

VICTIMS, HEROES, SURVIVORS

SEXUAL VIOLENCE ON THE EASTERN FRONT DURING WORLD WAR II

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Dedicated

to

Randi Laura

Mother and Teacher,

who faced her untimely passing
with such courage and humor.

We miss you...

ABSTRACT

The German military, Red Army, and partisans inflicted a massive amount of sexual violence onto unarmed civilians on the eastern front during World War II. Under the German occupation, civilians were driven into prostitutional relationships and prostitution, which caused widespread venereal disease. The Germans established military brothels and forced females to serve, indirectly by starvation or directly by gunpoint. Unarmed civilians were raped, mutilated, and often died. Abuse of alcohol was widespread among perpetrators from all sides.

The wide variety of sexual activities lie on a continuum of sexual desire and sexuality. These activities and abuses of power often were motivated partially by sexual desire, including brothel visits, prostitutional relationships, rape, and sexual harassment. The sexual crimes were crimes of gender that intersect with other war crimes. Violations of racial laws by Germans were widespread. The Soviets also seem to have raped indiscriminately. Both sides raped females, whether Jewish, Slavic, Christian, or Baltic. The Germans recruited this same variety of females into their brothels. Males also suffered sexual abuse, and some perpetrators, especially in camps, were female. Rape likely was not a military strategy. However, both leaderships were complicit in their condoning of mass rape. Both have yet to accept responsibility for the rapes, and the Germans for their extensive system of sexual slavery. Neither side was prosecuted after the war for the vast sexual crimes they committed.

Those targeted for sexual violence demonstrated incredible fortitude and innovation by camouflage, other acts of deception, and heroic acts of self-sacrifice. During the last half century, many survivors slowly and courageously revealed their stories in various ways. Although felt, the shame many victims and survivors have experienced is misplaced. It belongs instead to the perpetrators in all their civilian, political, and military forms. The long-standing, deafening, and pervasive silence surrounding the topic of sexual violence has served well the perpetrators and others inclined to disbelief. Despite the abundance of documentation – in German and east European documents, memoirs, testimonies, and novels – scholars, witnesses, and officials chose to ignore these crimes. This dissertation is also based on dozens of interviews conducted by the

author.

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GLOSSARY

Arzt	Doctor
Dirne	Whore
Feldkommandant	Field Commander
Fr.	Frame
Generalgouvernement, General Government	Administrative region established in occupied central Poland in 1939
Gulag	Extensive system of prisons in the Soviet Union
Judenrat	Jewish Council
NKVD	Name of Soviet Secret Police during WWII
Oberfeldkommandantur, OFK	Military government area headquarters
Oberkommando des Heeres, OKH	High Command of the Army
Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, OKW	Supreme Command of the Armed Forces
Ost	East
Ostarbeiter	Forced laborer from the east. Usually wore OST on clothing to identify from the rest of the workers.
POW	Prisoner of War
Rassenschande	Racial Defilement
RG	Record Group
SA (Sturmabteilung)	Nazi Party Storm Troopers (Brown Shirts)
SD (Sicherheitsdienst der SS)	SS Security Service or Security Police

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*“Man shall be trained for war and woman for the recreation of the warrior: All else is folly.”*¹

Gender, Desire, Alcohol, Similarities, Complicity, and Denial

Sexual violence during World War II was a reality for hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people, primarily women and girls, on the eastern front. These crimes were in the form of sexual harassment and abuse, forced abduction into military and concentration camp brothels, rape, and mutilation. The deliberate starvation by the Germans of people in the east led to a less obvious, but altogether important crime: the willingness to exchange live-saving materials only with those desperate enough to sell their bodies. The experiences of the people in eastern Europe during World War II were enormously diverse and were greatly influenced by their historical, political, and cultural relationships to Germany and Russia.² The geographical

¹ Thus Spake Zarathustra, Friedrich Nietzsche, Chapter 18, *Old and Young Women*, 1892.

² It is interesting to note that despite the colossal impact the war had on the entire Soviet Union, there has not been as great an amount of literature by western scholars of Soviet history on the war as there has been on the Revolution, the Civil War, or the Great Terror. In addition to a useful literature review of scholarship on the war and its effects in the Soviet Union, historian Amir Weiner discusses the reasons for its relegation “to the margins of historiography.” Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 12-21. A few general works on the Soviet experience in the Second World War follow. It is of note and telling that there is minimal mention of sexual violence in this body of knowledge. N. Barou, *The Soviet Home Front*, Research Series No. 671942, London: Victor Gollancz and The Fabian Society. Vasilii Ivanovich Alekseev, *The Great Revival: the Russian Church under German Occupation* (Minneapolis: Burgess Pub. Co., 1976); John Barber and Mark Harrison, *The Soviet Home Front, 1941-1945: A Social and Economic History of the USSR in World War II* (London and New York: Longman, 1991); Harvey Fireside, *Icon and Swastika: The Russian Orthodox Church under Nazi and Soviet Control* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971); J. Garrard and C. Garrard, eds., *WWII and the Soviet People, World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1993); John N. Hazard, "Soviet Wartime Legislation," *Russian Review* 2, no. 1 (1942); Ivan S. Lubachko, *Belorussia Under Soviet Rule 1917-1957* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972); Kazys Pakstas, *Lithuania and WWII* (Chicago: Lithuanian Cultural Institute, 1947); John Swettenham, *The Tragedy of*

scope of this dissertation is broad, covering virtually the entire eastern front. This is because the topic of sexual violence in the east has been understudied, especially in regard to German violations.³

The eastern front crystalizes the argument that gender is by far the key category in situations of sexual violence.⁴ Men from different sides of the many-sided armed conflict in the east targeted women and girls (and sometimes men or boys), regardless of “whose side” they were on. The many combinations of culture, ethnicity, religion, political alliance, or nationality between the perpetrators and the victims suggest that a major factor in determining whether a rape or recruitment into a brothel would occur was the victim’s gender rather than her or his culture, ethnicity, religion, political alliance, or nationality. Furthermore, even when examining the mass murder Germans committed against people they viewed as “racially inferior,” the sexual crimes were related – but distinct – crimes perpetrated because of the victims’ gender: “Rape and genocide are separate atrocities.”⁵ Professor of law Rhonda Copelon argues that “persecution

the Baltic States (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952); Alexander Werth, *Russia at War 1941-1945* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964). The amount of scholarship on World War II completed by Soviet scholars is extensive, but based on Soviet-published documents and memoirs, which, according to historian Karel Berkhoff, were “heavily censored.” See Karel Berkhoff, “Ukraine under Nazi Rule: (1941-1944): Sources and Finding Aids [Part I & Part II],” in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (Stuttgart: 1997), 274-276, 288-290.

³ There are only a couple of studies that have concentrated on sexual violence, venereal disease, or prostitution and which also have some emphasis on the eastern front. Historians mentioning the topic of brothels or venereal diseases most heavily rely on historian Franz Seidler, who has published dozens of documents in his study of homosexuality, prostitution, and venereal disease. Quite a few of the documents, and thus Seidler’s analysis, deal specifically on the eastern front, however his focus is the military state and military members. Franz Seidler, *Prostitution, Homosexualität, Selbstverstümmelung: Probleme der deutschen Sanitätsführung 1939-1945* (Neckargemünd: Kurt Vowinkel Verlag, 1977). Additional works will be illuminated in the present discussion.

⁴ Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (Ballantine Books: New York, 1975). The whole phenomenon of sexual violence on the eastern front includes people from different cultures, nations, religions, and political backgrounds, and thus people had numerous ways of defining or identifying one another. However, despite these complexities, Marilyn Frye’s words on sexism still seem to ring true: “Sex-identification intrudes into every moment of our lives and discourses, no matter what the supposedly primary focus or topic of the moment is. Elaborate, systematic, ubiquitous and redundant marking of a distinction between two sexes of humans and most animals is customary and obligatory...The frequency with which our behavior marks the sexes of those we interact with cannot be exaggerated. The phenomenon is absolutely pervasive and deeply entrenched in all the patterns of behavior which are habitual, customary, acceptable, tolerable and intelligible...Closely connected with habitual and obligatory sex-marking is a constant and urgent need to know or be able to guess the sex of every single person with whom one has the slightest or most remote contact or interaction.” Marilyn Frye, *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory* (Freedom, California: The Crossing Press, 1983), 19-22.

⁵ As professor of law Rhonda Copelon explains, “Genocide involves the infliction of all forms of violence to destroy a people based on its identity as a people, while rape is sexualized violence that seeks to destroy a woman based on her identity as a woman.” Rhonda Copelon, “Surfacing Gender: Reengraving Crimes Against Women in Humanitarian Law,” in *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted With or Without Consent*, ed. Nicole Ann Dombrowski (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 334. Another formulation of the intersection of

based on gender must be recognized as its own category of crimes against humanity.” The idea of crimes against humanity is “popularly associated with religious and ethnic genocide...Without recognition of gender as a basis for persecution, sexual slavery would escape condemnation as a crime against humanity when it was shown that nationality or ethnicity was incidental.”⁶ The massive amounts of sexual violence the Germans committed on the eastern front intersects with the murder and starvation of millions of Jews, Slavic peoples, Gypsies, and others in the east, just as the Soviet rape and murder of “enemies of the state” intersect with one another. However, the recruitment of women into brothels, the sexual harassment, and the rapes committed by Germans, Soviets, and others need to be characterized as crimes of gender.⁷

Further, the wide scope and the nature of the evidence presented in this dissertation suggest that while any individual perpetrator may have had specific rationalizations for targeting a certain person, the overall pattern of sexual violence is one of military members, usually armed men, targeting women and girls often because the perpetrator wanted to engage in some kind of sexual activity with a female. Indeed, in the cases where boys and men were targeted for sexual abuse, it is likely that they too were targeted because of their gender, because the perpetrator wanted to engage in sexual activity with a male.⁸ The perpetrators were usually – but not exclusively – male, often they were armed with a weapon, were endowed with positions of power, or they had access to life-sustaining resources. This power was abused in their attempt to engage in sexual activity.

Perpetrators were motivated to partake in coerced sexual activity either out of a desire

ethnic conflict and rape as a crime of gender is from journalist Alexandra Stiglmayer. Specifically referring to the war in the former Yugoslavia, Stiglmayer writes that “in Bosnia-Herzegovina a war is being waged against women. Not because they are women, but because they are Muslim, Croatian, or Serbian women. Yet because they are women, men are using against them their most effective weapon: rape.” Alexandra Stiglmayer, “The Rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” in *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 84.

⁶ Copelon, “Surfacing,” 344.

⁷ In an effort to discontinue the international tendency to treat the rapes in the former Yugoslavia as an “inevitable by-product of war except when it is a vehicle of genocide,” the Women’s Coalition Against Crimes Against Women in the Former Yugoslavia “characterized rape as a weapon of war, whether used to dilute ethnic identity, destabilize the civilian population, or reward soldiers.” Copelon, “Surfacing,” 333.

⁸ Copelon does not seem to include the desire for sexual activity in her definition of rape, but she also characterizes rape of men and boys as crimes of gender: “when a man is raped, the humiliation is accomplished by reducing him to the status of a woman. For this reason, rape, whether carried out against women or men, is a crime of gender.” Copelon, “Surfacing,” 350 [n.12]. On male rape, see, for example, Damon Mitchell, Richard Hirschman, and Gordon C. Nagayama Hall, “Attributions of Victim Responsibility, Pleasure, and Trauma in Male Rape,” *The Journal of Sex Research* 36, no. 4 (1999).

for sexual activity, such as but not limited to sexual intercourse, or for an enhancement of their own feelings of power. The evidence presented here points to the importance of sexual activity to the perpetrator, that is, the rape and sexual abuse of others does not seem to have been exclusively motivated by a desire for power, a desire to express power, or a desire to feel more control. The cases in which there were other kinds of violence in addition to rape, such as mutilation or severe beatings suggest such a dynamic. Such crimes could have originated out of a desire for sexual activity, but then turned into something more brutal.⁹ Although future detailed studies of sexual violence in individual regions of the eastern front will reveal more specifics, at this point what is most evident is the enormous importance of sexual activity (often in the form of coerced sexual activity or sexual sadism), especially to armed men, but sometimes also to female perpetrators (for example, in the camps), and that it was the weaker and the unarmed who were the victims of sexual violence.¹⁰ Usually these victims were women and girls, but especially in the camps, men and boys also became targets of sadistic sexual violence. The sexual violence clearly was an abuse of power, but often a primary motivation was intrinsically connected to the perpetrator's desire to engage in sexual activity.

That a primary motivation for rape and other forms of sexual harassment was sexual desire is evident in a variety of ways in the cases studied. That sexual desire is often a primary motivating force in cases of rape is evident in that the act of rape lies within a continuum of sexual expressions. It is not entirely clear, however, where sexual desire begins and ends on this continuum. Discussed in this dissertation are sexual expressions ranging from entering into a prostitutional relationship,¹¹ to soliciting sex for food or money, to raping. Many – but by no means all – of the cases of rape in this dissertation seem not to have included excessive violence

⁹ The statistics for how many rapes which included excessive violence outside of what was required to accomplish the rape are not available for the eastern front. According to biologist Randy Thornhill, one survey of rape in peacetime claims that only fifteen percent of the victims reported that the rapists engaged in “gratuitous violence,” that is eighty-five percent of the victims reported that the rapist limited “themselves to the force required to subdue or control their victims.” Another study of 1,401 rape victims (during peacetime) found a similar percentage – twenty-two percent or less. Randy Thornhill, “Why Men Rape,” *The Sciences* 40, no. 1 (2000).

¹⁰ There is some literature available which discusses female perpetrators of male victims outside of armed conflict: R.E. Smith, Pine, C. J., & Hawley, M. E., “Social cognitions about adult male victims of female sexual assault,” *The Journal of Sex Research*, 24, (1988) 101-112; C. Struckman-Johnson, “Forced sex on dates: It happens to men, too.” *The Journal of Sex Research*, 24, (1988) 234-241; C. Struckman-Johnson, & Struckman-Johnson, D. “Men pressured and forced into sexual experience.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 23, 93-114 (1994).

¹¹ A sexual relationship established between someone who has access to food or other life-saving materials and someone who needs those materials.

outside of what was needed to complete the rape, which often allows for the inclusion of sexual desire as a motivation for the perpetrator.¹² The motivations for various sexual expressions are confounded by the fact that they often included the desire for power, the desire to humiliate another, or the desire for more control.

I argue that thousands of men visited military brothels to have sexual intercourse was in part because of their sexual desires. The long lines recorded at many German brothels reveal how important sexual activity was to men. Although some cases of sexual harassment seem to indicate only a desire to humiliate (or to exert power over), and some instances indicate that the primary motivation could have been either sexual activity or power, there are a few cases which strongly indicate that the perpetrator was motivated by a desire for sexual activity. Furthermore, the rampant spread of sexually transmitted diseases on the eastern front and throughout German-occupied territory and the indisputable evidence of widespread independent prostitution and prostitutional relationships in both camp and non-camp settings clearly suggest that men on the eastern front placed a high priority on sexual activity. All of these sexual expressions are different manifestations of sexual desire, lying on a continuum. In this context, it would seem implausible to argue that raping had nothing to do with sexual desire for the perpetrator.

The feminist argument that rape has nothing to do with sexual desire is suspect in many of the cases discussed here. To elaborate, scholars of sexual violence historically have often argued that rape is not a manifestation of sexuality (or, in other words, that rape has nothing to do with sexual desire or sexuality). Perhaps this formulation is favored because it is easier to accept than a definition which includes sexual desire as a primary (or even secondary) aspect of the motive for rape, even if only the perpetrator experiences the sexual desire. If one considers that rape involves sexuality, it becomes easier to falsely conclude that the victim somehow also had sexual desire, or that he or she participated willingly.¹³ Another possible reason feminists

¹² However, I have found dozens of sources which describe either one or several rapes, or state that “many” females were raped, but which do not provide sufficient details to ascertain the primary motives of the perpetrators or to determine if there was excessive violence outside of what was needed to accomplish the rapes.

¹³ Relatedly, it can be more difficult for rape survivors who had an orgasm or whose bodies otherwise responded during a rape to deal with their victimization. Such survivors often feel ashamed and believe that they were not raped because they allegedly had “enjoyed” it. The complete falsehood of this is most obvious when it is a child who has an orgasm while being sexually abused by an adult. One survivor related, “He liked to make me have orgasms. It made him think he was a great lover, satisfying his consenting daughter. I suffered from intense guilt for not having made him stop.” Another woman had similar difficulties: “I remember times when I became sexually excited during the abuse. Afterwards, I’d feel so upset, ashamed, and disgusted with myself. I felt like such a bad girl. Now when I become sexually excited with my husband, I’ll freeze as if to stop myself from having any pleasure during sex.” Wendy

have been hesitant to argue that a motivating factor in rape is a desire for sexual activity is because such an assertion consequently links the perpetrators' sexuality to dominance and power. Considering that the majority of abusers are male, if one is male or in a sexual relationship with a male, an assertion linking male sexuality to power conceivably could foster self-analysis, which could be unwelcome. If the perpetrator of sexual violence is a female, linking rape and other forms of sexual violence to sexuality also could be unwelcome. In other words, the separation of one's own sexuality or one's own sexual relationships with others and what one views as rape could be more difficult if we link rape to sexuality (and not only to power) because the dividing line between the two situations (one's own situation and what one considers to be rape) is not as clear.

One researcher who has written that rape is primarily about power is, for example, Pamela Washburn, who writes that it is a myth that “the primary motive behind sexual assault is sex,” and that “A sense of power and a need for control are *the motivating factors* in sexual assault. The assumption [that the primary motive behind sexual assault is sex] more than any other allows society to blame the victim. The intent [of a sexual assault] is to humiliate, overpower, and degrade the victim” (emphasis added).¹⁴ With the use of the word “primary,” Washburn leaves room for part of the motive to be about sex. Yet the rest of her formulation does not ring completely true. In some cases, it is more the result of the abuse – not necessarily the motive of the perpetrator – that the victims have feelings of humiliation, powerlessness, and perhaps also of degradation. Conversely, a significant aspect of the motivation is connected to the perpetrator's (not the victim's) sexual desire. Claiming this does not blame the victim and should not make it easier for society to do so. Furthermore, claiming this does not ignore that sexual violence is also an abuse of power, especially in cases of armed conflict where the majority of the sexual perpetrators are armed men who rape or otherwise sexually harm unarmed women and girls.

Two fairly recent examples of the opinion that rape is not about sexuality are from

Maltz, *The Sexual Healing Journey: A Guide for Survivors of Sexual Abuse* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 112-113. Similarly, “rape victims suffer less emotional distress when they are subjected to more violence.” Thornhill, “Why Men Rape.” One rape survivor told me how in her attempt to understand and come to terms with her own rapes she was “so relieved” when a psychologist told her during a session that “rape doesn't have anything to do with sex. It's all about power.”

¹⁴ Pamela Washburn, “Why me? Addressing the spiritual and emotional trauma of sexual assault,” *Topics in Emergency Medicine* 25, no. 3 (2003).

researchers of the rapes in the former Yugoslavia. Unlike what seems to have been the situation on the eastern front, in this armed conflict military members were ordered to rape, whether they wanted to or not. Here rape and sexual violence were part of a deliberate military and genocidal strategy, which thus far does not seem to have been the case for either the Germans or the Soviets in the east during World War II. The intersection of rape and military strategy brings additional dimensions to the motivating factors behind the rapes, which, however, remain crimes of gender. Sociologist Ruth Seifert, writes in her insightful article on Bosnia that

there are good reasons to assume that rapes do not have much to do either with nature or with sexuality. Rather, they are acts of extreme violence implemented, of course, by sexual means. Studies show that rape is not an aggressive manifestation of sexuality, but rather a sexual manifestation of aggression. In the perpetrator's psyche it serves no sexual purpose but is the expression of rage, violence, and dominance over a woman.¹⁵

In a similar vein, journalist Alexandra Stiglmayer argues that a man rapes

because he wants to engage in violence. He rapes because he wants to demonstrate his power. He rapes because he is the victor. He rapes because the woman is the enemy's woman, and he wants to humiliate and annihilate the enemy. He rapes because the woman is herself the enemy whom he wishes to humiliate and annihilate. He rapes because he despises women. He rapes to prove his virility. He rapes because the acquisition of the female body means a piece of territory conquered. He rapes to take out on someone else the humiliation he has suffered in the war. He rapes to work off his fears.¹⁶

Another example of such an argument comes from historian Norman Naimark's chapter on rape by the Red Army. Naimark writes, "German claims of superiority during the war drove the Russians to rape, but their continued arrogance – despite their fear of the occupiers – made the Soviets' need to dishonor Germans all the greater." The men in the Red Army had an "inferiority complex" because of all the wealth they saw in Germany. Thus, "the Russian soldier's desire for revenge was fed by his desire to restore his honor and manhood, to erase doubts about

¹⁵ From the context of this passage, it seems that Seifert applies this formulation of rape generally and not just to the rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Seifert cites Nicholas Groth and William Hobson, "Die Dynamik sexueller Gewalt," in *Vergewaltigung: Die Opfer und die Täter*, ed. Jürgen Heinrichs (Braunschweig, 1986), p.88. Ruth Seifert, "War and Rape: A Preliminary Analysis," in *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 69.

¹⁶ Stiglmayer also writes, "He rapes because war, a man's business, has awakened his aggressiveness, and he directs it at those who play a subordinate role in the world of war." While I agree war can awaken men's aggressiveness, the soldier who feels his aggressiveness sometimes rapes because he wants to humiliate those in subordinate positions, but he also could rape because he wants to have sexual activity. In this list of motives, Stiglmayer adds that rape is "really only some 'fun' with the guys." This reason hints at military culture, peer pressure, and the implications of having groups of exhausted, relieved, terrified, or intoxicated men together. Stiglmayer, "The Rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina," 84.

inferiority that were exacerbated by German well-being and self-satisfaction."¹⁷ This explanation of the rapes of German women and girls does not explain the mass rapes of Soviet, east European, or Slavic women and girls by members of the Red Army. Additionally, none of the motives for rape from these scholars include sexuality or sexual desire.

Some argue there are biological components involved in the phenomena of sexual violence. For example, studies which investigate the biological phenomenon of sexual arousal to violence are extremely important.¹⁸ Since numerous biological factors are the same in various current and historical conflicts, such as alcohol, armed men, periods of sexual abstinence, life-threatening situations which result in high stress levels, and unarmed civilians who become victims of sexual torture, this is a valid avenue of questioning that needs further exploration in our attempts to end this kind of persecution. Some research has shown that rape and (some) men's wish to dominate women is not instinctual.¹⁹ Furthermore, because of the great ability of humans to choose to follow all or none of their many instincts or desires, considering biological influences does not in any way minimize the responsibility of the perpetrators. This kind of research and discussion can add to our knowledge of why people commit such horrific crimes, thus making it more of a possibility to prevent them.

The argument that men view women of the enemy side as an "other," and therefore, a "whore," and therefore rapeable,²⁰ only partially applies to the eastern front if one considers the wide range of sexual violence. In some cases this argument could be applied, but the mass rapes by the Soviet soldiers, for example, undermine this argument because the Soviet soldiers did not

¹⁷ Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), 114-115.

¹⁸ Randy Thornhill and Craig T. Palmer, *A Natural History of Rape: Biological Bases of Sexual Coercion* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

¹⁹ See Lloyd Vogelmann, *The Sexual Face of Violence: Rapists on Rape* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1990), 37-60, 198.

²⁰ For example, researcher Astrid Aafjes and member of Women, Law & Development International, notes that the Special Rapporteur found that "in the legal codes of many societies, prostitutes "are seen as being outside the boundaries of what could constitute rape, as 'unrapable.'" Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, E/CN.4/1997/47, Report on Violence in the Community, 12 February 1997, para. 34, quoted in Astrid Aafjes, *Gender Violence: The Hidden War Crime* (Washington, D.C.: Women, Law and Development International, 1998), 2. Conversely, for images used to incite feelings of the need to "protect our women" see Susan Gubar, "This Is My Rifle, This Is My Gun": World War II and the Blitz on Women," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Randolph Higgonnet, et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 232-234.

only rape German or non-communist women.²¹ The Red Army consisted of various national and cultural groups, and as they headed west they committed mass rapes against Soviet (their “own”) and non-Soviet, Slavic, Jewish, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, and German women and girls, seemingly regardless of their religious or political beliefs. Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians all suffered from rape by the often intoxicated Red Army men. In some cases a Red Army member may have raped because the woman or girl allegedly “collaborated” with the Germans, which could indicate a political rather than a sexual motive, but even in these cases the men could have found other ways to “punish” besides forcing sexual activity. Because the female was an alleged enemy (a German collaborator) she was targeted for punishment, but because she was a woman the punishment was sexual. Still, it is clear that the Soviets did not only rape “enemy” women.

The argument that only enemy women are defined as “whores” and raped partially applies to the cases of sexual violence by Germans, but the different situations across the eastern front make this analysis a bit complex. The Germans occupied areas of the eastern front for a number of years, and at least initially this was accompanied with a plan to stay.²² Except for the

²¹ The scholarly literature which focuses on rapes by Red Army members of east Europeans is quite small, but more work is appearing. Antony Beevor frequently returns to the topic of rape, and quite a few paragraphs are devoted to the rape of Soviet and east European women and girls. Antony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2002). See also Marlene Epp, “The Memory of Violence: Soviet and East European Mennonite Refugees and Rape in the Second World War,” *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 1 (Spring) (1997). Jolluck includes the topic of sexual violence to a great extent in her research on Polish women in the Soviet Gulag. Katherine R. Jolluck, *Exile and Identity: Polish Women in the Soviet Union During World War II*, ed. Editor Jonathan Harris, *Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002). More research has been completed on the rapes of German women by members of the Red Army. For example, see Atina Grossmann, “Eine Frage des Schweigens: Die Vergewaltigung deutscher Frauen durch Besatzungssoldaten,” *Frauen und Film* 54/55 (1994); Stuart Liebman and Annette Michelson, “After the Fall: Women in the House of the Hangmen,” *October* 72, no. Berlin 1945: Liberation and Rape, A Special Issue (1995); Richard W. McCormick, “Rape and War, Gender and Nation, Victims and Victimizers: Helke Sander's *Befreier und Befreite*,” *Camera Obscura* 46 16, no. 1 (2001); Naimark, *Russians*; Helke Sander, “Remembering/Forgetting,” *October* 72, no. Berlin 1945: Liberation and Rape, A Special Issue (1995); Helke Sander, “A Response to My Critics,” *October* 72, no. Berlin 1945: Liberation and Rape, A Special Issue (1995); Helke Sander and Barbara Johr, eds., *Befreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder* (Munich: Kunstmann, 1992). See Chapter Six for a discussion on the rapes committed by the Red Army.

²² For recent overview of the German occupation with extensive literature reviews throughout, see Omer Bartov, *Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). See also Rolf-Dieter Müller and Gerhard R. Überschaer, *Hitler's War in the East, 1941-1945. A Critical Assessment* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997). Another less recent, but helpful review on the large body of literature on the German occupation, see Theo J. Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited, 1989), 1-27. (None of these works expand on the sexual violence during the German occupation.) The literature on the German occupation in the east is enormous. To name just a few, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, *Deutschland im zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Wolfgang Schumann und Gerhart Hass, 6 vols. (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1974-1985); Truman Oliver Anderson, “The Conduct of Reprisals by the German Army of Occupation in the Southern USSR, 1941-1943” (University of Chicago, 1995); Rüdiger Baar, *Die Wehrmacht und die nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen an der Zivilbevölkerung der Sowjetunion*, ed. Rüdiger Baar, *Die Ost-Reihe/Neue Folge; 5* (Hamburg: Dt. Ges. für Osteuropakunde, Zweigstelle Hamburg, 1997); Bernhard Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front: Besatzung, Kollaboration und Widerstand in Weißrußland 1941-1944* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998); Alexander Dallin, *German Rule*

pivotal periods of invasion and retreat, these goals set up a different dynamic from that of the situation for the Red Army when it pushed its way toward Berlin. As will become clear in Chapter Two, the written rules of the Third Reich which forbade Germans to have sex with non-Germans in the east were, for the most part, a reality only on paper, and the leadership acknowledged this.²³ On the eastern front, where the Germans viewed nearly all of the people as “inferior,” the situation was different from in the west where the people were not as low on the Nazi hierarchy of race and where perhaps these laws had more of an effect.²⁴ Indeed, the Germans had sex and sexual relationships with many non-German women and girls of different backgrounds, they raped many non-German women and girls of different backgrounds,²⁵ and they

in Russia, 1941-1945: A Study in Occupation Policy (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd., 1957); Ihor Kamenetsky, *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine, 1941-1944: A Study of Totalitarian Imperialism* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956); Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42: die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1997); Wolodymyr Kosyk, *The Third Reich and Ukraine* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); Lubachko, *Belorussia Under Soviet Rule 1917-1957*; James Lucas, *War on the Eastern Front, 1941-1945: The German Soldier in Russia* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1979); Rolf-Dieter Müller, "Das Scheitern der wirtschaftlichen 'Blitzkriegsstrategie'," in *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, ed. Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamt (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983); Rolf-Dieter Müller, *Die Deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik in den besetzten sowjetischen Gebieten 1941-1943: der Abschlussbericht des Wirtschaftsstabes Ost und Aufzeichnungen eines Angehörigen des Wirtschaftskommandos Kiew* (Boppard am Rhein: H. Boldt, 1991); Rolf-Dieter Müller, "Raub, Vernichtung, Kolonisierung: Die deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik in den besetzten sowjetischen Gebieten 1941-1944," in *22. Juni 1941. Der Überfall auf die Sowjetunion*, ed. Hans Schafranek and Robert Streibel (Vienna: 1991); Timothy Mulligan, *The Politics of Illusion and Empire: German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1942-1943* (New York: Praeger, 1988); Pakstas, *Lithuania and WWII*; Julius Slavenas, "Nazi Ideology and Policy in the Baltic States," *Lituanas* 11, no. Spring (1965); Jonathan Steinberg, "The Third Reich Reflected: German Civil Administration in the Occupied Soviet Union, 1941-4," *English Historical Review* 110 (1995); Wolfram Wette, "Erobern, zerstören, auslöschen. Die verdrängte Last von 1941: Der Rußland Feldzug war ein Raub- und Vernichtungskrieg von Anfang an," *Die Zeit*, 20 November 1987; Theresa Wobbe, *Nach Osten: verdeckte Spuren Nationalsozialistische Verbrechen* (Frankfurt/M: Neue Kritik, 1992).

²³ There are many sources for this assertion which will be cited in Chapter Two.

²⁴ Omer Bartov, *The Eastern Front, 1941-45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 29, 116, 127, 256-257.

²⁵ Despite the large body of literature on the German occupation of the east, there has not been a great amount of research on the rapes the Germans there. For a comparison of rape cases in the east and the west, see historian Birgit Beck's forthcoming dissertation and Birgit Beck, "Rape: The Military Trials of Sexual Crimes Committed by Soldiers in the Wehrmacht, 1939-1944," in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002). Omer Bartov recognizes the occurrence of sexual violence in his work. Omer Bartov, "The Conduct of War: Soldiers and the Barbarization of Warfare," *The Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992); Omer Bartov, "Kitsch and Sadism in Katzetnick's Other Planet: Israeli Youth Imagine the Holocaust," *Jewish Social Studies* 3, no. 2 (1997). Many other primary sources in the form of documents, autobiographies, novels, memoirs, interviews, and testimonies document rapes by Germans and are provided and discussed in Chapter Six. Despite the inattention to sexual violence in general, the myth of the unblemished Wehrmacht soldier has been discarded – at least by scholars – since the 1980s, but the myth still influences popular beliefs. For an insightful discussion, see Klaus Naumann, "The 'Unblemished' Wehrmacht: The Social History of a Myth," in *War of Extermination: The German Military in World War II, 1941-1944*, ed. Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000).

established a large system of sexual slavery primarily intended to serve the soldiers and officers of the Wehrmacht and the SS.²⁶ Furthermore, German policies purposefully caused the starvation of millions of people in the east,²⁷ which subsequently forced an unknown number of women and girls into prostitution and prostitudinal relationships, often with Germans who were forbidden to have such relationships. These various forms of sexual activity – rapes, forced prostitution, and prostitudinal relationships – could have been about defining the enemy women as “whores,” and therefore rapeable or at least “usable.”²⁸

Yet additional dynamics were at play during the German occupation. Indeed, it seems to have been the case that the perpetrator’s desire for sexual activity played a significant role, as did the assumption that men require heterosexual activity.²⁹ Furthermore, as researcher and author Darius M. Rejali points out, the argument about defining the enemy women as “whores” places rape in a male-male conflict, rather than a male-female conflict. While the issues of male-male conflict is important, the reality of rape and other kinds of sexual exploitation and violence during wartime is more complex, as we will also see here. Additionally, the dynamics between

²⁶ In addition to primary sources for the documentation of the German military brothels, there has already been some scholarship completed on the topic, some of which also concerns the brothels in the concentration camps. Insa Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution in besetzten Frankreich* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2002); Christa Paul, *Zwangsprostitution: staatliche bordelle im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1994); Max Plassmann, "Wehrmachtbordelle. Anmerkungen zu einem Quellenfund im Universitätsarchiv Düsseldorf," *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 62 (2003); Seidler, *Prostitution*. The following works focus on the brothels in the concentration camps: Hans-Peter Klausch, "Das Lagerbordell von Flossenbürg," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (1992); Paul, *Zwangsprostitution*; Rupprecht Podszun, "'Sonderbau': Das Häftlingsbordell im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald," (Buchenwald: Buchenwald Denkmal, 1995); Christa Schulz, "Weibliche Häftlinge aus Ravensbrück in Bordellen der Männerkonzentrationslager," in *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern*, ed. Claus Füllberg-Stolberg (Bremen: Temmen, 1994); Nicole Volpert, *Der Sonderbau* (1997), Film; Christl Wickert, "'Das große Schweigen'. Zwangsprostitution im Dritten Reich," *WerkstattGeschichte* 13 (1996). See also Chapter Five of this dissertation.

²⁷ Müller, "Das Scheitern der wirtschaftlichen 'Blitzkriegsstrategie'."; Müller, "Raub, Vernichtung, Kolonisierung: Die deutsche Wirtschaftspolitik in den besetzten sowjetischen Gebieten 1941-1944. "; Schulte, *German Army*, 17-18, 86-116; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1978).

²⁸ The idea of seeing the enemy’s women as “other” largely comes from Susan Brownmiller’s work.

²⁹ Historian Cynthia Enloe wrote an article about the 1995 U.S. rape of a Japanese twelve-year-old girl and commented that “There is a widespread belief that soldiers’ sexuality is determined by uncontrollable ‘drives.’ Any military’s fighting effectiveness, this theory holds, is jeopardized if those soldierly sex drives are not accommodated. U.S. base commanders have often worked closely with local and national officials to provide their male troops with ‘safe’ commercialized sex – even, as in Japan, where prostitution is illegal.” Cynthia Enloe, "Spoils of War: Soldier's Perception of Women's Sexuality," *Ms.*, Mar-Apr 1996, 15. It could be true that the desire for sexual activity and the belief that men require heterosexual activity played a significant role mostly during the German occupation, but not as much during the German invasion or retreat, when it seems that the armed men became more brutal.

men include more kinds of relationships than the categories of friend and enemy.³⁰

In the case of the German perpetrator, there still is hesitancy among many scholars to believe the Germans committed sexual violence against Jews because of the idea of “racial defilement,” (Rassenschande).³¹ Due to the nature of the topic, non-Jewish survivors of sexual abuse have a difficult time coming forward for all kinds of reasons, one of them being the fear that people would not believe their story. But because of the importance scholars and others have placed on the German Rassenschande laws, this probably has rendered it even more difficult for Jewish survivors to come forth for fear of being labeled a liar. Others who have spoken of or written on the topic have been accused of being voyeuristic or irresponsible.³² Although it is impossible to quantify how many Jews suffered from sexual violence committed by the Germans, it will become clear in the following chapters that it was a significant number of people,

³⁰ Darius M. Rejali, "After Feminist Analysis of Bosnian Violence," in *The Women and War Reader*, ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998), 27-29. Historian Naimark places the rapes by Soviets of German women (Naimark downplays the rapes of Slavic and other Soviet women) into a male-male conflict: “Only by the total humiliation of the enemy, one might hypothesize – in this case, by completely dishonoring him with the rape of his women – could the deeply dishonored Russian nation win the war, with what Lerner calls ‘the final act of male domination.’” Naimark, *Russians*, 78. Naimark cites Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, 2 vols., vol. 1, *Women and History* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 78.

³¹ The amount of scholarship on World War II in general, and on the war in the east in particular, is monumentally large but with very minimal focus – let alone mention – of sexual violence against unarmed civilians. In general, the silence surrounding and the loud denial of sexual violence committed by the Germans against the Jews is exceptionally noticeable, but the reason behind the silence is not because it did not happen. Writing about the atrocities the Germans committed, historian Hannes Heer argues that “It almost seems that, as if by gentlemen’s agreement, many historians observe an internalized limit: not to describe the Wehrmacht as the apparatus of a violence-oriented society nor war as its natural expression.” Heer does not discuss sexual violence, but his argument rings true to this topic. (Heer summarizes different arguments of various scholars who have written about the Wehrmacht in the east. Some of the limits Heer refers to are that, for example, the crimes originated out of “anti-Jewish tendencies in the Eastern Army” (Krausnik), or from an “ideological background” (Förster), or from “anti-Bolshevism” (Streit). Hannes Heer, "Killing Fields: The Wehrmacht and the Holocaust in Belorussia, 1941-42," in *War of Extermination: The German Military in World War II, 1941-1944*, ed. Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), 73. (Heer refers to the following works: J. Förster, "Die Discherung des Lebensraumes," in *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, ed. Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamt (1979), 1044; H. Krausnick, *Hitlers Einsatzgruppen: Die Truppen des Weltanschauungskrieges 1938-1942* (Frankfurt am Mein: 1985), 189; Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, 242ff.)

³² Historian Sybil Milton writes that the idea that Jewish women were forced to serve in SS brothels was a “popular postwar myth, sometimes exploited and sensationalized,” and was “a macabre postwar misuse of the Holocaust for popular titillation.” Sybil Milton, "Women and the Holocaust: The Case of German and German-Jewish Women," in *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*, ed. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (New York: Paragon House, 1993), 230-231. Although Milton does not supply examples of such “misuse,” others have followed her argument without questioning. For example, professor of English Myrna Goldenberg writes that “Although rape by the SS in the death camps was rare [here Goldenberg cites Milton], the women were terrorized by rumors or threats of rape.” Myrna Goldenberg, "Memoirs of Auschwitz Survivors," in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 336. Furthermore, if certain readers use memoirs or novels which include reports of sexual violence as a form of entertainment, this often is more a reflection on the readers, not on the source.

indicating that these were not exceptions by any means.

In light of the many different forms of sexual abuse on the eastern front and the multitude of combinations of identity markers of perpetrators and victims, it is difficult to find specific patterns that include certain nationalities, political alliances, cultures, ethnicities, or religions. Further, specific rules or determinations concerning the identity markers of the females by which perpetrators chose their victims do not seem to emerge. For example, at this point in my research there are no indications that a certain ethnic group was more likely than another group to have been gang raped, raped by one man, forced into prostitution, or to have been raped and then murdered. The sampling of data from the various regions is insufficient to make those distinctions.³³

The mass rapes in individual conflicts of, for example, Bengali women in Bangladesh or Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, certainly highlight the relationship between ethnic conflict, genocide, and sexual violence.³⁴ A few examples from the eastern front also indicate that the

³³ For example, without pure speculation, there is not enough information at this point to conclude that, for example, the Germans were more likely to rape a Jew before a certain point in their occupation, or that a German or Soviet man was more likely to murder his rape victim if she or he were of a certain cultural group, or that a German would rape a Slavic female *because* she was Slavic. We could speculate that, for example, because Germans viewed Latvians and Estonians differently than they did the Slavic peoples, this influenced the kinds or numbers of cases of sexual violence in Latvia and Estonia compared to areas of Slavic populations. At a certain point in the war one document states that the German ban against having sex with Latvians and Estonians was lifted (Der Reichsführer-SS, Tgb.Nr. II 56/43 Aol5, Feld-Kommandostelle, 8 September 1943, BAB NS19/382, doc. 130), but this does not necessarily imply that there were more or fewer rapes by Germans of Latvians and Estonians. A thorough study of Latvia and Estonia needs to be completed to better understand how much and what kinds of sexual violence occurred at the hands of the Germans in these countries compared to other areas of the eastern occupied territories. There are numerous examples from police cases in Latvia which highlight the animosity between the Germans and the Latvians (see Chapter Two), and there seems to have been question as to whether women and girls from Estonia and Latvia who were forced laborers in Germany were to be treated as "the women from the east," though that seems not to have been the wish from the Reichsführer SS in August 1943. See Der Reichsführer-SS, Tgb.Nr. 1724, Feld-Kommandostelle, Letter to the Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, August 1943, signed SS-Obersturmbannführer, BAB NS19/382, doc. 133; Der Reichsführer-SS, Tgb.Nr. 1724/43, Feld-Kommandostelle, Letter to SS-Obergruppenführer Berger, Chef des SS-Hauptamtes, 21 August 1943, BAB, NS19/382, doc. 134; Der Reichsführer-SS, Chef des SS-Hauptamtes, Aktenvermerk, signed SS-Obergruppenführer Berger, Berlin, 14 July 1943, BAB 19/382, docs. 137-139.

³⁴ On the rapes in the former Yugoslavia, see Beverly Allen, *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Donna M. Hughes and Kathleen Foster, "War, Nationalism and Rape: Women Responded by Opening a Center Against Sexual Violence in Belgrade, Serbia," *Women's Studies International Forum* 19, no. 1-2 (1996); Susan S. (Susan Stokes) Lambert, "Covering Rape in Ethnic Conflict: the Case of the Bosnian War, a Content Analysis of The New York Times' Coverage of Rape for the Years 1992 and 1993" (M.A., Indiana University, 1996); Catherine N. Niarchos, "Women, War and Rape: Challenges Facing the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia" (Masters of Laws, Columbia University, 1994); Sophia Rose Phillips, "The Systematic Rape of Bosnia's Muslims: Genocide, the Physical and Psychological Effects on the Victim and the Victim and the Community, and the Morality of Indifference" (M.T.S., Emory University, 1997); Todd A. Salzman, "Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia," *Human Rights Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1998); World Council of Churches. Ecumenical Women's Team, "Rape of Women in War: Report of the Ecumenical Women's Team Visit - Zagreb, December 1992," (Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches. Ecumenical Women's Team,

perpetrator's motivation to commit sexual violence was partially because of the identity markers of the victim, but overall it is not clear. It will become clear in the following discussion that Jewish women and girls were victims of sexual violence by Germans. However, it is difficult to determine whether, for example, a Slavic person's Jewishness affected a German perpetrator's decision to rape or not to rape more than a Baltic person's Jewishness, or, for example, whether a Slavic Jew or a Slavic Orthodox Christian were more likely to be raped.

Such speculation comes from historian Doris Bergen, who claims in her study that after 1942, when the Germans had moved into full-scale genocide, "Even Germans who defied their orders and raped Jewish women would immediately have destroyed the evidence by killing their victims."³⁵ Bergen conceived of the theory that those who suffered the most sexual violence by the Germans were the people the Germans had "targeted for enslavement – above all, Slavs" rather than "Jews, Gypsies, and people deemed handicapped," who were "slated for destruction." Additionally, "Jewish women, like their Roma counterparts, remained vulnerable to sexual abuses too, but of different, often even more deadly, kinds in keeping with the goals of genocide."³⁶ (It is not clear if those "deemed handicapped" are included in this more deadly form of sexual violence.) Furthermore, Bergen contends that sexual violence against Jews, while not unfounded, was motivated not by the desire for sexual activity, but by the desire for the "dehumanization and destruction of the victims."³⁷ Here, it is not entirely clear if she includes those deemed handicapped and the Gypsies with the Jews, whose sexual violence allegedly was not motivated by sexual desire. Nor is it entirely clear whether sexual abuse by Germans of non-Jews, non-handicapped, and non-Gypsy (for example, Slavic Orthodox people, Latvian Protestants, Lithuanian Catholics, Estonian Protestants, etc.) was motivated by sexual desire or by "dehumanization and destruction of the victims."

While Bergen should be applauded to include Jews, Gypsies, and those deemed

1992); Seada Vranic, *Breaking the Wall of Silence: the Voices of Raped Bosnia* (Zagreb: Izdanja Antibarbarus, 1996). On the rapes of Bengali women, see Brownmiller, *Against*, 78-86. Copelon includes the rapes of Yuracruz women as genocidal rapes. See Presentation of Guadelupe Leon, Panel on Military Violence and Sexual Slavery, 1993 U.N. Conference on Human Rights, NGO Parallel Activities, June 1993, quoted in Copelon, "Surfacing," 350, n. 9.

³⁵ Doris Bergen, "Sex, Blood, and Vulnerability: Women Outsiders in German-Occupied Europe," in *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, ed. Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 277.

³⁶ Bergen, "Sex, Blood," 278.

³⁷ Bergen, "Sex, Blood," 278.

handicapped as having suffered sexually by the Germans, her conclusions on sexual violence support conventional understandings of the Holocaust, and this is accomplished at the probable risk of simplifying what could have been the realities of many different people. Furthermore, these assumptions are based on a very small sampling of data: Bergen cites a single rape case from 1940 of a Jew raped by a German. No other rape cases by Germans of Slavic Orthodox, Baltic, Gypsy, or handicapped people, whether before or after 1942 are cited. Bergen's discussion of Nazi racism and sexism aside, it is not clear how a theory on rapes by the Germans, the motivations thereof, the outcomes thereof (whether the victim is murdered), and the timing thereof, can be based on one rape case. At this point in my research, although I could speculate, it is difficult to define patterns and causes as Bergen has when many sources indicate little information beyond the fact that specific crimes occurred. Furthermore, there are many more examples across the eastern front that refuse to become part of an easily identified pattern denoting a close relationship between ethnicity and sexual violence, as can be the case in armed conflicts.

Despite the great diversity of experiences across the eastern front, the irony in trying to make sense of all the combinations of identity markers between perpetrators and victims is that the perpetrators were frequently under the influence of alcohol. This very likely could have made them more willing to commit sexual violence against people they normally would not have, or to break regulations they normally would not have. In addition, since the differentiations (between, for example, Jew, Orthodox Russian, or Latvian, etc.) did not always involve external distinctions to make it obvious to which "group" the victim belonged, alcohol would have rendered it even more difficult for perpetrators to calculate how they should exploit, humiliate, murder, or rape the person. Some of the perpetrators' beliefs could have become more accentuated with alcohol, while others could have become less important, though historians debate the extent of the belief in Nazi ideology among the rank and file.³⁸ In addition to cultural norms, bodily functions such as sexual desire are often more enhanced with alcohol.³⁹

³⁸ There is not a definitive answer as to whether the majority of Germans in the east believed Nazi ideology. Further, if they did believe in some of it, it is not clear which parts of Nazi ideology they believed. For example, historian Christopher Browning downplays the role of ideology in his work, while historian Omer Bartov highlights it. Bartov, "Conduct."; Bartov, *Eastern Front*; Omer Bartov, "Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich," *The Journal of Modern History* 63, no. 1 (1991); Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

³⁹ On the role of alcohol and sexual abuse, see Diana Scully, *Understanding Sexual Violence: A Study of Convicted Rapists* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 120-125.

Furthermore, some people while under the influence of alcohol experience heightened emotions, such as anger, love, or dejection.

A survey of sexual violence on the eastern front highlights many of the same issues of sexual violence and armed conflicts throughout the world. In light of the horrors of the Bosnian rape camps, the widespread raping in various armed conflicts in Africa,⁴⁰ the affirmation of rape as an international war crime, the news reports on the Japanese soldiers and the Korean "comfort women,"⁴¹ it is difficult to deny the omnipresence of sexual violence throughout history and throughout the world, although some conflicts have been noted not to have had large numbers of rapes.⁴² Even in times of peace, rape and sexual torture have been rampant in the countries

⁴⁰ Human Rights Watch/Africa and Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project, *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath* (New York, Washington, London, Brussels: Human Rights Watch, 1996); James C. McKinley, Jr., "Legacy of Rwanda Violence: the Thousands Born of Rape," *The New York Times*, September 23 1996; Meredith Turshen, "The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa," in *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, ed. Caroline O.N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark (London and New York: Zed Books, 2001).

⁴¹ David Boling, *Mass Rape, Enforced Prostitution, and the Japanese Imperial Army: Japan Eschews International Legal Responsibility?* (Baltimore: University of Maryland School of Law, 1995); Ustinia Dolgopol, "Women's Voices, Women's Pain," *Human Rights Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1995); G. Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995); John Lie, "The State as Pimp: Prostitution and the Patriarchal State in Japan in the 1940s," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1997); Yuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996); Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution During World War II and the US Occupation*, ed. Mark Selden, *Asia's Transformations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); United States Office of War Information Psychological Warfare Team Attached to U.S. Army Forces India-Burma Theater APO 689, "Japanese Prisoner of War Interrogation Report No. 49," (Ledo Stookade: United States Office of War Information Psychological Warfare Team Attached to U.S. Army Forces India-Burma Theater APO 689. By T/3 Alex Yorichi, 1944); Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, ed. Carol Gluck, trans. Suzanne O'Brien, *Asia Perspectives: History, Society, and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

⁴² On the history of patriarchy see Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Brownmiller provides examples from around the world: Brownmiller, *Against*. See also Leon Friedmann, *The Law of War: A Documentary History*, vol. II (New York, 1972), 1060ff; Leslie Wirpsa, "New study documents abuses of women's rights worldwide (The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights)," *National Catholic Reporter*, Sept 29 1995; Women's Rights Project (Human Rights Watch) and Human Rights Watch (Organization), "The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights," (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1995). On the absence of rape, Brownmiller reported that rape was almost absent among the Vietcong during the Vietnam War. Brownmiller, *Against*, 90, 92. In many North American cultures, rape was virtually unknown. See Thomas S. Ablner, "Scalping, Torture, Cannibalism and Rape: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Conflicting Cultural Values in War," *Anthropologica* XXXIV (1992); Karen Artchoker and Marlin Mousseau, "Violence Against Oglala Women is Not Traditional," (Cangleska Inc., 1993); James Axtell, ed., *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Richard Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press and Polity Press, 1995). Professor of Law Rebecca Tsosie writes that historically among the Navajos, rape was "almost unheard of," but that in modern times there has been a dramatic increase of rapes. One Native explained, "For the Indian male, the only route to be successful, to be good, to be right, and to have an identity was to be as much like

examined in this research, as well as, for example, in the United States, western Europe, and elsewhere.⁴³ The fact that sexual violence has occurred in so many armed conflicts throughout the world and throughout the centuries refutes arguments which only dwell on the historical specificities as the primary reasons for these crimes and substantiates the argument that rape, forced prostitution, and other such crimes are crimes of gender that can intersect with crimes based on other categories, such as ethnicity, religion, or political alliance. Comparisons and analyses of people's specific histories are useful to further illuminate crimes against humanity, but if we investigate a broader picture (which this dissertation does), then historic specificities fade in the more obvious light of the similarities. Having gathered evidence from such a wide variety of sources, what I highlight in this dissertation are the many similarities for they are at once revealing and foreboding.

Highlighting gender and the similarities of women's and girls' experiences as sexual targets does not essentialize or totalize the female experience if we acknowledge the differences that existed. A Latvian woman's experience in Latvia was different from a Russian woman's experience in Latvia or in Russia, and a Galician woman's experience was yet another unique experience. A Jewish woman experienced the war differently than did a Protestant woman. If we research the mass murders the Germans committed in the east, we would mostly highlight the Jewish and Gypsy experience, since they were targeted for complete annihilation.⁴⁴ Such

the white man as he could." Paula Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 192.

⁴³ Ulla Ohse, *Forced Prostitution and Traffic in Women in West Germany* (Edinburgh: Human Rights Group, 1984). Examples of scholarship on the U.S.: Susan Faludi, *The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York and London: Anchor Books, 1991); Marilyn French, *The War Against Women* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992); Mariah Burton Nelson, *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football: Sexism and the American Culture of Sports* (New York: Avon Books, 1994); Martha Roth, "Transforming the Rape Culture That Lives in My Skull," in *Transforming a Rape Culture*, ed. Emilie Buchwald, Pamela R. Fletcher, and Martha Roth (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1993); Scully, *Understanding Sexual Violence: A Study of Convicted Rapists*. For South Africa, see Vogelmann, *The Sexual*, 1-2.

⁴⁴ For general works on the Holocaust, especially in the east, see Bartov, *Germany's War*; David Budnik, *Nichto ne zabyto: evreiskie sudb y v Kieve = Nichts ist vergessen: jüdische schicksale in Kiev = Nothing is forgotten: Jewish fates in Kiev, 1941-1943* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1993); Lucjan Dobroszycki and Jeffrey S. Gurock, eds., *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941-1945* (Armonk, New York; London, England: M.E. Sharpe, 1993); Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941-1944* (Riga: Riga Model Printing House, 1996); Zvi Gitelman, ed., *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Raul Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, Third ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003); Gertrude Schneider, ed., *The Unfinished Road: Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back* (New York: Praeger, 1991). On the Gypsy experience see Ian Hancock, "Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust," in *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*, ed. Alan S. Rosenbaum (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998). For a brief overview, see

immediately genocidal plans notwithstanding, millions of Slavic people, including POWs and civilians, were purposefully murdered, worked to death, or left to perish by starvation and deprivation.⁴⁵ A large number of non-Jewish people were murdered because they were accused of being Jews who were not wearing the required stars,⁴⁶ or even on the pretext that they were Jewish.⁴⁷ The Germans forced unbearable conditions upon Soviet POWs, for example, to live not in barracks but in holes in the ground exposed to the elements.⁴⁸ Historian Gerhard Weinberg suggests that despite not having an immediate extermination plan for Slavic people, the Germans planned on the eventual extinction of Slavic people.

Moscow and Leningrad were to disappear...In addition to the [genocide against the Jews and Gypsies, the] mentally ill, the sick, and the elderly among them were to be killed...The bulk of the population was expected to be dramatically reduced by starvation....cities in the Ukraine and the whole food-deficit area in the north were to be deprived of food...⁴⁹

Weinberg mentions the German mass sterilization program, which, he argues, “could not have been intended for the Jews, who were to be exterminated. Nor could it be for the slave laborers or the POWs, who also were only seen as a 'temporary aberration.'” Rather, Weinberg argues that

Donald Niewyk and Francis Nicosia, *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 47-48. For research on women and the Holocaust and WWII, see, for example, Judith Tydor Baumel, *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* (London and Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998); Jutta T. Bendremer, *Women Surviving the Holocaust In Spite of the Horror*, vol. 43, *Symposium Series* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997); Gisela Bock, *Zwangssterilisation im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik* (Opladen: 1986); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Woman, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, eds., *Women in the Holocaust* (New Haven and London, 1998: Yale University Press, 1998); Carol Rittner and John K. Roth, eds., *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust* (New York: Paragon House, 1993). The scholarly works on gender and the Holocaust are more likely to mention sexual violence than are the general works, but some also omit reference.

⁴⁵ See page 46ff. for a more detailed discussion of the treatment of POWs, Slavs, and other civilians in the east. There has been a significant amount of research completed on the plight of the Soviet POWs, for example, Bartov, *Eastern Front*, 107-119; G. Reitlinger, *The House Built on Sand: The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), 95-127, 257-284; Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, 109ff; Christian Streit, "Soviet Prisoners of War in the Hands of the Wehrmacht," in *War of Extermination: The German Military in World War II 1941-1944*, ed. Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000); Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World At Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 300. Some scholars would include the Soviet POWs and the Slavic peoples among the victims of the Holocaust. For a brief historiographical discussion, see Niewyk and Nicosia, *Columbia Guide*, 48-50.

⁴⁶ Minskij ad. Vospominanija pedagoga Sof'i Ozerskoj, in: Neizvestnaja černaja kniga, 246-250, quoted in Chiari, *Alltag*, 246.

⁴⁷ Reitlinger, *The House*, 86.

⁴⁸ *Racism versus Pragmatism: Soviet Prisoners of War as Forced Labor in Germany, 1941-1942* Rolf Keller, Presentation given at the USHMM CAHS Forced and Slave Labor in Nazi-Dominated Europe, October 24, 2002.

⁴⁹ Weinberg, *A World*, 304.