



CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES

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POPULAR LITERATURE IN THE THIRD REICH: OBSERVATIONS
ON THE 'GROSCHENROMAN'

by

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Popular Literature in the Third Reich:

Observations on the 'Groschenroman'

Man lives not by bread alone, especially when he has none. And
once he has it, then the dream of more grows really ripe and red".

Ernst Bloch, Erbschaft dieser Zeit

Up until now there has been no research on popular literature¹
during the period of German Fascism. There are several reasons for
this, the most important, indeed, being simply the lack of primary
literature. Mostly destroyed during the war, or later for political
reasons, or used in times of need for any and all purposes, it
frequently ended up going the way of all refuse. Hence Groschen-
romance ('penny novelettes') from before 1945 can now only be found
in large quantities in the state libraries which, being competent
for the place of publication, received deposit copies: in the
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer
Kulturbesitz which received deposit copies from both the south and
the north of the Reich; and in the Deutsche Bibliothek in Leipzig²
which was competent for all Germany.

This problem of the dearth of material marks Karl Riha's study,
the only one published so far on "Mass Literature in the Third
Reich".³ The texts he analyses are mostly marshalled from so-
called 'practical literature',⁴ such as

Leaflets about collections by the winter relief
organizations, instructions on the occasions of
various appeals for scrap collections [...] and
energy-saving initiatives of the 'Kohlenklau' type,
little magazines for soldiers' knapsacks, air-raid
instructions, songbooks for the RDM [=Bund Deutscher Mädchen]
and HJ [=Hitlerjugend], directives for genealogical
research in the wake of antisemitic agitation [....]⁵

Sections of this study were first published as "Trivialliteratur in
ritten Reich: Beobachtungen zum Groschenroman" in Kunst und Kultur
des deutschen Faschismus, ed. Ralf Schnell (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 217-60;

- literature, that is, whose "mass character is already given by its distribution alone".⁶

What we are interested in here, however, is literature whose mass character proceeds not only from its distribution (a conditio sine qua non), but from its mass purchase by consumers necessarily intending to read it; for only this would seem to guarantee that the complete process of literary communication has taken place at all.⁷ Fictional mass literature, moreover, opens up the possibility of analysing the contradiction between literature's ostensibly serving 'unpolitical' purpose of 'pure entertainment' and its more or less subliminal transportation of politics in the widest sense, its unconscious ideologisation. This leads to one of the most important questions, namely to what extent this literary form qua form admits of politicization. Riha's material, by contrast, either presupposes the politics as already institutionalized, or else propagates it not subliminally but directly.

A second reason for the poverty of the research situation is the intensive general repression of National Socialist literature by the West German academic literary establishment as their one way of controlling the past.⁸ Only since the early sixties have people slowly begun to work on this literature, although the success of the work continues to be latently threatened by the official ideology of anti-communism.⁹ Likewise still blocked from the view of Germanistik studies and the cultural elite of the bourgeois intelligentsia are the cultural practices of those masses of the population from which the bearers of the 'First Culture' (L^onn) do not traditionally recruit themselves. Which means that research into popular literature as such could also only begin in the sixties,¹⁰ and could establish itself, like research on the literature of the Third Reich, only in the wake of the student movement. It is no coincidence that the decisive advance of both lines of research has been shaped by the emergence of the New Left. The concern with both these literatures, whose latent affinity is reflected in definitions of the 'triviality of Fascistic literature',¹¹ and the 'Fascistoid tendencies of trivial (i.e. popular) literature',¹² is based on a cognitive interest in grasping the conditions which make it possible for late capitalistic forms of the state to become Fascistic, thus enabling them to be fought in the future. The immediate object thereby is the unmasking and analysis of bourgeois ideology as it asserts itself through the medium of literature and its attendant institutions by disguising particular

interests as general interests, by occupying and exploiting in the interests of hegemony the potentially emancipative 'hollows' (Bloch), the lacunae in ideology. A successful penetration of this dense ideological interweaving of emancipative and repressive moments is only possible on a materialist basis, a basis which takes as the starting-point of its social analysis the contradiction between capital and labour.

The fact that the study of popular literature has developed parallel rather than prior to that of Fascistic literature means that in collections of material and documents on National Socialist literary aesthetics and politics there are scarcely any explicit statements about mass fiction. This absence, however, points at once to the third reason for the prevalent state of research: the official literary theory of the Third Reich did not consider the reading-matter of the broad population an object worthy of intellectual attention.

The fact that the problem is not even posed in the first place is significant as regards Fascism, whose theory of culture never leads beyond the mediocre, pretentious level associated with the Oberlehrer of German High Schools, never demanding more than 'das gute Buch' of the Kleinburger with his zeal for culture and love of pseudo-classical literature. And everything that transcends this horizon either upwards or downwards is banished as not authentically

'volkhaft'. Since this situation, mediated through the literary-political institutions of the Third Reich, is reflected in the form of the Fascistic Groschenroman, my actual analysis of the novelettes will be prefaced by a short sketch of the contemporary policy on popular literature.

The literature considered here, moreover, is part of a differentiated network of cultural relations which has itself scarcely been researched. There are no studies whatsoever on the popular literature of the Wilhelminian era,¹³ of the First World War, of the Weimar Republic or of the Third Reich, and accordingly no classifications or correlations with other fields of literature. Nor are there any analyses of authors or readers.

This is also still partly true, in spite of its recent marked expansion, of research into modern popular literature, which is still far from producing more or less reliable data - especially as regards reception and (hence) function - and which finds itself still at the stage of formulating hypotheses. The problem of literary evaluation glitters unsolved,¹⁴ as is also evident, quite apart from the field of non-recognised literature, in the disputed classification not only of works by authors such as Benn, Junger, George, Celine and Hamsun, but also of the proletarian 'Rote-Eine-Mark-Romane'. And various forms of literature highly valued by the National Socialists have so far likewise scarcely been analysed.¹⁵ What are lacking, moreover, are usable language analyses, i.e. analyses whose results are not conditioned a priori by the presupposed inferiority of the object of study. All of which means that this essay can be ^{no} more than an extremely provisional and partial illumination of a domain of literature as good as unknown, the full exploration of which, moreover, cannot be undertaken by one person alone.

The general aim of this study may be defined as follows. Against the general background of a systematic, critical-historical investigation of cultural practices and their mediation with the economic base, that is, their relation to the class situation of those engaging in them, the aim will be to inquire into both the difference, the specificity, and the sameness, the continuity of a mass-distributed form of communication - the Groschenroman 'love-story' or 'romance' - in whose every specific detail the real process of history is expressed.

Given the state of existing research, the analysis is conducted necessarily in the light of modern novelettes and some copies of Groschenromane from the years between 1913 and 1919. From this, however, it can be concretely established as a premise that the history and character of the Groschenroman display a continuity, since in this century the productive relations in the territory of the modern Bundesrepublik have not changed and thus the dialectic of base and superstructure, despite epochal differences, likewise proceeds according to the same laws: in every period the existence of a popular literature in opposition to an elite literature reflects the existence of antagonistic classes. Under capitalism this form of popular literature appears as written mass fiction transmitted through print.

I. Popular Literature and Literary Politics

On July 19, 1937 at the opening of the 'Haus der Deutschen Kunst' in Munich, Hitler declared:

So I wish to make it known at this time that it is my irrevocable decision likewise to do away now with this claptrap in the German art world, just as I have done away with it in the confused realm of politics. 'Art works' which cannot be understood in themselves, but first require a pompous set of instructions to justify their existence, in order to find at last someone intimidated enough to patiently accept such stupid or impudent nonsense, from now on such works will no longer find their way to the German people.¹⁶

And he continues in the same vein on September 7 of the same year:

This disgraceful regression has, however, been perpetrated by our men of letters. By persistently applying the term 'kitsch' to well-intentioned, decent, average (!) work, they have succeeded in breeding those exalted aberrations which may perhaps strike the blase literary mind as an interesting or indeed phenomenal departure, but which in fact are a shameful step backwards, a cultural degeneration...¹⁷

In this context the mere word 'aesthetic' becomes suspicious to the National Socialists:

National Socialist aesthetic? This combination of words will doubtless cause some uneasiness, for the concept of the aesthetic for us is connected with something sickly, unmanly, effeminate [...]. The images evoked by the sound of the word 'aesthetic' may be different for each individual. But mentally we will always immediately adopt a defensive attitude.¹⁸

One would think that in a state like the Fascists', which purports to be anchored in the masses, as much attention would be paid to their cultural as to their political practices. But that would be to be taken in by ideological appearances. The wooing of the masses as the 'herd of voters'¹⁹ is only one side of the coin, the other being the absolute scorn, indeed hatred of the masses. "I am no friend of the 'mass man', "Hitler repeatedly stresses; "against the 'mass man' I assert the personality. Only men make history, not the masses. The masses must be led [...] I am no friend of the amorphous mass, I am the deadly enemy of democracy..."²⁰ "The great mass's capacity for comprehension is only very restricted, and its understanding small, but its forgetfulness, on the other hand, correspondingly large."²¹ "The little abstract knowledge which it possesses directs its sensations more to the world of feeling [...]. The broad mass is just a part of nature...."²² And since according to the Fascist

conception the culturally underprivileged status of the masses is the consequence of innate inferiority, all that Hitler, with laconic cynicism, can say about these second-class human beings is:

But what those not born to this [!] lack in their inner understanding, what they can never grasp in their hearts and souls, they must at least be moved, by deliberate education, to have an awed respect for. They must, moreover, simply learn to acknowledge these expressions of the life of one part of their people, just as the others also have to come to terms with their mentality [!]... one has to be born to art; that is, the fundamental disposition and hence the aptitude, which lie beyond all education, are of decisive importance. This disposition, however, is a component part of the hereditary substance.²³

Given these presuppositions there was of course no provision for further educating the masses.²⁴

But it is not only innovative literature which is suspicious to National Socialism and its policies on reading, but popular literature as well:

Characteristic of this [i.e. the individualistic 19th century concept of education criticized by the Fascists] is the over-valuation, ineradicable from the heads of laymen and administrators, of the Bildungsroman and 'novel of manners' of former times, which have produced that self-centred and frivolous kind of reading which has never found particular approval in the genuine public library. It would however be wrong to believe that this aesthetically diluted, irresponsible reading is only to be found in a detached upper stratum of society. No, this reading which atomizes the people, this reading removed from life, is to be found equally there where the drab literature of entertainment and sensation is devoured by the undeveloped masses. It is the task of the public library neither to promote the egotistical reading of socially elevated individuals nor to foster the mass reading of books which are only the waste products of civilization.²⁵

With their idiosyncratic instinct for everything that was actually or potentially refractory, the National Socialists bracketed both kinds of literature together at a point which has remained till today the blind spot of all the theorist who cannot move beyond a split into 'high' and 'low' literature, in spite of their subjective democratic desire to do so. The ruling class "avoids the site of the dialectical, of the concrete utopian, just as if it could see it."²⁶ The Fascists did in fact see it.

Pronouncements on the reading activities of the masses are to be found not on the higher and highest levels of National Socialist cultural thinking, but, as the above quotation suggests, where the levers are being operated for the planned re-education from bourgeois to 'volkhaft' reading: in the library system and in the sphere of the censorship authorities. Since here too direct statements about Groschenromane are very rare, the opinion of the cultural cadre can be best extrapolated from its views on the general complex of 'relaxation and entertainment' literature.

Contrary to the expectation that National Socialism would show sympathy for a mode of literature to which Fascist, pre-Fascist or Fascistoid traits are today quickly attributed,²⁷ it can generally be said that its attitude to this subject is extremely ambivalent and contradictory and for the most part, indeed, unequivocally negative. Wholly individualistic and private reading as relaxation must have been abhorrent to a state which, precisely as a total state, demanded the absolute politicization of the private life of the individual citizen as well. "The total state must be a state of total responsibility. It represents the total assumption of duty towards the nation by every individual. This assumption of duty removes the private character of the individual's existence."²⁸ What is to be criticized here is certainly not the binding of the individual to a more comprehensive social frame as such, for indeed only this makes possible the development of the individual into human being, understood as the ensemble of social relations. What is to be criticized is rather the obligation to a state which cannot legitimate itself and has to forbid the very question as to this legitimation, the question as to whether it really is capable of realizing the happiness and dignity of the individual.

And since Aristotle in the last book of the Nicomachean Ethics combined the question of man's 'happiness' inseparably with the question of the 'best state', establishing 'politics' and 'ethics' as essentially inextricable (the former as the fulfilment of the latter), we have known that freedom is an eminently political concept. The real freedom of the individual existence (and not, indeed, in the merely liberal sense) is only possible in a clearly structured polis, in a 'rationally' organized society.

In the conscious politicization of the existential concepts, in the de-privatization and de-interiorization of the liberalidealist conception of man, the apparent 'progress' is in fact a regression: the deprivatizing and politicizing destroys the individual existence instead of truly superseding while preserving it, transformed, in the 'generality'.²⁹

Whatever literary escapism had survived, then, in spite of "party political control of leisure-time" ³⁰ through the 'Kraft durch Freude' ('Strength through Pleasure') programme, was countered by the state with propaganda, controls and prohibitions. The purging of political and religious writings as well as young people's literature was immediately followed by the purging of 'entertainment literature' of all levels. Supported by the indecency and obscenity laws of the Weimar Republic (of December 18 and 23, 1926), in 1934 Goebbels took over from the Ministry of the Interior the office charged with inspecting indecent and obscene writings, which was incorporated into the former Reichsschrifttumstelle, the bureau for publicity and information. The purging of entertainment literature was supervised by the Reichsschrifttumskammer (the RSK), and from 1938 by Abteilung VIII of the Ministry of Propaganda.

From 1935 the RSK published two lists of forbidden books:

(1) the "List of Harmful and Undesirable Writings" of 1935 (supplemented in 1938 and through annual lists); (2) the "List of Publications Unsuitable for Young People and Libraries" of 1940 (modified in 1943). ³¹ The fight against entertainment literature was conducted intensively up to the outbreak of war, and directed itself in the first place against Jewish authors such as Vicky Baum, and then later against all authors who were ideologically suspect. ³² Exactly the same procedure was adopted as regards the mass genres - the wildwest, detective, romance and adventure novels. In 1939 Berndt, the head of Abteilung VIII, explicitly threatened the participants of the Leipzig Booksellers' Congress with suitably strict measures by the state in order to stem the output of these novels. ³³

Although "these books are not destructive and degenerating in the same sense as the above-named (of a directly political-ideological character), they nevertheless have the effect of misleading our people spiritually, the end result of which likewise cannot be regarded as other than pernicious" - the books in mind being "the 'society' novels and entertainment literature in which life and the aims of life are represented on the basis of a bourgeois or feudal conception of life, in a superficial, untrue and mawkish manner (e.g. Adlersfeld-Ballestrem, Stratz, Eschstruth, Heimbürg, inter al)." ³⁴ To these must be added above all Eugenie Marlitt; while the more than 114 novels comprising the oeuvre of Hedwig Courths-Mahler were declared "undesirable" in 1938 by "Die Bucherkunde"

(Book News), the organ of Rosenberg's Office for the Cultivation of Literature (Schrifttumspflege).³⁵

From July 1935 popular literature was subjected to strict preventative censorship. This was carried out by the Beratungsstelle (Information Centre) für Volksliteratur, which was attached to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Verleger für Unterhaltungsliteratur (Working Committee of Publishers of Entertainment Literature) in the RSK. The censorship was officially explained thus: "these kinds of publication must be prevented right from the start from being printed at all."³⁶

The re-education of reading taste was aimed above all at the working masses and especially at those workers who, in their overwhelming majority, had remained true to the traditional workers' parties up to the end of the Weimar Republic.³⁷ Their alignment with the Fascist regime was to be guaranteed in the long term not only by external violence but by the gradual internalization of Fascist ideology. Hence the National Socialist culture of jingoism, the "nationalistic, patriotic kitsch in literature",³⁸ likewise fell victim to official condemnation. At the opening of the "Woche des guten Buchs" in the Berliner Sportpalast in 1934 Goebbels said:

I thus hold no brief for the kitsch and dilettantism of that army of ignoramuses who think that the great moment has come and that it must now be time to go marching in parades, waving swastika flags across the stage and the screen [...] What we want is more than a dramatized party manifesto...³⁹

And he becomes even more explicit in a speech in the Berliner Haus des Rundfunks [Radio Centre] in 1935:

When I see a film today like "Der Choral von Leuthen" ["The Hymn of Leuthen"] then I must say: if a Communist sees this film, then he will simply leave it disgusted and repelled. But, taking the opposite case: if today a National Socialist sees the film "Battleship Potemkin", then he will be in danger of becoming a Communist because the film is so well made."⁴⁰

It's precisely those masses whom Goebbels has in mind here who are the readers of that broad span of unpretentious popular literature which was only partly represented in the communal public libraries and which was rather to be found comprising almost the entire reading-matter of those small, private lending-libraries which existed as one-man business or attached to other small shops. In the lending library of Wedding described by Fritz Erpenbeck, which

was used almost exclusively by (Communist) workers, the most-read authors were Wallace, Courths-Mahler, Sienkiewicz and Marlitt. A long way behind came Marryat, May, Sinclair and Jack London.⁴¹

Hence the Fascist purge hit these libraries, as well as the book trade, with full force. After the trouble-free co-ordination of the state public libraries,⁴² these became the organizational⁴³ and intellectual instrument for bringing the private lending-library trade into line.⁴⁴ This process was controlled by both Goebbels's Abteilung VIII and the Beratungsstelle für das Leihbüchereiwesen [Lending Library Information Centre] in the RSK. A regulation of the year 1935 forbade all lending-libraries in department stores, and another of 1937 prohibited the opening or re-opening of lending-libraries until October 1941.⁴⁵ Thus, for example, the two hundred lending-libraries in Düsseldorf (in 1933) were reduced to sixty-six (by autumn 1937).⁴⁶

The public libraries above all were obviously delighted that, in their continual fight over the 'simple Volksgenossen' supposedly 'reading his way up' to 'das gute Buch', their arch-enemy, the lending-library, was having its flow of enticing wares cut off. And consequently they take to the field, in a shrill National Socialist idiom, against the traditional entertainment literature and one of its most important trade outlets:

In considering the lending-libraries it must not be overlooked that in many cases the stocks are to this day saturated with all kinds of the most evil and pernicious sensation literature.⁴⁷

The government and the Führer himself in particular have turned decisively against kitsch [...] So there remains an act of neglect to make up for, an old debt to clear: to throw out everything wishy-washy, mawkish, kitschy, soppy, apathetic, merely time-wasting and outdated [...] First of all there are the old sentimental novels of love and 'high society' (the prince and the servant-girl type) [...] lying tales of peasant life and salon Tyroleans; Indian stories for boys; outdated polemical novels and social-problem fiction; unrealized utopias; above all, untruthful adventure stories and the so-called detective and crime-stories which spend themselves in mere intellectual tension.⁴⁸

The work of education in the Third Reich is by no means helped when we keep Herzog, Stratz, Ganghofer, Bloem and the rest. Such sense of nationality as these authors have is so diluted, commercialized and sentimentalized, or created with such false pathos and so feebly expressed, that we render our people an ill service if we follow in their footsteps in our educational endeavours.⁴⁹

And exactly what is undesirable about these forms is clearly stated: the stimulation of an imagination potentially capable of turning critically against the status quo because oriented towards conditions other than these which prevail.

We will have to examine and select the adventure novels in the certain knowledge that it is not the strange, the exciting, the incredible which constitute their essential function, but their formation of the thirst for action, of the heroic man who proves himself. Thus too in the novels of peasant life we must no longer seek the idyllic and the romantic good old days, but the myth of Blood and earth.⁵⁰

These Marlitts and Courths-Mahlers with their adolescent dream-worlds⁵¹

In March 1933 the Verband Deutscher Volksbibliothekare [Association of German Public Librarians] had clearly explained its ideological task for the state:

As regards all measures, moreover, it should be remembered that the winning of the German workers for the new German state and Volksgemeinschaft ["people's community"] is the great task of the coming years. The public library will therefore have to spare no effort to retain the trust and love of the German working community in its new form as well. It will succeed in this if it is able to convince the German worker that 'national' and 'social', in the real sense of those words, are spiritual attitudes and moral obligations which further and support one another, and that whoever neglects the one sins against the other.⁵²

There was one measure, however, that even the public librarians could not carry through, namely the filling of the resultant voids. "The withdrawal of the Courths-Mahler and Marlitt literature, whose editions ran into millions, and the exchange of the English and American crime stories and westerns for a 'Volksschrifttum', remained the wishful thinking of the NS literary policy."⁵³ The problem was never solved, although the demand for a specifically National Socialist entertainment literature was made again and again.⁵⁴ This contradiction led to the paradoxical situation whereby, with the increasing pressure of demand from the population for diversion and relaxation, especially after the beginning of the war (reading during blackouts, etc.), the forbidden entertainment literature reappeared to a certain extent; and even the paper-rationing department, which was also an effective instrument of censorship in Goebbels' hands, demanded from 1942 new editions of these publications. ⁵⁵

The complete ambivalence towards the whole complex of entertainment literature is shown in the discussions between Rosenberg and Goebbels as to whether 'demanding' (Rosenberg) or 'light' (Goebbels) literature should be supplied for purposes of moral rearmament on the labour- and war-fronts.

My welfare scheme for the submarines is running ahead in great style. The men in the subs have earned it. I am above all seeing that they get light and relaxing things to read[...]
There are still ideologues among us who think that when a sub-man comes out of the machine-room covered in filth and oil he prefers to reach for Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts.
That is pure nonsense.⁵⁶

Thus Goebbels in his diary in 1942. Although he himself in only 1940 had arranged for a renewed "wave of purges", which caused the publishers to withdraw large quantities of "trash literature" and "inferior crime novels" from the market. But just how much popular literature, in spite of all the restrictions, remained in continual demand, especially later among the evacuees,⁵⁷ is shown by a polemic of 1941, in which Groschenromane were mentioned for the first time:

As a result of the enormously increased demand for literature purely for relaxation, we have observed with growing concern a gigantic increase, since the beginning of the war, in the production of entertainment literature, especially the cheap weekly novel series. I cannot here go into the many-sided problem of this phenomenon, which is different from the rest of the belletristic production. Let me simply say that this mass-production of cheap novels, in such an overwhelming quantity, by no means corresponds to the criteria which, while fully appreciating the necessity of lightness and readability, we must apply. Basically we welcome good entertainment literature; we reject, however, the bad, designed purely for mass consumption. It seems to us, as the aim towards which we need to develop, that the artistic entertainment literature [...] can satisfy in increasing measure the demand, in itself to be welcomed, of the broad strata of readers [...] more comprehensive possibilities in this direction, however, still lie a long way off.⁵⁸

It is revealing that around the same time as the problem of entertainment literature became an urgent one for the Fascists, two works appeared which for the first time deal theoretically with forms of this literature. In "Über den Detektivroman"⁵⁹ and "Anzengruber und wir" ("Anzengruber and us"),⁶⁰ the authors begin the kind of rudimentary research, inseparable from the prevailing kitsch, trash and filth 'theory' of popular literature, which would have been necessary for the Fascists' own production of entertainment literature.

As late as 1943, with the second, amended edition of his "List of Publications Unsuitable for Young People and Libraries", Goebbels struck

a decisive blow against the crime novel, the western and the adventure novel. This time, along with many hard-cover novels, including Agatha Christie and all the Edgar Wallace titles, numerous Groschenromane series were hit as well. The following were banned:

- from the publishers Verlagshaus für Volksliteratur, Berlin: Jorn Farrows Abenteuer; Jorn Farrows U-Boot-Abenteuer; Rolf Torrings Abenteuer; Tex Bulwers Abenteuer; Salto Mortale; Elefantenkarls Erlebnisse.
- from the publishers Verlag Dietsch, Leipzig: Die Abenteuer Billy Jenkins; Die Abenteuer John Klings
- from Verlag Fryer, Heidenau: Alaska-Jim; Bob Hunter auf Indianerpfaden; Sun-Koh, der Erbe von Atlantis; Tom Shark, der König der Detektive.
- from Verlag Bergmann, Leipzig : Jan Mayen.
- from Verlag Burmester, Bremen, Leipzig and Vienna: Burmesters Abenteuer-Serie.⁶¹

To sum up we can say this: the policy of the Third Reich on entertainment literature oscillates continually, especially later on, between a strategy of intensified control in order to ensure the ideological co-ordination of the readers, and a strategy of improving the supply, especially after the beginning of the war, for purposes of emotional pacification. This wavering reflects the conflict between the total state's claim to the exclusive control of ideological indoctrination and the organization of ideological production under private property relations which themselves, however, form the indispensable economic basis of that state.⁶²

On the other hand this contradiction is founded on the fact that even the total state cannot force its citizens to read for their private entertainment something dictated from above. If what's offered doesn't please him, the reader always has the alternative of refusal, of not reading. Reading for relaxation depends precisely on its being voluntary. Hence the fundamental mistrust of reading as such, frequently found in representatives of authoritarian, repressive patterns of thinking and behaviour: "Books are always treacherous."

From books there always grows resistance against life, against reality - resistance for the sake of an idea, the tradition of resistance..."⁶³

For this reason the cultural policy of the Third Reich resorted, along with explicit prohibition, to the secret control of the contents and the language of the books, a practice which, like the lists of prohibitions, was only made known to a restricted circle of insiders who were sworn to silence. How far-reaching these controls were can be seen from a few examples, which show that the surveillance extended to the least novelette.

Thus a young naval officer, who wrote adventure stories in his free time for a novelette-series, was requested to change the (non-German) nationality of a villainous opponent of his hero, since at that precise time friendly diplomatic relations with the state in question were desired and being promoted.⁶⁴

Again, on July 10, 1941, the "Vertraulich Mitteilungen" (Confidential Bulletin) of the trade associations of publishers, booksellers and lending-libraries, published by the RSK, announced:

In recent book publications, above all novels, it has happened that relationships between Germans and inferior races, which should be depicted as a racial disgrace, are written about as if such relationships were perfectly possible. The consequences of current world political events make it desirable that literature too adopt an unambiguous attitude and make a clear declaration for the National Socialist movement's thinking on race. Here too it is imperative to set the educational possibilities of literature to work. Publishers are requested to pay as strict attention as possible to these points when accepting manuscripts. In future works which do not fulfil these demands must in every instance be designated undesirable.⁶⁵

It was these bulletins which first announced the prohibition of Herzog's Der Graf von Gleichen (Count von Gleichen) because its Jewish protagonist had been positively described.⁶⁶ One year later, in 1942, the following notice appeared in the press information sheet of the National Socialist Party's press office:

"Our attention is called to the fact that recently, in short stories, novellas, tales, and the novels appearing in newspapers, there are increasingly frequent descriptions of cases in which a birth takes place under the most difficult circumstances and/or even ends with the death of the mother. Such cases, given the present standard of hygiene and medical science, are relatively rare. To give special prominence to such exceptional cases can easily have a deterrent effect and

increase anxiety about giving birth." Since the desire for a healthy abundance of children is especially important in time of war, the editorial staffs are requested to see to it that the happily rare case of a mother sacrificing her life for her new-born child is not featured again in the future.⁶⁷

Analyses of popular literature in the Third Reich, therefore, must also proceed on the assumption that the content was subject to strict control by censorship both before and after publication, and consequently to the self-censorship of the author too. From this develops one of the most important perspectives guiding the present method of analysis, a perspective, that is, concerned to articulate the tensions between (a) a form of literature which has hitherto developed through the market, that is, according to the laws of supply and demand, and which can be, indeed is, manipulated by its producers in conformity with the prevailing system - though only, let it be said, within the frame whereby it still satisfies certain legitimate and genuine needs of its readers; and (b) ideological contents which are at least partially opposed to these needs, since their aim is indeed precisely the re-education and hence the changing of those needs.

II. On the Material Selected for Analysis

The following analysis is based on twenty novels. A further twenty-seven were more cursorily considered as a source of corroboration for the conclusions reached. Since it is impossible to survey all the novelettes produced between 1933 and 1945, the choice here must appear rather arbitrary. The selection was made from the following series:

"Romanperlen" series, Verlagshaus für Volksliteratur, Berlin:

No. 41: Um fremde Schuld by L. Eckhardt

No. 69: Schon-Rottraut by Karl Kronek

(and, more cursorily, Nos. 63, 71, 94, 98.)

Published in: 1913, - 14.

No. 1082: Die Schwarze Hanka by Bruno Giersche - henceforth cited as: (1)

" 1081: Hedwig Deinhardts Puppen by Kathe Hubner-Wehn " " (2)

" 1084: Die Stunde der Offenbarung by Karlheinz Arens " " (3)

" 1085: Peter, der Schoffor by Peter Carr " " (4)

" 1086: Ein Schlechter Mensch? by Ilse Romer " " (5)

" 1088: Die Liebe Entscheidet by Fritz Freidonn " " (6)

- No. 1089: Einer vom Berghof by Horst Rolf Volkmann - henceforth cited as: ()
 " 1091: Resi by Hans Lehnert " " (8)

Published in : 1937

"Mignon-Romane" series, Mignon-Verlag, Dresden:

- No. 123: Heimkehr by Rudolf Utsch " " (9)
 " 136: Gerechte Suhne by Paul Bergenholt " " (10)
 " 141: Fahrt in die Heide by Frida Nettelbeck " " (11)
 " 153: Sorge dich nicht, Hansel! by Helene Helbig-Trankner " (12)
 " 154: Der Wille zum Ziel by Otfried von Hanstein " (13)
 " 157: Drei von der Flak by Peter Heinrich Keulers " " (14)

Published in: 1940. The series ended in the same year with No. 158.

"Kelter-Romane" series, Martin Kelter Verlag, Hamburg:

- No. 102: Kleine Schwester Elisabeth by Annegret Hoff " " (15)
 No. 108: Ein Sommer Schule und Liebe by Friedrich Freksa " (16)
 " 118: Ruhm und Liebe by Hans Hyan " " (17)

Published in: 1941. The series ended with No. 118.

"Der Neue Moewig Roman" series, Arthur Moewig Verlag, Dresden:

- No. 17: Heidelindes Erbe by Gerd Rothberg " " (18)
 " 19:der werfe den ersten Stein by Else Sparwasser " (19)
 " 20: Der Fluch des Wolfgang Sonderland by Hermann Gerstmayer (20)

Published in: 1940. The series was broken off in February 1941.

"Romanperlen" ("Pearl Novels") is the oldest series of novelettes in Germany. The publisher Eichler brought out the first series, "Buffalo Bill", in Leipzig in 1905. His model was the 'dime novel' which had been appearing in the USA since 1860 (curiously enough, on the early copies of the "Romanperlen" the price "15c" stands next to the German price). Eichler's novelettes were twenty pages long and cost 20 pfennigs. From 1909 the publisher called this series "Mein Ideal"; the novels were now ninety-six pages long and cost likewise 20 pfennigs. From 1911 the series was called "Romanperlen" and was published by the Verlagshaus fur Volksliteratur und Kunst, later the Neue Verlagshaus fur Volksliteratur, in Berlin.⁶⁹

The earliest number available for this study is No. 43 from the year 1913. When the Neue Verlagshaus fur Volksliteratur ceased to exist in 1940 there disappeared along with No. 1150 the longest series of women's

novelettes in Germany. It had a smaller format than the Groschenroman of today, cost 10 pfennigs in 1913, 20 in 1937. The early novels had a text-illustration in addition to the title-illustration on the front cover, and carried small advertisements on the back cover for tar-soap, guides to beauty, fortune-telling cards, artistic lithographs, bust-developing elixirs, books teaching ready reckoning, dancing, the way to become irresistible. The later novels had only sixty-four pages, no text-illustration and no advertisements.⁷⁰

The rest of the novels were chosen above all because they appeared during the war and at once pose the question of what effect this had on them both contentually and as regards the organization of their production.⁷¹

In addition two series indicate by their names alone their unbroken continuity into postwar Germany: Moewig and Kelter today belong to the five Groschenroman producers who dominate the market in the Bundesrepublik (along with Bastel, Pabel and Marken; the Marken-Verlag in Köln was founded in 1938 and its owner, Fritz Mardicke, himself wrote novelettes under the pseudonym Wolfgang Marken, but production had to be broken off in 1941 owing to his arrest.)⁷²

The Moewig, Kelter and Mignon productions of that period are somewhat larger in format than today's novelettes. Whereas the title-pictures of the "Romanperlen" tend to be scenic, ie. showing the depicted persons' relationship to one another or to an environment in the novel, the title-photos of the other series show, in the majority of cases, large close-up portraits of women's heads, which makes the titles more suggestive and exchangeable. All the novels have sixty-four pages (as they do today), cost 20 and 25 (Kelter) pfennigs and carry no advertisements.

For the text analysis Mignon-Roman No. 154, Der Wille zum Ziel (They Will to Win) by Otfried von Hanstein is presented in detail because it comprises all the characteristic features essentially determining the rest of the novelettes as well.

III. Der Wille zum Ziel as Exemplary Novelettes

Already within the first two pages almost all the important characters have been introduced: the Stettner family, owners of the

Stettner Structural Engineering firm. Elsa, the eldest daughter, has just received her Doctor's degree in engineering, but has to decline her colleagues' invitation to take part in a celebration because she wants to stay at home with the family to await the father's news of whether he has got the contract for the building of a stadium in Augsburg. Only this can save the firm from bankruptcy.

Elsa Stettner held out her hand with a warm smile to the slim, extremely tall - and hence always slightly stooping - Dr. Walter Schonau, who always made a rather restrained impression [...]. The lovely Resi, blond hair bobbed, [the sister] was laughing. "Elsa, I'd get rid of him if I were you. Heavens, what a beanpole he is, and bent as a fiddlestick too, and awlward - you'd think he couldn't count to three!" Resi had meanwhile sat down at the window and was putting some stitches in her Sunday-best hat.

Elsa, tall, slim and rather pale and, in spite of her doctor's title, completely feminine - only very serious - sat down in a corner with her book. The door was opened and in from the next room came Andres, the eldest son. He too was tall and slim and had a rather jaded, not especially clever face [...]. Now Gustl, the younger eighteen year-old brother, came storming in through the front door. "Terrific - we Nurembergers beat the Augsburg soccer team brilliantly." (pp. 1-12)

During the wait a discussion breaks out about the future of the firm. The unsympathetically drawn Andres has no faith in the survival of the family business and would prefer his financially stronger uncle Alois to take over the factory.

"Because father is a stubborn fool. Because he doesn't see that he can't go on working without capital. Because he won't accept uncle Alois's offer. Heaven knows, if I had the choice between a secure position as branch director in the Alois Hollerbach firm and being an independent, hopeless bungler, I would have sold the works to uncle long ago." For the first time Elsa looked up from her book. "Just because you have no ambition. Because you don't understand what it means for a father to give up his firm, which our own great-grandfather founded." (p. 2)

The contract goes to Stettners, but the father has a fatal accident on the journey home. Although the firm now seems finally certain to go to the uncle, the will reveals the father's last wish, namely that the factory remain with the family. Against the will of the mother, the elder brother and of course the uncle, Elsa declares herself ready to carry on the business.

Her face, though not really beautiful, held an expression of strength and energy. (p.7)

At the firm she encounters difficulties in the form of the senior clerk Wildermuth:

He was a small, thin, prematurely wizened man of about sixty. He had grey hair, an unkempt grey goatee, and in all his movements there was always something hasty. From the beginning already as a child, Elsa had had a feeling of aversion to this man with the sharp eyes which looked out restlessly through his glasses. She knew too that Gotthold Wildermuth was disliked by the workers, but her father had always set great store by him [...] and he addressed her neither as 'Fraulein Doktor' nor 'Gnadiges Fraulein'. (p.8)

He too advises her to let the uncle have the factory, since in eight days 5000 marks in wages have to be paid, which they haven't got.

The Augsburg councillor, who brings the first instalment on the stadium, cannot help either, since this money may not be used to pay old debts; although Elsa begs:

"Look, councillor, that's my great-grandfather up there, who founded the works. A hundred and fifty years ago. It's my duty" [...] The councillor looked in wonder at the girl, whose eyes shone with a holy energy. (p. 11).

Meanwhile the uncle has paid a bill of the Stettner works which has fallen due and is holding a knife at Elsa's throat. At which point there appears Walter Schonau, who starts by getting hold of a good accountant. It turns out that 30,000 marks have been embezzled by Wildermuth, bringing the factory to the verge of ruin. Then, just as Elsa is about to sell to the uncle after all, Schonau arrives with an inheritance he has just received, the same amount as the sum required. And at the same time he confesses his love to Elsa.

For a moment Elsa fought with herself. There on the table lay the thousand-mark notes which could save her, and there stood this good man and wasn't even afraid that he might lose his money, only that she might not take it. Her eyes ran over him involuntarily. She knew how clever, how inwardly remarkable this man was, even when he now stood rather carelessly before her. There was an expression of expectation on his angular, by no means handsome, yet good face, and a ray of warmth shot through her. (p. 16)

The uncle gets his money. Despite his having bribed the senior clerk, they just manage to prevent him from acquiring the factory by means of the proxies which have not yet been cancelled. There are difficulties too with the mother, who feels herself overrun by Elsa. As Gustl relates:

"There was a big row [...] and finally mother said she wants absolutely nothing to do with all that; she doesn't even want to be my legal guardian either. She said you could be that now that you have taken everything out of her hands." (p.23)

Elsa asks herself whether she really loves Walter:

Did she love him at all? He had been a dear friend to her; she esteemed him, yes, but until now the thought had never occurred to her that she could love him. She had lived only for her studies and given no thought at all to love and marriage. (p. 24)

Then when the junior clerk has to be dismissed ~~as well~~ for dishonesty, and the senior engineer for laziness, the positive drawn family members Gustl and Resi fill the gaps together with a promising young man from the engineering section, Werner Meinhardt: youth to the fore. Things start looking up for the firm. Walter Schonau has found a job with the South German Motorworks in Munich, where he is to direct production of the extra-light aeroplane motor he has invented. When he wants now to marry Elsa there is a conflict.

"I know a really delightful little villa [...] There we will live, there you will be my dear, beloved spirit of the house." Elsa looked fixedly at him and said quite softly, "And my factory?" [...] "But you can't stay the Fraulein Direktor of the factory for ever [...] Elsa, that's not the life meant for a woman [...] I just don't know why you're speaking so irritably. Didn't you count on the fact that you would have to follow me when you became my wife?" "I have never thought of giving up my father's work, which has become my own life's work." "Don't you love me then?" "Please, don't mix up two completely different concepts." But if you loved me you wouldn't hesitate for a moment to follow me." "But you love me too, and although I have asked you to come to me and join my factory, you refuse to do that." "That is something completely different.. A man cannot give up his profession." "And I don't want to either. With the running of this inherited business I have taken up a task which I can't lay aside uncompleted. It has become a sacred mission, whose fulfilment is more important than my personal freedom from cares." "Then why did you get engaged to me?" [...] "Because I believed that we would go through life together like two brave good comrades, that together we would continue my father's work [...] Shall I become a deserter now?" [...] "Look, I can share everything with others, but not the woman I love. Not with any one. With no other man and not with any factory either. My wife must belong to me, to me alone completely." (pp. 35-6)

Elsa lets him go for the moment.

He loved her so deeply and yet he did not understand her [...] did not understand that she couldn't have helped calling herself a deserter if she had done it. (p. 36)

Werner Meinhardt's father offers her capital so as to give his son a share in the factory:

"My son wrote me a long letter [...] He is full of enthusiasm, and he thinks it's all fine and good but you need money. Yes indeed, money. And that if you had money then, God knows, the Stettner works would become something." (p. 39)

As Meinhardt is considering what they could invest in -

"Look, a business has to be built on something really special. There's more than enough iron foundries. That's how I made my fortune, by producing special things with patents which nobody but me possessed." (p. 40)

- Elsa thinks of Walter's motors:

"And you know that the future belongs to the aeroplane. You know that the speed of an aeroplane depends on the power of the motors and that the motor's own great weight is a main defect of construction today. Herr Doktor Walter Schonau has just made a discovery which makes it possible to produce motors made from a mixture of light metals.- Duralumin, Aladur and Elektron - which he has tested; motors which are not only physically light but, what's more, very stable, and which are not driven by petrol either...." (p. 41).

Elsa drives to Munich to win Schonau for the factory.

"Do you see that I can't give up father's work, that I can't be a deserter from the business, but that I must work, produce, and make my factory prosperous - surely you will have said that to yourself by now [...] Surely we want to go through life together and support one another like two brave good comrades [...] because yesterday, quite unhelped for, good luck, the great chance came to me. You know that without capital we can't climb up [...] Now you don't need the motor works any more. The money they would swallow can be earned by the Stettner works too. My father built motors before. The machines for it are there, the casting-furnaces too. You can drop the people here [...] Of course you will earn the same, and then we will really start exploiting your invention!" (p. 45)

When Schonau suspects that she is only after his invention, she is insulted:

"You wanted me to give up everything, to sacrifice my duty and my work; I wanted to build our life's work hand in hand together with you - shame on you, Walter!" (p. 47).

Old Meinhardt tries to comfort her:

"The question is really whether such an unusual woman as you, who has such masculine talents and gifts, should marry at all. On the other hand, any man who's a real man would also want to be number one in the home and wouldn't be satisfied with the role of Prince Consort." (p. 48).

Schonau, on Meinhardt's advice -

"You've harmed yourself financially by that too, for in fact you would surely have been joint owner of everything, not only an employee." (p. 52).

- joins the Stettner Works after all, without, however, making it up with Elsa.

The more the weeks went by the more decisive, energetic and masculine Elsa's whole character became. She mastered herself and her feelings. The more she still suffered at times from memories, the more energetically she fought against them. It was that indeed that had inhibited her before, this being torn to and fro between the bride's feminine softness and masculine activity. (p. 56).

But she is comforted when she goes through the factory:

What a proud feeling it was, when Elsa walked past the heaped ruins of demolished sheds, between which the spacious modern extensions were rising up, on through the workshops in which the furnaces glowed, the molten ore flowed in streams, mighty cranes swung the filled casting-troughs back and forth high above the heads of the half-naked workers, the punching machines cut grindingly into the hard metal and the hammers rushed thudding down [...] Elsa had changed. She looked young and fresh again. Her eyes were sharp and clear, but her face had acquired a hard, almost masculine expression. It was a long time since anyone had shown surprise at who the owner was. When strange gentlemen came and smirked quietly to themselves because a woman was now in charge, they soon had to strike sail in the face of her cool efficiency. (pp. 57-8).

When Resi gets engaged to young Meinhardt, a change takes place in Elsa:

When she looked into the beaming, laughing face of her sister, the memory rose up in her and all at once she found it difficult to work. Something completely different would have satisfied her more now, yes, would have made her happy. (p. 62).

Elsa makes up with Schonau:

"So I'll say to you again today the same as I said then: let us be like two good comrades who are honestly fond of one another and go through life together. Let us work and create together, and love and respect each other in our way." (p. 63).

Beneath the Christmas tree the solution for the future is depicted:

They stood beneath it - two couples. The one young, carefree and happy in their radiant beauty, the other two mature people, who had fought one another until they were able to understand one another [...]. She [Elsa] knew that Walter had finally understood her, and she was ready too to give to him, the man, what was the man's by right. And as the glasses clinked it was for her as if she saw into the future: the factory there in Glockenhofstrasse would become a proud, mighty works which gave bread and work to hundreds and in whose building she and Walter, Werner and Resi and Gustl had an equal share. She herself would then withdraw more and more from the running of the works and hand it over to Werner and her husband. For there awaited her other, more beautiful duties, for of course she also wanted to have children. She would become a mother and would absent herself from her new circle of duties as little as she had from that of the present, the legacy of her father, the Stettner Works. Her present task, then, was already fulfilled after all in the best sense of the word[...] "Long live the Stettners, the Schonaus and the Meinhardts, old and young!" "And the future generations!" (pp. 63-4).

In Der Wille zum Ziel there are two conflicts propelling the plot; they can be generally formulated thus:

(1) The subjective need to integrate oneself socially as a socially productive being, and the objective forces opposing this.

(2) The conflict between the two forms of individuality which society offers as matrices of integration.

These contradictions which, on this level of abstraction, hold true of all hitherto existing societies characterized by the division of labour, find specific concrete form in the novelette.

The Stettners are the owners of means of production and belong therefore to the bourgeois class. The same is true of the other novelettes, 6 per cent of which are socially situated in the nobility, 18 per cent in the industrial bourgeoisie, 51 per cent in the middle bourgeoisie (e.g. owners of businesses, farmers, inn landlords, academics), 13 per cent in an artistic milieu, and 12 per cent in the stratum of salaried employees. As in the modern Groschenroman, there is no novel set in the working class.

The popular novel of the NS period is therefore a wholly bourgeois novel in the sense that only this class is positively depicted. The nobility, when it is thematized at all, appears mostly as a negative counter-image, as a historically superseded species portrayed as

lazy, in debt, morally lax and arrogant in its class pride. It can only continue to exist through economic and emotional (love) fusions with the bourgeoisie.

Compared with the Groschenromane of both the Kaiserreich and today which in both cases take place predominantly in the circles of high finance and the nobility, the popular novel in the National Socialist period moves very much closer to the class situation of its readers. It seems in a certain sense to have become more 'realistic'.⁷⁴ This impression is strengthened by the fact that all the novels without exception are located in actual, geographically existing places. They play in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Breslau, Magdeburg, Wiesbaden, Dusseldorf, Chemnitz, Nuremberg, Munich, Bonn, in the Tyrol and in the Rheinland. Whereas in the novelettes of the Kaiserreich the plot is set primarily in non-specific castles and manors or (vaguely) America, In East Indies, etc, and today likewise in some kind of feudal edifice and equally vaguely characterized cities, towns and villages.

On the other hand the NS novelette has an almost complete lack of indications of time. And whereas with the pre- and post-Fascist popular novel this tends to reinforce the fantastic quality of the ambience, which is not definitely identifiable but quite clearly imaginable as somewhere, in the NS novelette it induces a slightly schizoid mood. This is intensified especially in the novelettes which appear during the war. When it doesn't present itself explicitly as a historical novel, the Groschenroman generally pretends, almost always, to be present-day, since otherwise the reader couldn't respond with such 'interested' escapism.⁷⁵ For in the reading consciousness two levels of interpretation oscillate in continual reciprocity: that of knowing one is reading a fictional text, and that of assuring oneself that what is narrated could quite possibly occur in actual reality; that is - as a minimal demand as it were - that logically at least it doesn't contradict the daily experience of the reader.⁷⁷ The aesthetic pleasure only seems to be guaranteed when the fictionality of the text is continuously penetrated by the reading consciousness's ceaseless reference to reality.⁷⁸

Since precisely the fact of war leaves no moment of social life untouched by its presence, its absence from a supposedly actual text must strike the reader as a deficit. On the other hand, however, war as such involves scarcely any positive moments concerned with man

in his private, non-public capacity, moments which seem nevertheless to a certain extent indispensable precisely for relaxation and entertainment. In this, indeed, we already encounter one of the boundaries of the Groschenroman form, beyond which it can no longer exist. The Groschenroman of the Third Reich solves the problem in one of three ways: (1) it gives no specifications of time and leaves the reader to place it 'tacitly' in the past; (2) the novel dates itself explicitly in the past, thus becoming a more or less distant historical novel; (3) the war is brought into the novel insofar as moments of it can be separated out as susceptible of some kind of positive representation. During the war the Groschenroman opts mostly for the first solution, thus appearing the same as in the pre-war period. This is the case with Der Wille zum Ziel.

This deficit as regards realism is of course compensated for. Whereas in the traditional Groschenromane⁷⁹ people appear above all as private people, their conflicts being produced by, and largely solved in, their private lives, the National Socialist novelette concentrates to an incomparably greater extent on the public and professional sphere.

In capitalism, as a result of exploitation, the division of labour and alienation, the subject is split sharply into the private and the public, whereby precisely the public dimension, through the professional situation being subordinated to the partial and private interest of capital, is inverted into its total opposite (e.g. through factory legislation, legal restriction of civil servants' scope for political action, etc.).

Hence the worker feels himself only when he is not working; when he is working he does not feel himself. He is at home when he is not working, and not at home when he is working. [...] The result is that man (the worker) feels that he is acting freely only in his animal functions - eating, drinking and procreating, or at most in his dwelling and adornment - while in his human functions he is nothing more than an animal.

It is true that eating, drinking and procreating, etc., are also genuine human functions. However, when abstracted from other aspects of human activity and turned into final and exclusive ends, they are animal.⁸⁰

In his precisely private reading of the popular novelette the reader, seeking compensation for his public-professional alienation, is once again referred to the purely private domain. The Groschenroman thereby reproduces a strategy of capitalist ideology: the refusal

of the claim for human fulfilment in and through the labour process and the diversion of this demand into the individual, isolated private life with its thus overtaxed institutions for 'fulfilment' - love, marriage, family, leisure and consumption.⁸¹ This ideology tries then to divert the claim for fulfilment and happiness - always potentially subversive of the societies which deny it - into system-sustaining channels, though in doing so it must, precisely, silently acknowledge that claim. A humanist-materialist theory, however, stresses that this claim, the degree of whose general realization is the measure of a society's emancipation and progressiveness, can only be satisfied through the total social elimination of alienated labour, the split into public and private being thereby unmasked and abolished as a false polarization.

At the same time, even in capitalist societies the private domain still offers the possibility of developing dispositions which resist alienation and reification: recesses not yet wholly claimed by the incrustations of a working world of competition and production under pressure, and which thus still preserve an element of hope, of criticism and utopia. The NS popular novelette, however, does not of course centre on these 'recesses' in order to work out from them towards changing the status quo of a wretched public life, but in order to endorse that status quo once again and from that perspective confiscate the private sphere too.

The first page of Der Wille zum Ziel already shows Elsa Stettner's typical conflict between private (the celebration of her doctorate) and professional (waiting for the contract). She decides however for her profession, as she continues to do later too, not because of a personal striving for self-realization, but from a sense of duty to her great-grandfather and the family business. Self-interest, then, is not sufficient motivation for the actions of the hero or heroine. Thus Schonau's interest in the exploitation of his invention must likewise be explained in terms of an objective other than that of his own personal prosperity. Elsa wants the patent from him and says: "Give me the patent. Our firm will use the discovery. Don't you at least want to provide for your mother and her old age?" (p. 55). Apart from this instance, however, the old mother never appears again in the novel and thus has a purely rhetorical function.

In order to justify itself the interest of private capital must lose its autonomy and become a factor of the common good. "The factory gives hundreds bread and work." For this common good, which seems best furthered together with private property, Elsa renounces her private happiness "with that feeling which only dutiful work is able to give". (p. 31). The continuous stressing of the sanctity of duty, energy and mission, the constant imploring of oneself not to be a "deserter", points to the obfuscatory legitimization of the personal quest for profit by harnessing it towards a higher end and consecrating it as sacred: Elsa fulfils the holy duty of the soldier on the production front.

But, to adapt Brecht's question, does she fulfil it alone? She is helped by the positively drawn members of the family. Consequently we find it being said at a family celebration that now "the whole firm is together" (p. 32). Workers appear only as appendages of machines, part of the decor and rhythm of the work process. Elsa is the "employer" and always speaks of "my factory".

She seems to do so with justification, overcoming as she does every obstacle and above all her main enemy, big capital, embodied in uncle Alois, whose delight it is to swallow small businesses like the Stettner works in order to expand and monopolize. Elsa demonstrates, by contrast, that it's not a question of capital but of youthful dynamism and - an inheritance.

Moreover in the last analysis it was not uncle Alois's rival capital as capital that threatened the firm's existence, but the criminal character of the uncle, the chief clerk and his assistant, which proves that family property is only destroyed by capital in corrupt human hands. When Elsa herself invests later and the factory comes to dominate the market, it affords only delight to all concerned.

What we in fact find condensed here is the socio-economic propaganda with which National Socialism lured its bourgeois voters above all: - private ownership of the means of production as the economic basis of the state.

- this in turn as a consequence of the abilities of the gifted individual.
- the fight against capitalism in the form of money-lending, usury, finance capitalism and monopoly capitalism.
- subordination of the individual to the whole.

These moments are to be found singly or combined in all the Groschenromane examined. They belong to a set of ideologems which at once answers and veils the basic contradiction between capital and labour.

IV. Ideological Dispositions

Private property and the work ethos

Common to all Groschenromane of this century is the unquestioned basis of the individual in private property, guaranteed by the bourgeois family. It is justified by the liberalistic ideologem of the gifted, dedicated person who will inherit the earth, who rises from dishwasher/shoeshine boy to millionaire on the strength of sheer personal industry. Whereas the non-NS novelettes mostly only mention this industry (they too being forced of course to this justification of property), but without demonstrating it, rather turning at once to the realm of the good life, the deserved reward, the NS novel does quite the reverse.

The work now becomes central, the good life and personal happiness being earned through hardship and extreme difficulty, and only at the very end of the novelette. The actual producers of social wealth, the workers, remain absent. Instead, the general model of work and success presented is one which in reality is still valid only for a small group - the private entrepreneur who works himself together with his family - and which is, moreover, historically superseded. The corollary ideologem of the gifted individual who prevails over the market against the competition is a theoretical construct of 18th/19th century liberalistic capitalism, which must of necessity pass over into monopoly capitalism - destroying the individual private entrepreneurs en masse in the process - in order to guarantee the economic basis of that society, the private ownership of the means of production.

In spite of its anachronistic nature, however, as an ideological weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie this model loses none of its effectiveness, since it still seems applicable to certain economic groups whose economic practice is indeed objectively anachronistic because pre- or early capitalist (academics, artists, farmers, and to some extent tradesmen and various service professions). Moreover it offers itself especially as a model for explaining social laws, since it is an object of cognition sensuously perceived, without the theoretical perception having to overtax itself far more strenuously with abstract laws.

It becomes a most effective instrument against the claims of the masses who create the surplus-value, since through it the private owners appear as the true producers and the products of co-operative social work are presented as the result of exclusively individual achievement.

The invention of the new aeroplane motor is the product solely of the outstanding research abilities of Walter Schonau, whose workplace is the private laboratory in which he works completely alone, for himself. In Resi the entrepreneur's son, Eugen Bender, sets up a private laboratory for himself in a newly acquired mountain cabin so as to be able to ski and work at the same time. Again class privilege is coupled with personal attainment in **work** as a quid pro quo.

"And whether it's a relaxation or not, I can't live without work, since for me work is the purpose of life." (8, p. 5).

And to his bride, his little female luxury, he says:

"How often have I already told you that for me work is the purpose of life. I simply cannot imagine a life without work, without creation [...] It's precisely through working that I create fresh energies, Only still waters stagnate, those which flow stay fresh and clear" [...] Should he give up all his work, his precious creativity, only to devote himself to his bride? (p. 9)

The establishment and securing of one's existence as the result and reward of personal achievement through work, and hence the proof of its legitimacy - this becomes the dominant theme of the novelettes considered (2,6,7,8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18). The cause of this capacity to achieve ("From early morning till late into the night she had been tirelessly busy [...] Through many weeks Hedwig mastered the load of work alone [...] Only when her eyes closed did she retire to rest." 2, pp. 10-11) is not, to be sure, traced back further through insight into the laws of social behaviour, but merely acknowledged in its facticity and thus biologically anchored. It may be done in Lamarckian terms -

And it was in the garden, where the spirit of his ancestors came upon him, that the builder and engineer in him awoke. (9, p. 30)

Neist's father heard nothing more. "My spirit is beginning to work in him," he thought to himself, "my blood commands him. Until today I thought he was a born soldier, but in reality he too is an entrepreneur." (ibid., p. 35)

"I thought to myself: you must stick to iron, for manufacturing, and trading in iron are still in your blood from your ancestor. People like us wouldn't know where to begin with sausage or bacon or textiles." (ibid., p. 29)

- or by an appeal to innate intelligence:

"Look, when I started out like that I had absolutely nothing, apart from my farm [!]. And the farm was heaped with debts. And so the two of us, your mother and I, worked and scraped and turned every penny twice. Of course you need a bit of brains for it too. And then little by little it just grew. Once you've got something to start with the rest follows naturally." (17, p. 2.)

"Old Tattenbach, my foster-father, is a very clever man, a peasant with the intelligence to understand all that was necessary to become the owner of a great brickworks and a multi-millionaire." (ibid., p.7)

By attributing the abilities and successes of the elite to biological dispositions, social-historical circumstances are reduced to eternal and immutable natural facts.

Hence also any idiosyncratic humanist concern for injustice is disavowed. When the heroine, a famous filmstar, expresses sympathy for the bad working conditions of the extras, the hero answers:

"That's the way it is. Whoever has the ability, whoever excels, lives under different conditions from the mass - it's the age-old law of supply and demand." (17, p.16)

But there are obstacles in the way of activity, industry and intelligence. No one knows that better than the novelette reader, since he encounters these contradictions daily in his own person. Being scarcely ever theoretically and emotionally situated to recognize the objective laws generating these contradictions, he arrives at no appropriate praxis directed towards their potential abolition. The powerlessness to control one's own social life with human dignity is understood in everyday terms as fate or chance - an objective cause is acknowledged as indeed existing but insuperable. This contradiction is directly reflected in almost all Groschenromane as the motive conflict between the ultimately impotent and passive protagonists and blindly striking forces (love or the loss of love, accidents, storms,

illness, crime), which then end, however, by helping the protagonists to their due after all in the equally arbitrary happy end (which is necessary only as regards the novelette's belonging formally to this series). The crippling pessimism produced by the recognition of objective but uncontrollable forces is thus powerfully counterpointed, as it were, by a kind of ruse of the rational, in the very last (happy) analysis.

A capitalistic anti-capitalism

Alongside this plot-structure the NS novelette foregrounds, in intensified form, a second. The main obstacle for Elsa Strittner's construction works was capital, first as a lack of working capital and then as the threat of monopoly capital. Both belong dialectically together as moments of the same economic process. The novelette shows this in the fact that 'capital' can mean both things, and can be used manipulatively either for apologetic purposes in the case of Elsa's working capital, or critically against uncle Alois's monopoly capital. What is always represented positively is the money which the hero needs to build up an existence.

The next concern was to find capital in this money-hungry time when people wanted God-forbidden interest and cast-iron security. But Karl Neist needed capital. He needed machines and workers to produce cheaper and faster. (9. p.35)

"I'll help you, Karl. Capital is the blood of business."
(ibid, p. 42)

"Aswell as what I've got in the bank I still have at my disposal over 1000 marks which Walter's firm so generously transferred to me." [...] "You can count on our financial support any time, Hedy, for at the beginning you'll have to reckon on more outlay than income." (2, p. 10)

The more powerful rival capital threatening the hero, however, is always denounced as anonymous and negative monopoly capital.

It was a cunning agent who had set the company on his back [...] Neist's father knew that the company needed Glucksberg, for his mines lay between two of the company's [...] The directors of the company could already see well enough what was coming and were looking for really valuable future assets for war-profits. (9, pp.12-3)

The newly opened business [a department store] attracted an ever bigger crowd of customers because you could buy things more cheaply there than at Hedwig's. Suddenly the people didn't care whether the crocheted and knitted little dresses and coats were the result of labourous, self-designed handwork or inferior factory products. (2, p. 32).

The 'anticapitalistic' moment moves right to the centre of the novel Gerechte Suhne [Just Atonement], where the attempt is made to conduct the historically necessary critique through the partial phenomenon of money-lending and usury, a historically anachronistic form of capitalism exemplified by the negative hero Peter Uhlein.

Uhlein's whole concern was the money-bag, not the inner order of the world.[...] The people[...] said to themselves, though, now that they had gradually come to know him inside and out, that precisely in this general state of need Uhlein's garden would blossom [...] And Uhlein had left another thing out of his reckoning [...] namely that others were exploiters like him. There were capitalists of his stamp everywhere.[...] So what did these foolish, stupid people want to do against an economic order which was founded precisely on the power of money and not only on that, but also on the view that money is synonymous with power and happiness! For heaven's sake, the way of this world would always triumph! (10, p. 45)

A conversation at the local almost assumes the form of a theoretical discussion as it strives to negotiate the contradiction of simultaneously criticizing and affirming capitalism:

"One doesn't need more than is necessary for life," said Dr. Brune quietly. "About how much would that be then?" sneered Uhlein. "It will always vary," replied Brune. "Oh, so it will vary after all," laughed Peter arrogantly. "Of course. For one person will already be satisfied if he has twelve or fifteen hundred a year. Alright, I admit that another may need more according to his situation. But if he has, let's say, three or five or even six thousand a year, then that's damned sufficient...I mean, there are limits which you can calculate pretty exactly." "I wish I had just half of that," laughed one. "Just a quarter would suit me too," said another. "Ah, but therein lies just the difference," added a third. "How so, what difference?" Uhlein wanted to know. "Precisely the difference between you and us," rang out the confused chorus of replies. Brune looked seriously at Uhlein. "We only want what is necessary. You want still more. You can't live better than you already do with your means. That much you'll admit, I hope? So you only want to possess more in order to have more power. You want to be master with the others slaves to your money. You want to oppress. And there's the fundamental difference between us: you make the jump from necessary to very unnecessary capital." (p.46)

The novels, then, endorse 'creative' capital and condemn 'avaricious' capital. But it is nevertheless already evident from the novelettes themselves, if one reads them, as it were, against the grain, that what is successfully creative capital for one is always avaricious capital for the others. In capitalism the advancement of one's own existence is necessarily bound up, on an ever-increasing scale, with the simultaneous destruction of the lives of others.

Since in the interest of the status quo this law can neither be recognized nor adequately represented with the literary techniques of the Groschenroman so far developed, it is personalized and the contradictions objectively produced by it in the novel are thus explained in terms of individual temperament, and hence solved through subjective decisions (or, as in the example above, explained in terms of consumption instead of production). The objective law of smaller capital being absorbed by big capital, the destruction of the middle classes by economic concentration, is countered by the Groschenroman on the level of private benevolence. If one inquires as to the provenance of the capital, then it is mostly inherited. When it amounts to millions, however, it always turns out to be the result of that same process of concentration which is supposed to be on trial in the novels. This belmish is meant to be disguised by the deliberately modest life-style of its possessor and the ridiculously petty amounts of the critical sums over which the conflicts take place. As the explanation in the novelettes of where it actually comes from, capital can always only point tautologously to itself (as 'inheritance'), for the question as to the original accumulation and its consequences is forbidden.⁸²

The negative nature of the 'avaricious' capital and its origin are explained in terms of the moral failings of its owner. Not only are uncle Alois and the accountants criminals, but Neist Senior's competitor Krauert too, who finally ruins him - though only after the company, with its directors greedy for war-profits, had already struck first (9). "Through the misfortune of his employer, for which he himself bore the greatest guilt, he had now suddenly become a factory owner." (*ibid.*, p. 13) The justified critique of the way the individual's life is destroyed (in the widest sense) by the power of capital is cleverly exploited in the Fascistic popular novelette, inas much as it is applied to anachronistic examples, so that the contemporary instances become all the more invisible. The sizes of the amounts of capital and of the exploited workforces belong, as total social averages, to the manufacture period, in which the relations between capital and labour were indeed of a more personal kind.

Through these historical falsifications the Fascistic Groschenroman suggests the possibility of the abolition of capitalist exploitation as a fight against single individuals instead of as a transformation of the basis which produces such individuals in the first place.

When the pernicious effects of monopoly capital, in the guise of the wicked anti-hero, are shown above all through the story of the good hero, and when the latter's positive qualities in connection with 'creative capital' are guaranteed by his transcending his personal advantage in the interest of the social whole, then villain and monopoly capital simultaneously become criminals against that whole.

Only now did it become fully apparent what a destructive parasite Uhlein had been to them in every respect. (10, p. 58)

Which is why Uhlein's wife, the positive counter-figure, sorts ill with him:

A woman with a social conscience just couldn't belong to a completely selfish man. (ibid., p. 56)

But why one person has a social conscience and another is selfish can only be explained by "predatory instincts" (loc. cit.) or a "corrupt soul" (9, p. 62). The private acquisition of wealth, mostly transmitted from generation to generation within the same class - real social climbers are rare - must then be legitimized in terms of a pre-stabilized harmony of common interest and self-interest. (In thirteen of the twenty novels the family inheritance of a legacy plays an important narrative role; of also f.n. 82). Thus we find in Resi:

"Of course, as you just said, my experiments absorb me completely, Papa. Just imagine to yourself what it would mean for everyone if these experiments should be successful." (8, p. 1)

In Heimkehr [Homecoming] the rich uncle helps the poor anonymously through the vicar:

"Since God (!) gave me wealth I regard it as my duty to administer it on his behalf. I myself do not need the money, so I give it to others who are in need of it [...]. You (the vicar) must remain my proxy, for if you quit or betray me then you will doing the most atrocious harm to the poorest of the poor." (9, pp. 50-1)

This prestabilized harmony makes particular class-interests superfluous and the forms of their pursuit obsolete. To confirm this the National Socialist Groschenroman demonstrates the social responsibility of the privileged, preferably in terms of the relationship of master and servant, which, as a general model of social dependence, certainly belongs to the past, but which, because of the personal nature of the ties, serves the propagandist

demonstration of humanity in exploitative relationships better than the more abstract relationship between capitalist and worker. The picture thus drawn is an idyll of class peace. Since the novels proceed on the assumption that the gifted and dedicated person must of necessity succeed by virtue of innate, natural abilities, the social hierarchy must necessarily reflect a natural ranking - though this can only be acknowledged as a natural law, not discussed or criticized. Accordingly the lower classes no longer have any higher demands and are satisfied with what they have, which in most cases is just what satisfied their organic needs:

The sun burned down, the people were outdoors on the meadows and fields. Farmhands brought endless big kettles of good coffee out into the fields for the thirsty to drink. Now and then there was even a barrel of beer. Then the people smiled contentedly. They were well looked after, there was no doubt about it. And the good cuts of meat, which the innkeeper's wife in Wellrode had prepared for them, weren't to be sneezed at either. People worked away tirelessly and the faces of all were calm and contented. A couple of pale lads from the town were there too. And could they eat! It was simply unbelievable what they bolted down. The rest watched, laughing. They had all been a long time here already and with the continual supply of good food were no longer so starved. Many a one gladly gave some of his share to another. If the master came, then he was delighted at the harmony that prevailed among the people. (18, p. 14.)

The recommendation that the lower classes be satisfied with the little they have becomes still more evident in passages like the following, where the possibility of social dissatisfaction is expressly verbalized in order to be repudiated all the more emphatically:

Manda locked the front door, rattled the handle once more to make sure everything was quite alright, and then ran her right hand over her blue silk dress, her pride and joy. She was not envious, no, such a feeling was utterly unknown to her - what should she be envious of? There was Fraulein Cochius on the one hand and here Amanda Benthien on the other, each with her own way of life. Her life (Amanda's) was there in the house and had many cares and needs, but it had joys too, and today she had left the house behind her and had the sunny health before her, and a whole long wonderful holiday. Does she want more? Nonsense, Manda Benthien wants nothing more for herself. (11, p. 23)

The good will shown from below is rewarded by that shown from above. Though the social responsibility of the privileged shows itself not, of course, on the material level as directed towards the abolition of alienated and exploited labour, but rather in the ethical sphere, as an esteem for the subordinates on the ideal plane of the work-

ethos.

Behind the gardens loom the winding towers, and the red chimneys trumpet up into the heavens with their black breath the song of the brave mineworkers. (14, p. 1.)

Just as the work ethos semi-annobles, as it were, the lower classes, so conversely it seems to incorporate the ruling classes into the work-front as if it were their actual place. Sporadic involvements in work prove them to be members of the workers, and the high level of their performance legitimizes their privileged position, which likes to present itself as that of primus inter pares:

...once a heavy storm began to rise. Then he (the master) did his own share with a vengeance. How well he worked! The farmworkers watched him. None of them could load so much on a fork and then lift it so high up onto the already laden cart (...). And the master worked on with them. Then the last cart was caught by it after all. It poured down in streams (...). The farmworker walked along beside the cart. The master walked by the side of the young lad. Then suddenly he took the reins and whip out of his hands. "Go to the others, Franz, you've just been ill. There's no need for you to get wet to the skin." (...) They stood in the barn and looked after the cart. "He is a goodman. And a dedicated man," said the old foreman who had been working in Wellrode since his confirmation. (18, pp 14-5)

Here the conditions of work are not represented as the results of work in an economic system based on increasing the rates of profit through the extortion of unpaid surplus labour, but positively, as an emanation of the moral qualities of individual representatives of the ruling class. Apart from their delight in, and capacity for work, the ideal nature of their character is shown above all in their lack of class pride, which at its most insistent is meant to indicate an ethical quality.

Frieder Ward struck up an understanding with the workers at once. In spite of his select style of dress and his superior manner in social intercourse, the people all liked the tall, broad-shouldered man. He impressed them all with his strength, but still more by the genial, elegant manner with which he met everyone, rich and poor alike. And perhaps they sensed that he was of the same breed [!] as them. A worker like them, a strong, conscientious and just man who gave everyone his due. (17, p.10)

As a rule the miners couldn't really stand elegantly dressed gentlemen, but they worshipped Neist. For Neist was without pride - he liked using the dialect of the county, spoke to everybody as if he was his equal, even occupied himself with the family affairs of his men. And then of course they appreciated his generous nature. He never

thought twice about standing them a barrel of beer at the end of the month if the target had been reached. (9, p.5)

But the portrait of the good patriarch is drawn most clearly where even the wage-disputes are solved benevolently from above in the interests of the workers:

Neist knew how to run a mine [...] He was a generous man, who never let his men go home with lean pay-packets. Hence people came gladly from the great iron barons' mines to him. (9, p.4)

"Melitta has already told me. The men on the excavator want five marks a week more. Well, we've got two excavators running, so that's twelve men, that's sixty marks more per week. That makes no difference to the budget. And you stand there and start a row with the workers, whom we can rely completely after all, and who should have had a raise long ago. And you go making yourself ill and contracting God knows what." (17, p.9)

- thus the hero scolds his foster-father, the millionaire, when the workers strike. The foster-father, of course, does not refuse the money on financial grounds, which would be logically scarcely possible given the slight sum demanded, but because he "doesn't like being dictated to." Thus all the novels set up, as the solution for class-conflict, a 'partnership' model in which everyone pulls together and sits in the same boat, "where it shouldn't matter whether it's as oarsman or steersman."⁸⁴ The realization of this harmony, however, depends solely on the good will of all participants - the day-dream of the bourgeois reader, recommended for internalization to the proletarian.

Demand for happiness versus fulfilment of duty

The moral legitimization of the socially privileged on the grounds of their intact social conscience receives its strongest impulse from their capacity to fulfil their duty by denying their own claim to happiness and, if necessary, sacrificing themselves.

Thus in the last analysis the parallelism of self-interest and common interest is proved by the potential subordination of the former to the latter. The intensity of the suffering becomes the measure of the justification of social leadership. The propagandizing of duty and sacrifice makes the protagonists, like those of the Fascistic soldier-novels, stoic heroes on the home-front (like Elsa St tner).

We are not only in the world for pleasure, but to do our duty and to fill the post in which we are placed with all our might. (2, p.48)

The novels are so pervaded by this ethic that even animals evidently cannot escape it:

But Wellrode strode beside the horses, stroking the back of the horse near him and thereby calming the other two at the same time. Quietly and full of their sense of duty the two powerful horses pulled the wagon home. (18, p.15)

Where this training in duty and sacrifice is actually leading becomes clearer in two of the novels:

And yet she could not go to him. She had her duty to do now. Now more than ever, when the war against Poland was underway, when every single horse would be mobilized for relief duty. (15, p. 52)

"It is a time of sacrifice. We are making the sacrifices. I am one of that number too - yes, now I belong too. Now it's beginning. We must lay many things on the sacrificial altar of our homeland - perhaps even everything - who knows? No one can say what we will meet there. Will it ever really be valued later, what a soldier sacrifices in these times? Sacrifice tastes bitter, but one must make it, for without sacrifice nothing great arises in the world, no, absolutely nothing! Sacrifice will always be the highest and the noblest thing. You can measure the greatness of a people by its citizens' readiness for sacrifice! And whoever loves his homeland dearly, as we do, sacrifices gladly. Yet it is not easy." (9, p. 10)

Sacrifice and duty, however, are depicted not only in the upper strata of society but likewise in the lower. But whereas with the former the heroic posture becomes the further justification of their material privilege, with the latter it is the proof of spiritual grandeur. Nor does this presupposed equality of all, at least in relation to the demands made on them, include any mention of the fact that suffering is better paid and borne at the top than lower down. The glorification of the heroic thus becomes the glorification of sheer misery. The ethos of duty and sacrifice presents the total reduction of the human being as his very fulfilment, and thus defines as the ultimate end of human existence a state which signifies precisely its utter deformation.

But this apotheosis of daily need and impoverishment again violates the Groschenroman form, whose content is defined by an individual striving for happiness which is fulfilled in the happy end; by material luxury, reflected in the health and beauty of the protagonists and a certain atmosphere of opulence; and by the movement

out of the immediate towards the distant, out of the accustomed constriction into a better life. Indeed only when one sees these moments of the pre- and post-Fascistic popular novelette not only as negative, as bearers of quietistic and evasive social functions, but also as traces of a discourse which yearns actively and boundlessly for more than the here and now, only then does one realize the nature of the deprivation which the Fascistic Groschenroman characteristically inflicts on its already deprived readers.

The colours, always relatively bright if not exactly glowing, become matt; instead of the castle we find a chamber, instead of the prince a cripple in a wheelchair - while modest living and a sad little happiness in some corner are the faded ideals now.

The heroes are no longer beautiful and radiant but, like Elsa Stettner and Walter Schonau, slightly worn, not in their first bloom any more. Hardly anyone makes for foreign parts now in search of happiness, and if so then it's only to return home disappointed and all the more contented. Social areas are introduced which make the reader's own misery still seem homely by comparison.

Thus the niece of the prison director falls in love with a woman-murderer and when he dies she marries the police chief (5). A twenty year old woman becomes the mother to her orphaned sisters, earns money by working at home and nurses a cripple with whom she falls in love (12). "If you promise to leave this 'mansion' at 10 o'clock - for my landlady insists on order - then you shall have a dish of roast potatoes and a sausage-end" (ibid., p.19) - such are the daydreams now. In Der Duckmauser [The Hypocrite] the hero thinks himself born lucky because "he had a wonderfully beautiful, good girl for his bride and a steady job was beckoning too" - as an assistant accountant. Hence indeed the mother-in-law suspects him of being a dowry-hunter: "That would just suit Mr. Ne'er-do-well. A pretty girl with a nice nest-egg and a mother-in-law who won't be any expense to him because she has her own dividends to live off and a nice apartment too into the bargain." ("Romanperlen" No. 1087). Accordingly the conflicts are often caused by small thefts in the firm, where suspicion about the hundred-mark note which has disappeared from the cashbox always falls first on the hero or heroine.

The contraction of the proportions in the Fascistic Groschenroman inevitably results in a diminution of the conflicts: Instead of genuine popular fiction motifs such as concealed murders, kidnapping, the substitution of children, people held prisoner, and mistaken identity, along with all the other requisites of the old Gothic tradition, now the concern is above all with thefts, petty jealousies and trivial misunderstandings.

It is preferably in these petit-bourgeois circumstances too that the 'humorous' novelette is situated, a type becoming increasingly frequent during the war, but which no longer exists after it, when other social spheres begin to play the dominant roles in the novels. The laughter here is so exclusively at the expense of the poorer, little people, who have no option but to join in, that one can speak of a new socio-literary principle of decorum. Laughter no longer has the critical, subversive function of putting the existing conditions into question, but serves only to further confirm them.

In Peter, der Schoffor [Peter the Chauffeur] the writer Dr. Sauter changes roles with his chauffeur in order to appear incognito, while in the little town where Sauter is expected to receive an honour there is a corresponding exchange of roles between the mayor's daughter and her maidservant. Although disguised the writer and the dignitary's daughter, the maidservant and the chauffeur 'naturally' fall in love. Here the whole infamy of the apparently 'realistic' approximation to the class-situation of the reader becomes evident. The effects of class differences on the private and 'generally human' domains are consciously invoked - the exchange of roles - but only in order to be conservatively reinforced, despite the pretended freedom of the laughter.

"My Doctor is a nice person, but he has his peculiarities too. He shows no concern at all for employees, he only mixes with people on the same social level" [...] "But I'm not an employee, I'm daughter of the house." (4, pp 14-15)

There's no need to call me 'Fraulein', Herr Classen, I'm only a domestic". "And I'm only a chauffeur," said Classen with a smile. (p.22).

Before the unmasking takes place there is ample opportunity to demonstrate the bourgeois class-consciousness which is anyway never criticized.

"You, the daughter of the mayor of Birkenfeld, and a chauffeur! What would your father say to that?" (p.28)

There his chauffeur had really outdone him for once, he [Dr. Sauter] thought to himself, though it was only the well-known name and the doctor's hat that had done it, (p.31)

But might she then love him? What would her father say? His daughter and a mere chauffeur? [...] Should she try to persuade her father? No, that would'nt work. Her father would declare her mad. (pp. 37-8)

The hollowness of the pseudo-argument deployed is shown most clearly in the following extract:

He was after all nothing more than a simple driver, a locksmith by trade in fact. Although he was well-paid by Doctor Sauter, he did not think that Marga [the maidservant disguised as the mayor's daughter] would marry a chauffeur. He just had no knowledge of the true love that moves mountains and sets itself above everything. (p.40)

Since Marga is in reality the housemaid love does not of course need to move any mountains (when it does have that function it is very subversive). The same goes for Sauter, as an in fact entirely eligible author. Since his perspective as hero is also the novel's the apologia is also submitted for the reader's approval.

"I have indeed come to put in a good word for the chauffeur to whom the Fraulein, your daughter, refers, Herr Hellwich. I'd like to explain the whole business to you. I - "The mayor interrupted him. "Don't trouble yourself, Herr Doktor, there's no point talking about the matter any further. I shall never give my daughter to a chauffeur. Dr. Sauter smiled. "But if this chauffeur is not a chauffeur at all, but a person of r
repute whos is only travelling incognito, Herr Hellwich?" The mayor sat up and listened intently. "What are you trying to say, Herr Doktor? [...] That is of course another matter, Herr Doktor. You will understand that I cannot give my daughter to a chauffeur, I am the mayor of Birkenfeld." Dr. Sauter nodded, but inwardly he thought otherwise. Love won't be dictated to by a man's profession. "I understand, Herr Hellwich." (*ibid.*, p. 62)

The explicit adoption of a social theme potentially leading to the critique of existing circumstances, and its distortion through an affirmative perspective which evades the contradiction instead of making it discernible, is frequently encountered in these novelettes. The most striking example is to be found in ...der werfe den ersten Stein [...Let Him Cast The First Stone] (19)

Liselotte, the daughter of a good family from which she has been driven by a stepfather, finds a job as a salesgirl in a store. Because of her privileged education she sells ('good') literature and plays classical music to people on the pianos displayed for sale, so that even this inferior social status receives a special cultural consecration, which expresses itself in an above-average wage voluntarily granted her by the boss. She is thereby in a position to preserve her background as a lady, and one evening she is confronted with a more probable variant of her own situation in the form of a not so privileged female colleague.

"I am the child of poor parents. My father is a day-labourer, my mother does ironing for other people. They have gone to great pains so that I could learn the sales profession. It would have been better for me if I had become a simple servant-girl[!]. So anyway - "She broke off and played with the fringe of the table cloth. " - I entered an environment which was completely foreign to me. You see a lot of elegance, a lot of luxury and you can't help making comparisons between yourself and others. I wasn't aware of my poverty before, I didn't know anything else. Now it grinds me into the ground. This meagre pay [...]" "How much do you earn then, Marie?" [...]" "For God's sake, can you live on that then?" "I haven't just got to be able to live on it, but I'm supposed to clothe myself and pay my board and lodging as well. How glad I used to be to send my mother a few marks [...] I can't allow myself the slightest relaxation. To go once to the theatre of a concert is an impossibility. So we scrape our way through like this and pass our bit of youth in mourning." "Yes, but I don't understand why you earn so little. You have the same position as Fraulein König and Fraulein Möller [...] and they always come in lace blouses and rustling silk skirts!" "Are you so naive then, that you don't know where that comes from? Fraulein König has a relationship with a very rich officer and Fraulein Möller's lace blouses are paid for by a wine-dealer who's married into the bargain [...]" "Oh my God!" "Yes, that's it, you be shocked, Fraulein Walter. You just have no idea what life's like [...] Look, I look like Cinderella next to those two. And after all, I'm young too and have a right to a bit of happiness. I'm often overcome with a mad longing to stand in the sun too for once. [...]" And now comes my real confession. Some months ago I met a rich young factory owner who admires me very much. He can't marry me, he told me that at once. But he wants to make a heaven on earth for me - no doubt you can guess at what price." Liselotte's limbs trembled all over, so excited was she by this first glimpse into life. "How often already I have been close to taking the first step. But then I think again of my poor old mother. She was standing on the platform in her work-apron. She had taken my hand in her hand, calloused hands and looked at me with her eyes red from crying. "Stay true to me, girl," she said. "I can't give you a penny but you've had an honest upbringing. Stay true to me." Liselotte seized the girl's hand which hung down beside her. "Never forget what your mother said to you parting. I beg you, never forget it. Stay strong, someday a ray of light will fall on you. What you are being offered now cannot possibly be happiness." (19, pp 28-9)

The reader is confronted with a thoroughly realistic social situation which has entered literature and music via the *Grisette/Midinette* topos. The social complaint of not being able to participate in the material wealth of the world except at the price of prostitution, is denounced as the deserved punishment for an unjustified striving to rise in the world. The recommended way out is once again the identification with the moral values of class society, values which therefore do not change but eternalize the situation of the ruled.

As has been shown, its ultimately reactionary socio-politicization drives the *Groschenroman* to the limits of its generic form. In most cases, to be sure, there is a happy end of some kind. At the same time, though, the structure of the plot changes: the love-relationship moves out of the centre (in eighteen of the twenty novels) to the margin of the action and forms a kind of frame holding together the thematization of other fields of social relationship in which the protagonists are involved. Moreover the love-relationships are depicted precisely not in their development but in their slow disintegration, and the happy end, by means of *deus ex machina* connections with figures introduced somewhere at the beginning only for this purpose, is grafted on as a concession to the demands of the form, the reader's expectations and the need to sell.

In three cases - and this is remarkable for the *Groschenroman* - there is no happy end at all, but eternal separation through renunciation (19), suicide (8) and murder (1). This general darkening of the popular novelette is accompanied in a few novels by a more pronounced elaboration of explicitly political tendencies.

Military propaganda is provided by the novel *Drei von der Flak* [*Three Ack-Ack Men*] of 1941. The war itself is not actualized here either, of course, but instead its precondition, military service. If one considers the living conditions of a soldier in bourgeois society the most extreme form of self-alienation and dehumanization, then here too the most extreme glorification of misery is achieved - not indeed as total as in the propaganda writings about the sacrificial death of the soldier (that is left to Fascistic 'high' literature), but within the limits of the popular novelette.

The accumulation of all the deformations which the military inflicts on the individual is rewritten as a condensed Bildungsroman of physical and mental desensibilization and uncriticized subjection. To this end any traces of an alternative, more human life outside the army sphere, such as in the family and with friends, are first of all neutralized by the interpretation of the barracks as a kind of super-home. It is "bright and friendly", the men have "fresh soldiers' faces", "the first evening in the barracks is full of fun and song." "The midday meal, veal stew, fresh cabbage and stewed fruit, had tasted marvellous, and a glass of foaming beer had put their spirits in the proper holiday mood." (14, p.10)

The novels capitalize on the marginal and inessential in order to entertain; a modest consumer happiness is meant to distract from the high price which must be paid here for the business interests of others.

Now their eyes, beneath the gleaming black peaks of their field-grey caps, shone towards the town. The silver insignia on the rim of the cap, the sturdy coats, the perfect creases in the trousers, the gleaming polished boots - everything made these lads new men, for whom life now seemed to be just beginning. (p. 10)

When the hero Toni nevertheless falls in love with the "lithe and fragrant", "lissom and alluring" rich girl Lotte, bringing "Western culture" with her from a Belgian boarding-school, and is soon going in and out of her father's luxury villa, he deteriorates into merely "half a soldier" and forgets his fiancée, already a "woman", "reserved, modest and yet inwardly firm, well aware of her worth, not using her beauty to lure, gentle yet tough, and above all delighted in life and ready to make sacrifices." (p.58)

Although the only 'faults' of Lotte's family are its wealth its spoiling Toni and the father's lack of a military past, Toni's mother dies by way of punishment. He now purges himself, and the barracks life, previously outshone by Lotte's luxury world, rises like a phoenix from the ashes. On the army's charity open day

a gunner [stands] in a clean fatigue uniform beside a pot [...] and fills [...] the bowls with the appetising, fragrant pea-soup. "How does our pea-soup taste then?" "The real thing, lad! Mother can't cook it better at home! (p.59)

The army is thus elevated into a school of life. On the ensuing manoeuvre there is a glimpse of the state of emergency which has in fact been reigning in the reader's world for two years:

"Now what if they were enemy flyers. - It really is a damn serious thing, air defence. - The things are there before you can look round. - Now you have to imagine an attack like that in the evening or at night [...] And you should imagine on top of that that the bombs contain poison gases, and the people drop like flies if they can't get to a gas-mask in time." [...] "I don't like to think about it."
"We can't think enough about it [...] The next war will be a war of the air. You can't dig trenches in the sky, and you can't build a bomb-proof roof over Germany either. Every-one will have to pitch in then, when it gets serious [...]"
(pp. 61-2)

Here the politics of defence are already underway. "In an utterly hopeless situation the individual is again thrown back upon himself, as if everything still depended on his individual fulfilment of his duty, on the work of his own two hands, his wholly personal engagement; in reality he is abandoned and unwaveringly programmed for tragic destruction,"⁸⁵ as Karl Riha observes in his analysis of air defence pamphlets. The above example shows the close interweaving of different genres and their common orientation from above towards the same end. Only in one single novel of 1941 do actual war events play a role, though a marginal one. The drafting of the hero and heroine into the military hospital service during the attack on Poland is the last episode before they are finally united.

"Our troops come first, then us at home," the sister taught them. Poland was big, and who knew to which field hospital, in which zone he would come. The German troops were everywhere, everywhere there was fighting. (15, p. 57)

But nowhere do the inhuman sides of war find expression. It is a bright afternoon in the field hospital when the lovers meet again by chance after a long separation.

The self-representation of Fascism

Despite the rightward swing of the Fascistic novelette - as compared with a novelette of 1913 ("Romanperlen" No.41) in which the hero can still, as a good deed, hide a Russian friend who is on the run from the bloodhounds of the counter-revolution and the secret service because he fought in the 1905 revolution - there are few explicit statements on National Socialist politics.

In (14) "mighty swastika flags are flapping in the morning wind" (p.59), "picture of the Fuhrer and of General Field-Marshal Goring" hang on the barracks-walls, and the "Trocadero" dance-bar is in "Adolf-Hitler-Platz" (p.40). And in one of the novels the formation of National Socialism is described:

...everywhere you could see, sense, feel movements which fought against that kind of rank growth. It had become like a stream in recent years. And secretly men arose who knew this stream great riverbed. All those in need began to gather round the flags to fight off the injustice with which they had been burdened. Around the flags, which were only a symbol of freedom. And towards these flags strove those oppressed by need. (10, p.45).

There is only one directly antisemitic, and one directly anticomunit instance in the texts. In Alles wegen Gustaw [All Because of Gustav] the eponymous hero wonders: "What? Veit Jacob, from Krakow? So - a Jew after all?" - Veit Jacob Wollweber then dies of a heart-attack when Gustav tells the police of his smuggling trade with a firm in Amsterdam ("Kelter-Roman" No. 106). And in (18):

Bertold Delfinger looked at the ground. He thought how hard it had been for him to fight his way through so far. After his escape from the camp in which the reds had stuck him, after all kinds of hardships and wanderings, he had reached Tibet.

Explicit political statements, whose function is, however, quite secondary to the basic, dominant social-political tendency informing the novelettes, occur primarily on the level of militaristic and national, public themes. The novelette Heinkehr [Homecoming] is a pure hymn to soldiering and love of the fatherland. It is the story of two of the four sons of Old Neist, who has gone bankrupt. Passionate soldiers, they stand, after the end of World War I, facing the ruins of their hopes.

"I've risked my life a thousand times. It's more than a wonder nothing happened to me. What did we do it for? Surely only out of honest faith in Germany - we had a sense of duty and honour within us - and love for our people too! And now? All the sacrifices were in vain. Now we are nothing. It's just thank you, off you go - the smart-alecks have triumphed [...] And as for the spirit of sacrifice and the devotion the German soldier has shown during the war; history will know how to value it [...] Yet I am convinced that the future generations will be proud of what people of their blood achieved when they victoriously defied a world of enemies - and that the mere example of these people will give them the strength to do likewise. No, sacrifices such as the German soldier made are never in vain. Only from graves can there be a resurrection, and Germany will never remain what it is today." (9, p. 18).

The hero, Karl, who likes to muse on his memories of his Fascistic years as a soldier in a volunteer corps in the Baltic and in the Kapp putsch in which Communists shot up his left hand in a street battle, finally draws a confused conclusion equating his own miserable situation (the bankruptcy of his stupid father) with the evidently sad state of Germany (the stab-in-the-back myth), and throws the guilt on that whole unknown mass of people who cheated and betrayed because they were not so 'idealistic'.

"I soon perceived that cleverness is not to be confused with cunning. We were never cunning, for the cunning man only lets himself be led by his advantage, not by ideals and feelings. Cunning has a lady-friend too, wickedness - and none of us is wicked at heart. [...] Sometimes, when our breasts were gnawed by suffering and despair, when our hearts were stabbed by home-sickness, when duty kept on driving and demanding, we thought to ourselves: you would be as happy and rich as a prince if you only had your homeland and peace [...] But when I returned again I didn't know what it was I possessed - perhaps I did know after all, but our homeland struck me as so strange, so changed, soiled almost - the homeland for which we had stood and fought for years abroad." (p. 27)

A revaluation of all values ensues when the youngest son shoots the neighbour's son, who had been exempted from military service, for describing his soldier brothers as idiots. When he places himself before the court after ten years on the run the murder victim is made to seem almost justly killed (he is, moreover, the son of the man who caused the father's bankruptcy) and the murderer appears to be a victim of justice, for "even the stern eyes of the lawyers grew benevolent as they saw the erect figure of the soldier." (p. 59)

The speech of his defence counsel makes a very significant and suggestive shift in the penultimate sentence here, whereby the reported, indirect speech of the lawyer turns suddenly into the direct addressing of the reader by the author (the effect is more striking in the original German's verbal shift from subjunctive to indicative mood):

The defence lawyer began by saying that it was necessary to mention that the accused came from a respectable family, none of whose members had ever had dealings with the courts on accounts of such or similar offences. He said that all the Neists were virtuous, thoroughly honest, law-abiding people, who had always done a man's job and had long played a significant part in the economic life of their homeland. [...] Thereby, he said, it was proved that they were dealing not with a criminal harmful to the community, but with a highly useful and capable man [...] and that it was necessary

not to consider the case from the perspective of the present - that one had to put oneself back into the mentality of wartime. Our young men were brought up to be soldiers, they loved weapons, because weapons were all they heard about. And whoever could get hold of a weapon carried it around secretly. [...] (p.61. My emphasis)

The novelette shows how forcefully political propaganda can move into the centre. The striking feature, which has nothing in common with the traditional form of the Groschenroman, is the frequency and length of the ideological monologues: out of sixty-four pages the defence speech alone occupies one and a half.

We have already spoken of a change in the plot construction, whereby the love-relationship no longer constitutes the centre of the novelette. In around a third of the texts studied the romantic novel becomes a kind of Familienroman. That is, the older generation is deliberately placed in a conflict which it cannot however resolve. Social decline ensues through bankruptcy and death and enmities between different families which, on the level of the older generation, often lead to a mutual destruction of the sense of life, and indeed life itself, when the contradictions remain unresolved (6,7,9,13, 15,17,18,19,20).

The resolution of the conflict can only be achieved by the young people, by their avoidance of the same mistakes and their more positive qualities of character, through a rebuilding of things and marriages of love. This produces a new contradiction: in every case there is much explicit and enthusiastic vaunting not only of the new beginning on changed terms, but at the same time of the ultimately uncriticized presuppositions of the old terms. Through the children the parents too are reconciled and assimilated into the new beginning, their failure being attributed to adverse circumstances or simply to the fact that they are just older and thus more old-fashioned, having no youthful innovation and initiative at their disposal. The innovating is reduced, though, to a mere increase and intensification of activity, without the content of this activity being defined anew or even discussed.

Since the misery of the older generation is frequently embedded in, and derived from, the misery of the times ("But he had soon perceived that his dreams [...] belonged to times gone by, that the sober and brutal present had nothing left to offer the dreamers and the resourceless [...] Wasn't there the same suffering in every

region of the tormented fatherland - need, grief, cares that cried out to heaven?" - 20, pp. 1-2) the disintegration and supersession of this older generation reflects the 'revolutionary' intervention that National Socialism repeatedly claimed for itself, and which it sought to reinforce with its emphasis on youth and activity. "The will for life of a sick nation is strongest in its youth."⁸⁶ And: "National Socialism no longer needs to court the youth, it is youth."⁸⁷

If one compares these perspectives with the great tradition of the bourgeois Familienroman, which enables the historical truth to appear precisely in the disintegration of certain moments of the family, then the restoration of the generations in the National Socialist Groschenroman reflects the reactionary re-constitution of the repressive aspects of the family institution as a function of the transmission of bourgeois-capitalist society.

Just as in the novelettes the old generation is involved in insoluble conflicts, bringing to distorted expression real contradictions which demand an answer, so indeed does 'young' Fascism provide in reality its age-old solution to the contradictions which led in the Weimar Republic to the utmost sharpening of the class-conflicts.

V. Contradictory Forms of Female Individuality

The second conflict generating the plot of Der Wille zum Ziel is the result of the contradiction between two forms of individuality.⁸⁸ "The forms of individuality are objective positions which people must necessarily occupy within the historically determined, labour-divisive relations of production in order to secure the life of the whole society."⁸⁹

Elsa Stettner participates in social production as a qualified engineer and as manager of the paternal factory. Thus the form of individuality she occupies is that of the professional woman (to define it at its most abstract) who, under capitalist conditions - as well as in transitional societies generally - stands in contradiction to the 'private' woman, whose participation in the sphere of reproduction is as wife, housewife and mother.

In the Fascistic popular novelette the exclusive claims of both forms to be the only way to the woman's realization of herself are

driven even more radically apart - in opposition to the emancipatory initiatives fighting for the resolution and abolition of this contradiction in a more human society. That the woman in popular literature is seen above all in her function as wife and mother is nothing new: the woman's novelette is, after all, formally conceived precisely from the perspective of its ending - in the reconciliation of lovers, an engagement, a wedding, a birth, or a christening. This affirmation of the bourgeois family provides one of the main arguments for the total condemnation of this literary form as conservative, repressive and Fascistoid.

A number of the novels examined display a further accentuation of this aspect, whereby a latent conflict within the wife/mother mode of individuality presses itself distinctly into the foreground. The socially more or less enforced compound identity of the woman as erotic-sensuous being, lifelong partner of a man and mother splits apart and creates conflicts. But for all these conflicts the answer is the same: only as mother does a woman fulfil her highest destiny.

In Heidelinde's Erbe [Heidelinde's Inheritance] both motifs, that of the professional (masculine) woman and that of the woman as mother, are coupled together in a negative figure. The woman is a racing driver and is unable to have children, a causal relationship between the two things being always vaguely suggested. This is the moral justification for her husband to leave her. His love dies because she "will never carry the wonderful hope of life within her." The self-evidence with which guilt, indeed criminality, is imputed to the woman is revealing: "because Gloria betrayed me over the most precious thing, a child" (18, p. 9).

Here it is already evident that the justification of the individual's existence is seen exclusively in its capacity for the reproduction of the species:

But if it didn't turn out like that, then he had to bear it, to come to terms with the fact that he was going to remain childless and that in this sense his life was pointless and meaningless. Every healthy tree put forth fresh greenery. Nor was it expected to do otherwise. A healthy trunk which stood alone among fresh, fruitful trees was not of much use to the world. One day it would sink down dead, it would have lived, but now it would be gone. No son[!], handsome and strong like his father, would carry on his life's work or go on running things on their ancient land. (p.14)

The falseness of the comparison between the sociality of humans and the vegetality of trees is shown in the rupture of the metaphor, which forces the author to introduce anthropomorphic categories into an image pretending to scientific logic (of. the 'dutiful' horses above).

In Gerechte Suhne [Just Atonement] the process of motherhood receives pseudo-religious consecration. The hitherto sterile heroine becomes fertile through a mystical union of the womb of the earth with her own:

With a thrill that she had never before felt, she went to the little well in the tiled floor of the church, lifted the algaecovered, rather slimy green wooden lid, dipped and raised the chain-fastened beaker and drank. She drank once, twice, thrice. She did not drink from the standing water, but waited for the gushes of the stream to bubble up. They came from deep down in the earth. Unimaginably deep. And this unimaginable depth bore within itself for her unutterably holy powers, something from an unknown eternity. Maria almost felt the draught trickling down within her. It refreshed her tongue, permeated every last living cell of her body, quickened her womb. (10, p. 32).

The theme of the novelette ...der werfe den ersten Stein [Let Him Cast The First Stone] focuses exclusively on the contradiction between love and partnership on the one hand and parenthood on the other. It describes the sacrifices of a woman who suffered as a child under a stepfather and who herself has a deliberately illegitimate child by a father of three who she loves, because she doesn't want to take the children's father from them; and who renounces a relationship with another man, whom she likewise loves, so as how to spare her own child a stepfather. In all of which the psychology has to be pretty laboriously constructed by means of false alternatives in order to sustain the desired tendency.

"But I do love you both, Liselotte. Why won't you let me share in your happiness?" "Just think: all my thoughts would remain with my child, even if I became your wife. And in just the same way his undivided love would remain with me. And you would be standing there like a stranger." He was silent. "And then the children would come, Herr Doktor, your children! And they would feel that I love Joachim more - the child of the other man more than your children [...]" "I could't bear that," he murmured between his teeth. "Now you know why we must both stay alone, my boy and I," - Liselotte paused - "no shadow must fall on his youth in that sunny little house back there!" [...]"Liselotte!" - It was as if the scales fell from his eyes. "Oh, how brave you are!" "You be brave too!" She drew his head to her and kissed him on the mouth. "And now go back into life! Work and so forget yourself!" (19, p.64)

The message is self-destruction for the sake of the future generations. The situation in the non-Fascist Groschenroman is thereby completely reversed. Motherland is no longer the crowning conclusion, and thus dependent on a love-relationship, but becomes autonomous. The child becomes an absolute end in itself. The division of labour as regards the woman is intensified once again: her exclusive destiny is motherhood. But when motherhood becomes separated from all the other social capacities of a woman -- the life of Liselotte ends with her as a child again in the parental home, i.e. in a total regression -- then the effect becomes exactly the opposite of what was intended. Since only the most manifold incorporation into the social whole makes possible the richest development of the individual into his or her full humanity, motherhood only signifies self-realization for the woman when it is understood as the realization of an additional disposition. If it appears as the result of a fate excluding all other social relations, it changes at once into the radical alienation and reification of the woman as a breeding-machine. And then this misery too is endorsed in terms of Lebensphilosophie:

"Oh life! Violent, cruel, exalted life! How sick I had become through you, and every day you give me hard new problems -- and I love you so much for that!" (ibid., p.60)

Identification with the aggressor is offered as the sole resource of impotent suffering.

The destruction of the woman as an autonomous and sensuous-erotic being does not proceed in all the novelettes as a kind of Bildungsroman depicting the inward and outward struggles of a central figure. Instead, in the manner typical of popular literature, the differentiated character more appropriate to elite literature, the product of the internalization and synthesis of mutually contradictory social norms and circumstances, is repeatedly dispersed and externalized. In other words, sets of norms in themselves free of contradiction, but more or less antagonistic in relation to each other, are distributed among different figures and evaluated positively and negatively from the novel's perspective. The inner struggle now becomes external, the epic moment becomes dramatic, the protagonists are depicted in the black-and-white fashion which literary criticism relishes as a formal constituent in historical kinds of popular literature, but exclusively stigmatizes as a technical failure in current literature. The inner mortification and sacrificing of the sensuous dimension appears here as the physical death of protagonists who live out their passions.

The novelettes constructed according to this scheme also have no happy end and thus move out beyond the Groschenroman form.

At the centre of both novelettes (1) and (8) stands the relationship between a positively drawn male hero and a negative, passionate heroine, presented as a chain of temptation, forgotten duty, self-control, the initial failure to master the passion, and then the final, necessary overcoming of it. On the margin there appears the counter-image of the positive heroine; in Stunde der Offenbarung [Hour of Revelation] the antagonists, in the genuine tradition of popular literature, are sisters.

The positive heroines, whose story is not, however, the centre of interest, are blond, conscientious, quiet, brave, comradely, and nature-loving. Their antagonists are black-haired and passionate; they overstep the conventions of bourgeois sexual morality, are nature-children (they live in the wood or are closely associated with it) and bewitch through their natural gifts for (e.g.) music and dancing. They are children of the Lumpenproletariat. Schwarze Hanka is the daughter of a poacher, Resi the daughter of a pedlar-woman and a "foreigner". Resi is characterized above all by premature degeneracy "Her eyes looked unnaturally large in the faded, worn, brown face. On her lips lay an impudent expression and her movements had something nervous and hasty about them." (p.51). In a racist book-review, identical in tendency with this, we likewise find:

'The times have brought it about, in the towns above all, that people's taste in the choice of marriage-partners tends more towards the agreeable and comfortable than towards those qualities which seem to be characteristic of the Nordic woman. It is striking how many Nordic or predominantly Nordic women remain unmarried, while on the other hand girls of the Eastern and East Baltic type mostly get married very early.' These girls have their period of greatest beauty between 17 and 23 and then age very early, while the Nordic woman only reaches her peak at thirty and then stays young for a very long time [...] Gunther goes on to say that what contributes further to the eradication of the Nordic race is the fact that the Nordic woman frequently displays a solemn, severe, superior spirituality, that her beauty has less 'charm' and that she is harder to win.⁹⁰

In both cases what is reflected is a set of projections whose factors - nature, sensuousness, other ethnic groups and underprivileged classes - could they be brought to realize themselves in dignified human terms, instead of in demonologized outsider-figures, would undermine the basis of repressive societies and hence have to be suppressed.

It is remarkable that, in spite of the 'realistic' air which the novelettes give themselves, in eight cases the central heroine has no profession (1,4,5,7,8,9,10,11), but lives with her parents (1,4,9,11), her brother (7,8), her uncle (5) or her husband (10). The others have, above all, professions which arise 'naturally' from their femininity, such as housekeeper (s3), handicraft artist (2), welfare officer (12), servant-girl and shop-girl (14,19), lady's companion (18) and farm-girl (20). In all these cases the profession signifies only a stop-gap until marriage. This is explicitly stated too, the other possibilities for a woman being thereby expressly rejected.

"Been travelling then, Miss?" [...] "No, not travelling. I was in a boarding school - in the Black Forest." "So, a boarding-school [...]" So it's holidays now then?" "No, I've finished now! Now I'm going home and wild horses couldn't drag me away again." she went brightly chatting on; "I've passed my school-leaving exams - and just by the skin of my teeth, you know? But now my poor head gets a rest. Peace at last. Long live freedom! [...]" -- and my father is determined. He wants to make a learned scholar out of me by hook or by crook." (9, p.32).

"Why do you want to go on studying then?" "To learn Viennese cooking, baby care, looking after one's husband and how to entertain socially." (8, p. 58)

In all this there is no difference between the Fascistic popular novelette and its predecessors and successors.

In the other six novelettes, however, it is precisely the struggle of the heroine between profession and marriage which is foregrounded. Here the cases are such that the professions permit the women indeed to develop their faculties instead of repressing them: they are artists (2,20,15,17), a scientist (16) and an economist (13). Apart from compromise solutions + as where a singer loses her voice and so can marry anyway (20) - three novelettes end in marriage after all, though in two of them the couple separates. All of these novels do indeed display emancipative features inasmuch as they first and foremost reflect, almost without falsification, an existing social conflict; but it is important to establish the way in which the literary resolution of this conflict then relativizes the emancipative moment.

In the three novelettes that end with a marriage after a more or less exhaustive argument with the partner, the profession is represented as a departure from the true path, as a straying, indeed almost as the alienation of the woman from her 'real nature' as wife and mother. This process of alienation is shown especially in (13) in the increasing

masculinization of the woman, which is pointed up in repeated recriminations as a departure from nature.

Elsa had changed. She looked young and fresh again. Her eyes were sharp and clear, but her face had acquired a hard, almost masculine expression. (13, p.58)

The sister functions as a counter-model of the true woman: she is pretty and conformist and ready at once to give up her profession, her training for which consists in a shorthand and typing course. When Elsa is finally ready "to give to him, the man, what was the man's by right" (p.64), thus yielding to the false alternative, the dimension of the professional woman nevertheless remains recognizable as equally justified right to the very end.

In the novels in which the incompatible couple splits up, the heroine does not indeed submit to the repressive moral pressure, but she disappears as a protagonist. That already the very premises are to some extent illogical and actually lead to a pseudo-problem is shown especially in Ruhm und Liebe [Glory and Love]. Already by page 3 hero and heroine are involved in a love-story, but not until page 43 does the woman complain:

"When I think I shan't see him any more and shan't hear his voice again, then I feel I cannot bear to live without him. But when I think over what he wanted of me, how he wants to decide everything, about my work, about you and about my whole life [...] then everything warns me against him [...] We can't be happy [...] everything my heart hangs on." (17, p. 42)

The question being how two such contrary characters could stand it with each other for so long. In fact in this novel there is no basis for the kind of intense communicative relationship love is meant to be, since even sexuality can't be maintained to be the ultima ratio:

That she remained so restrained, for all her inner fire, was partly because of her shyness of any approach, but partly too because she was aware that, more than other men, Frieder did not appreciate a too-ready tenderness and surrender. (p. 53)

As in most popular novels love appears here not as a profoundly social relationship but as the inexplicable myth of the coup de foudre. The fact that the fire of love needs something to keep it burning is indeed shown here negatively in the fact of the conflict, but it isn't consciously 'seen through' by the author.

To be sure, such an absurd concept of love has at the same time a strong utopian element, since it boldly moves beyond the status quo towards an order more human than one based on class. But in order to make that love really recognizable as more than mere ideology, as being also a justified, realistically possible moment within the utopian, literary means would have to be deployed to repeatedly 'estrangle' and profile its in fact unachieved, as yet fantastic nature.

The Groschenroman, however, takes this concept of love as actual and so reproduces one of the most effective self-deceptions really existing in society.

This striving for mutuality, for community in private life cannot however fulfil the demands made on it. The divisiveness of the competitive relationship, to be sure, no longer applies here - at least at first; but equally absent is the solidarity of people in a 'common' concern, in a socially meaningful task. Private community contains tendentially, indeed, after the abolition of the isolation between people, certain elements of social co-operation, but it cannot realize this co-operation because of the separation of the extra-professional domain from social production. Accordingly isolation cannot in fact be overcome here either. Private relationships are characterized by a short-circuiting effect, a circling back in on the self; by the vain demand to find life's fulfilment in the unmediated interrelationship of isolated subjects. The short-circuiting and lack of perspectives of 'private' community are the pre-conditions for the fragility of 'purely human' relationships [...]. Such a 'love' proves itself precisely in its continuance and intensity being completely undisturbed should one partner's behaviour harm the interests of the other.⁹¹

The emancipative interest of the novels, which consists in the women fighting against the harming of their productive demands, is heavily countermanded by the parallel uncritical acceptance, indeed the glorification almost, of the repressive male qualities. "Hedda belongs to me and she can only live and be there for me" (17, p.31). Walter Schonau had said the same when he wanted to reduce Elsa to his "dear little spirit of the house". The justified standpoints of the women are not, however, presented or discussed as such, but stand at best as equally justified models of female existence alongside that of the men, or are interpreted in character-specific terms.

This 'pluralistic' perspective is still further retracted, in (17) for example, by the narrative perspective which, through its

preceding positive evaluation of the heroine's mother, endorses her expressed point of view:

"Look, I don't want to persuade you to marry Frieder Ward. On the contrary: it's my firm conviction that marriage with him would be misery for you. But one must be fair after all. You only see the man, and it must be admitted there's something impressive about him for a woman. He's a fine fellow. But you're conjuring up into this tall handsome figure and his masculine strength a soul which just isn't there at all. And he's not even an exception. Real men are all like that. And the others, the soft and yielding ones, they're not energetic enough for you. In fact you're one of those women for whom no man is really suited. Your energy seeks someone who is sensitive, with fine feelings, thoughtful and I don't know what else. But as a woman you want the really strong type, that's the eternally unsolved problem for all women. And now you're clever into the bargain and, what's worse, an artist." (p. 41)

The generally right type of man is presented as someone whose main characteristics, brutality and thoughtlessness, are identified not as the most extreme manifestation of alienation wrought by a competitive, achievement-oriented society, but as the supreme mark of his masculinity. All men whose behaviour deviates from this type are pathetic failures. Hedda herself, who wants a man who is human - and in so far the phrase "a woman for whom no man is really suited" quite naively speaks the truth - becomes in the novelette's perspective an exotic animal, almost a neurotic, which is indeed suggested anyway, according to the customary view, by her being an artist. Hedda's discontented sensitivity is not understood as a critical index of repressive mechanisms; instead her restiveness is placed in the free space of 'art' and its general validity thus neutralized.

"I think I understand you better than you do yourself. Only I stand firm in life and don't let myself be blown about by every breath of air. As an actress perhaps you can allow yourself the luxury of such sentimentalities; I have no time and no wish for them." (p. 37)

The two separate, but Frieder has his happy end with a woman who is the counterpart of Hedda and who had already loved him and waited for him since the beginning. Since the novel's perspective is that of Frieder, the emancipated woman remains an episode to be overcome in the course of his life, and thus a debated but all the more radically rejected alternative.

The same pattern is followed by the most unusual and also the most differentiated of the novelettes, Ein Sommer Schule und Liebe

[A Summer of School and Love]. It is the story of an eighteen year-old grammar school boy who gives extra lessons in Latin to a woman student five years older than him and is initiated into love by her. Here too the love-story remains an interlude, the woman disappearing to Sicily as the assistant of a scientist. What is unusual is the 'carpe diem' philosophy of the student, who wants to enjoy her life to the full. She dreams of London, Paris and America, handsome men and love without marriage.

"But you are a woman after all, you are made for something else." "The something else, my dear Dr. Seiler, being of course men, and one can also get oneself a man without becoming dependent on him." (16, p.20)

"I can't, I don't like to tie myself down. I belong to another world." [...] "But look, I'm not tied, he's not tied. I won't ask of a man that he live two years without a woman." (p. 56)

"I'm not a girl who's going to marry [...] I'm free as a bird." (p.58)

But here too the emancipated woman is only tolerated as an exceptional phenomenon, who thereby precisely confirms for the generality the necessity of the values which she as an individual puts into question.

Again the two lovers are contrasted with a conventional couple as the positive alternative, although here even the male partner seems to feel that the bourgeois stereotype of the woman signifies a deformed existence when measured against the possibilities which stand at the disposal of people in general. He says to his friend:

"And then, one is really always alone. I've noticed that with Hilde. No matter how sad she might be, when I am with her she is happy. She seems to me almost like a canary [!] that hops up and down with delight in the cage [!]. But even then I'm not glad, I still want something more and yet I don't know what." (p.59)

The solution which offers itself, however, is not a praxis-oriented further reflection on the social castration of the woman, but friendship with a man as a compensatory alternative relationship.

"Fred," said Ebbo suddenly after they had long been silent, "let's shake hands on that, let's always stay friends." And Fred sensed a manly feeling behind these words: friendship could be so different from love.
(loc. cit.)

Social modes of behaviour are, as here, continually biologized as sex specific, and the emancipated woman too ultimately appears as a

special species. As such she remains a trial and a touchstone on the path of development of a man whose story stands at the centre. "You don't know how good it is for the education of a young man, when he is 'polished' by an experienced female [!]" (ibid., p.60).

The women here remain the mere means to the end of male discovery. It is significant that, of these twenty novels of the Fascist period, fourteen are written from the perspective of a male hero. Thus the woman forfeits even the autonomy which the non-Fascist popular novelette concedes her when its story narrates the ups and downs in life of a female heroine, if only as far as marriage.

VI. Literary Form and Propaganda

In comparison with the pre-and post-Fascistic novelette, the National Socialist Groschenroman displays a series of differences which reflect in their coherence an ideological system.

The plot moves more and more out of the exclusively private into the public domain: at the centre stands the sphere of work of the entrepreneurial individual who, by virtue of innate qualities and by being simultaneously embedded in the familial structure of inheritance, promotes society's enrichment in promoting his own. Thus the social and historical causes of the conflict are personalized and subjectivized. A successful solution depends therefore on the positive or negative qualities of the protagonists.

What is presented is a social model which proceeds on the voluntary consensus of its hierarchically graded members. Since the criterion of the gradation rests on biological determination, a changing of the social whole appears neither possible nor necessary. Through the apotheosis of the status quo on different social levels personal and social suffering are glorified as conditions of a higher, ideal mode of being.

Materialistic aspects of the good life, such as luxury, beauty, freedom from alienated labour, are treated critically as manifestations of the degeneration of the true, heroic human being. The nobility, the social stratum in which these moments seem to be preserved as residual utopian fragments, disappears as the antitype - despite its anachronism - of a competitive capitalist society which deforms the individual, and it continues to appear only as a historically superseded

parasitic class. And with it disappears the refractory moment of class-transcending love.

Love as such, in one sense the delusive because unquestioned dimension of total self-realization in the other, becomes domesticated in its other, subversive dimension through the emphasis on camaraderie and the repression of desire, compensatory male friendship and renunciation. As a result of which, at least in several significant, representative cases, the happy end disappears. Direct actual political tendencies are increasingly worked in. Expository monologues and theorizing dialogues occupy a relatively large space.

In the love-stories and women's novelettes generally, the woman disappears as the central figure: the novel's perspective becomes that of the male hero. Completely eliminated are the materials and motifs of traditional popular literature - the whole Gothic complex of secret rooms finding treasure, ghostly monks, etc., the loss of identity (the Doppelgänger, loss of memory) and above all the discovery and recognition motif.

The increased political deployment of the Groschenroman pushes it to its generic limits as a partially escapist, wish-fulfilment fantasy which, in spite of all the conservative, repressive and reactionary features transports at the same time a concrete moment of an alternative utopian life.

From the point of view which considers the quality of the text and the reader's attitude - generally termed 'escapist' and 'compensatory' - to be the main justified criticisms of the form, the socio-politicization of the Fascistic novelette might well seem more progressive because more 'realistic'. Yet closer inspection discloses the weakness of a perspective which is undialectical because fixed only on the phenomenon in itself, and whose evaluation does not grasp the object of cognition as part of the real historical process. The socio-politicization of the Groschenroman under National Socialism in fact signifies an extreme intensification of the bourgeois ideology therein transported as false consciousness. Important presuppositions of NS propaganda are either reflected almost unchanged or shown in a more mediated way in changes of the form.

In both these systems for the presentation of ideology, popular literature and propaganda, the central problem appears as the thematization and system-endorsive response to the social contradiction

of wage-labour and capital, the historically specific solution in both cases being a Janus-faced partial critique of capitalism in the service of the preservation of capitalism as a whole.

"The economic principles of the NSDAP are not hostile to property, nor are they those of a disguised capitalism..."⁹²

The division of society into classes is interpreted in the propaganda in the same way as in the popular novelette:

"You hold the view, gentlemen, that the German economy must be constructed on the notion of private property. Now you can only sustain such a notion of private property if it appears to be somehow logically founded. This notion must draw its ethical legitimation from an insight into natural necessity. It can't simply be motivated by saying for example: it was like that until now, so therefore it must go on like that. [...]"

Hence it is necessary to justify the forms thus inherited, and which are going to continue to be upheld, in such a way that they can be seen as unconditionally necessary, as and just. And there I must say this: private property is only to be justified morally and ethically in supposing that people's capacities are different [...] it must be admitted that from the start people are not equally valuable economically, not equally important in all areas [...] It is more logical that [...] I must thus place the authority of personality above everything." ⁹³

"It is more democratic to let a people be ruled and led in all spheres of life by its most capable individuals who are born to that task, than to let it be governed by a majority for whom these domains are, by natural necessity, something alien." (my emphasis)⁹⁴

Correspondingly, the identity of self-interest and the common interest is emphasized:

"I want authority, I want personality, I want everyone to keep the property which he has conquered according to the principle: public need before private greed. The state however shall maintain control, and every owner is to feel himself as one appointed by the state, who has the duty not to misuse his property against the interests of the state, against the interests of his comrades, the people." ⁹⁵

Since the hierarchical organization of the state is interpreted as a consequence of the 'natural' selection of the gifted, it can no longer be criticized, but only acknowledged with all its consequences. The results of inhuman exploitation are thus charged to the victims themselves as human failure:

[...] the rapid change from work to unemployment and vice-versa, aswell as the consequent ceaseless fluctuations in income and standard of living, destroys in the long run many people's sense for thrift aswell as the understanding necessary for an intelligent planning of one's life.⁹⁶

Thus disappears the basis for any kind of class struggle, for since everyone is in their 'proper' place, there can only be a harmonious unity of interests. Thus Goebbels, speaking at the book-burning in the Berliner Opernplatz in 1933, emphasizes that the men of the Fascist 'revolution' come

"from all sections, classes and professions of the German people. Here the worker stands beside the Burger, the student beside the soldier and the young worker, here the intellectual stands beside the proletarian: one whole people has arisen."⁹⁷

Through this concept of working for the community the corporate state, in which the intellectual, the 'Arbeiter des Kopfs' holds out his hand (- and nothing else, as Block observed) to the worker, the 'Arbeiter der Faust!' propagates the ethical equality of all on the basis of social inequality and exploitation. And this community was to be more firmly welded together by common action against collective enemies who (along with Marxists and Jews) are established as bloodsuckers and oppressors outside the country's borders so that the nation's own internal bloodsuckers and oppressors can carry on their business all the better.

The moment must someday come when the worker sees that it is not the German entrepreneur, but the league of big capital and imperialism that is exploiting him and that is responsible for his miserable economic situation. Then the worker must recognize us, his national and racial German comrades, as his friends and saviours.⁹⁸

This propaganda is addressed first and foremost to exactly those strata of the bourgeoisie from which, at this same period, the heroes of the popular novelette are being recruited: the independent entrepreneurs, tradesmen, craftsmen, farmers, civil servants, academics and salaried employees. They form the bulk of the Fascist voters and from them too come most of the authors of the novelettes. All these sections which do not participate immediately in production and whose reproduction appears to them to be guaranteed only by the subjection of the actual producers, these are the most effectively deceived.

Pauperized by the same economic mechanisms as the proletariat and objectively its potential ally, their subjectively anachronistic dispositions and their objectively anachronistic mode of reproduction lead them to believe in a solution which can reactivate equally anachronistic ideologems since these do in fact survive, historically superseded but preserved, within the contemporary contradictions. The class hopes of these strata, that is, the acquisition through qualifications of privileges, institutionally secured against the threat of big capital from above and the working classes striving up from below - these find their expression likewise in popular literature and propaganda. But while these show the courageous individual defying the two simultaneous antagonists capital and labour, in reality his destruction is a foregone conclusion. It is precisely under Fascism that the middle strata disappear concurrently with the growth of finance - and monopoly capital on an unforeseen scale.⁹⁹

But while the middle classes are thus explicitly courted, the intended appeal is also to the working class, above all through the criticism of money-lending, usury and big capital. With the thundering against unearned income, liberalistic notions of enrichment and capitalism which harms the people, the socio-economic squaring of the circle is proclaimed, the erection of the classless society "on the basis and within the framework of - class society."¹⁰⁰

But the worker is not so easily deceived. The ideological glorification of contentment with one's work as the result of the (in fact barely sufficient) distribution of provisions, and the justification of restrictions for the lowest social strata on the grounds of their innately inferior ability, coincides all too exactly - supposing one is provided with work at all in the first place - with the daily intensified exploitation, the smashing of the workers' organisation and of workers' rights of striking and wage-bargaining, the enforced conscription, the stagnation of wages (which never reached the pre-1933 level) and the final annihilation on the battle-field in the interests of capital.

The discrepancy between the promised better life and the actual repression has to be bridged by the enthusiastic propagandizing of 'idealism'. The incessant appeal is now to the 'new' man, who works, fulfils his duty, sacrifices himself and thereby rises and merges into the 'new' (in fact age-old) Volksgemeinschaft. For, so the argument goes,

It is not the economic conditions that determine the social relations, but quite the reverse; it is the moral conceptions which determine the economic relations.¹⁰¹

Misery and suffering are thus made to seem the very measure of the triumph of the will of the new higher man. The renunciation of individual happiness also becomes the central point of NS propaganda's political fight against individualism, humanism, liberalism and Marxism.

This attitude, which makes one's own self-interest step back in favour of the preservation of the community, is really the first precondition for every truly human culture [...] Indeed, through it alone can one understand how so many are able to bear a meagre, honest life which imposes only poverty and frugality on themselves, but which secures for the whole the foundations of existence. Every worker [!], every farmer, every inventor, civil servant, and so on, who works hard without himself ever being able to achieve happiness and prosperity, is a bearer of this high idea, even if the deeper meaning of his action should remain forever hidden from him [...] In the surrender of one's own life for the existence of the community lies the crowning meaning of all sacrifice [...] But precisely our German tongue contains a phrase that wonderfully describes what it means to act in this sense: fulfilling one's duty; that is, not pleasing oneself, but serving the general public [...] Idealism: by this we understand simply the individual's capacity to sacrifice himself for the whole, for his fellow men [...] But since true idealism is nothing more than the subordination of the interests and the life of the individual to the whole [...] it fulfils in its innermost essence the ultimate will of nature. It alone leads men to the voluntary acknowledgement of the prerogative of power and strength and thus lets them become an atom that forms and shapes the whole universe.¹⁰²

What that can mean in the concrete terms of everyday life - and it is not for nothing that the Fascistic Groschenroman bans scenes of physical luxury - is shown by the following quote:

The youth especially must be brought up in Spartan fashion, they must get used to straw mattresses, give up cosmetics, deny themselves sugar and sweets and get used to plain clothes which let no trace of vanity appear.¹⁰³

The community which is most exclusively served by this is that of the rulers and those who live in luxury. How important it was for the National Socialist to disguise a situation in which the masses were exalted into heroes of poverty, while the exalters themselves quite unheroically wanted for nothing, is shown by the following orders to the press:

It is forbidden to publish pictures of the hunting parties of Ministerpräsident Goring. This is only permitted after obtaining previous permission from the press-office of the Prussian Statsministerium.

It is necessary that in future you avoid reproducing pictures which show members of the government at tables set with food before batteries of bottles and so on, the more so when it is anyway known that a great part of the members of the cabinet are opposed to alcohol. The ministers take part in functions out of international politeness or for strictly professional reasons, considering them solely as a duty but not as pleasure. Lately people have been acquiring, as a result of numerous pictures, the completely absurd impression that the members of the government are feasting in luxury. Press photography must consequently change its approach in this respect.¹⁰⁵

The greatest renunciation of happiness and self-fulfilment under National Socialism is demanded of the woman, her struggle for emancipation being set back centuries:

[...] the family must provide an education based on the policy of hierarchy: [...] it must submit the mother and children to paternal authority, making the father, as educator and guardian of his wife [.....] immediately responsible to the state for the behaviour of his wife and his children [...] it must establish a hierarchy between the woman as mother and the other women (who are not mothers) so that the mother who begets the store of blood and energy for the fatherland [...], who sacrifices her beauty and youth, who creates a sanctuary for her husband and her children, is not mocked by those women who bring only one or at most two children into the world or sometimes, as not seldom happens, deliberately none at all, who preserve their outward appearance, running after wages and salaries, who get more easily out of the house and can afford justified, but also unjustified pleasures.¹⁰⁶

The renunciation of beauty, youth, pleasure and independence are the conditions of the unparalleled process of sacrifice for the Fascistic chimera of Volk und Vaterland, the debasing of mother and child to factors of the production battle in the labour-ward.

It was according to such criteria that the romantic novelettes and women's novelettes in general were evaluated by the official criticism:

"But our criterion is not the happiness of the individual, but the health and prosperity of a generation for whom every woman is responsible to her entire people."¹⁰⁷ Of one book, in which a mother sacrifices herself for her child, it was said:

With quiet insistence this book teaches us to understand that only a life of duty and self-dedication in the service of a community of life can grant that inner firmness and those spiritual powers of resistance which enable us to survive even the hardest times of a war.¹⁰⁸

In this light too then, a marriage that consciously brings no children into the world signifies the greatest defiance of the Fascist state:

A marriage which desires no children is not a marriage at all but merely a tame form of prostitution, and a woman who marries without wanting children is morally not much better than a whore.¹⁰⁹

As long as the general unemployment was being combatted not only by the production of armaments but also by an enforced banning of the professional married woman from work, the propagandist destruction of the woman as a public, political being, the sabotaging of her appropriation of the world through productive social work (itself of course alienated in a class society) could be ideologically concealed.

But since the wheel of history cannot be turned back, the emancipation of the woman, once begun, could not be completely repressed, even under Fascism. There are several reasons for this. Firstly the proletarian woman, because of her difficult working situation, could escape domestication more readily than the bourgeois woman;¹¹⁰ the unmarried women had to earn their living; from 1938 there was a severe shortage of labour, and in the war, when the women had to take over the men's places in production, the whole thing turned into the most exploitative enforced conscription involving the deprivation of the most elementary human rights.¹¹¹

But these proceedings demanded an alternative ideologem which had to be compatible with the first - that of the woman as mother. This conflict reveals itself in Hitler's speeches to the NS-Frauenschaft (women's association):

"I grant women the same rights as men, but I don't believe that they are like them. The woman is the life-companion of the man. She should not be burdened with work for which the man is created [!]. I cannot imagine a battalion of women; I believe they are better engaged in social work. But in any case a woman who does not marry, and we have many in Germany - since we do not have enough men - has the right to earn her living like a man. I remind you that it was a woman who made the great Party film, and that a woman will be making the film of the Olympics."¹¹²

Then later, of course, the line is quite clearly and unambiguously:

"I believe that in this the German girl and the German

women are in the country, in the fields, and there must replace the men in the hardest work. Millions of German women and girls work in factories, workshops and offices and take their husband's place there too. And it is not unjust when we ask that many hundreds of thousands more should follow the example of these millions of hard-working German women comrades."¹¹³

The extreme endurance-test to which the woman was exposed under Fascism through her propagandistic and indeed actual reduction to a breeding-machine on the one hand and the appendage of a machine on the other, is shown in the novelettes in the apparent incompatibility of the professional and the private woman and, yet again, of the sensuous-erotic and the maternal dimensions. It reflects a state of society which, because of its inhuman organization, does not allow the woman to claim all these capacities at once for herself as the optimal, simultaneous unfolding of all her possibilities. Instead, the wholeness is torn apart and its fragments, reconstrued as emanations of biological factors creating different female phenotypes,¹¹⁴ are thus perpetuated in their atrophying disparity.

VII. 'Promesse de Bonheur'

"If it was different at home then children wouldn't like such garish reading."¹¹⁵ And not only children - although adult's reading loses in garishness what it gains in dullness. The Groschenroman of this century is traditional popular literature tamed, but popular literature nevertheless. Ernst Bloch never tired of insisting again and again on the way liberating and rebellious impulses survive preserved in the despised literature of the lower social classes.

In Erbschaft dieser Zeit [The Heritage of These Times] he works out the dialectic of those moments which, under certain social and political constellations, can be exploited by the forces of reaction, in this case by Fascism, but whose true historical place is on the side of socialism. Groschenromane in a capitalist society are indeed powerful vehicles of authoritarianism and repression. And, as has been shown, the Groschenroman under Fascism signals not a break in the continuum of popular novelette literature from the beginning of the century till today,¹¹⁶ but only an intensification of what is always essentially the same. But precisely in their anti-emancipative guise they preserve traces of the possibility of emancipation and humanity. "We know only too well that people want to be deceived. But this is not only because the stupid are in the majority, but because people, though born to joy, but none; because they cry out for joy."¹¹⁷

Of course Bloch sees quite clearly the danger that lies in this - that a system-endorsive pseudo-satisfaction of this cry for joy maintains the status quo for those who usurp the conditions of general joy for the privileged few.

"Where work brings no more joy whatever, then art must bear the burden of being fun, a deceitful fraud, the superimposed happy end. That is what holds the audience fast; at the end of the Fascist Volksgemeinschaft or the 'American way of life' everyone will get something and what's more, without today's reality having to be changed in the least from the way it is now. The cinema-goers and the readers of magazine stories glimpse rose coloured rises in the world as if they were the rule in present day society and only chance had prevented them for the equally fortuitous viewer. Yes, the happy end becomes all the more indispensable for capitalism the less frequent become the chances of rising in the society existing today [...]. It's the same sly 'uplifting' the old Sunday sermons used to provide [...]" 118

But that is only one side (which is "itself false"), for concealed behind it is a much more fundamental, powerful historical force.

An unignorable driving impulse is working towards the happy ending, and it is not confined to credulity alone. The fact that swindlers make use of this impulse as little refutes it au fond as the 'Socialist' Hitler refuted Socialism. The capacity for deception of this impulse towards the happy end speaks only against the position held by common sense; but this is as open to instruction as to correction. The deception represents the happy ending as if it were attainable today in the unaltered present of society or as if, indeed, it already was the present itself. But while knowledge does destroy a lazy optimism, it does not destroy the hope for a happy end as well. For this hope is grounded, in a way far too hard to destroy, in the human drive towards happiness, and it was at all times too clearly a motor of history.¹¹⁹

The 'promesse de bonheur',¹²⁰ which survives preserved in the Groschenroman, compels the happy end even in the Fascist novelette. The official literature of duty and sacrifice it denounces in materialistic terms as the instrument of repressive internalization. To regard "the outcome of things as benevolent", then, is "not always irresponsible or stupid [...]. Unconditional pessimism, that is, promotes the concerns of reaction no less than artificially grounded optimism; the latter is at least not so stupid as to believe in nothing at all. It does not perpetuate the dreariness of petty daily life, nor does it give humanity the face of a chloroformed gravestone."¹²¹

It is only the official abolition of the hope for fulfilment that undertakes the total suppression of precisely that which makes man human:

curiosity, imagination, energy, planning, further development.

Not without reason has capital sought to spread, apart from the false happy end, its own genuine nihilism. For that is the greater danger and, in contrast to the happy end, cannot be remedied at all except by its own destruction [...]. As long as no absolute sense of futility (the triumph of evil) has appeared, then achieving the happy end of the true meaning, the true way, is not only our pleasure but our duty [...]. When the capitalist accounts no longer balance anywhere, the bankrupt may indeed be obliged to spill and spread a blot of ink across the whole book of life, so that the entire world looks black as coal and no auditor can bring the maker of night to account.¹²²

It is not yet clear who reads and how. It may be supposed that, according to their objective class-situation, people know how to select. The author and reader of the Groschenroman too are by no means totally surrendered to the world as it is but transform it through the fiction, although only within the limited framework of their possibilities. Thus, in very different degrees, fiction as such becomes criticism, distanciation, the organisation of social energy - which is precisely why even Fascism could not completely confiscate popular literature but actually had to combat it as such.

In keeping with this too is the repression of all the features which in the traditional Groschenroman signal a better, more luxurious life, as well as the almost complete elimination of fairy tale and traditional popular literary motifs. And there is a reason.

The fairy-tale motifs (in the broadest sense) are formulaic, conflict-generative modes in the dramaturgy of the narrated stories. In them there occurs, as it were, an oblivious leap out of history into myths that were learned in childhood as modes of cultural practice. These voluntaristically declare and demand the attainability of better circumstances instead of providing initiatives towards the possibilities of actively realizing them. The mythical leap both expresses the wish for change and at the same time declares the inability to grasp what needs to be changed in terms of one's own praxis. The ruling interest's use of every means to prevent recognition of the economic and social laws operating in everyday life renders the greater part of the population more or less helpless before the anarchic social dynamic which is thereby enabled to prevail. And just as the people in prehistoric times made in myths an image of surrounding nature in order to master it, so today in popular art there still arise representations of society which, because of that society's incomprehensibility, again become mythical. Marx called this uncomprehended society a Second Nature.

In these mythicisms of popular literature - which, in contrast to genuine myths, are anachronistic because objectively, i.e. from the developed standpoint of the historical sciences, they are the literary expression of obsolete forms of consciousness - there is nevertheless depicted the insistent, obstinate wish for a principle that ultimately will help everyone after all to what is his right. The 'mythification' of the narrative means, however, that this principle appears as something over against the reader, unmediated and uncomprehended, not grasped as conscious human praxis. In the ideological phenomenon of the Fascistic Groschenroman's increase in 'realism', these mythical moments, the premonitions of a truly politically enabling narrative mode, are, to be sure, 'historicized' - but historicized with the stereotypes of a social model whose legitimizing theory of history has officially precisely abolished history. The progressive quality of the fairy-tale motifs in popular literature, manifest above all in its conscious self-quotation and thus revelation of its own mythic status, is suppressed under Fascism by a myth posing as a history which has finally fulfilled itself.

Translated by Kiernan Ryan

NOTES

- (1) The German term, significantly, is the unambiguously negative 'Trivialliteratur'
 - (2) I would like to thank the Deutsche Bibliothek in Leipzig, and particularly the staff of the Information section, for their valuable and friendly assistance.
 - (3) Karl Riha, "Massenliteratur im Dritten Reich", in Die Deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich, ed. H. Denkler and K. Prumm (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 281-304.
 - (4) Again the accepted German term, 'Gebrauchsliteratur' ['use-literature'], is less than desirable, since all literature has of course a use-value for the reader.
 - (5) Riha, op. cit., p. 282.
 - (6) ibid., p. 282.
 - (7) For that Hitler's Mein Kampf has sales of 6 million copies does not mean that every book was in fact read, especially when one knows that it was presented as an honorary gift at prize-givings, at weddings, to libraries, and so on.
 - (8) c.f. for example Uwe-K. Ketelsen, Volkisch-nationale und nationalsozialistische Literatur in Deutschland 1890-1945 (Stuttgart, 1976).
 - (9) It is only from a historical-materialist basis, which analyses the specific manifestations of the state and politics as institutions corresponding to particular forms of the organization of production, that Facism can be grasped, and thus fought, as a historically specific stage of capitalist societies. If the political and economic struggle against Fascism always also implies that against capitalism and imperialism, and vice-versa, so also does reaction's defence of the status quo against socialist and communist praxis and its historical-materialist methods radically restrict the possibilities of recognizing and fighting against Fascism. (One can see this in exemplary form in the development of the Bundesrepublik since 1972, where the practice of Berufsverbot has resulted in the parallel rise of neo-Nazi activities).
- At the same time the class which has an interest in the preservation of the status quo must offer alternative theories in order to distance itself officially from Fascism on the one hand and to conceal the latent congruity on the other. Effective ideologies for this purpose are those of the 'psychopathology of the Fascist rulers' (and their adherents) and the hypothetical 'rot = braun' equation of Communism and Fascism. Both orient themselves towards the phenomena without inquiring as to their actual sources.
- (10) Walter Nutz, Der Trivialroman (Köln & Opladen, 1962); Dorothee Bayer, Der triviale Familien- und Liebesroman im 20. Jahrhundert (Tübingen, 1963); Martin Greiner, Die Entstehung der modernen Unterhaltungsliteratur (Hamburg, 1964); Wolfgang Langenbucher, Der aktuelle Unterhaltungsroman (Bonn, 1964); G. Schmidt-Henkel (ed.), Trivialliteratur (Berlin, 1964).
 - (11) c.f. for example Klaus Vondung, Volkisch-nationale und nationalsozialistische Literaturtheorie (Munich, 1973), pp. 158-9, 180.

- (12) Using the Fascism-scale with which Adorno and others in The Authoritarian Personality had sought to measure mental dispositions for Fascistic ideologems, Gertrud Willenborg is the first to analyse the novels of Hedwig Courths-Mahler in terms of such structures in her "Adel und Autoritat", in Schmidt-Hanke (ed.), Trivialliteratur, op. cit.
- (13) Ingrid Schuster makes a beginning in Das Forsthaus am Rhein - Studien zu einem Kolportageroman in 90 Heften aus dem Jahre 1906 (Bonn, 1977) This mainly concerned, however, to provide above all a synoptic presentation of otherwise scarcely accessible texts.
- (14) The best work so far in this area is Jochen Schulte-Sasse, Literarische Wertung (Stuttgart, 1976)
- (15) e.g. Peter Zimmermann, Der Bauernroman. Antifeudalismus - Konservatismus - Faschismus (Stuttgart, 1975)
- (16) Hitler, Reden und Proklamationen 1932-1945, ed. Max Domarus (Würzburg, 1962), vol. 1, p. 709.
- (17) ibid., p. 718
- (18) H. Arnold in Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte, September 1936, p. 836; quoted by Joseph Wulf, Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich (Reinbek, 1966).
- (19) Hitler, Mein Kampf (Munich, 1933), p. 375
- (20) Extracts from Hitler's conversations with Breiting, chief editor of the "Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten", in May and June 1931, in: Reomjard Kuhn, Der deutsche Faschismus in Quellen und Dokumenten (Köln, 1977), p. 132.
- (21) Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 198
- (22) ibid., p. 371
- (23) Hitler, speech at the cultural conference of the Reichsparteitag of the NSDAP in Nuremberg in 1933, in: Nürnberg 1933, Berlin 1933, p. 86.
- (24) c.f. Ernst Krieck, Nationalpolitische Erziehung (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 98-103.
- (25) Franz Schriewer, "Die deutsche Volksbucherei", in: Die Bucherei, Zeitschrift für deutsche Schrifttumspflege, 2 (1935), Nos. 7/8, pp. 299.
- (26) Ernst Bloch, Erbschaft dieser Zeit (Frankfurt, 1973), p. 289
- (27) c.f. for example Rudolf Schenda, Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute (Munich, 1976), pp. 132-3; Jürgen Lodemann, "Trost für die Massen" in: Die Zeit, No. 50 of 2. 12. 1977, pp. 33-4.
- (28) Ernst Forsthoff, Der totale Staat, quoted in Herbert Marcuse, "Der Kampf gegen den Liberalismus in der totalitären Staatsauffassung", in: Faschismus und Kapitalismus, ed. Wolfgang Abendroth (Frankfurt, 1974) p. 70.

- (29) Marcuse, op. cit. pp. 71-2
- (30) Dietrich Strothmann, Nationalsozialistische Literaturpolitik (Bonn, 1960), p. 158.
- (31) ibid., pp. 190-1.
- (32) c.f. ibid.
- (33) ibid., p. 192
- (34) "Richtlinien für die Bestandsprüfung in den Volksbuchereien Sachsens", in: Die Bucherei, 2 (1935), no. 6, p. 280.
- (35) Strothmann, Literaturpolitik, op. cit., p. 183.
- (36) ibid., p. 180
- (37) c.f., on the pro-proletarian mass basis of Fascism, K.D. Bracher, G. Schulz and W. Sauer, Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung, Vol. 1: Stufen der Machtergreifung (Frankfurt - Berlin - Vienna, 1974), esp. pp. 137-90; R. Kretschmer and H.J. Koch, "Der Propaganda-apparat des NS-Staats", in: Das Argument, 58 (1970), p. 316; R. Kuhl, Dokumente, op. cit., p. 187 and "Probleme der Interpretation des deutschen Faschismus" in: Das Argument, 58 (1970), p. 259; Arthur Rosenberg, "Der Faschismus als Massenbewegung", in: Faschismus und Kapitalismus, op. cit., pp. 75-141.
- (38) "Richtlinien für die Bestandsprüfung", op. cit., p. 280
- (39) Goebbels, Reden, ed. H. Heiber (Dusseldorf, 1971), vol. 1: 1932-; 939, p. 171.
- (40) ibid., p. 95
- (41) Fritz Erpenbeck, "Leihbibliothek am Wedding", in: Die Linkskurve, 7 (1930), pp. 14-15.
- (42) c.f. Strothmann, Literaturpolitik, op. cit., pp. 139-49; Die 'Waffenarsenale' der Volksbuchereien: Volksbucherei und Nationalsozialismus, ed. Friedrich Andrae (Wiesbaden, 1970).
- (43) "At the order of the President of the Reichsschrifttumskammer a library committee has been formed to which belong respectively three representatives of the Verband Deutscher Volksbibliothekare [Union, of German Public Librarians] and 'Die deutsche Leihbuchereien e. V.' [German Lending-Libraries' Association], Section II. The work of the committees shall serve to bridge existing oppositions and bring about understanding." Die Bucherei, 1934, Nos. 2/3, p. 75.
- (44) c.f. Strothmann, Literaturpolitik, op. cit., pp. 158-162: "Die 'Neuordnung' des Leihbuchhandels".
- (45) ibid., p. 160.
- (46) c.f. Walter Rischer, Die nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik in Dusseldorf 1933-1945 (Dusseldorf, 1972), p. 25.
- (47) Karl Taupitz, "Parteibibliotheken oder Volksbuchereien?", in: Die Bucherei, 12/1934, p. 549.

- (48) Rudolf Angermann, "Sauberung nach der Sauberung", ibid., 6/1935, pp. 281-282.
- (49) Franz Schriewers, "Was heisst Volkstum in der Bucherei?", ibid., 10/1934, pp. 445-6.
- (50) Walter Hoyer, "Grundsätze zur Auswahl der Dichtung", ibid., 6/1934, pp. 268-9.
- (51) Hildegard Stansch, "Was fordern wir vom Madelbuch?", ibid., 11/1941, p. 392.
- (52) F. Andrae, Volksbucherei, op. cit., p. 53
- (53) Strothmann, Literaturpolitik, op. cit., pp. 194-5.
- (54) c.f. ibid., pp. 403-407.
- (55) c.f. ibid., pp. 193 ff.
- (56) ibid., p. 188
- (57) c.f. W. Rischer, Kulturpolitik, op. cit., p. 163.
- (58) Rudolf Erckmann, "Probleme und Aufgaben unseres Schrifttums", in: Die Bucherei, 8-9/1941, pp. 310-311.
- (59) Erich Thier, "Über den Detektivroman", ibid., 7-8/1940, pp. 206-7.
- (60) Adolf von Morze, "Anzengruber und wir", ibid., 4/1941, pp. 139-148
- (61) Liste der für Jugendliche und Buchereien ungeeigneten Druckschriften, published by the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Abteilung Schrifttum, 2nd amended edition (Leipzig, 1943).
- (62) This conflict finds clear expression in Strothmann, op. cit.: "All the successes of the NS literature policy in controlling and 'orienting' the book trade did not fundamentally change the private economic character and structure of these sales outlets. The same was true [...] of the lending-libraries too." (p. 139). On the other hand: "The RSK thus tried to put a private business at the service of NS propaganda and military training." (p. 159), and "All efforts to intervene in book production as guide and 'advisor' [...], wherever they were aimed at the bourgeois publisher [...] did not have the character of an order or a direction demanding unconditional adherence." (p. 408). And "in 1944 the Propaganda Ministry compiled a list of those publishers which were to be preserved and those which were to be closed. [...] With their shutdown the last phase of the NS literature policy was to be introduced: the development of an official state and party book industry in place of a private, independent publishing system subject to the laws of the market." (pp. 124-5).
- (63) Hans Beyer, "Der Widerstand in den Buchereien", in Die Tat, June 1934 quoted by Andrae, Volksbucherei, op. cit., p. 79.
- (64) I am indebted to Mr. Rolf Schwarz of Wilhelmshaven for this information.
- (65) Vertrauliche Mitteilungen für die Fachschaft Verlag, published by the Reichsschrifttumskammer, Abteilung III: Gruppe Buchhandel, quoted in Wulf, Literatur, op. cit., p. 206.

- (66) Strothmann, op. cit., pp 219
- (67) Wulf, op. cit., p. 226.
- (68) see e.g. the Deutsches Bucherverzeichnis, Stich- und Schlagwortregister 1936-1940 (Leipzig, 1942) under 'Unterhaltungsschriften', pp. 1457-8.
- (69) c.f. Hans-Friedrich Foltin, "Zur Erforschung der Unterhaltungs- und Trivialliteratur, insbesondere im Bereich des Romans", in: Studien zur Trivialliteratur, ed. H.O. Burger (Frankfurt, 1968), pp. 254ff..
- (70) Hence the "Romanperlen" seem more 'old-fashioned' and 'nostalgic' than the later novelettes.
- (71) The almost simultaneous termination of all four series in 1940/1 must have been the result above all of the restrictions on paper.
- (72) c.f. Liselotte Brodbeck, Roman als Ware (Basel, 1974), p. 7.
- (73) The theory of the forms of individuality cannot be developed here. See Lucien Seve, Marxismus und Theorie der Persönlichkeit (Frankfurt, 1973), pp. 261ff; and, based on this, Ute Holzkamp-Osterkamp, Grundlagen der psychologischen Motivationsforschung (Frankfurt, 1975), vol 1, pp. 317ff; vol. 2, pp. 77ff.
- (74) 'Realistic' in the sense of reflecting reality according to the subjective (and hence possibly objectively false) world-view of the reader.
- (75) 'Escapist' must be understood here as neutral and descriptive, without any negative connotation.
- (76) In this daily experience must be included all those means of information which, though they transcend the reader's immediate world of experience, nevertheless convey knowledge to him at second hand - as, for example, the 'glossy' press and 'society' pages with their reports on the top ten thousand.
- (77) This extensive complex cannot be dealt with here. It is investigated in depth in my dissertation on the Groschenroman form for the Freie Universität, Berlin. Meanwhile two studies concerned with these questions are worth mentioning: Wolfgang Iser, Der Akt des Lesens (Munich, 1976) and, already going beyond Iser, Siegfried J. Schmidt, Literaturwissenschaft als argumentierende Wissenschaft (Munich, 1975)
- (78) c.f. Schmidt, op. cit., esp. pp. 185-6
- (79) Using 'traditional' here in the loose general sense to mean the novelettes as most post-war readers know them today.
- (80) Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts", in Marx: Early Writings, ed. Quintin Hoare (Harmondsworth, 1975), pp. 326-7.
- (81) On this whole complex cf. Henner Ritter, "Grenzen der Emanzipation" von Sexualität und Familie im Spätkapitalismus", in: Das Argument, 50 (1969), pp. 299-312; Klaus Holzkamp, Sinnliche Erkenntnis: (80)

Historischer Ursprung und gesellschaftliche Funktion der Wahrnehmung (Frankfurt, 1975), esp. pp. 247-58; Holzcamp-Osterkamp, Grundlagen, op. cit., pp. 377-396.

- (82) This is precisely what the first bourgeois novel, the Volksbuch 'Fortunatus' (1509), already does. Capital is tautologized and mystified in the fairy-tale motif of the money-bag that's always full (c.f. Dieter Kartschoke, "Weisheit oder Reichtum? - Zum Volksbuch von Fortunatus und seinen Söhnen", in: Literatur im Feudalismus (Stuttgart, 1975)). But what is of course at that time the right expression of necessarily false consciousness - the genesis of capital not being scientifically comprehensible - is now in the 20th century assimilated unpenetrated to reality, despite its being meanwhile explicable. The manipulation consisting, of course, in the sheer facticity of the phenomenon having to suffice as both legitimation and cause.
- (83) c.f. the definitions of human needs, in Holzcamp-Osterkamp, op.cit., as "productive" and "sensuous-vital". To the latter belong, along with the sexual, the organic needs, "which are grounded more or less definitely in tissue-deficiencies" (vol. 2, p. 23). But it is only the productive needs which make man distinctively human in contrast to the animals. Insofar, therefore, as the Groschenroman sees human needs as already satisfied on the organic level it again reduces man to his animal functions.
- (84) Johannes Agnoli, "Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft und ihr Staat", in: Das Argument, 41 (1966), p. 459.
- (85) Riha, Massenliteratur, op. cit., p. 299.
- (86) H. Schlecht, "Sinn und politische Aufgabe des jungen Nationalsozialismus. Jugend im Brennpunkt des politischen Tageskampfes", in: Unser Wille und Weg, 2/1932, pp. 43-7.
- (87) Alfred Rosenberg, "Rebellion der Jugend", in: Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte, 2/1930, pp. 50-59.
- (88) See note (73) above.
- (89) Holzcamp-Osterkamp, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 318.
- (90) F. von Porembsky, "Die nordische Frau, nach Gunther", in: Süddeutsche Monatshefte, 1933/4, pp. 466-469, quoted by L. Poliakov and J. Wulf, Das Dritte Reich und seine Denker - Dokumente (Berlin, 1959), p. 407.
- (91) Holzcamp, Sinnliche Erkenntnis, op. cit., pp. 250, 255.
- (92) M. Schönicke, "Nationalkapitalismus", in: Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, 1/1932, pp. 17-19.
- (93) M. Domarus (ed.), Hitler: Reden, op. cit., pp. 72-3.
- (94) *ibid.*, p. 72.
- (95) Kuhn (ed.), Dokumente, op. cit., p. 131.
- (96) Hitler, Mein Kampf, op. cit., p. 27.

- (97) Heiber (ed.), Goebbels: Reden, op. cit., pp. 108-9.
- (98) Graf von der Goltz, "Vaterlandische Verbände", 1928, quoted in Arthur Rosenberg, Faschismus als Massesbewegung, op. cit., p. 124.
- (99) Thus, for example, the number of craft enterprises shrinks by 153,390 between 1936 and 1938 (Kuhnl, Dokumente, op. cit., p. 266); the increase in farming - contrary to the official ideology and propaganda - was strongly curbed compared with the Weimar Republic (Kuhnl, ibid., p. 265; F.W. Henning, Das Industrialisierte Deutschland 1914-1972, Paderborn, 1974, p. 166). Between 1933 and 1939 the number of students at the universities dropped from 127,920 to 53,326 and at the technical colleges from 20,474 to 9,554 (Karl-Heinz Gunther and others, Geschichte der Erziehung, tenth edition (Berlin, 1971, pp. 609ff).
- (100) H. Marcuse, Liberalismus, op. cit., p. 55. c.f. also Kuhnl, op. cit. pp. 105-129.
- (101) B. Kohler, Das Dritte Reich und der Kapitalismus (1933), quoted by Marcuse, op. cit., p. 56.
- (102) Quoted from "Arbeitsmann", the organ of the Labour Exchange, 1934, by Maria-Antonietta Macciocchi, Jungfrauen, Mutter und ein Führer - Frauen im Faschismus (Berlin, 1976), p. 85.
- (103) Message from the press conference of 7.1.1936, Instruction No. 15, quoted in Joseph Wulf, Presse und Funk im Dritten Reich (Reinbek, 1966), p. 96.
- (104) ibid., p. 95
- (105) Macciocchi, Jungfrauen, op. cit., p. 85.
- (106) Strothmann, Literaturpolitik, op. cit., p. 345.
- (107) ibid., p. 348.
- (108) ibid., p. 344.
- (109) Macciocchi, op. cit., pp. 49 ff.
- (110) c.f. Jurgen Kuczynski, Frauenarbeit (Berlin, 1963), pp. 253-268.
- (111) Domarus (e.d.), Hitler: Reden, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 567.
- (112) ibid., vol. 2, p. 1706
- (113) c.f. Kriek's statement apropos of the sexes: "The individual is a man, a woman or a child, never merely a human." (Kriek, Nationalpolitische Erziehung) quoted in Macciocchi, op. cit., p. 51.
- (114) Ernst Bloch, Erbschaft dieser Zeit (Frankfurt, 1973), p. 182.
- (115) Which is also shown in the fact that that some of the authors were already writing novelettes before 1933, e.g. Rudolf Utsch, Otfried von Hanstein, Karlheinz Arens.
- (116) Ernst Bloch, Das Prinzip Hoffnung (Frankfort, 1973), vol.1, p. 512.

(117) ibid., p. 513.

(118) ibid., pp. 514-5

(119) The expression comes from Stendhal and is appropriated by both Marcuse (see Der eindimensionale Mensch, Neuwied & Berlin, 1971, p. 222) and Adorno (see Asthetische Theorie, Frankfurt, 1972, p. 461).

(120) Bloch, Prinzip Hoffnung, op. cit., p. 517.

(121) ibid., p. 518.