I believe is a further narrative attempt that could be said to help to normalise the period. In the novels I examine in chapter eight, justifying the crimes may be read as a thematic that binds the books. These novels, as one would expect, have been described as anti-Semitic, and I discuss in a further chapter how far claims of anti-Semitism are warranted given that such narratives often question a perpetrator’s moral guilt.<sup>10</sup> These “amoral” texts present literary depictions of the Third Reich triad which appear ambivalent in their representations, and through an author’s ambivalence, apathy, or an apolitical viewpoint, the justification of what the Nazis and their supporters did during the Second World War is evident. This does not mean that moral judgment is absent in the individual who writes the book, or within the society in which they live. Rather, some authors discussed in my thesis, I argue, as a result of factors such as a particular cultural history, or geographical and societal distance from where the Third Reich reigned, may represent this historical situation, or the actions of people caught in the period, with a lack of regard, discussing the Holocaust with impiety, or, appearing to justify the genocide. The historian, Christopher Browning, has discussed attempts to understand the Nazi perpetrator. He writes:

Explaining is not excusing; understanding is not forgiving. The notion that one must simply reject the actions of the perpetrators and not try to understand them would make impossible not only my history but any perpetrator history that tried to go beyond one-dimensional caricature. . . . I must recognise that in such a

---

<sup>10</sup> This thesis uses the terms “anti-Judaic/anti-Jewish” and “anti-Semitic.” A difference exists between anti-Jewish sentiment and anti-Semitic attitudes. According to Landes, anti-Judaism “is a dislike of Judaism based on zero-sum relationships. . . . At its worst, anti-Judaism is a compulsive discourse of superiority that needs to see and feel domination over Jews . . .” (Landes n.p.). Whereas anti-Semitism “expresses deeper paranoia. People drawn to this kind of discourse feel that the very existence of the Jews threatens ‘us’ with annihilation: ‘exterminate them or be destroyed ourselves’ ” (Landes n.p.). Anti-Zionist is also a term associated with Judeophobia and can mean that “the Jews should not have a state” (Landes n.p.), although it can also indicate a political position that is not socially discriminatory but, nonetheless, opposed to Israeli expansion and policies.

situation I could have been either a killer or an evader—both were human—if I want to understand and explain the behaviour of both the best I can. (xx)

In some of the Australian fiction studied in my thesis, the authors appear to recognise a similar hypothetical situation; that they too might have been killers, or they know of friends and/or relatives who were possibly complicit. These individuals, however, are regarded as human and therefore their actions are deemed worthy of explanation, and it is this attempt at an explanation, or the attempt's particular political or moral trajectory, which appears to manifest as a justification for the Nazi crimes. In some of the novels explored this may not be a conscious attempt at humanising the perpetrator, but in instances such as James McQueen's *White Light* (1990) and *The Heavy Knife* (1991), it appears to be. Australian authors, who, in my reading, represent the Nazi perpetrator amorally, appear unconcerned with moral issues. Or, at least, questions of morality which arise because of their representation of the perpetrator, bystander or victim are never thoughtfully engaged with by the author. Why this occurs, and why this literary condition may have developed in some Australian literature is discussed in later chapters.

Lastly, two German terms require explanation as they have been core terms in the study of literature centred on, or concerning itself with, the Third Reich. The first of these is *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* which has been translated to “mastering the past” (LaCapra, *History* 48), or “coming to terms with” the past. In particular, mastering the past refers to attempts, for example, by a variety of scholars from differing backgrounds, artists, and politicians, at understanding the Nazi epoch. Importantly, such attempts to understand this particular history are not stagnant. Instead, activities and discussions shaping the way Germany viewed, and continues to view, the period of the Third Reich alter from year to year depending on cultural and historical happenings. As examples, the 1980s *Historikerstreit* followed by the unification of East and West Germany in 1990 were such influential milestones in German culture, society and politics that processes of, or ideas concerned with “mastering the past” had to be rethought. In some aspects, this thesis explores a culturally specific Australian attempt at mastering a particular past, one informed by its own history, culture, society and politics.

A second German term referred to, and one defined in greater detail in chapter seven, is *Alltagsgeschichte* [the history of everyday life], a form of historical investigation favoured by certain scholars who include Martin Broszat and Ian Kershaw. Chapter seven refers to the German historian Broszat's methodology that examines the Third Reich from the perspective of the everyday (*Alltagsgeschichte*). Engaging with Broszat's ideas—while referring to aspects of the criticism that ensued following Broszat's publication of his theory—chapter seven suggests that the presence of the “everyday” is also evident in a number of Australian novels whose central protagonists are classified as, in my opinion, bystanders during the Third Reich and the regime's ensuing upheavals. I therefore use the concept of *Alltagsgeschichte* as a means of investigating these particular representations.

### **Literature Review**

Here I provide an overview of the critical commentary upon which I have drawn in this thesis to develop my methodology and argument. My first chapter centres on texts that discuss in scholarly terms the German literature and critical cultural and historical commentary which, in its composition, includes aspects of the Third Reich. This corpus of work derives from an array of scholars whose methodological frameworks are eclectic: historians, Holocaust scholars, literature experts, cultural academics, and philosophers. One branch of this scholarly enquiry is Holocaust studies—using the disciplines of literary studies and/or history and/or cultural studies and/or sociology and/or politics and the relationships of each to the Holocaust, including responses to, and portrayals of, the Holocaust. Voices in the field of Holocaust studies include Friedländer to whom I extensively refer, and the historians Hilberg and Browning. Some histories which I have read for an overarching knowledge of the period are Goldhagen's aforementioned and controversial *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996), Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992), and *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (2010) by Timothy Snyder. Texts such as these provide not only attempts at understanding or interpreting the Nazi regime, but importantly they contrast differing approaches to academic investigations into this past. Furthermore, these particular non-fiction works are frequently referred to in

the corpus of critical writing—including philosophy, and/or literary and cultural studies—that dissects literary representations of the victim, bystander and perpetrator.

Insight regarding Brozsat's scholarly opinions, and the ensuing *Historikerstreit*, derive from Peter Baldwin's collection of articles that is tied to this particular aspect of the controversy. Baldwin's book includes a reprint of Brozsat's famous 1988 article "A Plea for the Historicisation of National Socialism." The collection is grouped under the title *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians' Debate* (1990). In referring to Brozsat's particular approach to Germany's past, Kershaw's *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich* (1983) and William Sheridan Allen's *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experiences of a Single Town 1922-1945* (1965) reconfigure preconceived ideas regarding life under Nazi rule. I also recognise the importance of Claude Lanzmann and his film *Shoah*, and other historians and their publications that include, but are not limited to, Hilberg and his *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945* (1992) and, again, Friedländer and his book *Nazi Germany and the Jews 1939-1945: The Years of Extermination* (2007). In regards to the perpetrator, a collection of essays taken from a 2010 conference held at the University of Sheffield and called "Representing Perpetrators" forges new territory into literary examinations of this character type. The collection is entitled *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film* (2012), and the various scholars contained in this collection, including Adam Brown and Robert Eaglestone, focus on the "anxieties" or difficulties of representing the Holocaust perpetrator in relation to ideas of guilt, postmemory and the victimisation of the perpetrator (Adams, "Introduction" 3). Similarly, there exist a number of scholarly undertakings including Buelen's 2011 thesis "The Innocent Perpetrator: An Analysis of the Figure of the Perpetrator in Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* and *Afterwards*" and Matthew Boswell's *Holocaust Impiety in Literature, Popular Music and Film* (2012) which add to scholarly enquiry into the Nazi or the genocidal perpetrator as a literary entity in fiction.

Literary shifts and changes in relation to Germany's cultural, political and literary history, are discussed in this thesis with reference to Laurel Cohen-Pfister, Friedländer, Niven, Helmut Schmitz and Stuart Taberner, each of whom, in some form, maps literary representations of the victim, bystander

and perpetrator. While many of these scholars have published books, their work is also often grouped in collections of essays centred on the topic of literary representations of the Third Reich. Three essays stand out as influential for this thesis. The first is found in a collection of essays derived from the 1987 “Writing and the Holocaust” conference held at the State University, Alabama. Friedländer’s paper, “Historical Writing and the Memory of the Holocaust,” offers his analysis regarding the shifts and changes in German literature just prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall. It is from this article that I draw my basic outline of the literary shifts and changes, and it was this conference paper/article that initially led me to consider how Australian fictional accounts of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator have been shaped by the passing of decades, and by the specificity of the culture in which they are written. A second influential article is Niven’s “Literary Portrayals of National Socialism in Post-Unification German Literature.” Located in a collation of essays titled *German Culture and the Uncomfortable Past: Representations of National Socialism in Contemporary Germanic Literature* (2001), Niven’s article added to Friedländer’s account of literary shifts, providing a more contemporary account of literary manifestations of the victim, bystander, and perpetrator, and how these depictions had been received in German society. The third account I wish to acknowledge is a book chapter by Stuart Taberner in which he discusses contemporary early twenty-first century representations of the triad. The chapter is called “From ‘Normalization’ to Globalization. German Fiction into the New Millennium: Christian Kracht, Ingo Schulze, and Feridun Zaimoglu” and, as the title attests, Taberner examines the idea of normalising the German past with global hegemony in mind. These three articles provide a chronological overview of various influences which are said to have shaped literary depictions of the Third Reich’s victims, bystander and perpetrators.

In chapter two of this thesis I summarise one aspect of Australia’s migrant history, using principally the work of the Australian scholars James Jupp and Suzanne Rutland. I examine the influx of Jewish migrants, their history in relation to Australian immigration policies, and this cultural group as perceived by a mainstream Anglo-Celtic Australia. Furthermore, I draw upon the work of Paul Bartrop and his *Australia and the Holocaust 1933-45* (1994), and Angelika Sauer, to discuss European Jewry and Australia, while also

investigating the influx of non-Jewish Northern European migrants, a group which contained within it former Nazi perpetrators and German bystanders as well as victims who were not all Jewish. It is from Rutland that I draw much of my material regarding Jewish history in Australia for she has published extensively on the subject, and her books include *Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia* (1997) and *The Jews in Australia* (2005). In both texts Rutland explores “mainstream” attitudes to the migration of Jews during various epochs in Australia’s past. She highlights the hypocrisy of the Australian government during, and shortly after the Second World War, and stresses the Jewish contribution to Australian life. James Jupp and his studies of Australian immigration have likewise informed this thesis. Of most interest has been his *Immigration* (1991) that provides an overview of Australia’s immigration history, and this work is strengthened by *Arrivals and Departures* (1966), and *Exile or Refuge?: The Settlement of Refugee, Humanitarian, and Displaced Migrants* (1994). To understand the migration of non-Jewish Europeans to Australia I have drawn knowledge from varied sources of historical evidence. *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* dedicated a 1985 issue to this topic, and those who contributed spoke from varied perspectives: academic, historical, and personal. This journal issue directly broaches the topic of Jewish and German and Jewish German settlement in Australia during and immediately following the war years. The list of those who contributed to this issue include, among others, Rutland, Paul Bartrop, Eugene Kamenka, and Konrad Kwiet. One of the more informative histories drawn upon in this thesis has been *Old Worlds and New Australia: The Post War Migrant Experience* (1984) by Janis Wilton and Richard Bosworth. This explores the rise in popularity amongst Anglo-Australians of particular migrant nationalities over others, the investigation covering a time period from the 1930s through to the mid-1960s.

Mark Aarons’ research into the Australian government’s acceptance of former Third Reich perpetrators relates to the history mentioned above, providing not only valuable insight regarding this somewhat “murky” relationship, but adding historical context. His books include *Sanctuary: Nazi Fugitives in Australia* (1989) and an updated version of this, *War Criminals Welcome: Australia, a Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals since 1945* (2001). Aarons delves into the unspoken relationship which existed after the

war between British and Australian governments, and former Nazis. Alongside Aarons' studies, David Fraser's *Davidborshch's Cart: Narrating the Holocaust in Australian War Crimes* (2010) provides insightful commentary on the dubious friendship between the Australian government and former Nazis. Fraser examined the inadequacies of the Australian law when, in the 1990s, an attempt to convict known Third Reich perpetrators who had settled in Australia was thwarted by the country's legal system. Other histories examine specific aspects of Australian migration, such as the Europeans who worked on the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme. Interestingly, these migrants have also been the source of outside fascination, and authors including Peter Ustinov have written about them in their fiction. There also exists a body of German writers who have shown interest in this facet of Australian history, and these authors provide a distinctive German discourse on German/European migration. Manfred Jurgensen's *Eagle and Emu: German-Australian Writing 1930-1990* (1992) notes the many references to German migrants by German authors as they travelled throughout Australia, frequently meeting newly-fledged Australians who were once avid supporters of Hitler's National Socialism. One such observation, given my own upbringing in the Australian city of Brisbane, intrigued me. Following a visit to Brisbane's German Club, German author Till Reinhard wrote in his travel memoir *Des Himmels Blau in uns* (1988):

They lived right amongst them, the people with the scar or the number under the armpit [former SS]. In the German Club in Brisbane . . . occasionally . . . the booze loosened their tongues, and the old gravedigger glory reared its (ugly) head again; then they belted out/blared [a song], additionally heated up by the tropical air, "when the Jewish blood squirts from the knife . . ." through the meeting rooms. (Jurgensen, *Eagle and Emu* 266)

### **Chapter Outline**

My first chapter begins to build a framework for the discussion by providing an overview of German literature's representation of the victim, bystander and perpetrator, from whence these portrayals stemmed, and how they evolved following the downfall of Hitler's Third Reich. The chapter outlines significant occasions in post-Second World War German history



which influenced the nation's literature: this includes post-war silence; the history debates of the mid-1980s; and reunification. I examine the ways by which these historic markers have provided a means of re-representing the Third Reich triad, and what these representations have meant to literary discussions concerning the Third Reich in general. Following this overview, the chapter examines some of the analytical "shifts and changes" noted in some literature which are the result of such history.

Chapter two provides an overview of the cultural, historic and political influences that I argue have informed Australian fictional representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator. This chapter contextualises the literature upon which I focus, and I suggest in this chapter that by examining Australian history and culture, the furthering of the shifts and changes as noted by scholars such as Friedländer, is better understood. In Jonathon Dunnage's view, representations of the perpetrator forged by contemporary authors directly relate to public opinion, national identity, culture and history, and "re-visitations of the past are inevitably conditioned by the imperative of national or group cohesion in the present" (91). By providing an overview of aspects of Australia's cultural and social history, possible reasons for Australia's distinct representation of the victim, bystander and perpetrator are posited. The chapter cites, as examples of this past, Australia's right-wing political movements, Australia's immigration policies and politics, the influx of suspected war criminals into Australia following the war, and Australian denial of (or amnesia with regard to) its own colonial history and genocidal past.

Chapter three is the first chapter dedicated to literary analysis of the Australian fiction, and I use this chapter to show what could be considered measured representations of the triad in Australian literature. The texts studied in this chapter critically engage with topics including post-Second World War immigration, bigotry, cultural amnesia, and the treatment of migrant and Aboriginal alike in mainstream attitudes in Australia over many decades. The books discussed here are Patrick White's *Riders in the Chariot* (1961), Les Murray's *Fredy Neptune* (1998), and Christos Tsiolkas' *Dead Europe* (2005). Following this chapter the texts I discuss are generally grouped in chronological periods.

Chapter four is a study of Australian novels written by authors who shaped their books to contain a political imperative. These novels have much

in common and can be seen as adhering to literary rules regarding the literary genre of socialist realism. Similarly, the three novels conform to the most traditional employment of the Third Reich character; the victims are sometimes Jews but mostly socialists and communists (an indication of the political ideology contained in the work), and the perpetrators are the worst kind of Nazi. Bystanders are largely absent, but if this character type is evident it is not of central interest (especially when compared with novels examined later in the thesis such as Zusak's *The Book Thief*). Further, these books establish a political dichotomy separating the good communist from the bad fascist. Written, for the most part, in the two decades that followed the end of the Second World War, these novels offer similarities in their attempts to warn Australian citizens about the ever-present threat of fascism, even though Nazi Germany had been defeated by the time they were being read. The novels studied in this chapter are Jean Devanny's *Roll Back the Night* (1945), a book she began in 1939 and sent to a publisher in 1942 (Ferrier 198), Walter Kaufmann's *Voices in the Storm* (1953), and Dymphna Cusack's *Heat Wave in Berlin* (1961).

Chapter five explores novels written by European migrants who, through a process of authorship, are trying to "come to terms" with their nation's past as it relates to Hitler's regime. The authors are simultaneously attempting assimilation into Australian culture, and their writing responds to, or at least appears influenced by/relates to, their understanding of how the Nazi was considered by Anglo-Australians at the time of publication. The three novels offer the reader a glimpse into the contradictory stance of the "average" Australian; individual Australians appear to tolerate white Northern Europeans, even known Nazis, yet they only do so if assimilation is taking place. Such novels are marked by a common regard the authors show towards their newly adopted country, culturally, physically, and psychologically. In the course of their attempts to untangle this cultural puzzle, the Third Reich victim remains a victim, the Nazi is less the barbaric evil-doer (now more human and, therefore, understandable), and the bystander is often represented in the author themselves. Books discussed in this chapter are Josef Vondra's *Paul Zwilling* (1974), Manfred Jurgensen's *A Difficult Love* (1987), and Angelika Fremd's trilogy which consists of *Heartland* (1989), *The Glass*

*Inferno* (1992) and the short story, “The Red, White and Black Fatherland Map/ The Green, Gold, Red and White Motherland Map” (1993).

Chapter six is an examination of some novels written by Anglo-Australian authors who are not of German or European decent, but wish to comment on the war in Europe and the migrant experience. It is in this fiction that a formulaic method of authorship occurs; consequently, there is little in the way of a literary progression from the representation of the victim as victim in the most traditional sense, and the Nazi as the evil-doer. These are not complicatedly literary texts, but rather monochromatic representations of both the history and the characters involved in this basic representation of the past. One factor binding the novels is a need to reveal the story of migrants who have suffered in the death camps, even though the author themselves has no claim to such history. The three works I discuss are sympathetic to the plight of the victim and each can be read as a morality tale, dividing goodness from bad in a one-dimensional sense. Given such repetition, the books’ content is generally similar in story, tone and outcome. Furthermore, and a theme which is built by drawing on the literary commonalities mentioned above, the three novels concern themselves with the promotion of one culture over another, emphasising the attributes of Australia or Britain (or, in one case, Holland) over and above those of Germany. The three novels upon which I focus are Barbara Yates Rothwell’s *Klara* (2005), Lance Grimstone’s *When the Tulips Bled* (2007), and the recently published *The Forgotten Holocaust: A Gypsy’s Journey from Auschwitz to Freedom* by Caroline Cooper (2012).

Chapter seven discusses the emergence of the bystander as a means of understanding the Third Reich. Examined in this chapter are Stephanie Meder’s *Legacy of Love* (1998), Edward Kynaston’s *Ordinary Women* (2002), and Markus Zusak’s *The Book Thief* (2005). To examine these books, I draw upon the German historian Martin Broszat and his ideas pertaining to the history of the everyday. In these novels the German bystander is written as victim, while the actual victim is present in tokenistic form. The omnipresent Nazi becomes the scourge of the everyday German bystander, which, in turn, means these “innocent” individuals are viewed as victims of the Nazi regime. This narrative suggests that the German people are victims of both the Nazi

past and Allied bombing and Russian invasion.<sup>11</sup> Such an inversion from a traditional victim/perpetrator rendering of their relationship has come to be known as a synchronic perspective, a viewpoint that has caused discussion in Holocaust studies and German literary circles. So popular is this perspective in Germany, notes Anja Pauline Ebert, that it “has been embraced as official German memory in vast numbers of widely consumed cultural artefacts, including canonical literature but particularly in popular literature” (4).

Chapter eight is an investigation into novels which justify the actions of the Nazi perpetrators. These novels appear to take pride in the perpetrator, resulting in stories that reconfigure “the past, complementing, and more radically . . . competing with, the narrative of the Holocaust” (Cohen-Pfister 125). Both justification of and pride in the perpetrator are evident in the Demidenko/Darville novel *The Hand That Signed the Paper* (1994) in which the author has, according to Robert Manne, manipulated history to justify the crimes of those acting on behalf of the Third Reich (115-24). Focussing on the narratives of justification and pride, the chapter argues that the literary evolution of the Third Reich perpetrator as exemplified in these Australian novels, has shifted and changed: the “traditional” perpetrator is regarded as victim, while the “traditional” victim is viewed as a perpetrator. The chapter will also argue that to justify is to excuse Third Reich crimes, and through a process of “manipulating history” the crimes committed by the Third Reich perpetrators become excusable—sometimes viewed as inescapable. While *The Hand That Signed the Paper* is one book to be examined with such narratives in mind, others include Thomas Keneally’s *A Family Madness* (1985), and both *White Light* (1990) and *The Heavy Knife* (1991) by James McQueen. I also include Jackie French’s children’s book *Hitler’s Daughter* (1999), since the representation of Hitler and the victim in this work adheres to the shifts and changes.

While the order of the texts discussed in chapters four through to eight is mainly chronological, no clear delineation ends or begins one literary period. There is, however, a noticeable chronological progression, as the political novels of chapter four were published in the 1950s, and the texts that can be read as offering some justification for the crimes of the Third Reich

---

<sup>11</sup> When I mention Allied bombing I am referring to that by British and/or American forces.

examined in chapter eight stem from the 1980s through to the present-day. In the conclusion to the thesis I draw on these chapters of literary analysis as a means of explaining the shifts and changes that I argue can be read as relating to a specific Australian cultural history.

In this introduction I have outlined my argument in this thesis. I have provided an overview of the methodology and the key terms I use, and the theorists and historians to whom I later refer. The next chapter, chapter one, provides historical context, not to the Australian literature in particular, but to the continuing discussions pertaining to the question of how authors are to represent the Third Reich in literature. To discuss these ideas I first outline key historical turning points in German history post-Second World War and discuss how these turning-points have themselves influenced literature in Germany that contains the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator. As I note in this chapter, history and those definable moments in a country's past are significant influences which help to shape an author's perspective. In chapter two, literary shifts and changes that are seen to derive from this German past are examined with Australian historical specificity in mind. In so doing I argue that some similarities may exist between German and Australian representations of the triad, but I posit the idea that because of a particular Australian past, these literary shifts and changes denote a rewriting of traditional representations of the three character types as seen in Australian fiction.

## CHAPTER ONE

With regard to the Third Reich and the Holocaust . . . German history does not have to be viewed as if everything in the past were building up to this particular outcome and would be fulfilled by it. It means that German history should not be evaluated in the present day only in light of those years, and that it should not be viewed and dealt with only from this perspective. It means that the literature of persecution and exile, so prominent in German literary scholarship since the eighties, can easily give up some of its prominence.

Bernhard Schlink, *Guilt About the Past*

This chapter provides an overview of some aspects of post-Second World War German history, the literary shifts and changes that have been influenced by this past, and offers commentary on what may be regarded as literary practices by which German authors have attempted to “come to terms with” the Nazi period. In doing so I draw on four significant historic occurrences in Germany’s past, although I recognise that a plethora of historical influences further informed, and continues to inform, the country’s culture and literature. To begin this chapter I write about what Annie Ring describes as four major historical turning points in German history (n.p.): the fall of the Third Reich and the desired split from the Nazi era, the 1960s Eichmann and Auschwitz trials and the “68er generation,” the 1980s historian’s debate, and reunification in 1990. I refer to these major historical moments for they are said to have enacted a means of cultural transition and were therefore responsible for a change in political and cultural perspectives (S. Lamb n.p.). The chapter then explores three means of contextualisation formulated by Niven and Friedländer who argue that literature dealing with the Nazis can be grouped according to specific contexts (Niven, “Representations” 128-32; Friedländer, “Writing” 66-72). Niven and Friedländer rely upon these categories as a means of understanding fiction which incorporates and attempts to encapsulate aspects of the Third Reich; each form of contextualisation examines the content of a text and where it positions itself in relation to the Reich, and categorises it accordingly. It is in

this section of the thesis that I introduce the historiography and literary theory pertaining to the literary shifts and changes that I frequently reference. In signalling this German history, I do not mean to suggest that this past has bearing on Australian literature. I aim to show that a past, in certain political and cultural contexts, does shape literary portrayals, using as a case study Germany and the Third Reich in this instance. I draw on a very basic overview of German history for it was, and remains so, that in Germany the literature and the character types that I investigate were, and are, shaped by various cultural, social and political movements, and this subsequently forged much of the scholarly discussion surrounding critical issues to do with this past and its literary representation. Therefore, I draw on aspects of German history as a means of showing that a country's past is an inevitable shaper of the country's corpus of literature, and while this is shown in Germany, such an idea is applicable to Australian writing and the way Australian authors discuss the Third Reich. The memory of this past is not stagnant, but is forever being shaped—and forever shaping—and this is seen both in Germany and in Australia in regards to each distinct body of literary work responding to each country's history.

#### **Four Significant Historical Turning Points**

Literary depictions of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim have changed over many decades, and continue to do so in both Germany and Australia. According to Taberner, German authors have grown over a period of time to feel that they are no longer obliged to “restate German culpability for the Holocaust” (*German Literature* 137). Subsequently, recent German literary representations of the Nazi perpetrator have knitted the victim and the perpetrator, a merging that contrasts with the “diametric oppositional” representation of these two characters found in a substantial segment of Germany's literature up until the late 1980s (Friedländer, “Historical” 67-75). This change in German literary perspective is present in Schlink's *The Reader*, or in *Crabwalk* by Grass; these novels, while not sympathetic to the individual Nazi, either focus on German suffering and/or human weakness, and both novels could be said to position the Germans as war-torn victims.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> When discussing the German citizen or German peoples, my thesis is not referring to the great numbers of Jewish Germans who lived in Germany prior to the implementation of the

Eaglestone argues that such changes in literary perspectives are either leading to, or have recently led to, the “normalisation” of Germany’s Nazi past, providing an otherwise incomprehensible history with the opportunity to be better understood (*Postmodern* 22): where the past was once the site of guilt and apology, recent literature which may be seen to enact a means of normalising Hitler’s reign has “ ‘neutralised’ Nazi atrocities and German responsibility for them” (Dunnage 91-92).

The nature of normalising this past through literature, or literary attempts at “coming to terms” with Nazi history, has differed with each German generation. Likewise, those who lived through and participated in the era, grappled with this past in ways divergent from those of their sons and daughters. The grandchildren of those who lived during the war have reasoned with this past differently again, even though an affiliation has been noted in some instances between first and third generations, where memory appears to have been “transferred through a process of empathy and identification” (Cohen-Pfister 128). Subsequently, there exists a population of third generation individuals who have, in contrast to a guilt-ridden second generation, “fought to reconstruct wartime memories” (Cohen-Pfister 128). Schmitz refers to this process as “belated” empathy, where future generations re-empathise with those who lived through and suffered because of the war (“Introduction” 12; *Terms* 14).<sup>13</sup>

Alongside generational divides, a number of historical markers have progressed public, political, cultural and literary perceptions of Germany’s Nazi past. These significant markers I perceive to be fourfold, and while a multitude of political and cultural influences are not included in this overview, these particular turning points are often cited as seminal in relation to discussions concerning the formation of contemporary German cultural identity (Ring n.p.). Subsequently, these historical markers influenced Germany’s literary representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and

---

Final Solution. The Germans referred to in this thesis are those who survived the war and the regime and survived it, to some degree, unaffected (when compared to those millions who were greatly affected), some even profiting from the experience. For greater insight, see as an example Ian Kershaw’s *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933-1945*.

13 As a means of contrast, German journalist Uwe von Seltsmann has written about in *Todleben: Eine Deutsch-Polnische Suche nach der Vergangenheit* [*Death Life: A German-Polish Search for the Past*] the guilt he has lived with following the revelation his grandfather was a high-ranking SS man who participated in Jewish liquidations.



perpetrator. The first of these turning points is regarded as the immediate post-war period. In 1939 nearly two million German citizens occupied Poland as part of Hitler's attempt to "Germanise" this geographic region, simultaneously expelling over one million Polish inhabitants (Ayçoberry 228). At the end of the war, fleeing the Soviet army, these colonising Germans returned to the west, but now they saw themselves not as rightful conquerors, but as victims, a belief that became "a central exculpatory mechanism of the post-war era" (Schmitz, *Terms* 264). In contrast to this adopted version of victimhood, any mention of Nazi criminal conduct was silenced. In his work *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death* (1982), Friedländer suggests that the years between 1945 and the late 1960s were a period in which:

A sizable portion of the European elites, who two or three years before the German defeat had made no secret of their sympathy for the new order, were struck dumb and suffered total amnesia. Evidence of adherence, of enthusiasms shared, the written and oral record of four years of coexistence with it, and indeed collaboration, often vanished. From one day to the next the past was swept away, and it remained gone for the next twenty-five years. (12)

Such silence may have been personal, possibly a silence that grew between parent and child, and/or within a community or a region. But it was also a silence enforced and encouraged by the ruling governments of the period. The German Democratic Republic's official stance in 1949—a stance epitomised by the arrest and trial of Paul Merker in the mid-1950s following his suggestion the government pay reparation to those who suffered under Hitler (Hell 847)—was that Germany needed to "erase the memory of the Nazis' Jewish victims" (Hell 846).

The premise that German people suffered as a result of the regime and the war was an idea both East and West Germany propagated, and the two states "devoted considerable energy to assessing the losses and incorporating victim status into public memory. . . . In the political arena and in forms of commemoration, stories of German loss and suffering were ubiquitous" (Moeller 3, 85). Victimisation rather than criminality was promoted in the west in a variety of politicised forms, but no better evinced than in a

documented history of those Germans who fled from Eastern Europe at the end of the war. In the early 1950s five volumes were compiled by the West German *Vertriebenenministerium* (Ministry for Expellees) and these narrated the stories of Germans who left the East, mostly Poland, and the Russian conquerors. In contrast, Schmitz notes, it was a decade later before a history of the Holocaust even began to be researched (*Terms* 265). This period of storytelling and subjective historical research, Schmitz argues, is the basis of a divide which separated a greater German conscience from the Holocaust (*Terms* 265).

In the East, writes Julia Hell, from the mid-1940s until the late 1950s German Democratic Republic officials insisted that the state's literature promote the virtues of communism whilst simultaneously deriding fascism. An abundance of novels mentioned the Nazi perpetrator, yet the German person living under Soviet rule found the hyperbolised characterisation of the fascist present in these books, too far removed from the average and normal German individual to be relatable. Alongside the Nazi, the Jewish victim in these novels gained some discussion, even though, as Hell notes, Jewish characters in a number of the books were drawn as "unheroic and peripheral" (848). The perpetrator remained for some years a character in the German Democratic Republic's propaganda, but the Jewish victim all but vanished over time, and "as the Nazis' Jewish victims disappeared from [East German] official memory in the 1950s, the voices of those that mourned them also fell quiet" (Hell 850). In contrast to West Germany's stance on the Soviet Union, the idea that any German suffered due to the Red Army's violation, either before, during or after the war, was understandably "taboo" on the eastern side of the border (Niven, "The Globalisation" 230).

This early post-war period was followed by what may be considered a second turning point and the era of the Adolf Eichmann and Auschwitz trials which took place in the 1960s; a time when a West German "68er" generation

began to question their parents' roles in the Reich.<sup>14</sup> This generation, or more specifically the movement within the generation, is said to have rejected the possibility of German innocence. The movement discredited the belief that a German citizen who had survived the war and Hitler's regime, but who had lived relatively unaffected (compared to those multitudes who were tortured or killed by the Nazis), could have, or may have, suffered. It was a period, states Schmitz, which centred around a discourse of guilt, and while "German suffering was in the hands of the right," the student movement is regarded by Schmitz "as responsible for instrumentalising a 'politically correct' binary discourse of guilt in which Germans came to figure exclusively as perpetrators" ("Introduction" 11). Literature concerning the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator, which is seen to comply with this particular generation's feeling of guilt, is exemplified by Edgar Hilsenrath's *Der Nazi & der Friseur* [*The Nazi and the Barber*] (1971, although published in Germany in 1977), a book whose characters are either prominently Jewish or "Aryan" in appearance, and whose themes include anti-Judaic stereotyping and human prejudice, the author intending to highlight Germany's doubtful past (McGowan 482).

What followed in the wake of a generation's collective guilt was a third turning point. The mid-1980s *Historikerstreit* was a heated conversation amongst West German academics and intellectuals. The debate further erupted in West Germany's mainstream media, and, in Dominick LaCapra's view, "the crux of the debate . . . was the extent to which certain interpretive procedures, notably the comparison of Nazi crimes with other genocidal phenomena . . . tended to relativise, normalise, or even 'air-brush' Auschwitz in order to make it fade into larger historical contexts and out of conscious focus" (*History* 50). Writing in 1988, Friedländer felt that the *Historikerstreit*

---

<sup>14</sup> The "68er" generation have also been referred to as "The Movement of 1968" and it was a movement which protested against West Germany's economy, the denial or silence of their parents' generation's Nazi past, the Vietnam War, and the Cold War. It was mostly dominant in 1968, though the movement operated, grew and weakened between the years 1964 to 1969. The protests occurred in West Germany and arose, writes Wolfgang Kraushaar, "in the most extreme geopolitical setting that developed after 1945, in the wake of a destructive, murderous political system—in West Berlin, a city surrounded by East Germany, threatened by Soviet power interests, and controlled by the Western allies" (80). The major force behind the movement was the *Deutsche Studentenbund* (SDS, Socialist German Student Union). Stephen Lebert describes a "typical 68er" as someone with a "close-cropped beard, unkempt hair a bit on the long side for his age; his dress might strike you as a little out of the ordinary—even when it's not . . . and can be mostly relied on to take the right side in politics—the correct side" (7).

was responsible for an upsurge in people wishing to explore, if not explain, Germany's Nazi past (Friedländer, "Historical" 66). Two of the central protagonists in the debate were Jürgen Habermas and Ernst Nolte. These two scholars, in conjunction with a host of other German cultural and historical experts, argued about whether the Third Reich could be viewed "objectively" without the presence of the Holocaust and all that it signified, and/or by drawing on historic periods and sources that dated well before the rise of fascism as a means of understanding, possibly relativising, Hitler's popularity (Schmitz, "Reconciliation" 153). Historians such as Nolte and Andreas Hillgruber thought that by "containing the Holocaust," Germany could normalise the German people's Nazi past (Schmitz, "Reconciliation" 152). While the debate was complex and drew in many of the leading intellectuals of the time, an attempt to normalise the Nazi, even the hypothetical idea that one could try to normalise this past, was a far remove from the generational guilt which had dominated popular conversation ten to twenty years earlier. "In retrospect," writes Robert C. Holub, "the historians' debate was less a continuation of controversies over the meaning of World War Two and the Holocaust than an anticipation of the inevitable change in public discourse on the German past" (947).

In 1990 a fourth turning point occurred following reunification; the fall of the Berlin Wall marked a departure in German literature and authors began to "reflect a pluralisation of attitudes towards Germany's past and the narration of perpetration and victimhood" (Ring n.p.). Literary works including Willy P. Reese's *Mir selber seltsam fremd: Die Unmenschlichkeit des Krieges* [*A Stranger to Myself: The Inhumanity of War*] (2003), a diary of a soldier sent to the Russian front, and public events such as the 1994 to 1999 "Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*" exhibition reignited interest—and spurred mixed emotions—in regards to the Nazi period, and in the war generation. "In addition," writes Taberner, "a majority of Germans, born long after the war, especially of the younger generation, no longer felt obliged endlessly to restate German culpability for the Holocaust or believed that the recognition of such responsibility meant their grandparents' suffering should be disregarded" (*German Literature* 137). Niven notes that it "would not be inaccurate to claim that some German authors [since 1990] have responded to the call for a depoliticised literature by understanding this as a brief to 'open up' areas

previously regarded as ‘politically incorrect’ ” (“Introduction” 17). As a result of this apparent “opening up”:

[A] moralising approach to the German past is becoming increasingly significant in a time where an alleged “taboo” on empathy with German experience is evoked continuously, while simultaneously the Nazi past is addressed everywhere, especially by politicians. The Federal Republic is at pains to correct the image of Germany abroad, for example stressing the lessons Germany has learnt from history, by making statements against the far right or by introducing political measures against neo-Nazis. Simultaneously, the world is expected to recognise that the Germans, too, had been victims. (Salzborn 89)

According to Kathrin Schödel, recent public discourse in Germany has attempted to normalise Germany’s Nazi past in two ways: either by removing the presence of this particular history, or by remembering the period as a multitude of voices and attitudes; what she refers to as “greater openness towards a range of different memories of the past” (196). It is this second mode of normalisation that has given rise to the variety of perspectives found in recent German texts (Schödel 199).

While novels offering eclectic, sometimes unconventional, perspectives concerning the Third Reich are relatively recent in their advent, the process of normalising was a topic that the former Christian Democratic Union Leader and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl addressed in 1983:

[T]he twelve years of the National Socialist dictatorship should be viewed as one historical era among many others and not as the inevitable culmination of a national story doomed to disaster from the very beginning . . . the wartime experiences of “ordinary” Germans should be approached with the same degree of empathetic understanding as the undoubted tribulations of citizens of other combatant nations. (Qtd. in Taberner and Cooke 4-5)

Empathetic representations, that is, sympathy for those German citizens who occupied Eastern Europe during the war but were then forced to flee at the fall of the Nazi regime, or a story of anguish as an “ordinary soldier” is sent to the Russian front, may have been published with some success prior to Kohl’s

address. But this empathy took on a further dimension when German authors decided to write about the period not as an abnormal and horrific episode in German history, but as simply just another episode. It relativised the epoch, simultaneously rewriting this specific past in ways which bolstered Germany's self-image (Schödel 198).

The normalisation of the National Socialist period through the medium of literature has therefore been controversial, problematic, and “fraught with contradictions” (Brockmann, *Literature* 79). The marginalised stories—for example, stories from a female perspective, or stories that embrace homosexuality, or stories about or by ethnic minorities—are said to be rarely heard.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, normalisation is said to separate Holocaust literature from literature which focuses on the perpetrator since efforts to build, or re-establish, German national pride using narratives which normalise this period do not always wish to include the Holocaust. German literature which adheres to this rewriting is said to “smooth out otherness” and “potentially excludes the victim's perspective on the Holocaust” (Schödel 199). Attempts to normalise a Nazi past are, nonetheless, evident in examples of recent German literature, regardless of the associated problems. According to Caroline Gay, reconfiguring the Nazi period by means of such processes remains a constant and driving motive in Germany, influencing politics, social reforms, the memorials which are erected, and the nation's literature (203-08).

### **Literature Regarding the Third Reich**

While German history and the nation's generational divide add historical context to the thesis, my main focus is on narratives that refer to the Third Reich victims, bystanders and perpetrators, which themselves have been influenced by, or respond to, historic and generational influences. Scholars argue that generational separation and those cultural processes associated with the abovementioned turning points, along with what may be considered other less dominant cultural and historical influences, have

---

<sup>15</sup> Taberner also believes that a “new hegemonic voice” (“Globalization” 210), that of globalisation, is altering attempts to normalise this period of German history. The hegemony of globalisation is thought to remove a German author's subjectivity (Taberner, “Globalization” 218-19), but Niven also states that global awareness of the Holocaust releases “pressure” once singularly applied to Germany, allowing Germany to rediscover its own suffering (Niven, “The Globalisation” 237). For a more detailed study, see Taberner and Cooke, eds., and Niven, “The Globalisation of Memory and the Rediscovery of German Suffering.”

fostered shifts and changes in narratives which include, or focus upon, the Third Reich triad (“Historical” 67). It is the categorisation of these shifts from which I draw much of my argument’s framework, contending that Australian representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator can be read as bearing some resemblance to the shifts and changes Friedländer and others have noted in German literature, especially when traditional portrayals of victim and perpetrator are being considered.

Fiction commenting on the Third Reich which adheres to the shifts and changes, continued to expand in Germany throughout the 1990s (Schmitz, “Introduction” 4), and with it grew the accompanying scholarship; a trend continued and expanded upon in more recent German authorship. However, this has not always been the case. As briefly mentioned, in West Germany, following the fall of Hitler’s Third Reich, the Nazi perpetrator was difficult to locate in the Federal Republic of Germany’s literature. Instead, West German right-leaning political organisations in the 1950s often drew on what Schmitz calls “victim syndrome,” insisting that the state’s citizens view themselves as a people “seduced, betrayed, and dishonoured by the Nazis” (*Terms* 264). Simultaneously, the populace came to view themselves as victims of the Soviet army and of British and American bombings (*Terms* 264); a form of self-reflection dubbed synchronic contextualisation. Both acts were meant to help remove the Nazi stain from Germany’s cultural memory, while also suggesting culpability for this past of misdeeds lay with a few, rather than the majority. In East Germany, and as mentioned before, when the Nazi eventually appeared in the state’s fiction, the character was used with one purpose, to propagate the virtues of communism.

In twenty-first century German publishing this lack of representation is no longer the case and the Nazi perpetrator, victim and bystander are apparent in numerous German texts across a variety of literary genres. What has changed over the decades, suggests Niven, is the way these character types are remembered, resulting in “generational bias, emotional self-interest and intergenerational conflicts” that “impact on views of the Nazi past,” these representations therefore acting “as a distorting mirror” (“Representations” 139-40). As Niven further postulates in a separate paper to the one to which I refer above, “unification necessitate[d] the integration of National Socialism into the self-image of the new Germany. Ever since 1990 the question is not

whether the NS [National Socialist] past plays a role in present German self-description but which role it shall play" ("Introduction" 2). Furthermore, what appear to have emerged from the growth of such literature are two differing narratives: one complements the narrative of the Holocaust; the second narrative competes with it (Cohen-Pfister 125). These two forms of storytelling, Dan Diner argues, represent a split, as Schmitz describes Diner's assessment, between "a national and a nationalistic rhetoric" ("Between" 135-45), dividing narratives which confront "the limits of expression in the engagement with the senselessness of the Holocaust and the painful task of remembering," from German literature of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* which "is concerned with the legacy of the Nazi past and its meaning for the German collective" (*Terms* 9). Schmitz regards this divide, to some degree, as the separation of personal and collective memories, and contends that "while victim literature faces the disruption of life in the Holocaust, perpetrator literature is ultimately concerned with establishing continuities between the period of National Socialism and the present in order to 'come to terms' with both" (*Terms* 9). Holocaust literature and literature wishing to investigate the perpetrator and bystander, are therefore, at times, deemed independent of each other, even while each refers to and is reliant upon the other. This separation may be seen as marking the advent of "perpetrator literature" from a literary body of exposition referred to as "victim [Holocaust] literature" (*Terms* 9).

"Perpetrator literature" has therefore responded to and grown with German generational gaps and historic transitions, and literary representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator have been likewise transformed. One noted aspect of this change is the widening gap separating traditional portrayals of the victim in Holocaust fiction from depictions of the victimised German bystander, and/or the legitimised Nazi perpetrator. Nowhere are such splits more evident, suggests Taberner, than in Schlink's *The Reader*, Grass's *Crabwalk*, or in Marcel Beyer's *Flughunde* [*Flying Foxes*, published in English in 1997 as *The Karnau Tapes*] (1995), for these texts provide the "newly-fledged" German "victim" a voice by which to challenge pre-reunification, politically correct and/or traditional views. These texts blur the once diametrical distinction separating Nazi perpetrators from



Nazi victims. Schmitz contends that this blurring is a “ ‘narrative’ cleansing of the Holocaust from the German experience” (“Representations” 154).

Niven argues that there are three dominant ways by which to read and understand the many examples of post-reunification “perpetrator literature.” He refers to these means of exploration as “three forms of contextualisation”: first, a form of synchronic contextualisation, in which the literature compares Nazi atrocities and/or policies to the those of the Allies or the Russians; second, a diachronic contextualisation, and here the perpetrator is viewed through the eyes of later generations; third, the contextualising of the individual, whereby the literature tries to understand the individual rather than the collective, and examines why and how that person reacted to Nazism, either rejecting the party or being seduced by National Socialism (“Representations” 128-32). Niven’s three categories of contextualisation resemble ideas formulated in the earlier mentioned 1987 conference paper by Friedländer in which he, too, located narrative shifts and changes in Germany’s literature. In German literature published after the mid-1980s Friedländer noted Niven’s synchronic shift, but he refers to this form of narrative as “a symmetric vision of the past” (“Historical” 72), by which authors sought to equate the crimes and responsibilities of the Nazis to Allied or Soviet wartime atrocities such as the firebombing of Dresden and Hamburg, the rape of German women at the hands of Russian soldiers, and the large-scale massacre of German soldiers by Russian troops (Friedländer, “Historical” 72). In 1987, discussions regarding literary forms of contextualisation would address ideas pertaining to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, influencing the famous history debate that was erupting concurrently. “Within this new narrative,” states Friedländer, “not only are the crimes of the Nazis relativised, but the Nazis themselves become the potential victims. . . . The traditional perpetrators and their victims indeed exist within the new narrative, but the presentation of the Nazis as potential victims . . . tends to invert the basic role” (“Historical” 73). Conversely, writing published prior to the mid-1980s, as Friedländer further notes, contained little to no “opacity.” The majority of novels established the perpetrator, the bystander and the victim in traditional modes, whereby the perpetrator was the Nazi, the bystander the German public, and the victim anyone killed, persecuted, or interned by the Nazis. Friedländer referred to this perspective

as a traditional, ideologically-centred liberal vision (“Historical” 71). In summary, a “traditional” perspective:

emphasises the ideological, political, and criminal aspects of the Nazi phenomenon that is, the destruction of the democratic system, the expansion of state control over society, and of terror over those considered enemies of the regime or outcasts: it stresses . . . racial policies, and global struggles against the Jews, as well as other massive expressions of the criminality of the system. (“Historical” 68)

This perspective, Friedländer continued, was the overall and general understanding by which the majority of the world viewed the Third Reich (“Historical” 69).

Until the presence of a “symmetric” vision began to re-establish itself in German literature (for, as stated above, early post-war German politics and politicised publications propagated a similar belief, especially in West Germany), traditional approaches to literature containing the Third Reich “considered the problem of responsibility from the viewpoint of the victim” (Friedländer, “Historical” 71). When a symmetric vision was once again seen to influence contemporary German literature, it was thought to imply “two equivalent frameworks of responsibility” (Friedländer, “Historical” 74). The first of the frameworks equated Nazi, Soviet and Allied crimes, paying no heed to either these nations’ diverse political backgrounds, or the huge disparities separating their military and cultural history. This framework transformed the German bystanders into victims akin to the Jews, yet the Nazis were still regarded as perpetrators. In the second framework of responsibility, however, the Nazis were portrayed as “perpetrators who may well have acted out of anguish at the idea of becoming potential victims” (Friedländer, “Historical” 75). These alternative readings of responsibility, ones which differed from traditional readings, made it difficult to delineate victim and perpetrator, even bystander, not solely because of an inversion of traditional roles, but because questions of responsibility were now viewed from the perspective of the perpetrator. In the same conference paper mentioned before, Friedländer noted a “yearning for ‘normalisation’ ” (“Historical” 67) in German Holocaust and Third Reich narratives, a cultural and societal desire evinced in the two frameworks. This yearning, Friedländer stated, led to shifts in German literary

narratives which were centred on the Nazi period; changes from what he refers to as “the most basic form of emplotment,” to “a shift in representation . . . significant enough to have been considered by many as the breakdown of some accepted consensus, a consensus more or less valid since the very end of the war” (“Historical” 67). These shifts and changes reconfigured German perspectives surrounding this bleak period in the nation’s history, thus its literature evolved and so, too, the role of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator as represented in a segment of German literature:

The traditional perpetrator of the early narratives becomes a potential victim; the traditional bystander becomes an actual victim; and, as for the traditional victim, although his or her fate is not denied, it is rendered in . . . a rather ambiguous light. In any case, the source of all evil is clearly placed outside the traditional representation of responsibility. (Friedländer, “Historical” 75)

Niven, discussing this radical departure from traditional or conventional perspectives, writes that while “pre-unification literature by and large emphasizes the victim, outsider, onlooker, post-unification tends to prefer the perspective of the participant, colluder, perpetrator” (“Literary” 18). Niven further contends that German literature published since 2000 has, in varying degrees, historicised German suffering, yet there has also been a growing tendency towards German self-pity.

Understandably, such shifts in perspective have drawn criticism. Friedländer himself suggests that an “intellectual salience” was apparent during the mid-1980s, helping transform the representation of the perpetrator (“Historical” 71). This contentious depiction of the Nazi was likewise criticised by scholars including Habermas who deemed the rewriting of this aspect of the Nazi past apologist (Friedländer, “Historical” 73). Further contentious literary shifts and changes noted since reunification have drawn the “traditional” perpetrator as the actual victim, alongside the bystander, while the victim has been relegated to a “shadowy presence” in the background (Vice 36). An example of this could be evinced in the much discussed *The Reader* in which the Jewish victim is denied “tragic status . . . and instead, astonishingly [Schlink graces] the Nazi perpetrator with this mantle” (Alison 177).

While many Australian novels centred on the Third Reich can be seen to adhere to the literary shifts and changes outlined by the scholars above, I later argue that some of Australia's fiction has furthered these literary shifts and changes. In doing so, these shifts also reflect a shared memory or, as Rothberg states "When we talk about collective Holocaust memory or about collective memories of colonisation or decolonisation, we are talking primarily about shared memory, memory that may have been initiated by individuals but has been mediated through networks of communication, institutions of the state, and the social groupings of civil society" (15). An Australian collective memorialisation of these traditional representations has been likewise influenced by civil society and through various networks of social and political communication. The result of such influencing can be seen in the representation of victims who are no longer a "shadowy presence" but now perpetrators akin to the traditional Nazi; the demise of the traditional victim is, accordingly, written as warranted. In these texts, bystanders are often portrayed as free of responsibility or guilt, while the traditional perpetrators, far from denying their pasts, now justify their roles in Hitler's regime.

A passage from Meder's novel *Legacy of Love* positions Germany in 1945 as a nation which is being unfairly judged by the world at large:

The Witch Hunt in Germany was accelerating. A cloud of hatred loomed over Nuremburg as war criminals were brought to the city, in preparation for the trials. The United States of America, Britain, France and the Soviet Union, forgetting their own war activities, joined forces to sit in judgment over the Germans. (48)

This may seem an unusual stance given that Germany, in particular the regime that was founded, grew and flourished in the German nation between 1919-1945, was responsible for war and crimes of such magnitude that when those responsible were brought to trial an entirely new vernacular, alongside an entirely new legislation, had to be forged (Arendt 254). Nonetheless, the idea that Germany, or more particularly the German people, were victims, was propagated from the very early post-war years in Germany, and a notion that continues to inhabit, and likewise cause debate in, contemporary German literature, politics and social commentary (Fuchs and Cosgrove 1).

Interestingly, Meder's passage above is not from a German novel. It was written by an Australian author and published in Australia by a small Australian publisher. While numerous examples of similar themes exist in Germany's fiction, as noted by Taberner, Schmitz, Niven, Omer Bartov and others, the presence in Australian fiction of a literary and cultural theme that has been the focus of German literary scholarship allows studies pertaining to this topic a further sphere for reflection. While this chapter has been dedicated to providing historical and methodological context, later chapters examine Australian texts with this framework in mind. In turn, the thesis will not solely contribute to commentary regarding Australian fiction, but to literature that refers to the Third Reich as well, adding to scholarship related to this corpus of literature.

## CHAPTER TWO

Anita was German it was true, but the war was over and, everyone agreed, best forgotten so long as badly needed migrants were flooding into Australia.

Edward Kynaston, *Ordinary Women*

This chapter commences with an overview of Australia's own diminutive arm of the Nazi Party which was established in the 1930s. I then look to Australia's migration policies and the political decisions which dictated who was to arrive in Australia during and after the Second World War, in particular the disparity separating desirable Europeans from non-desirable Jewish migrants. Lastly, I look to some discussions regarding the massacre of Aborigines in Australia and the collective amnesia which is said to socially and culturally aid in forgetting or repressing these past events. I refer to these moments or occurrences in Australian history as I argue two points. First, certain events in Australia's past have influenced the literature I analyse in this thesis. Second, particular Australian cultural opinions or practices, which themselves were forged or influenced by British colonial imperialist attitudes, strongly influenced these political and historical decisions, and these opinions are embedded in the fiction studied. In arguing this I draw upon ideas of multidirectional memory offered by Rothberg who states that, "Collective memory is multilayered both because it is highly mediated and because individuals and groups play an active role in rearticulating memory. . . . Competitive scenarios can derive from these restless rearticulations, but so can visions that construct solidarity out of the specificities, overlaps, and echoes of different historical experiences" (16). Cultural specificity, or the solidarity of collective memory, has influenced shifting Australian literary representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator over the many decades, and continues to do so in contemporary Australian publications.

### **Australia's Nazi Party Movement**

In regards to the Australian history I wish to focus upon, I provide an outline of Australia's Nazi Party during the 1930s and 40s to acknowledge that

right-wing political parties existed in the country, some of which aligned themselves, socially and politically, to Hitler's ideas. The majority of these political groups formed prior to the influx of Northern European migrants following the Second World War. I do not suggest, in stating this, that migrants of the 1950s and 60s carried with them right-wing politics, although as Aarons notes (as does Keneally in a fictional sense in *A Family Madness*), this did occur on occasions. It is important to state, however, that a limited number of Australian citizens, both Anglo and German in origin, believed Hitler's rhetoric and continued to do so after the fall of the Reich.

Although membership in Australia's Nazi Party stood at a mere two hundred in 1939, John Perkins believes that:

the NSDAP appears in Australia at first sight to have been an irrelevancy, a subject hardly meriting serious study. Closer analysis, however, reveals that the Nazi Party came to exercise considerable influence in Australia, an influence which was far out of proportion to its actual membership and was potentially quite a serious threat to the country. (112)

This influence can be seen in the writings I discuss in chapter three, where authors including Devanny produce didactic novels warning the Australian population about the dangers of fascism. The Australian branch of Germany's Nazi Party originally hailed from a South Australian region known as the Barossa Valley, an area settled in the early to late nineteenth century by German migrants (Turner-Graham 118). It was in this region, under the guidance of men such as Dr Johannes Becker, that small clubs supporting Hitler were conceived. One such organisation, known to Australia's secret service as "The Hitler Club," has been described as a "tiny body of sundry Germans meeting in a far-off land that had no real power and never pretended to exercise any" (Gumpl and Kleinig xiii). These groups, suggests Emily Turner-Graham, although not a potent political threat, organised other community groups around them, such as The German Workers' Front and German Study Circles, and it was through these gatherings "that the Nazi message was able to reach far more people than were pledged concomitants of the party" (119). Community meetings were coupled with the far-right *Die Brücke* [The Bridge], a magazine which "endeavoured to present National Socialism as a reasonable, harmless, 'common-sense' middle-class ideology

to which only communists and other 'misguided elements' could take exception" (Perkins 125). Australian right-wing groups of the period were not limited to the National Socialists. As David Bird's study reveals, a number of individuals and groups from an array of backgrounds who supported fascist and Hitleresque ideologies existed, although "these Australian dreamers and enthusiasts for Nazi Germany were never numerous and, aside from the appeasers on their fringe, were without influence on the Australian political system of their time" (xiii).

At the outbreak of the Second World War members of Australia's Nazi Party (who were predominantly men), and various strands of their families, were held in internment camps. Historian Christina Winter writes that "of all the camps in Australia where German prisoners of war, merchant seaman, civilians and Australians of German origin were held, Tatura 1 [located in the Australian state of Victoria] soon developed a reputation for being 'the Nazi camp' " (87). Soon after the fall of Hitler's government the Nazi Party in Australia was disbanded, and many of those who idealised Hitler, or who had become actual Party members, either left Australia and took up residence in Germany, or kept very quiet about their associations with such politics. While known neo-Nazi groups have established themselves in Australia post-Second World War, Peter Henderson describes these groups as the "the province of hucksters, political misfits and the mentally unstable" (83), and hence, non-influential in Australian politics and culture.

### **Australia's Migrant History**

In 1938 Australia was given the opportunity by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies to house fifty-four European scholars who had fled Hitler's Germany. Most of these academics were Jewish, had already spent time in exile in England, and were hoping to resettle in Australia (Hüppauf 650). America, another of the nations in which these European migrants sought refuge, welcomed the opportunity to adopt an influx of scholars "and the new schools of thought they brought with them," a decision that was said to have promoted "impressive development" within the American university system (Hüppauf 650). In contrast, Australian universities turned the opportunity down. In his article, "There Was No Other Place To Go," Bernd Hüppauf writes that, of the six Australian universities in existence at the time,



all six rejected the offer to employ the fifty-four academics, the University of Sydney stating: “I regret to say that there are no openings at this university for any of the persons referred to” (650). This list of intellectual possibilities included some of the greatest minds in Europe at the time such as the Nobel Prize winners Victor Franz Hess and Erwin Schrödinger. Hüppauf goes on to reveal that the majority of the academics who fled Europe for Australia were forced to find work in menial labour or in a manual trade. He cites the example of the scholar Alphons Silbermann, who, instead of using intellect and fostering his knowledge of law and music (a knowledge he later put to use as Professor of Sociology at the University of Cologne), opened a chain of hamburger restaurants in Sydney (Hüppauf 652).

Hüppauf suggests the rejection suffered by these Jewish intellectuals by Australian universities highlights the nation’s parochialism, these academics being seen as a threat to the English monoculture which prevailed in Australian institutions at the time (Hüppauf 652). But was their rejection anti-Jewish? Silbermann thought so, stating in an interview with Hüppauf some years later: “The Australians ghettoized; we were all ghettoized. They had real ghettos. Yes, they didn’t do the slightest thing to help integrate the [Jewish] migrants. They just tried to make things difficult for you. That’s the way it was in Australia” (658). This group of academics was not alone. In 1939 Australian Senator Hattil Foll:

sought to further cut Jews out of an Australian option by refusing entry of refugee doctors . . . he stated that all applications for landing permits from foreign medical men were henceforth being refused, “because of the difficulty of their engaging in practice” in Australia. There seemed a particular type of smugness in the comment that “In the last two months about 29 applications by [Jewish] refugee doctors, all of high qualifications and including eight of outstanding ability, had been refused.” (Qtd. in Bartrop 147)

In K.S. Mackenzie’s 1954 novel *The Refuge* (1954)—a novel, suggests Peter Cowan, that contrasts Europeans recently arrived in Australia against “true” Australian people, their attitudes and their cultural habits (306)—the author acrimoniously describes a group of Jewish newcomers:

He was a type, and there are hundreds, thousands like him in the country now, bravely and securely giving battle against the native optimism, the tolerance, the slowness to suspect, to hate and to condemn which are the damnable characteristics of their forbearing hosts, whose money they take while deploring the system under which it is made. (*Refuge* 328)

Because the author “is more closely related to his narrator than he would have us believe” (Cowan 305) it is difficult to decipher if the sentiment embedded in the novel is intended as an ironic observation about Australian culture.

Regardless, the passage remains derogatory and anti-Jewish, adhering to a description of both the book and the author by Frank Hardy who commented: “If I am correctly informed Mr Mackenzie himself expounded in a novel written on a Literary Fund grant, political views of a Rightist character” (qtd. in Capp 125). Mackenzie appears to suggest that recent Jewish immigrants, most refugees from a war-torn Europe, sought to undermine apparent cultural values an Australian people had supposedly forged since European settlement. In conversation with author Thomas Keneally, Edek Korn, a Schindler Jew who immigrated to Sydney following the Second World War, talked about experiencing populist negative opinion first-hand: “That was the thing about Australians . . . when you first arrived and they didn’t know you or like you they called you a wog bastard, and when they got to know and liked you they called you a wog bastard” (Keneally, *In Search* 44-45). Similarly, as noted above, Australian universities appeared so concerned with losing their English ethnocentricity that they failed to capitalise on a unique situation.

Rutland writes in *The Jews in Australia* that anti-Jewish sentiment pervaded Australia’s immigration policy up until 1955 (62). Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, Australia, like many Western nations, was reluctant to accept Jewish refugees. In 1936, with the implementation of Germany’s anti-Semitic Nuremberg Race Laws influencing the numbers of Jewish Germans wishing to leave Germany, the Australian Parliamentary Cabinet “felt that it should prevent a large influx of Jews because they would not assimilate easily” (Rutland, “Australian” 31). At a conference held in France in 1938—a gathering spurred on by the Austrian *Anschluss* and the ever-increasing ensuing refugee crises—Australia’s representative remained sceptical about Jewish immigration. “As we have no real racial problem, we

are not desirous of importing one by encouraging any scheme of large-scale foreign migration,” the representative Arthur A. Calwell stated (qtd. in Rutland, *Jews in Australia* 57). Paul R. Bartrop surmises the Jewish migrant situation in his study *Australia and the Holocaust 1933-1945*: “most European Jews wishing to enter Australia by March 1938 had but two chances of doing so: almost none and none at all” (47). Later appointed Australia’s first Minister for Immigration, Calwell agreed in 1945 “to the introduction of a ‘humanitarian’ immigration programme whereby two thousand survivors of the concentration camps . . . would be admitted” (Rutland, *Jews in Australia* 60), yet as a result of public outcry, Calwell “introduced measures to limit the number of Jewish refugees” (Rutland, *Jews in Australia* 61). Australian attitudes towards migrating European Jewry can be further exemplified in the opinions expressed by the Australian Army’s Security Service, who wrote in a 1943 report that:

When the persecution of Jews first began most people felt sorry for them and were prepared to welcome them, but their actions since they reached here show that they are no good as citizens and are merely parasites on the rest of the community. It is considered that if a plebiscite were taken, this would represent the opinion of nine out of ten of the community. (Qtd. in Bartrop 231)

Such sentiment is no better illustrated than Australia’s agreement with the International Refugee Organisation to admit almost two-hundred thousand European workers from Europe’s displaced person’s camps. Rutland writes that within this quota the “Jews were virtually excluded from the programme” (*Jews in Australia* 61). Political and national bigotry continued to inhibit the influx of Jewish refugees throughout the early post-war years (Jupp, *Immigration* 104):

Jewish refugees were actively discouraged in the early post-war stages [of migration], reflecting a fear of [exacerbating] anti-Semitism in Australia. A quota system limited Jews to no more than 25% of immigrants on ships from Europe, and from July 1947 they were excluded altogether . . . Compliance was ensured through asking the question “Are you Jewish?” (Jupp, *Immigration* 104)

In more recent decades, anti-Jewish or possibly anti-Zionist sentiment in Australia, suggests Rutland in 2005, has “increased” (*Jews in Australia* 155): from arson destroying a synagogue in 1991; firebombs hitting Jewish community centres over the past few years; Jewish graves painted with racist graffiti, to religious and political segregation; and discrimination in schools (Rutland, *Jews in Australia* 154-61). Anti-Jewish sentiment is said to be located in some Australian literature, and Demidenko/Darville’s novel *The Hand That Signed the Paper* has been read by critics as an anti-Semitic text (Gaita, “Remembering” 8) that “while not denying the Holocaust, found a justification for it” (Ben-Moshe 47).

In contrast to these negative images, there are many positive facets to Jewish immigration in Australia. Bartrop notes that after the Second World War Australia welcomed more Jewish refugees than any other country *per capita* [sic], with the exception of Palestine (xiv). In Australian publishing there has been a proliferation of Holocaust fiction and Holocaust memoir written by Jewish Australians, and these tell contrasting stories to the one found in the Demidenko/Darville book. Here I would like to mention the remarkable, yet little-known *The Smile of Herschale Handle* (1947) by B.N. Jubal as one text that may help balance the supposed unsavoury cultural opinions said to be represented by the novel *The Hand That Signed the Paper*.<sup>16</sup> The Jewish community and their experience within the Australian community at large has been “particularly well served” (Gelder and Salzman, *New Diversity* 194) by Jewish Australian writers including Judah Waten, Morris Lurie, Ramona Koval, and the aforementioned Manne and Martin. Throughout Australia the Jewish community have added much to the culture: the nation’s eating habits, the arts and cultural scene, journalism and academia (Rutland, *Jews in Australia* 120-34). Andrew Markus believes the Jewish community was partially responsible for the “rapid” decline of Australia’s One Nation political party (*Jews and Australian Politics* 122), a right-wing organisation that remains “critical of multiculturalism, Asian immigration and Aboriginal rights” (*Jews and*

---

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Newman Jubal was a Jewish Australian actor, producer and writer born in Poland in 1901. He migrated to Australia in 1939 and wrote a number of Yiddish plays for Melbourne’s Kadimah Theatre. *The Smile of Herschale Handle* is his most significant publication, and he also wrote a critical piece for the literary magazine *Angry Penguins* in 1944. Jubal died in Sydney in 1961.

*Australian Politics* 121). The Jewish community have helped build a pluralist Australia, regardless of decisions governments have enforced.

According to definitions of what it means to be “Australian” taken from a grouping of scholars referred to as the “radical nationalists”—whose core propagators were A.A. Phillips, Vance Palmer and Russel Ward—there must be a certain amount of cultural apathy and scepticism in a person’s makeup, and these two traits are to be mixed with independence, hospitality and honourable intentions (Ward 1-2). The radical nationalists believed that in the 1890s a body of Australian literature was responsible for constructing “taken-for-granted” ideals which helped to define a particular representation of the Australian character (Schaffer 16). John Thornhill notes that the literature and the values embedded in this identity were ideological and romantic, and yet were responsible for establishing values many Australians took to be essentially Australian (5). A prototype (Hodges 11) was born from the writings of *Bulletin Magazine* authors, who included A.B. Paterson, Steele Rudd and Henry Lawson, that became so ingrained in the Australian psyche, this prototype was considered by the middle and upper classes as the “Australian character” (I. Turner 31). The prototype was composed of characteristics that came to define the archetypal Australian man, a character who regarded mateship as crucial. The nationalists described the prototype as predominantly males who exhibited practicality, resourcefulness, were “good at improvisation but no perfectionist, humorous in adversity, disrespectful towards wealth and prosperity, uncomfortable around women, and strongly loyal to his mates, though apt at concealing his feelings under a cynical and laconic wit” (Bolton 5).

In 1992 Kay Schaffer wrote that while the prototype has been replicated and passed down generations, the character does not accurately represent Australia or an Australian culture (8). More recently, David Carter suggested in 2006 that “it makes little sense to think of the Australian identity as one fixed thing . . . the multiplication of ways in which Australia and Australianness are now presented to us and the pervasiveness of images of nationality are unprecedented” (*Dispossession* 14-15). Yet the “prototype,” this “national type” (Schaffer 8), continues to exercise a certain degree of potency in Australia, and subsequently, suggests John Hirst, it affects and has affected waves of immigrants (29). Immigrants are made to assimilate, to

“acculturate and become indistinguishable” from the Australian Anglo-Celtic monoculture (Lopez 47). As Catherine Panich observes in her study of European migrants entitled *Sanctuary?: Remembering Postwar Immigration:*

Becoming an Australian was a fairly uncompromising business. The official expectations were that immigrants should rapidly adopt the Australian way of life, and pressure from within the general community supported them. Immigrants were expected to assume their niche in Australian society by undergoing an absolute metamorphosis. This attitude reflected the fear of ghettos and ethnic enclaves forming . . . A diluted immigrant presence might be less contentious. Many [European migrants] would argue that this was in fact the correct stance, that the immigrant who swiftly adopted the assimilation philosophy experienced least problems socially and in the workplace. (171)

Fear of Jewish segregation was cited as one reason the Australian government denied entry to large numbers of Jewish European refugees during the rise of fascism in Europe. A document from the Department of the Interior dated 1936 states: “Jews as a class are not considered desirable immigrants for the reason they do not assimilate; speaking generally they preserve their identity as Jews” (Bartrop n.p.).<sup>17</sup> Yet they did assimilate (Riemer, *Demidenko Debate* 233-34), even if assimilation was compulsory, undesirable, and often seen as a form of condescension. A German Jewish refugee, having fled Germany prior to the outbreak of war, experienced the confusion and contradiction of Anglo-Australians who, although prejudiced and anti-Judaic, appeared unsure as to what it meant to be Jewish: “ ‘You tell us that you are a Jew and now you tell us that you were German. How could you have been German and a Jew at the same time?’ ” (Liffman 22). Even Silbermann believes that he was forced to open hamburger restaurants because of the nation’s inability to accept newcomers, either rejecting the immigrant or forcing them to recreate themselves, replicating social and cultural habits that adhered to, and hopefully complemented, a homogenised monoculture (Hüppauf 652).

---

17 A facsimile of this document can be found in Bartrop.

Peter Hill writes that a “nation” promotes myth-making and in doing so segregates (98-106), and Australia is no exception. In literary and philosophic language this translates to a belief in “national myths [that are] carefully nurtured by moralists and novelists; national traditions ‘rediscovered’ and cherished; national history didactically written” (Wallace 423-24). Hence the potency of those traits the radical nationalists referred to that are said to comprise the archetypal Australian. Migrants, therefore, had to be “Australianised,” and it was only in the early half of the 1970s that these “insidiously sticky” tools of cultural assimilation began to be viewed as detrimental to a new multicultural Australia (Corkhill, *Australian Writing* 85). In 1972, under the Whitlam government, the concept of “integration” rather than “assimilation” was introduced into federal government policy and migrants were no longer required to renounce a culture or a language brought with them from their country of origin (Corkhill, *Immigrant Experience* 9). Instead, multiculturalism:

meant the acceptance of the immigrant groups as distinct communities distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture and life-styles. Multiculturalism implies that members of such groups should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity, although usually with an exception of conformity to certain key values. (Castles 27)

Depicted positively in this excerpt, multiculturalism is a topic that is touched on in a number of the chapters which follow, for the cultural propaganda attached to the tagline “Australia—a multicultural society” is undermined, to varying depths, in the novels examined in relation to the Third Reich triad.

Prior to the advent of Australia, the “multicultural” nation, and in contrast to the Jewish experience, Australia’s post-Second World War migration policies were not so hostile towards many who fled Europe following the downfall of the Third Reich. A process of assimilation was still required, but these migrants were accepted by the dominant Anglo-Australian monoculture, even if these newcomers’ cultural habits needed remoulding. For example, Gisela Kaplan writes that non-Jewish Germans were reputed by Anglo-Australians to be “people of high ideals, endurance and industry” with “organising ability and an inborn capacity to work hard for long hours” (84-85).

Unlike the Jewish situation, a number of European nationalities and cultures were being welcomed by the Australian government, and these included peoples responsible for, or involved in, the atrocities inflicted on European Jewry. This influx included perpetrators of the Hitler regime—German, Ukrainian, Russian, Lithuanian, Belorussian and Polish citizens (six nations among many others) who had killed, maimed, or taunted the Jewish population. Both Bruce Rosen and Graham Huggan write that Australia welcomed a large intake of former Nazis between 1945 and 1950 (Huggan 2; Rosen n.p.).<sup>18</sup> Andrew Menzies, at the time a former senior official of the Commonwealth Attorney General’s department, when concluding his investigations into war criminals in Australia (a task he was asked to undertake by the then Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke), wrote: “It is more likely than not that a significant number of persons who committed war crimes in World War II have entered Australia” (*Review of Material* 177). This observation is further supported in Aarons’ work published since the “Menzies Report,” including *War Criminals Welcome: Australia a Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals Since 1945*, stating that a number of these migrants were once high-ranking officials in various Third Reich departments and divisions, including the SS. David Fraser’s exposition of Australia’s 1990s war crimes trials also comments on the infiltration of war criminals into the country:

Many war criminals from what was becoming the Soviet bloc—Yugoslavia, the Baltic states, Hungary, Poland, and Ukraine—“slipped through the net,” often with the assistance of Allied intelligence agencies. . . . Among the tens of thousands of legitimate D[isplaced] P[ersons] who made new lives in Australia were hundreds of war criminals and Holocaust Perpetrators. Yet the failures of Australian immigration screening were not some hidden aspect of the country’s past discovered only in the 1980s. From the earliest arrivals of these new European

---

<sup>18</sup> When I mention Nazis in this chapter dealing with Australian migration, I refer not only to Germans who followed or participated in the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, but I include those perpetrators from other European countries who may have been members of similar right-wing organisations such as the Croatian Ustaša. In his book *Sanctuary: Nazi Fugitives in Australia*, Mark Aarons defines the Nazis who travelled to Australia as people from “many nationalities, not just German or Austrians . . . as indigenous fascist organisations were established throughout Europe, most of which collaborated closely with the Germans” (xix).



migrants, revelations about Nazi presence in DP camps in Australia quickly emerged. (52)

Jock Collins notes that these Northern Europeans, including known perpetrators, were among those who had, by the 1970s, contributed greatly to Australia's middleclass, not only because of their aptitude in administrative roles, including self-employment (20-21), but because of their racial acceptability. These people were seen as "more readily assimilable" (Brewster 11), an important tool for "surviving" within the dominant Anglo-Australian culture. Interestingly, Angelika Sauer contends that a German migrant's reputation of being a hard worker and a trustworthy individual was never sullied by the "ample reporting on the gruesome details of German atrocities and concentration camps" (430).

As with every immigrant influx, these Northern Europeans carried literary traditions and a perspective that differed from the stories being published in Australia at the time (Nile, *Making* 102-03). Just as Jewish migration added to Australia's literary wealth, so too did the intake of these non-Jewish Northern Europeans. Kerry Goldsworthy refers to this corpus of literature in the introduction to a 1983 anthology of Australian short stories:

The influx of European immigrants to Australia which began during the war years not only produced a kind of delayed-action subculture of migrants' writing . . . but it also gave Australian writers a new and fertile field of subject matter and a renewed awareness of what being Australian "might or might not mean."  
(xiv)

It is one aspect of this "delayed-action subculture" this thesis examines. Representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator are not necessarily written by the immigrants themselves, as in the case of Keneally and Demidenko/Darville, but literary depictions have been influenced by an influx of European immigrants and are therefore part of what Goldsworthy refers to as "new and fertile fields." Australia's past as roughly hewn into a number of significant historical occurrences, has helped to mould the fiction that lies at the core of this thesis. While books written about Jewish culture or Jewish Australian culture abound in Australian publishing circles, and while there is a plethora of Jewish authors in Australia, this thesis concentrates on literary depictions of the Third Reich triad passed down the decades that, I

argue, have been influenced by non-Jewish European migrants, and similarly, by populist and political attitudes represented by the history of the migration of non-Jewish Europeans and Jewish Europeans.

### **A Culture Prone to Amnesia?**

Aside from governmental policies dictating who was to be allowed into the country, a brief look at the composition of political and “mainstream” attitudes regarding the killing of Aboriginal people in Australia might, to a certain extent, help to further show a collective cultural mindset which has also led to culturally specific representations of the Third Reich as found in some of the fiction studied in this thesis.<sup>19</sup>

Historically, the Australian government both before and after the Second World War enforced a racially determined policy of migration known as the White Australia policy—enacted between the years 1901 to 1966, this grouping of policies strongly favoured “white” (mostly British) migrants. Stephen Castles et al. have argued that “Racism and the utilization of migrant labour have been crucial factors in the history of Australian economic and cultural identity both in the colonial era and ever since” (16). Both Fiona Allon and Ghassan Hage agree with this sentiment, adding further commentaries which address Australia’s cultural and historical efforts (either deliberate or unconscious) to adhere to racially white acculturation. “By repressing the racial difference of the indigenous owners, and by extending the exclusion of difference through the White Australia policy,” writes Allon, “the new nation grounded cultural homogeneity in racial homogeneity and thereby enunciated a national identity that was wholly racialised” (183). Hage writes: “Australian discourses of tolerance often express their intolerance of those who are not seen to respect the unity of Australia or its democratic values and institutions. If that is the case, people committed to tolerance are people who are also continuously practising the exclusion of legitimised objects of intolerance” (91). Furthermore, in Allon’s view, “a recent survey found that although multicultural policies and programs have existed since the 1970s, in the national imagination Australian identity and ‘Australianness’ are still generally defined as white, Anglo-Celtic” (198).

---

<sup>19</sup> In the Australian state of Queensland alone, between the years 1824 and 1908, an estimated 10,000 Aborigines were killed by white settlers (Tatz 15).

The massacres of Australian Aboriginal peoples took place in the 1800s and early 1900s, and the numbers and ferocity of which in Queensland alone are outlined by Raymond Evans et al. in their book *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*. Again, as witnessed above in regards to immigration, assimilation was thought to be the Aborigines' one hope of survival. Reynolds notes:

For 150 years white Australians openly discussed the impending, and, many thought, the inevitable, extinction of the Aborigines. Running parallel with this discourse was the desire and the hope that the Aborigines would adopt both Christianity and European culture, eschewing their own traditions and way of life. There was a common belief that assimilation would be the means of survival, that cultural absorption would ensure physical continuity. (*Indelible* 155)

Colin Tatz views this forced assimilation as a form of genocide:

Australia is guilty of at least three, possibly four, acts of genocide: first, the essentially private genocide, the physical killing committed by settlers and rogue police officers in the nineteenth century, while the state, in the form of the colonial authorities, stood silently by (for the most part); second, the twentieth-century official state policy and practice of forcibly transferring children from one group to another with the express intention that they cease being Aboriginal; third, the twentieth century attempts to achieve the biological disappearance of those deemed "half-caste" Aborigines; fourth, a prima facie case that Australia's actions to protect Aborigines in fact caused them serious bodily or mental harm. (6)

Fraser argues that in contemporary Australian society the story of Aboriginal racial segregation, culminating in mass killings, "is narrated in collectively hushed tones after decades of collective amnesia" (311). Henry Reynolds refers to this cultural amnesia as a "mental block" (*Why* 114). Summarising two separate instances, the first the 1968 Boyer lecture by W.E.H. Stanner, and the second a book by C.D. Rowley called *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, Reynolds states that this mental block "prevented Australians from coming to terms with the [Aboriginal] past. The

general view was ‘What is done is done and should now be forgotten.’ There was a strong community sentiment that raking up the misdeeds of the past would serve no useful purpose . . .” (*Why* 114). One reason for this ongoing block or amnesia, Tatz argues, is because “Australians understand only stereotypical or traditional scenes of historical or present-day slaughter. For them, genocide connotes . . . the bulldozed corpses at Belsen . . . but we are connected—by virtue of what Raimond Gaita calls ‘the inexpungable moral dimension’ inherent in genocide, whatever its forms or actions” (2). Reflecting on more recent attitudes towards Aboriginal segregation and genocide, Fraser contends that “Memories of an Aboriginal genocide, and the present-day politics of apology, figure prominently in collective attempts to remember and to construct a posttraumatic, postcolonial national identity, but again they remain at a distance, psychologically and physically, for most non-Aboriginal Australians” (266). Even admissions of guilt in Australian politics and society Raimond Gaita finds hollow. In 1999 Gaita reflected on the *Bringing Them Home* report, a document discussing the governmental practice which took place from the late 1800s through to the late 1960s, of separating children of mixed race from their Aboriginal parents, a practice the report describes as genocide:

The most puzzling aspect of the report’s reception is that . . . hardly anyone who had broadly accepted the facts it records and its conclusion that genocide was committed has proposed that there be criminal trials to determine who is guilty and to punish them. . . . How can one say that genocide has been committed, yet only ask for an apology and compensation? How can you think genocide always to be a serious crime, yet find it unthinkable to call for criminal proceedings? (*Common Humanity* 127)

My reason for including this historical overview of what is known of the killing of Aborigines is to suggest that the collective amnesia said to represent a current of dialogue in regards to Aboriginal history might also be characteristic of, or representative of, a collective mindset in Australia which regards the Holocaust in particular ways. This positioning also aligns itself with some conclusions Rothberg has come to in his work *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation* (2009).

Rothberg, studying the interconnectedness of the Holocaust and colonisation through a predominantly French lens, states “that the emergence of collective memory of the Nazi genocide in the 1950s and 1960s takes place in punctual dialogue with ongoing processes of decolonisation and civil rights struggle and their modes of coming to terms with colonialism, slavery, and racism” (22). Such witnessing has also been noted in Australia’s past attempts and dealing with its colonial past while also discussing the Holocaust. This has led, alongside the history of Australia’s migration, to particular representations of the triad, and it is this representation in relation to Australia’s past that I take-up in the next section.

### **Australian Literature and the Victim, Bystander and Perpetrator**

Goldhagen argues that any story concerning the Third Reich and the Holocaust is a German story. This, he states, is because “the Holocaust was primarily a German undertaking . . . because what can be said about the Germans cannot be said about any other nationality or about all of the nationalities combined—namely no Germans, no Holocaust” (6). Yet the statement has been contested, for instance, by a portion of the Jewish population who believe the Holocaust to be a Jewish story, and the Germans merely another nation who decided to implement a pogrom that found favour in Europe—especially Eastern Europe—because German politics encouraged and/or enabled genocide.

When viewed in the context of this thesis, Goldhagen’s stance becomes debatable. The Germans may have implemented the Holocaust and were the progenitors of the Third Reich; however, the Holocaust had far-reaching consequences on the world as a whole, whether directly, such as the partitioning of Palestine in 1947, or indirectly, as seen in the ever-increasing amount of literature published in nations that were never directly under threat of Hitler’s government and army. Australia is one such nation not so deeply traumatised by the Germans on its own national territory before and during the Second World War; meaning the nation was never to suffer as did, for instance, Belgium or France or the United Kingdom, although the latter was

not occupied.<sup>20</sup> Yet stories emanating from Europe and from that period of time resonated within the Australian nation and continue to do so. J.S. Ryan's 1985 paper entitled "Australian Novelists' Perceptions of German Jewry and National Socialism" provides an overview of authors whose stories involve this past, including writers that I examine in this thesis such as White. Ryan cites as another example former Royal Australian Air Force pilot Geoffrey Taylor's trilogy *Piece of Cake* (1956), *Court of Honour* (1966), and *Return Ticket* (1972) in which "there is a central concern for the erosion of the processes of democracy [in the world at large]" (140). Jurgensen calls on examples of Australian literature that have been influenced by this particular European past in the scholarly article "The Image of Germany in Post-War Australian Literature." He includes Marian Eldridge's story "Acid Rain" from the collection *The Wild Sweet Flowers* (1994), a story about an Australian girl touring post-war Germany who discovers that "German social life continues to be dominated by the Nazi past" ("Image" 196). Jurgensen also points to Helen Garner's short story "A Thousand Miles from the Ocean," from the 1985 collection of short stories *Postcards from Surfers*. Here "contemporary multicultural Germany is presented as a society of suppression and opportunism" ("Image" 195). What the writers examined by Ryan have in common, and this is true also of the stories Jurgensen explores, is that their narratives "are not merely concerned with moral reconstruction but show real fallible people facing up to the circumstances of their own lives, and living them out in the world, with Australian thoughts and feelings" (145). This theme I have likewise noticed in Australian novels concerned with the epoch, although the idea of a character "facing up" to the past seems peculiar to a feature of earlier novels published closer to the time of war. As decades pass, individuals do not "face up" to this past as such; by contrast, some contemporary novels create contention because of a lack self-reflection and questioning, for the war and the crimes are viewed with pride rather than guiltily, as noted in chapter eight of this thesis. My argument, and a theme present in Ryan's paper, is that stories concerning the Nazi victim, bystander and perpetrator will, to some extent, rely on Germany and Europe

---

<sup>20</sup> Despite the casualties suffered (maimed and killed) in Europe and the Pacific by the Australian and New Zealand armies: 39,668 Australian troops and 11,900 New Zealand troops.

geographically, culturally and/or politically, yet these stories are particular to the country in which (and to some extent for whom) they are written. Australian fiction embraces, to varying degrees, European history and culture, yet this fiction contains an Australian specificity.

This specificity, I argue, contributes, to some degree, to a literary progression, adding to the shifts and changes noticed by Friedländer. Here I add to Friedländer's paragraph concerning this literary progression, showing an additional remove from traditional representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator: The traditional perpetrator can now ask for more understanding—approaching the sympathy traditionally bestowed upon, for example, the Jew or the political dissident. The culpability of the perpetrator's actions, however extreme, is not to be central or assumed. The bystander, alongside the perpetrator, is viewed with sympathy, and any apportioning of blame for what ensued during Hitler's reign is therefore questioned or, often, negated. The automatic bestowing of sympathy for the traditional victim, by contrast, is reappropriated, and instead the victim's culture, history, politics, and/or characteristics of their social/political positioning are problematised as possible contributors to particular historical events, while what happened to them might reasonably be considered a self-inflicted consequence of their selves, their pasts and/or their culture.

Australian novels which have reconfigured the traditional victims as victims of their own "perpetrations" have therefore, and somewhat understandably as in the case of *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, been received with claims of Holocaust justification and anti-Semitism, reflecting Boswell's suggestion that:

It seems that it is only when the fictiveness of the artwork is not indexed to the religious schemata of salvation (for victims), punishment or penitence (for Nazis) that the critical temper noticeably starts to cool, and issues of authorial biography are brought to the fore, with writers and filmmakers finding themselves subject to a whole set of authoritarian assumptions about who has the right to represent the Holocaust. (5)

In regards to the fiction studied here that does not adhere to traditional notions of representation, I remain unconvinced of anti-Semitism. While claims of this nature could certainly be made in relation to aspects a few of the

novels studied, and in some cases a novel's supposed anti-Semitic tone has caused vehement arguments (Manne, *Culture* 107), I consider that it is more a matter of a moral ambivalence, or a cultural impiety which exists towards the Holocaust. It is a moral ambivalence that adheres to Omer Bartov's suggestion that rationalisation, that is, to attempt to rationalise the Holocaust, has little or no moral value and therefore does not, or cannot, denote evil or good.<sup>21</sup> The moral ambivalence which I read in some of the Australian fiction I discuss, stems, I would argue, from cultural naivety, cultural apathy, or a lack of historical insight which fosters a particular stance; in this case rewriting traditional understandings of the victim, bystander and perpetrator. Cultural apathy, or an amorality, is a major thematic divide separating a number of Australian texts from the German, or possibly even the European; again I have in mind Littell's *The Kindly Ones*, a French book which transports the reader into the mind of a well-educated SS officer, a man involved in the genocide of peoples, yet not a person easily forgivable, not even a person who, throughout the course of the story, remains relatable in any human sense. Yet, relying on Boswell's insight into *The Kindly Ones*, the novel may, in some sense, represent aspects of some of the fiction I examine in this thesis:

If *The Kindly Ones* can be read as an engagement with the body of Holocaust literature and theory that informs later generations' understandings of an event that is always mediated, never the thing itself, then the novel's failure to keep its "eyes wide open" to history and to remain in any sense, in literary terms, sane, could equally be understood not so much as a representation of a first generation crisis of witnessing, as a crisis or reading belonging to a generation of non-victims. (19)

I argue that some Australian authors, often those of a generation of non-victims, negate a generally ascribed moral opinion, or they question the traditionally regarded moral viewpoint taken up in less controversial portraits of the perpetrator, victim or bystander—they may not have their "eyes wide

---

<sup>21</sup> By rationalise, I do not mean the extremity of the definition that continues to be represented in the Holocaust literature of the Arab nations where a "basic premise was that only a people who were inherently malicious and whose culture and historical roots were immersed in evil could commit the grave injustice of usurping Palestine from its rightful inhabitants. Therefore, the logical conclusion was that the Jewish fate in the Holocaust was a just and deserving punishment for past and present deeds" (Litvak and Webman 193).



open.” These Australian authors appear to remain at a geographical, historical, educational and cultural distance, creating a remove from standard traditional portrayals of this epoch and the people who were involved in it.

There are boundaries and limits to the process of normalising the Nazi and the Nazi period in Germany in regard to the German nation’s literature. This process may lessen collective and individual guilt, allow the German people to contend with their past, and possibly suggest the past be brushed aside; alternatively, normalising the period may instigate insight or provide understanding of a topic once considered taboo. What these processes of normalisation appear to refrain from enacting is the rationalising or the excusing of the Holocaust. Here Australian fiction may distinguish itself, for there is much within the Australian texts studied in this thesis that suggest a flippant approach to the Third Reich, and by that I mean the fiction may not apply the reverence many believe the Holocaust deserves. It is these Australian cultural peculiarities that attempt to understand the Third Reich by trying to “rationalise” an event that Jürgen Habermas considers beyond the scope of human understanding (251-52). In doing so, in the reappropriation of those literary shifts and changes that culminate in a “rationalising,” a number of Australian authors possibly risk being too carefree in their portrayals. As Primo Levi wrote in the afterword of his memoir *If This Is a Man* (1987 [originally published in 1947]), “to understand is almost to justify” (395); in the case of the fiction I identify which attempts an explanation for the crimes, this explanation is not given from the perspective of the traditional victim, rather from the viewpoint of the person who inflicted the pain and suffering.

Commenting on Australia’s penchant for humanising and forgiving the Nazi, the Jewish Australian author David Martin, in a story called “Screws” which is taken from a collection of short stories titled *Foreigners* (1981), describes a former SS soldier who has emigrated, married, and now resides in Australia. Bullied by the men with whom he works, this individual called Dieter Langlein is defended by his Australian wife:

He is no Nazi. Never was. They shoved him into that SS, or whatever, in that Division. They didn’t ask him if he wanted to go. He never willingly hurt anyone, leave alone hanged a man.

He's no basher. Maybe he is one for the rule book a bit too much—that's how they brought him up. (110)

Reviewing *Foreigners* in 1981 Carter noted both the implied and tangential ways by which Martin discusses Australians, Australian culture, and their attitude towards immigration ("Melting" 24). This insight further applies to the author's stance on those Australian citizens who were once active participants in the German Reich. Martin's piece adheres to my argument that a naivety pervades Australian society, one possibly derived from parochialism or distance, or a lack of knowledge concerning this period. Other authors, for instance Peter Ustinov in his short story "The Loneliness of Billiwoonga," have likewise noted that a particular narrative perspective has sprung from cultural habits or history or societal influences, resulting in a society that seemingly dismisses the crimes committed by those inculcated with racial beliefs by Third Reich doctrine; Australia appears to accept the former SS as loving husbands, fathers, and upstanding members of an Australian community. Perpetrators, therefore, are often depicted being as much victims of their Third Reich past as are the traditional victims themselves. In the closing lines of Katharine Susannah Prichard's *The Pioneers* (1915), a colonial tale of settlement, the Australian bush, of hard-working Anglo colonials and the ever-present convict stain, the author describes the cultural act of forgetting and forgiving a person's past faults as Australia's greatest blessing: "They may talk about your birthstain by and by . . . but that will not trouble you, because it was not this country made the stain. This country has been the redeemer and blotted out all those old stains" (320). Such a statement, while referring to the Anglo-Australian convict, may also apply to those who migrated following the defeat of Hitler's government. For, while I argue this past has influenced and inflected representations of the Third Reich in varying ways, including being the enabler of what may be considered controversial portrayals, an Australian culture might have further allowed a person's past to be pushed aside and forgotten. Not forgiven, I would suggest, but at least forgotten, and by doing so the country may be seen to once again act as the Great Redeemer; a chance for many an individual, regardless of the role they played in the period of the Third Reich, to blot out "all those old stains." Martin's depiction of the former SS officer who marries an Australian wife and settles in suburban Australia is loaded with irony given the author's Jewish heritage. However,

some other representations of these characters in Australian fiction are not authorially critiqued or commented upon through irony or literary play as the textual analysis which follows in the upcoming chapters highlights.

In an article in the *Australian* in 1995, Frank Devine defended the polemical novel *The Hand That Signed the Paper* alongside the right to free speech, accusing the President of the Council of Australian Jewry, Isi Leibler, of bullying and “anti-anti-Semitism” (qtd. in Jost et al. 189-90). According to Devine, Leibler “rejoiced” at the revelation that Helen Demidenko was in fact Helen Darville, his excitement resembling a celebration that comes at the fall of an enemy (qtd. in Jost et al. 189-90). For Devine, rather than exhibit elements of anti-Semitism, the Demidenko/Darville book highlighted the country’s inability to comprehend the Holocaust:

Nothing in the Australian experience remotely resembles the Holocaust. Victims and oppressors are both mysterious. Australian searches for solutions may seem strange to those better acquainted with such mysteries, but we will be in bad times when anybody is made to feel inhibited about conducting them. (Qtd. in Jost et al. 191)

Devine defends *The Hand That Signed the Paper* as he considers the book to be a model, however historically inaccurate or morally inappropriate, by which to understand the victims and perpetrators. His opinion regarding the creative possession of this particular past is, to a degree, reflected in Boswell’s discussions regarding the authorship of the Holocaust narrative, who writes:

The general trend of seeking to silence the dissenting voices of those who were either not personally victimised or not Jewish on the basis they lack the necessary biographical credentials—thereby making legitimate representational matter of birthright, or rather deathright—only shuts down debate, difference and creative expression in respect of a tragedy which, as [Canadian author Yann] Martel points out, “wasn’t exclusively Jewish,” both in terms of its perpetrators and victims. (9)

Demidenko/Darville’s book and its reception therefore, as argued by Devine, could be seen to show Australia to be as much a very liberal country as it may be considered anti-Semitic; the book might explore “mysteries” such as the Holocaust from a naive viewpoint, yet such a radical departure from traditional

understandings of the Holocaust remain a valid viewpoint and hold currency insomuch as it adds to ever-increasing debates surrounding Holocaust representation. Such contentious perspectives concerning this past are not restricted to *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, as chapter eight of this thesis shows. Other fictions replicate themes found in the Demidenko/Darville book, and these, I argue, could be considered further examples of a country “searching for solutions” to a mystery (as Devine phrases it) that the Holocaust represents to the “average” Australian. Alternatively, and adding to the debate surrounding these books, literary portrayals of the triad and the Holocaust as evinced in these publications may be contrastingly seen to re-emphasise, as Silbermann perceived Australia to be in the 1950s, a country “of amateurs in every facet [who have . . .] stayed as backwards as they were” (Hüppauf 657-58). Either way, these controversial books can be seen to offer a choice, for “without choice we are no longer in the realm of the ethical. Attempts to censor provocative representations are in this sense, however well meaning, attempts to limit rather than reinforce individual ethical responsibility” (Adams, “Reading” 42).

### CHAPTER THREE

So many bodies, inert, stacked hurriedly one on top of the other, a vast hill of them, a small mountain, so recently people. Here, Mandelbrot thought, was the end of every slur, racial or religious, every joke, every sneer against the Jews.

Elliot Perlman, *The Street Sweeper*

In this chapter I examine Patrick White's *Riders in the Chariot* (1961), *Fredy Neptune* (1998) by Les Murray, and *Dead Europe* (2005) by Christos Tsiolkas. Here I have gathered three books from separate time periods as a means of showing some thoughtful, and relatively conventional, portrayals of the perpetrator, victim and bystander. These three novels are preoccupied with some of the cultural and historical specificities that I argue have helped foster more controversial, sometimes anti-Judaic Australian fictions, including cultural forgetting and bigotry; they all comment on, in varying degrees, cultural insensitivity. Australian culture, therefore, as depicted in these novels, plays out some of the history that I mentioned in the previous chapter: Aboriginal segregation; migrant disharmony; a collective amnesia regarding the Holocaust. In the case of *Riders in the Chariot*, for example, one of the central characters, Mordecai Himmelfarb, reveals the effects the racist Nazi regime had on his life and family while likewise highlighting the bigotry and hypocrisy pervading Australian society at the time of the book's publication. Les Murray's verse novel, *Fredy Neptune*, approaches Germany's past through the eyes of a German Australian man who possesses no great allegiance to either country, the narrative suggesting some commonality in regard to the racism which came to the fore in Germany under Hitler's rule, and in Australian society over many decades. Christos Tsiolkas focuses on certain aspects of anti-Semitism in Australia and Europe; bigotry and racism, the novel suggests, are culturally inherent in both regions. All three novels rely on the characterisation of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator to propagate opinions regarding dominant cultural attitudes and anti-Semitism in relation to both Australia and Germany during certain periods in history.

### **Patrick White, *Riders in the Chariot* (1961)**

Patrick White's novel *Riders in the Chariot* tells the story of four individuals who live on the borders of suburban Australia. Here I look specifically at the representations of those victimised and those who perpetrate oppression, and I find that victims and perpetrators can be located in Nazi Germany and in small town Anglo-Australia. I specifically focus on the Jewish character Mordecai Himmelfarb, though I draw on other main characters to highlight this divide. Four individuals, or "riders," represent the "other"—the ostracised, and/or the socially and culturally victimised. These "ordinary" outcasts are, as described by Bernadette Brennan, "the Jew, the Aboriginal, the mad woman, the abused wife and mother" (22). Part of the novel is focused on narrating the story of this Jewish German man, who in both Germany and Australia, adheres culturally and religiously to the makeup of the traditional victim. Himmelfarb is tormented in Germany during the era of the National Socialists as a result of his Jewishness, and survives a concentration camp. After liberation he eventually settles in Australia, only to find himself threatened with similar racial taunts to those to which he was subjected in Germany. Australia, the reader is led to discover, is home to bigotry and racism with some affinities to that found in Nazi Germany, and while the hostility may not be as ferocious as that experienced in Germany, racism can sometimes result in physical and metaphorical deaths, as noted by the demise of Himmelfarb who is "destroyed for his failure to become an ordinary Aussie bloke" (Brennan 19). It is this segregation that heightens, in *Riders in the Chariot*, "White's message for the need of lovingness in the face of difference . . ." (Brennan 19).

Himmelfarb's experiences describe the extremities of the Holocaust, such as the general social malady leading to deportation, the transports and the gassing. These tumultuous acts, however, are written to feel as if regular, relatively normal hurdles in the everyday life of a Jew. Irmtraud Petersson comments that by "[l]acking any sensationalism" (*German* 219), White carefully reduces atrocities to acts of the mundane to subtly remind his readers that certain attitudes towards "the Jews" are not purely German, but ones which are evident worldwide. Himmelfarb is therefore not solely subjected to discrimination in Germany, but anti-Semitism enters his life wherever he settles and in whatever guise he wishes to live, including his time

in Australia. The old man's existence was systematically eroded in Germany by the Nazis, yet he survived. When the torment begins in Australia, however, Himmelfarb's life soon ends. Himmelfarb's ostracisation from a dominant heterogeneous Anglo-Australian culture highlights where the author's, and therefore the reader's, empathy is validated, for as White states in *Patrick White Speaks* (1989): "As a homosexual I have always known what it is to be an outsider. It has given me added insight into the plight of the immigrant—the hate and contempt with which he is often received" (157). Himmelfarb, as a Jew, an intellectual, and a migrant worker, has to reinvent himself twice, for intellect in Nazi Germany and in Australian suburbia are looked upon with suspicion. His wisdom is seen as a threat to the Nazi Party and, later, Anglo-Australia. Himmelfarb comes to realise through experience that independent intellectual thinking has to be pushed aside for survival in an "ordinary" life, believing that "The intellect has failed us" (*Riders* 221). When Himmelfarb arrives in Australia, this man who worked as a university professor in Germany applies for any menial employment that requires only limited education. The response to this, the conscious voice of a typical Australian worker explains, is confusion among the Jewish community, and acceptance, even derision, from the xenophobic Anglo-Australians: "he [Himmelfarb] was, in any case, a blasted foreigner, and bloody reffo, and should have been glad he was allowed to exist at all" (*Riders* 221).

The Australian worker in *Riders in the Chariot*, writes Michael Wilding:

is depicted "as murderously and destructively anti-Semitic [and] owes little to reality, but much to White's patrician fears of the unknown workers, leading him to create and disseminate class myths as offensive and divisive and in their social effects evil, as any of the anti-Semitic propaganda of National Socialism." (30)

When Himmelfarb finds himself being tied to a tree by his fellow Anglo and Italian Australian workers in a mock crucifixion, the character Ernie Theobald explains the act as a lesson in egalitarian mateship, suggesting Himmelfarb has been punished for remaining aloof, having never truly understood what it means to be either ordinary or humble: "Something you will have to learn, Mick, is that I am Ernie to every cove present. That is you included. No man is better than another. . . . You may say we talk about it a lot, but you can't expect us not to be proud of what we have invented, so to speak" (*Riders*

468). The irony of this statement, however, is not lost on the Jew who has just been subjected to severe racial taunting in Germany and Australia, and only a few hours later he is dead from heart failure while his house burns to the ground as a result of anti-Semitic drunken workers. German fascists have not killed Himmelfarb, but the Australian worker has, suggesting, Wilding argues, that White's "sympathy is markedly not extended to the Australian working class-traditions" (30). Furthering this argument, Wilding writes that "The paralleling of this eccentric and grotesque episode of Himmelfarb's crucifixion with the historically attested killing of six million Jews cannot but suggest that the Australian working-class shared a complicity in the holocaust" (30). In what could be seen as a means of characterisation that heightens Wilding's reading of *Riders in the Chariot*, Australian workers are depicted as individual characters, including the abovementioned Ernie Theobald. The Nazi regime, and in particular representation of the Nazi perpetrator, is not personally present, but rather a demonic force with neither face nor name; a presence. Examples within the text which portray the Nazi as a grouping include, "A guard came pushing through the mass of bodies, one of the big, healthy biddable blond children" (*Riders* 203). Similarly, "The guards might laugh at some indignity glimpsed, but on the whole, at the assembly point, they seemed to prefer a darkness in which to hate in the abstract the whole mass of Jews" (*Riders* 192). The narration throughout the section dealing with the camps and the gassing adopts the perspective of those who are about to suffer, not those who terrorise, emphasising White's empathy towards "the plight of the persecuted Jews in Europe" (Wilding 30). Accordingly, the reader is led through the selection process and the undressing in the gas chamber from the viewpoint of the Jewish victim, learning what it must have been like for those who were about to die. The perpetrator, therefore, while looming and aggressive, is un-relatable, almost mythological, for the victims are not only confused, but their subjugation means that the divide separating perpetrator from victim is heightened. This divide creates Jewish insularity from the barbarians who work at the camp, and while prominent in the stages leading up to the gassing in a concentration camp, such insularity among the socially segregated is also a theme and perspective that runs throughout the novel. White does not, however, by omission of an actual Nazi character, subtract from the terror for which these individuals are responsible. Instead, the



occlusion of any particular Nazi emphasises the mental torture the Jews experienced, evoking the feel of a nightmare which has become real. The perpetrators are presented as a collective of bias and ignorance, lacking individuality, and with it the inability to empathise with other individuals.

Bader suggests that the section of *Riders in the Chariot* set in Germany leads the reader “through a kind of *Bildungsroman* [a moral, intellectual and psychological coming-of-age story] and witnesses the growing up and the mental and emotional development of the German Jew” (230). The section further contains, he continues, imagery corresponding to the predominant literary Australian image of Germany since the Second World War by “migrant authors” (231) in its moral coming of age story. Bader cites a passage from the book as an example: “ ‘Between Bach and Hitler,’ Konrad [a non-Jewish German friend of Himmelfarb] said, ‘something went wrong with Germany. We must go back to Bach, side-stepping the twin bogs of Wagner and Nietzsche’ ” (*Riders* 180). What a view such as this enables, continues Bader, is to carefully transfer the image of the enemy from the German people to the Nazis (231); White’s demarcation of victim and perpetrator, or bystander and perpetrator, is therefore questioned by some critics. Himmelfarb, a simple, caring man, who enjoys work, is terrorised by the demonic “presence” of the Nazis, not the German people as such; the non-Jewish German bystander is depicted as non-complicit. Petersson suggests that the “ordinary Germans in *Riders* display a liking for discipline, official documents, etiquette and respectability, but only rarely show wickedness or open cruelty. Mostly they are mediocre rather than daunting” (*German* 225). This removes the ordinary German bystander from acts culminating in the Holocaust, and could be seen to be a central divide separating “ordinary” Germans from “ordinary” Australians—the Australians do partake in open racial harassment and enjoy the taunting. The Aboriginal artist (and one of the four “riders”), Alf Dubbo, experiences a form of taunting while at work. Employed in the same bicycle parts factory, Alf Dubbo and Himmelfarb find some common union, much to the ire of a number of workers of Anglo-Australian origin:

“No good Blackfeller [Alf Dubbo]! Sick!” she shrieked.

Even if the object of her contempt had missed hearing, or had closed his ears permanently to censure, Himmelfarb was made uncomfortable, when he should have returned some suitable

joke. Mistaking embarrassment for failure to understand, a bloke approached, and whispered in the foreigner's ear:

"She means he has every disease a man can get. From the bollocks up."

As Himmelfarb still did not answer, his workmate went away. Foreigners, in any case, filled the latter with disgust. (*Riders* 230)

Dubbo comes to suffer at the hands of the Anglo-Australians as does Himmelfarb, for Dubbo, as a social outcast akin to Himmelfarb also represents a "state of alienation and the trials of assimilation" (Burrows 58). Dubbo is not only an Ingenious Australian who suffers as a result of his skin colour, but also because he is an artist who empathises:

While standing on the mat floor [in the bicycle parts factory], Alf Dubbo was stationed as if upon an eminence, watching what he alone was gifted or fated to see. Neither the actor, nor the spectator, he was that most miserable of human beings, the artist. (*Riders* 457)

Destruction, or more particularly victimisation, is therefore not limited to a Jewish man; "difference" is noted in Dubbo, as well as in the working class washerwoman Mrs Godbold, and in Mary Hare with whom Himmelfarb associates. Their victimhood exposes what Petersson ascribes to Himmelfarb alone, the notion that "indifference, shallowness and mediocrity [are the] breeding ground of evil. This is of course the crucial connection between White's German and Australian realities . . ." (*German* 225). Akin to Wilding's assessment of the novel, Petersson comments that White's depiction of Australians is far harsher than his depiction of Germans in relation to racism (*German* 225). For example, at the war's end, Alf Dubbo is permitted to drink with the Anglo-Australians, but this equality is superficial: "When the white man's war ended, several of the whites bought Dubbo drinks to celebrate the peace, and together they spewed up in the streets, out of stomachs that were, for the occasion, of the same colour. At Rosetree's factory, though, where he began to work shortly after, Dubbo was always the abo" (*Riders* 417). Similarly, at the mock crucifixion of Himmelfarb, "Some of the men would have taken a hammer, or plunged a knife if either weapon had been at hand. Into the Jew, of course. . . . A lady who had begun to feel sick, saved herself by

remembering: 'It is the foreigners that take the homes. It is the Jew. . . . Let 'im have it!' " (*Riders* 460-61). The mock crucifixion to which Himmelfarb is subjected by fellow workmates portrays, suggests Susan McKernan, "the Australian worker . . . as the perpetrator of ugliness and brutality . . . ." (McKernan 182). All four main characters are, over the course of White's novel, "despised and mistreated by their neighbours simply because they are different. Australian society, White suggests, is not only conformist and materialistic but actively evil in casting out nonconformists" (McKernan 182). The perpetrator is not, then, solely the Nazi in *Riders in the Chariot*, but more pointedly, an Australian person of small mind and intellect who, as part of the suburban mass participates in enacting, albeit symbolically, crimes including execution. The perpetrators in Germany are dressed in uniform and easily distinguishable, while in Australia they are the local shopkeeper, the factory worker, the next-door neighbour. Reflecting on *Riders in the Chariot* David Malouf comments that "History in Australia repeats itself as larrikin horseplay, but is no less brutal because Himmelfarb's persecutor" at the mock crucifixion "lacks a designer uniform, and no searchlights turn the sky overhead to a cathedral [referring to the Nuremberg Rallies' "cathedral of light" designed by architect Albert Speer]" (13).

In Germany, "Step by step [Himmelfarb's] life is being destroyed by the growing power of the Nazis. Himmelfarb loses everything, his job, his wife, his *Heimat* [homeland], his self-respect" (Bader 230), and the character's life in Australia mimics, to a degree, this German experience. In this, *Riders in the Chariot* is preoccupied with assessing Australia's cultural short-fallings, leaving the Nazi regime as a tale of secondary importance. The four central characters (the four "riders") suffer literal deaths, as evinced in Himmelfarb's and Dubbo's demise, or metaphoric deaths at the hands of Australian cultural stubbornness and bigotry, as Miss Hare chooses to leave the community in which she has lived her whole life, while her home and refuge, Xanadu, is demolished. None of the four subscribe to mainstream attitudes and practices; not one of them has had their difference sufficiently assimilated. While empathy for the Jews is present in *Riders in the Chariot*, the reader comes to understand and therefore empathise with all four of the central protagonists, and it is their victimisation which holds the reader's attention. It is their alternate perspectives regarding life and society that is the central thread in

the narrative. An implied authorial anger regarding the xenophobia of mainstream Australian cultural attitudes of the time heightens the representation of the four main character's victimisation, while simultaneously suggesting that perpetrators of oppression are as much the Anglo-Australians of suburbia as the German National Socialists who run the concentration camps. While I focus mostly on the representation of two character types in this section, the connection between the genocide of colonisation (that I discuss elsewhere) and the oppression of women is also subtly brought out in the text, in the connection of the four riders and their stories.

### **Les Murray, *Fredy Neptune* (1998)**

First published in 1998, Murray's *Fredy Neptune* is an unconventional retelling of history covering many decades and most of the seismic events of the twentieth century; unconventional inasmuch as the novel is written in verse and in a style some reviewers have described as distinctive and capricious. Petersson, in discussing the novel's reception in Germany, suggests that given the inclusion of the Third Reich—"a legacy that lies like a heavy burden on many Germans even generations after the World Wars"—"it comes as no surprise that they [Germans] would be particularly interested in the way someone from a different part of the world approached it in an attempt to comprehend it" ("Odysseus" 15). In Murray's book, many characters are given voice, yet only through the perspective of the first person narrator which is Fredy. While the perspective shifts because of opinions expressed by numerous characters, the world is nonetheless predominantly seen through the eyes of Friedrich "Fredy" Boettcher, an Australian male born of two German Australian migrant parents. Fredy is, on numerous occasions in Australia and abroad, viewed as German—Peter Alexander describes Friedrich Boettcher as "a foreigner wherever he goes" (289). As Birgit Neumann notes, Fred becomes "a go-between who can never be assigned to either side . . . he cannot be captured by fixed categories of national belonging" (276). When Fredy reflects upon the two World Wars, this creates a sense of impartiality, for the protagonist feels allegiance to both the Anglicised world and to the German.

In one section of the novel, the Third Reich and the regime's aftermath are written about in some detail. The narrative mentions the bombing of cities

by the Americans and British, including Dresden, mass killing of peoples in Eastern Europe by the Nazis, the rise and fall of the Zeppelin, battles between socialism and fascism in the streets of Germany, anti-Semitism and bigotry. Similarly, in the period set in Nazi Germany the reader is provided with a tour of certain cities and regions including Munich, Dresden and Berlin. The history in the novel spans decades and various continents, starting with the Armenian genocide in 1915, at which the protagonist loses touch and sense because of the witnessing of these horrendous events. Fredy then travels the world, experiencing horror and joy in equal measure throughout the twentieth century, measuring all these experiences, though, with a degree of objectivity. The author, as Petersson writes, sends “Fredy into various parts of the world to experience human meanness and atrocious behaviour . . . with both detachment and empathy, [Murray] calls attention to [the world’s] complexities and contradictions. Fredy’s question about how anyone can stand completely aloof from involvement in evil thus becomes a central concern” (“Odysseus” 21). These complexities and contradictions are not restricted to Germany. Australian culture comes under scrutiny, though many aspects of Australian culture and society are looked on more favourably than Germany under the Nazis. According to Katherine Burkitt “*Fredy Neptune* is marked by a series of Odyssean homecomings in which Fred, radically transformed by his experiences abroad, returns to imbue himself with an Australianess which can only be attained in the bush” (33). Rural Australia is validated to a degree, and Australia in general is depicted in a far more positive way than White’s renderings of the countryside in *Riders in the Chariot*. “There is idealism, arrogance, and confidence,” writes Katherine Burkitt, “in casting Australia as the new domain where ancient poetic and philosophical debates might take place . . .” (36). However, all is not positive:

Fred operates on the blurred borders of personal identity which, in his narrative, is an area inhabited by exiles, circus travellers, hobos, fallen women, homeless people, transsexuals and the Australian Aboriginal population. . . . His identity is polyglot and multi-faceted and acts to critique racial prejudice and notions of cultural and ethnic purity. (Burkitt 44)

Even Fredy experiences taunts because of his German heritage no matter how much he may enjoy his time in the Australian bush; Murray’s heroes, like

White's, appear to be those who live on the fringes of the mainstream dominant culture.

Diverging from White, however, those moments when Murray critiques Australia remain tepid when compared to his assessment of Nazi Germany. Relying on a first person narrator in the form of Fredy, the protagonist is scathing in his opinions of the Nazis, their brutal tactics and their hollow philosophies. As one example, the character of Fredy Boettcher undermines the Nazi adoption of Nietzsche's *Übermensch*, for he embodies many of the Nietzschean prototypical characteristics the Nazis believed were embedded in their selves and/or their cause. Following a dinner in a Munich beer hall at which Fredy dines with an Australian Aboriginal friend, a group of Brown-shirts descend. Fredy's superhuman strength wards them off, his friend commenting, "Why did they think . . . that the Superman would be one of their kind? Or on their side in anything?" (*Fredy* 186-87). While history may be painted literally and chronologically, many of the underlying ideologies hewn or adapted by the Nazis are likewise inverted in the book. Non-Jewish Germans are seen as complicit in the nation's acceptance of fascism, Murray recasting German stereotypes as a means of understanding this complicit type: "a colonel buttoned so tight he looked like a scabbard and walked like dividers on a map" (*Fredy* 188). However, the non-Jewish German people as a collective are seen as both culpable for the crimes committed, while simultaneously victims of the regime: "But that night was the first where everybody looked aside or down when someone copped it. The Russian look was becoming the German look" (*Fredy* 194). Or, "A lot in the crowd were hesitant about their *Sieg Heiling* but scared of those that weren't" (*Fredy* 198). Perpetrators are thugs, but so too are the communists; even politically unaligned Germans are not positively depicted (here the author reverts to an Anglo-Australian colloquialism to possibly suggest similarity between German and Australian culture): "And I listened to a woman: *Those sows of scholar books have weighed us plain folk down, wrong-footed us, got us killed. I'm glad to see them burn. Culture was always for Lord Muck, to sneer and pose with*" (*Fredy* 198). Fredy Boettcher further comments on contemporary German society, his opinion of Germans post-Second World War seemingly caught between loyalty to a nation and embarrassment for its past: the *Führer*, he says, "disgraced half my nature, disgraced it for ever. Someone starts a

sentence with The Germans and my heart still shrivels in me, at what's coming" (*Fredy* 196). These unclear delineations of opinion operate, in Burkitt's view, "to offer no coherent standpoint or discussion" (37). Here, the character of Fredy is careful not to judge unless, as noted in his approach to the Nazis, a clear moral stance is apparent. In this way, Murray considers history and cultural commentary carefully, attempting a subjective overview of world history as viewed through the eyes of a German Australian "superman."

Fredy reads as the unbiased bystander, and while victimised in some situations, this never exceeds the victimisation experienced by peoples truly subjugated. Witnessing the Armenian genocide of the early 1900s, Fredy becomes immune to pain, as if to suggest that the effects of watching such a crime only serve to numb you as an individual, both physically and spiritually. For Fredy, life from that point forward, regardless of how dire or extreme the situation, is never seen as shocking, for Fredy grows to realise the dire treatment one human being can inflict on another. This means Fredy travels through the world attempting to understand, yet not pontificating, for he realises he lacks the answers to many questions regarding humanity and the way humanity acts. He is neither victim, nor does he perpetrate crimes, and yet he is also not apathetic and takes a pro-active stance against what he believes is injustice. Therefore Fredy the character reads as a pro-active and ethically upstanding bystander, rather a bystander who may, because of apathy or disinterest, be seen as complicit in crimes carried out.

This balance of empathy, detachment, and a lack of judging others, is often absent in the novels discussed in some of the further chapters. Similarly, it is misuse of history, or a particular rewriting of history, that leaves novels such as *When the Tulips Bled*, a book examined in chapter six, lacking, especially when cultural comparisons are used to invoke nationalistic pride as seen in chapter six. *Fredy Neptune* does not swerve from the inclusion of history; much of the novel is explicit in its pinpointing. But Murray is careful to acknowledge the complexities of every historical occasion, investing much thought into creating a balanced opinion which attempts to inform historically while thoughtfully positing a view of past events and the varied people who participated.

### **Christos Tsiolkas, *Dead Europe* (2005)**

Described by Paul Sommerville as a “dark novel” (195), *Dead Europe* follows the travels of one young Australian man named Isaac Raftis through many European countries including the Czech Republic, Greece and Great Britain. What unifies these countries, suggests the author, are acts which could be deemed brutal and salacious. Furthermore, racism is ever-present, and, according to the text’s narration, it has remained present in Europe for centuries. Tsiolkas harks back to a number of historical periods in European history to enable this overview, drawing on anti-Semitic attitudes prevalent in small town rural Europe which led to, or helped to fuel, pogroms including the Holocaust. Written in the first person, the novel employs the voice of Isaac Raftis, a traveller who recalls various anti-Semitic experiences, from the stories his migrant parents relayed to him as a child, to the overt physical racism he both experiences and also enacts during his travels. This is, therefore, not a pleasant tourist vacation in Europe. The aim of his novel, says Tsiolkas, “is about trying to understand a very particular form of racism, and that’s anti-Semitism” (Tsiolkas in Sommerville, 197). The novel’s opening lines are indicative of an underlying theme:

The first thing I was ever told about the Jews was that every Christmas they would take a Christian toddler, put it screaming in a barrel, run knives between the slats, and drain the child of its blood. While Christians celebrated the birth of Jesus, Jews had a mock ceremony at midnight in their synagogue, before images of their horned God, where they drank the blood of the sacrificed child. (*Dead* 3)

Anti-Semitic ideology is woven through the text, as are myths associated with the ostracisation of the Jews. Jewish stereotypes are drawn on, and Tsiolkas plays with the past as a means of questioning an ingrained anti-Semitism he considers intrinsic to contemporary Europe, and in his own upbringing. In *Dead Europe*, Catherine Padmore suggests, “racism is portrayed as functioning as a kind of virus, infecting all who come into contact with it. The world of *Dead Europe* is characterised by permeable boundaries, between people and between times, through which fluids, hatreds and even ghosts seep” (434).



The prevalence of representations of anti-Semitic attitudes in the novel is not restricted to Europe, however, and Padmore suggests that the book shows how “ideologies can move between people through physical contact” (61). The narrator, being born in Australia to Greek migrant parents, flits from writing a travelogue centred on Europe, to reflecting on his life in the country of his birth. He draws comparisons between Australian migrants and Europeans, suggesting that anti-Semitism is prevalent in Australia, yet this bias is not a force that moulds politics or culture on a large scale. In comparison, cultural segregation, rather than attempts at assimilation as noted in Australian culture, is at the forefront of how Europe is both culturally constructed, and how Europe wishes to define itself. There appears to be a certain degree of pride in social, racial and religious segregation in *Dead Europe's* Europeans; citizens from an array of backgrounds enjoy feeling part of one group, while enjoying deriding other cultural communities or religious practices. These two culturally distinct spheres, Australia and Europe, offer further reflection, showing how ideologies can shift, yet can also form a common union between governments and nations: “I want to be home in Australia where the air is clean, young. I was not fooling myself. There was blood there, in the ground, in the soil, on the water, above the earth. I am not going to pretend there is not callous history there” (*Dead* 375). Liz Shek-Noble notes, “Isaac’s consideration of himself as divorced from Europe’s ‘callous history’ belies the vicious cycle . . . contributing to the colonial invasion of Australia and the continuation of anti-Semitic ideologies of the Holocaust in the antipodes” (4). The narrator’s commentary on Australia’s proximity to Europe, culturally and economically, serves to further bind, yet simultaneously separate, Australia from Europe. Both regions could be seen to be infected with, or to show an apathy towards the resistance of, anti-Semitism, and as Lynda Ng writes, the novel “is set in the world where the distance between Europe and Australia is rapidly diminishing” (122). Such distancing serves to destroy notions of Australian youthfulness and innocence, and the romanticised image of Australia as multicultural utopia becomes undermined: “The novel disputes nationalistic rhetoric that implies we can simply wipe the slate clean, that we can start again and form new communities unburdened by the past. It wholeheartedly rejects the notion that Australia was created on a

blank slate, free from prejudices, wars and expectations of our forefathers” (Ng 125).

Tsiolkas’ book was received with mixed reactions by critics. Robert Manne calls it “dead disturbing,” and writes that “the author has sought to excite himself and his jaded audience by playing, to my mind, with the fire of a magical, pre-modern anti-Semitism” (“Dead Disturbing” 53). While *Dead Europe* ties the European present condition to the Shoah, the Shoah itself is rarely touched on. In Humphrey McQueen’s view, Tsiolkas “is not another literary parasite on the Shoah. He does not lean on genocide as a platform from which to sound ethical” (n.p.). But the Holocaust never sits too far from the central story; Padmore suggests that *Dead Europe* “forces readers to explore the dark places closest to us, to identify and to face the ‘old demons’ lurking there” (437), and the Holocaust is one such “demon.” The story of the Hebrew boy hidden from German invaders in the Greek hills is one connection to the ever-present Holocaust—“ever present” as it informs the actions and minds of people of the time, but furthermore it transcends generations.

One literary device Tsiolkas uses as means of exploring anti-Semitism is a first-person narrator. According to Jeff Sparrow, “The main narrative, written in first-person, encourages our identification with the intelligent, pleasant and tolerant protagonist, up to and including his transformation into an anti-Semite, sociopath and vampire” (28). Padmore takes up this comment, adding “Through the shared ‘I’ [reader and character] each reader comes to incorporate the fictive persona of a depraved perpetrator of atrocity” (439). Traditional portrayals of the perpetrator, not directly represented by the Nazi (though Nazis do appear in *Dead Europe*), but found in many individuals of many nationalities and denominations, are also used to suggest the ease of complicity. Tsiolkas points an accusing finger at the reader, gradually drawing out their own prejudices. Does the narrative suggest that we are all perpetrators to some degree? Upon the main protagonist meeting and clashing with an old Jew he yells: “ ‘Give me back my camera, you fucking Jew.’ I had never uttered this curse before [Isaac narrates]. A rush of power surged through every particle of me. It was as if I had been yearning to utter the curse since the beginning of time” (*Dead* 154). The traditional victim, in this case an old Jew whom Isaac stumbles upon during his travels through Venice and whose tongue has been cut from his mouth because of his Jewish

heritage (he married a non-Jewish girl against her family's wishes, so they cut his tongue out as revenge) remains victimised in contemporary Europe:

-My husband was made sick by what they did to us. He has never recovered.

-The Germans? An astonished smile spread across her face.

-No, she answered. We are not from here. She was indicating the earth below her feet but I understood that she did not just mean this city . . . but the whole world around it. (*Dead* 126)

The author's portrayal of the traditional victim has drawn ire from critics. For Les Rosenblatt, "Tsiolkas's Jews . . . are not people one can feel any pity of sympathy for, except, perhaps, when Isaac's mother's Jewish male progenitor is condemned to death by Isaac's grandmother in order to deceive her husband and conceal her identity" (46). Comparisons are even drawn by Padmore, in her article "Future Tense: *Dead Europe* and Viral Anti-Semitism," between *Dead Europe* and Demidenko/Darville's *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, she suggests that Tsiolkas' novel reiterates classic European anti-Semitism (440). As noted, traditional portrayals of the Jewish victim are present, including the Jew Jacova, who hopes to save his son from the Nazis by asking Greek peasants to hide him, presenting a case of jewels as a means of payment (*Dead* 21-22). Yet these traditional victims are not confined to binary representations, victims who are victimised by traditional perpetrators, for the author attempts to highlight the bigotry of non-Jews and Jews alike. In an interview in 2007, Tsiolkas recalls a certain discovery when doing research for his novel:

I was reading German texts from Jewish writers of the early thirties, cosmopolitan sophisticated Berliners, talking about their resentment of the eastern European Jews who were coming into Berlin, that they looked funny, that they seemed enmeshed in rituals and rites that were of the past, that had nothing to do with the expression of urban Jewish life in the twentieth century.

(Tsiolkas in Padmore 448)

Tsiolkas is careful to question rather than judge cultures and societies—meaning that a considered conversation, however dark, is at the core of this novel. Although portrayals of victims and perpetrators conform, in many ways, yet not altogether neatly, to traditional representations, these characters

inhabit the world at large, and are therefore not contained to geographic region or to a specific culture.

This chapter has discussed three novels which draw on the Third Reich victim, bystander, and perpetrator to engage in commentary on Australian, and European culture, society and history. In the upcoming chapters, the texts discussed may likewise comment on aspects of Australian culture, but their aesthetics and implied politics regarding this particular past and their representations of the Third Reich triad, I argue, are much more swayed or influenced by the history outlined in chapter two, including the preference in Australian politics and society of the immigration of certain peoples over others, and a collective amnesia in regards to what some may consider the genocide of Indigenous Australians. The three books under discussion in this chapter engage, in various ways, and on numerous levels, with ideas of assimilation, migration, cultural amnesia, and racism and anti-Semitism. In the upcoming chapters, these topics help to mould the texts, and do so in ways which construct less considered representations of the Third Reich triad than those representations found in White, Murray and Tsiolkas.

## CHAPTER FOUR

“There’s going to be a meeting in Perth about Russia,” Feathers said . . . “I think I’ll go and hear what they have to say.” He paused as he ran his hand through his hair. “You never know. It might be the start of something new. We need a new start.”

Judah Waten, *The Unbending*

In this chapter I examine books which are grouped not only according to their relative proximity in regards to their publication dates, but because of a particular political content, and consequently the way this political content forged certain representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator. Another commonality of these novels was their author’s affiliation to the Realist Writers’ Group, a collective which contained “a significant minority of Australian writers [in which] the Communist Party provided an intellectual context for the production of literature at the time” (Nile, *Making* 189). These texts do, in varying degrees, attempt to adhere to socialist realist prescriptions, which, as McKernan points out, can be categorised as four goals:

first, socialist realism aimed to be popular both in the sense of representing the lives and aspirations of working people and in the sense of being accessible to and entertaining for them. Second, it linked nationalism to a universal concern with the struggles of humanity. Third, it presented the actual conditions of contemporary society rather than the trials of the past as the material for literature. Most important, socialist realism offered reconciliation of the two strands of literature, the concern for the life of the individual and the concern for society, by means of the theory of the typical. (*Question 31*)

Whether the three books which I discuss in this chapter succeeded in fulfilling all goals is doubtful, for these demands were “difficult to meet” (McKernan, *Question 31*). Yet, the intention of each text is to abide by some of the rules, and this has therefore influenced their content, and subsequently their depiction of the Third Reich triad.

These literary texts are an appropriate chronological starting point, given they were written in the period when migrants of non Anglo-Celtic European descent were arriving in Australia in much larger numbers, with a developing influence upon Anglo-Australian society. The earliest text examined in this chapter was published soon after the end of the Second World War, yet it is set during the war years, whereas the most recent had its advent in the late 1960s and is set in the same decade. The fiction discussed in this chapter incorporates a theme that the Australian scholar H.M. Green noted in Australian literature being published at the time:

Not long after the ending of the First World War, with the gradual realisation that it had not been the war to end all wars, and with the depression that soon followed, a change of attitude set in, which was accentuated by the arrival of the Second World War and by the growing fears of a third. In the literature that arose in these conditions, self-confidence was qualified by a realisation that the world had become much more difficult and dangerous, and Australia was an inescapable part of it. (12-13)

In the texts studied in this chapter, separated by a decade or more, there are overt and similar political messages, these messages embodying Green's observations. In their political statements, the binary belief that socialism is for the betterment of humanity while fascism is detrimental is central. Situating themselves politically in this way, the texts are intended to be didactic, insofar as the three texts on which I focus in this chapter wish to teach their reader about the short-fallings of one form of politics—one possible scenario already played out in Spain through the 1930s, by contrasting this against the benefits of another. Furthermore, each book, given its particular viewpoint, is to act as a warning; Dymphna Cusack, writing in the 1960s, seemed particularly convinced that National Socialism would once again conquer Europe. V.H. Lloyd, in his academic study of Cusack, noted this perception, "The most natural expression of the personality of Dymphna Cusack in her works dealing with war, is her concern that what has happened in the past is a guide to and warning of what might happen in the future" (270). Such authorial pessimism is aided, in this case, by Cusack's farfetched plots in books such as *The Sun Is Not Enough* (1962) in which suburban Melbourne citizens become entwined with international criminals; given the privilege of hindsight this plot reads as

politically unrealistic, a political hypothetical verging on the fantastical. With regard to the topic at the core of this thesis, however, there is much embedded in these writings that not only conforms to traditionally defined representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator, but these representations are aided by Cusack's farfetched scenarios. Nazis are depicted as verging on the demonic, in one-dimensional characterisations. In contrast, victims are viewed sympathetically, as both historical and literary tradition tended to dictate. Kaufmann's exposé, *Voices in the Storm* (1953), is probably the most subtle and realistic in terms of the novel's political content, sketching the rise of the Nazis in the 1930s as witnessed by an author born in Germany and a teenager during the period. Kaufmann's delineation between the good and the bad is easily recognisable in the novel, yet his victims are not as easily defined in terms of traditional representations. Victim characters do include the German Jew, but generally the victims are the socialist and communist non-Jewish Germans who are brutalised by the Nazis, and who, at some moments, serve to blur the delineation between the traditional victim and the traditional bystander. By contrast, Cusack's books are, as mentioned, almost absurd in their hyper-characterisation of Nazis, and the victims are the Jews or those Germans who helped or had ties to the Jewish population, while communists are depicted as the saviours of both. In Devanny's *Roll Back the Night* (1945), the three representations are embedded in a book that was written during the war, but published soon after German capitulation, a time when delineating victim from Nazi was not as well understood as it is today. Victims are victims, but the extent of the subjugation and torture they endured was yet to become known to the general public. Subsequently, the Nazi is not portrayed as the heinous and diabolical being that the character becomes in, for example, Cusack's novels, as the death camps (alongside a host of other crimes) had yet to become common knowledge. In Devanny's book, these representations are painted allegorically rather than literally, and in doing so the novella comments on the Australian political situation at the time of composition.

As in all the chapters of this thesis dedicated to textual analysis, this particular chapter contains only a sample of the fiction which explores the themes and representations that I pinpoint. Similarly, representations of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator in this chapter do bear some

resemblance to representations located in novels featured in further chapters. In examining these three particular texts, I present a selection of literature that differs in voice and setting, yet contains similarities in the books' overt politics and in their representation of the Third Reich triad. The representation of the victim, bystander and perpetrator is shaped by the politics contained in each of the books, and these representations, as a result of the overtly political nature of each piece of fiction, do not differ dramatically over the space of the ten years or so in which the books are published. I set out the chapter chronologically by publication dates. I begin with Devanny's *Roll Back the Night* (1945), followed by Kaufmann's *Voices in the Storm* (1953) and, lastly, Cusack's *Heat Wave in Berlin* (1962). My conclusion to this chapter will briefly acknowledge a number of other novels that replicate the political themes evinced in these three books, depicting the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator in ways akin to the representations found in the chapter's three case studies.

### **Jean Devanny, *Roll Back the Night* (1945)**

Jean Devanny's *Roll Back the Night* is set in northern Queensland at the start of the Second World War. The book does not clearly delineate the victim, bystander and perpetrator of the Third Reich. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this, I suggest, is because of the composition and date of publication. The crimes committed by the Nazis were still being uncovered in 1945, and the Nuremberg Trials that were held between November 1945 and October 1946, were either about to begin, or had only just begun at the advent of Devanny's novella. Accordingly, while victims, perpetrators and bystanders of the Third Reich existed, there was little in 1945 to enable the categorisation referred to in this thesis as the extent of the perpetrator's crimes, alongside the victim's anguish (and later the "everyday" German's complicity), had not been truly and/or extensively understood.

I begin the textual analysis of the Australian novels used in this thesis with Devanny's novella as I believe it foregrounds themes apparent in the novels to which I refer in this chapter. Similarly, these themes can be located in some instances in the fiction I study in later chapters. One such theme is the author's strong, even righteous, stance on fascism and socialism. *Roll Back the Night* is described by Carole Ferrier as a novella containing "over-



didactic" (198) elements, and this need to warn or educate readers concerning the threat of fascism and the benefits of socialism is a feature of all the authors studied in this chapter. A second theme is the emotional and psychological characterisation of the Third Reich victim and perpetrator (a character study that only touches on the bystander). Many a character's psychological makeup in *Roll Back the Night* comes to represent certain strains of politics (the strong and morally upstanding symbolise socialism and communism, for example), and these character traits separate victim from perpetrator. The emotional makeup (or lack thereof) of a Nazi is compared with the innocence, sensibility and naivety of the Nazi's victim. *Roll Back the Night*, therefore, serves to foreground many of the characterisations that are evident in further literary examples drawn upon in this thesis. A further theme of the novella, and one found in the texts which follow, is Devanny's apprehension that Australians' politics might have been as susceptible to fascism as were certain European peoples and their nations.

In her thesis on Australian women writers, Drusilla Modjeska describes Devanny as a writer whose "impulse . . . was more political than intellectual, although it is dangerous to draw too firm a distinction" (207).<sup>22</sup> *Roll Back the Night* strongly highlights both Devanny's politics and the author's stance regarding the Communist Party of Australia and the gender inequality that existed within it. Devanny writes in her autobiography: "The fiction I produced, as anybody may see by reading my novel *Roll Back the Night*, was in great measure chaotic; but it was good, and some of the best propaganda I have ever written on behalf of the Communist Party" (*Point* 256). Devanny had earlier become a founding member of The Writers' League, a movement that "aimed to encourage in writers and aspiring writers a high standard of realist writing and to unite writers against fascism" (Modjeska 251). Devanny made good use of this opportunity, using the League as a tool for propaganda to outline her own political concerns and opinions. In her address in 1935 to the first annual meeting of the New South Wales branch of the Writers' League,

---

<sup>22</sup> Born in New Zealand, Devanny moved with her husband and her two surviving children to Sydney in 1929, and then spent many years living in Queensland. She died in 1962 in the northern Queensland city of Townsville. In the early 1930s Devanny joined the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and devoted herself to its work (though entirely unpaid apart for a brief stint as the editor of the Party's *Worker's Weekly* [Modjeska 210], though the 1930s).<sup>22</sup> Devanny's life in the Communist Party, always marked by many difficulties, exploded in 1941 because of, as Modjeska describes it, "trumped-up sexual charges laid against her by Party members" (210).

Devanny talked about her worries regarding the threat of fascism in Australia, and the influence this threat was having on writers at the time, herself included:

There can be no doubt that events in Germany and Italy have had a tremendous effect upon Australian writers. A great swing towards action, against the tendencies towards fascism in our own country, expressed in ruthless censorship, and other restrictions upon culture, is to be noted among our writers. (Qtd. in Modjeska 252)

Devanny, writes Modjeska, “was right in arguing that fascism had had its effects on Australian writers, but she was over-optimistic in her description of an existing popular front” (253). *Roll Back the Night* is a fitting example of the author’s attempts to combat what the text suggests is the encroaching threat of the Right in Australian politics, and the book does much to illuminate Devanny’s apprehension. Furthermore, the novella’s hyperbolic political stance epitomises a theme that existed within the writing of politically driven writers of the era, evident in authors such as Cusack, and to a lesser extent K.S. Mackenzie and the author I quoted in the chapter’s epigraph, Judah Waten.

*Roll Back the Night* centres on two literary motifs. The first is the evocation of the landscape, and the natural and pastoral beauty of Northern Queensland is woven throughout the story. A second motif is Devanny’s politics, and this is often located in long passages of political rhetoric intended to sell the virtues of communism or socialism whilst attacking fascism. There are no Nazis in the novella as such, no uniformed members of Hitler’s Party; however, given Devanny’s left-wing political positioning there is political allegory; or at best a political positioning within the story revealing the two central German characters to be marked by their German formation. The book as a political device intends to sway the reader towards the virtues of socialism or communism while simultaneously highlighting the potent threat of fascism to Australia. One example, highlighting Devanny’s perception of herself as a politicised author, is the writer character Helen Lorrimer’s impassioned statement: “Without writers we would still be in the Middle Ages. Marx was a writer. Engels. Lenin, Stalin, all writers. Writers are the leaders of the people. A writer must be on one side of the peoples’ struggles or the

other" (*Roll* 184). Artists, in this case like the author, are promoted as a political army, a way of warning and a source of unification in the struggle. Devanny's role, as suggested in her novella, and a role I mentioned above, is to inform Australia of certain political risks, namely the threat of fascism taking hold if society in general remains ignorant. Communism is the suggested antidote to this risk of fascist insurgence, but Devanny's somewhat shaky relationship with the Communist Party of Australia meant that the Party hierarchy at the time of writing are also under question. Seemingly autobiographical in its reflection, Helen Lorrimer says: "Unconsciously I assumed that if a man [note the gender referred to here] joined the Party he was immediately transformed by some magical process into an image of Lenin. And what I suffered before my illusions were shattered is nobody's business" (*Roll* 62). The novella, therefore, warns of the short-fallings that inhabit the Communist Party of Australia, while stressing the ease with which far-Right politics might take hold should certain social conditions prevail and/or the Party not realise its own faults.

Given such pointed political gesturing, any fascist-like character to inhabit the pages of the novella is depicted as the perpetrator of emotional, political, psychological and physical crimes. Any socialist, or any character adhering in any measure to the political or "mental" makeup of a Bolshevik, becomes the victim of these fascist individuals. Likewise, complacent apolitical characters, characters who may be regarded as bystanders, fall victim to the fascists. It is the novella's two German characters who raise issues concerning the Third Reich perpetrator. Two Germans, a husband and wife named Hans and Greta Gruner, have moved to the coastal enclave of Pearltown with their two children. Unlike many German migrants during the Second World War, this couple and their family are not interned. Hans is written as the strong, unemotional husband with a younger, just as determined wife. He is the traditional breadwinner, she the wife who wishes to breed and mother. These two Germans appear overtly typical in their Germanic makeup: ultra-conservative; stubborn in their convictions to the point of destruction; strongly opinionated; reserved, yet arrogant in this reservedness; and highly traditional in their European customs and manners. Hans Gruner even flaunts a Hitleresque moustache. Hans and Greta Gruner are, for the most part, obstinate and arrogant, yet these character traits never seem explanation

enough for the arguments which ensue whenever the two are in each other's company.

Nor do these characteristics fittingly explain Hans and Greta's attitudes to the world in which they live. The two appear to love each other to the point of self-annihilation, yet the reader is led to the belief that it is the children, or at least the mother's infatuation with her children, that drives the two apart. When Hans tells his new lover, Eleanor Gold, the story of his past, he tells her that the children are not his. This turns out to be a lie (*Roll* 179), for at least the youngest child, it appears, has been fathered by Hans, and therefore the motivation that drives him from his German wife is left unexplained. What this character depiction does enact, however, is the suggestion that these types are not to be trusted, not solely due to their Germanic attributes (which, clearly, are a problem, given that Australia was at war with Germany at the time), but these are people who are, Devanny's text suggests, disposed towards fascism. Such politically swayed individuals are either already ensconced in Australian society, or are likely to make Australia home should migration favour the German type: "And the result, my girl [says Helen Lorrimer to her friend Eleanor Gold], is a fascised Germany out for domination of the world. And brought down to our present tin tacks men like Hans" (*Roll* 183).

Hans and Greta are not deemed Nazis, yet the husband and wife are depicted as composites of a Nazified German nation. The Gruners' upbringing, their European cultural tendencies, and their own emotional and psychological makeup predetermine them as likely candidates for fascism, thus explaining the popularity of Hitler in Germany. This stance is abundantly noted in the novella through statements that include, from Helen: "She [Greta] was the psychologically and emotionally afflicted type that fascists can use. So is he." (*Roll* 180). An explanation for Devanny's archetypal depiction of the novel's Germans is provided in the book itself: ". . . we must understand the motivation of the war-making nations, of both the dominant cliques who organize the war and the peoples they have suborned into fighting for them" (*Roll* 180). A noble gesture, yet in attempting to explain, Devanny's text reduces these individuals to harsh, often one-dimensional portraits. In answer to the question as to why fascism was so popular in Germany, the usually taciturn Hans Gruner yells:

Bloody Hitler was sold to the German people by your rulers! You don't know how they have suffered! After the last war . . . my people had scales on them instead of skin, with the pig feed they had to eat and starvation. But Hitler wouldn't have got them if you [the Western world/the Allies] had stood up to him! The German likes the strong! He will always go to the big boss, the man on top. (*Roll* 169)

His opinion is voiced towards the end of the book, an attempt by Hans to counter accusations aimed at him by Eleanor Gold, who suspects the German of Nazi sympathies (*Roll* 168). Hans's diatribe feels unconvincing, for, over the length of the novella, the audience has been privy to the untoward, anti-social behaviour of the two Germans, and will have noted those supposed in-bred German qualities to which fascism appealed. The couple's final nihilistic acts, therefore, come to symbolically represent the German nation and its destruction. As much as Hans may, given the above passage, wish to explain or excuse his former homeland, the ruin of the two German characters acts to further enlighten the reader. For both characters end their lives tragically: the wife sets herself alight and dies an actual death; the husband reveals his true fascist self and dies metaphorically. "By suiciding," states another of the characters in the novella, "she [Greta Gruner] revealed that her apparent strength was really her weakness" (*Roll* 180), and so too, the author suggests in this allegorical didactic moment, Germany's strength will become its weakness.

A dramatic ending seems a fitting crescendo, for over the course of the story the reader is gradually presented with the generalised, stereotypical attributes of a character that later comes to be classified in literary circles as the type of the Nazi perpetrator. Given Hans and Greta Gruner's political and cultural tendencies, only one outcome is envisaged, and if not a literal death then a metaphoric death is fitting; an ending that was actually playing itself out in Germany at the time of the novella's publication. These two individuals socially and physiologically scar communities and individuals. They upset the citizens of Pearltown, act selfishly, take the goodwill of Anglo-Australian citizens for granted, judge others, and take advantage of those who are either too naïve or too innocent to understand the selfish nature of either German. If these two represent the perpetrator, then victims are present in the book, and

these are, for the most part, the two women involved with Hans Gruner. Hans's wife is the first victim, a woman plagued by her traditionalism and conservatism (as was Germany, suggests Devanny's text). Eleanor Gold, Hans's Australian lover, is the second victim, a woman blinded by the man's superficial good looks, his artistry on the violin, and his masculine stubbornness; all attributes that she mistakes as the makings of a misunderstood, brooding intellectual. He is later revealed, as previously stated, to be a somewhat misaligned Nazi sympathiser:

“Hans,” she said straightly, speaking in German. “I can understand a man having national feeling and all that. . . . But I confess I am puzzled about your general attitude towards Hitler fascism, apart from the war.”

“I don't see why you should be . . . .” (*Roll* 168)

In the overall schema of the novel, Devanny creates the dichotomy of perpetrator and victim by aligning Hans to his politics and then comparing him with female sensitivities and female acumen, enabling a contrasting view of the male ego verses female virtue and intellect. This gender divide, in many ways, comes to represent fascism versus socialism, a divide seemingly influenced by Devanny's experiences in the Communist Party of Australia.<sup>23</sup> The strongest character in the book is Helen Lorrimer, an author, who, by the end of the novel, and because of her ability to take an objective, unemotional viewpoint in regards to the two Germans, acts as something of a soothsayer and mentor. She is the person who reveals Eleanor Gold's shortcomings which include gullibility and naivety (*Roll* 184-85); who suggests Greta Gruner is a victim of her own culture; who reads Hans, regardless of his skewed politics, as a person destined to a certain disposition as a result of his German past; and who, over the course of the novel, acts as the voice of reasonable deliberation. There feels much of Devanny in the character of Helen, resulting in an astute female character that is socially and politically savvy. If a character can be compared to the Third Reich bystander in *Roll Back the Night*, it would be Helen Lorrimer, for she wanders about the community of Pearltown watching and listening and learning. Unlike her friend Eleanor Gold,

---

<sup>23</sup> This gender divide also appears to be one of the reasons why Devanny wrote her autobiography. “The impetus to write it [*Point of Departure*] came from her long conflict with the Party over two issues: the Party's treatment of women and of writers” (Modjeska 210).

Helen has no intention of being entwined in the town's happenings, and takes an objective "authorial" stance on all the issues churned up in this small community. She views the two Germans as products of their past and their culture and in doing so invites reflection on the theory of *Sonderweg*; that Germany was, and remains, a product to its own historical "special path." Helen Lorrimer, as the impartial observer, bears witness to the downfall of both perpetrators, Hans and Greta, beings indoctrinated with fascist tendencies from birth, possibly permeated by eons of Germanic culture. Likewise, this author is a means of rational explanation for her Anglo-Australian friend, Eleanor Gold, who becomes mixed up with the Germans, seemingly lured towards these fascist types, unaware of the evil that lurks within.

There is a mention of Adolf Hitler in *Roll Back the Night*, but aside from the one reference, very little of the Third Reich is drawn upon, at least not drawn upon literally. Yet the novella establishes itself as a kind of first, for in it the reader gains a glimpse of the three representations of victim, bystander and perpetrator. Importantly, the novella, I argue, presents an early example of how a highly politicised author, speaking on behalf of a political movement, saw the advent of fascism, personally describing what she considers attributes contributing to the archetypal Nazi. The novel also notes that victims were present in all of this, persons lacking insight or the political aptitude to steer from the fascist type.

### **Walter Kaufmann, *Voices in the Storm* (1954)**

Walter Kaufmann's book *Voices in the Storm* is an early example of an Australian novel which depicts the German people's everyday existence while under the rule of the Nazis and, hence, contains representations of the perpetrators, the bystanders and the victims of the Third Reich. Published in Australia by the Australasian Book Society in 1954, *Voices in the Storm* is Kaufmann's first novel. Initially conceived as a series of short stories written between the late 1940s to early 1950s, these stories were amalgamated and published as *Voices in the Storm*, the novel's conception derived from Kaufmann's need "to serve socialism" ("How I Write" 5) through writing.

Born Yitzhak Schmeidler in Germany in 1924, Kaufmann lived in Australia between the years 1940 to 1955, and was one of the famous

“Dunera boys,” migrant refugees who escaped Germany and Austria in the late 1930s to early 1940s aboard the HMT *Dunera*. Upon arrival in Australia Kaufmann was placed in the Hay Internment Camp, later joining the Australian army. Following his release from the army, Kaufmann claims he became “totally Australian” (Jurgensen, *Eagle and Emu* 271), and remains to this day an Australian citizen, holding dual citizenship even though, since the late 1950s, the author has spent the majority of his time in Germany (Petersson, *German* 46).<sup>24</sup> At an early age Kaufmann was adopted by a German Jewish family, hence his change of name, and whereas Kaufmann escaped Germany in 1940, his adopted parents were sent to Theresienstadt concentration camp in what is now the Czech Republic, and then to their deaths at Auschwitz.<sup>25</sup> Kaufmann’s parents were quick to realise the repercussions of Hitler’s ascent and in 1940 arranged for their adopted son’s escape.

Given his family history, social preferences and political motives in *Voices in the Storm* are easily guessed. This is a novel, Jurgensen notes, that “lays claim to a moral legitimacy and integrity of the anti-fascist Communist alliance” (*Eagle and Emu* 274). Kaufmann was encouraged to write the novel by Melbourne’s Realist Writers (*Voices* 306)—in particular by the Australian authors Frank Hardy and David Martin. Journalistic in style, a style that influences the book’s “characteristic realism” (Jurgensen, *Eagle and Emu* 274), the novel focuses on the early years of Nazi rise and domination and the repercussions this political force had on Jews, communists, socialists, bipartisan Germans and Nazis alike. The author’s choice to present a realistic portrayal of Nazi Germany from a number of eclectic perspectives is, I assume, to help elucidate the means by which the Nazis came to power. Yet this narrative technique does not build an objective viewpoint; rather, these “realistic” stories of certain individuals are very much subjectified by Kaufmann’s socialist leanings. Exemplifying this political leaning, the book’s back cover states: “No Australian could put this book aside thinking: ‘Fascism can’t happen here.’ For the men and women in its pages are essentially the

---

<sup>24</sup> Kaufmann returned to the communist German Democratic Republic where he later became PEN International (Postsecondary Education Network) Secretary.

<sup>25</sup> There appears to be no concrete biographical information regarding Kaufmann’s biological parents. In the few places Kaufmann’s past is mentioned his father is never talked of, and his mother is either referred to as Polish or as a Jewish Pole.



same, and are subject to the same social forces as the men and women who walk the streets in our own cities” (Kaufmann, back cover). In this there are clear similarities between *Voices in the Storm* and the other books examined in this chapter, and it is easy to see similarities between such a blurb and Devanny’s apprehension concerning fascism infecting Australian society. In painting a politically potent picture, Kaufmann’s novel sways heavily towards the left, supporting communism and socialism while deriding the National Socialists. Just one example among the numerous passages in which the implied author’s political orientation is communicated can be found in the character Gerhard Winkel who ponders his life in a Gestapo cell as he awaits execution: “If he had his life over again he would follow the same path. Communism was the regeneration of the world, fascism but a plague, a fever at the turning point of history” (*Voices* 274). This leftist positioning contributes to what Jurgensen describes as a novel that is not only important from a literary point of view, but also an important political event (*Eagle and Emu* 274).

Jurgensen regards Kaufmann, alongside a host of migrant Australian authors that include Angelika Fremd whom I later discuss, as a German rather than an Australian writer. I argue, though, that Kaufmann is an Australian author, and his citizenship, the author’s own opinion (Kaufmann, “How I Write” 5), his inclusion in databases such as Austlit-The Australian Literature Resource database, and the abundance of Australian settings and cultural themes prominent in his English and German publications, attest to the author’s views of his own national affiliation. It is on these grounds I include *Voices in the Storm* in this thesis. If Kaufmann is therefore considered an Australian author, Jurgensen’s opinion that post-war Australian literature “showed little inclination to reflect Nazi Germany’s horrendous record; nor did it show any real interest in the trauma and cultural re-education of post-war Germany” (“The Image” 185) is challenged. Kaufmann’s novel openly discusses Nazi horror, yet the book was written decades prior to Keneally’s *Schindler’s Ark*, the novel Jurgensen designates as the first in Australia literature to tackle the subject of Nazi Germany.

In his overview of the book Jurgensen criticises *Voices in the Storm* for stereotyping the perpetrators, referring to them as caricatures of themselves (*Eagle and Emu* 275); this is a somewhat repeated criticism in Australian

literary circles regarding portrayals of the Nazi. While Kaufmann may have created characters devoid of depth, the novel does not relativise the bigotry or racial hatred of either male or female Nazis or Nazi sympathisers—a problem associated with one dimensional depictions. Instead, the book does much to explain the Party’s ascent in popularity and how these “caricatures” appealed to some Germans who relied on brute force to convert (or kill) fellow countrymen and women. If the perpetrators are portrayed too simply, this is balanced by Kaufmann’s one-dimensional portrayal of the victims and the bystanders; while realistic in style, characters lack depth and are often stereotypes of themselves. For instance, Jewish families are rich and occupy professions such as doctors or lawyers. German “blue collar” workers are morally upstanding and are communist in their political alliances, while the fat and corpulent office managers who possess little sympathy for the plight of the common man (workers are always the men) become successful Nazi officials. Kaufmann’s skill as a “realistic” writer is not his characters *per se* but the setting, his novel directed to the minutiae of German life (although the author’s focus on the day-to-day differs from the portrayal of the “everyday” as discussed in chapter six). There are no huge national and/or international upheavals, with the exception of *Kristallnacht*, the moment at which the novel closes:

The novel is essentially an episodic chronicle of the 'thirties from a realist-leftist viewpoint. . . . All the unpleasant facets of the depression years are re-exhibited including soup and dole queues, unemployed rallies, strike incitements, flop houses, love in the slums, hunger, bitterness and disillusionment. To these are added the Jew-baiting strong-arm technique of the Hitler Youth Movement and the German National Socialist Workers' Party. (McLeod 41)

*Voices in the Storm* as a chronicle is aided by its portrayal of one relatively insular community, including people of all ages and of all opinions, and how these persons and their immediate families reacted to, or were influenced by, National Socialism. There is little in the way of SS regiments and storm troopers, no spotlights or arms raised in Nazi salute, and minimal pomp and uniform. Kaufmann’s perpetrators are shown in their various homely, regional settings as they converse with friends and as they integrate within a small

slice of German society. This setting asserts a common feature amongst the perpetrators: “While, unfortunately, there is no full-scale portrait of a Nazi, the many different kinds of Nazis that are presented display at least one, and the fundamental, trait of fascism in telling variety—Nihilism” (Martin, rev. of *Voices* 479). Here there is some similarity between Kaufmann’s Nazis and Devanny’s Hans and Greta Gruner who destroy themselves as a result of their own selfish motives. Perpetrators in *Voices in the Storm* are motivated by narcissism, whether in the form of Ilse Falk who wishes to rise in social status, or that of SS officer Schleger.

German society also exerts an influence on the composition of the Nazi, suggesting community to be as much a shaper as large-scale politics or self-interest. These societal observations are at the forefront of Kaufmann’s ideological commitment. Here the author brings a feeling of insightful commentary, for his characters often fail to capture the seriousness of the overarching political situation. Victims are too often romantic figures who underestimate the influence of the Nazis. The perpetrators, as noted, are almost comedic in their portrayal, and any semblance of a human quality is lacking; they live up to the stereotype of the hard-headed, dogmatic, somewhat unintelligent, Nazi. Bystanders, those “others” who are a central concern of novels that include Zusak’s *The Book Thief*, are seemingly absent, suggesting no German citizen was simply a bystander. Instead, a dyadic interaction separates perpetrator from victim, two seemingly different beings that in Kaufmann’s book come symbolically to represent the fascist and the socialist. Although the Jews are wealthy and largely middle-class in Kaufmann’s novel, they recognise the importance of hard work and promote the centrality of the family in German society, aligning their principles with those of the communists or socialists. Even the Jewish middle-class are, at heart, socialists. It is Kaufmann’s ability to restrict his vision of a greater Germany to a microcosm of the population that provides interesting, if somewhat sensationalistic, insights into the Nazi perpetrator. Perpetrators ooze brutality, some (but certainly not all, especially those in uniform) are vapid of intellect, yet these perpetrators are eclectic in their backgrounds, from SS *Ober-Gruppenfuehrer* Schleger, a former advertising manager who ascends the Nazi ladder, to Paul Jaeger, a cowardly youth who joins the Hitler Youth in the early years and eventually becomes a top-ranking member.

Of those major political periods and large-scale social upheavals included in the novel, these stories are intertwined within the fabric of everyday German society. As a consequence a great many of the central characters who are socialist in their convictions are killed in Kaufmann's book, and numerous others are tortured. Kaufmann makes ample use of this political divide, weaving historical episodes such as *Kristallnacht* into the story, and then showing the effect these upheavals had on the everyday German population. Killing is not restricted to German Jews, but extends to Catholic Germans, along with communists and a host of persons the Nazis considered undesirable. Citizens who voted against Hitler are murdered, and members of political parties that are not the National Socialist German Workers' Party disappear. A rigorous policy of extermination and/or torture inflicted on "upstanding" German citizens produces empathy, for the reader can relate to Kaufmann's setting, to certain characters and their day-to-day, and to the worldly outlook of these individuals; subsequently Kaufmann relays the ease with which extreme social upheaval is able to erupt. Regimented chaos is mixed with the normal day-to-day of people who either live in the city of Essen or in the nearby towns and villages, and who work in the region's industry. This scene is just one example:

She reached the market and merged with the shopping women and the general bustle there. Buying potatoes, she heard the merchant remark on the fire [the burning of the *Reichstag*] to the other woman. "They say the communists did it," the woman replied. "They say," nodded the merchant, tipping potatoes into the woman's bag from the bowl of the scale. "Could be that the Nazis had a go themselves. Beats me how fat Hermann and all the rest of 'em got there so quick." (*Voices* 83)

Snippets of normal life are hewn into the backbone of the novel, providing the reader "with a finer appreciation of the dilemma in which the mass of ordinary Germans who conscientiously rejected both Hindenburg and Hitler were placed" (McLeod 41). A.L. McLeod goes on to note that *Voices in the Storm* is purposefully not centred on a specific character; rather, a host of individuals with individual voices, characters ranging from the Jewish doctor and his family mentioned above, build the text. Examples include a woman named Ilse Falk, an ardent believer in Hitler; various boys in the Hitler youth; an aging

school teacher who, because of a lack of interest in the propaganda enforced in the schools, is sent to a concentration camp; and working-class families reliant on the smelters and factories that proliferate in the Rhine-Ruhr valley. Each character viewpoint strengthens the major overarching message contained in the novel: that socialism was/is the better alternative to fascism. Fascism, it seems, appealed to Germans whose natural disposition edges towards criminality; good-hearted Germans and those who loved others are detrimentally drawn to unsuccessful political alternatives.

Kaufmann's many perspectives, however, create a weakness in the novel. When the story is told from the orientation of a communist or a Jew, language is softened, the setting homely, and conversation borders on Dickensian sentimentality in its overabundance of platitudes regarding others, or heroic gesturing: "But I can't quit—not now. . . . If I did I wouldn't sleep at nights. I'd hear your brother Helmuth, a man I've never known and yet seem to know, forever reproaching me. I'd see Albert's tortured face staring at me through prison bars. I could never forget Hermann and Papa and Ernst" (*Voices* 180). Conversely, when the point of view is that of a Nazi, the language Kaufmann adopts tightens and is often clipped. National Socialists rarely, if ever, speak well of anybody, except in their capacity as bureaucrats commenting on other Nazis working towards a common goal: " 'Nonsense!' she [Ilse Falk] screamed, 'You'll never do anything because you are always afraid of making a mistake. You'll always be a small, small, small-time accountant' " (*Voices* 94). Here, the implied author's communist leanings prioritise didacticism over aesthetics—this, to some extent, undermines his story and weakens his depiction of the Third Reich perpetrator and victim. Nazis are never individuals who enjoy family and friendship, or who interact in healthy, brotherly comradeship. Kaufmann's politically influenced perspective on the perpetrator provides elements "of doom, of unrelieved sombreness, utterly in keeping with the starkness of the time and the unique ferocity that the Nazis visited upon their German enemies, and an element of implied optimism—these men [the opposition to the Nazis] perish, but they all have faith" (Martin, rev. of *Voices* 478). The Nazis are soulless and therefore diabolical, in contrast to the victims who verge on saintliness, a result of their seemingly right and proper convictions; these people die a martyr's death. Exceptions to these binary representations are German individuals who are

portrayed as victims yet unwillingly become Nazi Party members. A number of these are construed as naive, forced to join the Party from societal pressure, including a group of adolescents who reluctantly participate in the Hitler Youth when their social club is incorporated into the Nazi association. In these individuals the reader glimpses the character of the traditional bystander, although these “fence-sitters” are never an extensive feature of the novel and their fate remains unknown.

I will briefly target one particular perpetrator to further illustrate Kaufmann’s politics and how the author’s preferred form of governance alters representations of the Third Reich perpetrator and victim. Ilse Falk, housewife and mother, is a caricature Jurgensen mentions in *Eagle and Emu*: a woman inspired by her love of Hitler, rebelling against an ultra-conservative husband who lacks ambition. Ilse Falk is a greedy yet socially savvy person, seeing much benefit in the overturning of old regimes. What Nazism represents to the character is possibility: the potential to climb a centuries-old and well-etched German social hierarchy, for instance. Ilse Falk uses the optimism of a new Germany to her advantage; voting for the Nazi party in 1933, forcing her son into the Hitler Youth, and subsequently benefiting from his membership. The character of Ilse Falk offers, in her overt Germanic typicality, an explanation as to why Hitler and his politics appealed to a substantial percentage of the population. Presenting German society at a grassroots level provides, in the case of Ilse Falk, a chance to show Nazism and the brutality that ensued, but this perspective attempts an explanation. There are those individuals of a certain composition drawn to Nazism, but Kaufmann offers the possibility that maybe Germany in its staunch militarism and centuries-old habits has been partially responsible for the advent of the Nazis, an idea which serves as the basis of non-fiction works such as W. Michael Blumenthal’s *The Invisible Wall: Germans and Jews* (1998). The one-dimensional portrayal of Ilse Falk, however, damages the underlying message of the implied author. The character of Ilse Falk is the German *Hausfrau* stereotype: she is blond and frumpy, and keeps an impeccable house; she cooks for her family and hopes and wishes for staid conservative gender roles to be enforced; her husband is too weak to rule the house, and Ilse Falk finds this despicable in a man. She is, accordingly, drawn to the Nazis, especially Nazi men and their domineering disposition. Ilse Falk sees the National Socialists as both a new beginning and

the bastion of a revered German cultural tradition. While this portrayal of a perpetrator may represent a certain percentage of the German population of the time, a character different from Ilse Falk, showing the Nazi Party appealing to more common, less greedy individuals, is absent.

Why people voted for Nazism is not restricted to social reasons—a person's social standing and the desire to better oneself—but the rise of Nazi popularity is further explained from a political stance, as seen in this comment by a member of the Hitler Youth: "I mean the Social Democrats and the Communists and the rest of the left-wing trash don't even know the meaning of unity. It's quite true the figures show that a great many people did not want Adolf Hitler, but they did not seem to want anyone else. Votes all over the place—but no common cause" (*Voices* 102). National Socialism is drawn as an unknown force about which many were unsure. Here, as noted also in Devanny's work, Kaufmann embeds warnings in his book. Then there are the individuals to whom Nazism clearly appealed—a certain type of German. Nihilism, as Martin points out, is deemed by Kaufmann to be one characteristic essential to a Nazi, but ambition and a lack of social acceptance are included in the makeup of these persons (rev. of *Voices* 479). Furthermore, Kaufmann draws these individuals as educated, suggesting the Nazis were not solely a product of an ignorant working class, for many of the Germans who support Hitler in *Voices in the Storm* are far better schooled than those who question the fascist ideologues. The perpetrator derives either from commoners or those upper ranks of society, and in that, Devanny's warning regarding the all-encompassing threat of fascism is posited in Kaufmann's book.

*Voices in the Storm* positions National Socialism as a condition which hurts many—it is not purely a Jewish problem. A plethora of Germans of non-Jewish background suffer from Hitler's ascent, as one of the novel's Jewish characters notes: "Ah, it made me realise that we Jews are certainly not the only ones. How this man hated his profession, how he loathed having to drum sense into Hitler youths, having to suppress all the things he used to enjoy teaching" (*Voices* 249). Two German workers conversing about Nazi resistance further highlight the suffering: "In the darkness Mueller could not tell that the other's face had paled, his lips set, his body tensed. 'Erwin, I'm talking as plainly as I can, and simply enough. I've said enough now to put me

out of the road in a concentration camp for good' ” (*Voices* 154). Empathy lies with anyone who opposes the Nazis, regardless of religion or social standing. These are the victims, and all victims are to be regarded sympathetically. Such portrayals conform to the most traditional definitions of the representation of the victim, but again these depictions are problematic in that they are relatively one-dimensional. Kaufmann’s victims provide an uncomplicated and simplistic understanding of, and insight into, a difficult political situation involving complex human beings. Simultaneously, the victim character is being drawn upon to propagate the author’s political agenda in an Australian context.

The great shortfall aesthetically of Kaufmann’s book is, as Jurgensen notes, the stereotypical portrayal of the Nazi, a flaw coupled with—and influenced by—the adherence of the author to a Socialist Realism-style committed writing. His setting of the novel in a German province provided the 1950s Australian reader with a perspective many may not have contemplated. In that, the novel was seen as insightful and educational. But the well-considered choice of setting in *Voices in the Storm* is too often mixed with stereotypical characters used to propagate a particular political agenda. While the author relies upon Third Reich victims and perpetrators to offer a political vision, such representations do little to help extract meaning, other than offer a superficial assessment of what occurred in Germany. Instead, Kaufmann’s reliance on traditional representations reduces the victim and perpetrator to the most basic composition.

### **Dymphna Cusack, *Heat Wave in Berlin* (1962)**

Described by Irmtraud Petersson as an author who was not politically affiliated with one Australian political party or another (*German* 122), Dymphna Cusack did strongly support the socialist left. She may not have extolled the virtues of socialism or (Stalinised) communism in her work to the degree noted in Devanny or Kaufmann, but an ignorant Australian nation that disparaged ties with the Soviet Union, especially at the beginning of the Cold War, incensed her and informed her writing (Lloyd 270). Cusack’s extensive travels took her to communist China and Russia, and she was warmly welcomed in both countries as an invited guest, together with her partner, Norman Freehill, who was a Communist. Cusack was to live in socialist



dominated countries for almost a decade (Freehill 103), and her writings, even prior to this, reflect her feelings about this politically segmented part of the world, and question taken-for-granted Western democratic ideals and the West's attitude to a communist East. In this section I discuss one example of Cusack's writing that not only contains an aversion to right-wing politics, but an exploration of the benefits of socialism. Conceived in 1956 following a trip Cusack and her husband took to Berlin, *Heat Wave in Berlin* is predominantly set, as the title suggests, in Western-occupied Berlin before the erection of the Berlin Wall; both halves of the city remain accessible. The novel tells of an Australian woman called Joy Miller, a "warm-hearted, well-meaning, but rather simple-minded and un-political" (Petersson, *German* 123) person who marries a German migrant, but a German whose past is never disclosed while the two are living in Australia. On a trip to Berlin to meet her husband's wealthy family, Joy Miller discovers that the clan contains avid supporters of Hitler's now-defunct regime, including war criminals, and the family's business profited from the slave labour of Auschwitz.<sup>26</sup>

*Heat Wave in Berlin* contains a theme that Joseph Jones finds prevalent in another of Cusack's books. With a clear interest in former Nazis who migrate to Australia and who attempt to establish their fascist ideology there, *The Sun Is Not Enough* portrays "political tones of black and white (too commonly a failing in proletarian writing everywhere) . . ." (Jones and Jones 78). This dichotomy is also true of *Heatwave in Berlin*, where the West is depicted as a cesspool of Nazi re-emergence. In contrast, the socialist East is "against Nazism and militarism" (*Heat Wave* 112), and is described as an area of Germany that attracts "60,000" (*Heat Wave* 115) Germans every year: "All they want over there is to be left alone to build more factories, more houses and eat more butter than anyone in Europe" (*Heat Wave* 115). There are, as noted in all the texts studied in this chapter, very traditional, even anachronistic—in that they appear to depict a Germany during the Third Reich rather than a defeated Germany (Petersson, *German* 124)—portrayals of the victim, bystander and perpetrator. Perpetrators bear the hallmarks of the typical Nazi including a certain social standing and physicality, being from a

---

<sup>26</sup> For a comprehensive summary of Cusack's *Heat Wave in Berlin* and *The Sun Is Not Enough*, see V.H. Lloyd, "Conscience and Justice: A Study of Values in Conflict in the Novels and Plays of Dymphna Cusack." Diss. U of Queensland, 1986. Print.

family of blue eyed individuals, through to the rigid conservative society these people inhabit to which National Socialism (according to Cusack) seemingly appealed. The result of such traditional, stereotypical portrayals (a common criticism of all the characters studied in this chapter), as noted by V.H. Lloyd, is minimal character movement or development (284-85). Akin to the Gruners, or the Nazis at the heart of *Voices in the Storm*, the perpetrators in *Heatwave in Berlin* are never guilt-ridden and frequently espouse Third Reich propaganda with statements such as “Polish bandits burnt the house in ‘forty-five. Ach! Those barbarous Poles!” (*Heat Wave* 44) and “Czechs are devilish people” (*Heat Wave* 46). These remnant Nazis are cold-hearted plutocrats, conservative in nature and disillusioned by their defeat, yet strengthened in their beliefs by a long-tenured social status and their ever-burgeoning financial position in re-born Germany.<sup>27</sup> This family is obstinate, formal, opinionated and unlikeable. Furthermore, there exist social hierarchies that heighten this somewhat contrived representation of the perpetrator, including, as Petersson notes, “patriarchal male dominance and feminine submissiveness . . . filial obedience . . . hero worship . . . anti-Semitism” (*German* 124). Subsequently, the reader is provided little by which to identify with these perpetrators, for these Nazis are too exaggerated in their composition. In this highly dramatic, overtly politicised characterisation, there is no attempt at normalising these individuals or their political pasts (such as I will describe later), for these Nazis are not, in many respects, normal.

Presence of the traditional victim in *Heatwave in Berlin* replicates a representation noted by Friedländer in his delineation of “liberal” traditional portrayals of the victim, which are those of “political opponents imprisoned in concentration camps” (“Historical” 68-69). There is mention of the Jews and others who are killed by the Nazis, but in *Heatwave in Berlin* the victim, represented by music pedagogue Professor Schonhauser, is a political opponent of sorts, a man who has returned to Berlin following some years living in Australia. Given the political mood of Schonhauser’s beloved German city which is aiding the ever-present threat of neo-National Socialism, the professor remains the victim:

---

<sup>27</sup> This individual as a character may also be evinced in the 2013 miniseries discussed at the beginning of the thesis, *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter*, in the form of the former high-ranking Nazi who goes on to work in an administrative role for the American army at the completion of the war.

I would not have told it to you if my country had been the country I believed it would be after the war. But it is not. The evil that destroyed me and my family still lives, and the evil men live to rule us again. I tell you this not to ask your pity. The time for pity has gone. I tell you because you must go back and tell your country the truth. (*Heat Wave* 91)

Again the reader encounters relatively stereotypical portrayals of the traditional victim meant to heighten sympathy: the professor is frail, an artisan whose hands can no longer play the piano because of Nazi torture, and he has been socially ostracised in this new Berlin. Schonhauser retains his pride even in the worst adversity, and he remains good-hearted and selfless up until his death at the hands of Berlin's neo-Nazis only a decade or so after the war has ended. While the professor continues to believe in the good of humanity, he laments for the moral downfall of post-regime Germany: "I came back expecting to find the swastika the broad arrow of shame. Instead I found it a magic charm which today brings good fortune" (*Heat Wave* 94).

Bystanders in this novel conform to the definition I provided in the introduction; these individuals are "characterised by partial knowledge of crimes committed and by more or less sustained indifference and passivity" (Friedländer, "Historical" 68). In *Heat Wave in Berlin*, Joy may be seen as the embodiment of a bystander, for she initially plays the role neither of victim nor of perpetrator, and by doing so remains the personification of an Australian innocence (Pettersson, *German* 123). The mother and matriarch of the von Muhler family, Frau von Muhler, who silently watches the family's dedication to a defunct regime, can be viewed to some degree as a representation of the bystander, although her eventual suicide refashions her into victim.

*Heat Wave in Berlin* is polemical in its stance, and many of the reviews of the book—in Australia (Anderson 54) and abroad (Pettersson, *German* 127)—reflect upon what some consider Cusack's controversial opinions. Again, it is Cusack's political agenda that gains most attention in these reviews, and rightly so considering the author's objective. Cusack writes that she "had seen what the war had done to victim and aggressor alike. I knew that victory was a word without meaning. Now I was steeled by the determination to fight a war with all the puny force that began to grow in a far-off Australian country town . . ." (qtd. in Freehill 138). Journalistic in style, and

therefore reminiscent of Devanny and Kaufmann's books discussed above, Cusack's novel imparts a warning. "Both *Heat Wave in Berlin* and the later novel *The Sun Is Not Enough*," writes Petersson, "are conceived to awaken Australians politically to warn them against the dangers of neo-Nazism, in the FRG and in their own country" (*German* 124). There is, as Petersson goes on to note in her study of Cusack's *Heat Wave in Berlin*, some applicability to such apprehension given that "a number of former activists, supporters and fellow-travellers of National Socialism, found positions in [German and Australian] politics, public offices and industry" (*German* 126). But Petersson also realises that elements of political hyperbole are present in Cusack's assessment of the situation, suggesting that the author, although she spent time in Berlin, may have lacked aspects of political and cultural clarity (*German* 126-27). Authors grouped within this chapter propose that the chance of a Fourth Reich was not merely a plausible event, but, according to *Heat Wave in Berlin*, a certainty. The recommended escape from or antidote to fascism is socialism, and a visit to the German Democratic Republic served to heighten Cusack's conviction that socialism, as presented to her and her husband during that visit, was an attractive alternative (qtd. in Freehill 132).

In this chapter I have focussed on texts with a particular political agenda that have consequently written the victim, bystander and perpetrator in similar ways. These representations conform to traditional ideas regarding the characters of the Third Reich victim and perpetrator, but often push the bystander aside. As shown in *Roll Back the Night*, this political perspective and the subsequent representations of the triad can be allegorically represented. More literal, realistic portrayals are provided in *Voices in the Storm*, while Cusack offers a political novel in *Heat Wave in Berlin* which pushes the portrayals to the overtly stereotypical. Yet these novels do not stand alone. As Australian reviewer Peter Cowan summarises K.S. Mackenzie's *The Refuge*, it concerns itself with "politics, with the political and social climate in Australia in the war years. Mackenzie has a good deal to say about refugees, the activities of communists . . . the drift of Australia to war" (306). Similarly, there is Cusack's *The Sun Is Not Enough* and the writings of Dorothy Hewett or Frank Hardy for example, who by favouring communism in

their writing, let fascism and National Socialism become the inferred political opponent.

The Cold War and the supposed threat of communism to Western countries meant socialist realist novels had a limited lifespan in countries such as Australia. The Menzies government attempted to ban the Communist Party of Australia, and a referendum enabling this ban was narrowly lost in the early 1950s, but by the late 1960s membership had fallen to such insignificant numbers that the party was no longer regarded by the government of the time as a national threat.<sup>28</sup> “By 1959,” writes McKernan, “these writers could discern a clear enemy: the forces of anti-communism had organised themselves against the literature of socialist realism. At a time when the Communist Party of Australia was losing membership and when communist writers were themselves beginning to reject the more rigid feature of socialist realism, the right had emerged as a rival promoter of Australian literature” (*Question 51*). By the late 1960s, it was evident that a fascist form of governance was not likely to take hold in either East or West Germany, or Australia.

In the next chapter, politics, while evident in these novels, does not focus on a battle between communism and fascism; rather, politics may be found in the cultural hegemony these books contest. Chapter five examines Australian novels composed by European migrants who were naturalised Australians, and it is in these novels that the shifts and changes noted by Friedländer et al. are first evinced. In chapter five, traditional representations of the victim and perpetrator begin to be remoulded because of a dominant Australian culture which expects assimilation while disregarding a person’s past. Whether a person partook in Nazi perpetrations is not a concern, whereas their ability to “fit in” becomes a social and cultural priority.

---

<sup>28</sup> The CPA was also illegal in Australia in the early 1940s, before Russia entered the Second World War in 1941.

## CHAPTER FIVE

But why all these presents? Why had this savage been so kind to him? Could it be that he had developed some kind of conscience? Had Bill [a former SS officer] remembered him [a former inmate] when they had first met in Australia? Out of the millions who had passed through his hands at Mauthausen? Even if he were only a symbol of contrition, however, it could be that good and evil were not equated in that unhappy heart, and that he, George Pollen, had become the means by which Bill was able to look men in the face again. Nonsense. Bill had existed comfortably and commercially in Billiwoonga for a long time without such help.

Peter Ustinov, "The Loneliness of Billiwoonga"

The three works I study in this chapter, Josef Vondra's *Paul Zwilling* (1974), Manfred Jurgensen's *A Difficult Love* (1987), as well as three differing pieces of literature by Angelika Fremd (1989-1993) which I read as one continuous narrative, have some common features. The fiction is written by German or Austrian migrants who, through their writing, are coming to terms with a Nazi past while simultaneously attempting assimilation or acculturation in a new nation. German characters that feature in these books carry with them personal histories connected to Germany's Third Reich which each struggles to comprehend and/or to forget. Yet this Nazi past, when compared to Australian bigotry and cultural naivety as presented in these novels, pales. Attitudes adopted by Nazis are replicated in Australia by Anglo-Australians; European cultivated culture is rarely appreciated and often loathed; and the day-to-day lives these migrants inhabit in Australia are culturally vacuous. Individuals, therefore, are not only dealing with a Nazi past, but they struggle to live among the many misconceptions and/or cultural and social failings their migration to Australia activates.

The Nazi perpetrator in the chapter four texts was depicted as a threat to the socialist movement, and, in some instances, as a threat to the Australian nation because of an apolitical, naive Australian population who fail to recognise the potency of far-right politics. The victim was sometimes the

Jew, but more often the victimised were the socialists or the communists. The bystander as a character was barely present, the authors suggesting a person to be either perpetrator or victim depending on their political persuasion. In the texts that follow, however, Third Reich perpetrators differ; they are often the fathers or grandfathers of characters in the book who, with their families, have found a home in Australia. The victim remains the traditionally defined Jew or Gypsy or communist or homosexual, yet these individuals are also victimised in Australia. A second incarnation of the victim is also present in these books: the German migrant whose dubious past remains of little interest to the Anglo-Australian. The bystander is often the fictitious narrator or central protagonist through whose eyes a confusing and complex set of cultural narratives is being played out. I would argue, in light of the negative reaction these migrant newcomers receive in Australia from the Anglo-Australian populace—a reaction which often results in the character’s moral and/or literal demise—demarcations separating victims from bystanders and from perpetrators appear irrelevant in Australia. A European past matters little, only their selves at the present moment are deemed important; each person, regardless of the role they played in the Third Reich, has to rebuild their lives and their beliefs to be able to succeed or simply survive in their newly adopted nation. Whether a person was once an SS officer or a survivor of the camps, this has little relevance in Australia. A lack of interest from Anglo-Australians in regards to an immigrant’s Third Reich history leads to cultural confusion, displeasure, sometimes even hatred of their newly adopted home, this negative experience re-invigorating a migrant’s fondness for Europe.

These are books which talk of the migrant experience in a considered manner, hence their publication by established publishing firms such as the University of Queensland Press. For the most part they are realistic in form, yet lack much of the sensationalism or theatrics noted in the novels of the last chapter. The results are rather depressing and morbid, showing the side-effects of both Australian acculturation and a Third Reich past on individuals and families alike. They comment on the Australian political desire that migrants assimilate, as a booklet produced by the Australian government in 1948 makes clear: “Learn the habits and customs of the Australians and you will quickly feel at home in your new homeland. The day when fellow Australians stop being specially polite to you because it is obvious that you

are a newcomer, or stop looking at you because your manner or speech are different, you will know you have been accepted as one of the community” (*Your Introduction to Australia* 8).

Authors of the novels studied in this chapter are first generation Australians who, as stated, have migrated to Australia from Europe. They are tackling issues of displacement and cultural confusion. These authors are likewise attempting to come to terms with their parents’ role; or at the very least, that generation’s complicity in and with the Third Reich, and this is given Australian cultural specificity as these children grow up in Australia. Citing the academics Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, Gabriele Schwab in her series of essays discussing trauma, states “family secrets or taboos placed on shameful histories . . . come back to haunt the children like unknown ghosts of the past and condemn them to become the carriers of another person’s or another generation’s unconscious” (126). This is much evinced in the texts gathered in this chapter, for a generation’s past haunts the children and grandchildren, and yet a divergence occurs. The Nazi past, as remembered by first or second-generation German-Australians, is viewed laconically. This past becomes romanticised in varying degrees because of an Australian culture which encourages, or by comparison enforces because of its own lack of “culture,” nostalgia for Europe.

In the writings that I examine in this chapter, the Nazi past and the perpetrators who committed the crimes of this period are depicted differently. The arid existence of migrants in Australia is, however, often equally dire and depressing across the three authors’ works: Josef Vondra’s *Paul Zwillling: A Novel* (1974), Manfred Jurgensen’s *A Difficult Love* (1987), and Angelika Fremd’s trilogy which includes *Heartland* (1989) and *The Glass Inferno* (1992). Likewise, an equation of victimhood from Australian assimilation between those who committed the Holocaust and those who suffered is also apparent in all three texts.

### **Josef Vondra, *Paul Zwillling: A Novel* (1974)**

Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1941, Josef Vondra migrated to Australia in 1951. His first novel, *Paul Zwillling*, concurrently reflects on his European birth land and the country he later called home, Australia. The novel’s epigraph outlines the author’s intentions: “The story of the migration of tens of



thousands of people to Australia in the years after World War II is, of course, one of the great chapters of the country's history. This work does not intend to provide a comprehensive picture of that migration; rather, it seeks to give an impression of the migrant's way of life" (*Zwilling* vii). The novel discusses one migrant's German past and a second migrant's Austrian past, for the two major characters in the novel arrive from these countries. While not drawing the perpetrator, bystander and victim of the Third Reich literally, the novel establishes these characters by showing that the two migrants were greatly influenced by Germany and Austria and these two countries' Nazi past. The Nazi period is largely unspoken of yet is constantly present, for the conservative ideals which appealed to the Nazis and their followers, the book suggests, are either instilled in characters that remain in Europe, or they reside in dominant European attitudes in general. These are the perpetrators. By contrast, each of the central characters who migrate to Australia is victimised, including the main protagonist in the novel, Paul Zwilling, his friend Willie Holzbein, and Zwilling's mother and stepfather. Migrant characters are depicted as both victims of their European pasts and victims of the Australian present; one such portrayal is the character of the "former Bulgarian lieutenant who had migrated with his Hungarian wife and mother-in-law and had settled in Melbourne" (*Zwilling* 95). This migrant fails in business, he and his wife are reduced to manual labour, the man, "in a rehearsal of the madness to come screwed his mother-in-law," and he later becomes a demented individual who cannot hold a job in a charity shop. "The ex-lieutenant liked to sing . . . old Bulgarian army songs" and this frightens customers (*Zwilling* 95). Likewise, Paul Zwilling and Willie Holzbein are victims of their migrant plight and of their selective European pasts. Holzbein carries the memory of Allied bombings. On more than one occasion, when drunk or in a frame of mind that allows him to unburden himself of childhood nightmares, the German Australian vocalises his victimhood. Following an unremarkable session of love making to a woman he barely knows, Holzbein "spent the remaining wakeful hours of the night feverishly telling her his memories of the Allied bombing of his small town in Germany" (*Zwilling* 73). In a similar situation, Holzbein discounts the bombing of Darwin by the Japanese Air Force as insignificant when compared to the trauma of the bombing he and his mother experienced in Germany (*Zwilling* 68). The word "*Holzbein*" in German translates to wooden leg, which

I read as the author suggesting the world has been a hindrance to Willie Holzbein for he has never been able to stand on two strong legs, no matter how much he may try to do so. Holzbein represents one version of the victim, the German who suffers as a result of war, Allied bombing, and then the Australian way of life. Paul Zwilling represents the Austrian migrant who may not have lived through similar bombing raids, but has a past to contend with while likewise attempting assimilation. Each character, therefore, exists in two separate yet inextricably linked spheres: a European existence, and their Australian lives, and these regularly conflict with each other.

Given the dire situations in which all characters find themselves while living in Australia, the reader is left wondering why these people leave Europe in the first place. The answer lies in what Petra Fachinger refers to as the novel's "double voice": the prefacing of "narrative sections with historical information about Austria during and after the Second World War" ("Counter-Discursive" 192). This double voice is further transmuted through the surname of Zwilling, which in German means "twin"; a name, I would argue, that signifies the two lives of this character: one European, the other European Australian. The bulk of the novel is written in third person and the reader views the actions of Paul Zwilling sympathetically through an omniscient narrator. In contrast, small sentences divide this text with historical statistics and snippets of facts that position Vienna, Austria, and Germany—and the population who inhabit these regions—as victims of the war. For example, "12 September 1945. The drastic food shortage continues in Vienna" (*Zwilling* 53) and "30 April 1947. The Viennese authorities estimate that each person is only able to afford one pair of shoes every four years" (*Zwilling* 90). Such information explains why families or individuals migrated, Australia offering a better lifestyle. As frequently noted in the novel, this desired existence rarely transpires. Zwilling's "mother and step-father had worked some eight years in Australia and still they had next to nothing, no house, no motor vehicle, not much money in the bank, none of the things promised by the great Australian dream" (*Zwilling* 42). Rather than Australia eventuating as the land of opportunity, each of these characters suffers from a hegemonic cultural wasteland that inhibits social and inner growth and progress—a motif which recurs in each of the texts studied in this chapter. This is also a theme, Fachinger writes, that "has become commonplace in contemporary Australian

migrant literature” and binds, as she likewise observes, Jurgensen’s *A Difficult Love* and Fremd’s fiction (“Counter-Discursive” 194-95). Accordingly, the traditional victim of the Third Reich is replaced by a person of European origin, who, up until the Allied bombing or the Allied occupation of Germany or Austria or even Hungary, has suffered relatively little compared to the Jews. Yet this person remains victimised following the war’s completion. In an example of such victimisation, after a separation proceeding at which Paul Zwilling loses a significant percentage of his wage to an Anglo-Australian ex-wife because of Zwilling’s “unlikeable” European habits (for example, drinking wine with dinner deems him an alcoholic in the eyes of the Australian judge), Zwilling discusses his situation as a migrant with Holzbein:

“Why all this trauma, this madness, this crazy way of life? Why can’t we live in the suburbs and have a house and wife and kids and live contented, ordinary lives?”

“Because we didn’t stand a chance” [says Willie]

“Do you really think so?”

“Of course I think so,” Willie said without hesitation.

Zwilling too knew it was the truth, but he wondered how their background could have made them what they were today in the hotel room. Was the period of assimilation really responsible for the building of the psyche to such an extent? (*Zwilling* 90)

Zwilling’s mother and stepfather are inflicted with similar depressing outcomes as a result of assimilation, adults who have been detrimentally “touched by the sizzling sun of the new land” (*Zwilling* 94). His mother, a newly-fledged actress in Vienna at the time war broke out, is transformed in Australia into a “colourless woman.” His stepfather reverts to listening to “continental” records as a means of remembering a European past; music blocks the suburban tedium he unwillingly inhabits. These two individuals are not, however, reduced to the demented drunkard as is Willie Holzbein, nor do they suffer the internal conflict experienced by Paul Zwilling, who, alongside his battle with Australian culture, grapples with a conservative Austrian father, a man who observes the strictures of traditional Austrian/German interactions.

The father figure provides the markings of the traditional representation of the Third Reich perpetrator for there is nothing sensitive or pleasant to this character, and yet his son, even Zwilling’s mother who is the first of the man’s

six wives, revere the old gentleman. His arrogant silence is respected and his infidelities never questioned, nor is the man's need to find younger women to marry. Zwilling's father comes to represent the "fatherland," the land to which Zwilling returns as a young adult to better understand his European heritage. The two characters, however, father and son, only meet in circumstances that feel staid, the distance separating the two representative of a past and present that clash (Fachinger, "Counter-Discursive" 202). Zwilling feels haunted "by the spectral image" of this man upon his return to Australia (*Zwilling* 30), and the old man's silence drives Zwilling to drink on many occasions. Conservative in his values and his mode of address, and judgemental of anyone who strays from tradition (even while he has married many women), the father is a successful lawyer in Austria. He believes his son should take up law as a profession, to follow in a family tradition. Instead, Zwilling finds work in Australia in advertising, a job his father believes he gained, and there is some truth to this, through luck. Yet this cold and obstinate Austrian does offer more than Australia, fiscally, professionally, and in regards to culture. Although the old man's past during the war is never mentioned, his temperament suggests a likeness to the conservatism the Nazis epitomised, and this is coupled with economic success seemingly achieved during the war and following the war's end. Complex and to a degree dislikeable, there remains something of the romantic European in the portrayal of this man and his beliefs. By contrast, Australia and Australian cultural habits do not offer a more alluring alternative.

In *Paul Zwilling*, blatant discussions about war and the Nazis are largely absent, yet the novel is set in the years immediately following this epoch. The Nazi past looms like a shadow, blanketing these individuals; the period is never openly discussed, yet its presence is continuously felt. Migrant characters settle in Australia as a result of the war; their lives are greatly influenced by the war, but it remains an unspoken, taboo topic. These individuals, regardless of their actions or positions taken during the period, are portrayed as the victims of this past: they flee a European country they believe is on the brink of ruin; travel to a nation on a ship that segregates; they are forced into a migrant camp upon arrival; and are then separated from loved ones as employment partitions men from women. Years after their voyage to Australia, a number of these migrants returns to Europe, most for a holiday;

however, the majority of characters that holiday in the countries of their birth are happy to return to Australian soil. The holiday reminds them of a past that led to the popularity of Hitler and the subsequent turmoil that ensued. The characteristics of, for example, natives of Salzburg as witnessed in Zwilling's mother's letters, suggest bigotry, selfishness, and a cultural hierarchy absent in Australia. It provides further confusion as these Europeans-of-birth are regarded as foreigners upon their return to Europe, and yet they speak the language. These migrants become "double victims": victims of Australian culture because of a forced assimilation, and victims of a European culture that these "Australians" fled many years prior and no longer understand upon their return.

As seen in Fremd's fiction in a later section, the Nazi past is viewed as embracing aspects of culture and European mythology still considered desirable by these newly arrived Australians. As a result of the cultural abyss these newcomers experience in Australia, this past becomes somewhat romanticised and yearned after. Therefore the perpetrators (not the perpetrations) are revered to some degree, while the traditional victim is altogether forgotten, or at least regarded as a topic best left alone. Or, in one or two instances as located in Fremd's writing, the Jewish victim is left to suffer a similar acculturation as unwillingly bestowed upon non-Jewish Austrian and German migrants. For all of these newcomers, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, suffer through the derogatory and often confusing process of assimilation in Australia, and in that both are victimised.

### **Manfred Jurgensen, *A Difficult Love* (1987)**

Jurgensen's novel tells a somewhat similar story to that contained in Fremd's work which I examine in the next section, except that the narrative viewpoint differs. Characters differ in name, and variants in plot can be noted, but both Jurgensen and Fremd focus on one particular woman, this woman's past, and how this past came to alter her psychologically. In Jurgensen's book *A Difficult Love*, the protagonist is named Amalia. German in origin, Amalia has a stepfather who was once a member of the SS, and is said to be a child of one of the Reich's "breeding camps" (*Difficult* 33); she therefore never knows her real father. In later life Amalia moves with her family to a small town in Australia, and from that moment her life disintegrates into something

of a sexually-driven mire. Roughly, these features are also the backbone to Fremd's three pieces, the two authors' versions appearing to compete with each other. In Fremd's fiction the perspective is that of the main female protagonist, and the story is recounted predominantly by an undisclosed third person. Jurgensen, by contrast, unveils Amalia's life, her childhood, her secrets, using a narrator's voice, and unravelling through this voice, the character's complex psychology. In *A Difficult Love*, therefore, Amalia's story is relayed for the majority of the book from the perspective of a lover, and so the voice is male and in first person. Regardless of similarity, the two authors and their novels provide insight into the German migrant experience and how this specific migrant group dealt with their Nazi past in a foreign culture.

In many respects *A Difficult Love* appears semi-autobiographical.<sup>29</sup> The novel's dominant voice is that of a male literature professor who works at the University of Queensland. A German migrant, this academic has his own European past to contend with, one partially occupied with Nazi ghosts: "I rammed my 'No, no, no' into her body as if it had been all the German inevitabilities I thought I had left behind. I saw my Nazi grandfather in his mustard uniform lecture his wife on living within her means. I saw my brother kill a chook with an axe, laughing and forcing me to watch it run on with gushes of blood pouring from its neck" (*Difficult* 10). The character travels to Australia to escape a German past: "I had come to this country to be free from all that. I did not want to be part of German warfare where even defeat meant self-assertion and bloody-minded superiority" (*Difficult* 10). In doing so, the migrant finds a nation ignorant of its own history, blind to world history at large, and one that appears to have little or no understanding of what occurred in Europe during the Nazi period: "When I informed her [his Australian landlady] that I had come from Germany, her eyes had grown large with amazement. Expecting either horror or resentment in view of the fact that her husband had 'remained in the war' . . . she merely exclaimed 'All the way by train?' " (*Difficult* 13). So the male narrator attempts an escape from his

---

<sup>29</sup> Jurgensen was born in Germany and migrated to Australia in 1961. He went on to complete a PhD in Australia, and was, for over a decade, a lecturer, and eventually a professor, in modern German literature at the University of Queensland. Jurgensen has contributed to studies of German/Australian literature, including the *Eagle and Emu* publication frequently referred to in this thesis, alongside editorial roles for publications such as *German-Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945*. With Jurgensen, Angelika Fremd was co-founder of Phoenix Publications, and together they co-founded and co-edited the Australian literary journal *Outrider*.

German past, yet in the process comes to dislike the Australian cultural present. The academic seeks redemption for crimes committed by Germany, possibly a form of societal flagellation as penance for being German. Instead, he finds he is openly accepted alongside the perpetrators and the victims, and this lack of delineation infuriates and confuses. The narrator believes this acceptance or lack of interest in Germany's past is symptomatic of a country which exhibits passivity in regards to its own national crimes:

Australians lived on the edge of reality, on the surface of a land they knew was not their own. They did not want to discover it because that would mean detecting things about themselves they could not face. Every man, woman and child in Australia, I felt, was carrying a hidden guilt. (*Difficult* 12)

For the recently arrived German migrant, this further translates to the German past remaining undiscovered. The typical Australian appears to possess no interest in Germany or what occurred in the country during the Nazi years, regardless of a person's background or if they suffered or enforced the suffering. Everyone is treated equally, whether they were once a victim, bystander or perpetrator, and instead it is personality or cultural assimilation that measures a migrant's economic or social success.

As a result of such a lack of interest in the world or in world history, the perpetrator and the victim are treated as equals in Australia and are forced to inhabit the same streets, towns, cities. Unfortunately for the traditional victims, their Jewish dress and customs are irrationally viewed as suspicious or culturally undermining by the established Anglo-Australian population. The perpetrator, however—and here there appears much commonality between the fictional representation of these two character types and Australia's migration history—is not judged as harshly: “Suddenly, Australia, too, had become a country with a past. The only difference seemed to be that in this place Werner [a former SS member] could afford to live with the past” (*Difficult* 73). The perpetrator may have committed crimes, but this newly adopted country remains uninterested. Ironically, while the protagonist wishes to morph into a “new person” and be rid of his German past, he finds difficulty in comprehending a country that allows former Nazis a chance of a similar renewal:

When I arrived in Melbourne in 1961 I just wanted to be a different person. Not a German. Not a European. Not a son, a brother or an uncle. I had run away to become a new person.

(*Difficult* 8)

What perplexes this man is that while the move assures him of a new identity, the move likewise assures those undesirable Germans the same privilege. It creates much inner turmoil, since the concept of egalitarian assimilation is difficult for Germans who may have witnessed the perpetrations and/or experienced fascism first-hand. Similarly, the victim and the bystander are relegated to unimportance in an Australian context, a theme noticed in Vondra's novel and Fremd's trilogy.

Migrant writers such as Jurgensen simultaneously attempt to understand what occurred in Germany, while hoping to comprehend the blatant disregard exhibited by Australian citizens regarding this aspect of the German past. That a Nazi can be treated as an equal baffles migrant newcomers. That victims can also be persecuted in Australia likewise confuses. The trauma this individual has to negotiate stems from cultural confusion, his past forging what beliefs and morals he has, while contemporary Australia suggests these European cultivated societal qualities are not appreciated in this newly adopted country. It is this confusion—alongside themes, motifs and characters—that link *A Difficult Love* with Fremd's trilogy. In the next section the reader is provided with a more detailed exposé of this confusion, and the perpetrator and victim dichotomy gains greater clarity.

**Angelika Fremd, *Heartland* (1989), *The Glass Inferno* (1992), and “The Red, White and Black Fatherland Map/The Green, Gold, Red and White Motherland Map” (1993)**

Fremd is another author Jurgensen considers German rather than Australian, and she is included in the *Eagle and Emu* (1992) study. Jurgensen writes that Fremd's first book *Heartland* “is a collection of interrelated prose sketches . . . recapturing her [Fremd's] adolescence as a German migrant in the Victorian Dandenongs” (*Eagle* 268). Born in Germany in 1944, Fremd moved to Australia in 1956 at the age of twelve where she has lived ever since (with the exception of a period spent teaching in Papua New Guinea).



Aside from her Australian citizenship, Fremd's books reiterate her adopted nationality by relying on Australian cultural insight, and are, as Petra Fachinger notes in her thesis, "characterized by [their] Australianess in [their] reproduction of cultural values and belief systems as well as of literary conventions and themes" ("Counter-Discursive" 10). I suggest that these literary tropes and devices strengthen my argument that Fremd is an Australian author rather than German. As an Australian author though, she has been tagged—possibly marginalised suggests Efi Hatzimanolis (25)—by a number of scholars as a migrant writer. Whether a "migrant" writer or an Australian writer who has migrated, Fremd's childhood in Germany, followed by the move to Australia with her family, are infused in her works.<sup>30</sup>

Published in 1989, *Heartland* was intended to be the first book in a trilogy, with the second instalment, *The Glass Inferno*, released in 1992. The final text, given the working title *Dancing Kali Ma* ("Red, White" 106) is yet to be published as a novel, but an excerpt can be found in a 1993 edition of the literary journal *Queensland: Words and All*. As with all trilogies these novels possess common attributes: some characters remain, settings are relived, similar themes discussed, and a somewhat similar voice inhabits the three pieces of fiction. However, the pieces differ in writing style. *Heartland* and *The Glass Inferno* are a series of realist "prose sketches" (*Eagle* 268), contrasting heavily with the obscure, symbolic, and fractured musings of the short piece printed in *Queensland: Words and All*. It is important to note that each instalment is reliant on the others, and without reading all three parts in the trilogy the detrimental side-effects of Australian culture on the migrant family is

---

30 Aside from a somewhat vicious review by Jurgensen, Fremd's second novel *The Glass Inferno* has received minimal attention, whereas *Heartland* has been studied by scholars internationally. Much of this examination is centred on the aforementioned theme of cultural assimilation and the migrant in Australia, and this is coupled with a second dominant motif, that of female sexuality. Included in these scholarly critiques are Anette Svensson's thesis "A Translation of Worlds: Aspects of Cultural Translation and Australian Migration Literature" and the work to which I referred before by Fachinger entitled *Counter-Discursive Strategies in First-World Migrant Writing*. Further topics explored by scholars in Fremd's writing include food as a cultural representation, migrant polarisation, Australian cultural disharmony, and the search for self and a person's (male and/or female) sexual identity. Such concerns reference an underlying theme located in Fremd's writing; not a generalised migrant experience per se, but a very definite negative migratory experience. "Being an immigrant," concurs Kateryna Arthur, "is to be born twice into language and culture. . . . Very movingly, Angelika Fremd tells the cost at which that vision is gained" (58). Subsequently, it was Fremd's particular experience as a twelve-year-old German migrant to Australia that shaped her fictional representations of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim.

never clearly elucidated. To read *Heartland* alone therefore, is inadequate. This is why I discuss all three books as one extended narrative.

The trilogy begins in small town Eejon, Victoria, in 1956, moving chronologically to Melbourne, Sydney, Papua New Guinea, and the trilogy ends in Brisbane. Spaced amongst this timeline are memories of Germany, a country the Heinrich family have forfeited in favour of tiger snakes and “driving shafts of hot air . . . chained logs, drawn by straining, overheated trucks, ignited fallen eucalypt leaves, bracken and dry fern” (*Heartland* 1). While Australia is where the trilogy is set for the most part (with Papua New Guinea playing a small role), moments of analepsis transport the reader to the flatlands of northern Germany—the region bordering the North and Baltic Seas—during and soon after the Second World War. The family, the reader discovers, has fled a war-ravaged, bleeding, crippled German nation which, regardless of the rubble and destruction, somehow manages to uphold a sense of refinement and dignity; a cultural refinement absent in the Heinrichs’ newly adopted Australian town. “*Heartland* makes it clear,” writes Fachinger, “that the Australia of the 1950s, with its sexism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism, was no Promised Land to immigrants of non-Anglo-Celtic background. But it also implies that Australia was more ‘German’ in its attitudes than Australians were ready to admit” (“German Mothers” n.p.). Subtly present throughout Fremd’s three pieces are critiques of Australia, suggesting Germany to have been the lesser of two evils. At least in Germany, Fremd appears to be saying, a person is not reduced to pickling cucumbers as the sole reminder of cultural origins, or made to romantically reminisce as proof that “culture” exists at all.

At the heart of these three stories is the character Inge Heinrich whom the reader first meets as a young immigrant recently arrived from Europe. During the years in which *Heartland* and *The Glass Inferno* are conjointly set, Inge grows from a confused girl to a woman seemingly addicted to sex, and whose sexual experiences in Australia include the sad, the erotic, the macabre, the sensual, and the repugnant. Inge ages alongside a younger, guilt-ridden sister and a confused, menacing stepfather; she falls pregnant to a number of men from various backgrounds; and at the completion of *The Glass Inferno* she is leaving a lover and her children for a new beginning. “Along Coronation Drive,” the book’s last line reads, “the purple has replaced

the green. Invasive as always, the colour colonises my mind. In the flickering mauve light I feel a beginning" (*Glass* 184). Although the trilogy focuses on Inge as an ever-maturing woman who seeks constant atonement and renewal—thereby revisiting characters and travelling over the same settings—the dominant themes already mentioned remain at the core of Fremd's three pieces: first, Inge's journey as a sexual being; second, her assimilation in a foreign land. Here there is much similarity between *A Difficult Love* and Fremd's trilogy, yet Fremd's contribution provides meagre opportunity for meta-textual commentary.

Fremd's writing accords to some degree with Hatzimanolis's theory that immigrant writing is "not heard to belong properly to patriarchal aesthetics" (25). Hatzimanolis argues that a number of marginalising oppositions are perceived to occur in immigrant authorship: form/content, writing/speech, same/other, adult/child (25). These work to separate migrant stories from "mainstream" writing, barring newcomers to Australia from the privilege of discussing their experiences as a means of understanding Australian culture, Australian literature and/or Australian history. Hatzimanolis continues: "Even less conservative approaches have tended to assimilate, naturalize and neutralize ideas of immigrant writing as 'equal but different' . . ." (25). The realism in Fremd's *Heartland*, a register that is replicated to a lesser degree in *The Glass Inferno*, pays homage to a long Australian literary tradition with a lineage that harks back to Henry Lawson and Miles Franklin. Nevertheless, Fremd's themes and her political and social messages rarely favour middle-class, Anglo-Celtic Australia. They may be Australian in their setting, and therefore culturally poignant, but they are not pleasant tales a dominant culture may wish to read about itself, and this negativity creates a further marginalising polarity of "us versus them." Critics who have written about one or more of Fremd's three works note an abundance of negative experiences at the hands of middle-class Anglo-Australians: racism exists, as does hostility and prejudice, and again, as noted in *Paul Zwilling* and *A Difficult Love*, newcomers are forced to assimilate rather than being openly accepted. Experiences such as these provoke a reaction in each of the central characters in Fremd's novels as they grapple with this version of Australia and its cultural dominance, the struggle enforcing what Kateryna Arthur phrases as "a deconstructive vision of the world" (58). Each of these migrant

characters becomes a victim, not of a German past (unlike Vondra's protagonists), but of the Australian present, and this includes the former Third Reich perpetrator. An example of migrant victimisation, suggests Svensson, occurs when "adult immigrants become dependent on their children and are forced to encounter the target culture through the partial interpretations of a young child," (56), a strong motif throughout the trilogy. A further example is seen in the character of the grandmother, Emma, who loses all sense of belonging (Arthur 58) and cries herself to sleep daily "in the house of her daughter's family, all of whom are tormented in one way or another by their multiple histories and their sense of falseness, of playing awkward, ill fitting roles in their daily lives" (Arthur 58). The novel's "deconstructive vision of the world" is further illuminated in personal and familial struggles:

Monika fights her environment with anger—she almost kills her baby brother out of jealousy, Lisl [Inge's mother] rebuffs her neighbours and becomes emotionally inaccessible to her husband and children [and] Karl is obsessed by replacing their weatherboard timber home by a Bavarian-style house with a peaked roof. ("Counter-Discursive" 166)

Ultimately, the "Promised Land" becomes the family's downfall: Lisl dies of a suspected suicide; Inge is forever scarred with relationship problems; Monika, the sister, bears the guilt of her father's SS past, something she later believes is symptomatic of men rather than of race, culture or ideology; Karl (the former SS member) is left without a wife or loving family; and the grandmother, Emma, is forced to live with friends as her family disintegrates. What binds them, aside from familial connections, is that they are all victims of their new country. Fremd's portrayal of the Heinrich family re-moulds these individuals, from Germans who might once have been considered perpetrators in, or bystanders of, Hitler's regime, to victims of Australia. They are victimised in numerous ways for the country is lacking considerably—culturally, economically, because of the country's education system, and/or certain social requirements—when compared to Germany.

Would divided Germany have offered a better alternative? Would the family, including the former SS officer, have fared well had they stayed in East or West Germany rather than opting to emigrate? Of the trilogy *Heartland* provides the most insightful, or the easiest to decipher, depiction of the

family's German life, and this is revealed through two first-person recollections. The first story is composed by Inge Heinrich for her Australian school, and the second is her grandmother's recollection as captured in the old lady's diary. Both, Svensson suggests, "offer their listeners cultural education" (64). Inge's story contains a romantic glimpse of her childhood in Germany, and sympathy is extracted not so much because of pleasantries bestowed upon Germany, but by contrasting life before and after Allied occupation:

The garden was my friend and I liked to watch it change. In winter it glistened white with snow. When the new leaves and blossoms sprouted in spring, I was happy and excited . . . It was at the blossoming time that the man who became my stepfather first came to visit my mother. He came to the gate of my garden and politely asked to come in. The women in the house would always stand at the window to see what he was bringing them. He often brought presents of food. Then my mother would run out of the house and sit with him in the woods or under a tree in my garden. (*Heartland* 50)

Once the Allies occupy Western Germany, the garden and happiness disappear. The Germany Inge loves is no longer, and the Germans, here represented as bystanders rather than perpetrators, become the victims. From that moment onwards, existence is a series of saddening tragedies, made all the worse and all the more confusing by immigration to Australia.

Svensson suggests that the neutral tone used in Inge's first-person narrative "emphasises how ungraspable the events are" (65) for a young girl and "shows her restricted understanding of the ongoing war" (64). Svensson goes on to say that acts "connected to the war, whether they would have resulted in relief and happiness, such as the family's permission to stay in the West, or acts of pure desperation, such as people committing suicide by throwing themselves under trains, are only mentioned in passing" (65). As Svensson herself notes though, these acts are only undertaken after Allied or Soviet invasion. As Germany was defeated, the family move from the East "and go to the West" (*Heartland* 50). It is this upheaval that eventually brings the family to Australia, but not before the awkward experience of sharing houses with bitter East German citizens, Karl (the stepfather) losing his job,

the threat of death from Soviet soldiers, and following internment in a refugee camp (*Heartland* 50-51). In part, Inge's first-person story may be one of loss and longing, but her memories of Germany during the war are the happiest she lives through in all three of Fremd's instalments, as highlighted in this description:

During the wedding, I had to lie in a dark room, but I could not sleep. It was night time and through the floorboards I could hear voices, music and laughter. I imagined my mother to be dancing in a beautiful dress, her eyes sparkling, but I knew she was wearing an old silk dress made from parachutes. (*Heartland* 50)

Fremd, using such snippets, creates a yearning for a German existence in which a more sophisticated European culture exists, and sections of dialogue such as the one selected above stress the "superiority of the German culture." Using the second piece of *Heartland's* first-person narrative, the grandmother's diary, Inge is able to rediscover a society she vaguely remembers as a child. This insight provides Inge with "a sense of pride and history" (*Heartland* 137) which, according to Svensson, "helps the listeners achieve an understanding of the source culture, and 'Emma's Story' in particular results in Inge's increased appreciation of her German history and cultural as well as national source identity" (66). German pride is a core ingredient to the third instalment of the trilogy, where the "bleeding heart art" of *The Glass Inferno*—a reaction to "the confessional female narrator as victim" (Jurgensen, "Mytho Kitsch" 107), is replaced with a "bleeding heart" narrative centred on the northern German flatlands as Allied and/or Russian troops invade: "When the red glow to their right begins to rise from the earth, they say to each other that it is an unusual phenomenon, an aberration of the sun. When the glow spreads, the thunder and fire returns, they begin to wait for the wounded" ("The Red, White" 99). This is a world which suffers as the German country is systematically destroyed, its people wounded or killed, and its culture decimated. In one segment of Fremd's third instalment in the trilogy, the author draws the reader's attention to a hospital under Allied/Soviet attack as children die and fire falls from the sky. Nazi Germany is positioned as the victim ("The Red, White" 99, 104) for the sick, infirm and the young are caught in fire bombings. A baby rescued by a uniformed German male comes to represent the restoration of decency. Hope is apparent, the Nazi forgiven—or

at least given humanitarian qualities—and the reader feels further sympathy for Germany and the Germans:

He is there, my progenitor, picking his way through the rubble. His arm is bandaged white and stained red. He emerges from a white background and moves towards us. We stand on a jagged piece of railway platform watching the bucking tracks. I see him for the first and last time. His uniform buttons are shiny and glint momentarily as do his eyes . . . I to I to Father. Then he moves clumsily through the ruins of the Fatherland. (“The Red, White” 95)

Any negativity associated with Germany, for example anti-Semitism, is absent, and instead those aspects so commonly associated with the country during the period of the Third Reich including bigotry and racial segregation, become endemic to Australian culture. Or, at best, these negatives are viewed as symptomatic of both German and Australian cultures.

The effect this cultural positioning has on the representation of the perpetrator in the Fremd’s trilogy adheres to a shift noted by Freidländer, whereby “the traditional perpetrator . . . becomes a potential victim . . . as for the traditional victim, although his or her fate is not denied, it is rendered in . . . rather ambiguous light.” In small-town Eejon, Inge’s stepfather, a self-confessed former SS officer, lives comfortably with the town’s Australian population (*Heartland* 115). This man is blatant in his hostility towards Jews, yet the predominantly Anglo-Celtic population seem far more vehement in their racism. In one of *Heartland’s* more polemic moments, Eejon’s Anglo-Australian community are either responsible for the death of a Jewish teacher (a former concentration camp prisoner), or if not directly responsible (as it remains unclear), the community welcomes his demise:

Mr Reich, the maths teacher, was a small, balding man. . . . It was common knowledge that he was Jewish and had been in a concentration camp. . . . Mr Reich was supernumerary in the classroom; his presence went unnoticed. . . . When he called for silence, tears forming in his eyes, his voice cracking, laughter echoed around the room. When he could stand it no longer, he left the room to vomit in the boy’s toilet. . . . On parade one day, Mr Reich tackled a senior boy . . . Inge watched as to her horror

a tight circle of seniors formed around Mr Reich and he reappeared wiping blood from his mouth. . . . At assembly the next day, it was announced that Mr Reich had died during the night. He had had an undiagnosed stomach cancer. A suppressed cheer went up. (*Heartland* 60-62)

The piece suggests 1950s Australia is as heartless as Nazi Germany, an observation Fachinger believes is symptomatic of Australia's "cultural emptiness . . ." ("German Mothers" n. p). Australia therefore—the land of hope and opportunity—does much to erode the cultural and familial virtues of German immigrant families, whether these families consist of victims or perpetrators. Discussed from a linguistic perspective, the Heinrichs' placement in Australia, Russell West-Pavlov notes, is a "translation, whether linguistic, historiographical, geographical or cultural [that is] generally traumatic . . . and one that is rendered more traumatic in the Australian context by a deep-seated resistance to the phenomenon it indexes, namely polylingualism" (28). Each member of the Heinrich family pays a cost for such a translation, a cost witnessed through the day-to-day decomposition of the characters, each of them suffers personal tragedy or psychological trauma, and even Inge, the most grounded of the family, the one person who wishes "for a separation . . . to become Australian and escape from her family" (Svensson 56) leads a lost and unresolved existence in Australia. Karen Lamb, in her review of *Heartland*, contends that the move the Heinrich family undertakes from East to West Germany may have resulted in a salvation of sorts, but "the real struggle—of life—must resume," and the struggle continues in Australia (61). This fight, the struggle in and with Australia, becomes too great for Lisl Heinrich, the mother, who feels "completely out of terms in the new country. She is unable to tolerate the dry summer heat and is afraid of the nature surrounding her. She feels utterly threatened and alienated by Australia's wilderness and its apparent lack of culture" (Fachinger, "German Mothers" n.p.). Lisl's eventual death, speculated to be suicide, "is proof that what for her represents the superiority of German culture is no match for the Australian wilderness, which in the end absorbs her" (Fachinger, "German Mothers" n.p). Even the man who once handed her presents is swallowed by a cultural abyss, the man who referred to her as *Mäuschen* [diminutive mouse/darling] (West-Pavlov 32), who after dinner "pushed his empty plate out of the way,



took out a soft pencil and a piece of clean white paper and began to draw the house which would restore them to their former dignity . . . Karl created a room for each family member, then drew the rooms in cross-section, lovingly labelling each piece of furniture” (*Heartland* 21). That man, the same who helped the family escape Soviet occupation, marrying a woman who had already borne a child and thus saving “Lisl from the stigma of raising a child without a father” (Fachinger, “German Mothers” n. p), has, by the end of the trilogy, evolved into a sexual predator. Karl’s ruin is not because of genetic short-fallings, instead his downfall is the result of foreign surroundings which destroy his family, and the pressures placed upon him by a hostile and unyielding country.

It is the former SS officer, though, who initially comes to fare better in Australia than his German wife and step-children, and it is this character who best examples the shifting representation of the Third Reich perpetrator. A self-confessed Nazi, this man is transmuted to a victim; not a victim of his evil past, but a victim of the nation and culture to which he and his family move. Soon after his arrival in Eejon, Karl Heinrich has bestowed upon him the elevated Australian cultural title of “a good bloke,” and he adheres to the appellation to such a degree that he saves one of the townsfolk’s lives. Later he attains a job teaching at the nearby high school where his Nazi history initially incites ridicule, however this past is quickly overcome by emphasising his courage, remorse, honesty and his human side: “The first boy who attempted such insolence in the classroom was brought out to the front of the class. Karl handed him a blackboard ruler and told the boy to strike him because it seemed to be his intention to inflict pain on his teacher” (*Heartland* 78). In what could be read as an outcome characteristically Germanic, Karl does not simply just succeed as teacher, but surpasses the pedagogical aptitude of his colleagues:

Usually, he kept his class spellbound by illustrating topics he was teaching on the board. His unusual methods made him popular with the students but aroused resentment of his fellow teachers. By the time his colleagues became vocal about their opposition he had the game sewn up. He had painted a very large oil painting which graced the entrance foyer of the school, covered the walls of the home economics and science

departments with murals, and was in charge of almost every important item of school equipment. (*Heartland* 78)

His disintegration, as already noted, resembles the ruin of his family. There is nothing grandiose about his eventual destination. Yet, of all those characters of German origin, Karl is the one individual who makes his life in Australia bearable and, as he does so, his past as Third Reich perpetrator is forgotten or overlooked. In this metamorphosis a semi-shift in representation occurs, whereby the traditional perpetrator remains the perpetrator, but the crimes are relativised for the perpetrator attempts an assimilation which includes showing him to be hard working and tenacious. Karl is constantly tested by this new home of his, and each time he succeeds the stigma associated with either his Nazi past, or his German past, lessens. Assimilation, it seems, disperses whatever criminal history a person may possess. Conjointly, the perpetrator's past becomes negated when contrasted with the anti-social and racist tendencies of Australians.

According to Jena Woodhouse, Karl is a man “shown to be as complex, and at times as confounded by his experiences, as is Inge herself” (25). Character complexity and confusion regarding this past, however, are not noted by other critics, Fachinger going so far as to suggest that when Karl first earns an income by building a toilet block for Eejon—one of the tests that helps to lead towards acceptance in the town—the murals he paints over it are “uncannily reminiscent of Adolf Hitler’s own artistic ambition” (“German Mothers” n.p.). Accusations such as these reverberate in other papers. “The father’s gift for survival,” writes West-Pavlov “evinced in his chameleon-like self-translation into the roles of controversial municipal painter and then art teacher at the local high school, reposes precisely upon his capacity to conceal the evidence of translation” (33). Far from his being a complex being, many critics and reviewers believe Karl Heinrich to be a two dimensional character whose days in the SS define him. By *The Glass Inferno* Karl has transformed into a lecherous, incestuous individual. But this is true of most characters as the majority adopt a disagreeable, macabre, salacious element, so much so that Jurgensen’s review states that *The Glass Inferno* “lists further [following on from *Heartland*] enumerations of exploitation, episodic tales of horror, sexuality and stupidity, a brilliant career of pornographic self-mythologising” (Jurgensen, “Mytho Kitsch” 107). So there is much debate over

character morphology as the trilogy proceeds. Yet there is also a dominant thread that runs throughout the three texts, tied to the shifting representation of perpetrator to victim. While Karl may reinvent himself in Australia on numerous occasions, he does not do it altogether successfully, for if he had, his victimisation would not be as pronounced; he is never successful. Similarly, had he not at least tasted some assimilatory success, his gradual demise may have been solely attributed to his Germanic SS-self. Mimicking the degeneration of characters across the three texts, wholesome immigrants in the first part of *Heartland*, to debauched individuals in *The Glass Inferno*, Karl evolves from German “perpetrator” to newly-fledged successful immigrant to drunken debauched old man through an inverted process of de-demonisation. While in Germany, and as a member of the SS, and then during the early years as he attempts a prosperous life in Australia, Karl is portrayed as decent and hard-working. Ironically, it is Australia, the people within his newly adopted home, and the cultural void that inhabits this sphere, that reduce this former SS soldier to a demonic and lecherous individual.

Such cultural disharmony is embedded in the text in multiple ways: Karl’s attempts at creating a better life for his family are often met with a crass or harsh retort by the Australian inhabitants; the house he builds to please his family and their Germanic aesthetic is partially destroyed by an Australian bushfire; the small amounts of tenderness he exhibits are ever-increasingly met with blunt refusals as his wife Lisl and her mother Emma conspire against him, blaming Karl for their existence in Australia. Many passages signal this discord: “Emma made Karl feel dirty. His struggle to squeeze small emotion and erotic gifts from Lisl had to be made behind closed doors. In this Emma and Lisl were united. When Karl pressed his thick sensuous lips on Lisl’s thin, uncompromising mouth within Emma’s view, the two women signalled to each other—Karl was a sexual pig” (*Heartland* 100). Confused, Inge intuits her stepfather’s growing frustration. In empathy, Inge attempts to support Karl, acknowledging similarities that bind the two of them; both have tried to make a life in Australia, whereas her mother and grandmother are against extensive assimilation. A rapport grows, Karl defending his stepdaughter when she is threatened by a boyfriend who accuses her of destroying “him with her Teutonic coldness. He should have known that cruelty ran in her blood” (*Heartland* 119). Inge, in an undertaking to aggravate her mother who grows

more distant and disturbed by the day, looks to Karl as a means of repaying her mother's coldness: "She could be assured of Karl's attention by flaunting her sexuality, in this way avenging herself on Lisl [her mother] for her cruelty. Not all women are frigid, she would signal to Karl, innocently walking through the kitchen in her bra to elicit a compliment" (*Heartland* 101). So when Karl advances sexually towards his stepdaughter, while some reviewers believe him to become "threatening" (Fachinger, "German Mothers" n.p.), this advance is not made without provocation by Inge's flirting. Karl does, in that instance, become a sexual predator, but the reader is witness to a man who could well be just as easily deemed a victim of circumstance.

In *Heartland*, I argue, in contrast to some of the criticism surrounding the text, Karl is a complex individual who confuses his stepdaughter. Such confusion is noted by Karen Lamb:

The difficulty Inge has in matching him [Karl] to the crimes of which he stands accused captures brilliantly the incomprehension which accompanies any attempt to match an individual with evil on a large scale. The matter remains a dark mystery for Inge, who is unable to make sense of it or resolve the connection between past and the day-to-day realities of her past. (61)

A reason for Inge's inner turmoil is that Karl remains, for much of the book, the man-cum-saviour whom she knew as a child; a caring, happy individual who loved his wife and his fostered children. War was never able to provoke animosity in Karl, the need to flee did nothing to dent his caring temperament, nor did the refugee camps where, for Inge's birthday, he brings her an ice cream cake (*Heartland* 11). What Karl suffers is a slow decline, one that takes years, and one he works hard to resist. He is, so Inge believes, even after discovering a scar under his arm where the SS tattoo once resided, "a good man. . . . He is a good man, a good man, it echoed in her mind and she felt a joy and excitement which she could barely contain" (*Heartland* 124).

This chapter has focussed on fiction written by first or second generation German Australian or Austrian Australian authors whose childhood experiences of war-torn Europe, and their subsequent immigration to Australia, have significantly influenced their work. These writers added to what

Ken Gelder and Paul Salzman describe as “a different social perspective on immigration” which, since the 1970s, has “had its effect on [Australian] literature,” and which “now tends to be *by* [sic] migrants, as well as about them” (*New Diversity* 190-91). While a German/Austrian past has been difficult for the authors of these novels to come to terms with, especially if parents or relatives were once members of the Nazi Party, it is the Australia in which they come to live that they find especially problematic. The attitudes of Anglo-Australians towards such a dubious European history baffles these migrants, exacerbating their confusion, for they are often greeted with confusion and/or hostility mixed with cultural apathy. It reflects an observation made by Jurgensen in his *Eagle and Emu*, stating that “To become Australian is the equivalent of leaving a European past of crime and guilt behind. Like ‘denazification’, migration and settlement on the other side of the world amount to an expurgation of a troubled history” (133). While they may leave this past behind, this moral and/or cultural cleansing creates inner turmoil. Ambivalence toward Nazism does not, for these authors anyway, provide a chance of renewal, but adds to their confusion regarding how this past needs to be dealt with. As witnessed in the novels discussed here, the migrant’s sole requirement, regardless of their history or their political ideals during the period of the war, or their parent’s role in the war, is “to fit in.” The representation of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim is therefore complicated, as traditional representations blur when placed within an Australian setting. For example, and as noted in Fremd’s writing, the general attitude of Anglo-Australians is written as more welcoming of perpetrators than of the traditional victims. The perpetrator is therefore forgiven by persons who uphold bigoted views. The traditional victim, while present to a degree in these books—and here I recount the story of the Jewish school master whose death produces a cheer amongst the schoolchildren—this character type is largely absent. Instead, the victims are the migrants themselves who are victims of the war and their newly adopted country. The bystanders, as suggested above, are the biological or adopted children of these first-generation perpetrators who try to make sense of the cultural conditions which allow such the inversions to occur.

In the next chapter, I leave migrants dealing with their past, and instead focus on Anglo-Australians who are interested in writing about the Third Reich

and the history associated with it. A significant divergence occurs between the novels I examine in chapter six, and those I have looked at here. The authors in chapter six have no connections to this epoch and yet provide commentary on it; in so doing they establish a story which imparts a distinct nationalistic hierarchy, one moulded by character representation, binary moral messages and a preference for one nation or culture above the German.

## CHAPTER SIX

It took the wisdom of our grandchildren . . . to bring us together, so Oskar [a former SS guard at Auschwitz] and I [a former Roma inmate at Auschwitz] could face each other, not as enemies, but as fellow members of the human race, perhaps as two Ocker Aussies living in freedom in this multicultural land.

Caroline Cooper, *The Forgotten Holocaust*

The authors of the texts upon which I focus in chapter six are Anglo-Celtic Australian in origin and possess, at most, tenuous familial ties to Continental Europe. Yet they all comment, akin to the epigraph above, on a particular experience, and in doing so propagate a nationalistic ideology which favours Australia or Great Britain or Holland over Germany. The first of these books is Barbara Yates Rothwell's novel *Klara* which was published in 2005; then a 2007 book by Lance Grimstone *When the Tulips Bled*; finally, Caroline Cooper's 2012 *The Forgotten Holocaust: A Gypsy's Journey from Auschwitz to Freedom*.

The genre of these publications reveals much about their composition. As mentioned in the literature review, these particular types of literary work, by their very form, offer a perspective not propagated by larger, or more populist publishing firms. These are books composed by relatively unknown writers who possibly contribute financially to the book's publication. That may mean their content will not reach a wide audience, and it could be argued their novel's message remains negligible. Yet, the Governor General of Australia at the time, Quentin Bryce, launched Cooper's novel, which to me suggests fiction such as these are awarded some type of following. This form of publishing, however, means the novel's content and perspective results in versions of the past which feel slightly fetishised. The factual past, or a considered version of the past, is often pushed aside in favour of overtly dramatic scenarios, resulting in stereotypical morality tales. The message contained in these books is therefore binary, good versus bad, and endings become romantic and/or sentimental as a result. It is the binary moral infused in these works that adds to the inadequacies of the novels, for one-dimensional portrayals of a "good" life during the war serves to heighten the

idea that one country or culture is better than another. Additionally, there is minimal complexity of character, yet characters are used to further heighten nationalistic ideology, propagating the virtues of an Anglo-Australian, British or Dutch culture. While the country may change, the goodness of these country's inhabitants is consistently contrasted against the complicity of the Germans, both during the Third Reich and in more contemporary settings. There do occur bystanders or perpetrators who recant, and these blur the divide separating bad German from good "other," yet these offer only minor departures from an overarching (conscious or unconscious) ideological schema. These novels emphasise the victim, often telling the tale from a victim's viewpoint, whether the victim be an individual or a collective. Generally, they rely upon a well-known historical positioning, adhering to traditional versions of good victim, bad perpetrator. Unlike those in chapter four, these books are not deeply politicised, unless a "conventional" tale of the Holocaust survivor is deemed political. However, nationalism, or pride in one culture over another, is overtly ideological; in this case the Australian, Dutch and British cultures over a German culture. Questionable elements, such as the bestowal of empathy on certain characters, and the espousing of a particular moral code, further binds these texts and serves to heighten their nationalistic message.

### **Barbara Yates Rothwell, *Klara* (2005)**

Barbara Yates Rothwell's novel *Klara* (2005) is composed as a partial biography, revealing the story of Jewish refugee Clare Leven whom the author met as a young child. Deemed a novel by the AustLit website and by the author in the book's preliminaries, Rothwell draws on German and British history from before the war, during the fighting, and into the years that follow. The novel's central protagonist, Klara Hoffman, is a Jewish German girl born into a family of Jewish German industrialists. *Klara* tells of her escape from Germany during the Nazi reign, the death of family members who were unable to leave Germany, and of Klara's life in an English village up until her death many decades after the war.

As mentioned, the story stems from Rothwell's own childhood as the author was born in 1929 in Surrey, England, and immigrated to Australia in 1974. According to the author's website, Rothwell's move to Australia



prompted her to write. *Klara* is the first of two books Rothwell sets in Germany under the grip of National Socialism. The second novel, *Ripple in the Reeds* (2006) is similar in content to *Klara*, revealing the story of a French girl who, because of a series of bad decisions, marries a German SS officer. Following her husband's death and at the conclusion of the Second World War, the woman travels to Australia to begin life anew.

A divergence separating *Ripple in the Reeds* from *Klara* is the countries in which these European migrants eventually settle. The central character in *Klara* lives in England, not Australia, yet I have chosen *Klara* as a means of investigating Rothwell's representation of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim for the novel draws on the three characters to promote a nationalistic missive. As the bulk of the novel tells the tale of Klara Hoffman and of her flight from Germany as a result of Nazi racial hostility, separating good (the British in this case) from bad (the non-Jewish Germans) is clear and remains a dominant divide throughout the novel; traditional roles of the perpetrator, bystander and victim stand. But Nazi anti-Semitism, German/Jewish relations before and during the Second World War, and life as lived in Germany while Hitler reigns are not altogether bound to traditional portrayals, and there occur moments when the relationship between non-Jewish Germans and Jewish Germans is depicted in a slightly less conventional form; depictions which, regardless of their remove from traditional representations, continue to emphasise a particular cultural ideology. Although these blurred non-traditional relationships occupy only a minor portion of the story, they bring balance to the author's otherwise binary portrayals of Third Reich types. Either portrayal—the divide between the Germans and the British, or the blurring of delineations of character type—adds to one of the overarching themes distinct to the books in question in this chapter: the promotion of one people or population or culture, over another. Such a judgement is often clichéd, but also nationalistic in its overtures, and it creates, I suggest, a somewhat ironic stance; defending nations like Britain or Australia through the use of nationalistic propaganda, yet so doing by comparison with Germany which, as is known, relied on a similar means of propaganda during the Hitler years.

*Klara* begins as a tale of Jewish persecution and German racism during the Third Reich, and then the book digresses as Klara's relatively mundane

life in an English village eclipses in page length this turbulent German setting. Given the amount of story set in rural England, the majority of central characters are British, with the exception of Klara's family who are German Jewish, and a non-Jewish German boy to whom Klara is briefly engaged. For the extent of the section pertaining to Germany during Hitler's reign, the book is located in a fictitious German town, and the story focuses on Klara's family who own a profitable textile factory. Rich and ultra-conservative, yet loving and respectful, the family have not adopted the laws governing Orthodox Judaism. Instead, the Hoffman family is proud of its German patriarchal sense of appropriation; it is a family which views itself culturally as German rather than Jewish. Patriarchal hierarchies are therefore looked on favourably, and as something culturally meaningful. The family take pride in seemingly archaic social structures, and daily life hinges on this hierarchy: the family adheres to conservative traditional relationships in regards to husband and wife, wife and child, worker and manager; the language adopted by family members is dictated by their relationship to one another; an individual's place within society at large is important in terms of adopting the aforementioned language; hierarchies that seemingly prevailed in German society, such as worker/employer, are strictly adhered to. An example of these patriarchal social structures is the relationship Klara develops with a boy called Heinrich. The relationship is one of courtship, and all appropriate social etiquettes are laboriously upheld by Klara and Heinrich and their respective families. There is never anything sordid or salacious in their courting. Holding hands and talking of their future, the two are proper in their manners: never too intimate, yet just intimate enough for society to realise the two are together. This is not a conventional portrayal, however, for Heinrich is painted as an enthusiastic supporter of the Nazis, but an altogether confused individual who misunderstands Nazi politics. Heinrich comes to represent that segment of German society that may have misunderstood Hitler's intentions.

Heinrich, the central German perpetrator in the novel, is, either consciously or not, excused of crimes as a result of the author's portrayal. Heinrich is an idealist and a believer in Nazi propaganda. While enthralled and enraptured by the politics of the Third Reich—rising to a high-ranking officer seen in newspapers cavorting with Adolf Hitler—Heinrich is contradictorily drawn as a bemused child who might wish to believe the hyperbole, but

instinctively knows he is wrong to do so. Here a fracture occurs between a traditional discourse regarding a perpetrator who eagerly embraces Nazi ideology, and a being conscious of his wrongdoing. Heinrich is adamant that the Nazis are of benefit to Germany and their values virtuous, arguing that:

In the months ahead, that ugly thing which happened recently [Night of the Long Knives] was not a massacre of innocents but a swift surgical operation on the body of Germany to save her from a cancerous growth. . . . The passing inconveniences will be shown by history to have been the growing pains of a new order which will affect each one of us; and those who give most will receive most. (*Klara* 24)

Heinrich's enthusiasm blinds him; he views murder as a means of achieving peace, and naively soaks up the rhetoric of his adored party. From small snippets of loving insight presented by Klara, Heinrich is read as a humanist trapped within a uniform: an intelligent individual, but a young man who has misunderstood the Party and their ideas regarding race:

“But what about their—their policies, of race and such? The antipathy towards the Jews? How will you stand with them on such matters?”

He was serious again, staring down at his hands. “Too much has been made of a few unimportant incidents,” he said finally. “As my wife you would be totally acceptable anywhere.” (*Klara* 13)

As Nazi upheaval grips Germany, Klara reassures her Jewish mother that Heinrich is not a violent man, and remembers with fondness his hands, the way he held her, his gentleness. She thinks of him as an “enigma” who, although a kind individual, somehow, almost unconsciously, aligned himself to the Nazis (*Klara* 23), and she believes that one day Heinrich will regret his actions. This is an interesting positioning, as the traditional Jewish victim, as a result of Klara's reasoning and foresight, humanises the demonic individual. The portrayal of Heinrich in relation to Klara serves to further reinforce Klara's status as victim, for she is shown to be intelligent and inherently good natured, forgiving Heinrich for his ignorance.

Like so many supporters of National Socialism portrayed within the pages of the books studied in this thesis, Heinrich is a caricature of the well-

bred Nazi. Blond-haired and golden-skinned, he resembles a Nazi “pinup boy.” He looks trim in his uniform and upholds German civil respectability even in moments of embarrassment or humiliation, such as the meeting between himself and Klara’s family, aware of the detrimental effects the Nazis are having, or have had, on this Jewish family. A dichotomy is at work within this perpetrator. The author implants stereotypical traits and features that commonly accompany the imagery of the SS or the Nazi bureaucrat; Heinrich embodies the cultural and physical characteristics of the Nazi which have been mythologised for decades in literature and film. The author, however, wishes to create complexity and/or depth of character by installing within this stereotype conflicting ideologies or moral beliefs. The perpetrator’s psychological makeup is humanist and yet he is the physical embodiment of the Nazi, a physicality that develops as the book proceeds: “She [Klara] was sickened to see how the once lively face had grown broad and insensitive, the eyes which once gazed into hers now flickering everywhere without true contact” (*Klara* 97). The inner-conflict of self is evidenced in Heinrich’s engagement to a Jew; a decision that appears not to alter his opinion of Party politics, but neither is Heinrich willing to let the Party destroy the prospect of marriage to Klara. Heinrich’s politics, by which the physical aspect of his being is ruled, is at loggerheads with his heart, which dictates his moral fibre. Nevertheless, it is not Heinrich acting as ardent perpetrator that breaks off the relationship. Rather, it is Klara the victim who ends it. Having witnessed an escalation of violence and inspired by Franz von Papen’s 1934 Marburg speech, a speech regarded as the last public speech opposing Nazism in Germany, Klara feels a need to separate herself from Heinrich, even though he outlines his surety that their marriage will not be judged as a result of race:

“But why should you fear, Klara? Your family is respected. It’s only the ones who are enemies to the state who will be penalised. The ones who batten on the country and suck it dry. Everyone knows what a fine man your father is, how good a master to his workers. Nothing will happen to people like him.”  
He met her eyes. “Believe me!” (*Klara* 13)

Only later, as Klara’s family are being persecuted for their Jewishness, does Heinrich realise his ignorance, and returns, in some vain hope, of saving Klara from death. Arrived at Klara’s family home Heinrich expresses his great regret

over the nation's growing anti-Semitism: "Some interpret his [Hitler's] rulings with too much savagery. I hold no brief for them. These things can be handled with greater decorum, greater compassion. It might take a little longer—but, after all, people are people. It is no small thing to turn them out of the only home they have ever known" (*Klara* 98).

The character of Heinrich appears in the novel for a limited period, and while there are Gestapo agents and SS guards and further iconic Nazi entities, Heinrich comes to represent that middle-ground of German society which, according to Rothwell, participated in the politics and the associated evils, yet were never sure of their objectives, and were definitely unaware of the end result. Because of the character's moral streak (not a complex moral streak, nothing akin to the SS character in *The Kindly Ones*) the portrayal of Heinrich becomes less stereotypical, even if his physical presentation is clichéd. Heinrich is therefore read as a person in possession of morals, but spellbound by the Nazis; he regards Nazi rhetoric as hyperbolic for he can never personally imagine such evils befalling people he knows and admires (including some Jews). Here, the perpetrator is drawn as a confused man of moral fortitude, shifting his representation from the traditional perpetrator, to a perpetrator who is, alongside the Jewish family, a victim of the regime, as highlighted in Heinrich's departing words to Klara:

All I can say is that we are held in a great moment of history. At all such moments there has been an element of suffering. I'm sure you know. It's sometimes necessary to burn in order to purify. You have been trapped in that situation. I wish it hadn't happened. (*Klara* 102)

In this, the author comments on German society, suggesting that the uprooting of peoples and the vehement nationalism which spread throughout Germany was a product of a misled hope. Heinrich believed the rhetoric, and so, too, did many who derived from that particular upper to middle-class demographic. Comparing British people of a similar social standing to those Germans of equivalent class, heightens the hollowness of such a stance, for the British are never swayed by hyperbolic nationalistic propaganda. They openly accept Jewish refugees, and so accepting are they of Klara and her traditions (German traditions given her upbringing) she lives, and enjoys, the rest of her life in rural England.

This one slice of Germany during the Reich is focussed on in the early pages of *Klara*, but in the pages that follow contemporary German society and its outlook regarding the Nazi past is written about in two episodes. Many years following Klara's removal from Germany the character returns to find a nation divided: those who remain ignorant of the past, and those who claim innocence, yet also state that they feel guilt-ridden. The first of these perspectives is evinced in a local taxi driver who openly expresses his opinions concerning the Third Reich:

Of course . . . many things that were done under *them*—the Nazis—we ordinary folk didn't believe in. Germany has had to shoulder much blame for crimes committed by Herr Hitler and his gangsters. For me, I have nothing against the Jews and those forced to leave. . . . There were faults on both sides, that's what usually happens. (*Klara* 283-84)

The driver ends his spiel by stating: "A lot of it was very exaggerated" (*Klara* 284); again serving to highlight a lack of insight, and furthermore, a lack of sensitivity as the driver knows Klara has lost her parents and family friends to the Nazis. There is little sympathy bestowed upon the actual victim by this individual. Yet the opinion takes centre stage as Rothwell uses this character to provide insight into post-Second World War Germany society. The second opinion to accompany the views of the taxi driver speaks of sympathy and guilt, but it is a guilt that self-absolves. These bystanders are innocent of crimes. For them the Nazis, akin to the Nazis presented in Zusak's *The Book Thief*, are a force that influenced lives, but they were not a dominant presence. Following Klara's conversation with the taxi driver, she decides to spend time in the small village in the mountains where her mother was last seen alive. Herr Schwartz, an innkeeper in the town, speaks on behalf of the population when Klara outlines her reasons for travelling to the remote area:

There was no active resistance here below the mountains, for we all felt isolated from the realities in the rest of Germany. We managed to keep ourselves intact, you understand. . . . It was all the more shocking, therefore, that they came so unexpectedly and leave [*sic*] such a great hole in our community. I think perhaps we were all so full of shock that we could do nothing. (*Klara* 291)

The innkeeper signals the bystander's complicity, for these townsfolk, regardless of their own good nature, openly acknowledge their roles. In the case of the town's inhabitants, they remained inert. The Nazis are not referred to by name or political party, and are therefore viewed from a distance. Again, as seen in Heinrich, Rothwell depicts a population of Germans who seemingly failed to understand the consequences of Nazism—but in this case because of geographic, and therefore political, isolation. This stance is further reiterated when Klara informs the innkeeper that she does not seek justice, nor to place blame on individuals. The innkeeper replies, " 'I'm glad to hear it. They would not deserve it.' 'Yet they still blame themselves' [replies Klara]. 'That is because they are good people.' " (*Klara* 291). The innkeeper represents the bystanders who remained at a remove from German politics and therefore consider themselves innocent of the victimisation of others. Germans akin to the taxi driver, by contrast, are convinced that two sides exist in relation to German/German Jewish dealings during the years of the Third Reich, and therefore the non-Jewish German role may be less pointed towards perpetration.

By having Klara experience these interactions, an underlying disbelief in such claims becomes evident. Klara has already been subjected to the German nation's hostility and, upon her return many years later, is met with an apparent ignorance of both the crimes and the nation's complicity in these crimes. What serves to heighten this sense of injustice is, again, the British nation in which Klara settles. Here she lives a quiet life in a community which is less judgemental of people in general; hence, this Jewish girl's acceptance in the small town. This demarcation is also evinced in Rothwell's *Ripple in the Reeds* in which a French girl who marries an SS officer finally finds refuge in Australia. The author judges the German nation using comparative measures, something witnessed in all the novels in this section. As already outlined, the author relies on comparisons to sway her audience towards a reading of Britain as being a more giving population and culture. There is something of a nationalistic tinge to this judgement. The author judges right from wrong in a very binary sense, and yet by doing so passes judgement on one country over another. This is what binds *Klara*, *When the Tulips Bled* and *The Forgotten Holocaust*: they all pass judgement on one people or population, while promoting the virtues of another, but have seemingly little insight into the

complexity of such history. In this instance the country that fares the best is England, but in Grimstone's book, as the next section shows, Holland is the chosen nation.

### **Lance Grimstone, *When the Tulips Bled* (2007)**

Born in Sydney in 1948, Lance Grimstone is the author of three historical fictions to date, and all three are tied to the Second World War. *When the Tulips Bled* was the first of these novels and is set in The Netherlands, predominantly in the town of Haarlem and the town's surrounding farmland. Critical discussions regarding this text are nonexistent, and only a small fragment of the author's autobiography is available on his publisher's webpage. It appears his interest in Holland stems from travel and the reading of history books. Accordingly, there appear to be no familial ties or apparent personal agendas other than to tell a compelling story. Grimstone's interest in war may also stem from his time with the Australian Army, serving as a soldier in Vietnam.

The novel stretches from the years leading up to the German invasion, through to the Third Reich's eventual demise. In the book's concluding chapters the central characters migrate to Australia where they live for many decades. *When the Tulips Bled* is centred on the story of a young couple, Dirk Roebersen and Maya van Schepens, and their close family and friends who experience German occupation and the brutality associated with this invasion. What begins as a simple, rural tale of tulip growing and small town simplicity, ends in the death of many people and the destruction of a community. Only a handful of those who inhabit the first few chapters of the book survive the German presence, and those who do are scarred, physically and psychologically. This is a novel that suggests a nation to be a victim as much as the individuals who populate the nation.

Published in 2007 by a small independent Brisbane firm, *When the Tulips Bled* bears the hallmarks of such a novel: there is stereotyping of character, and the split representation of those who are bad and those who are good: namely, the Nazis and their accomplices versus Dutch resistance. Descriptions of characters emphasise this representation. The central Gestapo character is described as "a short, weasel-faced man, not unlike his hero, Joseph Goebbels" (*Tulips* 33). In contrast, the hero and heroine and



their friends and family are perfect-skinned, blond-haired, have good physiques, are pleasant in looks, and caring in nature. The Aryan archetype is reserved for the Dutch, not the Germans, these good looking people possessing pure skin and pure hearts. The Jews are represented by one of the main characters, Aaron Kleinkrammer, a dark-haired and olive-skinned youth, who possesses large brown eyes (*Tulips* 10), and by the less-significant character, businessman Otto Levi, an overweight tulip merchant: “When Hans arrived, Otto was down on the shop floor inspecting the condition of a shipment of flowers just unloaded, and they greeted each other warmly, asked about family as was polite, but it was not long before they were down to business. That was Otto. That was his Jewish nature” (*Tulips* 30). Unlike Rothwell’s *Klara*, Grimstone’s book dedicates a good portion of its content to the Holocaust, and by doing so regurgitates images and activities now regarded as seminal iconography associated with the demise of Europe’s Jewish population: cattle trains, anti-Semitic beatings, the expulsion of peoples from their homes and businesses, yellow stars, and concentration camps. In many ways, including Grimstone’s portrayal of the Jewish population, the novel reads as a compressed, yet all-encompassing, history of Europe, and incorporates many of the images the world has since come to associate with the Third Reich and its legacy.

Adding to these iconic events and occurrences is a divide separating goodness from evil. Any ambiguity (as noted in Rothwell’s characterisation of Heinrich) in regards to the German bystander and German perpetrator is absent. Again, this divide serves to emphasise one culture over another, in this case the Dutch as compared with the Germans, and the novel’s dedication clarifies this stance: “Dedicated to all who suffered in Holland during World War II.” The novel is not a quest to understand the perpetrator as a grouping of beings tied to an ideology. Instead, *When the Tulips Bled* is intended as a literal reading of the world at the time, rather than an interpretation which seeks to rewrite perspectives or to understand through the use of historical hindsight. It is therefore a tale of subordination at the hands of a demonic overseer, and yet the novel reads like a “ripping yarn,” that simultaneously hopes to inform the reader about Dutch history during the war. Subsequently, while one or two exceptions exist, *When the Tulips Bled* is

clear as to who it believes are the devils (Germans and the few complicit Dutch) and who were the victims (the Dutch majority).<sup>31</sup>

Regardless of character typicality, the story is compelling, largely because of the novel's outline of Dutch history and Dutch rural culture. It is set on a tulip farm, amongst windmills and canals. The story rarely ventures to the cities or across national borders, and the town of Haarlem and the surrounding farming community are at the novel's core. The characters are predominantly Dutch or German, and while a few Dutch sympathise with the Nazis, the majority are normal enough to "preclude" the inhumanity of the Third Reich. The author writes: "By Autumn of 1943, there was scarcely a household in the Netherlands which had not suffered" (*Tulips* 204), and when inhumanity does appear in Dutch clothing it is excused: "Treachery had become just another means of survival. It is hard to comprehend the desperation that drives people to choose the promise of food above that of their nation. But the sad fact was that it happened, and it happened a lot" (*Tulips* 215). While it is mentioned, inhumanity as represented by Dutch traitors is not featured to any great depth in the book, and if it does occur, justification for such actions is present, heightening the divide between victim and perpetrator, Dutch righteousness and goodwill counteracting German barbarity. That does not mean the Dutch are incapable of criminal misconduct, but crimes that include theft and murder are deemed retribution and are therefore justified; there are perpetrators and there are righteous individuals. The killing of the one or two Nazi collaborators by Dutch citizens is likewise deemed a fitting end given their actions:

"Please, please!" he wept, "I am on my way to Germany, never to bother you again." "Wrong! Wrong! You are on your way to Hell, never to bother us again," declared Nellie satisfied.

"Please!" he wept, backing away. "You treacherous bastard," she sobbed. "You murdered my Harry. And my friend, Joanna."

Nik's retreat was halted at the edge of the canal and he stood

---

<sup>31</sup> Histories regarding the occupation of Holland are not necessarily occupied with similar efforts to disassociate the Dutch from the Third Reich and its criminality. Counter to this, there are those that argue the Dutch were complicit, or at least they differ statistically from nations such as Belgium or France, and refer to statistical information that show the high numbers of Jews transported from The Netherlands. See for example Bob Moore, *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940-1945*. New York: Arnold, 1997. Print.

there, blubbering pitifully, his knees slowly bucking beneath him. Nellie chose that moment to pull the trigger three times. . . . All the terrors of war, all the sleepless nights living in constant fear of discovery and death, all the loathing, all the sorrow, all the loss, all the hopelessness, all lifted like an enormous weight from her shoulders, like a soul departing the body. (*Tulips* 299)

A small number of episodes reside in the text when similar judgements are encountered; often, however, criminal acts carried out by the Dutch are annulled by comparing these acts to the brutal, unwarranted murders inflicted by the Germans.

Yet among the pages of a novel that imparts a relatively clear moral message, a number of characters sit neither in the realm of good nor bad; there occurs a blurring of the binary. Characters are often not the typical good Dutch citizen or bad German Nazi, and hence their complicity in genocide and murder is questioned because of this murky delineation. It would seem, according to *When the Tulips Bled*, that there were those who misunderstood Germany's intentions, and who profited from the invasion. These characters contain entrepreneurial traits, and although successful under the Nazis, they realise they may suffer should political events swing against them. Interestingly, while an overarching opinion regarding the Dutch versus the Germans is apparent, the author uses the blurring of one particular German character to judge the Germans, acting as a means of cultural self-reflection. This heightens the goodness of the Dutch, for they do not altogether judge, but they do suffer. One character in particular, a man named Edgar Borgmann, embodies a particular representation of the perpetrator/bystander, and this character is used to judge the German nation. A German citizen and businessman who spied for his country years prior to the German invasion, Edgar is given, by the Gestapo, a series of tasks to undertake. These tasks become increasingly less to his liking, yet he succeeds at each. Ironically, as the narrative highlights, the more successful he is the less desirable his next task becomes. From preparing reports on infrastructure to the "resettlement" of Jews, Edgar Borgmann is gradually enmeshed in the Nazi machine. He profits from it, financially and within the Nazi Party, but his initial self-righteousness and his gluttony dissipate as the war carries on. As a bystander rather than a perpetrator, he instinctively doubts Hitler's intentions, and

begins, after complying with Gestapo requests, to doubt his own actions. Midway through the novel, and at a meeting with a Gestapo agent, Borgmann finds himself questioning the war and the German leader:

How could an entire nation have enslaved itself to the sort of madness that this man [Hitler] had preached in the back rooms of Munich beer halls in the 1920s? . . . Edgar knew. Every soldier knew. By now every honest drinking German knew. Their Führer was a delusional idiot who had lost the plot, just like this idiot beside him. (*Tulips* 202)

What eventually transpires is a hatred of the work that he has undertaken for the Reich, and gradually, and more pointedly, Borgmann grows to hate himself. The perpetrator, in this case, realises his own complicity, even though he is not truly to blame. His entrepreneurial drive becomes his destruction. Responsible for the shipment of “labour service” to the East, Borgmann has been pushing the local Jewish population aboard cattle carts for months before questions about their destination are answered:

He made his own discreet enquires, and he knew where they were going. Each Tuesday he would load another train of 1200 for their final trip, the final solution. How he hated this awful, awful, disgusting business. How he hated himself for being enmeshed in it. How he hated himself for just turning it into a job, the fulfilling of a requisition, like any other. How he hated that he had come to regard *Juden* as cattle. It was easier for him to think of the job as just another train of cattle cars bound for the abattoir. (*Tulips* 228)

The reader is left some pages later feeling sorry for Borgmann, a man regarded as a Nazi puppet who may have unknowingly conspired. His role as bystander rather than full-blown German perpetrator negates his guilt. Moments before suiciding, Borgmann thinks back on horrors that, because of his complicity, he has inflicted on people: “Edgar could not stop the flood of images as his mind raced on. . . . Edgar imagines Otto’s final realisation of the betrayal and his last seconds of agony amid the pathetic chaos that erupted as the awful truth dawned upon them all” (*Tulips* 230). While the word “pathetic” seems misplaced—an adjectival misnomer—the guilt Edgar feels reads like absolution. As his mind flits through the images of horrors he has

heard about—medical experiments, Dr Mengele, gassing, torture—he questions not only his guilt but also his German countryman’s role. “How can this be German?” (*Tulips* 230) he thinks to himself. In a dramatic finale, the character comes to realise how easy it was to commit perpetrations without having to believe in the politics that lay at the core of these decisions.

This process of reflection acts, to a degree, as a means of humanising and de-demonising. It proves Edgar Borgmann to be human, unlike so many of the actual Nazis who occupy the pages of the book: men who lack moral fibre, or even a conscience; select individuals who rarely exhibit remorse. In contrast, Borgmann, overwhelmed with the crimes to which he has contributed, questions not just his guilt but the guilt of any who may have helped in the Holocaust:

It astounded him that there had been no public outcry of any sort, not from the German people, nor the Poles, nor the Dutch. Nothing from the Allies, not even from the Jews themselves. It was as if everybody was blind. “For Christ’s sake!” he exclaimed. “Why do they just submit? Why don’t they resist? Is everyone living in denial?” (*Tulips* 230)

Realising that he was the ultimate traitor he weeps for himself, is ashamed, and knows that no forgiveness will follow, not even by his wife (*Tulips* 229). Borgmann clings to the hope of redemption, and by saving the lives of Dirk and his brothers, believes “that somewhere inside of him there was still some love and hope” (*Tulips* 229). As he points the gun to his head his final words to himself are “Final solution! . . . Final shame!” (*Tulips* 230): his shame and the shame of the German nation.

**Caroline Cooper, *The Forgotten Holocaust: A Gypsy’s Journey from Auschwitz to Freedom* (2012)**

One of the more contemporary novels examined in this thesis, the 2013 *The Forgotten Holocaust: A Gypsy’s Journey from Auschwitz to Freedom* bears the hallmarks of the books studied in the chapter. The author has no familial connection to the history discussed in the book; it contains a distinct divide separating those who are good from those who are bad in a very traditional sense; there is a strong nationalistic message contained in the text that promotes Australia as a country, and the novel entertains a certain

idealised Australian culture.<sup>32</sup> Although not structured chronologically, the story begins in England, moves to Europe during the war, and concludes in the Hunter Valley in Australia. Crucial to the story's quasi-moralistic and hyper-nationalistic ending, the central protagonist, a British Gypsy called Gil Webb, is captured in Holland and sent to Auschwitz. There he loses a good friend who is likewise a gypsy, yet is himself saved by a high-ranking SS officer. It is this German man Gil comes to meet many years later when Gil's granddaughter and the SS officer's grandson meet and marry. The two adversaries are forced into a situation that requires one to forgive, while the other has to beg for forgiveness. Given the clichéd, overtly romantic and melodramatic nature of the book, the outcome is predictable. These two men, literally, walk off into the sunset in comradely reverence:

Far away, down one of the garden paths, between the rows of apricot roses, they saw two elderly gentlemen strolling in the setting sun, their shadows long on the grass. They were deep in conversation, their heads bent towards each other. Gil's arm supported Oskar's elbow as they walked. (*Forgotten* 282)

The book, for the most part, is formulaic in its construction; characters lack depth and a good portion of the book is hyperbolic, adding to the novel's overtly melodramatic feel. Characters frequently react to situations in bizarre and dramatic ways, and this becomes a literary device employed by Cooper to drive the plot. Creating one melodramatic scene followed by another, character development is tarnished. This technique also enhances a number of irrational scenarios that shape the book's overall structure: a Gypsy child (Gil) is said to possess "survival skills" and is subsequently conscripted into the British army; the Gypsy is flown into Holland to act as a spy, only to be rounded-up while sleeping in a Gypsy caravan along with a whole camp of Gypsies (his survival skills appear to have lapsed); in Auschwitz, Gil somehow makes an impression on an SS officer who saves his life a number of times, yet orders the execution of other Gypsies; the grandchildren of these two

---

<sup>32</sup> Born in England, Caroline Cooper is now an Australian citizen who worked in countries including Kenya and Trinidad before arriving in Australia. The blurb on her website provides a brief overview of her occupation. It reads: "After immigrating to Australia she worked in government circles as private secretary to a minister and a prime minister, as a vice-regal executive officer, and a government visit officer escorting members of royal families, popes, presidents and potentates on official visits." Cooper describes herself as an "award winning" freelance travel writer, "reporting on domestic and international destinations."

individuals happen to meet and then become engaged; the two adversaries, as a result of the marriage of their grandchildren, become good friends. There is so much that is questionable in the novel; however, the author's note in the front of the novel suggests that the reader rely on the novel as a means of understanding European Roma/Sinti/Gypsies and their presence in the Second World War; the novel, it is stated, should to be used for pedagogical purposes.

While these scenarios distance the fiction from the fact, Australia and an Australian culture are the means by which the "factual" past involving Third Reich victims and perpetrators, is resolved or reconciled. Australia, in *The Forgotten Holocaust*, is the means that allows *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* to occur. According to Cooper, Australia and its multi-ethnicity allows a greater scope for understanding an individual's past; the country does not judge, and any who are critical of others and their former roles in distant countries are deemed "un-Australian": "Look, please Lily, whatever my grandfather did . . . we live in a multicultural and free country. The war finished over sixty years ago and we're Australian" (*Forgotten* 240). Australia as a country heals past wounds, forgives past injustices, and yet, in its ability to empathise, the populace does not forget the terrible atrocities. Heaped upon this somewhat contradictory stance is Cooper's belief in an equation of suffering, relying on the character of the former Nazi's grandson to voice this viewpoint: " 'Lily, *listen* to me. Look at me. Please,' he said gently. 'I want to tell you something about my grandfather. He wasn't what you think. Not every single Nazi represents evil. Grandpapa stopped believing in Hitler's ravings" (*Forgotten* 238). The book empathises with traditional victim and traditional perpetrator alike, the grandson describing his grandfather as a recanted individual—the man who executed, brutalised, and ranked in the upper echelons of the SS at Auschwitz. When the reader meets him again in Australia some decades later, the German is living in relative luxury on a winery in New South Wales. Aside from the novel's drive to promote an opinion regarding Australian society—that everybody in Australia is equal—there appears, I would suggest, little to warrant bestowing on the German any sympathy. In contrast, Gil, the Gypsy who migrates to Australia, comes to live in suburban Canberra, wakes from bad dreams which are the after-effects of his time in the concentration camp, is forced by his family to keep his Gypsy heritage a secret, and towards the

end of the novel has to confront the man whom he last saw in SS uniform ordering the deaths of others. Unfortunately, unlike books such as *The Reader* which positions a former camp guard in a somewhat similar way, *The Forgotten Holocaust* is unable to delve into questions of right and wrong, for the narration feels void of attempts at explaining the past. Instead, the story is driven by a nationalistic sensationalism which seems misplaced given the novel's reliance on a particular history that was, itself, driven by nationalistic fervour.

The novel may not allow in-depth conversations regarding how the Nazi and the victim are discussed in literature due, I would argue, to the novel's literary limits, yet the text does fittingly exemplify the widespread Australian cultural naivety that I argue has played a role in forging literary portrayals of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator. *The Forgotten Holocaust* propagates the virtues of Australia without, I believe, understanding the cultures with which it draws comparisons. The significant emphasis the author places on ensuring Australia and Australian culture are viewed positively, means that the book adheres in places to the Australian cultural romantic code of the bushman and mateship I mentioned in the introduction to the thesis: "We're going to arrange for them to meet . . . talk together. Man to man. Australian to Australian. Human being to human being" (*Forgotten* 260). To a degree, therefore, the story of the Holocaust, of the victim and the perpetrator, is pushed aside by the dominance of a narrative that wishes to espouse the virtues of Australia's own supposed cultural success. This negates the complex relationship of these two former foes; in a literary sense their relationship feels one-dimensional, with the cultural agenda Cooper wishes to promote taking precedence. Empathy for the victim is present in consolatory form, a divide delineating good from bad remains apparent, but an Australian cultural context gauges what is right and wrong. It is this particular cultural perspective that blurs representations of victim and perpetrator, suggesting the possibility of unity. While not impossible, given the history of both men and the destructive force this period has had on Gil the Gypsy, the scenario seems insensitive and unlikely. If Cooper wishes to be sensitive to the victim, then too much of the novel is ill-conceived and stretches the viability of any attempt at sympathy or empathy for those victimised by the Nazis. The author's drive to deliver a moral in regards to those who committed



past atrocities and a society's need to forgive and forget, feels an unattainable goal given the author's lack of consideration concerning the portrayal of this period of history. What Cooper does achieve is the promotion of a particular construction of Australian culture, a culture that heals past wounds to such effect that European perpetrator and victim adversaries become united in a new land.

This chapter has focussed on three relatively similar pieces of fiction: they have been written by lesser-known authors and published by small publishing firms; they draw on a history to which the authors have seemingly no ties; they largely position the triad stereotypically, and deviations from these depictions are rare; they rely on their retelling of history and their positioning of the victim, bystander and perpetrator to promote one country above another. What these texts have shown is a tendency to portray the Third Reich victim and bystander and perpetrator in traditional forms, even while there exist at moments—for example, as noted in Grimstone's novel—slight shifts from these customary characterisations. Furthermore, what these novels set out to achieve is the promotion of Australia or Great Britain or Holland over Germany, both during the period of occupation, but also in “modern day” terms. In the texts discussed in the next chapter, while there are some similarities to those studied in this chapter, the overt nationalistic programme found in the latter will be shown to be absent.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

The men of Reserve Battalion 101 were from the lower orders of German society. They had experienced neither social nor geographic mobility. . . . These were men who had known political standards and moral norms other than those of the Nazis. Most came from Hamburg, by reputation one of the least Nazified cities in Germany, and the majority came from a social class that had been anti-Nazi in its political culture. These men would not seem to have been a very promising group from which to recruit mass murderers on behalf of the Nazi vision of a racial utopia free of Jews.

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Battalion 101 and the Final Solution*

This chapter will, through the reading of three Australian novels, Stephanie Meder's *Legacy of Love* (1998), Edward Kynaston's *Ordinary Women* (2002), and Markus Zusak's *The Book Thief* (2007), explore the emergence (and the prominence within the novels) of the Third Reich bystander. I argue in this chapter that this representation can, as Caroline Schaumann suggests in her discussion about memory and the Third Reich, "reflect upon the Nazi past with . . . empathy and critical distance" (225). I suggest that empathetic portrayals of this particular past, and discourses which emphasise the critical distancing of the Nazi era, are evident in the three novels, pushing the bystander to the forefront of the story, relegating the victim and the perpetrator to the margins.

This chapter analyses a number of Australian novels in terms of the narrative of the "everyday," a narrative related to and derived from the concept of *Alltagsgeschichte* [the history of everyday life]. *Alltagsgeschichte*, in the context of the study of National Socialism, entails examining the everyday life of Europeans (in particular Germans) who lived under the Third Reich's despotic government. This particular historiographical focus adheres to, and is largely born from, Martin Broszat's call for an authentic depiction of life under National Socialism.

While the chapter's epigraph refers to everyday German citizens who were nurtured into "murderers," in contrast to this statement, the Australian literature studied in this chapter often removes the role of the everyday German in relation to these crimes. Using the narrative of *Alltagsgeschichte*, these books blur traditional representational boundaries and/or separate the innocent bystander from the guilty perpetrator. For example, they question how men and women with families, who enjoy cake and coffee, who love their wives and husbands, who ski and play, and who enjoy the pleasures of home comfort or a farming life, could have been part of a regime that conceived of and then implemented the Holocaust. How could German individuals who took part in trivial daily ritual, be responsible for the crimes of the Third Reich? The Australian authors studied in this chapter do not dismiss the knowledge that crimes were committed, but these crimes are often relativised when viewed through the eyes of the bystander, or when these individuals are placed within a homespun setting. What is also common to the novels studied in this chapter is the question of whether the German people as a collective were guilty. By querying the complicity of "normal" individuals or families, or communities living a "normal" life, the novels often remove those who were well-known perpetrators (members of the SS or the Gestapo for example) to a social periphery, accentuating the innocence of people caught up in the day-to-day. In some instances, such as Zusak's *The Book Thief*, these "normal" individuals are viewed as victims of their government.

To begin, the chapter further defines the process of normalisation by means of the everyday, examining Broszat's ideas regarding the "everyday" as a particular historiographical means of understanding. It will examine the notion of *Alltagsgeschichte*, aspects of this particular scholarly hypothesis, and some of the criticism that ensued following the publication of Broszat's studies—scholarly undertakings that sought to understand the Third Reich through this particular narrative. Following an examination of *Alltagsgeschichte*, I then suggest that the Australian novels studied in this chapter can be read using this particular narrative; a narrative that tends to look kindly upon the greater German population, while often failing to discuss, even as an auxiliary topic, those subjugated by the Third Reich, such as Europe's Jews.

Finally, the chapter will conclude with a brief overview of how the narrative of the everyday studied in this chapter is related to the following chapter's narrative focus, the narrative of justification. The novels in this chapter will, as in previous chapters, be considered in order of their publication date.

### ***Alltagsgeschichte***

It was the aim of German historian Martin Broszat to make sense of Germany's Third Reich by studying the "everyday"; the day-to-day life of the "average" German individual who had lived through the period. The German word *Alltagsgeschichte* loosely translates as the "history of everyday life." As a means of understanding the novels investigated in this chapter, I argue that the focus on the "ordinary"—or, as Joe Moran writes, "banal" (57)—experiences of Germans who lived during the period, promotes three contentious themes. First, the novels infer that the Nazis were a minority group who existed at the periphery of German society, and the rise of Hitler's Third Reich is therefore viewed as an ascent unpopular amongst the general population. Second, they suggest that, while they were victims of Allied bombing and/or Russian invasion in the later stages of the Second World War, the German people were also victims of the nation's political situation. Subsequently, as a result of these inherited, yet unwanted burdens, German bystanders encountered in this chapter—who maintain the ritual of daily routine—are provided with a means of eliciting cultural and social pride, and this is the third theme touched on. Alongside Broszat's theories regarding *Alltagsgeschichte*, I examine these novels in relation to an author's familial mnemonics: selective memories and recollections which assisted the author in creating his or her literary portrayal of daily life under Nazi rule.

While a scholar at Munich's Institute of Contemporary History, Broszat developed his own historiographical methods for examining the everyday life of "normal" citizens who had endured the Third Reich. This historical mode of enquiry was not uniquely Broszat's, nor was Broszat the first to coin the term *Alltagsgeschichte*; his theories regarding the everyday enlarged upon earlier studies undertaken by German historians such as Alf Lüdtke and Hans

Medick.<sup>33</sup> Significantly, it was Broszat's contribution to this form of historiography, and the subsequent influence the study had on his argument concerning the historicisation of National Socialism, that included him in Germany's 1980s *Historikerstreit* (the historians' debate). Broszat's involvement in this controversy centred on how the Nazi past should be read—how historians need to go about discussing the Third Reich. The historian's perspective regarding this process differed from what was previously a widely held “demonological” historical portrayal that “reduced” (Lorenz 143) Hitler and the Nazis to demons and criminals. Instead of focussing on the upper echelons of the despotic government, Broszat argued that the study of the day-to-day was an equally important means of attempting to understand the many facets of Nazi governance (Schödel 198). In his paper “*Plädoyer für eine Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus*” [A Plea for a Historicisation of National Socialism] (1985) Broszat advocated a more “empathetic” account of ordinary people caught up in an actual historical situation. Wishing to understand Germany's Third Reich by developing a “normal” narrative about National Socialism, Broszat desired to “‘make sense’ of past events, to produce a coherent narrative pattern, and, above all, to provide a version of the past” that could “serve as the basis for a positive self-image in the present” (Schödel 198). Subsequently, Broszat's study turned the focus away from two disparate groupings of German individuals, the good and the bad (the proletariat versus the upper ranks of the National Socialists), attempting instead to explain why National Socialism appealed to many Germans, especially in the early years of the Party's rise and reign.

The results of Broszat's studies, largely derived from evidence he gathered from 1977 to 1983 for a research endeavour entitled the “Bavaria Project,” confirmed Broszat's belief that the Nazi Party was not a monolithic and static political dictatorship influenced solely by Hitler (Alter 156). Rather, Broszat gained insight into lower to middle-class Germans who had lived through the period, who may have been influenced by the government, but who had also managed to preserve some degree of social and cultural normalcy. According to Chris Lorenz, Broszat's study supplanted traditional

---

<sup>33</sup> The advent of *Alltagsgeschichte* as a study is detailed in *The History of the Everyday: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, edited and introduced by Alf Lüdtke, with particular attention dedicated to the topic in the book's Foreword and Introduction.

historical portrayals of a black and white social divide with a depiction of German life that was coloured “grey,” inferring that the majority of Germans had been, in varying degrees, swayed or influenced by Nazi ideology and/or Nazi governance (144). In redefining the role of the everyday individual, Broszat hoped to put an end to overtly moralistic historical interpretations (portrayals influenced by post-war German writers and scholars who blamed the highly ranked Third Reich “demons” for the war and the ensuing carnage). Broszat also advocated the recording of histories that no longer contained pedagogical undertones, histories that preached and pontificated. His study of the everyday suggested that life under National Socialism remained, in many aspects, a relatable and normal cultural continuation that drew on centuries-old cultural traditions. In reaching these conclusions, Broszat further hoped to purge the “conceptual and linguistic apparatus that [viewed] the Nazi-regime as all encompassing” (Broszat 87), instead emphasising that the period contained “many social, economic, and civilizing forces and efforts at modernization” (Broszat 87). While Broszat wished to “normalise” the Nazi period, he, along with those who formed similar opinions by using similar means of investigation such as the historian Ian Kershaw, did not excuse the crimes that had taken place, nor did he provide those who had committed Nazi atrocities with a means of historical absolution (Broszat and Friedländer 86).

At the time of the debate, one of Broszat’s more notable critics was Saul Friedländer who published a number of articles in response to—and in conjunction with—the German historian.<sup>34</sup> One of Friedländer’s concerns regarding Broszat’s “Plea” was that the German historian’s paper did, in some measure, relativise the significance of the Third Reich. The Jewish scholar regarded it as morally tenuous to view the political situation in Germany as normal rather than abnormal. Friedländer further argued that the study of the everyday cancelled distance, positioning the Nazi period historically, culturally and mnemonically to historical observations that applied to, for example, sixteenth-century France, in so doing negating the period’s ethical and

---

<sup>34</sup> Friedländer also contributed to discussions regarding *Alltagsgeschichte* in his 1993 book *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews*, likewise a study of the “everyday,” but one which he defines as *Heimatsgeschichte*, a term that translates as “the history of the homeland.” *Heimatsgeschichte*, as read by Dominick LaCapra—citing a criticism of Friedländer’s—focuses on “the more normal sides of everyday life that lend themselves to endearing nostalgia” (*History* 26).

historical potency (Broszat and Friedländer 93). Alongside these two criticisms Friedländer and others argued that Broszat's investigation appeared at times to overlook the Holocaust or push the Holocaust aside. For example, Kathrin Schödel writes:

If the past is, above all, remembered in order to establish continuity . . . if past events are made to fit into a normalized story that functions as the source of identity, otherness is smoothed out. The resulting normalized German national identity is thus one that potentially excludes the victims' perspective on the Holocaust. (199)

Similarly, but from his own critical perspective as a scholar of Jewish/German history, Otto Dov Kulka argued in 1988 that Broszat appeared to regard the Holocaust as irrelevant (170). This backlash partially stemmed from Broszat's idea that "[t]he ease with which the centrality of the 'Final Solution' was carried out became a possibility because the fate of the Jews constituted a little-noticed matter of secondary importance for the majority of Germans during the war" (Broszat and Friedländer 102-03). According to critics, this passage inferred that the German majority were either unaware of Jewish conditions, or did not realise the significance of the situation; accordingly, while not forgiven or excused, they were provided with a means of exculpation.

Another of Friedländer's criticisms tied to the issue of Holocaust neglect was his insistence that any attempt to normalise the Nazi past by focusing on day-to-day minutiae created an inward-looking existence which excluded the world at large. Consequently, the study of the everyday regarded the history of German "Others," such as Jews or homosexuals, as a matter of secondary importance. This was a position supported by a number of other scholars including Diner:

For histories of everyday life necessarily emphasise the long movements of "normal" social relations. But for those victims who were chosen for extermination, the Nazi period represents the exact opposite, an absolutely exceptional state of affairs, one distinguished from everyday normalcy and continuity precisely by its incisive and catastrophic character . . . two worlds [therefore] exist side by side, and a truly synthesising approach to history is no longer possible. (Diner, "Between" 139)

In addition to these views, German historian and sociologist Klaus Tenfelde wrote that Broszat's approach to the Nazi past could, at a point in the future, result in "the superabundance of the normal, the banal, and the simple everyday . . . removing Hitler altogether from the social history of the Nazi period" (33). Tenfelde feared that Nazi crimes would be forgotten, the government forgiven, and the everyday viewed and used not simply as a means of understanding, but, more worryingly, as a tool of absolution.

I draw upon Martin Broszat's ideas regarding *Alltagsgeschichte*, and the criticism that ensued, as the novels studied in this chapter detail the everyday, and the reader, in the course of the work, is transported to day-to-day Germany under Nazi rule. In contrast to the murder mysteries of Australian author Marshall Brown, and/or paperbacks by writers that include Ray Slattery, both of which rely on Nazi pomp and regalia and stereotyping, the fiction studied in this chapter seemingly adheres to Broszat's "authentic" and "colourful" normalcy. Novels focus on daily existence, and contain characters that are aware of crimes taking place, yet are socially separated from such acts. Alongside these literary particulars, the books I study in this chapter adhere to some of the criticism that ensued following Broszat's study of *Alltagsgeschichte*. For example, not only have certain texts taken on either a right-wing or a left-wing "cast," but they often remove Hitler and the upper echelons of the Nazi party. Consequently Nazi ideology, and sometimes even the presence of the Nazi, is absent. Complying with further criticisms of *Alltagsgeschichte*, often the Holocaust becomes a topic that exists, at best, at the margins of the main story, if it is mentioned at all.

This thesis is a study of fiction, including much that might be categorised "historical fiction." Differences exist between the writing of history as advocated by Broszat et al. and the writing of literature. An historian's research is expected to rely upon primary evidence (that can include such things as personal recollection and primary evidence), whereas fiction is born from the imagination of someone who follows their own aesthetic literary creation. Either may have an interest in, or a preference for—conscious or acknowledged, or not—a particular version of the past. I argue, however, that the fiction I discuss and historical studies concur in many aspects, and the narrative of the everyday, its architecture and its criticism is a helpful means of understanding the texts in this chapter. Keith Jenkins suggests that, "history is



never for itself, it is always for someone” (21), and the same thing can be argued for fiction. Writing from the perspective of a German past, Bernhard Schlink argues that:

Fiction is true if it presents what happened or could have happened, and if it is comedy or a satire, a legend, a myth or a fairytale that opens our eyes to something that happened or could have happened. What it presents doesn't have to be the full truth. . . . We don't want fiction just for the facts being presented to us. We want reality to be presented to us and explained to us and turned into something that, even though it is not our reality, we can imagine ourselves into. (*Guilt* 133)

Similarly, but from a background very different to Schlink's, Australian author David Malouf, when questioned over the relationship between history and fiction in his work stated:

Our only way of grasping our history—and by history I really mean what has happened to us, and what determines what we are now and where we are now—the only way of really coming to terms with that is by people's entering into it in their imagination, not by the world of facts, but by being there. And the only thing which puts you there in that kind of way is fiction. (n.p.)

To strengthen this hypothesis, Camilla Nelson, in an article entitled “Faking It: History and Creative Writing,” comments on the “gaps” in history that allow fiction to not simply “fill in the blanks,” but to elucidate interpretation of human societies in ways which differ from non-fiction histories, suggesting stories possess hermeneutic powers and are endowed with a unique kind of coherence (n.p.). I argue therefore, that the Australian fiction studied in this thesis, and this chapter in turn, elucidates history by referring to it, relying on it, and then recreating it, moulding a reader's imagination to picture, in this particular case, the everyday existence of life in Germany while Hitler ruled. A fictionalised account may, suggests Malouf, allow the reader to gain a better grasp of the history. But this retelling does, as the chapter suggests,

manipulate or reshape history, separating, as Jenkins outlines in his *Rethinking History*, an objective past from a subjective history.<sup>35</sup>

The subjective fiction studied in the chapter is considered in relation to the work of those historians who focused on, as Broszat states, the study of the everyday; studies by which Germans gained a positive self-image as a result of, for example, reminders that only a small minority of Germans were SS members. The fiction discussed in this chapter stresses the idea that “normal” Germans led ordinary—although not politically unaffected (or necessarily “innocent”)—lives. By focussing on the use of the narrative of the everyday, I consider the political and social statements that each particular novel’s viewpoint presents in relation to the Third Reich bystander, and subsequently their relationship as bystander to the victim and the perpetrator.

### **Stephanie Meder, *Legacy of Love* (1998)**

Published in 1988 by Papyrus Press, a small publisher in the state of Victoria, Australia, *Legacy of Love* adheres, prescriptively in numerous instances, to a number of the attributes upon which Broszat’s studies focussed; for example, the existence of a “normal,” relatively un-political life in Germany which was only minimally affected by the impositions enforced by a dictatorial Third Reich government. In relaying this social dichotomy, *Legacy of Love* provides the reader with, I argue, an “authentic” and everyday depiction of life in Germany during the Nazi reign, and then of life in Germany during Allied occupation following the conclusion of the Second World War. Subsequently, *Legacy of Love*, as a depiction of everyday German life, attempts to extract empathy from the reader.

Born in Romania in 1923, Meder arrived in Australia in 1949, and since then her literary work has been published in Germany and in Australia, predominantly in the form of poetry. Of her two novels, *Legacy of Love* is the only one to be set in Germany and Eastern Europe. The novel’s backdrop is ostensibly Germany; however, the story begins in a small peasant village in a

---

<sup>35</sup> Postmodernism and deconstruction, along with the problematisation of notions of “objectivity” central to much cultural studies and literary theoretical writing, particularly from the 1960s, consistently stress the issue of interpretation—that “facts” are assembled to produce particular narratives and, as White argues in *Metahistory*, many of the methods of the writing of “history” have close affinities to those of “literature”: while individual subjectivity, generally considered central to art, history (and, indeed, scientific inquiry), is also informed by it.

mountainous region of Romania a few years prior to the German invasion. Aside from a sole reference, Australia is not mentioned, and the author's life in Australia is not woven into the text, as it is in very many of the novels written by post-Second World War Australian immigrants.

*Legacy of Love* is a recollection written in first person, and the story builds around a young girl from Romania who, for the bulk of the novel, is known as Elena Holdt. A series of both misfortunes and fortunes finds Elena living in Nuremberg, Germany, having adopted a new identity and a new-born baby. The baby's mother dies from Allied bombing, and Elena takes the baby and the mother's identification, and recreates herself. Initially a wary and scared newcomer to the German nation, and a person who dislikes (although never thoroughly hates) the Germans, and although they murder her Romanian father and mother, Elena comes to love a German man and his extended family. Following a brief period of assimilation, Elena finds a happy home in Nazi Germany—and later in Allied-occupied Germany at the end of the war. Cultural immersion recasts her opinion of this country and its people, from feelings of misunderstanding and/or loathing, to feeling adoration, love and respect. "Shamefully," the protagonist Elena writes, "I had to admit that I felt much more at home with these well-educated enemies than with unwashed compatriots" (*Legacy* 74). The character eventually marries a German man, adopts a German way of life, lives her remaining years in Germany, and regards Germany as her salvation.

The story being told from the perspective of the novel's main protagonist means that the point of view is not German. Instead, the reader glimpses the inner musings of a person who has every right to despise the Germans for their barbaric acts. Instead, Elena comes to know the Germans as a noble people with good intentions; a perspective the narrator's German husband realises is essential to restoring the world's faith in Germany. "After this war, when the Germans will be condemned and victimised, it is only strong people like you who will dare speak up for us" (*Legacy* 100). Viewing the Germans from the perspective of the outsider suggests that an objective means of comparison occurs, and that the Germans, as contrasted against the Americans and the Russians, are viewed in an unbiased way and without cultural favouritism. This theme is again the result of the origin of the

storyteller, the ability to judge from afar rather than from within, and it substantially influences the novel's pro-German stance.

Set in the German city of Nuremberg, Elena's suburban world rarely extends past the streets on which she lives and shops. For the most part, the book tells of Elena's interaction with neighbours, of familial relationships, the growing of gardens, daily rationing, Christmas, and a host of everyday rituals. Locations such as the Eastern Front or Berlin are mentioned, yet these are so distant that they barely touch Elena's household, and her day-to-day is never greatly hindered as a result of the war or Nazi governance. If anything, the war strengthens Elena's role as housewife and mother; she sees it as her responsibility to govern the home's wellbeing and finances in a time of crisis, and these daily tasks are a reason for personal satisfaction and pride.

Nazis inhabit *Legacy of Love*, but there are no Jews in the book, nor any mention of the crimes associated with the Holocaust. Train transports briefly feature as the main character is forced into one, only to escape when the train is bombed. But traditional victims are not discussed, nor political, homosexual or social minorities that likewise suffered. The novel could further be read to suggest that the Germans suffered similar incarceration to the Jews, for German soldiers are depicted as wrongfully interned in prisoner-of-war camps after the war, an imprisonment that resulted in moral and physical abuse (*Legacy* 151). Nevertheless, while the novel may never question the responsibility of the everyday German person, Nazi perpetrators are not excused for their actions. Those who served Hitler are to be rightfully punished. To negate this viewpoint, however, the book appears to claim that very few "normal" Germans were complicit in such crimes, and therefore few Germans are worthy of prosecution.<sup>36</sup> The absence of crimes such as Jewish transportations implies by their non-existence that criminality was not witnessed by the greater part of German people who went about daily life, and these individuals are therefore neither guilty conspirators, nor complacent bystanders. As similarly argued for the two books that follow, *Ordinary Women* and *The Book Thief*, because of the distance the author establishes separating the bystander from the ardent Nazi, the perpetrator in *Legacy of*

---

<sup>36</sup> While there are many publications which negate the viewpoint that "ordinary" people played no role in the Holocaust, for a contradictory historical perspective see Mary Fulbrook's *A Small Town Near Auschwitz: Ordinary Nazis and the Holocaust*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

Love is regarded as an outsider—someone far-removed from the “normal” German—and is therefore deemed the antithesis of the norm, or as a small cog in a machine too large to stop. Or, as an unfortunate someone, located in a wrong time and a horrid place. This is exemplified by the character of SS *Obersturmführer* K.H. Schele; once a “normal and ambitious boy” (*Legacy* 99), Schele leaves his small town for Berlin, and while in Germany’s capital city he falls under the spell of the propaganda of Hitler and Goebbels.

The portrayal of American domination in Germany following the defeat of the Third Reich further excuses or lessens the potency of Nazi ideology, since American “invaders” are seemingly driven by similar self-beliefs that led the Germans to acts of genocide:

My experience with the American officials was not pleasant. Why were these people so rude and self-opinionated? After all, I was not the enemy and my papers were proof enough that I had suffered at the hands of the Germans. Did they consider themselves better than anybody else . . . a master race . . . gift to mankind . . . with the dollar sign, their coat of arms? (*Legacy* 186)

Even concentration camps, which are mentioned at the beginning of the novel, are explained in a way that serves to relativise these establishments. Soon after the German army arrive in Elena’s small town in south-eastern Europe, Elena and her father discuss the camps. When she asks: “Did the Germans introduce this horrible practice?” he replies:

No, my dear. Detention centres of that kind occurred first in Africa, during the Boer War. The families of Boers were herded together by the English and held in horrible conditions, as retribution for killings carried out by freedom fighters. After the Communist takeover of Russia, the new regime went a step further, by deporting dissidents to labour in their mines or logging enterprises. (*Legacy* 35)

Although a wrongdoing, the camps are viewed as an example of humanity’s cruel intention. The Germans may construct these pens, but they merely replicate those created by other countries. Therefore, the camps are not seen to be specifically German, but are constructed because of social and political

conditions; the knowledge that such establishments worked before; and, more significantly, these camps were built by others.

Nazi soldiers, the SS, and the Gestapo are not, for the large part, positively depicted in the book, and certain German characteristics are looked on unfavourably, yet the book clearly positions itself as an advocate of German victimhood: “Our victors aim to reduce every German to poverty. The value of the Mark is not much better than after the First World War. Our savings are decimated. Our factories are being robbed of machinery as part of war reparations. Father’s investments in industry . . . are gone as well. I’ll have to work to support my family” (*Legacy* 149). Germans are the victims of war and its aftermath, of Allied bombing, of Soviet rape and plunder, Allied aggression, and even Swiss arrogance. Furthermore, the novel implies that Britain, Russia, America and France committed similar atrocities to those of the Germans (presumably, the author is referring either to the destruction of German cities by large-scale Allied bombing, or to the realisation that in war both sides kill and maim), and the Allies are therefore viewed unfit to judge Germany (*Legacy* 167). A number of inferences strengthen this perspective. The novel, for example, refers to the Russians as the “enemy,” stating “the enemy on the eastern front did not respect the Red Cross insignia,” suggesting that the Germans, at the very least, complied with the Geneva Convention. The process of de-nazification is viewed in *Legacy of Love* as an undeserved imposition, implemented to serve an international media which thrives on sensationalism:

The witch hunt in Germany was accelerating. . . . Each city in West Germany had its own de-nazification commission which investigated army officers, public servants and members of Nazi organisations, against whom no particular charge could be laid . . . The commission was keen to give the many international reporters some interesting stories for their newspapers. (*Legacy* 167)

Inquisitions for German persons following the American takeover of Western Germany heighten the novel’s suggestion that the Allies were as prone to committing atrocities as were Germans. These interviews are intended to determine which Germans are to be tried and which to be freed, but they are depicted as gratuitous “witch hunts” used to gratify the Western press. In

*Legacy of Love* Elena's husband, Otto, who worked as a doctor in the *Wehrmacht* during the war, is wronged by such processes:

When Otto was called up before the commission, he was not allowed legal representation or legal advice, and the individuals who interrogated him for hours were neither lawyers nor medical experts. The questions they asked were neither relevant to his war activities nor his political affiliations, but sensation-seeking trivialities for which a direct answer was not possible. (*Legacy* 167)

While not personally examined, the book's main protagonist experiences the brunt of the Allied hostility and bigotry shown towards the German population:

Garbage they considered me, as if I were a criminal. Would all Germans be treated like that? Of course this American had no way of knowing that I was not a German, but would Otto, too, be victimised, despite his goodness and decency? Would there be witch hunts and denunciations? (*Legacy* 127)

The Allies impose punishment from the Germans on a daily basis, and the Nuremberg trials that commence soon after the end of the war are one example of an unfair quest for revenge. Everyday, ordinary Germans suffer from an American desire for retribution. Victimisation of the bystander is at the fore of *Legacy of Love*:

A loaf of bread could cost as much as the weekly wage of a worker. Also, being forced to trade at the black market, I had to pay outrageous prices for two small eggs and a spoonful of butter . . . fortunately the Holdts were rich people, but what about the majority of Germans, those without work or being refugees? Malnutrition, disease, and suicides took their toll. Child mortality rocketed. To survive became an art, a daily battle against the odds. (*Legacy* 129)

By focussing on the rituals of the everyday, and through the use of a first person narrator who gradually softens to the German people, the German majority are represented initially as people misunderstood, then as a population of victims. Nazi perpetrators, because of their absence from the book, appear removed from German society. Of those Germans questioned about their roles in the Third Reich, many are viewed as victims of western

media hype and Allied sensationalism, and their guilt is questioned and/or delegitimised. As with the majority of the books that I discuss in this thesis, however, *Legacy of Love* does not justify the crimes of the Third Reich. Instead, it pushes the crimes aside, seemingly forgets the impact these social upheavals had on a significant percentage of 1930s and 1940s Europe.

### **Edward Kynaston, *Ordinary Women* (2002)**

*Ordinary Women* is a novel published by an independent Australian publisher called Esperance Press, and as for *Legacy of Love*, very little commentary, either populist or academic, is associated with it.<sup>37</sup> No reviews or any criticism exists that discuss *Ordinary Women*, the sole comment is from the publisher who describes the story as “a truly Australian story, a family saga, a truly humanising women’s liberation, and a riveting story” (n.p.).<sup>38</sup> Edward Kynaston’s *Ordinary Women* contains a narrative and a structure that are relatively traditional in form, but the novel’s conception is slightly confusing. For one, the copyright is given as Petra Williams, Kynaston’s wife, which would not normally provoke enquiry, had “Edward Kynaston” not also have been the name of a seventeenth-century actor famous for gender swapping. Second, while there was an Australian author who went by the name Edward Kynaston and who died in 2000, I question the percentage of *Ordinary Women* written by this person. Kynaston’s forays into the literary world include his role as editor of the anthology *Australian Voices: A Collection of Poetry and Prose*, yet *Ordinary Women* was published two years after his death; his wife and his eventual publisher advocated for the book’s release. The novel’s dedication provides further confusion, for it remembers Lida Richards-Segar née Elise Müller, who was said to have been executed by the Gestapo in 1944, yet died in Melbourne in 1987. A somewhat indecipherable dedication, but this puzzle is the story’s backbone, and the character of Erna Friedrich—one of the two central protagonists in *Ordinary Women*—is listed as dead from a fabricated execution by the Gestapo, eventually migrating to Australia after the war.

---

<sup>37</sup> I speculate that the title *Ordinary Women* could be a conscious play on Christopher Browning’s study of a Hamburg police battalion who commit genocide in Eastern Europe, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, first published in 1992.

<sup>38</sup> This has no apparent author. The information is taken from: [www.esperancepress.com.au](http://www.esperancepress.com.au).



According to Williams, the book is a retelling of her family's life in Dresden before the ascent of the Nazis and the consequences of this for family and the family business. At the core of the story is the Allied fire bombings, and the effects this destruction had on the city and its inhabitants. So there appears a biographical element to this novel, and according to Kynaston's wife, sixty percent of the story is a recounting of her family's experience. Yet the book itself is described by the AustLit database as historical fiction, and a novel. Told from the viewpoint of Anita Friedrich, a character seemingly based on the author's wife (as revealed in a speech by Petra Williams at the novel's launch), the predominant story is that of her life. Men in this novel, in contrast to the female characters, are construed as individuals who impinge on the lives of women: Nazi males, Russian soldiers, incompetent husbands, male neighbours who act as Nazi informants, male members of the Gestapo, and male bureaucrats of many nations. *Ordinary Women*, therefore, is a story of a bystander's survival, and this character type and their evolution as bystander-cum-victim is heightened, for these women take little pro-active interest in politics or war. They do not consciously participate in the politics or the fighting, but they observe, and over the course of the novel they suffer similarly to the traditional victims. This perspective may bring into question biographical elements, for these bystanders appear to have little or no association with the Nazis. In what may be considered a difference in historical perspective, however, the family's business continues unhindered; businesses which sought Party affiliation were privileged with work, for these were often contracted to the government (Kershaw, *Popular* 124). Kynaston's retelling ensures that the family are never implicated in the Third Reich, and friendly and familial connections, either in business or in their personal life, are positioned in a similar vein.

I include *Ordinary Women* in this chapter for the story focuses on "ordinary women," three generations of females from the one family who are bystanders during the period of the Reich. Life in Germany in *Ordinary Women*, both past and semi-present (present being prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall), is set in the everyday. Unsettling to day-to-day rituals is the inclusion of tumultuous events such as the Dresden bombing, or the influx of hostile Russians. The bystanders, therefore, whom this trio of women collectively represent, are eventually reconfigured as victims of the Reich and

its enemies akin to the “ordinary” characters located in, for example, Zusak’s story of the “everyday,” *The Book Thief*. This representation is infused within the novel by a reliance on a number of historical events: the Nazis, bombings, and Soviet domination—political reasons; likewise, they suffer as a consequence of the innocence of their sex, for the three women (and many of the auxiliary female characters in the book), while capable of survival, are neither the instigators, nor active participants in activities or in politics whose end result is death and ruin. These women watch their world gradually unravel, and their representation, in direct correlation with this unravelling of their once-loved Germany, morphs them into victims of the Nazi regime.

This representational shift—enhanced by the gender of the female characters, for the book suggests it is men who create war and enforce Nazi rule, and enhanced by the portrayal of politics as the cause of the world’s problems—creates an “us” versus “them” dichotomy; the “them” being, to a large degree, men who rape and murder and rely on cultural idealism and politics as a means of justifying their crimes. Female characters, while reliant and practical during times of hardship are never the instigators of aggressive actions. Gender, in *Ordinary Women*, is therefore a means of separating the everyday from the extreme, for women and their maternal instincts counterbalance Nazi/German/Russian male dominance. Male Nazis—one example of an overtly political group that falls back on cultural and political ideologies—are therefore far more pronounced than the Nazis located in Zusak’s book, where these political extremists are relegated to a murky, indefinable presence. In *Ordinary Women* men rule and run all the seminal Nazi activities, including the SS and the Gestapo. There is no attempt to de-demonise these Nazis, especially if individuals are members of the SS or the secret police. Yet, these perpetrators are seen to emerge from the uncaring, uneducated male population; a significant divergence from the goodhearted and mostly female citizens the Friedrich family represent. Traditional perpetrators remain diabolical, ideologically driven men. By contrast, traditional Jewish victims are mentioned, but only in relation to these demonic beings and those few immoral citizens who derive pleasure from the traditional victim’s demise:

That she should have to decide whether to tell her daughter what everyone knew but no one would acknowledge was

infuriating, unbearable. A fury possessed her, rage that a child should have to know the abominable horrors that people made sly jokes about with innocent smiling faces. For a terrible weak moment she was tempted to deny everything, to deride all the stories of nightly transports of Jews going east as childish fantasies fed by Party propaganda. (*Ordinary* 181)

A result of this focus on the female bystander, alongside a general neglect of the traditional victim and an overall demonising of the perpetrator, is a reapportioning of sympathy. Traditionally and morally, a person empathises or sympathises with the Jewish victim, for example. Here, feelings are turned towards the bystander and their traumatic experiences. Focussing on German citizens in such a way reflects LaCapra's ideas regarding *Heimatsgeschichte* [history of the homeland], histories which focus "on the more normal or normalized aspects of life on which the Shoah impinged in marginalized, contained ways as a phenomenon at best on the periphery of consciousness" (*History* 50). This history, as evinced in *Ordinary Women*, "contains the past through a self-legitimising, even sentimentalizing process that may well involve the repression of its more unsettling aspects" (LaCapra, *History* 50-51). There is not the repression of events that harm or maim or kill in *Ordinary Women*; unsettling acts are portrayed. But these acts are those inflicted on everyday citizens, giving rise to both of LaCapra's claims: the German population who were not Nazified are legitimised in their actions during the period, and these persons are seen to suffer as do the Jews. Bombings and rape act not only as a means of historical revisionism, but serve to absolve those who may have been fool enough to believe the Third Reich's propaganda. One such absolution is witnessed in the character of Frau Weber, a woman who once vehemently praised the Nazis. Following their defeat, Frau Weber is raped by the Russians as her daughter watches on. To add to this humiliation, her husband, a once renowned Nazi, returns from the war abusive as he has suffered mental damage. Such experiences eventually lead to the suicide of the woman's daughter, Christine Weber. The reader feels empathy for Frau Weber, abused as she is by politics and the men in her life. Her belief in the Nazis may have led to the arrest of Jewish neighbours, but this past remains unspoken. The series of tortures to which Frau Weber is subjected by the Russians (or as an indirect result of the Russians), alongside

the damage inflicted on her because of a regime who turns her husband into a mentally unstable individual, followed by the suicide of her daughter, transforms Frau Weber from Nazi, to victim, to martyr.

Petra Williams has relied upon memory to recount childhood stories, which makes understandable her retelling of life and people that sentimentalises and self-legitimises. Williams is sentimental about her mother and grandparents, about Dresden, about the family's survival, and she legitimises her family and their role in the Third Reich. In doing so, the individuals and all persons affectionately associated with the family, are presented as saintly, and their decisions, while sometimes deemed irrational or foolhardy, are usually written as ethically correct: from business decisions, to leaving Dresden after the bombing, to migrating to Australia, to helping others in need: "The women who straggled past were at their last gasp, haggard, stumbling deranged. . . . 'We cannot leave those poor creatures to fend for themselves. They need our help. I'm going down to bring some of them in' " (*Ordinary* 329). That is not to suggest this fictionalised family are not flawed, and characters are depicted with their own quirks and short-fallings. But these beings are revered, and their righteousness never questioned. The family are intelligent, cultured, pragmatic, rich but never snobbish, they retain a moral fortitude, and are brave and quick-thinking. Altogether, they are depicted positively. In contrast, others are written as dim-witted, uncultured (especially Anglo-Australians), morally questionable, ugly, and untrustworthy. The reader is led through three generations of a family of predominantly female saints and martyrs, with these good individuals contrasted against a host of people who range from the demonic to the misguided and who are predominantly male. The book, therefore, reads as something of a morality tale, revealing the virtues of three women from the Friedrich family as upstanding citizens upholding the goodness of society and culture. This portrayal is not so much problematic when contained to the one family, but in this sweeping tale that covers three generations, the narrative pontificates and judges in a generalised manner, and this is not restricted to gender divides:

The Russians were mostly from central Asia, slant-eyed, snub-nosed, their heads shaven or closely cropped, their uniforms torn and filthy. They were drunk most of the time and either scowling and cruel, or insanely grinning and cruel. They stank of

dirt and drink. They were insatiable in their demands. (*Ordinary Women* 353)

*Ordinary Women* is a story of fortitude and survival, and it presents women as strong individuals who have been wronged by a political and male-dominated world. But the book edges towards its own form of pontificating. In preaching the virtues of these women caught in a world not of their own making, the novel becomes self-aggrandizing, only a slight remove, I argue, from the act of self-legitimising. This is the problem with such a depiction of bystanders, for as studies have shown regarding the Third Reich, it is difficult to suggest that bystanders of even the most impeccable upstanding moral fortitude have not in some way been aware of the crimes of the Third Reich. *Ordinary Women* suggests otherwise, which, I believe, heightens its status as a piece of fiction.

### **Markus Zusak, *The Book Thief* (2005)**

In light of Broszat's study of the everyday, Markus Zusak's *The Book Thief* (2005) adheres to many of Broszat's hypotheses: to understand the Third Reich the novel relies on portrayals of the everyday, it creates "empathy" in its depiction of "normal" German citizens, and, it possibly acts as a present-day means of producing "positive self-imagery" in the German reader (Schödel 198). Similarly, the novel can be read in relation to issues I foregrounded earlier in this chapter. For example, the novel appears to "cancel distance," negating taken-for-granted ethical presuppositions that are often automatically implied or applied when discussing the period. While not disregarding the event of the Holocaust, *The Book Thief* suggests that the Germans suffered in ways similar to the persecuted minorities. It is Broszat's theories pertaining to the historicisation of the everyday, in conjunction with some of the critiques of them that ensued, that I believe prompt a divergence from previous understandings and readings of Zusak's novel.

The novel is set in Nazi Germany between the years 1939 to 1943, at the height of National Socialism, and just before the fall of Stalingrad. The German defeat at Stalingrad is viewed by some as a significant moment in the Second World War, and a major contributor to turning the German people against their government (Kershaw 383-84). Since the novel takes place over the course of these four years, the reader can witness the ever-increasing

threat of Russian and Allied forces as the fate of the war turns against Germany. The story centres on a young girl named Liesel Meminger who has been placed in foster care. She comes to live in a humble home on a poverty-stricken street in a town not far from Munich, with a “crude but basically decent” (Stone 10) elderly couple called Rosa and Hans Hubermann whose children have grown up and long since moved away. The girl’s father has most likely been murdered for his affiliation to the Communist Party, her brother has died on their journey to this foster family, and the mother disappears. Shortly after arriving on Himmel Street (*Himmel* meaning sky or heaven in German), Liesel befriends a boy called Rudy Steiner. The adventures of these two children constitute the heart of the novel. Importantly, the story is not told from the child’s perspective, but from the viewpoint of Death who serves as an omniscient narrator, his attention drawn to this small clutch of individuals, in particular Liesel. Aside from these major characters, a Jewish refugee called Max Vandenburg lives with Liesel and the Hubermanns for a period, hidden in the basement of their house, and there are a number of auxiliary characters who are embroiled in the street’s day-to-day.

*The Book Thief* is informed by Zusak’s experience as the son of German and Austrian parents who, as children, witnessed Allied bombing and Jewish incarceration. A number of the more poignant scenes in the book appear to be retellings of their recollections. Zusak comments in an article in *Australian Author* that “we grew up hearing stories about cities of fire and heading to the bomb shelters in the dead of early morning, and kids who gave bread to Jewish prisoners and other so-called criminals on their way to concentration camps” (“Strangeness” 16). As adolescents, Zusak’s parents were involved in activities during the Third Reich, Zusak stating that “my dad was in the Hitler Youth and he just eventually stopped going. He just thought ‘I can’t stand this’ ” (Creagh n.p.). Zusak himself, though, was born in Sydney in 1976 and continues to live there with his family.

A year after the book’s publication the novel was awarded the Commonwealth Writer’s Prize, and a year later the Michael L. Printz Honour Prize, an award for “best book written for teens, based entirely on its literary

merit.”<sup>39</sup> Translated into German in 2008 (*Die Bücherdiebin*), *The Book Thief* won Germany’s *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis* prize in 2009. The bestowing of these prizes reflects the confusion over the book’s genre. Many have dubbed it a young adult novel, others refer to it as adult fiction, yet Zusak himself states that in writing *The Book Thief* he set out to finish his first adult novel (“Strangeness” 17). Deborah Stone’s review, found in the *Australian Jewish News*, expresses this confusion. She writes that, “Zusak is an award-winning children’s author and this book has been variously touted as superior juvenile fiction or a first foray into writing for adults. I think it is the latter” (10). This confusion is significant for it maps the breadth and scope of the novel’s audience.

Criticism that examines *The Book Thief* has, to date, predominantly taken the form of book reviews such as Stone’s. Of those reviews nearly all are positive. Examples of favourable reviews include Peter Pierce’s article in the *Age*, which comments that Zusak “has written . . . one of the most unusual and compelling of Australian novels” (n.p.). In 2009 Deborah Stevenson called *The Book Thief* “a book of greatness” (390). Reviews generally discuss the novel’s various plot devices and/or the way Zusak employs the character of Death to narrate the tale. Aside from these similarities, what also binds these reviews is, I would argue, collective oversight, in that almost all fail to notice that those who suffer in *The Book Thief* are “Aryan” Germans. German Jews feature—including the detailed flight and capture of one Jewish individual—and the communists are mentioned, but it is the apolitical, un-Jewish German population who bear the burden of the Nazi regime. Serge Debrebant in the *Financial Times*, the only reviewer to note this narratological positioning, comments that “in the space between a central character who admires Jesse Owens [a black American Olympian], and another who hides a Jewish refugee in his basement, you could almost forget that the Nazi regime came to power by vote” (n.p.). As Debrebant discerns, Zusak may have inserted certain markers to ensure his main characters are not anti-Semitic or racist (such as the inclusion of reverence for Jesse Owens), but, with the exception of the

---

<sup>39</sup> Since its 2005 publication, the book has also been translated into a number of different languages, and a film based on the novel, and directed by Brian Percival, was released in 2014.

diehard Nazis who vaguely inhabit some of the novel's pages, the remainder of Germany appears guilt-free in relation to having assisted in Hitler's ascent.

Zusak achieves this apparent "forgetfulness," this absence, in two main ways. First, by the evocation of childhood which becomes a literary device that situates the reader in a time and in a mindset that is "at some level the same in every place" (Stone 10). By focussing on childhood friendships, on the innocence of childhood, on first loves and first kisses, showing soccer on the street, and childish pranks and mischief, Zusak "serves to remind us of the ways in which children—and adults—live ordinary lives in extraordinary circumstances" (Stone 10). The second literary device Zusak employs, and one that is closely associated with the novel's portrayal of childhood, is the use of the everyday. These two literary devices (both prevalent throughout the book) forge a novel sympathetic not to the Nazis—whose children, I imagine, also played on the streets, and who may have been living through the banalities of day-to-day events—but to common German *Volk*, those who begrudgingly accepted political fate and its repercussions while remaining entrenched in the routine of the everyday.

To heighten this portrayal of civil normality, the novel is, as mentioned, set on a common street—a street lacking the glitz of those streets on which live the upper echelons of the town's society, people such as the Lord Mayor and his wife. In contrast, the inhabitants of Himmel Street inhabit run-down cottages and work as painters or launderers, people with trades. Thus, Zusak establishes a clear distinction between rich and poor. Himmel Street and its economically "inhibited" inhabitants—"inhibited" in that they are poor in social hierarchy, not because they lack a work ethic—suffer and grumble about war-time restrictions, and collectively complain about the Nazis who govern at national levels and those who oversee the small town. But neighbourly rapport and a sense of common suffering mean the street's inhabitants live a comparatively carefree existence. They have increasingly less to eat as the war escalates, and they are periodically forced to comply with government regulations, which, for example, rule that their children be sent to Hitler Youth meetings. The evocation of childhood scenes mixed with portrayals of everyday suffering immerse the reader in the daily lives of innocent bystanders who watch the regime from a distance, who witness its criminality, yet only experience, again by comparison, slight deprivation themselves. Such



forms of suffering include social and economic segregation from the more affluent Germans, the physical and psychological effects of the ever-present Russian Front, the onset of Allied bombing, and political and social hardships enforced by the government: “On top of the rationing his father’s business wasn’t doing too well (the threat of Jewish competition was taken away, but so were the Jewish customers). The Steiners were scratching things together to get by. Like many other people on the Himmel Street side of town, they needed to trade” (*Book* 156). In creating such an atmosphere, the street and its inhabitants become removed or separated from the outside world. Daily ritual and the excesses of the Nazi regime, mimicking a distinction Diner noted in his own study of the everyday, are seen to be living side-by-side, and yet are situated at a distance from each other (139). Relying on small-town banality enables the reader to become ensconced in the lives of bystanders who suffer as a result of those perpetrators who inhabit the same town, but, unlike the bystanders, benefit from the regime.

These innocent bystanders, who watch Jewish camp interns in work gangs, who live through the *Kristallnacht*, who bear the brunt of Nazi civil services and governmental policy and are forced to participate in Nazi nationalistic activities, become the book’s heroes. The majority die an unheroic death from Allied bombs, for they are not depicted as martyrs, but their deaths are written as tragic:

Liesel did not run or walk or move at all. Her eyes had scoured the humans and stopped hazily when she noticed the tall man and the short, wardrobe woman. That’s my mama. That’s my papa. The words were stapled to her. “They’re not moving,” she said quietly. “They’re not moving.” (*Book* 540)

As time progresses, from 1939 through to 1943, a sense of the community’s growing victimisation occurs, until, in the final pages of *The Book Thief*, nearly all are killed by an Allied bomb. The entire street is razed in this same bombing and with the exception of Liesel and one or two insignificant characters, the street’s inhabitants lie dead. It leaves the reader shocked. The death of Rudy attests to the novel’s emotive content: “ ‘Come on, Jesse Owens —.’ But the boy did not wake. In disbelief, Liesel buried her head into Rudy’s chest. She held his limp body, trying to keep him from lolling back, until she needed to return him to the butchered ground. She did it gently”

(*Book 539*). Death shatters childhood innocence and those rituals of the everyday. Those pleasant talks around the kitchen table and evenings of book reading, these are destroyed and the reader is left mourning the death of German citizens and their banal rituals.

Zusak's decision to use Allied bombing as an agent of slaughter adheres to a literary and cultural method of historical synchronism that has been apparent in discussions about the Third Reich for many decades. Such synchronicity claims that wartime atrocities committed by the British, American or Russians, including the Allied firebombing of German cities, can be compared to Nazi war crimes (Niven 128-32); a form of memorialising refuted by Gabriele Schwab, for example, who states that, "Germans became victims because they were perpetrators or at least belonged to a perpetrator nation" (23). Allied bombings, as portrayed in the novel, act not only as a means of equating the crimes of the British and American forces to those of the German, but they help to heighten social insularity as bombs are seen to fall on one select stratum of German society, again dividing rich from poor. The impoverished victims are those innocent Germans, while the Nazis, such as the Lord Mayor, remain unscathed (or they remain largely unseen and unheard-of). "Enemy" bombings are the reason why the residents of Himmel Street quiver with fright in basements alongside friends and family. They are the reason why the narrator, Death, floats from German city to German city, describing in the process the rubble and ruin caused by Allied air raids, carrying away human souls as Germany's population perish. Statements that include, "It was the children I carried in my arms" (*Book 343*), and, "Just past the rubble of Cologne, a group of kids collected empty fuel containers dropped by their enemies. As usual, I collected humans. I was tired. And the year wasn't halfway over yet" (*Book 347*) evoke a sympathetic reaction in the reader. Glimpses such as these paint scenes which propagate personal and large-scale trauma, again emphasising the victimhood of the bystander.

Alongside Allied bombing, the Nazi is a menacing presence, although not as harmful, nor, I think, given depictions in the book, as diabolical, as "enemy" air raids, though certainly insidious. Nazis are viewed as social annoyances, suburban political and societal blights. Their presence—which could be, if so chosen by Party members, detrimental to everyday existence—are never viewed as life threatening, and are never cause for as much

concern as the bombings. Aside from a book burning, a Hitler Youth sports carnival, and the odd national day dedicated to the birth of Hitler, minimal Nazi presence marks the book. The Gestapo appear at one point, and the Hitler Youth are part of society's routine—this club even aiding in the creation of some of those relatable and evocative childhood experiences—but aside from these few exceptions, the Third Reich is written as a murky presence. For example, as Liesel walks the streets of her town “picking up and delivering washing and ironing, Nazi Party members were accumulating fuel [for a bonfire in celebration of Hitler's birthday]. A couple of times, Liesel was a witness to men and women knocking on doors . . .” (*Book 107*). Not that the Nazi presence is any way removed from the narrative—depicting the Third Reich and all its political and cultural side-effects remains one of the novel's core aims—but Zusak reduces the Nazis, if depicted as individuals, to caricatures of themselves. Or, if he is describing the Nazis as a collective, they are portrayed as a shadowy, indefinable social infestation that sits to the periphery of the main story. One of the most adamant supporters of Hitler, and a character type that embodies the Nazi in *The Book Thief*, is local shopkeeper Frau Diller. The description of Frau Diller provides an example of the aforementioned Nazi caricature, one that borders on the comic:

Frau Diller was a sharp-edged woman with fat glasses and a nefarious glare. She developed this evil look to discourage the very idea of stealing from her shop, which she occupied with soldier-like posture, a refrigerated voice and even her breath smelled like *Heil Hitler*. The shop itself was white and cold, completely bloodless. The small house compressed beside it shivered with a little more severity than the other buildings on Himmel Street. Frau Diller administered this feeling, dishing it out as the only free item from her premises. She lived for her shop and her shop lived for the Third Reich. (*Book 55*)

Likewise, other Nazis in the town are described using similar stereotypical vocabulary: blond, cold, obstinate and arrogant. Less literally, Zusak uses such allusions as, “they'd been *Führered*” (*Book 109*) and “they had the *Führer* in their eyes” (*Book 399*). These descriptions may even suggest a style of demonic possession, and individuals lack all agency. In other episodes,

groupings of Nazis are viewed as metaphysical entities, more spirits than actual physical beings:

A collection of men walked from the platform and surrounded the heap [of confiscated books], igniting it, much to the approval of everyone. Voices climbed over shoulders and the smell of pure German sweat struggled at first, then poured out. It rounded corners, till they were all swimming in it. The words, the sweat. And smiling. Let's not forget the smiling. (*Book* 117)

By separating Nazis from those “normal” individuals of Himmel Street, *The Book Thief* suggests that the Nazi perpetrator was an anomaly, a cultural mistake that pounced on unaware, naïve Germans. Likewise, those who take Nazi ideology seriously are rare amongst the lower to middle-class echelons of society. Party members are predominantly from upper-class Germany, and any Nazi of similar caste to the inhabitants of Himmel Street, such as Frau Diller, is portrayed as socially inhibited, inhumane and selfish. The Nazi therefore exists as a common grievance, acting as a means of herding the inhabitants of Himmel Street and heightening social insularity and separation from those in the Party. At times literal, but more often sly derision directed against these Nazi characters becomes another apparatus in uniting the working-class, for example the Hubermanns' reluctance to hang a Nazi flag for Hitler's birthday, although this is an act that they realise is important to their survival (*Book* 108-09). Simultaneously, the Nazi menace is felt without a well-drawn and in-depth character being held accountable. Nazi ideology pervades and shapes Himmel Street, but there are only a marginal few who police the government's regulations. The Nazi menace to the bystander is not removed, but it is pushed to the novel's periphery. A black and white divide appears, ensuring the perpetrator and the common German are two distinct entities, and the opaque grey that Broszat thought a more fitting depiction of everyday life in the Third Reich is negated; there are definite perpetrators and definite victims.

It needs to be noted that Zusak neither relativises nor excuses the Nazi regime, or its crimes. Sections of the novel also ensure the author's stance on German perpetration is not anti-Semitic, such as the chapter titled “Death's Diary: The Parisians” (*Book* 357) in which the reader glimpses French Jews dying at Auschwitz. Likewise, in another section of the novel, Zusak

incorporates the gas chambers: “The Germans in the basements [Non-Jewish Germans using the basements as air raid shelters] were pitiable, surely, but at least they had a chance. That basement was not a washroom. They were not sent there for a shower. For those people, life was still achievable” (*Book* 384). *The Book Thief* also adheres to an observation made by Friedländer who in 1988 wrote that “the general population was much more aware of what was happening to the Jews than we thought up to now” (Broszat and Friedländer 108). On occasions when confronted by racial violence, the residents of Himmel Street feel remorse and pity, and some are even brave enough to help, as exemplified by the Hubermanns who hide Max Vandenburg in their cellar. At one point Hans Hubermann even attempts to help a Jew in public and is later punished for it by the Nazis (although his punishment is paltry compared to the atrocities being committed throughout Europe at that time).

Academic studies such as Browning’s *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (2001) paint a very bleak view of the “ordinary citizen” and their role in the Holocaust. Browning’s historical investigation into a Hamburg police battalion correlates with an argument by Holocaust scholar Carolyn Dean, who states that “Increasingly, most historians concur . . . that while diverse groups of Germans didn’t know all the details, they knew generally what was happening to the Jews as well as other persecuted groups and may best be described as having tacitly consented to Nazi policies” (81).<sup>40</sup> Dean’s argument is supported by a number of other historians, including Kershaw, and Dean considers that the majority of Germans were “ ‘indifferent’ to the fate of the Jews” (Dean 81). In many respects, the opposite conclusion can be drawn from *The Book Thief*. For there are definite perpetrators, but these individuals are neither numerous enough, nor socially conscious enough, to live within the good-hearted working-class majority. In providing this divide, the novel creates a guilty party, contrasting the complicit few to the everyday German who appears

---

<sup>40</sup> Regarding the everyday and German complicity, Browning writes in *Ordinary Men* that “In recent decades the historical profession in general has been increasingly concerned with writing history ‘from’ the bottom up, with reconstructing the experiences of the bulk of the population ignored in the history of high politics and high culture hitherto so dominant. . . . As a methodology, however, ‘the history of everyday life’ is neutral. It becomes an evasion, an attempt to ‘normalize’ the Third Reich, only it fails to confront the degree to which the criminal policies of the regime inescapably permeated everyday existence under the Nazis. . . . As the story of Police Battalion 101 demonstrates, mass murder and routine had become one” (xvii).

sympathetic, knew what was happening to Jews and communists (to name but two groups of those persecuted), yet remained politically and physically subjugated. Moreover, there are instances in *The Book Thief* that hint at a balance of suffering, that German Jews and non-Jewish Germans suffered alike, not only in the reminders that Death was carrying innocent souls, or in the conclusion to the novel, but also in passages that allude to unity through common experience or a common foe:

#### THE SWAPPING OF NIGHTMARES

The Girl: "Tell me. What do you see when you dream like that?"

The Jew: ". . . I see myself turning round, and waving goodbye."

The Girl: "I also have nightmares."

The Jew: "What do you see?"

The Girl: "A train, and my dead brother."

The Jew: "Your brother?"

The Girl: "He died when I moved here, on the way."

The Girl and the Jew, together: "*Ja - Yes.*" (*Book 228*)

By depicting the non-Jewish Germans and German Jews as having more-or-less equally suffered, by pushing the Nazis to the novel's periphery, and through the employment of the banality of the everyday, Zusak provides a means of emotively instilling pride in the "everyday" German people. Cultural pride is therefore a corollary, as these moral citizens have been forged by Germany's centuries-old past, a culture that seemingly developed citizens who tacitly opposed the Nazi regime. By this I mean that moral integrity, shown in the form of subtle anti-Nazi demonstrations for example, is not so much influenced by the extremity of the situation, but is more an inherent cultural response. Whatever integrity remains has therefore not been developed in the present, but by generations of German culture and society. In evoking personal and cultural pride, the book can be viewed as a means of normalisation as the everyday German in the book is clearly situated in a community, one that suffers through the burdens of a situation that is not of his or her own making. Similarly, normalising the period by evoking cultural pride provides a literary means of turning the incomprehensible into something comprehensible; a trend beginning to be seen in recent German literature with the publication of books that include Schlink's *Der Vorleser* [*The Reader*] (Dunnage 22), and a trend, suggests Eaglestone, that is neutralising

Nazi atrocities and German responsibility for them (*Postmodern* 91-92). *The Book Thief* can be read, in many respects, as an example of this reshaping, yet in a significant way it differs, in that the text does not neutralise Nazi atrocities. Instead it has grouped these crimes as the work of one select, yet removed, stratum of society, or as the machinations of that society's outcasts.

Responsibility falls, therefore, on those in the Party, not the ordinary citizens. Removing the citizens of Himmel Street from complicity in the crimes, and by pushing aside their involvement in the Nazi Party altogether, ordinary Germans are afforded the means of reflecting on this period with a certain amount of pride. That does not mean the period is one that fosters longing akin to a period in history that people may admire, for hardships persist, as does the constant threat of death. Yet the novel's instilling of pride significantly deviates from a corpus of literary and cultural representations of this period that view Germany as a nation of either perpetrators, or innocent bystanders (Friedländer 75). Acknowledging Jewish suffering alongside moments of childish bravery and adult revolt, such as the sprinkling of bread on the road for Jewish camp interns (*Book* 444-47) aids in absolving complicity, even suggests an anti-establishment rebellion of sorts. Pride is therefore elicited from not only having survived the burden of Allied bombings but, more importantly, from having lived through Nazi governance. The perpetrators remain, but the bystanders, while not only perceived as victims, are also admired for their bravery and resilience, and for their moral fortitude.

The instilling of pride, as located in *The Book Thief*, presents a complex stance towards this epoch of history, for pride differs from attempts to understand. The inflation of self and cultural worth represents a marked shift from Primo Levi's comment that to understand this period of history, in particular the Third Reich's crimes, could be viewed as tantamount to justification (*If This* 395), a stance that German author Schlink agrees with: "the more one understands [the crimes of the Third Reich] the more one is enticed into forgiveness and led away from passing judgement" (*Guilt* 82). Pride suggests that the actions of the majority were not wrong. Further, it proposes that this past *can* be understood, therefore mitigated, enabling a population to reflect fondly on the era, however tumultuous its history. Pride heightens cultural, national and familial solidarity, stresses a story of survival rather than perpetration, and possibly allows an act of redemption to occur;

where there is no guilt, there need be no absolution. For it is the pride which stems from *The Book Thief* that I argue affords the German population, including Zusak's parents and the generations that follow, to view this past, not as a site of guilt, but as a period in which those who led everyday existences were as victimised as the victims themselves.

This chapter has focussed on three examples of Australian fiction that use the narrative of the everyday to comment on the Third Reich perpetrator, the victim and, most specifically, the bystander. Meder's *Legacy of Love* exemplifies a number of criticisms that were made of the study of the everyday: it is a book which does not mention the true atrocities committed by the Third Reich, a story that empathises with Germany as a nation and as a people and a book situating those who live within the Third Reich as victims. Similarly, Zusak's *The Book Thief* suggests that the perpetrator is part of a political minority who wielded power. Subsequently, the majority of Germans are themselves victims of the Nazi perpetrator. *Ordinary Women*, as I mentioned, presents three women bystanders as the victims of Nazi Germany. These three characters have nothing but disgust for the Nazis and suffer because of a political party not one of them supported. Further examples of Australian novels which are not discussed because of word length restraints, but which include the themes I discuss in this chapter, can be seen in Marielu Winter's *Wild Geese, Swans and Nightingales* (1988), and John Tully's *Death Is the Cool Night* (1999), again stories told from the perspective of the everyday German citizen who survives the Third Reich, and who has not taken an active role but suffers because of the Party.

To complement this chapter's analysis into representations of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim, the next chapter will focus on texts that can be read as justifying the crimes committed by perpetrators. These texts redefine the traditional roles of perpetrator, bystander and victim, although the bystander as a symbolic character is not given the same amount of attention as is found in *The Book Thief*, *Legacy of Love*, or *Ordinary Women*. Narratives studied in this chapter have, to some extent, removed the demonic Nazi. In the novels that follow the Nazi is present and portrayed as a sort of victim, whereas the victim, as witnessed in *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, is rewritten as a style of aggressor and the initial perpetrator, thereby



justifying the acts that culminated in the Holocaust. It is in the next chapter that a turnaround from traditional literary shifts and changes is evinced.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

In most cases, the man standing above the mass grave no more asked to be there than the one lying, dead or dying, at the bottom of the pit.

Jonathan Littell, *The Kindly Ones*

This chapter is a study of the narrative of justification, examining Australian novels which propagate the idea that actions committed by the Nazis have a cause and reason behind them, and these actions are therefore deemed as having some justification. Here may reside the answer to a question posited by Jenni Adams in her introduction to *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film*, asking “At what point does the attempt to explore . . . ideas [such as alert, self conscious and critically-mobilised interest] in fiction collapse into the promotion of uncritical identification with and exculpations of these [the perpetrator] figures?” (“Introduction” 2-3). For it is in this chapter that a major divergence in the “shifts and changes” takes place: the Nazi extracts sympathy from the reader, while the traditional victim is presented as either a victim of their own making (therefore they do not warrant sympathy), or quasi-victims who have themselves, as individuals, or as a grouping of people, perpetrated crimes that lead to inevitable consequences. It is here the reader may encounter novels which attempt to answer the question of “why?”, and in doing so they may not altogether “swerve” from what, in Eaglestone’s opinion, is common in perpetrator fiction, writing that “constantly and seemingly unconsciously, appears to avoid precisely an engagement with the ‘why’ ” (“Avoiding” 15).

While it does not comment on fictional representations of the perpetrator, a sentence composed by journalist Rebecca Weiss in an article concerning Nazi internment in Australia accords with themes I discuss in this chapter: “For anyone who has even a passing acquaintance with the history of the war, the notion of Nazis being persecuted in Australia could be dismissed as farcical if it were not for what it tells us about the scourge of moral equivalence that is afflicting contemporary thought” (n.p.). In relation to notions of moral equivalence regarding the perpetrator, Dominick LaCapra writes that the trauma of the perpetrator, “while attended by symptoms that

may be comparable to those of the victims, is ethically and politically different in decisive ways. The crucial difference is one basis of the projective attempt either to blame the victim or apologetically to conflate the perpetrator or collaborator with the victim” (*History* 41). In this chapter we witness attempts to blame the victim and/or equate the perpetrator to the victim; or, using Boswell’s description, here we find an aspect of “perpetrator identification” (11) which may be seen to engage with the question of “why.”

Australian novels examined in this chapter are Thomas Keneally’s *A Family Madness* (1985), James McQueen’s *White Light* (1990) and *The Heavy Knife* (1991)—which I read as one continuous narrative and, finally, one of the country’s most controversial novels, Helen Demidenko/Darville’s *The Hand That Signed the Paper* (1994). I also touch on Jackie French’s *Youth Fiction*, *Hitler’s Daughter* (1999), since it provides an interesting means of considering some of the literary hallmarks that establish these books as devices that further the literary shifts and changes.

### **Thomas Keneally, *A Family Madness* (1985)**

One of Australia’s most prolific authors, Thomas Keneally has written on diverse historical topics, but his most famous book to date is *Schindler’s Ark*. The novel has won several literary prizes, including the 1982 Booker Prize, and Steven Spielberg’s film adaptation, *Schindler’s List*, was awarded seven academy awards.<sup>41</sup> I suggest that *Schindler’s Ark* is Keneally’s most controversial book to date given the scholarly deliberation afforded the author’s portrayal of the German businessman, member of the National Socialists, and “Righteous among the Nations,” Oskar Schindler. I begin by briefly referring to *Schindler’s Ark* as many of the critiques and various condemnations of the novel, I argue, relate to or can be found (even to a greater extent) in Keneally’s 1985 novel, *A Family Madness*.

*Schindler’s Ark* reveals the story of Oskar Schindler, a German industrialist who saved the Jews who worked first in his Polish enamel-wares

---

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Keneally has, for decades, been preoccupied in his writing with what Pierce terms “Australian matters” (*Australian* 1). The author’s dedication to the writing and/or rewriting of Australian history and culture in fictional forms is evident in many of his near-on fifty extensive publications. From Aboriginality and Australia’s role in two World Wars, to stories of Russian émigrés who migrated to the Australian city of Brisbane, Keneally’s historical-fiction is broad in topic, yet explorations into the Australian past and how such history has inflected the Australian present recur. Even novels set in geographic regions other than Australia are said to be paradigmatic, “providing reference points for Australia” (Petersson 155).

factory, and then an armaments factory, from the Holocaust. Keneally's portrayal of Schindler adds to a corpus of the author's work that "from the 1970s on (re)constructed with some sympathy German characters representing 'the other side' " (Petersson, *German* 74). The book, as described by Alan Lenhoff, is "journalistic in style, richly descriptive but rarely emotional. [Keneally] lets the terrible facts speak for themselves" (18). Born out of a chance encounter in Los Angeles (Keneally, *Searching* 5-12) *Schindler's Ark* is predominantly set in and around Krakow, Poland, from the period which may be considered the height of German success during the Second World War, to the war's end. Oskar Schindler, over those years, and especially as the war ends, is responsible for saving 1,100 Jews, "the largest number saved by any individual during the Holocaust years" (Vice 91). Keneally's depiction of Schindler paints him as a humane individual who revels in the benefits of wealth. German by birth and a willing member of the Nazi Party, Schindler enjoys attractive women, wears good suits and drinks expensive alcohol. Alongside these glimpses of hedonism, the factory owner also values the labours and the health of his Jewish workers, which, for a Nazi Party member is not only unusual, but a dangerous business. Such attributes led Peter Murphy to describe Schindler as an epicurean hero (115).

In relation to the author's choice of historical perspective, critical commentary varies (Petersson, *German* 168). Vice, paraphrasing David Thompson's review of Spielberg's film, suggests that "a writer with a different view from Keneally could argue that Schindler's increased determination to save Jews in the summer of 1944 was evidence of 'looking to impress a new crowd' " (Vice 112). Alternatively, as J. Hillis Miller argues, "Oskar Schindler was an extremely courageous man who saved lives. He is, however, hardly typical of German behaviour during the Shoah . . . [and] this is likely to mislead readers" (160). The author's choice of a third person narrator adds to the debates, for the voice could be likened to an objective onlooker who sympathises with the incarcerated, suggesting that Keneally's portrayal of Schindler is unhindered by personal bias. Such criticism is reflected in Cheyette's 1994 description of *Schindler's List*, writing that the book is a "glib" work which "assimilates an unimaginable past in a breathtakingly untroubled manner" (18). I would describe Schindler as an "entrepreneurial bystander," and that his relationship with Third Reich victims and perpetrators is rendered

accordingly. There is no clear demarcation in Schindler's characterisation which fittingly groups him consistent with the triadic representation, Boswell stating in his overview of Gillian Rose's discussion of Spielberg's film, that "the novel far more readily recognises the social and physiological proximity of Oskar Schindler to the sadistic Amon Goeth." Similarly, and this relates to both film and book, in Cheyette's opinion, "the more the depth's of Goeth's evil become apparent, the more Schindler is transformed into his benign counterpart" (18). Rose writes in *Mourning Becomes Law: Philosophy and Representation* (1996) that "Such plasticity of history, such pragmatics of good and evil, such gratuity of Goeth's violence, should mean that the reader, and, *pari passu*, the audience, experience the crisis of identity in their own breasts" (46). While evident in *Schindler's List*, this blurred choice of characterisation Keneally later heightens in *A Family Madness*. "As in *Schindler's Ark*," a reviewer for the American magazine *Kirkus Reviews* suggests, "Keneally's novelization [of *A Family Madness*] is able to keep us off-balance: are these good people who do bad themselves? How clear is human evil? Human good?" (anon. n.p.) In regards to the author's portrayal of Schindler, such questions are generally answered in the affirmative; the German entrepreneur is considered a humanist (Vice 116), sometimes referred to as a modern-day saint, hence his "Righteous among the Nations" title. Schindler is neither perpetrator nor victim, instead obscuring traditional boundaries for he willingly fraternised with the likes of Goeth, SS commandant of Płaszów Labour Camp. To balance connotations that might derive from a friendship with the commandant, Schindler is said to have risked his life on occasions convincing the Gestapo that his Jewish workers should not to be sent to death camps.

There is, however, a significant divergence separating *Schindler's Ark* from *A Family Madness*. Published three years after *Schindler's Ark*, *A Family Madness* merges two stories. Using 1980s Western Sydney as one backdrop, the first story tells of Australian rugby union player, Terry Delany, a Sydneysider who works as a security guard when not playing semi-professional football. The second story is the tale of the Kabbelski or Kabbel (an Anglicised version of the name) family, Belorussians who migrate to

Australia.<sup>42</sup> Both aspects of the narrative are heavily reliant on Keneally's well-crafted and repeatedly-used factious mode of storytelling; *A Family Madness*, as do numerous Keneally "factions," draws heavily on factual occurrences. The first of these historical events is the German invasion of Belorussia during the Second World War. The second, something of a contrast when compared to the first, is a family suicide which occurred in Sydney in 1984. In an author's note located in an early publication of *A Family Madness* Keneally writes that this "family of five willingly ended their lives. Their consent to their own destruction had its roots in events which occurred during world war two [sic], in voices and insupportable fears endured in that era" (*Family* 315). The two events—the war and this suicide—are interwoven, and a greater reliance on meta-fiction is therefore present than noted in *Schindler's Ark* (Petersson, *German* 169). Terry Delany's story poses interesting insight into the Australian suburban existence—McKernan describing the character as "the epitome of all that is good about Australian life" ("Life" 84)—however, it is the story of the Kabbel/ski family which holds particular relevance to this chapter.

*A Family Madness* is a brutal story; the novel impartially depicting atrocities committed by the invaders and the invaded alike. Likewise, the victims of these brutalities, traditional and non-traditional, are shown. In creating such a balance, *A Family Madness* highlights the human side of the German invaders and the Belorussian partisans alike; prompting Petersson to ponder that perhaps the book is an "indication of the author's tendency to explore both sides of the coin in his fiction?" (*German* 171). Petersson goes on to note:

Like Delany, the foreign characters of Ganz, Jasper and the Kabbelski family are ordinary people, with ordinary hopes and expectations. There is nothing megalomaniac about them. Their stories seem to suggest that guilt and moral failure have been imposed on them by extraordinary pressures of the political system, the evil which they were not able to comprehend in time. They become guilty in the pursuit of such aims as nationalism, patriotism, self-preservation, family protection—aims with

---

<sup>42</sup> I use the word "Belorussia" for this is the name Keneally chooses, yet the geographic region (though borders have changed many times over the decades and centuries) is also referred to as Byelorussia, White Russia, and presently Belarus or the Republic of Belarus.

positive connotations in terms of Australian values. It seems fair to assume that Keneally not only wanted to explain the Europeans' background and the terrors of their past to his Australian audience, but also to suggest that individuals may behave normally in "normal" circumstances, yet become guilty when the balance of society is endangered. (172-73)

Read by Petersson as a space which allows Keneally to suggest that evil and crime can manifest at any time or in any place (*German* 173), I would further this insight by suggesting the text justifies criminal acts. Murder is performed by both aggressor and defender; however, what transpires are attempts at rational reasoning which serves to justify the crimes and absolve the people who commit them. Perpetrations are therefore questioned in regards to cause and effect, and it is the book's many voices which enable this questioning. *Schindler's Ark* relies on an omnipresent authority, placing the reader "always in the position of the survivor" (Quartermaine 69); readers are afraid of the SS and the Gestapo: "At one such inspection [in Auschwitz], Regina found stones for her daughter, Niusia, to stand on, and silver-haired young Mengele came to her and asked her a soft-voiced question concerning her daughter's age and punched her for lying" (*Schindler* 306); they feel for the Jewish prisoners: "Bau now fell into a melancholy from which he might never fully emerge. He knew definitely, for the first time, that his mother and wife would not arrive at Brinnlitz [for they have been sent to Auschwitz]" (*Schindler* 330); and they enjoy Schindler's antics while respecting him for his actions:

And at the right hour, Oskar leaned across the table and acting out of amity which, even with this much cognac aboard, did not go beyond the surface of the skin, was merely a sort of frisson, a phantom shiver of brotherhood running along the pores, nothing more—Oskar, leaning towards Amon [Goeth, Commandant of Płaszów labour camp] and cunning as a demon, began to tempt him towards restraint [towards murdering camp inmates].

(*Schindler* 216)

*A Family Madness* flits between a similar form of omniscient narration, used when detailing the "Australian" chapters, and three separate personal recollections. The first of these narratives are letters sent to Rudi Kabbelski, a Belorussian man who migrates to Australia with his son and daughter, written

by his sister Genia Kabbelski. The second is a diary kept by Rudi and Genia's father, who, during the Second World War, and as a high-ranking politician, conspired with the Germans in the hope of Belorussian independence. The third of the personal recollections is titled "Radislaw Kabbel's History of the Kabbelski Family," a memoir written by Rudi for his two children. These separate yet intertwined narratives gradually build Keneally's version of an overarching history of wartime Belorussia, detailing the Kabbelski's involvement with German forces during the Second World War. Relying on these three personal recollections acts to heighten the novel's historical credibility, for the reader is presented not with one version of the past, but three, and while these memories are the product of the same family, separating them strengthens historical perspective.

Early in the book, Keneally politically positions the Kabbelski clan through Genia's first letter to her migrated family. Furthermore, Genia's hand-written prose establishes familial opinions regarding perpetrations carried out by Belorussians on behalf of the Germans, criticising memoirs and/or histories which condemn the Belorussians who conspired with the Germans:

In books of this nature Papa always merits at least a footnote because of a certain massacre carried out by Belorussian police and the SS on the Staroviche-Gomel road in 1941. Again, we knew very young that events are subtle and that "war criminal" is a relative and shifting term. It was a term used with straight face by Stalin, whose crimes against the Belorussians and Ukrainians make the SS seem almost indulgent. (*Family* 53)

The passage resembles certain passages and a certain perspective propagated in *The Hand That Signed the Paper*. The reader is asked to reconsider what constitutes the crimes of the Third Reich. While criminality is not denied, it becomes relativised: first by the use of synchronic contextualisation, comparing German and quisling nation atrocities to Russian massacres; then by suggesting that the definition of a "war criminal" is dependent on factors other than the crimes enacted. Definitions of the traditional perpetrator are redrawn, for "Papa" is linked to a massacre, and while his role is never questioned, the man is historically absolved because of the time and the politics, and is therefore morally guilt-free.



By drawing on the voice of Genia Kabbelski, Keneally creates a version of history which seems Belorussian in perspective and therefore culturally specific, insisting that this particular sliver of European history is complex and therefore to judge may be hypocritical for the un-Belorussian reader. Keneally further situates the novel's history and political leanings with passages that include: "He has spent years in the classic Belorussian dilemma—the choice of working for breathing space with one barbaric nation or another" (*Family* 59) whereby the Belorussian nation is depicted as a victim, and acts of barbarism are the work of "others." Similarly, the diaries of father and grandfather, Stanislaw Kabbelski, orientate the reader:

There are historical imperatives in operation which no man can evade, even if he can send the children on a picnic. But to go on a picnic himself indicates he does not understand this swine of a century at all. The fact is you can't get anything done any more unless you get mud on your boots. (*Family* 77)

Here, a metaphoric admission of complicity in crimes is noted, yet the crimes are excused given the tumultuous nature of the period. Such a theme runs throughout the novel, reiterated by various members of the Kabbelski family regardless of generation. A further example, yet one that is far more blatant in its admission, again taken from the diaries of Stanislaw Kabbelski, reads:

You bastard! [SS *Obersturmfürer* Harner] I loved my country well enough to supervise the Gomel road liquidations. I saw children squirming in the pit and pregnant girls singing the "*Shema Y'Israel*." I skirted insanity and dishonour for the sake of my nation! And now you want to add to the nightmares which spill out of my bed and infest my children? (*Family* 98)

In suggesting that justification of crimes is apparent in Keneally's text, my reading differs from Petersson's who argues that Keneally's portrayals of alternate cultures, citing *A Family Madness* as just one example, "draws attention to inherent dangers and raises questions about responsibilities also in Australian society" (*German* 178). I believe Petersson has overlooked inflections of pride in the book—pride in the story of Belorussia, and pride in the Kabbelski family history—negating questions of responsibility in regards to the crimes committed in Eastern Europe. There is even pride, I argue, in the

failure of Belorussian independence, for the forewarnings issued by the Kabbelskis and their compatriots, ignored by a percentage of the Belorussian population, were justified. The Kabbelskis may not have won their ultimate goal, but they, at least, fought for national independence. Crimes and genocide are therefore deemed unavoidable given the conditions. The grandfather sums up this difficult situation in his diary, using as an exemplar a young German citizen sent to the East who died at the hands of partisans: “I remember Jasper now more as a representative of that generation of Europeans who were all forced at great pace to learn a fierce amount about themselves and their fellows during those years in the furnace” (*Family* 86).

Pride bound up in actions that include, or result in, murder and genocide, shifts traditional portrayals of the Third Reich victim and perpetrator. Victims in *A Family Madness* are, in one guise, the Belorussians as a population who dream of independence. For the Kabbelskis and those countrypersons who believe likewise, this is a gamble, since siding with the Germans may end in the country’s ruin should Germany lose the war. The Belorussian people are, however, proud to fight for national sovereignty, and for many, including the Kabbelskis, it appears a natural decision to have supported Germany. Acts committed alongside the Germans in the hope of independence are deemed unavoidable, given their invaders’ beliefs. But they are also unavoidable given the Belorussian need to be seen as supporting Germany. Therefore, at the fall of the Reich, those who support the Nazis are not, according to the perspective of the Kabbelskis, to be conspirators, merely unfortunate victims of a nationalistic belief in the unification of their country. Any who worked arm-in-arm with Hitler’s government are further portrayed as the victims of, for example, the Allies and the Russians, who view this group as accomplices in the Holocaust, yet are unaware of the situation as seen through the eyes of the pro-independence Belorussians: “It’s better that we all be Poles,” [states the character Galina, a family friend of the Kabbelskis]. “The Allies have an idealised view of the Poles, who are all victims and martyrs. Whereas we Belorussians are considered either Soviet or fascist collaborators” (*Family* 253). For these Belorussians worked *with*, but not *for* the Nazis, a distinct difference meant to establish their innocence. On both an individual level and as a collective, these people are not, therefore, perpetrators: “At least the SS—people like *Brigadefürer* Ohlendorf—

understand what life is like here in the East, that the rules of history and even social exchange have always been different here” (*Family* 99). They have been victimised, for they are a casualty of German invasion and later casualties of Russian takeover. While some migrate—the Kabbelskis move to Australia—a past of mistakes and unfortunate decisions continues to haunt them, to such a degree, that when history appears to be repeating itself, the family sacrifice themselves; they do not wish to live through a similar indignity to that experienced either during Nazi invasion or following German capitulation when complicit Belorussians were judged the associates of, and perpetrators with and for, the Nazis.

It is this turnaround in traditional perspectives and the infusion of pride in such acts that rewrites traditional depictions of the triad. For Keneally, the Kabbelskis are not perpetrators but, rather, victims of the epoch and the German regime. Traditional victims, although they remain victims of the Germans, are not seen to be victims of the Belorussians; the Jews are slain with regret and sorrow, and those Belorussians who are accomplices are sorry for their involvement, again heightening Belorussian victimisation. As a young Belorussian politician points out to a member of the German SS in *A Family Madness*, the Orthodox priest in a local Belorussian town, Krotinitsa, was “a strong Belorussian nationalist, and regularly took the line with his flock that the hope of nationhood could only be fulfilled through cooperation with Christian Germany in an unrelenting attack on Jewish Bolshevism” (*Family* 112). It is pride in the fight for such independence that justifies the actions which unfold, and genocide is one aspect of such actions. Although the Holocaust is not seen as inevitable—alternatives existed—for the Kabbelskis the crimes perpetrated may have been an inevitable regret in the overarching proud story of Belorussian independence.

### **James McQueen, *White Light* (1990) and *The Heavy Knife* (1991)**

This section of the chapter will look at the novel *White Light*, the first novel in what was intended to be a trilogy entitled *Clocks of Death*; a third book was unwritten at the time of McQueen’s death in 1998.<sup>43</sup> It is in *White*

---

<sup>43</sup> James McQueen was born in Australia in Ulverstone, Tasmania in 1934, and died in Launceston, Tasmania in 1998. He was a prolific writer and one that crossed a number of literary genres—novels, short stories, poetry, children’s fiction, fantasy, and he won a number

*Light* that the major themes of Third Reich perpetration and victimhood are discussed; themes later touched on in *The Heavy Knife* but only as asides to a separate, major storyline. Also, it is in *White Light* that the characters of the perpetrator and victim are shaped, so that by the time one reads *The Heavy Knife*, there is very little in the way of further character development. As a number of reviewers note, not much connects the two novels; Philip Bryan adds that “calling it a sequel invites unflattering comparisons with its predecessor and does both books a disservice” (42). While themes in *White Light* are centred on issues of perpetration and victimhood, *The Heavy Knife* reads as a thriller/murder mystery set a generation removed from the two main characters that inhabit *White Light*. *White Light* is, accordingly, at the centre of this section’s textual analysis, with *The Heavy Knife* only marginally referred to.

Unlike novels such as Meder’s *Legacy of Love* which has no critical literature devoted to it, there has been some discussion surrounding the novels of McQueen, largely in the form of book reviews. In one such review, Salusinszky wrote that *White Light* is a “reasonable tale, reasonably told: not a bad read, but thoroughly middle-brow” (9), a tag that pervades similar reviews, and a description used to discuss some of McQueen’s other books. Some reviews of *White Light* and *The Heavy Knife* consider the book a well-written and entertaining text, while others question aspects of McQueen’s writing. Of interest though, is a general occlusion in these reviews of themes central to both books: perpetration, guilt, victimhood, and the characterisation of the perpetrator when confronted by his own criminal past.

*White Light* challenges some of the more conventional, more traditional and therefore assumed dichotomies concerning traditional representations separating the Third Reich victim from perpetrator. In creating this situation other traditionally preconceived divides such as victim/victor are questioned. This blurring has been noted by Josephine Barcelon in her review for the

---

of awards for this work. McQueen led an eclectic existence working, among other professions, as an orchid farmer, fruit picker, factory hand, cook, and, for a period, a weather observer in the Antarctic (Brady 12). McQueen was also politically active and well-known for his stance against the damming of the Franklin River, his involvement inspiring him to write a nonfiction account of the Franklin River controversies *The Franklin: Not Just a River* (1983). Imre Salusinszky describes McQueen as a writer of “extreme realism” (9), and other reviewers concur, commenting often on McQueen’s journalistic style of prose. *Southerly* reviewer Katherine Gallagher finds McQueen’s writing style similar to Keneally’s social-realist-historical work (339).

*Australian Book Review*. She writes that, “While the Holocaust is an event associated with notions of absolute evil and absolute oppression, McQueen constructs a situation best approached with a mind open to the possibilities of ambiguity” (9). *White Light* is set in contemporary Australia, where a former German concentration camp guard and a former inmate meet. Given the Australian backdrop, their place in contemporary Australian society is questioned, as family men, as lovers, as honest individuals, as morally upstanding citizens, and as members of an Australian community. This setting enables a constant realignment of conventional or traditional notions of right and wrong in regards to the Holocaust, establishing the former guard as a humanitarian who possesses humanistic qualities that include empathy, understanding, remorse, and regret. The victim, however, is depicted as a man whose traits include jealousy and dishonesty, and these are mixed with streaks of disloyalty and pettiness (Gallagher 342). The two characters in question are a man named Tony Caramia, an Italian migrant who settled in Australia after the war, and another individual the reader first comes to know as Erich Ritter. Later his real name Johannes Beckmann is disclosed. These two men live in close proximity to each other in Australia. Caramia is a builder, while Ritter is a nursery owner; the uneducated builder being compared against the more sensitive, book-reading horticulturalist.

By chance, Caramia seeks out a plant for his wife, but in doing so chances upon Ritter’s familiar face. The quest for the true identity of the man spied working in the nursery takes Caramia to Thailand where a good portion of the novel unfolds. While the reader knows, or at least presumes in the early part of the book, that the two recognise each other from Auschwitz as this period of European history is interspersed through the fabric of the novel, a number of preconceived ideas are overturned during the course of the story by “building up expectations and systematically betraying them in order to challenge habits of reading [and] conditioned ways of thinking” (Barcelon 9). The reader discovers that the two men do know each other from the camp; Ritter was a guard and a member of the SS (*White* 152), and Caramia was an inmate, but the delineation between traditional victim and torturer becomes opaque from the moment Caramia confronts the German. The later outcomes of the novel are unexpected, and the reader is left questioning the guilt of each individual regardless of their station and rank in Auschwitz. Salusinszky

ascribes this to the undermining of an embedded idea readers have regarding the Nazi. Obscuring traditional readings of the Nazi, in *White Light* the former German concentration camp guard is viewed as “anything but a wholly bad man”, and the inmate, Caramia, as “anything but an entirely good one” (Salusinszky 9). These personality traits are traced as far back as the period in Auschwitz itself, where Ritter alias Beckmann, guarding a number of prisoners on their way to execution, allows Caramia to fall behind and then escape. Caramia, by contrast, steals and connives in order to survive the camp. “Each survived, McQueen makes plain,” writes Stephanie Dowrick, “by standing on a pile of corpses. That is, by setting aside morals and conscience in the face of expediency and self-survival” (41). So there is, suggests McQueen, a rather unconventional equality that binds the two, even though a huge chasm clearly exists. Both have had to rely on a lack of humanity, and while Caramia has been forced into the situation because of Nazi ideology, so too, it seems, has Ritter for similar reasons. McQueen, in one chapter, goes so far as to question German complicity in the Holocaust which, by association, questions the crimes of Ritter. Towards the end of the war, and aware of the encroaching Russian army, a German guard (not Ritter) allows Caramia a moment to rest. He feeds Caramia, and while doing so explains his reasons for working in the camp; “better than the Russian front” (*White* 202) the guard states, and then proceeds to reveal a story which might be read as a microcosm of an apparent German dilemma, excusing, or at least providing partial explanation, for the guard’s crimes and Ritter’s:

There were ten of us, apart from the Captain. . . . They brought in three Polish women. They were naked. The captain told us to rape them, then shoot them. We all just stood there. The captain told us that he’d give the order again, and anyone who disobeyed would be shot. Well, he gave the order, and we still stood there. So the captain pulled out his pistol and shot the young fellow next to him. He gave the order again, and we did what we were told. Then we burnt down the church . . . after that it didn’t seem to matter much what we did. (*White* 202)

In similar vein to Paul Cooke’s diagnosis of *Der Untergang* [*The Downfall*] (2004) mentioned earlier in this thesis in which he examines the film’s humanistic portrayal of Hitler, the former camp guard whose tale is uncovered,

has been supposedly “duped”; he lacked insight into what his role in the Reich would entail when he initially accepted his rank and military assignment. Ritter, by association, and as a result of similarity of situation, therefore, is seen “to a lesser or greater extent” as a victim rather than a perpetrator.

It takes local Thai woman Noree, in whom both men have a love interest, to delineate the victim and perpetrator in *White Light*. But not in a way the reader expects. As impartial observer, and unschooled in Third Reich history, she addresses Caramia:

“I tell you something . . . now, I don’t think you bad man. But I think you could be a bad man. . . . Erich [Ritter]—maybe once he bad man, long ago, but now I think he can never be bad man again. . . . You want me to punish Erich,” she said . . . “but you say you do bad things too. Who punish you?” (*White* 213)

What these “bad things” are that the former inmate is responsible for include a host of acts either illegal or socially reprehensible: theft, bribery, adultery, money laundering, to name but four. Caramia is viewed, over the course of the novel, as a man verging on criminal, and a person lacking integrity. Not only does he attempt to launder money, he cheats on his wife and sleeps with Ritter’s prospective partner, Noree. Although he commits criminal acts, there is imbued in the character just enough good humour and laconic disposition for the reader not to truly dislike Caramia. When compared to the former German concentration camp employee, however, the former inmate is a seedy and conniving individual, a theme continued through into *The Heavy Knife*. By employing a narrative device through which characters and their moral “make-up” are compared, a process of (former) Nazi “humanising” occurs.

For the first half of *White Light* the reader is led to thinking that the crux of the storyline will centre on a confrontation between Caramia and Ritter and the story will end with justice being done. However, while the initial confrontation of these two men shocks Ritter, instead of recoiling in anger, lashing out at the accuser, or running and denying his crimes, Ritter displays guilt and sadness:

“How old were you? In that place?” [asks Caramia].

Ritter smiled, a smile that was almost a grimace. “Nineteen,” he said. “Christ,” said Caramia, and turned away in what appeared

to be disgust. . . . Ritter sighed deeply, closed his eyes, leaned his head against the wooden wall. He felt suddenly drained of all energy, as if he had not slept for a long time. (*White* 63)

From the confrontation forward, traditional forms of perpetrator and victim are swapped, echoing Friedländer's theory concerning these roles:

The traditional perpetrator of the early narratives becomes a potential victim; the traditional bystander becomes an actual victim; and, as for the traditional victim, although his or her fate is not denied, it is rendered in . . . rather ambiguous light. In any case, the source of all evil is clearly placed outside the traditional representation of responsibility. (Friedländer, "Historical" 75)

It could be argued that McQueen's victim remains victim, especially when the same character appears in *The Heavy Knife*. In this second installment of the trilogy, Caramia is admitted to hospital after spending months morosely sitting alone in his garden. Andrew Kennon, in his review of *The Heavy Knife* for the *Age* notes the distinction between Tony Caramia's life following the confrontation, and Ritter's life:

Tony had been to Thailand with some idea of confronting Erich [Ritter] and making him pay for being a war criminal. Instead he found a new Ritter with the inner strength to atone for his past and make his own future day by day. Caramia on the other hand suffered some kind of breakdown in Thailand and has been hospitalised back home with the trauma of survivor guilt or belated stress syndrome. ("Surviving" 7)

*The Heavy Knife*, however, is vague in its discussion regarding the relationship entwining Caramia and Ritter. *White Light*, by comparison, is direct in its message as to where sympathy should lie. It is not with Tony Caramia, regardless of his mental breakdown—a storyline development McQueen constructs in *The Heavy Knife*, possibly to compensate for a lack of sympathy shown towards Caramia in *White Light*. In *White Light*, Caramia is the individual who appears to suffer less, the confrontation enabling an unconventional reading of the Nazi perpetrator, for Ritter is left emotionally drained and saddened:



He had not wept in more than forty years, but now tears blinded him, and he began to pant like some panicked animal. And the ache grew greater until it was insupportable, and his body was invaded by a misery so great that he could hardly breathe . . . [Ritter] was aware of nothing but his own misery; and he huddled lower and sank his head between his knees and celebrated his own final abandonment. (*White* 68)

From that point forward the reader is led on a journey that destroys the Australian Italian's reputation, simultaneously building the reader's rapport with and/or understanding of the German.

What is interesting about this shift in the literary representation of McQueen's perpetrator is that he saved only one life but was part of the machine that killed many:

The boy [Caramia] has been chosen, and is pushed towards the others. He is already dead, and he knows it. There are no more than fifty of them together so it will not be the gas chamber.

From small lots, such as this one, it will be a bullet in the back of the neck, and then the crematorium. . . . A single soldier [Ritter] is detailed to march them away. (*White* 72)

Ritter allows Caramia a chance to escape—the only individual, it would seem. Caramia is then left to spend a further eight-hundred and eighty-seven days in Auschwitz (*White* 216). Caramia suffered, but the third-person narrative told from the perspective of neither character, makes it clear that Ritter has likewise suffered, and possibly to a greater extent than Caramia. Caramia has a family, a successful business, a large house, whereas for Ritter, “The real problem, as he saw it now, was that time had stopped for him in Auschwitz and the years that followed were nothing but dust and emptiness . . . all that was worthwhile in him had actually died there, and everything he had done since then was no more than the galvanic reactions of a soulless organism” (*White* 147). When the two eventually confront their common past, the balance between who has suffered more falls in favour of Ritter.

Ritter does not purposefully elicit forgiveness for his crimes, but he positions the Nazi genocide as one example of mass killing among many others, insisting that the Nazis were not the only regime to have committed atrocities: he cites the Cambodians, Mongols, Russians and the Catholic

Church (*White* 168-69). Ritter conjures up excuses, and though Caramia is aware of the futility in trying to placate the past in such a way, Ritter's admission leaves the reader aware that this particular German participated in a regime he was unable to grasp at the time, and something he was less able to alter. Ritter furthermore refers to his upbringing in a conservative German family whose father regarded Hitler as "the greatest man who ever lived" (*White* 168), a leader who increased jobs and trade, returned traditional values to the country, and reinstalled German pride (*White* 168). These reasons are cited for his conversion to Nazism: "the ordinary Germans [himself included] were no different from anyone else. They lived by differences . . . the differences are what count for us" (*White* 168). Ritter defends his actions, this justification reflected in what Barcelon refers to in her discussion of the book as an "unimaginative reading" that seeks to "blur the issues or, like so many apologists, trie[s] to re-apportion guilt for one of the most horrific episodes in history" (10). But in the contradictory conclusion to her review of *White Light*, Barcelon also thinks the novel "warns . . . against the consequences of judging too soon and condemning too finally" (10). Ritter is not to be condemned, nor is he able to be judged. While his preference for Nazism and the reasons he gives later for his employment in the camp seem weak, or at least weak given the eventual outcome of these decisions, his remorse is never questioned, nor the detrimental after-effects these decisions made to his life, while the suffering he inflicted on others is forgotten.

This process of re-representing victim and perpetrator is woven throughout the book, and continues to some extent in *The Heavy Knife*. Certain markers strengthen this narrative: Ritter finds solace in Buddhism and believes the religion holds insight into evil, and can absolve for past wrongdoings; Ritter reveals to his son (the central protagonist in the *The Heavy Knife*) the reasons for his lacklustre parenting, again tying it to his past, and asks for forgiveness; he offers to help Caramia a number of times, even forgives Caramia for sleeping with Noree. In an interview in *Island Magazine* McQueen discusses the character of Ritter, citing the naivety of adolescence as one reason to humanise this former Nazi:

Ritter in *White Light* . . . was a veteran soldier at nineteen. Kids that age are capable of anything because they haven't lived long enough to realise sometimes it's better to take the

consequences and do something wrong. You've got to live a while to recognise that sometimes the cost is just too much. So they've done their learning before they've got the experience to handle it. (McQueen, "Between" 24)

McQueen, in the same interview, believes cruelty to be an inherent feature of the human being. The human race is cruel, but this is largely to do with a survival mechanism and, therefore, cruelty is not the markings of someone "psychotically sadistic" (McQueen, "Between" 24). Both statements provide insight into Ritter's portrayal but do little to explain Caramia's characterisation. Ritter is drawn as a goodhearted man who has suffered because of criminal conduct, and he is repentant having learnt from his mistakes. His past is formative, and while debilitating, it has cultivated humanity in him. By contrast, Caramia's past moulds him into the antithesis of Ritter, a bitter individual who seeks revenge, even though his life was earlier saved by the individual he wishes to expose and punish. Ironically, the Nazi becomes human, while the victim gradually grows demented by his own inner selfish demons. The traditional perpetrator becomes the victim, and the traditional victim, while still a victim of history, is now a perpetrator as a result of in-bred qualities, or a lack of them. To enhance this divide the German is portrayed as physically tall and is drawn to religion, to hard work and to physical toil. Not a Jew, yet interned for befriending the Jews, physically Caramia is smaller and more compact, and he is obsessed with fast ways to make money. Therefore, by the novel's conclusion the reader is witness to a "Germanic" individual who is perceived as a victim because of his constant attempts at atonement. Whereas, in the traditional victim, the reader may acknowledge the victim's experience, but is exposed to a series of perpetrations the traditional victim commits because of his love of fiscal rewards coupled with a need for revenge. McQueen separates the German camp guard and the inmate, and bolsters the reversal of traditional roles.

### **Helen Demidenko/Darville, *The Hand That Signed the Paper* (1994)**

In Australian literature, among a number of texts that have attempted an understanding of the traditional perpetrator, Helen Demidenko/Darville's book *The Hand That Signed the Paper* stands to date as the most contentious. The novel tells the story of two Ukrainian brothers who have

joined the SS and are employed as concentration camp guards and/or as members of the SS Death Squads, and of their sister who marries a German man in the SS. The book attempts to understand these individuals' motivations, both political and personal, not solely through each character's experience, but by rewriting Eastern European history, leading many commentators to judge the book as anti-Semitic (Gaita 33; Manne, "The Strange Case" 23).

Attempts to understand the perpetrator reoccur throughout the novel and are strengthened using a number of literary devices. These include manipulation of history; the portrayal of a daughter who acts in part as the novel's narrator, and who attempts to make sense of her beloved family; the personable and affable characterisation of those who committed the crimes; the distinction between the truly sadistic and demented—such as the inclusion of the notorious camp guard "Ivan the Terrible"—and those who remained comparatively dignified and humane, even while they took part in genocide. Yet a theme that has remained almost unmentioned in some of the responses to the publication of *The Hand That Signed the Paper* is the pride that has been infused in the book: familial pride derived from a girl's love for her father, uncle and aunt; pride in a nation that took part in the perpetrations; and the author's supposed personal cultural pride as represented by the fraudulent "Ukrainian" persona that the author Demidenko/Darville attempted to market.<sup>44</sup> I argue that it is the inclusion of pride that separates *The Hand That Signed the Paper* from a corpus of novels which endeavour to understand the Third Reich, even those reliant on the Nazi perpetrator as a means of explanation as exemplified in Littell's *The Kindly Ones*. Pride in this particular history, and in those who were criminally culpable, appears rare in literature that discusses the German Third Reich and/or its quisling states. Rare, inasmuch as pride in the perpetrator differs from survivor stories, for it is the perpetrators who are viewed proudly, not the victims. Likewise, rare in that even similarly contentious texts—as exemplified by Schlink's *The Reader*, a novel that attempts to understand the motivations of a former Nazi—may also

---

<sup>44</sup> Demidenko/Darville initially "Ukrainised herself as 'Helen Demidenko' " (Ruthven 29) and was awarded in 1995 two of Australia's most prestigious literary awards, the Miles Franklin Award and the Gold Medal by the Australian Literature Society, for *The Hand That Signed the Paper* under the surname 'Demidenko.' In 1996 it was revealed that Helen Demidenko was in fact Helen Darville, the daughter of English migrants, who possessed no ties, whatsoever, to a Ukrainian, or an Eastern European past.

attempt to understand, but they do not enable a site of pride, and murderous actions are still not condoned, merely questioned against the individual's own insight or lack of it.

I argue that it is the infusion of pride in *The Hand That Signed the Paper* that adds to or redefines the shifts and changes that I noted, as discussed by Friedländer and Niven et al. In adding to these changes, the notion of normalising this period in history is furthered, for the abnormal—that is the macabre or the “incomprehensible,”—is not denied, but rather becomes one element that adds to this infusion of pride. In the case of the Demidenko/Darville text, some of the changes Friedländer noted in Germany's literature are readily apparent; for example, the portrayal of Jewish characters as “traditional” victims who are drawn as the possible instigators of their own fate. The bystanders are also seen as victims, akin to in Friedländer's account; Ukrainian individuals who suffer at the hands of Stalinist Jews, or who are portrayed as the victims of a history from which there is no hope of escape. The traditional perpetrator is also seen as a victim; drawn in the same way as the bystanders. These people are victims of their nation's past, having witnessed the slaughter of friends and relatives by Russian aggression or enforced starvation, and have themselves been subjected to the same torments. So the actions of the novel's complicit father, uncle and aunt, as many note—including Manne, Clendinnen, Andrew Riemer, and Raimond Gaita: commentators who have critiqued or discussed the Demidenko/Darville novel in some depth—are given justification by means of an historical relativism.

Yet, it is the first and last comments found in Friedländer's passage that are pertinent when discussing the instilment of pride that occurs through the Demidenko/Darville novel: “The traditional perpetrator of the early narratives becomes a potential victim” and “the source of all evil is clearly placed outside the traditional representation of responsibility” (Friedländer, “Historical” 75). Traditional perpetrators, while depicted as victims in the novel, remain the perpetrator; there is no ambiguity regarding the roles of Uncle Vitaly, his brother, or their sister during the Second World War (*Hand 2*, 5). They admit to their actions, even keep tokens of their involvement such as photos and badges. The aunt openly describes and records her life during the German invasion, and Uncle Vitaly is clear in his admission, confessing to

wearing gold spectacles that once belonged to a Jew sent to the gas chambers (*Hand* 42). These characters may have remained silent for many years (*Hand* 37), yet their admission (the central backbone of the novel) acts not only as another means of justification, but as a source of family unity. The main protagonist, daughter and niece of these Ukrainians, while initially revolted by the family's crimes (*Hand* 39), eventually understands their actions, thereby accepting the reasons for their roles in this past. Importantly, while she initially questions her family's involvement, she does not question the crimes themselves, but rather the implications of such actions should her family members stand trial, and the moral culpability of her relatives.

Levi, in the same foreword to *If This Is a Man* that I cited in chapter two, went on to write that “to understand a proposal or human behaviour means to ‘contain’ it, contain its author, put oneself in his place, identify with him . . . [but] no normal human being will ever be able to identify with Hitler . . . and the endless others” (395). *The Hand That Signed the Paper* proposes the opposite, suggesting that each of the perpetrators are identifiable and understandable if viewed in a particular way. To better understand the rationales of these individuals, Demidenko/Darville talks of familial love (a common unifying force among peoples) (*Hand* 155), creating family ritual as the site of pride while simultaneously relying upon the death of Ukrainian family members at the hands of the Russians (or more pointedly, Russian Jews for these people are seen as the enforcers of Stalin's *Holodomor*) as justification for revenge (*Hand* 12). The narrative emphasises the importance of cultural practice and the significance of entrenched Eastern European cultural values that differ from those of Western cultures; cultural practices that contrast Ukrainian tradition to an Australian way of life, undermining taken-for-granted preconceived ideas or practices—even the social morality—taken up by immigrants in Australia as a means of assimilation (*Hand* 9, 10). The creation of a fictitious persona that saw the author adopt Ukrainian dress, and certain “Ukrainian” habits, helped to propagate this emphasis on cultural divide, providing the author with “an ‘authentic’ position from which to speak” (Vice 143). By propagating these tropes of historical (in-)authenticity, the author appeared to suggest that while this contentious family history might be viewed as a source of shame in Australian culture, in the Ukraine this past provides a means of nationalistic fervour and family unity. The central

narrator, therefore, comes not only to justify her forebears' decisions, but to use these decisions to better understand her family's European ties. As a result, the Nazi remains the Nazi, while the Jew is transformed into a demonic entity whose fate is seemingly deserved (*Hand 8*). As already mentioned, there is no denial of past Nazi atrocities; there are, by contrast, a number of open confessions of wrongdoing. But guilt is not generally, even specifically, ascribed to these crimes, which means that the "source of all evil" as Friedländer noted in the passage quoted above, is removed from a traditional sphere. Uncle Vitaly states: "You don't understand, but that's alright. In those days, people didn't say no . . . we just did what we were told" (*Hand 41*). This clause is drawn on in McQueen's *White Light*, but in *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, perpetrators like Ritter, while guilty of crimes, are not written as morally guilt-ridden, possibly not even morally guilty; traditional responsibility is therefore negated.

Construing the perpetrators in such a way, Demidenko/Darville has adhered to what Bartov refers to as the "fantasies and distorted perceptions" (99) that create an enemy. In the case of *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, the enemy is, for the most part, the Stalinist or Communist aligned Jew, "whose very persecution would serve to manifest the power and legitimacy of the victimizer, while simultaneously allowing the persecutor to claim the status of the 'true' (past, present, and potentially future) victim" (99). Bartov refers to the Nazis themselves, who willingly forged such fantasies as a means of justifying their persecution of the Jewish population and the Bolsheviks (amongst others). The persecutors, as located in Uncle Vitaly and his siblings, have, as already noted, legitimised their victimisation. Yet, when discussing *The Hand That Signed the Paper* this subjugation takes on further meaning since victimisation is not derived solely from the Stalinist revolution in the Ukraine, but extends into the present-day (meaning in Australia in the 1990s, the period in which the novel was written), and further resonates into the short-term future in the aftermath of the book's publication.

"Present-day" victimisation of some of the main characters is a result of an Australian government who have charged Uncle Vitaly with war crimes. He and his siblings are the victims of a government decision to prosecute former members of the Ukrainian SS; what could reasonably be deduced as a literary reflection on actual war crime trials that were underway in South Australia

about the time of the book's publication. In regards to the novel, it is not a question of whether crimes were committed, rather a question of whether elderly individuals deserve to be prosecuted. Demidenko/Darville does not rely on the central narrator to answer these questions. Instead, the author draws on the "unbiased" opinion of the narrator's Anglo-Celtic Australian roommate:

I want you to understand . . . that . . . that I think it's wrong to try them. That trying people for what they did in a war legitimises other wartime activities that are left untried. War is a crime, of itself. So I hope that nothing comes of this, and everything just blows over. (*Hand 4*)

The issues raised by positioning the book's intent in such a way have been discussed in some depth by the law historian David Fraser. He writes: "The narrators of *The Hand That Signed the Paper* become not perpetrators but victims, victims of the *Holomodor*, victims of Bolshevists, victims of Jews, victims of Israelis who pursue an old man under his kitchen table" (291-92). As noted, victimisation is furthered when the author herself is hounded by press and public once it is discovered she is not Ukrainian but of English descent, and hence the story is deprived of cultural authenticity for the author no longer hails from country in which the story is set: "Helen Demidenko/Darville becomes the victim of the politically correct brigade whose members cannot tell fact from fiction and who push their ideology into fields of literary endeavour that are immune from such considerations. Demidenko/Darville herself becomes the victim of her own actions" (Fraser 291-92). While many argued that Demidenko/Darville was unworthy of sympathy, including the vehement Manne and the abovementioned Fraser, others, even her own publishers, sought to vindicate the author. Her publishers commissioned the author Andrew Riemer to write *The Demidenko Debate* in an effort to balance the attack located in Manne's *The Culture of Forgetting: Helen Demidenko and the Holocaust*.<sup>45</sup> Terms such as "factitious"

---

<sup>45</sup> The source here is a note inserted in the author's personal copy of Riemer's book which can be found in the Demidenko/Darville collection located in the University of Queensland's Fryer Library. Patrick Gallagher, head of Angus & Robertson (the publication house responsible for the release of the book), wrote to Demidenko/Darville: "Here's a copy of Andrew Riemer's book, with his and our compliments. In a way I wish like you one could have drawn a line at the end of 1995 and decreed NO MORE [*sic*], but on the other hand I felt that we had to do an objective analysis of the debate to have it on record. All the more so in view



and “postmodern” were employed by those who advocated on behalf of Demidenko/Darville (including the author herself), seemingly apt descriptors that encapsulated the novel’s doubtful retelling of the past in the hope such terms might blur or negate what a number of public intellectuals argued was a clear case of anti-Semitism.

For my argument in this chapter, all three manifestations of perpetrator victimisation in Demidenko/Darville’s text (victims of the Jewish Bolsheviks, victims of the Australian government and the victimisation of an author by some of the Australian press and public) embody a radical shift from traditional representations of the Third Reich perpetrator, victim and even the bystander. Here we find that Friedländer’s traditional victim is not worthy of sympathy, but the Third Reich perpetrator is. It is here, working hand-in-hand with the re-negotiation of sympathy, a culmination of the cultural naivety that exists as a result of dominant ideologies and historical alignments in the Australian nation’s past, is evinced. This is a naivety that Fraser considers symptomatic of Australian society in recent times:

The Australian public and the Australian literary establishment welcomed the new ethnic voice with open arms. Her [Demidenko/Darville’s] anti-Semitism, her relativisation of the Holocaust, and her justificatory explanations of her family and their roles as Jew killers all appear to fit into a set of Australian cultural understandings that were commonly shared. (287)

### **Jackie French, *Hitler’s Daughter* (1999)**

The youth fiction, Jackie French’s *Hitler’s Daughter* is briefly worth mentioning as it de-demonises not the “ordinary” Nazi, but, as the title of the work suggests, Adolf Hitler himself. In 2000 it won “Book of the Year,” as voted by The Children’s Book Council of Australia. *Hitler’s Daughter* contains two stories, one of which is the story of a young girl called Heidi who lives on a farm in countryside Germany, and whose father, Adolf Hitler (given the pet name “Duffi”), comes infrequently to visit. He brings with him treats, but one day does not return, and towards the end of the story the girl goes to live with him in the *Fuehrer* Bunker in Berlin. The girl and an adopted family later

---

of certain other publications.” Here I think he refers to mainly Manne’s *The Culture of Forgetting*.

migrate to Australia, and it is here she lives the rest of her life, getting married and raising a family. Or so the reader could easily deduce. Recounted by a young girl to a group of friends who wait with her at a rural Australian bus stop, the story of Hitler's daughter is ambiguous as to its origins, but suggests there is some truth to the story that Hitler sired a child. It is even strongly hinted that the storyteller's grandmother could have been that girl, and, therefore, the storyteller is a descendant of Hitler:

“Lots of refugees came here [to Australia] after World War Two. Herr Schmidt found his family in the refugee camp, and so they all came out here together. And Herr Schmidt accepted Heidi as his daughter. . . . Herr Schmidt said Heidi was ‘*eine Gabe von Gott.*’ A Gift from God.”

“I didn't know you spoke German,” said Mark.

Anna rubbed her cold, red nose. “A few words,” she said

“Grandma taught me. She spoke . . . a little German.” (*Hitler's* 132-33)

Hitler is humanised, not only because of the narrator's depiction of the Reich's leader, but by association, through this descendant of the dictator being friendly, loyal, and always pleasant in disposition. Furthermore, Hitler's daughter is physically marked by a large birthmark on her face, and limps as one of her legs is shorter than the other. While a nice girl who wishes for friends and fondly remembers the few times her father visits, she is also the victim of the Reich's “euthanasia” policy as her physical defects mean she cannot socialise, and in this the tale reads as a parable similar to the 2006 book by John Boyne, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*. Both books show the hypocrisies and short fallings of the policies that are meant to bolster the German nation, policies that impact personally upon even the most ardent Nazis; in the case of *Hitler's Daughter* Adolf Hitler has sired a child who does not conform to Nazi eugenics. This creates an interesting representation, for the daughter is not only a victim of the Reich, but so too of her father, the man who sends her presents and ensures she is nestled somewhere safe in the countryside when Allied bombing raids begin.

In *Hitler's Daughter* the reader is given a retelling of a story which transforms the demonic Nazi into a father. The traditional perpetrator, therefore, is made human and relatable. The audience reads of the suffering

of innocent German bystanders akin to those I discussed in chapter seven (*Hitler's* 30). The question of an equation of crimes is also posited in *Hitler's Daughter*, suggestions that Nazi genocide is the same as the killings that occurred in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, or, more topically given the Australian specificity of the book, the genocide of the Aborigines. Jackie French implicates all nations, thereby relativising the crimes of the Nazis (*Hitler's* 86). The book further suggests that the social habits of Anglo-Australians could foster similar political upheavals as were witnessed in Germany under National Socialism: "There was Ben on his motorbike with a swastika on his arm, and Bonzo in a uniform, and Little Tracey was saluting Hitler too. Bonzo just wanted excitement and Ben didn't think about things at all, and Little Tracey would do what her friends . . ." (*Hitler's* 87). Likewise, the author philosophically questions the nature of a person's belief, writing "People *should* do what they thought was right. But what if you thought what was right, was wrong?" (*Hitler's* 77) [italics are the author's]. The question of German guilt is again viewed as guilt that humanity, and not purely Germany and the quisling states, needs to deal with, an all-encompassing enquiry that suggests the Germans are not alone in their crimes. Suggestions such as these lead the reader to assume that the atrocities committed as a result of racial policy and Nazi governance are not unique to Germany and the epoch, but could as easily have occurred (or were occurring) in further locations in the world, including Australia. Normalising is therefore enacted, not in the depiction of life lived under the Third Reich, for Heidi, the name given to Hitler's daughter, experiences death and bombing and fear and rationing, conditions that are not normal. Yet the decisions that led to the Holocaust are portrayed as universal, and similar decisions and conditions could (and do) erupt in many parts of the world. Guilt is placated, for Germany is not alone in decisions that result in genocide. Furthermore, penance for crimes committed appears in the form of suffering: the young German girl suffers as a result of her physical deformity and her father's role as the *Fuehrer*, the German nation suffers from bombs and the invading Russians (*Hitler's* 129), and Hitler's granddaughter suffers: "Of course I can see why she couldn't tell anyone. No one would understand, not really . . . she'd be afraid they'd just see Hitler, not her" (*Hitler's* 135).

Such characterisation advances the theory that the Nazi past is not easily categorised or understood, an idea that is further advanced by personal experience which is woven within the story. The potency of this memory, its effect on the author and subsequently on *Hitler's Daughter*, also speaks to the topic of this thesis. For the author is Australian, and bases the story on a neighbour who was once a Nazi, even a camp guard. This former perpetrator migrated to Australia after the Second World War, one of the influx discussed by Aarons as cited in chapter two. Jackie French writes on a website dedicated to the children's book:

When I was fourteen, trying to do my homework, I came across a passage I couldn't translate. My mother called a friend of hers who spoke German to help me. . . . He told me a story about a fourteen-year-old boy in Hitler's Germany, who joined the Nazi party, because his parents were Nazis, his teachers were Nazis. . . . He became a guard in a concentration camp, because that is what fourteen year old boys were doing in Germany at the end of the war. . . . He said to me "When you are fourteen, and the world around you is insane, how do you know what is good and what is evil? How do you know?" (Web n.p.)

This passage continues to relate this individual's story, expressing sympathy, and asks the audience to accept the story at face value, to realise that in similar circumstances they might also have made similar decisions.<sup>46</sup> I realise that there are differences between this individual and the camp commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss, but a passage in Höss' memoirs resembles the plea of the man that inspired *Hitler's Daughter*: "Let the public continue to regard me as the blood-thirsty beast, the cruel sadist and the mass murderer; for the masses could never imagine the commandant of Auschwitz in any other light. They could never understand that he, too, had a heart and that he was not evil" (181). Höss and the man who (may have) discussed his past with French are both seemingly asking for forgiveness. *Hitler's Daughter* requests a similar absolution, not of Hitler as such, but of those caught up in a

---

<sup>46</sup> There is some doubt as to the truthfulness of this story, either as it has been relayed by the former Nazi, or by the author herself, as there is no record of any person of that age serving in the concentration camps. At fourteen, even at the age of sixteen, these youths were still too young to be subjected to the camps. Towards the end of the war they were conscripted to fight, but to guard concentration camps is historically inaccurate. According to the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum the average age of an SS garrison member was 36.

situation that led to their participation in genocide. French describes her former Nazi as “a good man, who had spent his life trying to atone for what he’d done” (Web n.p.). In all the instances cited in this chapter, all the perpetrators are “good” men and women who have gone on to live upright and socially responsible family lives.

I argue that the four books examined in this chapter have been shaped by an Australian past. In his book dealing with the prosecution of war criminals in Australia, Fraser argues that distance from Europe and the site of the Holocaust, and a form of cultural amnesia, have shaped Australian responses to former perpetrators. He postulates that:

for some reason, perhaps attributable to the tyranny of distance, the physical isolation with which Australians live every day, or the intellectual isolation and ignorance that arise from Australia’s geography, even the most extensive, detailed recent literature dealing with various international and national efforts to prosecute Holocaust perpetrators remains silent about the Australian experience (8).

Fraser contemplates the limitations of Australian culture in regard to law, a practice which in many areas is dissimilar to literature, yet the two appear to have experienced similar outcomes crafted by the specificity of this culture. That an Australian past and an Australian culture have, in varying degrees, shaped the stories I discuss in this thesis is no doubt true. But here, in this chapter, this influence has seen a blurring of the representation of the perpetrator and the victim which is shaped in culturally-specific ways. As evidenced throughout the chapter, the traditional perpetrator has been, in some form, depicted as a victim, while the traditional victim is now viewed as a form of perpetrator; in these texts, doing this, the crimes of the Third Reich could be seen to be justified.

## CONCLUSION

I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, what is the use of all this culture and civilisation, all the startling new discoveries of great minds, if, again and again, millions of people fall upon a small group of unarmed men and women, humiliate them, persecute them and torture them to death? Don't say, "We can't help it!" No man can be freed from guilt for the tragic fate innocently suffered by other men. This must be made clear to the world.

B.N. Jubal, *The Smile of Herschale Handle*

The novels examined in this thesis are examples of how fiction enables a gamut of reactions in discussing the Third Reich, reactions including some that differ from my epigraph taken from Australian author B.N. Jubal, which adheres to conventional warnings and misgivings regarding the fate of Jewish victims. The first of the chapters analysing various literary texts, chapter three, investigated three novels which depicted the victim, bystander and perpetrator in relatively measured terms, while also discussing, some aspects of Australian culture and its relationship to the Holocaust. These novels explored and commented upon aspects of Australian culture and history that I consider have been influential, in varying degrees, in the shaping of the writing of less traditional representations of the Third Reich triad. Chapter four examined a number of books which I grouped because of a political content, which expressed the virtues of communism and a fear of fascism. In chapter five, books written by second generation German Australians attempted to explain their former nation's past, while dealing with a newly-adopted Australian culture and society. Chapter six studied a number of novels written by Anglo-Australian authors who wrote about the victims, bystanders and perpetrators of the Third Reich, using these characters to propagate the cultural and social benefits of one country over another, suggesting, for example, the Australian cultural belief (or myth) of egalitarianism a cultural trait which comes to unite perpetrator and victim. Chapter seven examined three novels which focussed on the bystander and their "everyday" existence in Germany during the period of the Third Reich. Chapter eight focussed on books that I argue tend to justify the crimes of the perpetrators. Some shifts and changes from traditional

portrayals of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator I find to be present in these literary works. In chapter one I outlined aspects of German history, pinpointing four of Germany's historical turning points that have influenced the literary representations of the Third Reich. This led to some commentary upon literary shifts and changes that Friedländer, Niven and Taberner noted in German fiction, which itself was influenced by the German past. My second chapter is an overview of some particular aspects of Australia's past, and I contended that a specific influx of peoples and a widespread cultural amnesia influenced the representations of the Third Reich triad as presented in the fiction I have discussed.

To reiterate, since the mid-1950s some Australian authors have concerned themselves with literary depictions of the Third Reich's perpetrators, victims and bystanders. Early examples of such writing include, as seen in chapter four, the socialist realist novel by Kaufmann *Voices in the Storm*, the similarly politically-loaded Cusack fictions, *Heat Wave in Berlin* and *The Sun Is Not Enough*, and the allegorical novella by Devanny, *Roll Back the Night*. Literary representations of the Nazi past and their inclusion of the victim, bystander and perpetrator in Australian books have changed over the decades, and these permutations can be seen to correspond, to some degree, to a process which scholars have recognised in European literary depictions of the Third Reich. Taberner, an English academic, writes that the past three decades have seen the emergence of German authors who feel that they are no longer obliged to "restate German culpability for the Holocaust" (137). In relevant texts of Australian fiction, the shifts and changes that Friedländer noticed in the 1980s can be seen to have played out over the decades, with some similarities. These literary re-workings are evident, as I stated in the opening paragraph of this thesis, in Australia's fiction dating from the late 1940s through to today. It is through such works that I have concluded that the shifts and changes noted by Friedländer in his paper in 1987 have been given further currency. Here I quote Friedländer, to whom I originally referred in the first chapter:

The traditional perpetrator of the early narratives becomes a potential victim; the traditional bystander becomes an actual victim; and, as for the traditional victim, although his or her fate is not denied, it is rendered in . . . rather ambiguous light. In any

case, the source of all evil is clearly placed outside the traditional representation of responsibility . . .

My argument building upon Friedländer is this: The traditional perpetrator can now ask for more understanding—approaching the sympathy traditionally bestowed upon, for example, the Jew or the political dissident. The culpability of the perpetrator’s actions, however extreme, is not to be central or assumed. The bystander, alongside the perpetrator, is viewed with sympathy and any apportioning of blame for what ensued during Hitler’s reign is therefore questioned, even negated. The automatic bestowing of sympathy for the traditional victim, by contrast, is reappropriated, and instead the victim’s culture, history, politics, and/or their intrinsic characteristics are to be problematised as possible reasons for particular historical events, while what happened to them might be reasonably considered as a self-inflicted consequence of their selves, their pasts and/or their culture.

In the introduction to this thesis I used the term “amoral.” I argue that a moral apathy, or a cultural impiety, exists in regard to the Holocaust, born possibly because of distance from Europe, from decades passing since the conclusion of the Second World War, and/or from a cultural amnesia that would otherwise produce a more informed perspective. As David Fraser notes:

The European conflict that embodied and enabled the Shoah took place long ago and far away for the vast majority of Australian citizens. Like Americans, Australians construct war and the Shoah as memory and as history, and in each case the reality of death and destruction remains at an important remove. (266-67)

Manne references such distancing in the title of his book that concerns itself with the Demidenko/Darville affair, *The Culture of Forgetting*. He further proposes that *The Hand That Signed the Paper* would never find a reputable publisher in Europe, or ever go on to win literary prizes in Europe (188), as a result of the novel’s perspective on the Third Reich perpetrator; a variation which he believes speaks about contemporary Australian society. Ironically, the idea that Australia may be a “culture of forgetting” was a point Demidenko/Darville herself used to critique B. Wongar’s novel *Raki* (1994), an Australian book that deals with the role of Serbians, and their relationship to



the German invaders, during the Second World War. Demidenko/Darville wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Australian Book Review* (a letter not initially published, but resurrected upon the eruption of the debate surrounding *The Hand That Signed the Paper*), that Wongar had written “a particularly unpleasant piece of Serbian propaganda. . . . Wongar seems to think it is entirely legitimate to make excuses for the execrable behaviour of his countrymen. . . . Wongar has given us a book that *excuses* barbarity” (qtd. in Manne, *Culture* 53-54) [italics are the author’s]. As Manne notes, this same criticism befell Demidenko/Darville when her true origins were discovered and her novel was reread through a slightly different lens. Distance, as seen here, may impinge upon a thorough knowledge of events, and yet distance also appears to allow a literary leniency by which works that legitimise the Nazis, or push the Nazi aside, are given voice.

What these novels may represent, and here I include books such as *The Book Thief* and *Legacy of Love* in which the bystander is seen a victim of the Nazi regime, is a cultural amorality whereby the past is rewritten in the hope of explaining, yet this past remains at a cultural and social distance. Particular versions of history are seen to be drawn upon, as noted in the passage concerning Wongar’s *Raki*, as a means of engaging the reader, and yet the author’s perspective may be considered doubtful when considered alongside a fuller exposition of the history; in an attempt to avoid such questions of historical inaccuracy or deviancy, Jewish Australian author Elliot Perlman attached a bibliography to his novel *The Street Sweeper* (2011), a novel that, in part, refers to the Shoah for a storyline. Sometimes, the intent of the novels in question, such as *A Family Madness* or *White Light*, might appear to be to present a divergent approach to conventional attempts at historicising the Holocaust. In doing so they may be seen to be discussable in relation to an observation by Matthew Boswell, who writes:

some of the more provocative instances of Holocaust fiction can also make important contributions to our self-understanding, and to the overcoming of knowledge-resistance in respect of the Holocaust, striking out against ineffability and silence through vividly realistic representations of the killing and degradation that took place and also through imaginatively reworking historical material. (4)

Similarly, the authors rework this “ineffable” aspect of the past to comment upon a more contemporary situation. Again, to draw upon the Demidenko/Darville text, her portrayal of Uncle Vitaly as a sick, poorly old man is driven by a particular authorial perspective, the author questioning the fairness of war crime trials being conducted in Adelaide at the time of the novel’s publication (Fraser 296). Therefore, for Fraser, Uncle Vitaly “who is driven to a stroke by the pressure of the threatened publication . . . is simply another way for Demidenko to attack the basis and foundational fairness of the [war crimes] proceedings” (285).

The creation of amoral depictions; or the suggestion that the Nazis were justified in their actions; the depiction of the German people as victims of the National Socialists; or this period of history being used to build a story that compares and contrasts with, or often favours an Australian culture over German or other equivalents, all lead to questions surrounding legitimate depictions of this past. Does each novel’s particular slant on this period and on their depiction of the triadic characters that I have tried to identify, help or hinder a reader’s understanding of human interactions in relation to class, sexuality, gender and race or ethnicity at any particular social and political conjuncture? Literary renderings concerning the Holocaust are, for the most part, suggests Fraser, “bound by rules of social, political, and ethical judgement. They do not exist in isolation from the multiplicity of contexts into which they are thrown, and their merit is always a matter subjected to judgement” (264). So, too, the books gathered for discussion in this thesis. Influenced by the society from which they stem, they can be as much commentary on Australian society, earlier or contemporary, as they are on, for example, the Second World War. Fraser noted Australian society as an influential factor in the inability of Australian law to convict three men charged in relation to the genocide committed by Germany and its quisling states during the period in question, and this he aptly ties to literature:

The invocation of justice arguments as a per se bar to pursuing Nazi war criminals, Holocaust perpetrators, not only indicted a decontextualised and ahistorical understanding of the rule of law but also allowed collective amnesia, wilful obscurantism, and not too subtle anti-Semitism among some elements of some immigrant communities, and some more long-established

groups, to find support behind apparently neutral and Australian norms of justice. In Australia the entire Helen Demidenko/Darville episode would reveal in stark terms just how much Australian debates about national identity, multiculturalism, and war crimes trials were infused with an often blatant and public anti-Jewish discourse.<sup>47</sup> (301)

Yet, as Fraser further suggests, such controversial publications allow a more or less unheard-of perspective to enter public discourse, providing further ethical and moral debates that add to, rather than subtract from, overall discussions about how the Holocaust might be represented (273). Such publications can be seen, as Boswell notes in his study of “impious” poetry, film and popular music, to be “bound together by a common willingness to speak the unspeakable and their uniform rejection of the idea, dominant within post-Holocaust intellectual discourse, that fictional . . . forms of Holocaust representation constitute basic violation of the historical record or moral law” (4). However, representations encountered in this thesis do not wholly reflect what Matthew Boswell writes are further key ingredients to such forms of impiety; they do not “affront the living” as a means of “attacking those who see no connection between historical atrocity and their own values, political systems and day-to-day lives” (4). Rather, I would argue that well-considered contemporary political or sociological arguments, in regards to the narrativisation of the Holocaust, and as seen in the work of Patrick White or Les Murray, remain absent in many other instances.

Alternatively, I argue that a form of collective amnesia, or collective impiety, as seen in some of the novels studied in this thesis, has been influenced, to some degree, by the history outlined in chapter two. There were small right-wing organisations in Australia prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, but it was public discourse regarding a disparity in migrant popularity that separated “acceptable” migrants—northern Europeans—from those less wanted, in particular Jewish refugees. Migrants were forced to assimilate, and the preferred migrant was to fare better in Australia as a result of their “positive stereotypes . . . that were reconstructed in the Australian press in the late 1940s” (Sauer 430). In contrast, “Fears that Jews, deemed

---

<sup>47</sup> This is further complicated by the existence of positions opposed to Israeli expansion and Zionism that are neither “anti-Jewish,” nor located within traditions of anti-Semitism.

less assimilable than other groupings, would form ‘recalcitrant minorities’ with a distinct political voice . . . may also explain the persistent majority opposition to welcoming Jewish migrants” (Sauer 432). Populist reaction in Australia to the Jew is a powerful motif in White’s *Riders in the Chariot*, summed up in the scene in which the Jew, Himmelfarb, is subjected to a mock crucifixion outside a bicycle parts factory by Anglo and Italian Australian fellow employees. Australia’s past, from the White Australia Policy to more recent policies of multiculturalism, and even extending to contemporary descriptions of Australia as a Pan-Asian-Pacific country, or a transnational nation, can be seen to have influenced Australian literature.<sup>48</sup> Waves of migration have moulded Australian society ever since the First Fleet landed in Sydney Harbour, as evinced in many aspects of the Australian day-to-day, including food and music and literature, and yet assimilation was a key element to a non-Anglo migrant’s success in Australia. Depending on the decade or the country of origin, the degree to which anyone assimilated may have varied; nevertheless, the majority of migrants experienced some form of Anglo-Australian integration. Subsequently, aspects of the Australian past, I argue, have been responsible for positing representations that have reshaped commonly regarded conventional portrayals of the Third Reich triad, corresponding, in some aspects, to Boswell’s argument that “knowledge and respect of our own lives and societies . . . frequently involves orientating a response to the Holocaust around dynamics of perpetration and the moral passivity of bystanders” (4). Collective amnesia, cultural assimilation, and the preferential treatment of one migrant type over another have also, accordingly, been factors in shaping the Australian fictional depictions of the Third Reich victim, bystander and perpetrator.

While I argue Australian cultural specificity in regards to the production of these fictional depictions, these representations might be seen to mark a departure from a corpus of work composed by contemporary authors of other nationalities, or at least contextualise recent transmutations in literature more widely regarding the Third Reich triad. As I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Seiffert’s novel *The Dark Room* contains elements of the recent manifestation of shifts and changes that I locate in some Australian novels,

---

<sup>48</sup> In regards to the last two points, a host of “transnational” novels have been written. For an overview of some of these texts, see Ommundsen.

not in relation to the victims who retain their status of victimisation, but in the novel's numerous depictions of the perpetrator. They add to what Liisa Buelens describes as the recent move in European literature away from "flat characters without much depth . . . monsters" (2), to perpetrators who are written as human beings. Similarly, there is a turn from traditional notions of those who suffer trauma:

Perpetrators [in Seiffert's novels] are frequently depicted as trauma sufferers, which calls into mind depictions of trauma victims. Apart from the similarities to victims of trauma, the depictions of the active perpetrators as physiologically affected by what they did, creates an highly humane image of a perpetrator; an image that allows for sympathy towards the perpetrators. (Buelens 27)

However, even shifts in the allocation of trauma as evinced above differ in Australian fictional representations of the victim, bystander and perpetrator. The bystander and perpetrator do suffer through the trauma of war and crimes, yet the traditional victim's trauma as seen in Demidenko/Darville or McQueen's fiction becomes seemingly self-inflicted. Sympathy is therefore no longer bestowed upon the traditionally victimised, but rather on the perpetrators. Fraser notes a similar remove in Australia from traditional articulations of the Shoah:

The Demidenko affair, and the way in which *The Hand That Signed the Paper* and the author's fictionalized immigrant persona were received by elites on both the left and the right of Australian culture and society, revealed the depth to which this victimization narrative [of war criminals on trial in Australia] had penetrated and the extent of an acceptable and patent anti-Semitism as part of the social and political discourse about war crimes of the Shoah, and subsequent atrocities. (310)

I argue that this victimisation narrative, while it may in part be representative of anti-Semitism, can also be regarded as cultural amorality. The after-effects of political and social policies which enacted certain decisions favouring some Europeans over others; alongside the White Australia Policy (which excluded Asian peoples), a cultural amnesia regarding not only the genocide committed in Europe but also the genocide of the Australian Aboriginal people, these

have shaped and subsequently been shaped by dominant competing discourses in Australian society. The reference to these past markers do not align to Rothberg's idea regarding multidirectional memory, for he writes that "Our relationship to the past does partially determine who we are in the present, but never straightforwardly and directly, and never without unexpected or even unwanted consequences that bind us to those whom we consider other" (5). Here, I would argue, our past is very much the shaper of our present.

This thesis has set out to show how some examples of Australian literature have been likewise shaped by such influences, whether straightforwardly or not, with a particular focus on the evolving transformations of traditional portrayals of the Third Reich victim, the Third Reich bystander, and the Third Reich perpetrator in Australian literary representations. I have examined some Australian fiction which signals to the reconfiguring or forgetting of past wrongdoings and past subjugation, and in this fiction's production, the work comments upon Australian culture and society and the way in which literary representations of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim have been considered over many decades by an Australian culture's response and reaction to the epoch of the Third Reich. To end, I quote a small novel by the Australian author Bill Green called *Freud and the Nazis Go Surfing* (1986). In it the narrator speculates on the relationship of a German man and a German Jewish woman who are united. Hans, she believes to be a former Nazi, while Rachel is a former inmate of a concentration camp. This unity, as fictionalised in this Australian book, is representative of some of the oddities and questionable portrayals that I have discussed in this thesis, with regards to unconventional or untraditional depictions of the Third Reich perpetrator, bystander and victim. The Australian culture of the period, as presented in the novel, enables this absurd, even morally dubious relationship, for even the suggestion of this unity, might, for some, signify Holocaust impiety and/or a lack of insight into this period of history:

Had they come together because of a mutual understanding of the depths of suffering? Had they been hurt in the same way? Or did Rachel have a victim of her own? Perhaps the guilt had placed Hans within her reach. And did she, knowing the depth of

his guilt, only feel safe with a person who was totally committed to redemption? Or did she use him in a way that would slowly destroy him? I had no answers. (*Freud* 114)

While the complicated questions my thesis has engaged with have, themselves, no simple answers, I hope that my discussion has contributed to debates about representing in literature both the period of the Third Reich, and the noted triad of representational characters who inhabit this period.

## Bibliography

- Aarons, Mark. *Sanctuary: Nazi Fugitives in Australia*. 1989. Melbourne: Mandarin Australia, 1990. Print.
- . *War Criminals Welcome: Australia, a Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals since 1945*. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2001. Print.
- Adams, Jenni. " 'Into Eternity's Certain Breadth': Ambivalent Escapes in Markus Zusak's *The Book Thief*." *Children's Literature in Education* 41 (2010): 222-33. Print.
- . "Introduction." *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film*. Ed. Jenni Adams and Sue Vice. Portland, OR.: Vallentine Mitchell, 2012. 1-9. Print.
- . "Reading (As) Violence in The Kindly Ones." *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film*. Ed. Jenni Adams and Sue Vice. Portland, OR.: Vallentine Mitchell, 2012. 25-46. Print.
- Adler, Katya. "Germany's New Breed of Neo-Nazis Pose a Threat." *BBC News* 27 Mar. 2012: n. pag. Web. 27 Mar. 2012.
- Adorno, Theodor W. *Can One Live after Auschwitz?: A Philosophical Reader*. Ed. Rolf Tiedemann. Trans. Rodney Livingstone and Others. Stanford, California: Stanford UP, 2003. Print.
- Alexander, Peter F. *Les Murray: A Life in Progress*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001. Print.
- Alison, Jane. "The Third Victim in Bernard Schlink's *Der Vorleser*." *Germanic Review* 81.2 (2006): 163-78. Web. 10 June 2011.
- Allen, William Sheridan. *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town 1922-1945*. 1984. Rev. ed. London: Penguin Books, 1989. Print.
- Allon, Fiona. " 'We Decide Who Comes to this Country': Inclusion, Exclusion and the National Imaginary." *Polyculturalism and Discourse*. Ed. Anja Schwarz and Russell West-Pavlov. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007. 177-202. Print.
- Alter, Reinhard. "Cultural Modernity and Political Identity." *Rewriting the German Past: History and Identity in the New Germany*. Ed. Reinhard Alter and Peter Monteath. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1997. 152-74. Print.
- Ambruster, Christopher. *The Search for Meaning in the Australian Novel*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991. Print.



- Anderson, Joan. "I Will a Tale Unfold." Rev. of *Heat Wave in Berlin*, by Dymphna Cusack. *Overland* 21 (1961): 54. Print.
- Ardagh, Philip. "It's a Steal." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Guardian* 6 Jan. 2007: n. pag. Web. 11 Apr. 2012.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. 1963. New York: Penguin Books, 2006. Print.
- Arthur, Kateryna Olinjk. "Recasting History: Australian Bicentennial Writing." *Journal of Narrative Technique* 21.1 (1991): 52-61. Web. 6 June 2010.
- Ayçoberry, Pierre. *The Social History of the Third Reich: 1933-1945*. Trans. Janet Lloyd. New York: New Press, 2000. Print.
- Bader, Rudolf. *The Visitable Past: Images of Europe in Anglo-Australian Literature*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1992. Print.
- Baer, Ulrich. "The Hubris of Humility: Günter Grass, Peter Schneider and German Guilt after 1989." *Germanic Review* 80.1 (2005): 50-73. Web. 11 July 2011.
- Barcelon, Josephine. "To Be Read With an Open Mind." Rev. of *White Light*, by James McQueen. *Australian Book Review* 120 (1990): 9-10. Print.
- Barney, Stan. "You Cannot Go Wrong With Any of This Bunch." Rev. of *The Heavy Knife*, by James McQueen. *Canberra Times* 26 May 1991: 23. Print.
- Barta, Tony. "After the Holocaust: Consciousness of Genocide in Australia." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 31.1 (1985): 154-61. Print.
- Bartov, Omer. "Germany as Victim." *New German Critique* 80 (2000): 29-40. Web. 9 Nov. 2011.
- . *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity*. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000. Print.
- . *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- Bartrop, Paul R. *Australia and the Holocaust 1933-45*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994. Print.
- Beck, Ulrich. "The Cosmopolitan Condition: Why Methodology and Nationalism Fails." *Theory, Culture & Society* 24.7-8 (2007): 286-90. Print.
- Ben-Moshe, Danny. "Holocaust Denial in Australia." *Analysis of Current Trends in Anti-Semitism* 25 (2005): 1-49. Print.

- Beyer, Marcel. *The Karnau Tapes*. 1995. Trans. John Brownjohn. London: Vintage, 1998. Print.
- Bird, David. "Author's Not-So-Brilliant Career as Nazi Fellow Traveller." *Australian* 4-5 Aug. 2012: 118. Print.
- . "Coming to Terms with the 'German Experiment'." *Quadrant* 55.7-8 (2011): 52-55. Print.
- . *Nazi Dreamtime: Australian Enthusiasts for Hitler's Germany*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly, 2012. Print.
- Birns, Nicholas. "Something to Keep You Steady: Egalitarianism and Distinction from D.H. Lawrence to Christos Tsiolkas." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 9 (2009): n. pag. Web. 7 Oct. 2010.
- Blakeney, Sally. "End of Innocence." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Bulletin* 13 Sept. 2005: 68-69. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Bolton, Geoffrey. "Who Are Australians?" *UNESCO Courier* Dec. 1988: 4-11. Web. 5 Oct. 2010.
- Bonnell, Andrew. "Historical Reflections." *Australian Historical Association Bulletin* 93 (2001): 21-27. Print.
- Boswell, Matthew. *Holocaust Impiety in Literature, Popular Music and Film*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Print.
- Boyle, Ian. "The Fictional Subject and the Study of Radical Evil." *Quadrant* 39.5 (1995): 46-50. Web. 20 June 2011.
- Brady, Veronica. "Strange Shapes and Presences: The Fiction of James McQueen." *Island Magazine* 16 (1983): 12-17. Print.
- . "The Most Frightening Rebellion: The Recent Novels of Thomas Keneally." *Meanjin* 38.1 (1979): 74-86. Web. 20 June 2011.
- Brand, Gisele. *After the Dark: A Novel*. Blackheath, NSW: Verand Press, 2004. Print.
- . *Comes the Dark: A Novel*. Blackheath, NSW: Verand Press, 2003. Print.
- Brannon, April. Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 49.8 (2006): 725-26. Print.
- Brennan, Bernadette. "Riders in the Chariot: A Tale For Our Times." *Remembering Patrick White: Contemporary Critical Essays*. Ed. Elizabeth McMahon and Brigitta Olubas. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010. 19-33. Print.

- Brennan, Michael. "Some Sociological Contemplations on Daniel J. Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*." *Theory, Culture & Society* 18.83 (2001): 83-108. Web. 11 July 2011.
- Brenner, David. "Working through the Holocaust Blockbuster: *Schindler's List* and *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Globally and Locally." *Germanic Review* 75.4 (2000): 296-316. Web. 10 July 2011.
- Brewster, Anne. *Literary Formations: Post-colonialism, Nationalism, Globalism*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1995. Print.
- Brockmann, Stephen. *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour*. New York: Camden House, 2004. Print.
- . *Literature and German Reunification*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. Print.
- Broszat, Martin. "A Plea for the Historicisation of National Socialism." *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historian's Debate*. Ed. Peter Baldwin. Boston: Beacon Press, 1990. 77-87. Print.
- . *Hitler and the Collapse of Weimar Germany*. Trans. V.R. Berghahn. New York: Berg, 1987. Print.
- , and Saul Friedländer. "A Controversy about the Historicization of National Socialism." *New German Critique* 44 (1988): 85-126. Print.
- Brown, Adam. "Screening Women's Complicity in the Holocaust: The Problems of Judgement and Representation." *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film*. Ed. Jenni Adams and Sue Vice. Portland, OR.: Vallentine Mitchell, 2012. 69-90. Print.
- Browne, Marshall. *The Eye of the Abyss*. Sydney: Duffy & Snellgrove, 2002. Print.
- . *The Iron Heart*. Sydney: William Heinemann, 2009. Print.
- Browning, Christopher. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. 1992. London: Penguin Books, 2001. Print.
- Bryan, Philip. "Sequel Doesn't Follow." Rev. of *The Heavy Knife*, by James McQueen. *Australian Book Review* 130 (1991): 42. Print.
- Buckridge, Patrick. "Gossip and History in the Novels of Brian Penton and Thomas Keneally." *Australian Literary Studies* 14.4 (1990): n. pag. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Buelens, Liisa. "The Innocent Perpetrator: An Analysis of the Figure of the Perpetrator in Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* and *Afterwards*." Diss. U of Ghent, 2011. Print.

- Burgess, O.N. Rev. of *Riders in the Chariot*, by Patrick White. *Australian Quarterly* 34.1 (1962): 110-13. Print.
- Burke, Jason. "The Evil that Ordinary Men Do." Rev. of *The Kindly Ones*, by Jonathan Littell. *Observer* 22 Feb. 2009: n. pag. Web. 8 May 2012.
- Burkitt, Katherine. *Literary Form as Postcolonial Critique: Epic Proportions*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. Web. 12 Jan. 2013.
- Burrows, J.F. "Archetypes and Stereotypes: *Riders in the Chariot*." *Ten Essays on Patrick White*. Ed. G.A. Wilkes. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970. 47-71. Print.
- Capp, Fiona. *Writers Defiled*. Ringwood, Vic.: McPhee Dribble, 1993. Print.
- Carter, David. *Dispossession, Dreams and Diversity: Issues in Australian Studies*. Sydney: Pearson Education Australia, 2006. Print.
- . "Melting Pot Flavors." Rev. of *Foreigners*, by David Martin. *Age* 24 Oct. 1981: 24. Print.
- Castles, Stephen. *Challenges to National Identity and Citizenship: A Comparative Study of Immigration and Society in Germany, France and Australia*. Wollongong: U of Wollongong, 1999. Print.
- Castles, Stephen, Bill Cope, Mary Kalantzis, and Michael Morrissey. *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Sydney: Pluto Press, 1990. Print.
- Cheyette, Brian. "The Holocaust in the Picture-House." *Times Literary Supplement* 18 Feb. 1994: 18. Web. 12 Nov. 2013.
- Chisholm, Alec H. *The Incredible Year: An Australian sees Europe in "Adolf Hitler Weather"*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944. Print.
- Christesen, C.B. "Trailer: A Room With a View/Impressions of Germany and the Soviet Union." *Meanjin Quarterly* 24.3 (1965): 360-400. Web. 26 July 2011.
- Clarke, Barry. "Beyond 'The Banality of Evil'." *British Journal of Political Science* 10.4 (1980): 417-39. Web. 7 July 2011.
- Clendinnen, Inga. "The History Question: Who Owns the Past?" *Quarterly Essay* 23 (2006): 1-72. Web. 17 June 2011.
- . *Reading the Holocaust*. Melbourne: Text, 1998. Print.
- Coetzee, J.M. "The Angry Genius of Les Murray." *New York Review of Books* 29 Sept. 2011: n. pag. Web. 12 Sept. 2013.

- Cohen-Pfister, Laurel. "The Suffering of the Perpetrators: Unleashing Collective Memory in German Literature in the Twentieth Century." *Forum of Modern Language Studies* 41.2 (2005): 123-35. Print.
- Collins, Jock. "Immigration and Class: The Australian Experience." *Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia*. Ed. Gill Bottomley and Marie De Lerpervanche. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984. 1-27. Print.
- Cooke, Paul. "Victims, Perpetrators and the Fascination of Fascism in *Der Untergang*." *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007. 247-61. Print.
- Cooper, Caroline P. *The Forgotten Holocaust: A Gypsy's Journey from Auschwitz to Freedom*. Canberra: Inspiring Publishers, 2012. Print.
- Cooper, Roslyn Pesman. "Italian Immigrants in Australian Fiction 1900-1950." *Australian Literary Studies* 93.16 (1993): n. pag. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Corkhill, Annette Robyn. *Australian Writing: Ethnic Writers 1945-1991*. Melbourne: Academia Press, 1994. Print.
- . *The Immigrant Experience in Australian Literature*. Melbourne: Academia Press, 1995. Print.
- Cowan, Peter. "Seaforth Mackenzie's Novels." *Meanjin Quarterly* 24.3 (1965): 298-307. Web. 26 July 2011.
- Cowley, Jason. "Forgotten Victims." *Guardian* 27 Mar. 2002: A6. Web. 7 Aug. 2011.
- Creagh, Sunanda. "Hope Amid the Flames." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Sydney Morning Herald* 24 Sept. 2005: n. pag. Web. 11 Apr. 2012.
- Crownshaw, Richard. "Perpetrator Fictions and Transcultural Memory." *Parallax* 17.4 (2011): 75-89. Print.
- Cusack, Dymphna. *Heat Wave in Berlin*. London: Readers Book Club, 1962. Print.
- . *The Sun Is Not Enough*. London: Heinemann, 1967. Print.
- Dale, Helen. "My Life as a Young Novelist." *Quadrant* 50.5 (2006): 14-21. Web. 21 July 2011.
- Darville, Helen. *The Hand That Signed the Paper*. 1994. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995. Print.
- . "Pieces of the Puzzle." *Meanjin* 54.3 (1995): 430-37. Web. 21 June 2011.

- Davis, Douglas. "The Nazi Spectre in Australia." *Australian* 17 Sept. 1984: 8. Print.
- Dean, Carolyn J. *The Fragility of Empathy: After the Holocaust*. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2004. Print.
- De Bellis, Jack. "Wandering Jew and Eternal Return." Rev. of *Riders in the Chariot*, by Patrick White. *Sewanee Review* 72.1 (1964): 141-42. Print.
- Debrebant, Serge. Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Ft.com* (2008): n. pag. Web. 12 Apr. 2012 .
- De Lange, Nicholas. *Judaism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986. Print.
- Denby, David. "Ordinary People." Rev. of *Generation War*, dir. Philipp Kadelbach. *New Yorker* 3 Feb. 2014: n. pag. Web. 3 Feb. 2014.
- Denham, Melinda. "Telling Tales: Helen Demidenko and the Autobiographical Pact." Diss. University of Melbourne, 2010. Print.
- Devanny, Jean. *Point of Departure: The Autobiography of Jean Devanny*. Ed. Carole Ferrier. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1986. Print.
- . *Roll Back the Night*. London: Robert Hale, 1945. Print.
- Diner, Dan. "Between Aporia and Apology: On the Limits of Historicizing National Socialism." *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historian's Debate*. Ed. Peter Baldwin. Boston: Beacon, 1990: 135-45. Print.
- . *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism, and the Holocaust*. Berkley: U of California P, 2000. Print.
- Donahue, William Collins. "'Normal' as 'Apolitical': Uwe Timm's *Rot* and Thomas Brussig's *Leben bis Männer*." *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*. Ed. Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke. New York: Camden House, 2006. 181-94. Print.
- Donelson, Ken. Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *English Journal* 97.1 (2007): 99-100. Web. 13 May 2012.
- Dowling, Shannon. "Traces of Trauma: Loss and Longing in *Too Many Men*." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 6 (2007): 79-90. Web. 1 June 2011.
- Dowrick, Stephanie. Rev. of *White Light*, by James McQueen. *Australian Society* 9.7 (1990): 41-43. Print.
- Dreyfuss, Jean Marc, and Daniel Langton, eds. *Writing the Holocaust*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011. Print.

- Dunnage, Jonathan. "Perpetrator Memory and Memories about Perpetrators: Editorial." *Memory Studies* 3.2 (2010): 91-94. Web. 4 June 2011.
- Eaglestone, Robert. "Avoiding Evil in Perpetrator Fiction." *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film*. Ed. Jenni Adams and Sue Vice. Portland, OR.: Vallentine Mitchell, 2012. 13-24. Print.
- . *The Holocaust and the Postmodern*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Print.
- Ebert, Anja Pauline. "The Cultural Memory of German Victimhood in Post-1990 Popular German Literature and Television." Diss. Wayne State University, 2010. Print.
- Egan, Susanna. "The Company She Keeps: Demidenko and the Problems of Imposture in Autobiography." *Australian Literary Studies* 21.4 (2004): 14-27. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Eggert, Paul. "Where Are We Now with Authorship and the Work?" *Yearbook of English Studies* 29 (1999): 88-102. Web. 31 May 2011.
- Einhorn, Erin. *The Pages in Between: A Holocaust Legacy of Two Families, One Home*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008. Print.
- England, Katharine. "Of Life and Death." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Advertiser* 1 Oct. 2005, Magazine sec.: 12. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Evans, Raymond, Kay Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin. *Exclusion, Exploitation, and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*. Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Company, 1975. Print.
- Evans, Richard J. "Coercion and Consent in Nazi Germany." Raleigh Lecture on History. British Academy, London. 24 May 2006. Address. Web. 6 Aug. 2011.
- Fachinger, Petra. "Counter-Discursive Strategies in First-World Migrant Writing." Diss. U of British Columbia, 1993. Print.
- . "German Mothers, New Daughters: Angelika Fremd's *Heartland* and Sigrid Nunez's *A Feather on the Breath of God*." *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction* 46.3 (2005): 253-67. Web. 7 June 2010.
- . "Poland and Post-Memory in Second-Generation German Jewish Fiction." *Shofar* 27.4 (2009): 49-65. Print.
- "A Family Madness." Rev. of *A Family Madness*, by Thomas Keneally. *Kirkus Reviews* 1 Mar. 1986. Web. 1 May 2013.
- Ferrier, Carole. *Jean Devanny: Romantic Revolutionary*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1999. Print.
- Flynn, Greg. *The Berlin Cross*. Sydney: Bantam, 2005. Print.

- Francis, Candice. "The Story of Your Life." *Age* 9 May 2005, All About Books sec.: 4. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Fraser, David. *Daviborshch's Cart: Narrating the Holocaust in Australian War Crimes Trials*. Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 2010. Print.
- Freehill, Norman, with Dymphna Cusack. *Dymphna Cusack*. Sydney: Nelson, 1975. Print.
- Fremd, Angelika. *Heartland*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1989. Print.
- . *The Glass Inferno*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1992. Print.
- . "The Red, White and Black Fatherland Map / The Green, Gold, Red and White Motherland Map." *Queensland: Words and All*. Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. Brisbane: Outrider/Phoenix Publishers, 1993. Print.
- French, Jackie. *Hitler's Daughter*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1999. Print.
- Friedländer, Saul. "Historical Writing and the Memory of the Holocaust." *Writing and the Holocaust*. Ed. Berel Lang. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988. 66-80. Print.
- . *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993. Print.
- . *Nazi Germany and the Jews*. New York: HarperCollins, 2007. Print.
- . *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death*. Trans. Thomas Weyr. New York: Harper & Row, 1982. Print.
- . *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2008. Print.
- , ed. *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the 'Final Solution.'* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1992. Print.
- Fuchs, Anne, and Mary Cosgrove. "Introduction: Germany's Memory Contests and the Management of the Past." *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film, and Discourse since 1990*. Ed. Anne Fuchs, Mary Cosgrove and Georg Grote. Suffolk, UK: Camden House, 2006. 1-21. Print.
- Fulbrook, Mary. *A Small Town Near Auschwitz: Ordinary Nazis and the Holocaust*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.
- Funder, Anna. *All That I Am: A Novel*. Camberwell, Vic.: Hamish Hamilton, 2011. Print.
- Gaffney, Carmel. "Keneally's Faction: *Schindler's Ark*." *Quadrant* 29.7 (1985): 75-77. Print.



- Gaita, Raimond. *A Common Humanity: Thinking About Love and Truth and Justice*. Melbourne: Text, 1999. Print.
- . "Literary and Public Honours." *Quadrant* 39.9 (1995): 32-36. Web. 11 July 2011.
- . "Remembering the Holocaust: Absolute Value and the Nature of Evil." *Quadrant* 39.12 (1995): 7-15. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Gallagher, Katherine. "Justice and Revenge." Rev. of *White Light*, by James McQueen. *Southerly* 51.2 (1991): 338-42. Print.
- Gay, Caroline. "Remembering for the Future, Engaging with the Present: National Memory Management and the Dialectic of Normality in the 'Berlin Republic'." *Politics and Culture in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Ed. William Niven and James Jordan. Rochester, New York: Camden Publishing, 2003. 201-26. Print.
- Gelder, Ken. "Proximate Reading: Australian Literature in Transnational Reading Frameworks." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* (2010): n. pag. Web. 8 Aug. 2011.
- Gelder, Ken, and Paul Salzman. *After the Celebration: Australian Fiction 1989-2007*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 2009. Print.
- . *The New Diversity: Australian Fiction 1970-88*. Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1989. Print.
- Gerson, Carole. "Some Patterns of Exile in Jewish Writing of the Commonwealth." *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 13.4 (1982): 103-14. Print.
- Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. 1996. London: Abacus, 2001. Print.
- Goldie, Terry. "On Not Being Australian: Mudrooroo and Demidenko." *Australian Literary Studies* 21.4 (2004): 89-100. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Goldsworthy, Kerryn. "Introduction." *Australian Short Stories*. Ed. Kerryn Goldsworthy. Melbourne: J.M. Dent, 1983. ix-xix. Print.
- . "Place and Displacement as Major Structural and Thematic Elements in Some Australian Novels." Diss. U of Adelaide, 1980. Print.
- Goldzweig, Sue. *Just the Way It Was: The True Story of a Nine-Year-Old's Escape, Alone, from Nazi Vienna*. Gold Coast: n. pub., 2001. Print.
- Grass, Günter. *Crabwalk: A Novel*. Trans. Krishna Winston. New York: Harvest, 2004. Print.
- Green, Bill. *Freud and the Nazis Go Surfing*. Sydney: Pan Books, 1986. Print.

- Green, H.M. *Australian Literature 1900-1950*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1951. Print.
- Green, John. "Fighting for Their Lives." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *New York Times* 14 May 2006, Sunday Book Review sec.: n. pag. Web. 11 Apr. 2012.
- Grimstone, Lance. *When the Tulips Bled*. Brisbane: CopyRight Publishing, 2007. Print.
- Gross, Claire E. Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Horn Book Magazine* 82.2 (2006): 199-200. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Grumpl, Gary, and Richard Kleinig. *The Hitler Club: the Rise and Fall of Australia's No.1 Nazi*. Melbourne: Brolga Publishing, 2007. Print.
- Haag, Oliver. "Australia and Its German-Speaking Readers: A Study of How German Publishers Have Imagined Their Readers of Australian Literature." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* (2010): n. pag. Web. 8 Aug. 2011.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate*. Ed. and Trans. Shierry Weber. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989. Print.
- Hage, Ghassan. *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. New York: Routledge, 2000. Print.
- Hall, Rodney. *The Day We Had Hitler Home: A Novel*. Sydney: Picador, 2000. Print.
- Harmstorf, Ian, and Michael Cigler. *The Germans in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1985. Print.
- Hassel, Sven. *Legion of the Damned*. London: Cassell, 2004. Print.
- Hatzimanolis, Efi. "Immigrant Writing Coming of Age? The Getting of Genre in Angelika Fremd's *Heartland*." *Journal of Narrative Technique* 21.1 (1991): 24-31. Web. 6 June 2010.
- Hell, Julia. "Socialist Realism as Heroic Antifascism." *A New History of German Literature*. Ed. David E. Wellbery et al. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 2004. 846-51. Print.
- Henderson, Peter. "Frank Brown and the Neo-Nazis." *Labour History* 89 (2005): 73-86. Web. 13 Oct. 2009.
- Heseltine, H.P. Rev. of *Riders in the Chariot*, by Patrick White. *Books Abroad* 36.1 (1962): 82. Print.
- Hilberg, Raul. *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945*. 1992. New York: Harper Collins, 1993. Print.

- Hild, Herb. "Outstanding Choice of Stories." Rev. of *White Light*, by James McQueen. *Canberra Times* 3 June 1990: 18. Print.
- Hill, Peter. "Nations and Nationalism." *Meanjin* 52.1 (1993): 98-106. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Hilsenrath, Edgar. *Der Nazi & der Friseur*. 1971. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004. Print.
- Hirsch, Marianne. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*. Columbia UP: New York, 2012. Print.
- Hirst, John. "National Pride and Multiculturalism." *Quadrant* 38.11 (1994): 29-34. Web. 20 June 2011.
- Holdsworth, Elisabeth. *Those Who Come After*. Sydney: Picador, 2011. Print.
- Hollington, Michael. "Hysterionics: D.M. Thomas's *The White Hotel*." *Meanjin* 41.3 (1982): 363-66. Web. 21 June 2011.
- . "The Ned Kelly of Cracow: Keneally's *Schindler's Ark*." *Meanjin* 42.1 (1983): 42-46. Web. 20 June 2011.
- . "The West is Green: Günter Grass's *Headbirths* or *The Germans Are Dying Out*." *Meanjin* 42.2 (1983): 175-80. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Holub, Robert C. "Democracy and Discourse." *A New History of German Literature*. Ed. David E. Wellbery et al. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004. 942-47. Print.
- Holz, Rick. *Too Young to Be a Hero*. 2000. Sydney: Harper Collins, 2002. Print.
- Höss, Rudolf. *Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Höss*. 1959. Trans. Constantine FitzGibbon. London: Phoenix Press, 2000. Print.
- Huggan, Graham. "Nazis, the Holocaust, and Australia's History Wars." *Australian Studies* 2 (2010): n. pag. Web. 17 June 2011.
- Hüppauf, Bernd. "'There Was No Other Place to Go': German Intellectuals as Refugees in Australia." *Meanjin* 52.5 (1993): 649-59. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Irving, Helen, ed. *Unity and Diversity: A National Conversation*. Sydney: ABC Books, 2001. Print.
- Jacobs, Alan J. "Day Trip to Dachau." *Quadrant* 29.7 (1985): 43-44. Print.
- Jacobs, Steven L. "Benjamin Wilkomirski (*Fragments*) and Donald Watt (*Stoker*): When the Holocaust Story Is a Lie." *Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal* Spring, 2001: n. pag. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.

- Jenkins, Keith. *Re-thinking History*. New York: Routledge Classics, 2003. Print.
- Johnson-Woods, Toni. "Introduction: Two Centuries of Popular Australian Fiction." *Sold by the Millions: Australia's Bestsellers*. Ed. Toni Johnson-Woods and Amit Sarwal. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012: 1-21.
- . *Pulp: A Collector's Book of Australian Pulp Fiction Covers*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2004. Print.
- Jones, Joseph, and Johanna Jones. *Australian Fiction*. Boston: Twayne, 1983. Print.
- Jost, John, Gianna Totaro, and Christine Tyshing, eds. *The Demidenko File*. Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1996. Print.
- Jubal, Benjamin Newman. *The Smile of Herschale Handle*. Sydney: Currawong, 1947. Print.
- Juchau, Mireille. "Berlin Story." *Meanjin* 61.3 (2002): 199-209. Web. 7 July 2011.
- Jupp, James. *Arrivals and Departures*. Melbourne: Cheshire-Lansdowne, 1966. Print.
- . *Exile or Refuge?: The Settlement of Refugee, Humanitarian, and Displaced Immigrants*. Canberra: A.G.P.S., 1994. Print.
- . *Immigration*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Sydney: Sydney UP, 1998. Print.
- Jurgensen, Manfred. *A Difficult Love*. Indooroopilly, Qld.: Phoenix, 1987. Print.
- . *Eagle and Emu: German-Australian Writing 1930-1990*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1992. Print.
- . "The Image of Germany in Post-War Australian Literature." *German Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, from September 20-23, 1994*. Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. Bern: Peter Lang, 1995. 184-98. Print.
- . "Mytho Kitsch from the Flat Land." Rev. of *The Glass Inferno*, by Angelika Fremd. *Queensland: Words and All*. Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. Brisbane: Outrider/Phoenix, 1993: 107-08. Print.
- Kaplan, Gisela. "From 'Enemy Alien' to Assisted Immigrant: Australian Public Opinion of Germans and Germany in Australian Print Media, 1945 to 1956." *German-Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945*. Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. Bern: Peter Lang, 1995. 78-100. Print.

- Kaufmann, Walter. "How I Write." *Realist Writer* 4 (1952): 5-6. Print.
- . *Voices in the Storm*. Melbourne: Australasian Book Society, 1953. Print.
- Keesing, Nancy. "English Enriched." Rev. of *Foreigners*, by David Martin. *Australian Book Review* 38 (1982): 27-28. Print.
- , comp. *Shalom: A Collection of Australian Jewish Stories*. Sydney: Collins, 1978. Print.
- Keneally, Thomas. *A Family Madness*. Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985. Print.
- . *Schindler's Ark*. Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982. Print.
- . *Searching for Schindler*. Sydney: Knopf, 2007. Print.
- Kennon, Andrew. "Auschwitz Survivors Make Their Own Future." Rev. of *White Light*, by James McQueen. *Age* 26 May 1990, Extra sec.: 9. Print.
- . "Surviving the Heat and Guilt." Rev. of *The Heavy Knife*, by James McQueen. *Age* 25 May 1991, Extra sec.: 7. Print.
- Kershaw, Ian. *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933-1945*. 1983. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. Print.
- . *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1993. Print.
- Koehl, Robert. Rev. of *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930-1935*, by William Sheridan Allen. *American Historical Review* 71.2 (1966): 613. Web. 2 Aug. 2011.
- Korn, Neer. "Australia Isn't a Nation of Racists—Not Even Close." *Sydney Morning Herald* 27 May 2009, News and Features sec.: 37. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Kraushaar, Wolfgang. "Hitler's Children? The German 1968 Movement in the Shadow of the Nazi Past." *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*. Ed. Ingo Cornils and Sarah Waters. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010. 79-101. Print.
- Kulka, Otto Dov. "Singularity and its Relativization: Changing Views in German Historiography on National Socialism and the 'Final Solution'." *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 151-86. Print.
- Kynaston, Edward. *Ordinary Women*. Dover, Tas.: Edith Speers, 2002. Print.
- LaCapra, Dominick. *History and Memory after Auschwitz*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1998. Print.

- . *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001. Print.
- Lamb, Karen. Rev. of *Heartland*, by Angelika Fremd. *Imago* 1.2 (1989): 60-61. Print.
- Lamb, Stephen. "Coming to Terms With Germany's Past: Placing Bernhard Schlink's *The Reader* in Its Historical Context." FR1090—Aspects of Modern German Literature in Translation. 2013. University of Warwick. Lecture.
- Landes, Richard. "Judeophobia: Anti-Judaism, Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism." *The Augean Stables*. 3 Aug. 2003. Web. 29 Jan. 2014.
- Lang, Berel. "Introduction." *Writing and the Holocaust*. Ed. Berel Lang. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988. 1-15. Print.
- Lawson, Tom, and James Jordon, eds. *The Memory of the Holocaust in Australia*. London: Holmes and Meier, 1988. Print.
- Leal, Suzanne. *Border Street*. Melbourne: Scribe, 2006. Print.
- Lebert, Stephen. *My Father's Keeper: The Children of Nazi Leaders—An Intimate History of Damage and Denial*. Trans. Julian Evans. London: Abacus, 2002. Print.
- Lenhoff, Alan. "A Triumph of Good over Evil." *Writing* 26.1 (2003): 18. Web. 1 Apr. 2011.
- Levey, Geoffrey Braham, and Philip Mendes, eds. *Jews and Australian Politics*. Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic P, 2004. Print.
- Levi, Primo. *If This Is a Man: and The Truce*. Trans. Stuart Woolf. London: Abacus, 1987. Print.
- . *The Drowned and the Saved*. 1986. Trans. Raymond Rosenthal. New York: Vintage Books, 1988. Print.
- Libermann, Serge. "People of the Book: Australian Writers." *Australian Jewish News* 13 Nov. 1992, Life/Style sec.: 7. Print.
- Liffman, Herbert. "In Search of My Identity." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 31.1 (1985): 10-28. Print.
- Littell, Jonathan. *The Kindly Ones: A Novel*. 2006. Trans. Charlotte Mandell. London: Chatto & Windus, 2009. Print.
- Litvak, Meir, and Esther Webman. *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia UP, 2009. Print.

- Lloyd, V.H. "Conscience and Justice: A Study of Values in Conflict in the Novels and Plays of Dymphna Cusack." Diss. U of Queensland, 1986. Print.
- Lopez, Mark. *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics 1945-1975*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 2000. Print.
- Lorenz, Chris. "Martin Broszat." *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*. Ed. Kelly Boyd. Vol. 1. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999. Print.
- Ludewig, Alexandra. "Aspects of Walter Kaufmann's Literary Work." *German Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, from September 20-23, 1994*. Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. Bern: Peter Lang, 1995: 215-24. Print.
- Lüdtke, Alf, ed. *The History of the Everyday: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Trans. William Templer. 1989. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1995. Print.
- Lurie, Morris. *Flying Home: A Novel*. Collingwood, Vic.: Outback Press, 1978. Print.
- McGowan, Moray. "German Writing in the West (1945-1990)." *The Cambridge History of German Literature*. Ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997. 440-506. Print.
- McKernan, Susan. *A Question of Commitment: Australian Literature in the Twenty Years after the War*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989. Print.
- . "'Life of Riley' Takes a Bashing from Keneally." Rev. of *A Family Madness*, by Thomas Keneally. *Bulletin* 8 Oct. 1985: 84. Print.
- McLeod, A. L. "Short Views." Rev. of *Voices in the Storm*, by Walter Kaufmann. *Southerly* 16.1 (1955): 41-42. Print.
- McQueen, Humphrey. Rev. of *Dead Europe*, by Christos Tsiolkas. *Politics and Culture* 4 (2005): n. pag. Web. 17 Aug. 2011.
- McQueen, James. *The Heavy Knife*. Port Melbourne, Vic.: Mandarin Australia, 1991. Print.
- . *White Light*. Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1990. Print.
- . Interview by C.A. Cranston. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place." *Island Magazine* 45 (1990): 20-26. Print.
- McRobbie, Andrea, ed. *Arrivals, Departures, Achievements: Essays in Honour of James Jupp*. Canberra: Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Australian National U, 1992. Print.
- Mackenzie, Kenneth Seaforth. *The Refuge*. 1954. Sydney: Sirius, 1989. Print.

- Malouf, David. "Castle Hill Lear: Patrick White Reappraised." *Times Literary Supplement* 5 Jan. 2007: 12-13. Print.
- . Interview by Helen Daniel. *Australian Humanities Review* 3 (1996): n. pag. Web. 22 July 2012.
- Manne, Robert. *The Culture of Forgetting: Helen Demidenko and the Holocaust*. Melbourne: Text, 1996. Print.
- . "Dead Disturbing: A Bloodthirsty Tale that Plays with the Fire of Anti-Semitism." *Monthly* June 2005: 49-53. Print.
- . "The Strange Case of Helen Demidenko." *Quadrant* 39.9 (1995): 21-28. Web. 20 June 2011.
- Marrus, Michael R. "Recent Trends in the History of the Holocaust." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 3.3 (1988): 257-65. Web. 3 Nov. 2011.
- Martin, David. *Foreigners*. Sydney: Rigby Publishers, 1981. Print.
- . Rev. of *Voices in the Storm*, by Walter Kaufmann. *Meanjin* 12.4 (1953): 477-79. Print.
- . *Where a Man Belongs: A Novel*. London: Cassell, 1969. Print.
- Maslin, Janet. "Stealing to Settle a Score with Life." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *New York Times* 27 Mar. 2006: n. pag. Web. 11 July 2011.
- Meder, Stephanie. *Legacy of Love*. Upper Ferntree Gully, Vic.: Papyrus Press, 1998. Print.
- Menzies, Andrew. *Review of Material Relating to the Entry of Suspected War Criminals into Australia*. Dept. of the Special Minister of State. Canberra: AGPS, 1987. Print.
- Messer, Jane. Rev. of *The Heavy Knife*, by James McQueen. *Australian Bookseller and Publisher* 70.1012 (1991): 15. Print.
- Meyer, Max. "Hitler's Eyes." *Meanjin* 51.3 (1992): 465-78. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Miller, J. Hillis. *The Conflagration of Community: Fiction before and after Auschwitz*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2011. Print.
- Minden, Michael. *Modern German Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011. Print.
- Modjeska, Drusilla. "Women Writers: A Study in Australian Cultural History, 1920-1939." Diss. U of New South Wales, 1979. Print.
- Moeller, Robert G. *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2001. Print.



- Moore, Andrew. "Writing about the Extreme Right in Australia." *Labour History* 89 (2005): 1-15. Web. 13 Oct. 2009.
- Moore, Bob. *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940-1945*. New York: Arnold, 1997. Print.
- Moore, Susan. "Home Truths: A Reflection on the Demidenko Affair." *Quadrant* 39.10 (1995): 10-17. Web. 20 June 2011.
- Moral Fiction*. Dir. Michael Hutak and Vincent Sheehan. Sydney: Porchlight Films, 1994. Film.
- Moran, Joe. "History, Memory and the Everyday." *Rethinking History* 8.1 (2004): 51-68. Print.
- Mordue, Mark. "Lust for Life: Mark Mordue Explores the Rise and Fall of German Modernism ahead of a New Exhibition Examining Art of the Weimar Era." *Australian* 30-31 July 2011, Review sec.: 5-7. Print.
- Moses, John A. *Australia and the Reich, 1870-1942: Deutschumpolitik in Australia from Kaisereich to Third Reich*. Armidale, NSW: School of Classics, History and Religion, U of New England, 2001. Print.
- Murphy, Peter. "The Dark Knight of Faith and the Epicurean Hero." Rev. of *Humanism*, by John Carroll. *Thesis Eleven* 39 (1994): 105-18. Web. 4 June 2011.
- Murray, Les. *Fredy Neptune*. Sydney: Duffy and Snellgrove, 1998. Print.
- Murray-Smith, Stephen. "German Notebook 1971." *Overland* 52 (1971): 14-20. Print.
- Nelson, Camilla. "Faking It: History and Creative Writing." *TEXT* 11.2 (2007): n. pag. Web. 15 May 2012.
- Neumann, Anne Waldron. "The Ethics of Fiction's Reception." *Quadrant* 39.11 (1995): 53-56. Web. 20 June 2011.
- . "Semantic and Social Deafness." *Quadrant* 40.4 (1996): 69-72. Web. 20 June 2011.
- Neumann, Birgit. "Monumentalism and Monuments in Postcolonial Literatures: Dismembering Tradition." *Anglia* 131 (2013): 262-81. Print.
- Newman, Eve. "Heroism Incompatible with Domestic Life." Rev. of *The Widow and Her Hero*, by Thomas Keneally. *Antipodes* 22.2 (2008): 170. Web. 1 June 2011.
- Ng, Lynda. "Dead Europe and the Coming of Age in Australian Literature: Globalisation, Cosmopolitanism and Perversity." *Australian Humanities Review* 54 (2013): 120-35. Print.

- Nicoll, Fiona. "Pseudo-Hyphens and Barbaric/Binaries: Anglo-Celticity and the Cultural Politics of Tolerance." *Queensland Review* 6.1 (1999): 77-84. Print.
- Nile, Richard. *The Making of the Australian Literary Imagination*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 2002. Print.
- , ed. *The Australian Legend and Its Discontents*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 2000. Print.
- Niven, Bill. "Introduction." *Politics and Culture in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Ed. William Niven and James Jordan. Rochester, New York: Camden Pub, 2003. 1-22. Print.
- . "Literary Portrayals of National Socialism in Post-Unification German Literature." *German Culture and the Uncomfortable Past: Representations of National Socialism in Contemporary Germanic Literature*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2001. 11-28. Print.
- . "Representations of the Nazi Past I: Perpetrators." *Contemporary German Fiction: Writing in the Berlin Republic*. Ed. Stuart Taberner. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. 125-41. Print.
- . "The Globalisation of Memory and the Rediscovery of German Suffering." *German Literature in the Age of Globalisation*. Ed. Stuart Taberner. Birmingham: U of Birmingham P, 2004. 229-46. Print.
- Nolan, Maggie, and Carrie Dawson. "Who's Who? Mapping Hoaxes and Imposture in Australian Literary History." *Australian Literary Studies* 21.4 (2004): v-xx. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Noonan, Kathleen. "Death and Other Good Fortune." *Courier-Mail* 25-26 Oct. 2008: n. pag. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Olive, Brooke. "Locals We Love – Barbara Yates Rothwell." *Sun City News* 25 Feb. 2010: n. pag. Web. 27 Mar. 2012.
- Ommundsen, Wenche. "Of Dragons and Devils: Chinese-Australian Life Stories." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 1 (2002): 67-80. Print.
- Padmore, Catherine. "Future Tense: *Dead Europe* and Viral Anti-Semitism." *Australian Literary Studies* 23.4 (2008): 434-45. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Page, Sue. "Fiction from Fatality: Creative Exploration of the Holocaust in Fiction for Young People." *TEXT* 12.1 (2008): n. pag. Web. 1 Apr. 2011.
- Palmer, Vance. *The Legend of the Nineties*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1954. Print.

- Panich, Catherine. *Sanctuary?: Remembering Postwar Immigration*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988. Print.
- Paver, Chloe E. M. Rev. of *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, by Bill Niven, and *German Culture and the Uncomfortable Past: Representations of National Socialism in Contemporary Germanic Literature*, ed. Helmut Schmitz. *Modern Language Review* 98.1 (2003): 250-52. Web. 1 June 2011.
- Paxton, Robert O. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. New York: Vintage, 2004. Print.
- Perkins, John. "The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities in Australia, 1933-39." *Journal of Contemporary History* 26.1 (1991): 111-29. Web. 13 Oct. 2009.
- Perlman, Elliot. *The Street Sweeper: A Novel*. North Sydney: Vintage, 2011. Print.
- Petersson, Irmtraud. *German Images in Australian Literature from the 1940s to the 1980s*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990. Print.
- . "'Odysseus from the Outback': *Fredy Neptune* in German and Its Critical Reception." *Australian Literary Studies* 22.1 (2005): 1-28. Print.
- . "Translating *Fredy Neptune*: Interview with Thomas Eichhorn." *Australian Literary Studies* 22.1 (2005): 29-35. Print.
- Phillips, A.A. *The Australian Tradition: Studies in a Colonial Culture*. Melbourne: Cheshire, 1958. Print.
- Picoult, Jodi. *The Storyteller*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013. Print.
- Pierce, Peter. *Australian Melodramas: Thomas Keneally's Fiction*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1995. Print.
- . "The Critics Made Me: The Receptions of Thomas Keneally and Australian Literary Culture." *Australian Literary Studies* 17.1 (1995): 99-103. Web. 9 June 2011.
- . "Preying on the Past: Contexts of Some Recent Neo-Historical Fiction." *Australian Literary Studies* 15.4 (1992): n. pag. Web. 6 June 2011.
- . "Stolen Books from a Stolen Childhood." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Age* 10 Sept. 2005: n. pag. Web. 11 Apr. 2012.
- Pons, Xavier. "Savage Paradise: History, Violence and the Family in Some Recent Australian Fiction." *Australian Literary Studies* 15.2 (1991): n. pag. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Porter, Hal. *Selected Stories*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1991. Print.

- Price, Sarah. "Book Thief Author Steals Top 10 Spot." *Sun-Herald* 5 Oct. 2008, News sec.: 17. Web. 11 Apr. 2012.
- Prichard, Katharine Susannah. *The Pioneers*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915. Print.
- Prior, Natalie Jane. *The Demidenko Diary*. Melbourne: Mandarin, 1996. Print.
- Quartermaine, Peter. *Thomas Keneally*. London: Edward Arnold, 1991. Print.
- Rabinbach, Anson. "The Jewish Question in the German Question." *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians' Debate*. Ed. Peter Baldwin. Boston: Beacon Press, 1990: 45-73. Print.
- Radstone, Susannah. "Social Bonds and Psychological Order: Testimonies." *Cultural Values* 5.1 (2001): 59-78. Print.
- Reynolds, Henry. *An Indelible Stain?: The Question of Genocide in Australia's History*. Sydney: Viking, 2001. Print.
- . *Why Weren't We Told?: A Personal Search for the Truth about Our History*. Sydney: Viking, 1999. Print.
- Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death: The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. 2002. New York: Vintage, 2003. Print.
- Ridge, Judith. "Death Gets Its Say." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Publishers Weekly* 253.8 (2006): 61-62. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Riemer, Andrew. *The Demidenko Debate*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996. Print.
- . *Inside Outside: Life Between Two Worlds*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1992. Print.
- . "Return to Budapest." *Changing Places: Australian Writers in Europe 1960s-1990s*. Ed. Laurie Hergenhan and Irmtraud Peterson. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1994: 178-81. Print.
- Ring, Annie. "There Are No Perpetrators in Recent German Fiction When Dealing with the Nazi Past, Only Excuses." *aghring.blogspot.com*. 8 Jan. 2007. Web. 29 Sept. 2011.
- Rintoul, Stuart. "Holocaust Burns in Our Memory." *Australian* 18 Apr. 2012, Nation sec.: 8. Print.
- Roberts, David. "Changing Directions: West and East German Literature in the 70s." *Meanjin* 42.2 (1983): 167-74. Web. 20 June 2011.

- Robson, Steve. "Fury in Poland Over German War Drama Which 'Tries to Spread Blame For the Holocaust.'" *Daily Mail* 28 Mar. 2013. Web. 1 Feb. 2014.
- Romei, Stephen. "Author Wins Again for Debut Novel." *Australian* 24 May 2012: n. pag. Web. 24 May 2012.
- Rose, Gillian. *Mourning Becomes the Law: Philosophy and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. Print.
- Rosen, Bruce. "Australia, Nazi Haven for the New Millennium?" *Jewish Magazine* Oct. 2001: n. pag. Web. 27 June 2011.
- Rosenblatt, Les. "A Place Where Wolves Fuck." *Arena* Oct.-Nov. 2005: 46-48. Print.
- Rosenfeld, Alvin H. "Holocaust Fiction and the Transformation of Historical Memory." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 3.3 (1988): 323-36. Web. 6 Aug. 2011.
- Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2009. Print.
- Rothwell, Barbara Yates. *Klara*. Victoria, Can.: Trafford. 2005. Print.
- . *Ripple in the Reeds*. Oxford: Trafford, 2006. Print.
- Ruthven, K.K. *Faking Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001. Print.
- Rutland, Suzanne D. "Australian Responses to Jewish Migration." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 31.1 (1985): 29-48. Print.
- . *Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia*. 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. Sydney: Brandl & Schlesinger, 1997. Print.
- . *The Jews in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.
- Ryan, J.S. "Australian Novelists' Perceptions of German Jewry and National Socialism." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 31.1 (1985): 138-46. Print.
- Sajer, Guy. *The Forgotten Soldier: War on the Russian Front—A True Story*. 1971. London: Cassell, 2000. Print.
- Salusinszky, Imre. "Stylistic Extremes Extremely Vulnerable." Rev. of *White Light*, by James McQueen. *Australian* 23-24 June 1990, Review sec.: 9. Print.
- . "Thomas Keneally: My Part in His Downfall." *Quadrant* 39.10 (1995): 23-26. Web. 20 June 2011.

- Salzborn, Samuel. "Implicit Equations in Constructions of German Suffering." *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007. 87-123. Print.
- Sauer, Angelika E. "Model Workers or Hardened Nazis? The Australian Debate about Admitting German Migrants, 1950-1952." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 45.3 (1999): 422-37. Print.
- Schaffer, Kay. *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992. Print.
- Schaumann, Caroline. *Memory Matters: Generational Responses to Germany's Nazi Past in Recent Women's Literature*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. Print.
- Schenkel, Barbara. "A Dream of an Auschwitz Prisoner." *English and Other Than English: Anthology in Community Languages*. Adelaide: Dezserly Ethnic Publications, 1979. Print.
- . "The Anniversary." *Ethnic Australia*. Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. Brisbane: Phoenix, 1981. Print.
- Schindler's List*. Dir. Stephen Spielberg. Writ. Steven Zaillian. Universal City, CA: Universal, 2006. Film.
- Schlink, Bernhard. *Guilt about the Past*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 2009. Print.
- . *The Reader*. Trans. Carol Brown Janeway. London: Phoenix, 1999. Print.
- Schmitz, Helmut. "Introduction: National Socialism and German Culture in the 1990s." *German Culture and the Uncomfortable Past: Representations of National Socialism in Contemporary Germanic Literature*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2001. 1-10. Print.
- . "Introduction: The Return of Wartime Suffering in Contemporary German Memory Culture, Literature and Film." *A Nation of Victims?: Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007. 1-30. Print.
- . *On Their Own Terms: The Legacy of National Socialism in Post-1990 German Fiction*. Birmingham: Birmingham UP, 2004. Print.
- . "Reconciliation Between the Generations: The Image of the Ordinary German Soldier in Dieter Wellershoff's *Der Ernstfall* and Ulla Hahn's *Unschärfe Bilder*." *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*. Ed. Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke. New York: Camden House, 2006. 151-65. Print.

- . "Representations of the Nazi Past II: German Wartime Suffering." *Contemporary German Fiction: Writing in the Berlin Republic*. Ed. Stuart Taberner. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. 142-58. Print.
- Schneider, Peter. "Saving Konrad Latte." *New York Times* 13 Feb. 2000, Magazine sec.: 52-95. Web. 14 July 2011.
- Schödel, Kathrin. "'Narrative Normalization' and Günter Grass's *Im Krebsgang*." *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*. Ed. Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke. New York: Camden House, 2006. 195-208. Print.
- Schönherr, Ulrich. "Topophony of Fascism: On Marcel Beyer's *The Karnau Tapes*." *Germanic Review* 73.4 (1998): 328-48. Web. 10 July 2011.
- Schwab, Gabriele. *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma*. New York: Columbia UP, 2010. Print.
- Seiffert, Rachel. *The Dark Room*. 2001. London: Vintage, 2002. Print.
- Seltman, Uwe von. *Todleben: Eine Deutsch-Polnische Suche nach der Vergangenheit [Death Life: A German-Polish Search for the Past]*. München: Herbig, 2012. Print.
- Semmler, Clement. "Enlightened, Humane and Visionary." Rev. of *Foreigners*, by David Martin. *Australian Book Review* 43 (1982): 31. Print.
- Shek-Noble, Liz. "'There Were Phantoms': Spectral Shadows in Christos Tsiolkas' *Dead Europe*." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 11.2 (2009): n. pag. Web. 15 Nov. 2013.
- Shoah*. Dir. Claude Lanzmann. 1985. Northcote, Vic.: Umbrella Entertainment, 2008. Film.
- Slavin, John. "Good Germans." *Meanjin* 45.3 (1986): 406-14. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Snyder Hook, Elizabeth. *Family Secrets and the Contemporary German Novel: Literary Explorations in the Aftermath of the Third Reich*. New York: Camden House, 2001. Print.
- Snyder, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010. Print.
- Sparrow, Jeff. "The Spectres Haunting *Dead Europe*." *Overland* 181 (2005): 28-29.
- Spiegelman, Art. *The Complete Maus*. London: Penguin Books, 2003. Print.
- Stevenson, Deborah. Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books* 59.9 (2009): 389-90. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.

- Stewart, Ken. "Those Infernal Pictures: Reading Helen Darville, Her Novel and Her Critics." *Australian Literary Studies* 18.1 (1997): 72-79. Web. 9 June 2011.
- Stone, Deborah. "A Child's Tale Narrated by 'Death.'" Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *Australian Jewish News* 31 Mar. 2006: 10. Print.
- Svensson, Anette. "A Translation of Worlds: Aspects of Cultural Translation and Australian Migration Literature." Diss. Umea University, 2010. Print.
- Szorenyi, Anna. "Un/Settling Accounts: Telling Holocaust Stories in Colonised Australia." *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies* 7.2 (2011): n. pag. Web. 9 Jan. 2014.
- Taberner, Stuart. "From 'Normalization' to Globalization. German Fiction into the New Millennium: Christian Kracht, Ingo Schulze, and Feridun Zaimoglu." *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*. Ed. Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke. New York: Camden House, 2006. 209-22. Print.
- . *German Literature of the 1990s and Beyond: Normalization and the Berlin Republic*. New York: Camden House, 2005. Print.
- , ed. *Contemporary German Fiction: Writing in the Berlin Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. Print.
- Taberner, Stuart, and Paul Cooke. "Introduction." *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*. Ed. Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke. New York: Camden House, 2006. 1-15. Print.
- Tatz, Colin. *Genocide in Australia: An AIATSIS Research Discussion Paper*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 1999. Print.
- Tebutt, Susan. "Journey to an Unknown Destination: Gudrun Pausewang's Transgressive Teenage Novel *Reise im August*." *German Culture and the Uncomfortable Past: Representations of National Socialism in Contemporary Germanic Literature*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2001. 165-81. Print.
- Tenfelde, Klaus. *Alltagsgeschichte der NS-Zeit: Neue Perspektive oder Trivialisierung?* Munich: Kolloquien des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, 1984. Print.
- "The War Generation." Rev. of *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter*, dir. Philipp Kadelbach. *Economist*. 30 Mar. 2013: n. pag. Web. 28 Jan. 2014.
- Thomas, Gina, ed. *The Unresolved Past: A Debate in German History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990. Print.



- Thompson, David. "Presenting Enamelware." Rev. of *Schindler's List*, dir. Steven Spielberg. *Film Comment* 30.2 (1994): 44-50. Print.
- Thornhill, John. *Making Australia: Exploring Our National Conversation*. Newtown: Millennium, 1992. Print.
- Tsiolkas, Christos. *Dead Europe*. Sydney: Vintage, 2005. Print.
- . Interview by Paul Somerville. "Getting Out Of It." *Meanjin* 61.2 (2002): 195-203. Web. 7 July 2011.
- . Interview by Catherine Padmore. "What Does Fiction Do?: On *Dead Europe*: Ethics and Aesthetics." *Australian Literary Studies* 23.4 (2008): 446-62. Web. 9 June 2011.
- . Interview by Michael Williams. "Delivering a Punch." *Meanjin* 68.2 (2009): 142-53. Web. 7 July 2011.
- Tucker, Ernie. "Ernie Tucker on Books: High Level Themes." Rev. of *The Book Thief*, by Markus Zusak. *English in Australia* 144 (2005): 75-79. Print.
- Tully, John. *Death Is the Cool Night*. Upper Ferntree Gully, Vic.: Papyrus Press, 1999. Print.
- Turner, Graeme. *National Fictions: Literature, Film and the Construction of Australian Narrative*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993. Print.
- Turner, Ian. *Room for Manoeuvre: Writings on History, Politics, Ideas and Play*. Sel. and ed. Leonie Sandercock and Stephen Murray-Smith. Richmond, Vic.: Drummond, 1982. Print.
- Turner-Graham, Emily. "Food as an Ideological Tool: National Socialism and the German-Australian Community." *Journal of Australian Studies* 87 (2006): 117-28. Print.
- "TV Tiff: Polish Weekly Shows Merkel in Concentration Camp." *Spiegel Online*. 10 Apr. 2013: n. pag. Web. 29 Jan. 2014.
- Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter*. Dir. Philipp Kadelbach. Writ. Stefan Kolditz. Berlin: TeamWorx, 2013. Television.
- Ustinov, Peter. "The Loneliness of Billiwoonga." *Australian Women's Weekly* 27 July 1960: 16+. Print.
- Vamos, Gyorgy. "Murder on Arena Avenue: Is Charles Zentai Guilty?" *Monthly* Mar. 2009: 36-41. Print.
- Van Abbe, Derek. "The Germans in South Australia." *Australian Quarterly* 28.3 (1956): 69-79. Print.

- Varga, Susan. *Heddy and Me*. Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1994. Print.
- Vaughan, Michael. " 'What's Haunting *Dead Europe?*': Trauma Fiction as Resistance to Postmodern Governmentality." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 11.2 (2009): n. pag. Web. 12 Nov. 2013.
- Verolme, Hetty E. *The Children's House of Belsen*. 2000. Fremantle: Fremantle Press, 2009. Print.
- Vice, Sue. *Holocaust Fiction*. London: Routledge, 2009. Print.
- Vondra, Josef. *Paul Zwilling: A Novel*. Melbourne: Wren, 1974. Print.
- Wallace, William. "British Foreign Policy after the Cold War." *International Affairs* 68 (1992): 423-42. Print.
- Walwicz, Ania. *Red Roses*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1992. Print.
- Ward, Russel. *The Australian Legend*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1965. Print.
- Wark, McKenzie. "Burnt Words: Nine Offerings for the Holocaust." *Meanjin* 55.3 (1996): 534-47. Web. 21 June 2011.
- Waten, Judah. *The Unbending*. Melbourne: Australasian Book Society, 1954. Print.
- Watt, Donald. *Stoker: The Story of an Australian Soldier Who Survived Auschwitz-Birkenau*. East Roseville, NSW: Simon & Schuster, 1995. Print.
- Watts, Max. "Whatever Happened to Walter Kaufmann in East Berlin after the Wall Came Down?" *Overland* 160 (2000): 36-37. Print.
- Weiss, Johann Peter. *In Search of Identity: Essays and Ideas on Anglo Australians, German-Australians, and Others*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2000. Print.
- Weisser, Rebecca. "Nazi Internment Made Perfect Sense." *Australian* 12 June 2007: n. pag. Web. 15 Oct. 2009.
- West-Pavlov, Russell. "The Traumas of Translation and the Translation of Trauma: Translation and Cultural Plurality in Fremd and Yasbincek." *Australian Literary Studies* 23 (2007): 27-42. Print.
- Wheatcroft, S.G., ed. *Genocide, History and Fictions: Historians Respond to Helen Demidenko/Darville's The Hand That Signed the Paper*. Melbourne: Dept. of History, U of Melbourne, 1997. Print.
- Wheelright, J. Rev. of *Legacy of Love*, by Stephanie Meder. *Studio: A Journal of Christians Writing* 77 (1999-2000): 36-37. Print.

- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1973. Print.
- White, Patrick. *Patrick White Speaks*. Sydney: Primavera Press, 1989. Print.
- . *Riders in the Chariot*. 1976. London: Jonathan Cape, 1996. Print.
- White, Richard. *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981. Print.
- Wiesel, Elie. *Night*. 1958. Trans. Marion Wiesel. London: Penguin Books, 2006. Print.
- Wilding, Michael. "The Politics of Modernism." *Prophet from the Desert: Critical Essays on Patrick White*. Ed. John McLaren. Melbourne: Red Hill Press, 1995. 24-33. Print.
- Williams, Petra. Launch of *Ordinary Women*, by Edward Kynaston. 7 Dec. 2002. Hobart Bookshop, Hobart. Speech.
- Wilson, Katherine. "The Blogger Formerly Known as Demidenko." *Crikey* 11 Sept. 2006: n. pag. Web. 16 Feb. 2012.
- Wilton, Janis, and Richard Bosworth. *Old Worlds and New Australians: The Post War Migrant Experience*. Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1984. Print.
- Winter, Christine. "The Long Arm of the Third Reich: Internment of New Guinea Germans in Tatura." *Journal of Pacific History* 38.1 (2003): 85-108. Web. 13 Oct. 2009.
- Winter, Marielu. *Wild Geese, Swans and Nightingales*. Upper Ferntree Gully, Vic.: Papyrus Press, 1998. Print.
- Wongar, B. *Raki: A Novel*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1994. Print.
- Woodhouse, Jena. "Incendiary Landscapes." Rev. of *Heartland*, by Angelika Fremd. *Queensland Writer* 1.5 (1989/90): 25. Print.
- Wyndham, Susan. "Four Ways to Write the Great Australian Novel." *Sydney Morning Herald* 27-28 May 2006: 8-9. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Young, James E. *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2000. Print.
- . *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1988. Print.
- Your Introduction to Australia: A Guide-Book for the New Settler from Europe Reaching Australia under the IRO Agreement*. Canberra: Federal Capital Press, 1948. Print.

Zertal, Idith. *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*. Trans. Chaya Galai. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

Zogbaum, Heidi. "German Reunification: An Update." *Quadrant* 38.11 (1994): 62-66. Web. 20 June 2011.

Zusak, Markus. Interview by John Ydstie. *Weekend All Things Considered*. Natl. Public Radio. Washington, D.C. 2 Apr. 2006. Radio.

---. *The Book Thief*. 2005. London: Black Swan, 2007. Print.

---. "The Strangeness of Success, and Other Detours." *Australian Author* 40.2 (2008): 16-17. Print.