

Heinar Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann* in East and West:
A Contribution to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*

by

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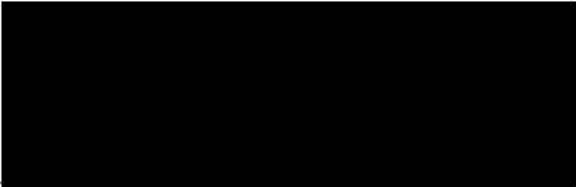
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ABSTRACT

Heinar Kipphardt was one of West Germany's foremost documentary dramatists in the 1960's, and spent over fifteen years researching and writing what was to be his last play, *Bruder Eichmann*. The play is a condensation of over three thousand pages of testimony given by Adolf Eichmann during interviews from 1960 to 1961 while he was a prisoner in Jerusalem. Interspersed into the text are "analogy scenes" that point to the continuance of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western society. Due partially to the inordinate length of Kipphardt's text, the theatre productions of *Bruder Eichmann* differed significantly in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This study examines approaches to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung* in each country by analyzing the performance scripts and press reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions.

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**Der Bursch ist eine Katastrophe;
das ist kein Grund,
ihn als Charakter und Schicksal
nicht interessant zu finden.**

Thomas Mann, "Bruder Hitler"

Introduction

Heinar Kipphardt was best known as a documentary dramatist, and his last play, *Bruder Eichmann*, is the most radical example of his adaptation of documentary material for the stage. Kipphardt not only made use of material that pertained directly to Adolf Eichmann and the most recent past; rather, he utilized reports from his present -- 1982 -- to demonstrate the continuation of what he termed the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western capitalist society. This relation to the present establishes *Bruder Eichmann* as Kipphardt's most controversial documentary play, a fact demonstrated by the reception of the Munich premiere. Despite this, Kipphardt and *Bruder Eichmann* have been neglected by academic discourse; indeed, only three books have examined the play in any detail. Walter Karbach's dissertation *Mit Vernunft zu rasen: Heinar Kipphardt* appeared in 1989 and was the first study of Kipphardt's works as a whole; however, as the title would suggest, Karbach focuses more on the writer Kipphardt. Thomas Lindner's study of *Bruder Eichmann* appeared one year later, in 1990, and is titled *Die Modellierung des Faktischen*. Lindner establishes the play within the context of Kipphardt's other documentary plays. Finally, Sven Hanuschek discusses all of the dramatist's plays in his book *"Ich nenne das Wahrheitserfindung" Heinar Kipphardts Dramen und ein Konzept des Dokumentartheaters als Historiographie* and situates these within a historiographical context -- his book appeared in 1993. Karbach and Hanuschek have written comprehensive studies of Kipphardt's work, while Lindner has focused specifically on *Bruder Eichmann*; however, even Lindner fails to examine the stage productions and subsequent press reviews of Kipphardt's last play. Glenn Cuomo's excellent article

"*Vergangenheitsbewältigung Through Analogy*" refers in footnotes to the Munich *Theaterprogramm* and to reviews of both the Munich premiere and East German productions; however, this information is cursory and serves to direct the reader to supplementary information.

A play is written to be performed, and the Munich and East Berlin productions of *Bruder Eichmann* staged two very different versions of Kipphardt's text; however, I have found no analyses of these or their press reviews. A study and comparison of the performance scripts provides insight into the adaptability of Kipphardt's text and also reveals the political intention of each director for his production. At times, this contrasts with Kipphardt's own intention for the stage production of *Bruder Eichmann*; however, it demonstrates different textual interpretations by individuals with divergent socio-political backgrounds and beliefs. An examination and comparison of the press reviews of the two productions substantiates this claim, as the controversy engendered by the Munich premiere contrasts with the favourable reception of the East Berlin production. Hence, the reception of the play also provides insight into *Bruder Eichmann* as Heinar Kipphardt's contribution to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*: coming to terms with the past and present. This contribution will be examined in the four main chapters of this thesis.

Chapter two will provide a short biography of Heinar Kipphardt and examine the history of *Bruder Eichmann*. This history will be placed within the larger context of West German history between 1962 and 1982, as events in the Federal Republic strongly influenced Kipphardt and his writing. This chapter also serves to place *Bruder Eichmann*

within a historical and political frame of reference, as Kipphardt's own *Weltanschauung* motivated the play.

The third chapter serves to broaden the reader's frame of reference to include the documentary theatre movement of the Sixties which Kipphardt helped establish. Chapter three introduces the various means of defining "documentary theatre" in order to establish a suitable definition of this term as it pertains to this study. This chapter also acquaints the reader with documentary theatre as it has been examined in scholarly discourse, and demonstrates the affiliation of *Bruder Eichmann* to this form. The final section of chapter three delineates the history of documentary theatre and places special emphasis on the influence of Erwin Piscator and Bertolt Brecht. In addition, it provides a comparison of the documentary theatre movement in the Federal Republic with that of the former German Democratic Republic in an attempt to deepen the reader's understanding of the form and function of *Bruder Eichmann* as a documentary play.

Chapter four provides a plot summary of *Bruder Eichmann* and a section on the characters which familiarize the reader with the play. This is followed by an analysis of Kipphardt's text and a detailed section on the analogy scenes which assists in delineating the dramatist's motives for their inclusion. This detailed examination of *Bruder Eichmann* provides a basis of comparison for the subsequent chapter.

The fifth and main chapter examines the script of the premiere of *Bruder Eichmann* at Munich's Residenztheater under the direction of Dieter Giesing, and compares this with the script from Alexander Stillmark's production at the Deutsches Theater in East Berlin. It compares and contrasts each of these with Kipphardt's original

text in an attempt to determine the directors' motives for their adaptations. In addition, since the theatre programme is such an integral aspect of a German stage production, an analysis and comparison has been undertaken in an endeavour to provide supplementary illustration of the differences between the Munich and East Berlin performances of *Bruder Eichmann*. Finally, chapter five explores the critical reception of the play in East and West by introducing, analyzing and comparing press reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions.

Heinar Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann* and the Munich and East Berlin performances provide a measure of the dramatist's contribution to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*. Kipphardt's last play and its adaptation left a legacy in newspapers, magazines and theatre journals which has been largely ignored; hence it is hoped that this study will provide the encouragement necessary to renew interest in the controversial aspects of the performance of Kipphardt's last play, *Bruder Eichmann*.

2. Heinar Kipphardt and *Bruder Eichmann*

2.1 Heinar Kipphardt - a short biography

Heinar Kipphardt gained international recognition as one of the most successful West German documentary dramatists; in addition, he published a novel, a collection of poetry and he wrote and produced several plays for television. This, combined with his many contributions to literary journals, magazines and newspapers, makes him an almost omnipresent figure in post-war East and West German literature. However, in spite of his significant contribution and the fact that his plays are still performed on German stages, Kipphardt has been all but forgotten by literary historians. One may ask how a writer who was consistently distinguished with prizes from all areas of the arts community¹ could be relegated to literary obscurity in the fifteen years since his death in 1982. This may have something to do with what we would now term Kipphardt's lack of political correctness, and his refusal to sacrifice or suppress his own beliefs.

Kipphardt (1922-82) was politically active throughout his life -- it was a character trait he learned as a child when his father was arrested and interned by the Nazis for his socialist sympathies:

In einem weißen Matrosenanzug mit der Mutter, unter vielen anderen Frauen und Kindern, am Lagertor des Konzentrationslager Dürngoy bei Breslau stehend, eine Besuchserlaubnis vergeblich erhoffend, den Vater

¹ Among others, Kipphardt won the *Gerhart-Hauptmann-Preis* (1964), the *Fernsehpreise der Deutschen Akademie der Darstellenden Künste* (1964), the *Film und Fernsehpreise des Verbandes der Ärzte Deutschlands* (1975), and the *Literaturpreis der Freien und Hansestadt Bremen* (1977).

kahlgeschoren, zerschlagen, in Sträflingskleidung in einem Zug von Häftlingen bemerkend, war eine bestimmte Phase der Kindheit beendet. Ich mußte mich erbrechen. Ich war später nie in Gefahr, das vergessen zu wollen. (qtd. in *BE*: 213)²

This experience shaped Kipphardt's philosophy profoundly, and his political views strongly influenced his work. As Stefan Heym emphasizes: "Er war links und blieb links - einer der wenigen Autoren, die, auch nachdem sie die DDR verließen, ihren linken Überzeugungen die Treue hielten" (73).

Heinar Kipphardt was not always a writer; rather, he studied medicine before he was drafted into the army in 1943, stating that he considered it pointless to study the humanities during that time (qtd. in Stock: 23). Upon being ordered to the Russian front, Kipphardt deserted the army in January 1945, and after the end of World War II he resumed his studies in Düsseldorf, specializing in psychiatry. Along with National Socialism, the psychological study of individuals became one of the key themes of his literature, and he combined these two topics for his last play, *Bruder Eichmann*. In 1949, Kipphardt, his wife Lore, and baby daughter moved to the German Democratic Republic, firm in the conviction that the new socialist society had more to offer than the capitalist one developing in the West. He practiced at East Berlin's Charité hospital for a year, but concurrently wrote plays and poetry and maintained contacts with the theatre. By 1950 though, the strain of having two careers was apparent, and Kipphardt chose to take a

² Parenthetical references to *Bruder Eichmann* will henceforth be shortened to *BE*, while *Schreibt die Wahrheit* and *Ruckediguh - Blut ist im Schuh* will be parenthetically referenced using *Schreibt* and *Ruckediguh* respectively.

position as chief dramatic advisor (*Chefdramaturg*) at the Deutsches Theater (Stock 39). In this capacity he produced his first play, *Entscheidungen*, in 1952. This was followed closely by the 1953 premiere of *Shakespeare dringend gesucht*, a satirical comedy about the state of cultural politics in the GDR for which Kipphardt won the *Nationalpreis der DDR*. However, from 1957 onward, the cultural politics of the GDR became increasingly uncompromising (Fuhr 92) and Heinar Kipphardt found himself isolated in his willingness to criticize the system, although he always stressed that his criticism came from the left (Heym 73). Kipphardt resigned from the Deutsches Theater in 1958, and with the initiation of the *Bitterfelder Weg*³ in 1959 ". . . geriet Kipphardt mehr und mehr in die Defensive" (Stock 56). Kipphardt was misquoted in an interview with *Die Welt*⁴ and further angered GDR political officials so that ultimately, he decided not to return from his engagement as a visiting playwright at the Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus. At the end of November 1959, Kipphardt wrote to a friend, Boris Djacenko: "Es ist schon ein dunkler Aspekt, als Sozialist ein Land verlassen zu müssen, das vorgibt, den Sozialismus zu realisieren" (qtd. in *Schreibt*: 158). He moved with his family back to the Federal Republic, a fact which Stock discusses: "Die Übersiedlung in die Bundesrepublik verstand Kipphardt keineswegs als eine positive Alternative zum Leben in der DDR, schließlich hatte er 1949 der Bundesrepublik den Rücken gekehrt, um in der DDR zu leben" (63).

³ The *Bitterfelder Weg* refers to the 1. Bitterfelder Konferenz in which the government encouraged workers to pursue creative endeavours such as writing, painting and music.

⁴ Compare Kipphardt, *Schreibt die Wahrheit* 147-53 and Stock 61-64.

In 1961 the Kipphardt family moved to Munich, where the author worked as a freelance dramatist throughout the Sixties. However, shortly thereafter his marriage to Lore Kipphardt broke down, and from 1963 until his death he lived with his life companion, the former Pia Pavel, whom he married in 1971. Stefan Heym provides another glimpse into Kipphardt's thoughts in the late Sixties:

Jahre später - inzwischen hatten sie die Mauer gebaut - suchte ich ihn in München auf. Ich erinnere mich nicht mehr, ob er zu der Zeit schon wieder Dramaturg war, an den Kammerspielen diesmal, wahrscheinlich ja; jedenfalls wollte ich von ihm wissen, wie man so als Schriftsteller lebe im deutschen Westen. . . . Die Frage war doppelbödig. Wenn einer die Absicht habe, nicht zu lügen, erwiderte er schließlich, und sich nicht zu unterwerfen, sich nicht zum Objekt machen zu lassen, dann sei es auch in dieser Bundesrepublik nicht leicht. (72)

Kipphardt first dealt dramatically with National Socialism in his play *Der Hund des Generals* which premiered in Munich in 1962; however, he did not achieve critical acclaim until the 1964 television and theatrical premieres (in that order) of his play *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer* -- a play that dealt with the controversial issue of the responsibility of the scientist in the nuclear age. *Oppenheimer* was the "meistgespielte[s] Stück der Spielzeit 1964-65" (Peters/Töteberg 8) and was succeeded by another TV play, *Joel Brand: Die Geschichte eines Geschäfts* in which Kipphardt returned to the subject of National Socialism and first dealt with Adolf Eichmann. A television version of *Der Hund des Generals* followed both of these productions. 1965 saw the theatrical premiere

of *Joel Brand* as well as Kipphardt's rehabilitation in the GDR with the production of *Oppenheimer* at the Berliner Ensemble. Uwe Naumann and Michael Töteberg comment on this in the "Kipphardt" special issue of *Marbacher Magazin*: "Obwohl es keine offizielle Erklärung dazu gibt, ist er plötzlich in der DDR kein verbotener Autor mehr, sondern ein geschätzter humanistischer Schriftsteller" (42). The success of his plays -- especially *Oppenheimer* -- gave Kipphardt the financial independence to continue working freelance; nevertheless, in 1970 he accepted an offer made by the Münchener Kammerspiele and became their chief dramatic advisor. It would seem though, that Heinar Kipphardt was destined to work as a freelance author; in 1971, despite vehement protest from the arts community (Naumann/Töteberg 44), Kipphardt's contract was not renewed as a result of the "Kammerspiel-Skandal" (Stock 140). The programme for the Kammerspiele's production of Wolf Biermann's play *Der Dra-Dra* contained photos of West German businessmen and politicians portrayed as dragons that were to be battled. Peters and Töteberg refer to this in their article: "Kipphardt, der presserechtlich für alle Programmhefte verantwortlich war, aber die beanstandeten Seiten keineswegs initiiert hatte, wurde geschäft" (10). In a letter to Giorgio Strehler, the director of the Milan production of *Oppenheimer*, Kipphardt writes: "Die politische Bedeutung der Sache liegt darin, daß man mit meinem Fall die Öffentlichkeit gegen die Tendenzen mobilisieren kann, die entschiedenen Linken aus dem Kultur- und Universitätsbereich herauszudrängen" (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 122). Thereafter, Kipphardt worked on two plays about terrorism -- one of which dealt with Ulrike Meinhof; however, as a result of the

increasingly conservative political climate in the Federal Republic, both of these remained fragments.

The television play *Das Leben des schizophrenen Dichters Alexander März* signalled a new era in Kipphardt's work and a return to his study of human psychology. This was followed in 1976 by a novel, *März*, which dealt with the same subject matter, and in 1977 he produced a revised version of his *Oppenheimer* play for the Hamburg production. Kipphardt wrote and produced two more television plays in 1979: *Die Stühle des Herrn Szmil* and *Die Nacht, in der der Chef geschlachtet wurde*. Both of these plays -- comedies -- had their theatrical premieres in 1961 and 1967 respectively, but received little critical acclaim until the television versions appeared. In 1980, Kipphardt's third version of *März*, titled *März: ein Künstlerleben* premiered in Düsseldorf (Stock 112), an event which marked Kipphardt's return to the theatre after almost a decade away from it. One year later, a television play of the revised version of *Oppenheimer* was broadcast. Meanwhile, Kipphardt had returned to the Eichmann project he had begun in the Sixties: the play that ultimately became *Bruder Eichmann*. A note in his calendar from the 23rd or 24th of October states "Bruder Eichmann beendet" (qtd. in *BE*: 222). A few weeks later, on November 18, 1982, he died at the age of sixty as the result of a brain hemorrhage.

Heinar Kipphardt considered it his responsibility to play a role in educating the West German public; indeed, he reveals in his *Notathefte* that this was an ethical obligation for him: "Ich störe, also bin ich. / Ich höre auf zu stören, also war ich" (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 61). However, Kipphardt refused to moralize to the masses; rather, he used

his plays as educational vehicles to let the audience make the final judgement on the contemporary issues he broached in them. Naumann and Töteberg support this as follows: "Heinar Kipphardt verstand sich als Autor, der sich selbst aussetzt. An der aufklärerischen Funktion der Literatur zweifelte er nicht, aber fertige Antworten wollte er nicht liefern" (65). He often went back to previous works and produced them for a new medium -- in fact, Heinar Kipphardt used multi-media ahead of his time. Most of his plays were also television plays at one point or another; *Bruder Eichmann* is the notable exception, although even this work was originally planned for television. Kipphardt actually had plans for a television version of *Bruder Eichmann* to be produced after the theatrical version; however, as a result of his sudden death this was never realized. Hence, it is clear that Kipphardt took great pains with his work, a factor which Naumann and Töteberg also emphasize: "Kipphardt schreibt nicht leicht und schnell; er verfolgt seine Stoffe über Jahre, quält sich ab, bis er die richtige Form gefunden hat, bis er zu den wichtigen Fragen vorgestoßen ist" (66-67). He was not content to let events unfold, and through his work played the role of one of the consciences of the Federal Republic. It is a fact, however, that Heinar Kipphardt has been all but forgotten, and there are no easy answers for this. I think he became a victim of the conservative *Zeitgeist* that pervaded the Federal Republic in the early Eighties -- a time when financial well-being was more important than the conscience of the nation. Kipphardt's critical leftist stance hardly fit a nation that had become the economic powerhouse of Europe, and his death permitted his lapse into obscurity. However, before this lapse could take effect, Heinar Kipphardt's last

play, *Bruder Eichmann*, provoked a controversy in the West which was exemplary of this dramatist's agitational style.

2.2 *Bruder Eichmann*: the social, political and historical background to the play

On May 31, 1962 Adolf Eichmann was hanged, thus fulfilling the sentence handed down by the District Court of Jerusalem in Israel. The execution followed a trial and appeal process which had lasted over one year and had been watched closely by many Germans, including Heinar Kipphardt.⁵ Christoph Kleßmann summarizes the effect of the Eichmann Trial on the West German public conscience:

Die große Resonanz auf den Prozeß gegen Eichmann gehörte ebenfalls zu den Indikatoren des beginnenden Wandels in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit. Die Bedeutung des Prozesses für die Bundesrepublik lag auf einer anderen Ebene. Zum einen wurde die 'Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit' nun wieder ins grelle Rampenlicht der in- und ausländischen Öffentlichkeit gerückt. . . . Zum anderen trat jetzt wie nie zuvor das ins Bewußtsein, was Hannah Arendt in ihrem umstrittenen Buch über den Jerusalemer Prozeß treffend als die 'Banalität des Bösen' bezeichnete. (182)⁶

⁵ For a summary of Eichmann's life from 1945 to 1962 (including the trial in Jerusalem), see the section from the East Berlin programme in Appendix I.

⁶ For further information on this concept, see Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Rev. ed. New York: Penguin, 1965.

That same year, Kipphardt wrote an essay titled "Soll die Vergangenheit nicht endlich ruhen?" and came to the following conclusion: "Die Vergangenheit wird erst ruhen, wenn sie wirklich Vergangenheit geworden ist. . . . Zur Stunde ist sie das noch nicht. Weder theoretisch, noch praktisch" (275). The history of *Bruder Eichmann* begins at this point, and is intertwined with the history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Culturally, 1962 was the year when the Oberhausen Manifesto declared the New German Cinema (Fuhr 117) and the premiere of Rolf Hochhuth's play *Der Stellvertreter* ushered in a new theatre form called documentary theatre (Glaser 263). Politically, 1962 saw the *Spiegel* Affair. On October 26, police raided the offices of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* and arrested its editor, Rudolf Augstein, after the publication of an article titled "Bedingt abwehrbereit". The government accused Augstein and *Der Spiegel* of spying, but had to withdraw the charges due to insufficient evidence. Two weeks later the minister of defense, Franz Josef Strauß, admitted that he had had a role in the affair and on November 30 quit his post (H.G. Lehmann 154). Hermann Glaser comments on this: "Die *Spiegel* Affäre 1962 führte dazu, daß weite Kreise, im besonderen Angehörige der jungen Generation und der kritischen Intelligenz, sich für das Wochenmagazin und damit für die Presse-und Meinungsfreiheit engagierten" (italics in original; 244). In 1963 the Auschwitz Trials began in Frankfurt, a factor which contributed to a further politicization of West German society, and there was a call for a serious attempt to come to terms with the National Socialist past (Bark/Gress 32). However, this was counterbalanced in 1964 by a swing to the right by some sections of society, a fact exemplified by the formation of a radical right wing party, the NPD (Fuhr 133). West

Germany was further politicized by the establishment of the student movement in West Berlin in 1965 (Kleßmann 266); however, it would be some time before this movement reached the rest of the Federal Republic. On August 19, 1965, the verdicts of the Auschwitz Trials were handed down, and this same year coincided with the expiry and subsequent lengthening of the statute of limitations for Nazi war crimes to 1969 (H.G. Lehmann 164). Both of these occurrences contributed to the public awareness of the Holocaust, and created a favourable climate for the 1965 Munich premiere of Heinar Kipphardt's first drama about Eichmann, *Joel Brand: die Geschichte eines Geschäfts*. In a *Spiegel* interview to promote the play, Kipphardt also made the first reference to another project which eventually became *Bruder Eichmann*: "Mich interessiert nicht so sehr die Beschreibung der Vergangenheit als Vergangenheit, sondern als Wirkung in die Gegenwart.' . . . Titel der Sendung und Name des Pflichtbewußten: *Bruder Eichmann*" ("In jedem" 155). In addition, Kipphardt's *Notathefte* show an undated "Stoffbeschreibung zu einem Film" which states: "Der Film beschreibt das persönliche, das berufliche, das politische Leben des Schreibtischmörders Adolf Eichmann aus dessen eigener Sicht und mit dessen Kommentaren. . . . Ein bürgerlicher Pflichtmensch ohne jede Dämonie" (qtd. in *BE*: 157).

In 1966, West Germany experienced its first major post-war recession which was accompanied by a significant -- albeit short-lived -- increase in the popularity of the NPD; indeed, this right-wing party garnered 7.9% of the vote in the 1966 elections for the Bavarian *Landestag* (Kleßmann 212). That same year saw the establishment of the Great Coalition between the CDU/CSU and the SPD which in effect eliminated an

official opposition and caused intellectuals some concern: "Die Große Koalition war also von Anfang an ein Stein des Anstoßes, weil sie dazu führte, daß die Regierungsfraktion im Parlament keinen wirklichen Gegenspieler mehr hatte. Die Literaten sahen dadurch die demokratischen Spielregeln verletzt" (H.L. Müller 93). The *Notstandsgesetzgebung* also became a major issue in 1966 and provoked resistance among writers, a factor which Helmut L. Müller also emphasizes: "Bei ihnen ging die Angst um, daß mit diesen Gesetzen einem neuen Willkürstaat Tür und Tor geöffnet wurde" (94). Meanwhile, Kipphardt was still working on *Bruder Eichmann*, and even made a trip to Israel in 1966 to gather material for the project (Stock 89). Kipphardt's occupation with the Eichmann project is also demonstrated by notes in his *Notathefte* where he experimented with titles for the play (qtd. in *BE*: 157-58) and made notes on the form: "Die Fabel des Stückes könnte sein, daß eine Gruppe von Schauspielern mit dem Regisseur und Mitarbeitern das Stück probiert. . . . Zwischenscenen, Umbau etc. Alltagsszenen, politische Realitäten der Gegenwart von ihnen reflektiert" (qtd. in *BE*: 160-61). Hence, Kipphardt was clearly working on *Bruder Eichmann* during one of the most political eras in West German history, a fact which certainly had an influence on the play's controversial aspect.

The following year, 1967, the society of the Federal Republic was further politicized by the student revolts in West Berlin which culminated in a demonstration against the Shah of Persia's visit on June 2nd. In the resulting clash between police and demonstrators, one student, Benno Ohnesorg, was killed by a police bullet. This in turn resulted in mass demonstrations in the Federal Republic -- effectively bringing the student movement out of West Berlin -- and paved the way for the subsequent creation of

the *Außerparlamentarische Opposition* (APO). Kleßmann comments on this: "Mit der Ausweitung auf die Bundesrepublik trat die Studentenbewegung in ihre zweite Phase und gewann an politischem Einfluß. Sie wurde zu einem Phänomen, mit dem sich nunmehr die Politiker und die Öffentlichkeit ernsthafter auseinandersetzen hatten" (269). That same year, Kipphardt made a second public reference to his Eichmann project -- this time in an interview with *Der Spiegel* titled "Wäre ich Eichmann geworden?": ". . . [I]ch arbeite seit einiger Zeit an einem Stoff, der von faktischem Material ausgeht, mit Figuren aus der jüngsten Vergangenheit, Figuren wie Eichmann, und ich beschreibe die Fortsetzung der Eichmann-Haltung in unserer politischen Gegenwart" (133). At the same time, Kipphardt's *Notathefte* show an occupation with the *Eichmann-Haltung*, as well as Eichmann's religious beliefs and class consciousness (*BE* 163-65).

In 1968, an assassination attempt was made on Rudi Dutschke, the leader of both the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS) and the APO. The consequence was mass demonstrations in West Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Munich, and a debate in parliament on the reasons for the unrest (Fuhr 149). This marked the high point of the student revolts and the influence of the APO in the Federal Republic, a fact which Kleßmann also discusses: "Aus der APO als spontaner Bewegung ohne feste Strukturen kristallisierte sich bis Ende 1969 eine Vielzahl politischer Kadergruppen mit mehr oder minder orthodox-kommunistischer Zielrichtung verschiedenster Provenienz (K-Gruppen) heraus" (271).

The year 1969 saw the parliamentary election of the SPD politician Willy Brandt to chancellor of the Federal Republic, although the CDU/CSU remained the strongest

party in the federal elections earlier that year (H.G. Lehmann 213). Brandt's election signified the first time in the Federal Republic's history that a member of the SPD sat as chancellor. Helmut L. Müller comments on the effect the election had on writers:

Die Bundestagswahlen von 1969 markieren in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik eine Zäsur. Eine neue Ära begann. Durch den Machtwechsel wurden in hohem Maße politische Energien freigesetzt. Die durch die Studentenrevolte ausgelöste Unruhe sollte produktiv in Reformen umgesetzt werden. Sie hofften darauf, daß die neue Regierung innenpolitische Verkrustungen aufbrechen und sorgsam ausgeklammerte politische Probleme endlich aufgreifen würde. (116-17)

After a period of four years, the statute of limitations on Nazi war crimes had again expired, and after some debate was further lengthened to 1979 (Kleßmann 184).

The next two years, 1970 and 1971, saw the implementation of Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and a general improvement in relations with the German Democratic Republic, a fact which made Brandt into a "Symbolfigur für die Schriftsteller" (H.L. Müller 127) -- although likely not for Heinar Kipphardt. The waves of terrorism in the Seventies and their results influenced Kipphardt infinitely more than Brandt's policies, and this fact is reflected in his writing. In 1970, Andreas Baader -- who had been in prison since 1968 for arson -- was freed by Ulrike Meinhof, Ingrid Schubert and Irene Goergens (Fuhr 163). As H.G. Lehmann comments: "Diese Aktion gilt als Geburtsstunde der RAF (Baader-Meinhof Gruppe). Sie repräsentiert den radikalsten programmatischen Flügel des Terrorismus" (229). 1971 was significant for Kipphardt in that he was involved in the

biggest theatre scandal in the history of the Federal Republic (Stock 97): the controversy over the programme for *Der Dra-Dra* at the Münchener Kammerspiele.

The following year, 1972, saw a tremendous amount of political activity as well as tragic occurrences. Politically, the Federal Republic officially recognized the GDR; however, this was shadowed by the first no-confidence vote in the history of the nation's parliament. It had been engineered by the CDU/CSU and failed by two votes (H.G. Lehmann 217). Six months later, a vote of confidence in the Brandt government -- another first in the Republic's history -- was introduced by the chancellor himself; however, this time the government failed and parliament was dissolved. The subsequent federal election saw another historical first when the SPD won the majority (45.8%) of the vote (Fuhr 181). Meanwhile, the Olympics in Munich were eclipsed by a Palestinian terrorist group's attack on the Israeli team which left seventeen people dead (H.G. Lehmann 230). Finally, the main leaders of the RAF were arrested between June and July of 1972. Those arrested and imprisoned in a specially built facility, Stammheim, included Andreas Baader, Holger Meins, Jan-Carl Raspe, Gudrun Ensslin, Ulrike Meinhof, Klaus Jünschke and Irmgard Möller. Hermann Glaser discusses the effect of the construction of Stammheim on West German society:

Stammheim - der eigens für die Verwahrung der Terroristen und die entsprechenden Gerichtsverfahren gebaute Hochsicherheitstrakt bei Stuttgart - wurde zu einem Negativsymbol, das einerseits für ein übersteigertes Gewaltmonopol des Staates, andererseits für die Unsicherheit im Umgang mit dem Terrorismus stand. (442)

In the wake of the Kammerspiele scandal, Heinar Kipphardt wrote very little, and what he did write remained incomplete. According to Uwe Naumann, Kipphardt had worked on a play about Ulrike Meinhof since 1973 (*Ruckediguh* 172); however, this too remained a fragment. There is no evidence to suggest that Kipphardt worked on *Bruder Eichmann* at this time; in fact, it appears he had put the project aside indefinitely.

In 1974, Willy Brandt was forced to resign as chancellor in the wake of a spy scandal (Fuhr 191). That same year also saw the catalyst for a new wave of terrorism in the Federal Republic when one of the imprisoned RAF members, Holger Meins, died of complications arising from a hunger strike. The following day, members of the "Bewegung 2. Juni" assassinated the president of the Berlin superior court, Günter von Drenkmann. This group also kidnapped the head of the Berlin CDU, Peter Lorenz, in 1975 and released him only when their demands were fully met (H.G. Lehmann 230). That same year, the second generation of RAF terrorists occupied the West German embassy in Stockholm in an attempt to force the release of the first generation -- two hostages died in the unsuccessful bid (H.G. Lehmann 231). In May, 1976, Ulrike Meinhof committed suicide in her cell at Stammheim, and rumours that she had been murdered incited demonstrations and clashes with police (H.G. Lehmann 231). The 1976 election showed an increase in the popularity of the CDU/CSU which garnered 48.6% percent of the vote (Fuhr 199). Finally, that same year saw Wolf Biermann's *Ausbürgerung* from the GDR, an event which impelled Kipphardt to make a public statement:

Die Ausbürgerung des oppositionellen Kommunisten Wolf Biermann durch die Behörden der DDR empört uns linke Schriftsteller, denn sie erinnert uns an vergangenen geglaubte Praktiken, die der revolutionären Bewegung in der ganzen Welt unermesslich geschadet haben. Für die Entwicklung zum Sozialismus ist die kritische Auseinandersetzung in Theorie und Praxis eine Voraussetzung. Wer Kritik mit bürokratischen Mitteln niederwalzt statt sich mit ihr auseinanderzusetzen, schadet der sozialistischen Bewegung. (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 235)

The terrorist wave reached its high point in 1977 with the kidnapping of the president of the Federation of German Industry, Hanns Martin Schleyer, and the subsequent hijacking of a Lufthansa flight by RAF terrorists. The day after the hijacking, Baader, Ensslin and Raspe committed suicide in their cells, and the day after that, Schleyer was found murdered (Bark/Gress 352). Bark and Gress discuss the effect of this succession of events: "This was a major turning point. From that moment on, the forces of law and of the state had the upper hand, though outbreaks and killings continued" (353). Kipphardt wrote of the supposed suicides in a 1977 entry in his *Notathefte*: "Ruckedigu - ruckedigu - / Blut ist im Schuh, / sagte mir / ein Patient. / Ein mir nahestehender / Freund schrieb mir:/ nach St. [ammheim] ist in diesem / Lande alles möglich" (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 232).

After 1977 there was a discernible shift to the political right -- a fact exemplified by the election of Franz Josef Strauß (CSU) to the post of Minister-President of Bavaria in 1978. This concerned Kipphardt, and inspired him to write on what he termed "der

schnelle Verfall an politischer Kultur": "Es gibt z.B. ein ganz aberwitziges Bedürfnis, daß andere Leute doch bitte die Sache regeln mögen, die einen selber angehen. . . . Dieser Zug zum autoritären Staat, glaube ich, hat Verbindung zur autoritären Tradition der deutschen Geschichte" (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 236). Perhaps in response to this, Kipphardt once again took up his Eichmann project and published excerpts of *Bruder Eichmann* in the journal *Kursbuch*. Upon reading this, the playwright George Tabori was inspired to write the following to Kipphardt: "Why on earth, or in hell, did you give up the Eichmann Projekt? (sic) From what I read of it, it seems the best antidote to the New Hitler Wave: it makes fascism normal and present instead of leaving it in the daemonic past" (qtd. in *BE*: 197-98). Kipphardt answered Tabori's letter by stating: "Ich weiß nicht, warum ich das Projekt damals aufgab, vielleicht weil ich zuviel darüber wußte, es jedenfalls für mich nicht genug Fragen gab. . . . Ich denke auch, das war keine richtige Entscheidung von mir, und ich habe vor, zunächst einen Fernsehfilm aus dem Theaterprojekt zu machen. (qtd. in *BE*: 199).⁷

The American television series *Holocaust* was broadcast in the Federal Republic in 1979 and drew attention back to the National Socialist past. Uwe Naumann discusses this in his "Nachwort" to *Bruder Eichmann*:

Die Fernseh-Ausstrahlung des *Holocaust*-Films 1979 hatte in der Bundesrepublik eine breite öffentliche Diskussion über die Jahre der Nazi-Herrschaft angeregt; die so lange tabuisierte, verdrängte NS-

⁷ George Tabori criticized *Bruder Eichmann* in its final form. Compare his statement in *Theater Heute* 5 (1983): 70. Kipphardt died before his plan for a television film of *Bruder Eichmann* was realized.

Vergangenheit wurde in Familien besprochen, in den Schulen behandelt, in allen Medien thematisiert. . . . Kipphardts Anliegen, mit *Bruder Eichmann* den Faschismus tiefer auszuloten und zugleich gegenwärtige Dimensionen des funktionalen Menschen vorzuführen, erwies sich in den achtziger Jahren als unvermindert aktuell. (217-18)

That same year, the statute of limitations on Nazi war crimes emerged once again as an issue in the Federal Republic. Ultimately, it was decided to impose no time limitation on the prosecution of such crimes, a fact which put an end to the debate of this topic (Fuhr 213).

In 1980, Franz Josef Strauß became a candidate for chancellor of the Federal Republic. At this time, Heinar Kipphardt organized material for a book he was editing titled *Satiren zu Franz Josef Strauß* -- it was published in 1981. Kipphardt states in the "Vorwort" to the book: "Wer hat je gedacht, daß die deutschen Verhältnisse im Jahre 1980 die Kanzlerkandidatur des Mannes ermöglichen, der nach eigener Aussage gewünscht hat, es möge dem deutschen Volk nie so schlecht gehen, daß es ihn als Bundeskanzler brauche, der in der Welt einen Ruf wie Donnerhall hat?" (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 240). Strauß's candidacy was significant for Kipphardt in that he perceived his concern about German authoritarian tendencies to have been well-founded. Adolf Stock elaborates on this: "Kipphardt befürchtete, daß eine autoritätfixierte, von der *Eichmann-Haltung* geprägte Gesellschaft in schwieriger Lage wieder nach dem 'starken Mann' rufen könnte" (*italics in original*; 122).

Kipphardt critically viewed the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan to President of the United States, and became an outspoken critic of the Reagan government's role in nuclear armament. In an essay titled "Wer schützt uns vor unseren Beschützern?" Kipphardt wrote in 1981: "Es gibt in der Geschichte keine vergleichbare Situation. Die allgemeine, die ganze Bevölkerung bedrohende Gefahr macht eine allgemeine Gegenwehr erforderlich, die an bestimmte politische Überzeugungen nicht gebunden ist" (246). That same year, 300 000 people demonstrated in Bonn against the nuclear arms race, and specifically against the decision taken by NATO to rearm (H.G. Lehmann 251). Meanwhile, Kipphardt continued his work on *Bruder Eichmann*, ultimately completing it in 1982.

In May 1982, Heinar Kipphardt participated in the *Haager Treffen*⁸, and elaborated on the danger of the functional human being in society. The influence of his Eichmann project is perceptible in his speech at this conference: "Leute, die funktionieren und die sich nicht verweigern, die nicht zu zivilem Ungehorsam gegen Kriegsvorbereitung zu bringen sind, die entschließen sich eigentlich, an ihrem eigenen Tod zu arbeiten, und sie erhoffen doch nur den der anderen" (qtd. in *Ruckediguh*: 212). The year 1982 also saw the largest peace demonstration in the history of the Federal Republic when over 300 000 people demonstrated in Bonn for peace and disarmament (Fuhr 225). Kipphardt was in the process of finishing *Bruder Eichmann*, and on September 12, 1982 he sent the execution scene to Dieter Giesing, the director of the

⁸ This refers to the *Haager Treffen zur Weiterführung der Friedensinitiative europäischer Schriftsteller* which Kipphardt took part in from May 24-26, 1982.

Munich premiere, with the message: "Lieber Dieter, das ist die Hinrichtungsszene und der Hull-Epilog, ich hoffe, das gefällt Dir, es ist jedenfalls so eine Szene auf der Bühne bisher nie riskiert worden" (qtd. in *BE*: 201). On November 3rd, Kipphardt sent the final version of the book manuscript to his publishers Nyssen & Bansemer with a note stating: "Die von Ute [Bansemer] übersandten Striche werden mir vielleicht für die Fassung im Residenztheater von Nutzen sein, ich habe das Skript noch nicht durchgesehen" (qtd. in *BE*: 202). Kipphardt wanted to be a part of the production of *Bruder Eichmann*, and Adolf Stock refers to the "ersten Vorgespräche" between the dramatist and Giesing (132-33). However, the dramatist did not live to see the premiere of his play -- Heinar Kipphardt died less than three weeks after writing that note to Nyssen & Bansemer. A scene from the play was preprinted in the 1982 *Jahressonderheft* of *Theater Heute* (56-57), and two months after Kipphardt's death, *Bruder Eichmann* premiered in Munich on January 21, 1983 to a sold-out theatre.

3. Documentary Theatre

3.1 Definition of Documentary Theatre

German documentary theater of the 1960's was political in its orientation. Its purpose was to seek clarification on a number of burning issues, foremost war crimes in a wider sense, symbolized by Auschwitz and Hiroshima, furthermore problems of revolution and imperialism, cold war and rearmament, and finally the role of the intellectual in public affairs. (Nussbaum 237)

Documentary theatre is theatre based on fact which takes its topics from actual events and re-creates these events on the stage. As Walter Hinck emphasizes: "Zwar gibt auch das Dokumentarstück *gespielte* Wirklichkeit, doch die Wirklichkeit diktiert dem Spiel die Bedingungen" (italics in original; *Drama* 206). This form of theatre achieved prominence in the Federal Republic of Germany throughout the Sixties and, as the East German theatre critic Werner Mittenzwei stressed in 1967, it was the only major post-war theatre movement to have been established by German-speaking authors (28). Documentary theatre has an enlightening function, a fact which Walter Huder also stresses in his article: "Vor allem aber will Dokumentartheater die Ursachen der Fakten, um die es geht, bloßlegen, und tendiert so durch Aufklärung zu einer Vermeidung der Unmenschlichkeit in der Zukunft. Es fungiert also zugleich ästhetisch, wissenschaftlich und pädagogisch" (51). The term "documentary theatre" has many definitions, and has been used to define political or historical theatre; however, there are factors which differentiate documentary theatre from the latter two. This chapter will examine each of

these in detail in order to define Heinar Kipphardt's play *Bruder Eichmann* using these criteria.

Peter Weiss's definition of documentary theatre appeared in *Theater Heute* in 1968 and is the one upon which subsequent definitions have been based. In his article "Das Material und die Modelle", Weiss defines documentary theatre as "ein politisches Forum" which has its basis in reality and has a didactic function (33). In terms of the manner in which this theatre is formed, Weiss writes: "Das dokumentarische Theater enthält sich jeder Erfindung, es übernimmt authentisches Material und gibt dies, im Inhalt unverändert, in der Form bearbeitet, von der Bühne aus wieder" (33). The phrase "in der Form bearbeitet" is open to interpretation, and this was advantageous for dramatists writing ". . . historisch-gesellschaftlich-politisches Theater" (Nehring, "Theater" 31). Walter Hinck addresses this in his book *Das moderne Drama in Deutschland* and criticizes Weiss's definition: "Nicht nur die Bearbeitung 'in der Form', deren verändernde Wirkung Weiss unterschätzt, sondern schon die literarische oder theatralische Vermittlung an sich modifiziert das authentische Material (den Inhalt), indem sie es in die Fiktionalität überführt" (208). Most documentary dramatists did not feel themselves bound to Weiss's definition of documentary theatre -- Heinar Kipphardt certainly did not adhere strictly to "Das Material und die Modelle" -- however, there are some elements of the form which are common to all and thus permit a definition of documentary theatre. In his study of *Bruder Eichmann*, Sven Hanschek emphasizes the difference in dramatic form (from historical drama) (64), the choice of material (69), and finally the importance of audience effect (*Wirkung*) (72). Ultimately, the material

decrees the form; hence: "Ein Dokumentardramatiker kann sich nicht mit allem beschäftigen; sein Material muß bestimmte Bedingungen erfüllen, seine Verarbeitung bestimmten Anforderungen entsprechen" (Hanuschek 69). Form and material are combined to produce the intended effect. Thus, in the Sixties, documentary dramatists fashioned fact-based plays with a didactic purpose in an attempt to come to terms with the past, with the present, and make a difference to the future.

Documentary theatre has sometimes been confused with historical drama, especially since Rolf Hochhuth preferred to characterize his drama *Der Stellvertreter* "ein Geschichtsdrama im Schillerschen Sinne" (*Der Stellvertreter* 7) while his contemporaries defined it as being documentary. Documentary theatre is part of historical theatre; however, there are important differences in these forms which must be examined. Hanuschek also summarizes this in his study and provides an introduction to these differences:

Historische Dramen leben . . . allein aus der (poetischen) Imaginationskraft ihrer Verfasser; auch wenn sie sich auf eine empirische Wirklichkeit oder deren Reste beziehen, ist doch 'jedes einzelne Element' idealisiert, in einem großen Ganzen aufgehoben. (76)

There are two main factors which differentiate documentary from historical drama, and Sjaak Onderdelinden discusses these in "Fiktion und Dokument: Zum dokumentarischen Drama". Onderdelinden emphasizes that documentary theatre attempts to directly provoke its audience to critical reflection of the issues introduced and discussed in a documentary play. This is accomplished by the often controversial topics

chosen by documentary dramatists and by the use of photo or film montage to illustrate the political message of a play. Montage links documentary theatre directly to its predecessor of the 1920's, political theatre, and Heinar Kipphardt paid tribute to the founder of this movement, Erwin Piscator:

Der Szenentitel, die Projektion von Fotos, Fotomontagen . . . und die Einführung des Films in die Bühnenhandlung, das alles und ein Dutzend andere Neuerungen werden Erwin Piscator zugeschrieben und als verdienstvoll akzeptiert. Selten aber wird dabei begriffen, daß er alle diese Mittel erfand, um das Theater zu befähigen, die Wirklichkeit exakter, vollständiger und wahrhafter abzubilden, um dem Drama den Rang des unwiderleglichen Dokuments zu geben. ("Für Piscator" 21-22)

Sjaak Onderdelinden adheres to Weiss's strict definition of documentary theatre, and maintains that "[s]olange der Dramatiker die historischen oder zeitgeschichtlichen Ereignisse auf Grund des Materials fiktionalisiert . . . läßt sich . . . im allgemeinen von historischem Drama sprechen" ("Fiktion" 183). He makes the same point with direct reference to Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann* in another article, "Geschichte auf der Bühne": "Vergleicht man den Text von *Bruder Eichmann* mit den benutzten Dokumenten, so stellt sich heraus, daß Kipphardt sich an die Forderung von Peter Weiss, die Quellen sollen inhaltlich unverändert bleiben, nicht gehalten hat" (267). In light of the many definitions of documentary theatre, I believe it is necessary to define this form using more liberal criteria than those Peter Weiss set out in "Das Material und die Modelle".

Wolfgang Nehring discusses the goals of documentary dramatists in his article "Die Bühne als Tribunal": "Sie [the documentary dramatists] schrieben historisch-politische Dramen nach dokumentarischen Quellen und forderten Zuschauer und Leser zu kritischem Engagement heraus" (69). This discussion of the goals and function of documentary theatre also serves as a general definition of the form. Laureen Nussbaum also attempts to define documentary theatre. In her article, "The German Documentary Drama of the Sixties: a Stereopsis of Contemporary History", she differentiates between what she terms "documentary" and "semidocumentary" theatre, and views "DT" as a form which adheres to Peter Weiss's definition. This was best exemplified in tribunal plays of the Sixties, such as Weiss's own *Die Ermittlung* and Heinar Kipphardt's *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer*. According to Nussbaum, semidocumentary theatre is produced when "documents are interwoven with fictional components and the latter often dominate the piece" (241). If one applies this definition, Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann* is an example of semidocumentary theatre, although fictional elements do not dominate the play.

The authenticity of documentary theatre differentiates it from other forms, and particularly from historical drama. This authenticity was important in the Sixties when West German society entered a crisis precipitated primarily by the 1961 Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem and the 1963-65 Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials. The advancement of media and communication (ie: television) meant that for the first time since World War II, the Holocaust was brought "home" to the Federal Republic. In addition, the 1962 *Spiegel* Affair engendered profound distrust in government and authority, yet another factor

which fostered a new critical evaluation of the past and present within West German society. Hence, it is no coincidence that the three best-known documentary plays -- Hochhuth's *Der Stellvertreter*, Heinar Kipphardt's *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer*, and Peter Weiss's *Die Ermittlung* -- all had their premieres in 1962, 1964 and 1965 respectively under the direction of Erwin Piscator at the new Freie Volksbühne in West Berlin. The authenticity of the documents used for these plays addressed the new criticism and facilitated the attempt at *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*. In short, documentary theatre was borne of a society that needed to come to terms with its past; it used documents to establish authenticity and to create a historical-political theatre with a social function.

3.2 Documentary Theatre in Scholarly Discourse

Jetzt will ich ein paar Worte sagen zu diesem sehr mißverstandenen Begriff vom dokumentarischen Theater. Viele Leute tun so, als wäre das eine unwürdige Beschäftigung mit Faktischem, die, nur mit der Schere so zusammengeschnitten, dann ein merkwürdiges Produkt ergäbe, das doch aber keine Kunst mehr sei. (Kipphardt, "Piscator und Brecht" 27)

Due to documentary theatre's fundamental reliance on factual information to create the plot and action of a drama, the major argument against this form has depended on the perception of how to define "art". Günther Rühle addresses this in his article "Versuche über eine geschlossene Gesellschaft: Das dokumentarische Drama und die deutsche Gesellschaft." He describes documentary theatre thus:

Es ist eine Regeneration, die die angestammte Freiheit des Dichters fast beseitigt hat, die Freiheit, historische Gegenstände in Poetische (sic) zu verwandeln. Die künstlerische Freiheit beschränkt sich nun auf Auswahl, Konzentration, Strukturierung und Arrangement des Stoffs. (9)

Clearly, Rühle does not view the arrangement of documents as being a form of art. It can be argued, however, that the dramatist's subjectivity is involved in the selection and arrangement of documents, and the final product (the documentary drama) becomes an original creation, thus justifiably being called art. Documentary theatre has a didactic function, and the moral lessons in the plays are the result of the dramatist's arrangement of the subject material. Heinar Kipphardt broached the controversial aspect of documentary theatre, and agreed that the creation of a play in this form requires much more than a compilation of documents:

Es ist ein Irrtum zu glauben, daß man die Materialien - jedenfalls für die Bühne - nur zusammenschneiden und montieren könne. Sondern in der späteren Phase tritt natürlich ein Autor ein, sortiert die Fakten; mit der Tendenz, die faktische Grundlage nur zu ändern, wenn der Sinn der historischen Begebenheit größer und deutlicher zum Vorschein kommt. ("Piscator und Brecht" 27)

Klaus Berghahn emphasizes the dichotomy of reality and art in his article "Operative Ästhetik: Zur Theorie der dokumentarischen Literatur". He argues that documentary literature is an "operative Kunst" (271) that fulfils a function to call for both a recognition of the past and criticism of contemporary society. Documentary theatre

does not necessarily have to be a dichotomy, and Berghahn also argues this in his defense of the operative function of the form. He states: "Es ist tatsächlich Kunst genug, aber nicht mehr jene Kunst, welche die Realität illusioniert, um sie gefühlsmäßig erlebbar zu machen, sondern eine operative Kunst, welche die Realität zum Zwecke ihrer Veränderung durchschaubar macht" (272).

Klaus Bohnen states that agitation becomes a form of literature which may not be left to the political realm. Documentary theatre calls for a recognition of fundamental societal and political problems and agitates to change these. This is facilitated by the mixture of history and politics that documentary theatre offers both in structure and content. As Bohnen comments: "Die 'Substanz' entspricht der 'Optik', in der ein historisches Ereignis gesehen wird, und diese enthält ihre Zielbestimmung in der zu attackierenden Deformation der gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft, durch die keine 'zwanglose' Kommunikation möglich ist" (70). According to Bohnen, the controversy engendered by documentary theatre is one of its key responsibilities without which it would have no function. Hence, agitation becomes both an aesthetic and political principle as Bohnen states in the following:

Das Drama greift in die aktuelle Diskussion ein, bezieht Stellung, montiert Dokumente zur konkreten Stütze seiner Attacken und hat sein Ziel erreicht, aber auch in den meisten Fällen seinen Zweck erfüllt, wenn seine Agitation zu einer realen Veränderung beiträgt. (72)

Documentary theatre is a form which combines theory and practice, and the critique of this form illustrates the success of this combination. Rühle prefers not to call

this form "art", while Berghahn refers to a dichotomy between reality and art. Heinar Kipphardt emphasizes that documentary theatre is in fact art which has a specific purpose, and states: "Das Authentische in der Literatur ist eine höhere Sorte von Wahrheit. . . . Die Würde des Authentischen in einem Text zu haben, das ist für mich erstrebenswert. In der Literatur entsteht aus dem Tatsächlichen eine neue Qualität" ("Ruckediguh" 292). Finally, Klaus Bohnen regards documentary theatre as having the specific function of generating controversy. The manner in which theory and practice are applied to documentary plays and specifically to Heinar Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann* is of primary interest to this study.

3.2.1 *Bruder Eichmann* as Documentary Theatre

Mir scheint, es gibt keine Literatur, die ohne das Tatsächliche, das Faktische auskäme, die nicht willentlich oder unwillentlich mit Tatsächlichem umgeht. (Kipphardt, "Das Tatsächliche" 270)

Heinar Kipphardt did not see a dichotomy between reality and art; in fact, as Thomas Lindner states in his detailed study of Kipphardt and *Bruder Eichmann*, literature that was not based on reality was difficult for the dramatist to imagine (35). For Lindner, Kipphardt's work with documents was the basis of his achievement as a writer (Lindner 36), and he further states that the dramatist had already had considerable experience with condensing and staging documents. This is best exemplified by Kipphardt's most successful play, *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer*, for which he condensed over 3000 pages of documents. Hence, based on Kipphardt's own concept of the importance of the

factual for the literary as exemplified by *Oppenheimer*, the reliance on documents for his last play became a matter of course. The analogy scenes in *Bruder Eichmann* provide a good example of Klaus Bohnen's theory of agitation as aesthetic integration, due to the fact that these scenes create a basis for relation to the present. This also correlates to Klaus Berghahn's operative aesthetic, as *Bruder Eichmann* attempts to fulfil the function of creating an aware and engaged audience.

Thomas Lindner views *Bruder Eichmann* as the sum of Kipphardt's literary accomplishment (16) and terms the play a "Modellierung des Faktischen" (35). This modelling is determined by three factors which Kipphardt himself had formulated in an interview with Stephan Lohn published in *Praxis Deutsch* in 1980 and which Lindner paraphrases:

Einmal sieht Kipphardt das *Faktische* im Verhältnis zwischen der Biographie des Autors und dessen literarischem Werk wirksam. Zum anderen ergibt sich für ihn die Relevanz des *Faktischen* aus dem Einfluß der Lebens- und Welterfahrungen auf die literarische Produktion. . . . Kipphardts Bestimmung der dritten Ebene des *Faktischen* betrifft die Aneignung des *Tatsächlichen* und seine Verwandlung im Akt des literarischen Produzierens. (*italics in original*; Lindner 41)

Kipphardt's "*Modellierung des Faktischen*" (shaping of the factual) differs from Weiss's concept of a "*Bearbeitung*" (arrangement). "Shaping" the facts indicates that the original material undergoes a process of change; in a "*Modellierung*" the documentary material remains factual but changes aesthetically. In addition, for Kipphardt the dramatist's own

experience plays a role in the transformation of the material: "Ich will sagen, die Verwendung von Dokumenten ist natürlich an die Persönlichkeit, an die Erfahrungen, an die Betrachtungsweisen, an die Arbeitsweisen eines Autors so gebunden wie in jedem anderen Stoff auch" (Kipphardt, "Piscator und Brecht" 28). In contrast to Kipphardt's "shaping of the factual", Weiss's arrangement of factual material ("*Bearbeitung*") implies no aesthetic change. In both cases, the intention is the use of agitation as a means to produce fundamental social and political change; however, their methods differ. This is illustrated by Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann*.

3.3 Documentary Theatre in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the German Democratic Republic: A Comparison

Documentary theatre in both the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic is rooted in Erwin Piscator's political theatre of the 1920's and Bertolt Brecht's epic theatre. Both of these dramatists came from the same intellectual school which viewed theatre as a means to effect societal change; however, their techniques contrast with one another.

Piscator's theatre sought to spur the public to revolution by dramatizing politically explosive themes such as the First World War and the failed Communist uprising in Berlin in 1918. "It [Piscator's theatre] was an effort to apply socialist principles to the theatre . . . and gave the working classes the possibility of participating in a culture from which they had hitherto been excluded" (Patterson, *Revolution* 26). His new methods created a virtual revolution in the theatre and established his place in theatre history.

Piscator's political plays used documents, photo montage and film to tell "true stories", and were his contribution to the "Agit-Prop" (agitation propaganda) movement that had been developed in the Soviet Union. His theatre was successful and reached a wide audience because of the period in which it appeared and because it charged "little for admission (and nothing at all to the unemployed)" (Patterson, *Revolution* 117). The Twenties in Berlin were arguably one of the most exciting periods in artistic and theatre history; it was a time when artistic freedom flourished and new artistic concepts evolved. Political theatre grew out of this conducive climate and managed to attract both attention and support. As such, the political messages communicated in these plays did have an effect on their audience, a fact which differentiates political theatre from its descendant, documentary theatre. Günther Rühle refers to this difference between political and documentary theatre:

Das politische dokumentarische Drama der zwanziger Jahre traktierte eine alte bürgerliche Gesellschaft, die nicht die Gegenwart und die Vision einer neuen sozialistisch bestimmten Zukunft annehmen wollte. . . . Das heutige dokumentarische Stück traktiert die ihre Vergangenheit vergessende Gesellschaft mit dem Stoff, der von ihr vergessen worden war. (9)

For Bertolt Brecht, the function of theatre was education through entertainment; however, this was qualified by an emphasis on the importance of great drama to achieve a higher form of entertainment (Brecht 664). Brecht believed strongly in the value of reality for the stage and declared: "Das Theater muß sich in der Wirklichkeit engagieren, um wirkungsvolle Abbilder der Wirklichkeit herstellen zu können und zu dürfen" (Brecht

672). To this end he used the alienation effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) whose purpose was to disallow audience empathy and achieve critical distance. It was important that Brecht's audience was aware of the theatrical situation in order to impart complete freedom to assess that which was portrayed on-stage (Brecht 683). This freedom was important for Brecht, since he was portraying his own society on the stage in an effort to effect change through the theatre: "Das Theater, wie wir es vorfinden, zeigt die Struktur der Gesellschaft (abgebildet auf der Bühne) nicht als beeinflussbar durch die Gesellschaft (im Zuschauerraum)" (Brecht 677). However, Brecht's theatre did not provide complete audience freedom; rather, he stressed the importance of ". . . die Kunst zu Lernendes in vergnüglicher Form . . ." (Brecht 701): an audience watching an epic play was meant to receive enjoyable lessons from the theatre. For Bertolt Brecht, criticism of society was to be achieved through the media of his epic theatre and alienation effect.

Erwin Piscator and Bertolt Brecht employed different methods, but both of their theatres had a didactic function. Piscator strove to transform the stage into a political arena in which contemporary concerns could be addressed and the audience would be inspired intellectually. By contrast, Brecht's approach was more theoretical and emphasized the value of theatre first and foremost as a means of didactic entertainment with its basis in reality. Heinar Kipphardt refers to the similarity of Brecht's and Piscator's styles in a speech at a conference in 1971: "Der gemeinsame Ansatzpunkt war, das Theater zu begreifen als eine historisch gewordene Versammlung von Mitteln, die man einsetzen kann, um Lust an Veränderungen zu machen" ("Piscator und Brecht" 24). Kipphardt states later in the same speech that he believes Brecht took the idea ("Lust an

Veränderungen") further than Piscator, which is exemplified in his invention and employment of the alienation effect (26-27).

Documentary theatre grew out of Brecht's and Piscator's theatrical traditions and drew on both of these to create a new fact-based theatre. Erwin Piscator is generally given the most credit for the innovation of the new form primarily due to his pivotal role in the production of the documentary plays. However, Brecht's theory also had a significant part in the objective of documentary theatre to use the stage as a means of changing society.

In 1962, Erwin Piscator returned to West Germany from exile in the United States to produce Rolf Hochhuth's play *Der Stellvertreter*. This play and Piscator's involvement in its production established a new form which quickly became known as documentary theatre. However, as Gregory Mason correctly emphasizes in his article "Documentary Drama from the Revue to the Tribunal", documentary theatre rapidly distinguished itself from its predecessor in its effect upon the audience:

Along with this far greater availability of information, there has arisen a new attitude towards the documentary material itself. Daily exposure to the mass media has led to a less impressionable, more sophisticated public. The public has become aware, not only of the sovereign right of documents to convey the truth, but of the manipulative potential inherent in the way the documents are presented. (266)

Notwithstanding the differences between the forms, a discussion of the historical antecedents of documentary theatre demonstrates the long tradition of agitation for change within German theatre.

Documentary theatre was a West German phenomenon and developed out of the mistrust of the political and social status quo that was prevalent in the Sixties. The decade before had been one during which West Germans had worked to re-build the Federal Republic both physically and economically. Many citizens simply wanted to put the past behind them and continue with the economic miracle they had begun. As Klaus Berghahn comments:

Der unbewältigten Vergangenheit entsprach eine unerkannte Gegenwart; denn so sehr hatte man sich nach 1945 auf den wirtschaftlichen Aufbau konzentriert und darüber die Demokratisierung der Gesellschaft vernachlässigt, daß anti-demokratische Tendenzen immer wieder durchbrachen. (279)

The best example of this was the *Spiegel* Affair of 1962. The stabilization of the West German economic situation that had occurred during the Fifties defined a new conservatism in that society, and intellectuals and artists began questioning the new state and its structures in the form of a new fact-based theatre.

Peter Weiss declared: "Das dokumentarische Theater muß Eingang gewinnen in Fabriken, Schulen, Sportarenen, Versammlungsräume" (34). However, it could be argued that documentary theatre was a West German intellectual phenomenon because it did not gain access to the cultural mainstream of the Federal Republic. The West

German public was reluctant to confront the National Socialist past, and up to the Sixties very few significant attempts at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* had been made in the theatre. According to Ehrhard Bahr, from 1947-1975 plays by Shakespeare, George Bernard Shaw and Bertolt Brecht were performed most often on West German stages (300). Hochhuth's *Stellvertreter* provoked controversy, and Weiss's *Ermittlung* was indeed disturbing in its portrayal of the Auschwitz Trials. In spite of this, the controversy and shock engendered by these plays remained themes for intellectuals to debate, and by the Seventies documentary theatre was no longer a theatrical force. Wolfgang Nehring discusses documentary theatre in his article "Die Bühne als Tribunal" and states:

Das Verdienst des dokumentarischen Dramas um die Auseinandersetzung mit Hitler-Deutschland liegt hauptsächlich in der Erkenntnis, daß die Kritik nicht im Allgemeinen und Unkontrollierbaren verbleiben darf, und dem daraus resultierenden Verfahren, den Zuschauer mit unabweisbaren Tatsachen zu konfrontieren. (91)

Documentary theatre criticized the society and institutions that had been built from the ashes of the Third Reich. Its factual depiction of the Holocaust and attacks on contemporary West German society criticized the very people who went to watch its plays. Documentary plays generated controversy and discussion which have left a legacy in academic discourse.

Documentary theatre has a different tradition in the German Democratic Republic, and this is related to the political and social expectations of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED). With the exception of one dramatist, Rolf Schneider, who employed

documentary methods, the German Democratic Republic did not succeed in developing its own documentary theatre movement.

One of the founding principles of the GDR was its role as an anti-fascist society; in fact, this was one of the main factors used to legitimate the regime and extended into the theatre. The government in the Soviet Occupied Zone undertook an official policy of "denazification" which it considered complete by 1948 (H.G. Lehmann 37). As Wolfram Buddecke and Helmut Fuhrmann state in their book, this was reflected in official cultural policy:

Die Kultur der SMAD strebte zunächst nur eine antifaschistische Umerziehung der Bevölkerung, eine 'demokratische Kulturrevolution' an. Der Akzent lag mehr auf der Bewältigung der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit als auf der Eroberung einer sozialistischen Zukunft. (247)

By 1949, the National Socialist past had been officially overcome and the subsequent main theme of dramas in the 1950's became work and the socialist establishment of the GDR as exemplified by the *Bitterfelder Weg* of the Fifties (Hammerthaler 176). On October 22, 1948, Bertolt Brecht and his wife Helene Weigel returned to the Soviet Occupied Zone, and three months later, on January 11, 1949, his parable play *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* premiered at the Deutsches Theater in East Berlin (Fiebach et al 14). Many documentary dramatists looked to Brecht's didactic plays and used his example; however, documentary theatre used a different means -- facts -- to achieve its educational end.

The theatres in the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic were subsidized by their respective governments for different reasons. Theatre had always been an important aspect of German culture, a factor which the government of the Federal Republic recognized. As Werner Schulze-Reimpell emphasizes in his pamphlet *Entwicklung und Struktur des Theaters in Deutschland*:

Es besteht in den deutschsprachigen Ländern ein Konsensus, daß das Theater nicht primär und vor allem nicht ausschließlich Unterhaltungszwecken dienen soll. . . . Daneben hat es aber auch eine Bildungsaufgabe zu erfüllen und steht mit ihr in unmittelbarer Beziehung zu den Schulen . . . (32)

The government of the FRG subsidized theatre accordingly, but in comparison to theatre in the GDR, West German theatres retained their artistic autonomy. The theatre also became a site of education in the GDR; however, its very structure was attached to the Party. Ralph Hammerthaler confirms this in his essay on the position of theatre in the GDR: "Die führende Rolle der SED blieb auf dem Gebiet des Theaters ebenso unangetastet wie andernorts. In Ergänzung zur Verwaltungsaufsicht der Behörden prüfte die SED die Konformität politisch-ästhetischer Positionen mit den parteilichen Beschlüssen" (187). A theatrical movement grew out of this situation and the theatre took on a number of functions. Among others, these included a political affirming function which popularized the idea of socialism, and an integrative function which called for the recognition of the individual as part of a socialist whole (Hammerthaler

250-51). Hence, the FRG and the GDR developed two very different theatrical traditions based on their individual societies.

Documentary theatre was for the most part a West German movement whose plays were performed in the German Democratic Republic. Hochhuth's, Weiss's and Kipphardt's documentary plays were successful due primarily to their criticism of capitalism and fascism which could in turn be used as anti-West propaganda. Using Peter Weiss's *Ermittlung* as an example, Brian Barton illustrates the anti-West aspects of documentary plays that were accentuated in the GDR: "Die Themen, die *Die Ermittlung* aufwarf, waren, zum Beispiel: Vergangenheitsbewältigung in der BRD, neofaschistische Tendenzen im Westen, Proteste gegen das Stück in der Bundesrepublik" (121). The main theme of Hochhuth's *Stellvertreter* became the relationship between capitalist industry and the concentration camps, as opposed to the Catholic Church's guilt in not speaking out against the Holocaust (Barton 121). As a result, documentary theatre took on a validatory function for the ruling government of the German Democratic Republic.

Despite its anti-fascist proclivity, West German documentary theatre generated considerable criticism in the GDR. The main accusation levelled against the form was that mere facts are unable to tell the entire story, as André Müller emphasizes in his article for *Theater der Zeit*:

In dieser Dokumentarflut wird aber gerade die weltanschauliche Impotenz der Verfasser sichtbar. Ihr Anspruch lautet: Wir kommentieren nicht, wir geben nur die Fakten; jeder kann sich selbst ein Bild machen und die Wahrheit herausfinden. Aber Dokumente sind nur ein Teil der Wahrheit. .

. . Die aus der Realität *abgeleiteten* Ideen sind das Wichtige, auch auf dem Theater. (my italics; 26)

The "abgeleitete[n] Ideen" were those that connect the facts to socialist realism and thereby confirm the position of the system as an integral aspect of society. Nevertheless, as Brian Barton observes, documentary theatre ". . . war die erste im Westen entstandene Theaterform, die einen deutlichen Einfluß auf das dramatische Schaffen in der DDR selbst ausüben konnte." (125) This influence may be seen in Rolf Schneider's drama *prozeß in nürnberg* (sic) which premiered in East Berlin in 1967. However, Schneider was the exception to a new theatrical tradition developing in the GDR, and despite the popularity of documentary theatre in the East, it remained a West German phenomenon. Wolfgang Nehring summarizes this as follows:

. . .[D]ie Autoren der DDR haben die Form des dokumentarischen Theaters im allgemeinen nicht mitgemacht, möglicherweise weil sie nicht so viel unbewältigte Vergangenheit aufzuarbeiten hatten, vielleicht aber auch, weil die Gegenwartsperspektive, die aus der Historie abgeleitete Kritik an der eigenen Wirklichkeit, in Ostdeutschland nicht möglich war. ("Die Bühne" 90)

Due to divergent social and political systems that developed after 1945, a documentary theatre movement developed in the Federal Republic but not in the German Democratic Republic. Nevertheless, documentary plays were performed in the GDR in order to criticize the West; hence, the critical function that documentary theatre served in the FRG was manipulated to the benefit of the GDR. However, due to the SED's strict

control over all aspects of society including the arts, the critical function of documentary theatre could not be adapted to a genuinely East German movement. As a result, the movement remained chiefly in the Federal Republic, and documentary theatre has endured as a West German phenomenon.

4. Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann*

4.1 Summary

Das Stück beschreibt, wie ein ziemlich durchschnittlicher junger Mann aus Solingen, aufgewachsen in Linz, Vertreter bei Vacuum-Oil, auf sehr gewöhnliche Weise zu der monströsen Figur Adolf Eichmann wird, die administrative Instanz im Genozid an den europäischen Juden, 'ein Rädchen im Getriebe', wie er sich nennt, ein Funktionär des 'Krieges gegen die Juden', durch Befehl und Eid gewissen geschützt. Das Stück zeigt auch, wie in der Eichmann-Haltung die Soldatenhaltung und die funktionale Haltung des durchschnittlichen Bürgers überhaupt steckt, die Haltung, Gewissen sei an die Gesetzesgeber und an die Befehlsgeber delegiert. Genauer gesehen zeigt sich, daß die Eichmann-Haltung die gewöhnliche Haltung in unserer heutigen Welt geworden ist, im Alltagsbereich wie im Planspielen moderner Kriege, die von vornherein in Genozid-Größen denken, nicht zu (sic) reden. Deshalb heißt das Stück BRUDER EICHMANN. ("*Bruder Eichmann*" 56)

*Bruder Eichmann*⁹ is a fact-based play which depicts Adolf Eichmann before and after his 1961 trial in Jerusalem. The play has no acts per se; rather, it is divided into a first and second part, each of which is divided into shorter, individual scenes. The eighteen scenes of the first part take place in 1960 in Jerusalem at a prison specifically

⁹ All notes refer to the following edition: Heinar Kipphardt, *Bruder Eichmann*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1986.

equipped to detain Eichmann. Kipphardt summarized over 3000 pages of Eichmann's testimony to create the first part of the play which gives the audience a glimpse into the prisoner's personality. While waiting to go on trial, Eichmann delineates his personal history in a series of interviews with the chief of the Israeli police, Leo Chass¹⁰, and a psychiatrist, Frieda Schilch. Eichmann explains his purpose in having initiated these interviews by stating "Ich möchte mir über alles klarwerden, mich erinnern und offen darlegen, welche Rolle ich tatsächlich gespielt habe" (11) which he considers to have been that of a "Rädchen im Befehlsgetriebe" (43). He grew up the eldest of eight children in a strictly patriarchal German family, and constantly attempted unsuccessfully to gain his father's approval. He worked as a salesman for the Vacuum Oil Company until he joined the National Socialist Party in 1932, and entered the SS and Referat II, Judentum, of the SD in 1934 (26-27). Ultimately, Eichmann was able to find satisfaction only in his career, and he relates anecdotes of this time and discusses his concept of duty with an almost religious fervour: "Ich habe damals stur meinen Befehlen eben Gehorsam geleistet, und darin habe ich - meine Erfüllung gefunden" (34). He discusses the failed Madagascar Plan and his duty to organize the transports of Jews to concentration and death camps; however, Eichmann qualifies his involvement in the Final Solution by emphasizing his obligation to follow orders: "Wir hatten nie, nie, nie etwas mit der Tötung zu tun, wir hatten mit der Konzentrierung zu tun und daß die Züge bereitgestellt

¹⁰ This character is based on the real *Hauptmann* of the Israeli police, Avner Less and actually had the name Less in the Munich premiere of *Bruder Eichmann*. However, Less voiced his objection to the use of his name in Kipphardt's play and subsequent editions use the name Chass.

wurden, daß sie dorthin kamen, wo es befohlen war" (53). As Eichmann describes it, his role was that of a bureaucrat whose primary responsibility was to perform his duties with unquestioning obedience to authority.

The action in the second part of the drama takes place at the Ramleh prison, 60 kilometres from Jerusalem in the Judea Mountains. It is almost two years later -- the trial is over and Eichmann is in the process of requesting a pardon for the death sentence handed down by the Israeli court. In the eleven scenes that make up the second part, Eichmann debates spirituality with his two new interlocutors, a Canadian reverend, William Hull, and his wife. The Hulls have taken it upon themselves to give the prisoner a religious education in the hope of assisting in his reacceptance of Christianity. Kipphardt's source for the second part was the German translation of William Lovell Hull's book *Struggle for a Soul* which describes the couple's thirteen visits to Eichmann while he was awaiting execution. Eichmann continues to protest his innocence throughout the second part, and assures his wife in a letter that he "a) nie getötet, b) nie einen Befehl zum Töten gegeben habe" (111). Vera Eichmann makes an appearance in the second part, and this scene provides a good example of the depth of Eichmann's indoctrination. The prisoner consistently denies any wrong-doing and uses the same banal impersonal language with his closest confidante that he has used with his Israeli interrogators and the Hulls. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from the conversation between Eichmann and Vera:

Was immer passiert, wenn ich - gehängt werde, die Geschichte wird das als ein schweres Fehlurteil erkennen und mich freisprechen, denn meine

Schuld war einzig, daß ich gehorcht habe. Aber Preußen ist durch den Gehorsam groß geworden, und mein Gewissen ist rein. (137)

It is interesting to compare the above statement with the following declaration to the Halls: "Ich habe nichts zu beichten, denn ich habe nicht gesündigt. Ich hatte wie jeder Soldat zu gehorchen" (124). This statement in particular reveals the prisoner's refusal to acknowledge guilt or remorse for his actions. Eichmann's request for a pardon is refused, and the final scene depicts his hanging on May 31, 1962. In a sort of epilogue to the play, Reverend Hull reports on the cremation of Eichmann and the subsequent disposal of his ashes.

Kipphardt never intended to write a biographical play about Adolf Eichmann; rather, he endeavoured to delineate what he termed the *Eichmann-Haltung*: the refusal of an individual to question authority. Hence, five main scenes in the first and one scene in the second part of *Bruder Eichmann* do not continue the chain of events portrayed on the stage, and in a group of "mini-scenes" depict a completely different time, setting, and group of characters. These are called the analogy scenes, and are named so for the analogy between the past and present that they attempt to delineate. Kipphardt refers to these scenes in his "Notizen zur Form": "Zwischenscenen, Umbau etc. Alltagsscenen, politische Realitäten der Gegenwart von ihnen reflektiert" (161). However, it is also crucial to recognize that Kipphardt's criticism in *Bruder Eichmann* was never directed at the political realities of nations of the former Communist bloc, but solely at Western society. These scenes were fact-based and a list of sources in Kipphardt's *Nachlaß* in

Marbach, Germany indicates that he relied chiefly on newspapers and magazines.¹¹ In the first part of *Bruder Eichmann*, the end of the third scene and the entire seventh, ninth, eleventh and seventeenth scenes are analogy scenes. There is only one analogy scene in the second part which constitutes the entire fifth scene. In total, there are twenty one analogy scenes in *Bruder Eichmann*.

4.2 The Characters

Bruder Eichmann is a drama about Adolf Eichmann, and all the characters serve one primary function: to give the audience a glimpse into the man who organized the transport of European Jews and other "undesirables" to concentration and death camps. With Leo Chass, the audience sees the official Eichmann whose primary purpose in life was to follow orders. Servatius and Ofer are also figures that serve to dramatize the official Eichmann, and all of these characters share a common trait: in one form or another, they all have power over Adolf Eichmann. In contrast to the official Eichmann stands the private Eichmann who is represented in conversations with Frieda Schilch, the Hulls, and the prisoner's wife, Vera. Schilch and Eichmann talk in the fifth and tenth scenes of the first part, while the Hulls appear in most of the second part of the play (the second, fourth, seventh, ninth and part of the eleventh scenes). Vera Eichmann appears in the sixth scene of the second part. It is the scenes with these characters and the letter

¹¹ Kipphardt's main news sources were the journal *Kursbuch*, the magazines *Konkret* and *Der Spiegel*, and the following newspapers: the *Tageszeitung*, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*. Kipphardt also used his own poetry, political pamphlets and speeches for the analogy scenes.

Eichmann dictates in the first scene of the second part that are the most controversial, as these portray a "humane" man who cares for and is concerned about his family. This stands in contrast to the individual who declares that he just did his duty as an officer of the Reich.

The two main figures in the play are Adolf Eichmann and Leo Chass. Eichmann had been a member of the SS but escaped from Germany after the end of World War II and settled with his family in Argentina. He was kidnapped by the Israelis in 1960 and required to stand trial for his actions. Kipphardt does not explain this at the outset of the play -- it is presumed that the audience is aware of this individual's identity and the circumstances surrounding his imprisonment and forthcoming trial. Eichmann is portrayed as being co-operative, docile and even friendly to his guards and Chass.

Leo Chass is the police chief (*Hauptmann*) of Police Section 06 -- the Israeli political police. Chass is based on a real character, Avner Less, who in the original version of the play and even in the premiere in Munich retained his name. The real Avner Less was appalled by Kipphardt's play¹² and insisted that his name not be used in subsequent versions and productions. However, if one is familiar with this aspect of *Bruder Eichmann's* history, it is clear that the producers of the Munich production used Less's name to create a new name, as the first two letters of his first name, Leo, and the last two letters of his last name, Chass, spell "Less". Chass's function in the play is to listen to Eichmann's version of his role in the Third Reich, and to aid in unraveling the

¹² See von Becker, "Dubios" 67-68. Avner Less states: "Als erstes möchte ich betonen, daß ich mich völlig von diesem Stück distanzieren, schon deshalb, weil es in Bezug auf meine Rolle während der Verhöre mehr Dichtung als Wahrheit enthält."

complex character that is Adolf Eichmann. With two exceptions, he is calm and tolerant toward the prisoner.¹³

Frieda Schilch is the psychiatrist who was assigned to examine Eichmann. In reality, there was a psychiatrist who examined Eichmann for the court, however, as Avner Less indicates in his letter to *Theater Heute*, ". . . der ist in keiner Weise mit der Dame Schilch identisch" (von Becker, "Dubios" 67). Kipphardt describes Schilch as being "eine schöne Frau, an Menschen außerordentlich interessiert. Es ist auch ihre Technik, etwas von Menschen zu erfahren, indem sie offen und interessiert scheint, auch wenn sie es nicht ist" (29). Schilch's function is to learn more about the personal Eichmann, while Chass gets to know the public man.

The prison director, Ofer, and Eichmann's lawyer, Dr. Servatius, are the characters that I term to be the facilitators in the play because they are the ones that facilitate the action by organizing events outside of the action on stage. Ofer arranges Eichmann's conversations with Chass, while Servatius arranges the trial, appeal and entreaty for a pardon. They do not play major roles, and Ofer almost always appears in the capacity of bringing the other characters either in or out of contact with Eichmann. Eichmann has chosen Dr. Robert Servatius as his counsel on the advice of his brother, a lawyer, and on the basis that Servatius has defended two prominent Nazis, Fritz Sauckel and a Dr. Brandt at Nuremberg. Both Ofer and Servatius are based on fact, although as Avner Less reports in his letter to *Theater Heute*, the real prison director Ofer could not

¹³ Glenn Cuomo emphasizes the co-operation between Eichmann and his captors in footnote 22 of his article, and declares that this was an embellishment of the original material. Compare Cuomo, "*Vergangenheitsbewältigung Through Analogy*" 65.

even speak German and thus had little contact with the prisoner (von Becker, "Dubios" 67).

The Reverend William Hull and his wife are also based on an actual couple that visited Eichmann thirteen times during his imprisonment and who had attempted to reconcile him to religion before his death. Hull and his wife learn about one more aspect of Eichmann's beliefs or lack thereof. Ultimately, Eichmann refuses to accept religion and dies proclaiming his belief in Nature as God which was the National Socialist answer to having a faith (117). Finally, Eichmann's wife Vera appears in the sixth scene of the second part of the play, and serves to complete the glimpse into the private Eichmann who is concerned about his family's welfare after his death.

4.3 Focus of the Play

Der Wert der Beschreibung charakteristischen Verhaltens ist größer, wenn sie Einsichten in Ursachen ermöglicht, wenn sie mir Lust macht, Analogien anzustellen und Folgerungen zu ziehen, wenn sie mich also denkend zu Eingriffen provoziert. Die Beschreibung des Charakteristischen ermöglicht das Lösen von Schwierigkeiten, indem es das Denken zu Folgerungen, also Handlungen ermuntert. (qtd. in *BE*: 166)

For Heinar Kipphardt, the depiction of Adolf Eichmann was to be a complex study of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. The fictionalization employed in the play provokes not only the dramatist to action -- as Kipphardt states above -- but also the audience. For Kipphardt, character portrayal and the analogies that support this portrayal are intended

to have a didactic purpose which results in thinking and direct action to alter a situation. Kipphardt's chief method utilized to meet his didactic purpose is his characterization of Adolf Eichmann. This portrayal positions the "monster" Eichmann who has been depicted by the media, against the human being (*Mensch*) who demonstrates concern for his family and those around him in Israel. These two characterizations elicit at various points feelings of disgust and anger on the one hand and sympathy on the other; indeed, the private Eichmann is at times almost likeable. As Leo Chass states in the play, the "Monster" becomes "der gewöhnliche funktionale Mensch" (80).

Eichmann's attitude has been termed by Kipphardt the *Eichmann-Haltung*, a term which the dramatist defines as a "bürgerliche Haltung" ("Gehört" 14). This attitude is the basis of the two levels of action within *Bruder Eichmann*. The first level of action occurs at the two prisons (Mahane Iyar and Ramleh) and directly involves Eichmann, while the second level -- characterized by the analogy scenes -- is more complex and illustrates the continuation of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western society. The analogy scenes are sets of three or five short scenes within one scene and draw parallels between the action on the stage (the past) and the prevalence of *Eichmänner* in Western society since World War II. The dramatist draws this parallel in order to force the audience to consider and even judge the Western capitalist society which produced these figures. Interestingly though, at no point in the play does Kipphardt refer to the *Eichmann-Haltung* in one of the former Communist bloc countries and as such, this censure of Western society may be criticized itself for being biased.

Heinar Kipphardt's notes on Eichmann's language are included in the *Materialien* section of the 1986 edition of *Bruder Eichmann*. These notes emphasize the following:

Eichmanns gespreizter, komplizierter Stil im Widerspruch zu den oft banalen und durchschnittlichen Ansichten.

Amtsstil.

Vorbild des Juristendeutsch.

Lange Perioden mit vielen Einschüben, Entschuldigungen, Vorerklärungen etc.

Neigung zu Fachausdrücken.

E. las keine Literatur. Beispiel das Buch, das ihm Hinkel schenkte.

Das beliebte Wort "irgendwie". (qtd. in *BE*: 204)

At points in the play, Kipphardt also has Eichmann use the passive voice. This impersonal language is usually employed when Eichmann wants to remove himself from a situation but still appear humane to his inquisitors. The words themselves seem kind, but the manner in which they are spoken betray a disinterested individual. There are two examples of this use of the passive voice in *Bruder Eichmann*: the first one is in a conversation with Chass in the eighth scene of the first part, while the second may be found in the only conversation between Eichmann and his wife Vera in the sixth scene of the second part. Naturally, Eichmann would want to remove himself from any responsibility related to the concentration and death camps; hence, the use of the passive is understandable in the conversation between Eichmann and Chass:

Eichmann: . . . Wir hatten nie, nie, nie etwas mit der Tötung zu tun, wir hatten mit der Konzentrierung zu tun, und daß die Züge bereitgestellt wurden, daß sie dorthin kamen, wo es befohlen war.

Chass: In die Gaskammern der Vernichtungslager!

Eichmann: Es wurde ja nicht alles getötet, Herr Hauptmann, was arbeitsfähig war, zur Arbeit. (53)

More significantly though, Eichmann uses the passive form when his wife begins crying while relating their children's reaction to the guilty verdict: "Es wird nicht geweint, Vera" (136). This illustrates the prisoner's upbringing which taught him that emotions must be controlled, and stresses his inability to deal with the situation at hand. In both scenes Kipphardt could have had Eichmann use the active tense; however, the use of the passive emphasizes the prisoner's refusal to take responsibility for his actions as a result of his socialization. This is further exemplified by Eichmann's response to Chass's outburst: "Wann wurde von Berlin aus abgefahren? Es ist ja viel auch ausgewandert" (54).

The characterization of Adolf Eichmann as exemplified in his language illustrates the theme of *Bruder Eichmann*: the exemplification of the endurance of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. Kipphardt's delineation of this attitude renders the audience the principal judge of Adolf Eichmann. This makes *Bruder Eichmann* more effective because there is less of a moralizing tone to the play. However, it is also disturbing, as the audience realizes the delicate boundary between doing one's duty and committing a crime. Chass even states in his monologue in I.13 that Eichmann is convinced that he, Chass, would have acted the same way in the same situation, and concludes: "In diesen Monaten, schrecklicherweise, kommen wir uns näher" (80). Kipphardt demonstrates that the *Eichmann-Haltung* is a concept which was not exclusive to the Third Reich; rather, there is no shortage of *Eichmänner* in modern society.

Heinar Kipphardt recognized the controversial aspect inherent in portraying any aspect of the Holocaust on the stage, even in the form of a documentary drama. Therefore, the form of the play had to permit the audience to be the judge while still conveying Kipphardt's message about the endurance of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. The dramatist portrayed the average man that had become the figure Adolf Eichmann, and private conversations -- fact-based or invented -- became the basis for *Bruder Eichmann*. This form gives the audience a glimpse into Eichmann's past as a Nazi and contrasts it with his present as a prisoner of the Israelis, while the analogy scenes keep a focus on issues that concerned Kipphardt in 1982.

Conflict is most often defined as a contest between adversaries; however, Eichmann has no real "adversaries" in the play. Chass, Schilch and the Hulls all serve to elucidate Adolf Eichmann and therein the phenomenon termed the *Eichmann-Haltung*. Thus, the level of conflict in *Bruder Eichmann* surpasses that of a contrast between "good" and "evil". Kipphardt illustrates the normality of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in society and demonstrates that an individual such as Eichmann is not an evil anomaly but an average individual who acts within a system that is fundamentally corrupt. The parallels to Kipphardt's present indicate that this society has not changed since World War II.

Kipphardt's approach to *Bruder Eichmann* provides a balance between documentary fact and fiction. Conflict, form and language all serve to emphasize the "banality of evil", and Adolf Eichmann becomes the symbol of this. A study of the play in its entirety forces the reader to reflect on the society that created Eichmann, and the

analogy scenes reveal that the same *Eichmann-Haltung* is exhibited in Kipphardt's present. The message of the entire drama is distinctive, and subsequent stage productions of *Bruder Eichmann* presented different themes depending on the audience and time allowances. It is these themes and their reception which illustrate Kipphardt's attempt to achieve *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung* by means of the theatre.

4.4 The Analogy Scenes

Was ist das Böse? Das Böse als historische Kategorie. Die Sklavenhaltung - Grundlage alter Kulturen - wird heute sicher als böse verworfen, der Kauf von Arbeit gegen Lohn - Grundlage der bürgerlichen Kultur - wird einer späteren Gesellschaft böse erscheinen vermutlich. (qtd. in *BE*: 164)

The aforementioned fragment was found by Uwe Naumann in Heinar Kipphardt's *Notathefte*, and is one of the examples provided in the "Materials" section of *Bruder Eichmann* to illustrate Kipphardt's concept of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. As Thomas Lindner emphasizes in his book *Die Modellierung des Faktischen*: "Für Kipphardt stellt sich die *Eichmann-Haltung* als ein Phänomen dar, das allen Erwartungen, die sich auf die Verwirklichung von moralischen Grundsätzen im Sinne eigenverantwortlichen Handelns konzentrieren, zuwiderläuft" (203). Kipphardt himself defined this term in a 1967 interview with the magazine *Welt der Arbeit*: "Diese 'gewissenhafte' Pflichterfüllung ohne Abstriche, Eichmanns Haltung nämlich, ist gleichzeitig aber auch die bürgerliche Durchschnittshaltung . . . natürlich nicht nur in Deutschland" (14). He further stated that

he saw this attitude reflected ". . . in der Atomstrategie. Oder in der Kolonialpolitik"

(14). Sven Hanuschek asserts in his detailed study of Kipphardt's work:

Ich sehe die Eichmann-Haltung als Paradigma, das sich aus den Elementen einer *autoritären Sozialisation, der Unmündigkeit, Identitätsschwäche, einer Anfälligkeit für Sprachregelungen und paranoide System, der Neigung zur Verdinglichung anderer Menschen, einer internalisierten moralischen Fehlsteuerung und reiner Funktionalität* zusammensetzt. (italics in original; 299)

Kipphardt viewed the *Eichmann-Haltung* as exemplifying the banal functional aspect of human beings, and at the *Haager Treffen* expressed the necessity of "escaping" from this:

Der reinen Funktionalität zu entkommen, das betrifft ja nicht nur Soldaten, das betrifft Wissenschaftler, das betrifft Militärs, Rüstungsarbeiter, das betrifft Lehrer, die lehren, was ihnen gesagt wird, das betrifft Schriftsteller, die schreiben, was ihnen befohlen wird, Kirchen, Parlamente, das betrifft die Polizei - also überall finden wir in unserer Welt den funktionalen Menschen, der sich in einem Befehlsstrang sieht, der seine Mündigkeit, sein Schöpferum, seine offene menschliche Haltung aufgibt. (qtd. in *BE*: 211)

Kipphardt's preoccupation with the dangers of the *Eichmann-Haltung* led him to create what he later called analogy scenes. These are scenes that draw parallels between Adolf Eichmann and other individuals in all areas of society, and are meant to illustrate the continuation of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in (Western) society. Of course, as Linder

emphasizes, "Begreiflich erscheint diese Zuordnung freilich vor dem Hintergrund von Kipphardts weltanschaulicher Position" (265), which was decidedly left-of-centre.¹⁴ Hanuschek critiques the anti-Western bias of the play in his study, stating "Irritierend wirkte - und wirkt - an den Analogieszenen ihre Westlastigkeit" (287); however, on the basis of a conversation with Pia Kipphardt, he declares: "Er lebte nun im westlichen Teil der Welt, in einem Land der NATO, das immer treuer Partner der USA gewesen ist, möglich also, daß er über das System schrieb, das er am besten *kannte*" (italics in original; 287). It is important to stress -- as Uwe Naumann does in his "Afterword" to *Bruder Eichmann* -- the difference between drawing a parallel and equating Eichmann's crimes with others: "Analogie heißt nicht Parallelisierung oder gar Gleichsetzung, sondern meint, daß ein Vorgang der gleichen Logik gemäß abläuft" ("Nachwort" 216). For Kipphardt, this same logic was inherent in all areas of Western society, a factor proven by a study of the analogy scenes which the dramatist did not include in his final draft of *Bruder Eichmann*. Some of the analogy scenes and selected excerpts from the Israeli *Protokolle* first appeared in the 1978 edition of *Kursbuch* with an editor's note "Aus den Vorarbeiten zu einem aufgegebenen Stück" (189). The scenes printed include one titled "John Steinbeck", which describes Steinbeck's experience as a soldier in Vietnam, another titled "Gesundes Volksempfinden (Anti-Schah-Demonstrationen am 2. Juni 1967 in Berlin)", and a third titled "Captain Weiss, Special Air Command, Luftbasis T., Thailand". The "Captain Weiss" analogy scene was the only one that appeared in the

¹⁴ Kipphardt states in an interview with Arnim Halstenberg: "Wenn Sie Marxismus verstehen, so wie ich das tue, als eine kritische und offene Wissenschaft, die ihre Praxis sucht, dann bin ich Marxist", qtd. in "Ruckediguh": 289.

final text of *Bruder Eichmann*. These scenes depict events that were contemporary to when Kipphardt was first writing the play.¹⁵ Other analogy scenes include one titled "Einübung in Vergasung", which details the use of police force to terminate a 1968 demonstration by black children in North Carolina (*BE* 175-77). However, not all the analogy scenes delineated contemporary events; one scene is titled "Zum Beispiel Taylor" and carries the subtitle: "Frederick Winslow Taylor, ein wissenschaftlich arbeitender Industriemanager der Jahrhundertwende, doziert" (*BE* 178-81). Under the title "Nicht verwendete Analogie-Entwürfe (1981-82)", Uwe Naumann provides more scenes or fragments in the "Materialien" section of the 1986 edition of *Bruder Eichmann*. The first is titled [Nicht darum kümmern]¹⁶ and shows a woman describing her experience as a child watching Jews being rounded up by Nazis. Naumann adds that this scene was originally planned as scene 2b in the first part (*BE* 207). The second scene is titled [Zigeuner] and was originally intended to be scene I,2c. It delineates a gypsy woman who survived Birkenau but is unable to obtain a residence permit for her caravan (*BE* 208). Uwe Naumann found the fragment of the third scene in one of Kipphardt's *Notathefte*. He calls it [Der durchsichtige Bürger], and Kipphardt's notes refer to the man in the scene having been a Gestapo spy (*BE* 207-08). The final analogy draft is titled [Tausende von Eichmännern] and draws attention to the unquestioning obedience of authority in the American military and among scientists (*BE* 209). These analogy scenes

¹⁵ Glenn Cuomo also emphasizes Kipphardt's focus on contemporary events from the very outset of his work on *Bruder Eichmann*. Compare footnote 4 of his article "Vergangenheitsbewältigung Through Analogy" 64.

¹⁶ The brackets indicate that Naumann gave these scenes their titles.

and fragments exemplify Kipphardt's sincere attempt to draw attention to the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western society as well as his effort to keep the analogy scenes contemporary. Ultimately, the inclusion or exclusion of analogy scenes was viewed as a compromise, a factor which Thomas Linder discusses: "Die endgültige Form des Schauspiels kann als ein später Kompromiß betrachtet werden, zu dem sich Kipphardt schließlich durchgerungen hat" (110). However, this is speculation; Kipphardt had the final decision and chose scenes that made a statement about the Federal Republic in the late Seventies and early Eighties. Glenn Cuomo supports this in his article, "*Vergangenheitsbewältigung* through Analogy": ". . . Kipphardt is reviving issues from the past to make a disquieting statement about the current state of affairs in the Western world" (60).

Kipphardt's analogy scenes were not designed to minimize the horror of the Holocaust in any way, a fact which Hanuschek also underscores: "Auch hier ist von Identität nicht die Rede, sondern von Ähnlichkeiten - von vergleichbaren Details. Der Maßstab des Unvergleichbaren kann ja nur durch Vergleiche gewonnen werden, sonst ist er leer und bezeichnet nichts" (272). Nonetheless, many critics found this and Eichmann's "normality" difficult to accept, a fact which ultimately led to misinterpretations of the play. Hanuschek also alludes to this: "Psychologisches Fundament für die Analogieszenen liefert das Individuum Eichmann; das kann nur funktionieren, wenn die Rezipienten die Prämisse von Eichmanns Normalität akzeptieren" (299). As the study of the reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions will show, this aspect of Kipphardt's play generated the most serious controversy and became the basis of

considerable criticism of *Bruder Eichmann*. Adolf Höfer was one of the few critics who viewed the analogy scenes positively and states in reference to these: "Kipphardt spricht kein Urteil über diese Menschen, so wenig wie er ein Urteil über Adolf Eichmann gesprochen hat. Aber er zeigt uns Parallelen mit unerbitterlicher Eindeutigkeit" ("Heinar" 179). The unequivocal feature of Kipphardt's work proved to be more demanding than many critics were willing to endure.

5. The Munich and East Berlin Productions of *Bruder Eichmann*

5.1 The Scripts vs. Kipphardt's Text¹⁷

Bruder Eichmann premiered two months after Heinar Kipphardt's death, and -- significantly -- just nine days before the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's *Machtergreifung* on January 30, 1933. The play and its performance were reminders of the fact that the National Socialist past was still present in the Federal Republic, even thirty-eight years after the end of World War II. As Glenn Cuomo emphasizes, the play also demonstrates that " . . . we still lack any historical distance from the so-called 'Eichmann-phenomenon' of the blindly obedient functionary in a totalitarian regime" (58). Due to its inordinate length, Kipphardt's text was forced to undergo considerable modification and as a result of these changes, the performed text in both Munich and East Berlin contrasts with the original version of *Bruder Eichmann*. The text underwent a process of change from author to dramatic advisor (*Dramaturg*) to director in order to achieve the final stage production, a factor which is proven by an examination of the performance script, and aspects of the Munich and East Berlin productions respectively.

5.1.1 Dieter Giesing's Production in Munich

Bruder Eichmann premiered on January 21, 1983 simultaneously at Munich's Residenztheater and as a radio play which was broadcast by the *Bayerischer Rundfunk*. It was directed by Dieter Giesing, and the chief dramatic advisor was Gabriele Lohnert. The role of Adolf Eichmann was played by Hans-Michael Rehberg who, ironically, was

¹⁷ For a table comparison of the scripts to Kipphardt's text, see Appendix II.

the son of one of the most successful dramatists of the Nazi period ("Der ewige" 165). Avner Less (Leo Chass) was played by Horst Sachtleben, and the supporting roles of Ofer, Frau Eichmann, the Reverend Hull and his wife were played by Klaus Guth, Ruth Drexel, Charles Brauer and Gundi Ellert respectively. The analogy scenes were performed by the same supporting actors. Finally, the stage rights belonged to the publishing firm Ute Nyssen & J. Bansemer in Cologne which authorized the Munich production.

Two characters were notably absent from the Munich premiere: the psychiatrist Frieda Schilch and Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius. In addition, the lack of analogy scenes in the second part of the play differentiates the performance from Kipphardt's text. The *Hauptmann* of the Israeli police was in fact named Avner Less for the first few performances; however, after reading the script for *Bruder Eichmann*, the real Less refused to allow his name to be used. An article in the February 28, 1983 issue of *Der Spiegel* refers to this fact: "Auf der Bühne in München wie bei allen künftigen Aufführungen trägt nun Eichmanns Gesprächspartner nicht mehr den Namen Avner Less" ("Sympathien" 188). The Munich performance manuscript still lists "Avner Less" among the characters; however, the name Leo Chass has been written by hand over the typed name. Chass's only monologue is absent from the Munich production, which stands in contrast to the original text. Eichmann has a monologue at the beginning of I.6, and he dictates a letter to his wife in II.1. Two of Eichmann's monologues were cut entirely, and the performance is mostly a dialogue. Significantly though, the performance ends with a monologue by Reverend Hull which parallels the original.

Scene I.1 of the performance opens with an introduction that establishes the time and location in which the action takes place:

Dieser 1. Besuch von Polizeihauptmann Leo Chass fand 9 Tage nach Eichmanns Ankunft in Israel statt. Eichmann wurde am 11. Mai 1960 in einem Vorort von Buenos Aires gefangen genommen und am 20. Mai mit dem Flugzeug nach Israel gebracht, in das Gefängnis in der Nähe von Jerusalem (Giesing i).¹⁸

This concise introduction does not appear in the original text; rather, there is a detailed explanation of the security measures taken to imprison Adolf Eichmann. In addition, Eichmann does not open the scene with his "Rädchen im Getriebe" monologue; rather, the scene opens directly with a conversation between Eichmann and Chass. Eichmann explains to Chass his motivation for wanting someone to talk to; in Kipphardt's text he explains this to the prison director, Ofer. Finally, the recording of a speech by Hitler which appears in Kipphardt's stage instructions is notably absent from the performance. The scene corresponds to the end of I.1 and the entire second scene in the original text.

The time and setting is again established at the outset of scene I.2: "Es ist der 4. Juni. Leo Chass besucht Eichmann zum 5. Mal" (Giesing ii). This stands in contrast to the original text (scene I.3) which does not provide the dates of Chass's visits. Eichmann and Chass continue to discuss the prisoner's early life -- his family, his schooling and his early career with the Vacuum Oil Company. For the most part, Dieter Giesing did not

¹⁸ References to the performance will refer to the director, Dieter Giesing, while references to the original will be parenthetically referenced using Kipphardt.

change Kipphardt's original text; however, there are some slight variations. One of these is an actual admission by Eichmann that he agreed with Hitler's doctrine: "Das heißt, Sie stimmten der Doktrin Hitlers damals zu? Damals stimmte ich zu, jawohl" (Giesing 11). In the original Chass asks Eichmann: "Sie waren ein überzeugter Nationalsozialist?" to which the prisoner replies, "Jedenfalls. Ich muß wahrheitsgemäß sagen, daß ich damals begeistert war" (Kipphardt 20). Eichmann's concrete admission in the performance is more effective in its ability not to elicit sympathy from the audience. This scene corresponds to the third scene in the original text; however, the "Bischof Gföllner" analogy scene has been deleted from the performance manuscript.

Scene I.3 of the performance corresponds to scene I.4 in Kipphardt's text. Many of Eichmann's explanations justifying his decision to join the SS are cut in the performed version, and the prisoner does not digress as much as in the original. Despite these cuts, Giesing does not lose the original basis of the conversation; rather, he heightens the audience's awareness by having Chass ask questions more frequently, and the audience understands the motivation behind Eichmann's decision to join the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) as well as his subsequent duties there. The first of the analogy scenes in the performance follows this scene -- it is one which appears in the first set of analogy scenes in Kipphardt's text. This scene depicts a conversation between "Captain Weiss" of the Special Air Command and a reporter. Weiss describes his duties as a bomber pilot who flies over Vietnam three times a week and every second Sunday. The scene corresponds verbatim to the original.

Scene I.4 of the performance corresponds to scene I.6 in Kipphardt's text, and depicts a conversation between Eichmann and Chass. The scene opens in the same manner as the original with Chass asking Eichmann when he first heard the term "*Endlösung*". The prisoner subsequently declares: "Ich war nie Antisemit" (Giesing 20), a statement that he does not make at any point in this scene of Kipphardt's text. This indicates the need to establish the irony of Eichmann's actions in the past more effectively, as these sharply contrast with his professed beliefs in Jerusalem. Chass remains the listener throughout this scene, as Eichmann describes the first time he witnessed a *Juden-Aktion*, and emphasizes his (Eichmann's) shock and disgust at the entire process. Some wording has been changed within this scene, but this does not affect its overall intention which remains consistent with Kipphardt's goal of staging the *Eichmann-Haltung*. Interestingly, the last section of this scene was cut for the performance. This is the section in Kipphardt's text where Eichmann declares: "Ich habe mich als Offizier in derselben Lage befunden wie meinerwegen ein Geschwaderkommandeur der Air Force, der Hamburg oder Berlin oder Dresden einäschert und auch nichts machen kann als Rädchen im Befehlsgetriebe" (Kipphardt 43). It is quite possible that this direct reference to Allied fire bombing during World War II was too controversial for the Munich audience, which, after all, still hosted a significant American military force in 1983. The scene ends with stage directions for a "Film mit Chass", and Matthias Matussek's review in *Stern* reveals that this sequence was not intended by the author. It portrays "Polizeihauptmann Avner Less am Steuer seines

Autos in Großaufnahme. Gleichzeitig hört man Eichmann, wie er die Vergiftung von Juden beschreibt. Dazu Klaviermusik." (Matussek 155).

The fifth scene of the first part is identified in the script as being the "2. Endlösungsszene" and corresponds to scene I.8 in the original; however, significant deletions were made to this scene. One example of such a cut was a section in Kipphardt's text where Eichmann describes his return to Berlin after the *Juden-Aktion* and declaration to Gruppenführer Müller: "Das ist keine Lösung der Judenfrage . . ." (Kipphardt 52). Such a statement could have been perceived as asserting Eichmann's "humanity", thereby making him appear too sympathetic. Giesing did retain the section where Eichmann uses the passive voice to describe his actions in Amt IVB4, to which Chass responds with a short outburst, "In den Gaskammern der Vernichtungslager!" (Giesing 28); however, this outburst does not include Chass's apology to Eichmann which again could have been perceived negatively. In Giesing's production, Chass tells Eichmann he grew up in "Berlin-Charlottenburg" while in the original he states he grew up in Wilmersdorf; in fact, Charlottenburg is an upper-class area within Wilmersdorf and this modification to Kipphardt's text serves to illustrate the class distinction between Eichmann and Chass. In addition, Chass tells Eichmann of his father's fate at the hands of National Socialism and explains how he was able to escape to France. Again, Eichmann emphasizes his innocence, at which point Chass asks the prisoner to describe details of the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex. Aside from some cuts to Eichmann's digressions, the rest of the scene corresponds to the original text. Scene I.5 fades into the second analogy scene of the performance, the one titled "Eine deutsche Frau".

Eichmann describes his concern about German youth vis-à-vis the National Socialist past in a monologue that opens the scene I.6. This section parallels Eichmann's monologue at the end of I.12 in the original text, and the remainder of the performed scene is essentially a concentration of Kipphardt's scene I.14. The sixth scene is succeeded by another analogy scene - this time a child reads a poem originally published in the National Socialist newspaper *Der Stürmer*.

The scene with Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius, constitutes the seventh scene of the performance script; however, according to some reviews of the Munich premiere, this scene was not actually staged. Another analogy scene follows the seventh scene -- the "Paola Maturi" scene -- and this remained a part of the Munich production. As such, one may conclude that this analogy scene followed the "*Stürmer*" scene. The subsequent scene is also designated I.7, and it depicts Eichmann and Chass deciphering a document which ultimately implicates the prisoner in the "Final Solution". It parallels I.16 in Kipphardt's text, and according to other press reviews was staged as the seventh scene of the Munich performance. The performance script adds a date -- September 12, 1941 -- to the document (a telegram) that Eichmann and Chass read. This scene corresponds to Kipphardt's text until the conclusion where an entire section which refers to Eichmann's kidnapping has been removed from the performance text (Kipphardt 96). The final analogy scene of the Munich premiere is performed after the conclusion of this scene; it is the scene which depicts a businessman telling jokes about Turks (the "Conferencier" scene).

The final scene of the first part of the Munich production (scene I.8) is aptly titled the *Filmszene* in the script. It is also the last scene of the first part in the original text (scene I.18). Eichmann is brought into a room full of people and shown films of various concentration and death camps. Peter von Becker refers to the films in this scene and reveals that Dieter Giesing substituted "vergleichsweise 'harmlosere'" films of executions in Russia (von Becker, "Kein Bruder" 2). Only two cursory cuts were made to this scene -- the first being a joke about the term "Fachmann" (Kipphardt 106); however, the second of these cuts is Chass's response to Eichmann's question, "Was gehen mich all diese grauenhaften Bilder an? Was habe ich damit zu tun?". In the original text, Chass screams "Kain! Kain! Kain! Kain, wo ist dein Bruder Abel! Ungeheuer! Unhold! Judenmörder!" (Kipphardt 107). This response is missing from the performance, perhaps signifying Giesing's recognition of its melodramatic aspect. The intermission follows this scene.

In the performance text of *Bruder Eichmann*, the second part opens with the prisoner dictating a letter to his wife, Vera. This parallels Kipphardt's text; however, the original also provides a detailed description of the setting which has been deleted from the performance text. The first scene is established entirely around the letter to Vera, and opens with a direct reference to the verdict against Eichmann. The short scene with Ofer which divides Eichmann's monologue has been retained for the performance, and only short sections of the second part of the dictation were deleted from the performance script. Finally, both in the original and performance texts Eichmann refers to the "Pozo"

in the yard in Buenos Aires; an explanation, "Das ist ein Brunnen, verehrtes Fräulein Grude" has been added by the director (Giesing 59).

Scene II.2 introduces two new characters, the Reverend Hull and his wife, and is also II.2 in the original text. The Hulls are Eichmann's new interlocutors, and serve to establish a hitherto unacknowledged spiritual side of the prisoner in the performance. The scene opens in much the same manner as the scenes with Chass; however, there is no preliminary conversation with the prison director Ofer. In the performance, the Hulls are introduced to Eichmann and state the purpose of their visit. Very minor changes have been made to this scene; for example, Eichmann reads a section of the Bible which Frau Hull reads in the original text. A section in which Eichmann explains some of his own experience with religion before and during his involvement with the National Socialist Party has been deleted from the performance text (Kipphardt 117). In addition, the only reference in the performance to Eichmann's kidnapping appears in this scene when Eichmann tells the Hulls that not God, but the Israeli secret police brought him to the jail in Ramleh (Giesing 63). There is a reference to Hans Globke which also appears in Kipphardt's text (Giesing 63; Kipphardt 118); however, as a result of the absence of the Servatius scene, there is no further explanation of Globke's identity either here or at any other point in the Munich performance. One may infer from the lack of Globke references that West Germans had even less historical distance from the Globke affair than from Adolf Eichmann, whom they could dismiss as a Nazi who had escaped justice. Finally, Ofer does not appear again at the end of the scene as he does in the original.

Scene II.3 of the Munich premiere parallels scene II.4 of the original text. This scene is titled the "2. Hull-Szene" in the script, and incorporates further discussion of Eichmann's spirituality. Once again, the scene opens directly with the Hulls and Eichmann, a fact which contrasts with the short conversation between the couple and Ofer in Kipphardt's text. The Hulls entreat Eichmann to re-discover God through Jesus with the same result as in the original text: Eichmann's refusal to consider this. Short sections of the conversation between Eichmann and the Hulls which appear in Kipphardt's text were cut for the performance, but these do not affect the overall theme of the conversation -- Eichmann again declares that he does not regret his actions. Significantly, a section was cut in which Eichmann declares, "Sie sagen Jesus. Sie entnehmen das aus diesem jüdischen Buch hier, aber auch der Koran ist ein heiliges Buch und die Lehren Buddhas" (Kipphardt 123-24). Notwithstanding the "Jewish book" comment, it is a section in which Eichmann appears tolerant of other religions, specifically those which derive from "inferior" races. The final section of the scene is altered so that Reverend Hull asks Eichmann if he regrets his actions to which Eichmann replies: "Natürlich, aber natürlich. Ich bin älter und habe mehr Einsicht. Es herrscht keine Diktatur mehr und es ist nicht mehr Krieg. Heute, 1962, ist es nicht schwer zu sagen, was man hätte tun sollen" (Giesing 68). In Kipphardt's text, this is Eichmann's reply to the question "Sie sehen das heute als Fehler?" (Kipphardt 126). Both questions imply an admission of guilt, and Kipphardt's concept of showing a repentant prisoner is not lost. The irony of Eichmann's repentance as a result of his situation is evident in this scene.

Scene II.4 shows Vera Eichmann visiting her husband. This scene corresponds to scene II.6 in Kipphardt's text. Only one cut was made for the performance -- a reference made by Vera Eichmann to the family's certainty of Eichmann's innocence (Kipphardt 136). However, an addition was made for the performance which essentially carries the same message and accentuates Vera's certainty of the injustice being perpetrated against her husband. Eichmann asks: "Wie denkt Servatius darüber?" to which she replies "Wie ich, Du zahlst für die anderen, aber auch er glaubt, daß Du freikommt" (Giesing 72). This reference to Eichmann being held accountable for other National Socialists appears at no point in Kipphardt's text. Finally, the last line of the scene, "Es war immer etwas Schamvolles in mir" (Kipphardt 137), was cut from the performance, and the scene ends with Eichmann kissing his hand and holding it up to the glass while his wife does the same.

Scene II.5 of the Munich premiere contains the third meeting with the Hulls, and parallels II.7 in Kipphardt's text. In this scene, the Hulls bring a statement to Eichmann which they had discussed in the previous one. This statement should publicly acknowledge his regret at having followed orders, and, as in the original text, Eichmann refuses to sign it. In the performance script, the Hulls ask at the end of the scene if they should visit him the following day so that he has time to think about his decision. In the original text, there is no possibility of Eichmann reconsidering his decision not to sign the statement.

II.6 is the fourth and final scene with the Hulls and corresponds to scene II.9 in Kipphardt's text. Again, the introductory dialogue between the Hulls and Ofer has been

deleted for the performance. In addition, three sections of text were cut, and the request for a "Zigarette und einen 'großen Braunen' . . ." has been moved to follow the section in which Eichmann explains his naturalist beliefs to Reverend Hull and his wife (Giesing 78). The second and third sections that were cut depict the Hulls' determination to convert Eichmann to Christianity, so that the scene in the performance ends with the prisoner exclaiming: "Ich brauche keinen Mittelsmann, ich gehe direkt zu Gott selbst . . ." and the stage direction "Eichmann hört ein Tonband ab" (Giesing 80).

Scene II.7 is titled the "Szene vor der Hinrichtung" in the performance script and corresponds to II.10 in Kipphardt's *Bruder Eichmann*. It shows Ofer entering to inform Eichmann that his request for a pardon has been refused by the President of Israel. In the original text Eichmann has a monologue similar to the one in the opening scene of the play, but, as with Eichmann's first monologue, this was also deleted from the performance script. The dialogue in the performance has been lengthened somewhat to include Eichmann's inquiry as to how long he has before the execution; however, aside from this addition, the scene parallels the original text.

Scene II.8, the final "Hinrichtungsszene" of the Munich performance, was modified considerably, a fact demonstrated by comparing this scene to II.11 of the original text. In Kipphardt's text, the first section of this scene depicts the Hulls' final attempt to reconcile Eichmann to Christianity before his death. In the premiere, the scene opens with Eichmann on the gallows and the Hulls calling to him. Ofer re-reads the judgement and sentence to him, and Eichmann makes his final speech which is

identical to Kipphardt's text. Some wording has been altered in Reverend Hull's "ad spectatores", but nothing was deleted from this final monologue.

The premiere of *Bruder Eichmann* on the stage and radio was praised for being a multi-media premiere, but criticized in the same article as ". . . einfach augenloses amputiertes Theater" ("*Bruder Eichmann* auch im Funk" 10). However, Kipphardt's last play was significant in that it was a theatre premiere that was theoretically accessible to all. Giesing included or excluded certain characters, but he also made minor changes to Kipphardt's text. This was normally done to link sentences; however, it is significant that Giesing's cuts also included changes -- however minor -- to the actual text. Like the original text, Dieter Giesing's production concentrated primarily on Eichmann and the factors that had made him into the "funktionale Mensch"; however, the director found it unnecessary to include two characters, the psychiatrist Frieda Schilch and Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius. At the same time, Giesing included scenes with the Hulls which admittedly make up most of the second part of Kipphardt's text, but add little to the depiction of Adolf Eichmann. The conversations with Leo Chass serve to delineate Eichmann in the same detail that they do in the text; however, Giesing seems to have avoided any sections that would have portrayed the prisoner in a sympathetic manner. This fact is best exemplified by the exclusion of Eichmann's monologues and the toning down of Chass's outbursts. On the one hand, Eichmann was to be less sympathetic in the Munich production; on the other, two main characters that confirmed Eichmann's indifference to his crimes were excluded, and a scene with the prisoner's wife was included. Without a doubt, the scene with Vera Eichmann was incorporated to

demonstrate Eichmann's "normality"; however, it only serves to add an unnecessary touch of melodrama to the production. Giesing's choice of analogy scenes is also questionable -- of a total of twenty-one possible scenes, the director chose to present only five: "Captain Weiss", "Eine deutsche Frau", "*Der Stürmer*", "Paola Maturi", and "Conferencier". Only one of these scenes, "Conferencier", directly refers to the then-current issues in the Federal Republic; hence, it can be argued that Giesing significantly diminished the message of the analogy scenes. The analogy scenes are the key to the theme of *Bruder Eichmann*, the exemplification of the endurance of the *Eichmann-Haltung*; thus, it can also be argued that Dieter Giesing's production severely reduced the effectiveness of Kipphardt's play by omitting its politically volatile aspects.

5.1.2 Alexander Stillmark's Production in East Berlin

More than one year after the premiere of *Bruder Eichmann* in Munich, the Deutsches Theater in East Berlin staged its first performance of the play on April 19, 1984. Alexander Stillmark directed the production and Hans Nadolny was the dramatic advisor. The role of Adolf Eichmann was played by Thomas Neumann and Leo Chass¹⁹ was played by Klaus Piontek. Dieter Mann appeared in the role of the prison director, Ofer, and the psychiatrist Frieda Schilch was played by Christine Schorn. The role of Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius, was performed by Martin Trettau. The analogy scenes were performed by eight more supporting actors: Dagmar Manzel, Käthe Reichel,

¹⁹ By this time -- more than one year after the premiere -- Avner Less had succeeded in prohibiting the use of his name in the production.

Johanna Schall, Jutta Wachowiak, Reimar Joh. Baur, Heinz Hinze, Ernst Kahler and Frank Lienert. The GDR premiere of *Bruder Eichmann* took place in Dresden seven months prior to the East Berlin production, in September 1983, and was followed two days later by performances in Schwerin and Leipzig.

For this study of *Bruder Eichmann*, it is necessary to stress the unreliability of the script in comparison to a videotape of a 1984 performance in East Berlin. The video shows an actual stage performance at the Deutsches Theater which had been recorded for the theatre's archives, and gives a better concept than the script alone of what exactly was portrayed on the stage. However, the video performance presents difficulties for an examination of the performance script, as it proves that Alexander Stillmark did not perceive himself to be bound by that script. The unreliability of the performance script has already been established by the examination of the Munich premiere, as the script contains a scene with Robert Servatius which was not performed, and only the reviews of the play betray this fact. In the East Berlin performance, the discrepancies occur with reference to both the regular and the analogy scenes. To cite an example, in the performance script the tenth scene of the second part depicts Chass's monologue on the "banality of evil"; however, the video shows the final meeting between Eichmann and Robert Servatius, while Chass's monologue constitutes the final scene of the performance. In some cases, analogy scenes appear in the video, but are not specified in the script. These are still Kipphardt's analogy scenes and no changes have been made to the content; however, the absence of stage instructions to denote the appearance of these

scenes misleads the reader in terms of what was performed. Thus, what was in the script was not necessarily depicted in that order on the stage.

The first scene of the video performance is actually a consolidation of the first and second scenes of the performance script, as there is no discernible break between the two sections. The scene opens with the stage set up as a museum displaying an exhibit on Naziism and the Holocaust. A mannequin is dressed as an SS officer, and slides showing mountains of clothing and suitcases are projected on the back wall of the stage. Various individuals walk through the exhibit, and one remains. Kipphardt's stage directions are read over a loudspeaker which fades out to leave that one person -- Eichmann -- on the stage reading from them. Eichmann dons a prison uniform and renders his monologue in this scene, which is followed by his request to Ofer that he be able to relate his story to someone.

Scene two in the script (still the first scene of the performance) depicts the first meeting between Eichmann and Chass who are introduced to one another by Ofer. As in Kipphardt's text, Eichmann relates details of his childhood; however, a reference to friends of his in the SS that were "monarchistisch und christlich [eingestellt]" (Kipphardt 15) and another to the "spiritus rector in Linz", was cut from the performance text (Stillmark 13).²⁰ Two more minor cuts were made to the remainder of the scene: a reference to the fact that Ernst Kaltenbrunner's father was a lawyer, and a mention of the *Märzenkeller* in Linz. Finally, the stage directions in the original text call for a section of

²⁰ References to the performance in East Berlin will henceforth be given to the director, Alexander Stillmark.

a speech by Hitler to be read. These same directions appear in the performance script, but are crossed out to perhaps indicate that they were not to be performed; however, the videotape shows that this section did in fact appear in the performance. The "*Stürmer*" analogy scene follows this section.

As in the original text, the third scene of the East Berlin performance focuses on Eichmann's youth and schooling. In contrast to the Munich premiere, there is no introduction to this scene -- it opens directly with Eichmann and Chass on the stage. The prisoner describes his schooling, his father's disappointment in him, and how he entered the SS. At the beginning of the scene, a reference to the *Untertertia* and a detailed description of Eichmann's duties as a salesman for the Vacuum Oil Company were cut from the performance. The scene corresponds to the original text, except for the deletion of a reference to the "preußischen Landespolizei" (which was also removed from the Munich script) (Stillmark 22). Eichmann is permitted more digressions in this scene which renders Kipphardt's text more accurately. Finally, the "Bischof Gföllner" analogy scene follows the third scene; it had been crossed out in the script but appears in the videotaped performance.

Scene four depicts Chass and Eichmann discussing the latter's involvement with the SD. It corresponds to I.4 in Kipphardt's text. Many of Eichmann's explanations which had been cut for the Munich premiere remain in the script for the East Berlin performance; in fact, only one considerable section of the scene was cut. In this section, Eichmann goes into great detail about the visitors to Amt I (Freimaurer), visitors which included a "zaristischer Emigrant", and the Reichsmarschall Göring (Kipphardt 26).

Frieda Schilch is introduced as a character in the fifth scene of both the original (I.5) and the performance text. Once again, very little was cut from this scene; however, the deletions are significant. The first reference to the fact that Eichmann was kidnapped appears in this scene; however, Schilch's remark "Es weiß ja niemand hier von einem Kidnapping, Herr Eichmann" (Kipphardt 30) was omitted from the performance script. The prisoner's response to the question "Wie haben Sie das Kriegsende aufgenommen?" excludes Eichmann's story about visiting Gruppenführer Müller and reports only his reaction to this event (Stillmark 34). Finally, the last segment of the scene which was cut includes a section where Eichmann states in reference to his father ". . . er war ein sehr gerechter Gott, bitte, ein sehr gerechtigkeitsliebender Mann . . ." (Kipphardt 35).

The sixth scene finds Eichmann and Chass discussing the term *Endlösung*, and the first time the prisoner witnessed a *Juden-Aktion*. The scene corresponds verbatim to I.6 of Kipphardt's text, and only two sections near the end of the scene were deleted. In the first section, Eichmann refers to his contemplation and subsequent rejection of suicide at the end of World War II (Kipphardt 42). In the second, Eichmann alludes to a Argentinean gypsy's prophecy that he would not survive the next year. In contrast to the Munich performance, the Eichmann in East Berlin associates himself with Air Force pilots that bombed Germany "als Rädchen im Befehlsgetriebe" (Stillmark 43). The sixth scene is succeeded by two analogy scenes: "Misio Kamaguchi" and "Das nukleare Schlachtfeld". One minor character, the Regisseur, has been cut from the second analogy scene.

In scene seven, Eichmann and Chass continue to discuss the former's visits to Nazi death camps and parallels scene I.8 of Kipphardt's text. Eichmann refers to his fond memories of the "Franz-Josefinische Zeit", but his reasons for doing so (his relatives' "schöner gesellschaftliche Stand") are omitted from the East Berlin performance (Kipphardt 52). This section had also been deleted from the Munich performance. Scene seven also contains one of Chass's outbursts at Eichmann, and this has been retained in Stillmark's version. Similar to the Munich premiere, some cuts have been made to the outburst, especially Chass's apology for his explosion; however, this is the only exclusion. Chass also does not tell Eichmann of his father's fate in Germany, nor does the prisoner ask Chass how he was able to survive -- both of these sections were cut -- a fact which contrasts with the Munich production (Stillmark 54-55; Kipphardt 53). Eichmann makes more digressions in the account of his visits to the death camps and most of these remain in the performance text; however, one section in which he describes feeling ill at seeing an open grave full of bodies has been deleted (Kipphardt 56). This same section was also deleted from the Munich script. Finally, two short sections near the end of the scene were also excluded from the performance script: one section has Chass asking Eichmann about the National Socialist euthanasia programme, and in the other Eichmann discusses the wages (or lack thereof) of the labourers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The seventh scene is followed by two more analogy scenes, "Eine alte jüdische Frau" and "Eine deutsche Frau". The intermission follows at this point.

In contrast to the Munich production, Eichmann does not receive a new interlocutor in the second part of the performance; in fact, the second part is more a

continuation of the first -- a fact illustrated by the consecutive numerical sequence of the scenes. Scene eight of the East Berlin performance shows the second meeting between Eichmann and Frieda Schilch. It corresponds to scene I.10 of Kipphardt's text. Much of this scene was deleted for the performance, including a section in which Eichmann states that he had never been antisemitic. Also, in Kipphardt's text, Eichmann tells Schilch of having helped a Jewish acquaintance get out of Germany (Kipphardt 67); this section does not appear in the performance either. Both of these deletions suggest an attempt to make Eichmann appear less sympathetic but more significantly, they invite the consideration that Stillmark's production was also attempting to convey a strong anti-Israel message to its audience. Other deletions to the performance script include a section in which Eichmann discusses death with Schilch, and another in which she informs him of a brochure which suggests that he may be Jewish, a fact which he resolutely denies (Kipphardt 69). Finally, Eichmann's discussion of his National Socialist view of Jewish "qualities" was also omitted, and Stillmark's eighth scene ends with this statement by the prisoner: "Es gibt den Sündenbock glaublich immer, das müssen nicht die Juden sein" (Stillmark 74). This is followed by the analogy scene with an Italian police officer ("ein Polizist aus Venetien").

The ninth scene of the performance in East Berlin corresponds to scene I.12 of Kipphardt's text. Eichmann does not perform the monologue which appears at the beginning of the original scene, nor does Ofer compliment him on his behaviour; rather, the scene opens with Ofer asking Eichmann if he has chosen his lawyer (Stillmark 80). As in the original text (but in contrast to Munich), the scene ends with Eichmann's

monologue about his concern for German youth, to which only one modification was made. In the original and Munich texts, Eichmann refers to the "erste menschliche Landung auf dem Mond"; in East Berlin the word "menschlich" was deleted from the text, thereby removing the allusion to the 1968 American mission. In the videotaped performance two analogy scenes succeed scene nine: in the first Ariel Scharon discusses the "PLO Problem", and in the second a Palestinian woman reports on the massacre at Sabra and Shattila.

The tenth scene of the performance parallels scene I.15 of Kipphardt's text. It depicts the first meeting between Eichmann and his lawyer, Robert Servatius. Only one section of this scene was deleted -- the one in which Eichmann tells Servatius how he escaped from Germany and the various organizations that had helped him. The second reference to Eichmann's kidnapping appears in this scene (Stillmark 91).

Eichmann and Chass meet for the last time in the eleventh scene of the East Berlin performance. This scene corresponds to scene I.16 of the original text. No modifications have been made to the first part of this scene in which Eichmann and Chass attempt to decipher a document. The final part of the scene is still longer than its counterpart in the Munich production (I.7), but the section at the very end of the scene has been deleted (Stillmark 98). In this section, Chass informs Eichmann of the name the guards have given the prison, "Eichmannigrad" (Kipphardt 97). The final analogy scene of the performance follows this scene and shows the geneticist H.B. Glass discussing the possibility of cloning human beings.

Scene twelve of the performance is based on II.10 of the original text. It is the only scene from the second part of Kipphardt's text that was performed in East Berlin, and it was shortened considerably. Eichmann's monologue opens the scene in the original, but has been deleted from the performance script. A short exchange between Ofer and Eichmann remains in which the former informs the latter that his request for a pardon has been denied (Stillmark 151). This is the only reference to Eichmann's execution in the entire performance.

The thirteenth and final scene of the East Berlin performance of *Bruder Eichmann* grants *Hauptmann* Leo Chass the final word. The monologue from I.13 in Kipphardt's text constitutes the final scene of the play; however, only the videotape of the performance reveals this. By this point, the script has become useful only as a guide to the sections of scenes that were deleted for the performance. Despite the short length of the final scene, one major section was deleted for the performance; significantly, it was the one in which Chass discusses Eichmann's unquestioning submission to authority: "Als Idealist habe er immer gehorcht, es sei auch so gewesen, daß er nicht gewußt habe, warum er nicht gehorchen sollte" (Kipphardt 80). The final line in the original is also deleted, so that the scene ends with Chass stating, "Das Monster, es scheint, ist der gewöhnliche funktionale Mensch, der jede Maschine ölt und stark im Zunehmen begriffen ist" (Stillmark 82).

The main differences between the East Berlin performance and Kipphardt's text may be found in the exclusion of the characters Vera Eichmann and the Hulls. The performance focuses more on the factors that had made Eichmann the epitome of the

"banality of evil", namely, the formative years of his youth which are discussed with Chass and Schilch. This emphasis at once illustrates the distinction of the East Berlin production from Kipphardt's text and the different approaches taken to the adaptation of the play in East and West. In addition, there is no reference to the judgement and only one allusion to the impending death sentence which is to be carried out on Eichmann; hence, the production has no definite break between the first and second parts. Indeed, aside from one scene with Ofer, the second part of the performance is comprised entirely of scenes from the first part and appears to be a continuation of it. Ten of Kipphardt's twenty-one analogy scenes were performed in the East Berlin production, including the political "Ariel Sharon" and "Palästinenserin" scenes; however, these lose some of their critical function when performed in a country that is ideologically anti-West. Hence, Stillmark's production is problematic. On the one hand, the play is more effective in portraying Eichmann and the societal factors that created and sustain the *Eichmann-Haltung*; on the other, Stillmark essentially deleted the second half of Kipphardt's play -- a fact which raises the issue of the director's freedom versus the author's rights. At what point does a play cease being the dramatist's creation to facilitate the director's production?

5.1.3 Comparison of the Stage Productions in Munich and East Berlin

If *Bruder Eichmann* had been performed in its entirety, it would have lasted seven hours (Beckelmann 11); as it was, the Munich premiere lasted between three and three and a half hours while the East Berlin production lasted three and a quarter hours.

Hence, it was necessary that Heinar Kipphardt's original text be shortened for production purposes. But *Bruder Eichmann* was too political for the Munich and East Berlin versions simply to be considered directors' cuts, and the inclusion or exclusion of certain scenes had distinct messages for the audiences in the Federal Republic and German Democratic Republic respectively. Thus, "Bruder" Adolf Eichmann appears on the stage in two very different versions of Kipphardt's play. As the scene-by-scene summaries demonstrate, characters that appeared in one performance did not appear in the other. Neither production renders Kipphardt's original text accurately; rather, each is an adaptation by the director which takes socio-political factors into account.

The main difference between the Munich and East Berlin productions lies in the very method each director employed to modify the original text. For the Munich production, Dieter Giesing slightly altered the wording in some scenes in order to condense longer discussions, and he also appended a silent film scene with Chass after the fourth scene. These modifications did not alter the overall intention of these discussions; however, Giesing's method of changing sections of Kipphardt's text contrasts starkly with that of Alexander Stillmark. Stillmark's production at the Deutsches Theater in East Berlin essentially omitted the entire second part of Kipphardt's text, but it did not change the wording in any of the scenes that were performed. Many scenes and sections thereof were deleted, but Stillmark made no modifications to the actual text.

The absence of certain supporting characters also illustrates the distinctiveness of the two performances. The Munich performance omitted the roles of the psychiatrist

Frieda Schilch and Eichmann's lawyer Robert Servatius, while the Hulls and Vera Eichmann were excluded from Stillmark's production in East Berlin. Schilch serves to delineate the "private" Eichmann, while Servatius emphasizes the "official" Eichmann. For the Munich production, the Hulls and Vera Eichmann illustrate the "private" Eichmann and considering the length of the play, it would have been redundant to have used five separate characters for this purpose. However, the absence of Servatius is significant in that the reference to Hans Globke is missing from the text; Globke was the commentator of the Nuremberg race laws and the secretary of state in the Adenauer government of the Federal Republic. For the performance in East Berlin, Schilch and Servatius remained, but the Hulls and Eichmann's wife, Vera, were omitted from the performance text. The "private" Eichmann is illustrated by Schilch; hence, it would have been unnecessary to keep the short scene with Vera Eichmann. By deleting the Hulls, Stillmark omitted the second part of Kipphardt's text, thereby creating a different play from the Munich production. It may be speculated that Stillmark excluded the Hulls from the production because of their role in the representation and discussion of religion; however, this is a question that remains open to interpretation.

The attempt to render Adolf Eichmann as the epitome of the "banality of evil" is successful in both productions. As a character, Eichmann does not differ substantially from one performance to another; rather, the means employed to achieve this depiction contrasts in Munich and East Berlin. Eichmann demonstrates in both productions that he was a dutiful soldier who followed orders. In Munich, Eichmann reveals his uncompromising side to the Hulls, while in East Berlin his conversations with Frieda

Schilch demonstrate the unyielding aspect of his personality. Kipphardt attempted to present the Eichmann that potentially exists in all of us, and at times his characterization of the prisoner enables one to relate to him, thereby eliciting sympathy. The Munich and East Berlin productions use different means to render this aspect of Kipphardt's play, but both emphasize the danger of the *Eichmann-Haltung*.

The portrayal of the character Leo Chass is different in the Munich and East Berlin productions, and demonstrates the dissimilar means employed to have Eichmann relate his story. In Munich, Chass asks more questions as if to keep Eichmann (and the audience) more focused on the discussion, while in the East Berlin production Chass allows Eichmann to digress in the same manner as it appears in Kipphardt's text. Chass's angry outbursts at Eichmann have also been condensed for both the Munich and East Berlin productions. In Munich, Chass's first verbal explosion is reduced to leaving only one line, and his second in the film scene at the end of the first part has been completely deleted. However, Chass does reveal his father's fate to Eichmann in the first outburst, a fact which differentiates it from the production in East Berlin. In Stillmark's production, Chass's outburst generally conforms to Kipphardt's text, except there are no references to his family and how he was able to escape the Nazis. In addition, the film scene (I.18 in Kipphardt's text) was deleted from the production in East Berlin, perhaps because Kipphardt indicated in the original text that the films could be found at the state archives in Jerusalem and at the museum in Yad Vashem. Thus, the similarity of the Eichmann portrayal contrasts with the disparate portrayal of Chass in Munich and East Berlin.

The primary differentiating feature of the Munich and East Berlin productions lies in the performance of Kipphardt's analogy scenes. In contrast to other scenes in the play which were deleted (East Berlin) or otherwise modified (Munich), no changes were made to even the wording of the analogy scenes that were performed in Munich or East Berlin. However, the analogy scenes served a different purpose in the two productions. In Munich, they illustrate the "banality of evil" that Eichmann epitomized, while in East Berlin they illustrate the system that had created a "monster" such as Eichmann. The most striking contrast between the productions lies in the dearth of analogy scenes that were performed in Munich: of a possible twenty-one, only five were staged, and two of these were scenes that refer directly to the Holocaust. The controversial analogy scene depicting convicted RAF terrorist Irmgard Möller's testimony to her lawyers was noticeably absent from the Munich production, as was the "Scharon" scene, and another depicting the Israeli soldier who imagines himself to be a member of an SS squad. Evidently, these scenes were too critical of the West to be performed in Munich. However, since the analogy scenes were so critical of the West, the choice of scenes for the East Berlin performance is surprising. Ten scenes were chosen, two of which had also been performed in Munich ("*Stürmer*", "Eine deutsche Frau"). Two more were "Nazi" analogy scenes ("Bischof Gföllner", "Eine jüdische Frau"), while another two depicted the horrors of nuclear war ("Misio Kamaguchi", "Das nukleare Schlachtfeld"), both of which may be interpreted as criticism of the West. The other four analogy scenes ("Ein Polizist aus Venetien", "Ariel Scharon", "Eine Palastinenserin", "H.B. Glass") performed in East Berlin are less subtle examples of Kipphardt's criticism of the West,

but again the criticism is not as apparent as in the "Möller" scene. It is also surprising that the "Conferencier" scene was not performed, as this indisputably contained criticism of West German society. The exclusion of the "Conferencier" scene particularly illustrates the two different systems and immigration policies that governed the Federal Republic and the GDR, and might have been viewed as being incomprehensible to an East Berlin audience in 1984. The analogy scenes performed in both Munich and East Berlin place an emphasis on "perpetrators" and "victims"; however, this emphasis has a different intention in each production. In Munich, only one scene features a "victim", and in East Berlin this number is increased to three. The emphasis on the "perpetrators" in Munich underscores the *Eichmann-Haltung* personified by Adolf Eichmann, while in East Berlin it stresses the corrupt system that created such a man.

5.2 The *Theaterprogramme* in East and West: A Comparison

Another aspect of an East or West German theatrical production is the programme, and this provides another basis of comparison between the Munich and East Berlin performances. For both productions, there was a main programme in booklet form as well as a pamphlet inserted which focused on the play. The pamphlet for the Munich production includes three of Kipphardt's poems along with a photograph of the author and a statement by him: "Ein Schriftsteller muß der Gesellschaft die Fragen stellen, die sie zu verdrängen wünscht." (MP 3)²¹ The pamphlet for the East Berlin production

²¹ The references to the pamphlets for both productions will henceforth be shortened thus: Munich pamphlet: MP; East Berlin pamphlet: EBP. There are no page numbers for the EBP.

includes a chronology of Kipphardt's life, a statement by him and an introduction by Hans Nadolny, the dramatic advisor. It is titled "Zu Bruder Eichmann" and states: "Das Stück und sein Titel sind unbequem. Vergangenheit - in einem Teil Deutschlands bewältigt, im anderen immer noch nach vierzig Jahren lebendig - wird dem Vergessen entrissen" (EBP). The introduction describes Kipphardt's attempt to bring Eichmann's "Typus des Menschen" to the stage, and this is followed by the conclusion that it was the "staatskapitalistische System" that created such a man (EBP). Finally, the analogy scenes in *Bruder Eichmann* are referred to only briefly and indirectly near the end of Nadolny's introduction: "Der für die Verbrechen an der Menschheit im 20. Jahrhundert benötigte Grundtypus überdauert, scheint's, . . ." (EBP). The rest of the pamphlet gives practical information on the production of the play (actors, directors, etc.).

The programmes themselves are miniature historical documents on Heinar Kipphardt, Eichmann and the Holocaust, depending on the production being studied. The programme for the Munich production contains numerous texts and interviews, as well as poetry and dreams recorded by Kipphardt. The main programme for the East Berlin production contains none of Kipphardt's texts, and only a reference to the date that Avner Less began interviewing Eichmann (May 29, 1960) as having been the source for *Bruder Eichmann* (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 58).

In contrast to the historical focus of the East Berlin programme, the programme for the Munich premiere is more literary. The texts used in the Munich programme include two by Alexander Kluge -- "Sechs Veteranen" and "Gefecht im Untergang" -- that had been written specifically for the production (Lohnert/Schütz 16-19). In addition,

Ernst Wendt drafted a text titled "Die Vernünftigen sterben aus" to honour Heinar Kipphardt and Peter Weiss who had both died in 1982 (Lohnert/Schütz 20-22). Other texts include an article by Benjamin Heinrichs titled "Lehrer ohne Lehre" which had been originally published in *Die Zeit* (Lohnert/Schütz 24-25), and an excerpt from Michael Schneider's *Holocaust und Hitler* (Lohnert/Schütz 27-37). Finally, an excerpt from Hannah Arendt's renowned book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* was also included in the programme for the Munich production (Lohnert/Schütz 39-48). The programme includes photographs of Kipphardt from the Sixties until just before his death, as well as many photos of Eichmann in Jerusalem. Finally, there are also some rehearsal photos from the Munich production of *Bruder Eichmann*.

What is most striking about the programme for the East Berlin production is the inclusion of National Socialist literature such as the copy of the front page of *Der Stürmer* (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 25), the excerpt from the *Hausbuch für die Deutsche Familie* (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 13) and copies of documents relating to the "Final Solution" (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 23, 29, 31, 35, 47). This material appeared in the GDR programme because the past had been officially overcome, a fact which Hans Nadolny emphasizes in his introduction to the play.²² Hence, the programme for the East Berlin production is a historical documentation of the Holocaust which uses texts and photographs to chronicle the

²² By comparison, none of these documents appeared in the programme when *Bruder Eichmann* was re-staged at the Deutsches Theater beginning in 1992. See Meyer/Rohloff, *Programmheft des Deutschen Theaters zur Inszenierung "Bruder Eichmann" von Heinar Kipphardt*.

persecution of the Jews as well as Adolf Eichmann's ascent within the National Socialist hierarchy. There is even a separate margin aside from the main text titled "Der E.-Fall" which provides a chronology of Eichmann's activities from 1934 to 1945 (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 1-55). The other chronology is included within the main text and documents the Holocaust and World War II between 1938 and 1945 as well as the capture of Eichmann, and his subsequent imprisonment, trial and execution between 1960 and 1962 (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 1-60). The texts in the programme include an excerpt from Albert Wucher's book *Eichmanns gab es viele* (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 5) as well as one from Kurt Pätzold's *Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung* (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 7). A shortened version of Martin Niemöller's poem "Als die Nazis die Kommunisten holten..." is also included in the programme. In addition, there is a direct reference to language in Victor Klemperer's text "LTI: Lingua Tertii Imperii (sic): Die Sprache des Dritten Reichs", as well as an excerpt from Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Arendt's text is the only one that appears in the programmes for both productions. Friedrich Karl Kaul's text "Der Fall Eichmann" refers to Hans Globke, the ". . . Mitautor und Kommentar (sic) der Nürnberger Rassengesetze, [who] amtierte bis 1963 als Staatssekretär der Adenauer-Regierung. Er wurde vom obersten Gericht der DDR zu lebenslangem Zuchthaus verurteilt" (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 22). There is an untitled text by Heiner Müller which refers to the nuclear threat in 1984, as well as an excerpt from Günther Anders's book *Die atomare Drohung* titled "Unmoral im Atomzeitalter" (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 62-63). Finally, the last page of the programme shows a photo of the SS

rounding up Jews after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. The text beneath it documents the source of the photograph, and cites the number of war criminals caught and convicted in the Federal Republic, 6465, which contrasts with the number caught and convicted in the GDR, 12 873 (Meyer/Rohloff, "Ein Arbeitsmaterial" 64). The photographs in the programme are also part of the Eichmann-Holocaust documentation, and include three photos of Eichmann in Jerusalem. Other photographs depict Eichmann as a young man and soldier, and appear adjacent to ones depicting the systematic discrimination and persecution of the Jews. There are no photos of Heinar Kipphardt in the programme for the East Berlin production.

The programme for the Munich production appears to be more of a dedication to the (then) recently deceased dramatist, Heinar Kipphardt, while the East Berlin programme focuses on the historical figure Adolf Eichmann. Considering the fact that Kipphardt died two months before the premiere of the Munich production, the focus on the dramatist is understandable; however, this contrasts with the production in East Berlin. The programme for the production at the Deutsches Theater mirrors the performance itself, as Eichmann is portrayed more historically than dramatically. Thus, the audience is focused primarily on Eichmann's actions, a fact sustained by the historical chronology of the programme.

The length of *Bruder Eichmann* made the play adaptable for the stage, and the adaptation was influenced by many elements apart from the length of Kipphardt's text. A comparison of exactly what was portrayed on the stage illustrates the versatility of the play, as well as the political reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of certain scenes in the

Munich and East Berlin productions respectively. The analogy scenes in the play provide a reliable illustration of the purpose of the production in East and West. Finally, a study of the programmes for the respective Munich and East Berlin performances illustrates the very different approaches taken in the attempt to educate the audience beyond the limits of the stage.

5.3 The Critical Reception of *Bruder Eichmann* in East and West

Bruder Eichmann engendered discussion in both East and West. A podium discussion in Munich attempted to approach the issue of the past and present as delineated in Kipphardt's play; however, according to C. Bernd Sucher: "Nur wenige sprachen über Kipphardts Stück und auch dann, ohne ernsthaft auf die Argumente der anderen einzugehen" ("Fatale" 39). Nonetheless, the podium discussion did help to clarify the issue of Dieter Giesing's choice of analogy scenes, as he admitted that his version had not been authorized by Kipphardt. In East Berlin, the Akademie der Künste sponsored a discussion which included among others Pia Kipphardt, Alexander Stillmark, and the theatre critic Martin Linzer. The discussion helped to elaborate on the concept of the *Eichmann-Haltung* and the role of the analogy scenes in delineating this. However, what is lacking from both discussions is a dialogue which includes a study of the press reviews. This would have contributed not only to the interpretation, but also to the overall reception of the play in East and West. The press reviews of *Bruder Eichmann* in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic exemplify not only the divergent approaches taken to interpreting this controversial play, but also the

different attempts at *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung* that were undertaken by each performance. For this study, the reception is based on the various reviews of the play that appeared in newspapers, magazines and journals in the respective countries.

5.3.1 Press Reviews of the Munich Premiere

The press reviews of Dieter Giesing's production of *Bruder Eichmann* are remarkably diverse. They range from approval of Kipphardt's play and/or Giesing's production to disapproval of one or the other, or both; hence, there is a difficulty inherent in presenting the reviews by linking them to one another. The diversity of the reviews illustrates the controversy and discussion engendered by both the play and its stage production.

In an article that appeared in *Theater Heute* in March 1993, Peter von Becker states in reference to the Munich production: "Die Kritiken der Premiere . . . waren reserviert bis negativ, mit Einwänden gegen das Stück, teils gegen die Inszenierung und die dargebotene Textfassung" ("Kein Bruder" 1). Of twenty-four reviews I surveyed for this study, fourteen were favourable toward Kipphardt's play and ten were critical of it. There were thirteen favourable and eleven negative reviews of the Munich performance; hence, von Becker's generalization on the negative reception of the play and the performance seems somewhat exaggerated. Peter von Becker briefly differentiates between the performance and Kipphardt's text; however, he does not go into any detail about these two aspects of the reception. It is advisable to differentiate between reviews of the performance and Kipphardt's text, as these often reveal divergent opinions on the

text and performance versions. Generally, the main point of contention of the reviews was the portrayal of Eichmann in the text and production, and questions with regard to the staging of the analogy scenes. The two main aspects of the production that were praised were Hans Rehberg's portrayal of Adolf Eichmann and again, Kipphardt's characterization of him. Significantly, the analogy scenes were directly complimented in only two reviews.

A well-known documentary dramatist, Rolf Hochhuth, reviewed the Munich premiere of *Bruder Eichmann* for *Die Weltwoche*. Hochhuth is critical of Kipphardt's emphasis on Eichmann and states: "Warum wird Eichmann so gründlich durchleuchtet, dass zuletzt fast keine Zeit übrig ist, seine *Opfer* zu zeigen?" (italics in original; "Er hätte" 11). He takes issue over the parallels to the Holocaust, and cites Reverend Hull's description of Eichmann's cremation as being particularly offensive. It is surprising that as a fellow documentary dramatist, Hochhuth fails to discuss Kipphardt's use of documents in *Bruder Eichmann*; rather, like most other reviewers, he concentrates on what he perceives to be Kipphardt's equation of the Holocaust with other crimes. However, Hochhuth praises some aspects of Giesing's production, specifically Hans-Michael Rehberg's performance in the role of Eichmann. He also evaluates Kipphardt's analogy scenes favourably, but is critical of the inclusion of the "Conferencier" scene at the cost of the exclusion of the "Möller" scene. He further declares that Giesing would have been better advised to have included the latter, but concludes: "Aber wer in München inszeniert, kann selbstverständlich heutzutage dergleichen nur auf die Bühne bringen, wenn er riskieren will, dort nie wieder einen Regie-Auftrag zu bekommen" (11).

Hochhuth's is one of the only reviews to address Giesing's motivation for the inclusion or exclusion of certain analogy scenes, and adds substance to the argument that the director was influenced by larger outside factors.

Wolfgang Schreiber's review appeared in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* six days after the premiere, on January 27, 1983. His critique of *Bruder Eichmann* is favourable toward Kipphardt's text but critical of the production and in particular the performances of the two main characters: "Rehberg versuchte nicht immer mit Erfolg, vor allem zu Beginn noch nicht, seine Befangenheit abzustreifen, . . . Im Gegensatz zu Eichmann blieb sein Verhörpartner Less (Horst Sachtleben) strikt in der nüchtern, etwas monoton sprechenden Distanzhaltung, was kaum überzeugte" (34). Unlike many reviewers, Schreiber does not take issue over the analogy scenes and correctly interprets their inclusion as Kipphardt's attempt to demonstrate the *Eichmann-Haltung*.

Horst Köpke's article in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* was the opposite of Schreiber's, as he critiques the performance positively but censures Kipphardt's text: "Einwände, die ich zu machen habe, richten sich gegen den Autor, keineswegs gegen die Zubereitung des Stücks für die Aufführung" (19). His main criticism is of Kipphardt's portrayal of Adolf Eichmann, and is representative of many of the reviews of the Munich production: "Eichmann macht dabei keine schlechte Figur und vermag so kurz vor seinem Ende, das einigermaßen realistisch gezeigt wird, sogar noch Sympathien für sich zu erwecken" (19). Köpke also takes issue over the anti-Western bias of the analogy scenes, stating that they were unconvincing, ". . . oder höchstens den, der die Verhältnisse hierzulande oder in anderen westlichen Ländern gleichzusetzen bereit ist" (19). This

interpretation simplifies the message of the play and underestimates the interpretive ability of the audience. Köpke critiques Giesing's production somewhat indifferently, but applauds the actors' performances, especially Hans Rehberg's.

Georg Hensel's review appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and takes issue over both the production and Kipphardt's play. He declares that the performance concentrates too much on the psychological portrayal of Eichmann: "In München hat man nicht Kipphardts Provokation *Bruder Eichmann*, man hat nur die Individualtragödie 'Eichmann' aufgeführt" (21). However, Hensel also expresses approval for the production, stating: "Sie . . . ist unter der kompetenten Regie Dieter Giesings voll innerer Spannungen und verschiedenartiger Anlässe, sich zu erregen" (19). Hensel is critical of Kipphardt's analogy scenes in terms of both their bias and their comparative function: "Kipphardt vergleicht in seinem Schauspiel das Unvergleichbare, und dabei relativiert er den Massenmord an den Juden als ein Verbrechen wie viele andere" (21); however, he also criticizes the dearth of analogy scenes in the performance, calling the ones portrayed "zu wenig und zu harmlos" (21). There is an apparent contradiction in the criticism of the exclusion of most of these scenes; however, therein Hensel demonstrates his recognition of Kipphardt's objective in having included these scenes in the first place.

Karin Kathrein took a more cautious approach in her review for the Austrian newspaper *Die Presse*. Her favourable estimation of Kipphardt's text is tempered by her interpretation of the factors that weakened the play, in particular the analogy scenes: "Er [Kipphardt] hat jedenfalls das ohnehin heikle Thema, das aus gutem Grund auch als Entschuldigung Eichmanns mißverstanden werden kann, mit eingeschobenen Szenen aus

unserer politischen Wirklichkeit nach dem Krieg zu einem Skandalstück gemacht" (4). Despite this judgement, Kathrein admits the effectiveness of the analogy scenes and criticizes Giesing's staging of only four of these: "Offenbar aus Angst vor dem politischen Gegenargument wurden alle Szenen mit Sharon, mit amerikanischen Pershing-Männern, mit der deutschen Terroristin gestrichen" (4). Kathrein's opinion on the analogy scenes typifies the press reaction to these in both the production and Kipphardt's text; however, her review also reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of the dramatist's intent in writing the play, namely to illustrate the continuation of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in (Western) society.

Klaus Colberg's review for Berlin's *Tagesspiegel* was favourable toward both the performance and Kipphardt's text. He even recognized the controversial aspect of the play as exemplified in the title: "Wer möchte schon die 'Bruderschaft eines Adolf Eichmann, Hauptabteilungsleiter IVB4 im Reichssicherheitshauptamt und 'Fahrendienstler' der Judentransporte in die Vernichtungslager des Hitler-Regimes, annehmen . . .?" (5); however, he does not criticize the play for this. Colberg commends Dieter Giesing's production for having adeptly presented "Verhaltensweisen und zum Schluß hin sogar metaphysische Fragen . . ." on the stage (5). He concludes his favourable review by stating that the play " . . . trifft nicht so sehr das Zentrum unserer Emotion als vielmehr unseres Verstandes" (5). This interpretation of Kipphardt's appeal to reason instead of emotion differentiates itself from many other reviews of the performance which concentrate on the danger of a "sympathetic" portrayal of Eichmann.

Hans Jochen Kaffsack also wrote a favourable critique for the *Westfälische Rundschau*, and is one of the few reviewers who specifically allude to the audience reaction to *Bruder Eichmann*: "Es gab zaghaften Beifall derjenigen Zuschauer, die nicht wortlos gegangen waren, vor allem für die Schauspieler und Regisseur Dieter Giesing" (4). Kaffsack criticizes the fact that the performance ". . . kommt, obwohl vom Regisseur umsichtig gekürzt, nur schleppend in Gang" (4), but stresses the overall value of both play and performance in terms of their ability to provoke the audience. This agitational aspect is rarely mentioned in a positive manner by other reviewers, and reveals Kaffsack's deeper understanding of Kipphardt's text.

Hans Lehmann praises most of the Munich production in his article that appeared in the *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, although he is critical of two aspects of Giesing's direction. For Lehmann, the analogy scenes "wirkten als effektheischende Fremdkörper . . ." (2), while the second part of the Munich performance with the Hulls brought "nichts Wesentliches mehr" to the play. However, he was congratulatory of Rehberg's performance, and alludes to it thus: "Eine bewundernswerte Gedächtnistat, eine Schauspielerleistung angesichts des emotionsaufgeladenen Themas, die den Rang Rehbergs bestätigt" (H. Lehmann 2). Lehmann also states in reference to *Bruder Eichmann*: "Unter den Dokumentarspielen Kipphardts . . . ist dieses sicher das konsequenteste" (2). Finally, Hans Lehmann's opinion of the analogy scenes addresses the dramatic aspect of the scenes rather than the political, and this attention to the aesthetic differentiates his review of the play from most others.

In his article for the *Rheinische Post*, Michael Dultz criticizes Dieter Giesing's production as having been an ". . . allzu vorsichtigen Interpretation . . ." (21) of Kipphardt's text. Dultz is particularly critical of the lack of analogy scenes in the performance and censures Dieter Giesing, ". . . der die konkreten Analogien offenbar scheute." He continues: "So schont er das Münchener Publikum" (21). In addition, Dultz was critical of Rehberg's portrayal of Eichmann -- a fact which contrasts with most other reviews: "Rehbergs Eichmann wirkt mitunter krank im Kopf, was vielleicht gar nicht richtig ist" (21). Finally, Dultz criticizes the final execution scene of the play as having "sentimentalisiert" Eichmann's death; however, he fails to mention the scene with Vera Eichmann, which seems more deserving of a "sentimental" classification.

Matthias Matussek reviews Kipphardt's play favourably and deems Giesing's production to have been "[s]icher und wirkungsstark . . ." (155). According to Matussek's article in *Stern*, the play provoked "Erschrecken und Betroffenheit" (155), thus proving Kipphardt's "Vertrauen auf die Wirkung der Wahrheit" (155)²³ to have been correct. Matussek is critical of only the film scene in the performance, regarding it to have been melodramatic (155). Given this criticism, it is surprising that he fails to mention the scene with Vera Eichmann in the same vein; however, it is possible that Matussek took exception at the Less scene because it was unintended by Kipphardt.

Wolfgang Johannes Müller's article in the *Bayern Kurier* specifically criticizes the analogy scenes, declaring that an individual such as Captain Weiss ". . . ist nicht einfach

²³ "Wenn die Wahrheit von einer Wirkung bedroht schien, opferte ich die Wirkung", hatte Kipphardt gesagt . . .", qtd. in Matussek: 155.

Eichmann an die Seite zu stellen - auch nicht im weiteren assoziativen Sinn" (13). Müller also refers to Eichmann's personality as portrayed in the production and states: "Woher sich Eichmanns Persönlichkeit formte, wird nicht beleuchtet, gemutmaßt, interpretiert" (W.J. Müller 12). However, he fails to note what Kipphardt's statement about the "truth" reveals (Matussek 155), namely, that it is the task of the audience to "interpret" Eichmann's personality which is portrayed in particular detail throughout the play. Müller's review is critical of Kipphardt's text, but regards the performance positively: "Die Münchener Aufführung hat Dieter Giesing leise, realistisch, uneitel, der Sache dienend inszeniert" (13). However, like Hans Lehmann, he is critical of the second part of the Munich production, calling it "schlechtes Theater per bester Absicht" (W.J. Müller 13).

Dorothee Müller also takes issue over the analogy scenes in her article for the *Handelsblatt*. She takes exception to the comparison of the Holocaust to other crimes, and states: "Letztendlich werden damit die Naziverbrechen relativiert, sie werden auf ein Kapitel in der Geschichte von Terror und Unterdrückung reduziert" (D. Müller 25). Müller calls these scenes dangerous and declares their dramatization in Munich to have been more effective as a result of their reduction by Giesing. However, this judgment of the analogy scenes reveals a slight misunderstanding of the play's message which is to provoke reflection of the factors that create the *Eichmann-Haltung*. Müller also underestimates the effect *Bruder Eichmann* had on its audience, and describes that effect as having been ". . . etwas reserviert, ja betroffen . . ." (D. Müller 25); however, despite this criticism, she writes a favourable review of both the play and production.

In his article in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, Michael Hatry criticizes those who state that Kipphardt's analogy scenes make the Holocaust relative to other crimes: "Die Auffassung, Kipphardt habe in diesen Szenen Eichmanns Verbrechen anderen Verbrechen mechanisch gleichgesetzt, greift sicherlich zu kurz. Fragwürdig werden die Szenen allenfalls dadurch, daß sie solche Mißverständnisse provozieren können" (11). Hatry's critique reveals an understanding of the agitational aspect of the play, as he is the only reviewer who takes issue over the criticism of the analogy scenes and censures the argument that criticizes *Bruder Eichmann* on the basis of its relation to the Holocaust. The reviewer's main criticism is directed not at Kipphardt's text, but at the Munich production and in particular the lack of analogy scenes: "Ein grober Angriff, selbst wenn man bedenkt, daß das Stück sehr lang ist und Striche gerechtfertigt sind" (11). He also finds fault with Rehberg's portrayal of Eichmann, and deems it a "falsche Vertheaterung" of the Eichmann that Kipphardt had created in the text. Finally, Hatry is critical of the Servatius and Schlich scenes having been cut from the production and concludes: "Diese Aufführung löst den Titel *Bruder Eichmann* nicht ein. Ein Torso" (11).

Gerhard Pörtl wrote a favourable review of both the production and Kipphardt's text for the *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, although he was somewhat critical of the analogy scenes: "Analogien dieser Art werden sich immer den Vorwurf der Willkür gefallen lassen müssen" (5). He also mentions the exclusion of the Möller and Scharon analogy scenes, and maintains that Giesing "war gut beraten" not to have included these in the production. Pörtl specifically compliments Kipphardt's characterization and Rehberg's portrayal of Adolf Eichmann, and states: "Kipphardt (sic) Charakterzeichnung mittels

Spracheigentümlichkeiten ist ein psychologisches Meisterstück, das der Schauspieler Rehberg mit kaum überbietbarer Prägnanz nachvollzieht" (5). Like Michael Hatry, Pörtl also views the exclusion of the Servatius scenes negatively, and declares that it diminished the production. Finally, Pörtl correctly emphasizes the ability of both the text and performance to provoke reflection among the audience; indeed, he further states that this redeems weaker aspects of the play such as the analogy scenes (5).

In his article for Freiburg's *Badische Zeitung*, Peter Pawlik accuses the Munich production of diminishing Kipphardt's message in *Bruder Eichmann* ". . . aus politischen, nicht aus ästhetischen Erwägungen" (8). Once again, the analogy scenes form the central focus of the review, and Pawlik argues that Eichmann cannot be compared with the perpetrators portrayed in these scenes: "Dieter Giesing hat nur wenige dieser kurzen Monologe in seine Inszenierung am Münchener Residenztheater übernommen, und man könnte diesem restriktiven Verhalten beipflichten, denn keines dieser Schlaglichter wirft auch nur einen ähnlich langen Schatten wie die Verbrechen des Eichmann" (5). Finally, Pawlik expresses concern that the audience applauds what Eichmann represents, "die Gewissenhaftigkeit", as opposed to acknowledging Hans-Michael Rehberg at the end of the performance. The numerous positive reviews of Rehberg's performance leave no doubt that the audience acknowledged his acting ability, as opposed to the character Adolf Eichmann.

C. Bernd Sucher's review of *Bruder Eichmann* appeared in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. It is titled "Eine letzte, mißverständliche Warnung . . ."; however, the misunderstanding refers only to the text, as the review of the performance is quite

different from that of Kipphardt's text: "Dabei hat Giesing höchst sensibel, vorsichtig gearbeitet und weitgehend auf Effekte verzichtet" (24). Sucher deems Rehberg's portrayal of Eichmann "außergewöhnlich", but censures Kipphardt's "sympathetic" characterization, calling it dangerous: ". . . Kipphardts Eichmann [gewinnt] eine gefährliche von Kipphardt beabsichtigte Attraktion. Der Zuschauer, sehr schnell davon überzeugt, daß dieser disziplinierte, ehrliche, höfliche Mann bisher in seiner Gefährlichkeit überschätzt worden ist, beginnt Eichmann zu mögen" ("Eine letzte" 24). The analogy scenes form a key aspect of Sucher's criticism, as he too attacks Kipphardt's relation of Eichmann to post-World War II Western perpetrators:

Eichmanns Untat erscheint als eine von vielen und wird dadurch gering. . .
 . Wenn Kipphardt den Vietnamsoldaten belastet, entlastet er Eichmann;
 wenn er Sharon wegen des Angriffs auf Beirut anklagt, verteidigt er
 Eichmann; wenn er die Folter-und Verhörmethode der italienischen und
 bundesrepublikanischen Polizei verurteilt, erteilt er dem stets gewaltlosen
 Eichmann eine Entschuldigung. ("Eine letzte" 24)

Sucher concludes that the main weakness of the text lies in its ability to fascinate but not disconcert the public; however, he makes no reference to the audience reaction at the end of the performance. Hochhuth, Dorothee Müller and Matussek leave no doubt that the audience was not fascinated but horrified at the Eichmann on stage, thus perceptibly diminishing Sucher's argument.

Werner Eckl addresses Sucher's article in *Die Tageszeitung* and calls for caution in approaching the analogy scenes in the same manner as that which Sucher delineates in

his review: "Einmal ganz abgesehen davon, daß der Autor dieser bescheidenen Zeilen [Sucher] *Bruder Eichmann* falsch verstanden hat, weil nicht Taten, sondern Grundhaltungen Seite an Seite gestellt werden . . ." (11). Further, Eckl explains the purpose of the analogy scenes and therein the message of the play: "Da wird . . . leise darauf hingewiesen, daß sich eine Macht und ihre Ideologie zwar geändert haben, die Mentalität aber die gleiche geblieben ist" (11). Eckl's review also refers to the audience reaction and appears to disprove Sucher's assertion that the play only fascinates its audience: "Zur Pause kein Beifall, sondern Schweigen. Zum Schluß pflichtgemäßes Klatschen vor allem für den Eichmann-Darsteller Hans Michael Rehberg" (11). This positive review of both the text and the production emphasizes the weaknesses in Sucher's scathing critique and is a good example of the controversy engendered by Kipphardt's last play.

In reference to Kipphardt's text, Helmut Schödel states in his review for *Die Zeit*: "Sein Stück erklärt: erfolgreich" (33). However, Schödel attacks many aspects of the performance, particularly the lack of analogy scenes and the exclusion of Schilch which he contrasts with the inclusion of the scene with Vera Eichmann. Like Hochhuth, Kathrein and Pawlik, Schödel suspects that the exclusion of the Möller and Sharon analogy scenes was more a political than an aesthetic decision: "Zeitmangel kann ihr [Möller] und Oriana Fallacis Ausbleiben nicht erklären" (33). In reference to the final scene before the intermission (the film scene with Eichmann), Schödel observes that ". . . die Leinwand steht auf der Bühne von Johannes Schütz weit von der Rampe entfernt. Giesing bietet uns an, wegzuschauen, wie man damals weggeschaut hat. . . . An diesem

Abend wird Giesings Profillosigkeit zum Politikum" (33). Both of these statements illustrate the reviewer's harsh criticism of Giesing's production. Schödel is also critical of the appearance of Vera Eichmann in the production, comparing the scene with one out of an American gangster film; however, he makes no mention of the second part with the Hulls. Considering the fact that these scenes make up most of the second part of the Munich production, the reviewer's commentary could lead the reader to believe that a melodramatic conversation between the prisoner and his wife constitutes the second part of the play. The performance script reveals that this is not the case. Only one short scene in the production, scene II.4, includes a conversation between Eichmann and Vera. Finally, Schödel's conclusion that "Zwei Kettenraucher hätten an einem Holztisch endlos auf ein Tonband eingeredet" (33) simplifies both Kipphardt's text and Giesing's production to the extreme.

A review by Werner Schulze-Reimpell appeared in the magazine *Vorwärts* and is critical of both the text and production. Specifically, Schulze-Reimpell censures the analogy scenes, calling their portrayal ". . . mißverständlich, weil sie unreflektiert bleibt" ("Der Erfüllungsgehilfe" 25). This criticism fails to take into account that the play is formulated on the basis of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western society, and Kipphardt uses both the Eichmann and analogy scenes to reflect upon the continuation of this attitude. Schulze-Reimpell criticizes both Kipphardt's and Giesing's characterization of Eichmann, and cautions that Hans-Michael Rehberg portrays Eichmann ". . . fast unangenehm sympatisch . . ." ("Der Erfüllungsgehilfe" 25). Notwithstanding, this does not indicate that he found Rehberg's portrayal to be lacking; on the contrary, he only spoke positively

of the actor's performance: "Rehberg spielt das hinreißend entsagungsvoll bis in eine zunehmend pathologische Körpersprache hinein. So gewann das Stück durch ihn mehr Präsenz als der Text" ("Der Erfüllungsgehilfe" 25).

Hans Lamm of the *Jüdische Allgemeine Zeitung* is also critical of every aspect of *Bruder Eichmann* except Rehberg's performance. He first takes issue over the title of the play, and reveals his dissatisfaction with it: "Ist derjenige mein 'Bruder', der am Tod meiner Eltern und Geschwister, am Tod von sechs Millionen Juden (mit)verantwortlich gewesen ist? . . . Oder meinte er, wenn er vom 'Bruder Eichmann' sprach, daß wir alle 'Brüder' seien?" (7). Lamm is critical of the analogy scenes, and specifically mentions the Scharon/Fallaci scenes:

. . . [D]as, was Kipphardt 'Analogie-Szene' nannte, d.h. Einschaltungen, in denen Parallelen, die der Leser und der Zuschauer zwischen 'Bruder Eichmann', Terroristen aus verschiedenen Kulturkreisen und Ariel Scharon aufgrund eines Interviews mit Oriana Fallaci vom September 1982 ziehen soll. Daß dieser Gag dramaturgisch zulässig ist, wird niemand bezweifeln. Ob die Vergleiche, die der Autor zu ziehen für richtig hielt, das Phänomen Eichmann aufklären, werden Leser und Zuschauer entscheiden müssen. Regisseur Giesing strich in seiner Münchener Inszenierung jedenfalls die Szenen mit Ariel Scharon. (7)

Lamm's reference to the analogy scenes is misleading, as it exclusively concentrates on "terrorists" and Ariel Scharon. Although these scenes do appear in the play, they do not form the central focus of the analogy scenes. Hans Lamm designates both the text and

the production a "Reinigungsprozeß", and condemns the performance for taking this process ". . . noch weiter als es schon Kipphardt tat" (7). He cites the exclusion of Chass's outburst at the end of the film scene as representative of this fact. Moreover, he condemns the second part with the Hulls, deeming the scenes with them to have been "schlichtweg peinlich". However, Lamm is not entirely critical of the production and states as regards Rehberg's performance: "Hans-Michael Rehberg spielt die Hauptrolle angemessen, indem er keine unzulässigen Anti- oder Sympathien erweckte" (7). Nevertheless, for Lamm, Rehberg's portrayal of Eichmann is the only redeeming feature of the play and he concludes: "Weder ist sein [Kipphardt's] letztes Stück gut, noch ist die Aufführung ein Ruhmesblatt für die Bayerische Staatsschauspiel. In wenigen Jahren werden Stück und Inszenierung völlig vergessen sein" (7).

Ursula Hübner, in her review that appeared in the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, views Kipphardt's characterization of Eichmann as having been "meisterhaft". Hübner at once commends and criticizes the Munich production, stating: "Regisseur Dieter Giesing hatte die Textvorlage geschickt gekürzt, dabei aber durch Verdoppelung zweier Szenen wiederum gedehnt" (13); however, she offers no suggestions for replacement scenes. Like many other reviewers, she is critical of the analogy scenes but similar to Hans Lehmann's, Hübner's criticism is directed more at the dramatic aspect of these scenes: "Gelegentlich eingestreute 'Analogszenen' (sic) . . . sind zwar in sich schlüssig konstruiert, tragen jedoch nicht wirklich zur Steigerung des Geschehens bei" (13). She concludes her article by praising Rehberg's portrayal of Eichmann: "Im dezent stilisierten Bühnenbild von *Johannes Schütz* . . . agierte Hans-

Michael Rehberg als Eichmann so prägnant, wie ich es von ihm noch nie sah; je weiter der Abend fortschritt, desto differenzierter und eindrücklicher [spielte er]" (italics in original; 13).

The review that appeared in *Die Welt*, written by Rose-Marie Borngässer, is titled "Theater der Heuchelei" and, as its title would suggest, it condemns both the play and the production. Borngässer opens her review by comparing the "Bruder" Eichmann with the one that appeared in Kipphardt's play *Joel Brand: Die Geschichte eines Geschäfts*: ". . . Kipphardt [versucht uns] jetzt einzureden, daß Eichmann ein Mensch wie wir alle sei und daß wir alle potentielle Eichmanns wären" (15). This statement reveals that Borngässer understands Kipphardt's message; however, its caustic expression betrays a refusal to accept that message. In contrast to most of the other reviews, Borngässer is critical of Rehberg's performance, and terms it ". . . zu präpotent. . . einen Mann, der in gewisser Weise Sympathie erweckt" (15); however, she compliments Horst Sachtleben's "hervorragend" portrayal of the *Hauptmann* of the Israeli police. She censures the analogy scenes, and argues against their correlation to the Holocaust: "Das ist von einer Heuchelei und Unwahrhaftigkeit diktiert, die sich selbst ein agitatorisches Theater nicht leisten sollte" (15). Borngässer concludes by evaluating *Bruder Eichmann* as "ein höchst fragwürdiges Unterfangen" (15).

Eva-Elisabeth Fischer's article on the Munich performance appeared in the *Rheinische Merkur* and opens with a section from the "deutsche Frau" analogy scene in *Bruder Eichmann*. Fischer states that the "'banality of evil'" is personalized by means of both the Eichmann and analogy scenes; however, she also cautions against the sympathy

that can be inspired by such a portrayal: "Man kann es sich in Kipphardts *Bruder Eichmann* durchaus bequem machen, liegt doch Verständnis für den Täter oft näher als kritische Distanz zu ihm und zur eigenen Schwäche" (18). Fischer commends both Giesing's production and Rehberg's performance and states: "Die schauspielerische Leistung ist bewundernswert, zumal, wenn ein Darsteller seinen Eichmann so authentisch reproduziert wie Hans-Michael Rehberg in Dieter Giesings Regie" (18). "Wie reagieren auf ein solches Stück?" asks Fischer at the end of her review, and she answers: "Das Publikum war sich in der Tat nicht sicher. . . . Am Ende des Stückes husteten die Zuschauer Augenblicke (sic) lang verlegen, bevor sie sich doch zu heftigem Applaus entschlossen, der auch der einfühlsamen Regie Dieter Giesings galt" (18). This review is one of the few that does not roundly condemn the analogy scenes, and while Fischer refuses to view everyone as a potential Eichmann, she does recognize the attempt of the play to illustrate the argument "...warum möglicherweise jeder von uns in einer ähnlichen Situation genauso handeln könnte oder würde" (18).

Peter von Becker's article in the March 1983 edition of *Theater Heute* has already been cursorily mentioned; however, it merits more thorough study. Von Becker's main criticism against the play was levelled at the analogy scenes and the notion that Adolf Eichmann could have "brothers" in Western society: "Kipphardt wollte nicht nur die historische Figur vorstellen, nicht nur den Mitmenschen im *Bruder Eichmann*, sondern er wollte auch auf Eichmanns angebliche Brüder, auf Wesensverwandte und Nachfahren heute weisen" ("Kein Bruder" 1). For this critic, ". . . alle historische[n] Umstände und Bedingungen, alle Unrechtsstaaten der (ausschließlich westlichen) Welt" are not

analogous to one another ("Kein Bruder" 2), and he condemns the "monströse[n] Einseitigkeit" of these scenes ("Kein Bruder" 2). He states that the structure of the play is marked by a "äußerlich undramatische Handlung" ("Kein Bruder" 1) which is only weakened by the inclusion of the Hull, Vera Eichmann and analogy scenes. Moreover, von Becker censures the Munich production, and declares: "Was die Uraufführung von *Bruder Eichmann* allerdings an den Rand des Skandalösen treibt: sie wird immer mehr zum sentimentalischen Eichmann-Melodram (sic)" ("Kein Bruder" 2). This is a valid assertion in consideration of the second part of both the play and production. Von Becker concludes his argument by mentioning a key aspect of the discussion that had been bypassed by all other reviewers:

Einer allerdings fehlt bei der ganzen Diskussion: Heinar Kipphardt. Er hatte seine Stücke, ähnlich wie Brecht, immer nur als Vorschläge verstanden. Und er war einer, der zeitlebens lernen wollte. Auch korrigieren. Daran sollten die Erben denken und die Verwalter der Rechte dessen, der nun nichts mehr aus neuer Erfahrung zu ändern vermag.
("Kein Bruder" 3)

This weakens his argument somewhat, as it leaves the play more open to interpretation than von Becker indicates as being permissible in his article.

One month after Peter von Becker's article appeared in *Theater Heute*, another article, "Dubios, Brisant und Spielbar - oder was?" was published in the same journal. This article included commentaries by Avner Less, the playwright Thomas Strittmatter (*Viehjud Levi*), the chief dramatic advisor of the Bonner Schauspiel, Paul Kruntorad, the

dramatic advisor of the Schauspiel Frankfurt, Horst Laube, and Johannes Schütz, who was the set decorator for the Munich production. Of chief interest is Strittmatter's observation, as this provides a good conclusion to the divergent opinions that developed from watching *Bruder Eichmann*: "Kipphardts Stück ist problematisch. Aber die Zeit ist problematischer. So empfinde ich es. . . . Trotzdem behaupte ich, daß dieses Stück gespielt werden muß, und zwar mit aller Brisanz die darin steckt" (von Becker, "Dubios" 68).

Bruder Eichmann was a controversial play, a factor which the reviews adeptly demonstrate. Many of the articles favourably reviewed either the production or the text (if not both) and most of the reviews praised Hans-Michael Rehberg's portrayal of Adolf Eichmann. In many cases, even if the reviewer condemned Kipphardt's text, he or she approved either of Dieter Giesing's staging of the play or of Rehberg's performance. Kipphardt's characterization of Eichmann was another main theme of the reviews, and this was either complimented for its authenticity or censured for having been too sympathetic. Reviewers who perceived the danger of such a "sympathetic" portrayal underestimated the audience's ability to interpret the message of the play and decide for themselves if the *Eichmann-Haltung* persists in Western society.

An examination of the articles that appeared in newspapers, magazines and journals within ten days of the première demonstrates that Peter von Becker's statement judging the reviews as "reserviert bis negativ" is not an accurate generalization. It may be better stated that the reviews were either favourable or unfavourable, which is indicative of a play such as *Bruder Eichmann*. The reaction that von Becker's article

generated in *Theater Heute* also reveals the depth of controversy that Kipphardt engendered with his last play, and the polarization of opinions reveals that the topic of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* was a contentious issue even thirty-eight years after the end of World War II. However, the most controversial aspect of the play was associated not with the past but the present, and exemplifies the need to achieve *Gegenwartsbewältigung* within the society of the Federal Republic. The analogy scenes were criticized by most of the reviews either on the basis of their anti-Western bias or their attempt to equate the Holocaust with other crimes. The Holocaust cannot be paralleled; however, Kipphardt was not trying to minimize the horror of this crime. Rather, he was attempting to draw attention to the factors that, in his opinion, had created the "funktionale[n] Mensch[en]" and thus permitted the continuation of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. The criticism of the analogy scenes on the basis of the equation argument reveals a misinterpretation of Kipphardt's intent, a fact which Werner Eckl supports in his article for the *Tageszeitung*. In addition, much mention is made of analogy scenes involving "perpetrators", but there is no discussion of the scenes involving "victims" who are affected by the endurance of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. Finally, the larger issue with the analogy scenes in Munich relates to the conspicuous absence of the most controversial "Möller" and "Scharon" scenes in Dieter Giesing's production, a fact which illustrates the contentious aspect of Kipphardt's attempt at *Gegenwartsbewältigung*. However, an in-depth discussion of this issue is also noticeably absent from most reviews. Only four articles, (Hochhuth, Pawlik, Kathrein, Schödel) specifically refer to and censure Giesing's political motivation for the exclusion of certain analogy scenes (specifically the

"Scharon" and "Möller" scenes). These reviews substantiate the argument that Giesing excluded these scenes not for aesthetic reasons or reasons of time, but out of fear of the political consequences. Thus, *Bruder Eichmann* endures in the controversy engendered by both the text and the Munich premiere, and the reviews of Dieter Giesing's production support this point.

5.3.2 The Controversy over the Analogy Scenes

The reviews of Dieter Giesing's production of *Bruder Eichmann* demonstrate that the analogy scenes were a significant facet of the critique of the play. However, the real controversy over the scenes developed in the two months following the January 21, 1983 premiere of the play. C. Bernd Sucher reports in an article for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* that Dieter Giesing had suggested his collaboration with Kipphardt on the choice of analogy scenes; however, in a Munich podium discussion on *Bruder Eichmann*, Giesing admitted that "Diese Fassung ist von Kipphardt absolut nicht autorisiert" (Sucher, "Fatale" 39).²⁴ Hence, the direct result of the premiere was the fact that Kipphardt's widow, Pia, and his publishing company Ute Nyssen & J. Bansemer, decreed that at least two thirds of the analogy scenes be performed in subsequent stage productions of the play. In an article in the news magazine *Spiegel*, Pia Kipphardt stated ". . . daß Kipphardt niemals gewollt hat oder geduldet hätte, daß die Analogie-Szenen und insbesondere diejenigen, die auf unsere Gegenwart verweisen, vollständig eliminiert oder

²⁴ See also footnote 9 in Cuomo's article, "Vergangenheitsbewältigung Through Analogy".

auch nur einschneidend gekürzt werden. Gerade auf diesen Bezug zur Gegenwart kam es dem Autor an" ("Sympathien" 188). As a result, productions planned for Düsseldorf, Cologne and Hamburg were cancelled due to the directors' refusal to include that number -- if any -- of the analogy scenes.

The cancellation of the Cologne production was more widely publicized than that of any other and became the symbol of the controversy engendered by Kipphardt's analogy scenes. In his article for the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Gerhard Stadelmeier refers to the fact that the directors Volker Canaris and Inge Flimm only wanted to include the analogy scenes that had a direct relation to the Third Reich in their production (25). Moreover, in his justification of this decision, Canaris cites the incomparability of the Holocaust: "Es darf doch nicht passieren, daß der Völkermord an den Juden ... gegen Unrecht und Terror und Untaten aus anderen Bereichen 'aufgerechnet' wird" (25). Stadelmeier agrees with Canaris and further declares that the inclusion of the analogy scenes completely weakens the play (25). Benjamin Heinrichs also alludes to the cancelled Cologne production in his article for *Die Zeit*: however, he emphasizes entirely different factors:

Das Kölner Theater hält Kipphardts Analogien für fragwürdig, ja für politisch gefährlich. Das ist eine mögliche Haltung. Aber gleichzeitig war man doch bereit, die nicht gespielten im Programmheft zu publizieren - was man, meinte man es bitter ernst mit der eigenen moralischen Positionen, auch nicht tun dürfte. (39)

As Heinrichs points out, the controversy generated by the analogy scenes had more to do with morality than with the theatricality of the scenes. Furthermore, Heinrichs declares: "Kipphardt selber, vermute ich, hätte nicht auf die Analogie-Szenen verzichtet" (39).

Heinz Klunker refers to the analogy scenes in his article for the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt* and states: "Kein Zweifel: So ernsthaft die Argumente des Kölner Teams sind (und so abwegig die von der Verlegerin Ute Nyssen unterstellte 'politische Feigheit' bei diesem allem Opportunismus abholden Theater auch ist) - die in Köln vorgesehene Bühnenfassung verkürzt Kipphardts Absichten beträchtlich" (21). Klunker emphasizes the attempt to illustrate the continuation of the *Eichmann-Haltung*, but admits the agitational potential of the analogy scenes, stating that they pour salt on today's wounds (21). Fritz Wolf of the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* also criticizes the exclusion of the analogy scenes in the Cologne production and maintains: "Die Kölner Erklärung, man habe Kipphardt und sich durch die Kürzung vor dem Mißverständnis schützen wollen, Nazi-Verbrechern würden 'aufgerechnet' und damit entschuldigt, wirkt geradezu zynisch" (11). He is critical of this primarily because it underestimates the ability of the audience to understand Kipphardt's message, a fact which neither the reviews nor any other articles on the controversy mention. Every review of the Munich production of *Bruder Eichmann* had something to say about the analogy scenes, and every article on the controversy criticized the reviews that had censured those scenes. However, the debate over the analogy scenes represents much more than a difference of opinion over Heinar Kipphardt's message. It exemplifies the larger question which asks where the author's rights end, and where the director's freedom begins. Heinar

Kipphardt's death prior to the first performance of *Bruder Eichmann* left these questions unanswered, and brought an entirely new, unanticipated aspect to both the play and subsequent productions.

5.3.3 Press Reviews of the East Berlin Production

By the time *Bruder Eichmann* was performed in East Berlin, the play had already had its German Democratic Republic *Ringuraufführung* in Dresden, Leipzig and Schwerin; nonetheless, the premiere of the play in the capital city was a significant event. There are fewer reviews of the East Berlin production -- thirteen in total, two of which appeared in Western newspapers. Of those thirteen reviews, seven were favourable and six were unfavourable toward the production, and it should be stated that two of the negative reviews came from West German critics. In contrast to the Munich premiere, the reviewers rarely differentiate between the text and the production, and their praise or criticism is almost always directed at both "versions" of *Bruder Eichmann*. The analogy scenes are almost a non-issue in the East German reviews, and Kipphardt's anti-Western bias as demonstrated in those scenes is not alluded to in any of the articles. Without the controversial aspect of the analogy scenes, many of the reviews become ordinary reports of the text and what was performed on the stage of the Deutsches Theater. In addition, the absence of a critique of Kipphardt's text stands in sharp contrast to the Munich reviews -- any criticism of *Bruder Eichmann* was directed at aspects of the production.

verabsolutiert, daß für sie alle (sonst doch vorhandenen) ästhetischen und politischen Kriterien außer Kraft treten. (565)

According to Roßmann, exactly that which made the play and its performance so controversial in the West permitted its performance in the East, as Kipphardt's anti-Western bias provided excellent propaganda for the socialist society. However, Roßmann does not criticize the aesthetic weaknesses of the play either; rather, like most other Western critics, he takes issue over the controversial analogy scenes:

Die Fatalität des Texts, 'Böses' und 'Böses' . . . miteinander zu parallelisieren, wird unhinterfragt übernommen. . . . [S]o ist die Qualität, die in der DDR seine Aufführbarkeit ermöglicht, genau mit jener identisch, die in der Bundesrepublik seinen Provokationswert ausmacht: die ausschließlich im Westen angesiedelten 'Analogieszenen'. (566)

As a result, his review offers very little criticism of the East Berlin production and seems to be more of a critique of the reception of *Bruder Eichmann* in the GDR. Roßmann is critical of Stillmark's representation of ". . . die Distanz des Stoffs zur eigenen Gegenwart . . ." (566) by having set the performance in a museum, and states that this concept ". . . [kann] den 'Bruder' im Titel . . . nicht beglaubigen" (566). This criticism is relevant; however, it is weakened by the fact that it is the only reference made to Stillmark's production, as the rest of the article refers to the premiere in Dresden. Ultimately, Andreas Roßmann's review is a typically Western one which criticizes the exclusively anti-Western analogy scenes in Kipphardt's play and the acceptance and manipulation of these for the GDR performances.

Gerhard Ebert's favourable performance-based review appeared in *Neues Deutschland*. In contrast to Roßmann's criticism of the set, Ebert states: "Damit ist Abstand gewonnen" (4). He praises Thomas Neumann's performance, but this is tempered by the consideration that the Eichmann on the stage is perhaps too young (4). Nonetheless, Neumann's portrayal shows "aber doch präzise den Bürokraten des Verbrechens" (4), and Ebert praises the rest of the actors in Stillmark's production. Aside from an allusion to actors in the analogy scenes, there is no specific reference to the analogy scenes in the review, nor does Ebert refer to Kipphardt's characterization of Eichmann. In fact, Kipphardt's text receives only cursory mention as having been the basis for Alexander Stillmark's production. Ebert's short review concludes with a positive summary and a veiled reproach of the West: "Eine sehr genaue, szenisch dichte Aufführung, Zeichen setzend: Die Mörder sind nicht mehr unter uns, aber gegenwärtig" (4).

The review in *Bauernecho* by L. Gitzel also provides a favourable evaluation of Stillmark's production, and specifically of the performance by the actors. There is no real commentary on the analogy scenes aside from a reference to their ". . . geradezu agitatorischem Nachdruck" in the play (7). Gitzel praises Neumann's portrayal of Adolf Eichmann and states: "Neumann setzt sparsam und genau gestische Mittel ein, um auf den Widersinn des oft in leichtem Plauderton dahinplätschernden Wortes zu verweisen" (7). In addition, the actors in the analogy scenes are commended for their ability to illustrate the "[d]okumentarische[n] Zündstoff . . ." that is contained within these scenes. The final sentence of the article reveals an apolitical interpretation of the play and an

understanding of Kipphardt's intent rarely mentioned in East or West: "Die Inszenierung ist behutsame Aufforderung zum Weiterdenken, von Auschwitz zu den Brandherden der heutigen Welt nicht nur analog zu schließen, sondern die Rädchen im Getriebe der Terrormechanismen genauer und rechtzeitig zu durchschauen" (7).

Helmut Ullrich's article in *Neue Zeit* opens with a reference to the controversial title of the play: "Bruder Eichmann? . . . [D]as provoziert, das hakt sich unangenehm im Denken fest, das beunruhigt, das versperert die Möglichkeit, ihn als ein aus menschlicher Gemeinschaft ausschließbares Ungeheuer abzutun. Eichmann unser Bruder? Damit muß man sich auseinandersetzen" (4). Through the course of his review, Ullrich explains how both the play and Stillmark's production demonstrate that Adolf Eichmann could be one's brother: "Nicht schaudern soll uns vor Eichmann, verstehbar soll er werden" (4). He specifically praises the production's concentration on the figure Adolf Eichmann and Thomas Neumann's portrayal of this man: "So wird er auch von Thomas Neumann gespielt: ein stiller bedrückter Mensch, der so richtig immer noch nicht begreift, in welche Sache er da hineingeraten ist" (4). Ullrich also makes mention of the analogy scenes ". . . mit denen Kipphardt zeigt, daß der Fall Eichmann nicht als Einzelfall erledigt werden kann" (4), although he does not mention that these scenes are only set in the West. The reviewer writes a useful critique of both the play and production adding only one brief political reference at the end of his review: "Die Präzision der Regie, die Prägnanz des Hauptdarstellers, dadurch wird das Unerklärbare erklärbar. . . . Faßbar wird jenes Phänomen, das der gewöhnliche Faschismus heißt" (4). Evidently, Ullrich feels it

necessary to provide the *Eichmann-Haltung* with a label (Faschismus) that is more comprehensible to the GDR public.

The review in *Sonntag* by Klaus-Peter Gerhardt refers to Heinz Wenzel's set as being part of an overall "konzeptionelle Absicht" which he compliments: "Nicht dem Fall Eichmann gilt das Interesse des Zuschauers, sondern gleichsam der Technologie, mit der ein Mensch sein Erinnerungsvermögen ausklinkt, sein Gedächtnis manipuliert und sich über alle schuldhaften Verstrickungen geschwätzig und moderat hinwegredet" (6). Gerhardt also alludes to Thomas Neumann's portrayal of Eichmann, stating that he (Neumann) ". . . spürt diesem banalen und miesen Stottern des defekten Gedächtnisses Eichmanns bis in sprachliche Nuancen nach. Sein Eichmann reduziert sich selbst auf ein leeres Sing-Sang der anmaßenden Gewöhnlichkeit" (6). For the reviewer, *Bruder Eichmann* is an exercise in "Erinnerungsarbeit" which is facilitated by the analogy scenes; however, there is no mention made of the criticism of the West that is manifest in those scenes. Gerhardt concludes his critique by re-emphasizing the importance of the play as a means of coming to terms with the past: "In diesem Sinne wird das Theater zum Ort der kollektiven Erinnerungsarbeit, um Vergangenheit produktiv zu bewältigen und Gegenwart für die entschlossene Bekämpfung offenkundiger Verbrechen an der Menschheit zu schärfen" (6).

In his article for *Tribune*, Wolfgang Gersch addresses the difficulty of staging *Bruder Eichmann* which he considers to be "eigentlich ein Lesestück" (4). Gersch views Eichmann's ideology as being that of a monster ". . . der in Analogie-Szenen die Verbreitung des Schreckens in diesem Jahrhundert zeigt . . ." (4). Like Gerhardt, Ulrich

and Schwandt, Gersch's brief reference to the analogy scenes also fails to mention their anti-Western bias, and it does not go into further detail to describe the content of the scenes or those that were staged in East Berlin. The review is a favourable one which views Stillmark's production as having satisfactorily portrayed the phenomenon Adolf Eichmann: "Alexander Stillmark setzte seine Inszenierung auf das Argumentative, auf die Aushöhlung der Eichmann-Figur, die Thomas Neumann mit betreffender Alltäglichkeit zeigt: den Kontrast von gewandter Intelligenz und erschreckender Bewußtseinslosigkeit" (4).

Rolf-Dieter Eichler is one of few critics to differentiate between the play and Stillmark's production. In his review for the *National-Zeitung*, Eichler refers to Kipphardt's text as ". . . eine mit Analogieszenen speziell auch in die dortige Realität zielende scharfsichtige Auseinandersetzung mit den Resultaten einer solchen systembedingten Manipulierung von Menschen zu Werkzeugen des Imperialismus und Faschismus" (7). Eichler writes one of the East German critical reviews, and he censures the concentration of the production on Eichmann: "Ohnedies scheint mir, daß die allzu starke Konzentration auf ihn, als wäre es nur eine psychologische Studie, die Wirkungsdimension dieses Stücks verkleinert" (7). He particularly criticizes the fact that some of the analogy scenes were not performed, and only form a frame of reference for the psychological study of Eichmann: ". . . damit ist der entscheidende reale Bezug dieses Redens erheblich abgeschwächt" (7). Eichler praises the actors in the analogy scenes for their performances, but criticizes Neumann: "Was Thomas Neumanns intelligenter und sensibler Darstellungskunst, wie mir scheint, weniger gelingt, ist das Kenntlichmachen

der wenn auch noch so verdeckten tatsächlichen Spuren all der von ihm erlebten und verübten Verbrechen im Persönlichkeitsbild Eichmanns" (7). However, despite his criticism of so many aspects of the production, Eichler concludes his review by acknowledging the fact that the play inspires reflection:

Die Wirkungen dieser Aufführung liegen in den Momenten, da aus Übereinstimmung oder Kontrast erkennbar wird, wie, warum und wodurch der 'Durchschnittsmensch' Eichmann zum Schlimmsten mißbrauchbar wurde. Und sie liegen dort, wo Schauspieler das Gedenken an die Opfer von ihm und seinesgleichen zum Appell an uns Heutige gestalten. (7)

Günther Bellmann's article in the *Berliner Zeitung am Abend* is also critical of the production, and takes issue over the dramaturgy: "Hans Nadolnys Fassung ohne die Begegnung Eichmanns mit seiner Frau, ohne Hinrichtungsszene, ohne KZ-Film, ohne Interview mit dem amerikanischen Bomberpiloten in Vietnam, ohne Selbstaussage des Funktionärs eines SS-Traditionsverbandes in der heutigen BRD reduziert die Komplexität des Stückes" (3). However, in apparent contradiction of this earlier statement, he is critical of the analogy scenes: "Sie erscheinen überwiegend als Fremdkörper . . ." (3). Finally, Bellmann also finds fault with Thomas Neumann's portrayal of Eichmann and states:

Gewiß, das genaue Nachzeichnen der Eichmann-Biographie soll die unspektakulär-folgerichtige Entwicklung eines Menschen innerhalb einer bestimmten Gesellschaft zum Monster durchschaubar machen. Aber

solche Absicht korrespondiert nur unvollkommen mit der Darstellung der Titelfigur durch Thomas Neumann. . . . Der Drang nach Normalität streift die Banalität. (3)

This criticism of Neumann's performance on the basis of the portrayal of the biographical Eichmann reveals a slight misinterpretation of Kipphardt's play and illustrates the difficulty inherent in delineating the *Eichmann-Haltung* on the stage.

The article by Henryk Goldberg that appeared in *Junge Welt* refers to both Kipphardt's text and the production: "Heinar Kipphardt schrieb sein Stück aus einer Haltung heraus, die Faschismus nicht als historisch vergangen ansieht, sondern das Aufkommen faschistoider Haltungen, der 'Eichmann-Haltung' beunruhigt beobachtet" (5). It is this attitude that forms the basis of Goldberg's positive critique of the production and particularly of Thomas Neumann's portrayal of Adolf Eichmann: "Der jung wirkende Schauspieler zeigt sie aus der Distanz, zitiert die Haltung des pedantischen Mörders . . . Nicht ein Porträt steht auf der Bühne, kein Individuum eigentlich, aber eine Haltung, die 'Eichmann-Haltung'" (5). Goldberg perceives this attempt and the entire production favourably: "Das schafft zwar emotionale Distanz, gibt aber Raum zur wägenden Beobachtung" (5). There is only a cursory reference to the analogy scenes, because for Goldberg, the *Eichmann-Haltung* is the key to both the text and its performance; however, since the analogy scenes illustrate the continuation of this attitude, Goldberg's neglect of these scenes may be perceived as being a weakness of the article. He concludes with a statement reminiscent of Thomas Strittmatter's in *Theater Heute*: "Man kann das Stück anders spielen, wichtig aber ist: Man spielt es" (5). This comment reveals

a deeper understanding of Kipphardt's play, and Goldberg differentiates himself from other reviewers by calling for the continued performance of *Bruder Eichmann*.

In his article for *Der Morgen*, Christoph Funke also praises Thomas Neumann's portrayal of Eichmann: "In der Inszenierung von Alexander Stillmark am Deutschen Theater Berlin aber bleibt das Nüchtern-Sachliche bestimmend, wird Thomas Neumann als Eichmann erst ganz allmählich die eine oder andere Möglichkeit zum Spiel eingeräumt" (4). In contrast to Goldberg's review, Funke specifically mentions the analogy scenes, stating that they have a "hohe Intensität"; however, he criticizes the theatricality of these scenes in East Berlin, and declares: "Die Texte dieser Berichte ertragen die spielerische Ausdeutung nicht" (4). This differentiates his critique from every other review of Stillmark's production. Funke concludes by comparing *Bruder Eichmann* to other performances in the GDR, and like Martin Linzer determines that the East Berlin production falls short of these (4).

Jürgen Beckelmann's review appeared in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, like Wolfgang Gersch, Beckelmann suggests that *Bruder Eichmann* is more suited to being a *Lesestück*. The reviewer is critical of the attention given to Eichmann's youth and career in the East Berlin production which ". . . 'wie selbstverständlich' in den SS-Dienst mündete" (11). According to Beckelmann: "Die Aufführung vermittelt bekannte, freilich immer wieder erschreckende Einsichten, nur eines fehlt ihr, was des Theaters Sache denn wohl doch auch sein sollte: Dramatik" (11); however, he does not elaborate on how dramatic elements could have been emphasized in the performance. The rest of this short article is devoted to another drama that was playing in East Berlin at the same time.

Ernst Schumacher's review appeared in the *Berliner Zeitung* and in *Berliner Kritiken*²⁶ and is the most detailed critique of Alexander Stillmark's production. It is also the only review that refers to the evidently intense audience reaction to the play:

In den zwei Jahrzehnten, in denen ich nunmehr über Theater in der Hauptstadt der DDR schreibe, habe ich an keiner Aufführung teilgenommen, die beim Publikum stärkere, ich will nicht sagen: Betroffenheit, aber Mit-und Nachdenklichkeit auszulösen vermocht hätte, als diese Inszenierung von Heinar Kipphardts Schauspiel *Bruder Eichmann* in der Regie von Alexander Stillmark. (234)

Schumacher argues that the play is a good example ". . . der Problematisierung und Exemplifizierung des Phänomens, wie aus Durchschnittsmenschen *unter gegebenen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen* Unmenschen werden können . . ." (my italics; 234).

Schumacher states that the analogy scenes further exemplify this by demonstrating ". . . daß diese Verunmenschlichung mit dem 'Fall Eichmann' nicht abgetan war und ist" (235).

In spite of this, he disagrees with Chass's last lines in the performance ("Das Monster, es scheint, ist der gewöhnlich funktionale Mensch . . ."). For Schumacher, it is only a (Western) imperialist society that can produce a man such as Adolf Eichmann, and Kipphardt's anti-Western bias in the play supports this interpretation. However, it could also be argued that Kipphardt was writing on the society he knew best and not solely targeting Western society. This is supported by the lack of a socialist anti-protagonist in *Bruder Eichmann*. Schumacher takes his interpretation further, and thus politicizes his

²⁶ References are to the review in *Berliner Kritiken*.

review: "Nein, die Lösung kann nur in der Schaffung einer Gesellschaftsordnung gefunden werden . . . Unter den gegebenen Umständen kann das nur der Sozialismus sein. Nur dann wird Eichmann keine Brüder mehr haben" (235). He praises Alexander Stillmark's production, and declares: "Alexander Stillmarks Verdienst als Regisseur dieses dokumentarischen Stückes besteht darin, daß er alles Milieuhafte beiseite ließ . . ." (235). Hence, while Günther Bellmann found that this reduced the complexity of the play, Schumacher commends Stillmark's ability ". . . historisches Bewußtsein zu stimulieren" (235). His only other criticism is reserved for Thomas Neumann's performance, and he suggests that "[e]in älterer Schauspieler hätte dies wohl besser zu treffen vermocht" (236). Finally, Schumacher praises the lack of action in the play, and this contrasts with Jürgen Beckelmann's criticism that the play lacked the dramatic: "Gerade die Aktionsarmut fördert die Ausdrucksstärke, ermöglichte kritische Reflexion, traf die Sache in den Sachverhalten" (236).

5.3.4 Summary and Comparison

In contrast to the Munich production, *Bruder Eichmann* was not a controversial play in the German Democratic Republic. The reviews demonstrate how various aspects of the play -- such as the analogy scenes -- were distinctly interpreted in the GDR. Indeed, the analogy scenes caused no controversy whatsoever in East Berlin and were praised in all but one review (Günther Bellmann's) for their ability to exemplify how a certain society could have created a man such as Eichmann. However, most of the reviewers fail to examine the analogy scenes on more than a superficial level and there is

no real discussion of these in any of the reviews. The reviews of the East Berlin production were political, but not in the same manner as those of the production in Munich. While reviewers in Munich took issue over the analogy scenes, reviewers in East Berlin used the word *Faschismus* to illustrate the moral superiority of Socialism where apparently a phenomenon such as Eichmann would be impossible. Only one article, Henryk Goldberg's, refers to the *Eichmann-Haltung* as being the key to understanding *Bruder Eichmann*, but even Goldberg fails to draw a parallel between this attitude in the past and (albeit Western) present. Those who draw this parallel emphasize the exclusivity of Eichmann as the product of a fascist, imperialist society. In addition, there is no criticism in the East Berlin reviews of the parallel between the Western present and the Holocaust -- a fact which contrasts significantly with the censure of this in the reviews of the Munich production. As with other aspects of the analogy scenes, drawing parallels between the Holocaust and the West is permitted primarily because it is criticism of the "other" society.

Andreas Roßmann states in his review that the GDR performances were successful primarily because of their effectiveness as propaganda (566), and a survey of the press reviews of Stillmark's production partially confirms this. However, as Rolf Dieter Eichler emphasizes in the *National-Zeitung*, the merit of both play and production rests in its ability to inspire reflection. Judging from Ernst Schumacher's description of the audience reaction to the performance, both Kipphardt and Stillmark were successful in their endeavour.

Thomas Neumann was praised for his performance in the role of Adolf Eichmann, a fact which corresponds to the reviews of Hans-Michael Rehberg's performance as Eichmann in the Munich production; however, there are some reviewers who thought that Neumann was perhaps too young for the role. Many of the reviews also specifically refer to and compliment the supporting actors' performances, especially those who performed in the analogy scenes. In contrast to the reviews of the Munich production, there was no criticism of Kipphardt's "sympathetic" portrayal of Adolf Eichmann, and no real issue was taken over the possibility of Eichmann being one's "brother". This is perhaps due to the museum set in Stillmark's production which clearly distinguishes the past from the then-socialist present.

Bruder Eichmann is a political play, but the reviews of the East Berlin production were not politicized in the same manner as they had been after the Munich premiere. Both Kipphardt's play and Alexander Stillmark's production were interpreted in the GDR as having been more of a moralistic *Lehrstück* on the evils of capitalism; hence, both text and production were critiqued favourably in many of the East German reviews. In contrast to reviews of the Munich production which often attacked Kipphardt's text, the East German reviews that were unfavourable criticized Stillmark's production for not having rendered an accurate enough account of the original version. However, this aspect of the production never becomes a major point of contention, despite the fact that Stillmark omitted essentially half of the original play. It could be inferred that this was purposefully not mentioned in order to keep the focus squarely on the phenomenon Adolf

Eichmann, but this is nonetheless a deficiency of the East Berlin reviews in comparison to those of the Munich premiere.

It is difficult to compare the reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions precisely because of their divergent political emphases. Many of the Munich reviews are provocative in their estimations of Kipphardt's play, while many East Berlin reviews offer a patronizing view of the "other" society that created Eichmann. However, the reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions of *Bruder Eichmann* were not completely different and in fact share certain common factors. Reviewers in both East and West delineated the audience reaction to the play as being shocked or thoughtful, a fact which attests to the effectiveness of Kipphardt's play in both Giesing's and Stillmark's versions. Most importantly, the reviews demonstrate that the performance of the play in the Federal Republic or the GDR had no correlation to its critical success. There was an equal ratio of favourable to unfavourable reviews in both East and West; hence, the production of *Bruder Eichmann* in the German Democratic Republic did not necessarily guarantee critical success.

Bruder Eichmann is a play that was capable of inspiring reflection, and this fact is demonstrated by the press reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions. The press reviews confirm the two vastly different approaches taken to staging the continuation of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western society, and support the argument that both of these approaches involved manipulation of the play with political intent. This is manifest in the reviews of Stillmark's production, but certain reviews of the Munich premiere also reveal Dieter Giesing's political motivation for his version of *Bruder Eichmann*. The

different approaches taken to the production of the play are reflected in the subsequent press reviews of each performance, and ensured that *Bruder Eichmann* left a legacy of discussion and debate on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It is this legacy which best exemplifies Heinar Kipphardt's contribution to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*.

6. **Conclusion: *Bruder Eichmann* as Heinar Kipphardt's contribution to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*.**

The term *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* refers to the collective West German need to work through and come to terms with the National Socialist past.²⁷ In theatre, it is best exemplified by the documentary theatre movement of the Sixties in the Federal Republic of Germany. However, the term *bewältigen* is problematic, a fact demonstrated by its definition in *Wahrig*: "mit Mühe, nach großer Anstrengung mit etwas fertig werden" (157). As Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich emphasize in their psychoanalytical study *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*, "Es ist klar, daß man millionenfachen Mord nicht 'bewältigen' kann" (24). Hence, the West German preoccupation with the National Socialist past may be better defined as an attempt to come to terms with it. The difficulty of defining this term introduces the unique position of West German documentary dramatists such as Heinar Kipphardt who considered it their responsibility to be the conscience of society. Kipphardt not only attempted to confront the past; he also endeavoured to come to terms with the present. This attempt at *Gegenwartsbewältigung* is illustrated in the dramatist's last play *Bruder Eichmann*.

In 1962, Heinar Kipphardt stated:

Wir werten unsere Vergangenheit wie eine unerklärliche Krankheit, die auf unerklärliche Weise ausgebrochen ist und uns Angst macht. Aber ihre Ursachen sind untersuchbar, die Erkrankung ist abwendbar, die

²⁷ At the time of the Munich and East Berlin productions of *Bruder Eichmann*, the National Socialist past had been officially dealt with in the German Democratic Republic.

Wiederholung vermeidbar, hier und an anderen Plätzen der Erde.

(Kipphardt, "Soll" 275)

By 1982, when Kipphardt was finishing *Bruder Eichmann*, this attitude had changed somewhat, but not significantly enough for the past to be considered "*bewältigt*". The National Socialist past was an issue which had affected Kipphardt throughout his life and strongly influenced his work. He considered it his responsibility as a writer to broach the difficult questions about the past, and this became a main theme in his writing. However, like many documentary dramatists, Kipphardt was not content to leave the past in the past. As Anat Feinberg observes,

Nicht mehr der Mythos des *anderen* Deutschland, der Stunde Null, der Anfang eines neuen Kapitels in der Geschichte, sondern die realen geistigen Verbindungslinien zwischen der Gegenwart und jener bedrückenden Vergangenheit werden hervorgehoben. (*Wiedergutmachung* 34)

For Kipphardt, an examination of the past revealed other issues in the present which also needed to be presented, and he believed dealing with reality was the most effective means to accomplish this goal. In the 1967 *Spiegel* interview titled "Wäre ich Eichmann geworden?", he expressed his concept of what he thought documentary theatre aims to accomplish: "Zum Historiker im Unterschied will ein Dramatiker ein historisches nicht bloß beschreiben; er versucht, dem historischen Vorgang die Bedeutung für die eigene Zeit zu entreißen" (133). In Kipphardt's view, the past determined the present, but its

lessons had not necessarily been applied and he sought to illustrate this in *Bruder Eichmann*.

Bruder Eichmann was a unique attempt at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. For Kipphardt, Adolf Eichmann represented the epitome of an attitude which he termed the *Eichmann-Haltung* and considered to be symptomatic of Western capitalist society. This attitude is exemplified within both levels of action in *Bruder Eichmann*: the conversations between Eichmann and his various interlocutors, and the analogy scenes. Indeed, Kipphardt invented the analogy scenes to illustrate the continuity of this attitude in Western society and thereby agitate for change. For the dramatist, the same omnipresent "evil" that had encouraged Adolf Eichmann's actions during the Second World War also motivated an American pilot in Vietnam to unquestioningly obey a bombing order. This agitational aspect of Kipphardt's last play may be considered an attempt at *Gegenwartsbewältigung*: coming to terms with the present. Heinar Kipphardt was aware of his inability to alter the past; however, he believed in the intrinsic ability of the written word to act as a catalyst to change the present, and he sought to achieve this.

Ultimately, however, it was the reception of *Bruder Eichmann* which has determined Heinar Kipphardt's contribution to *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*, and this has been best exemplified in the present examination of the Munich and East Berlin productions of the play. Our study of the scripts has illustrated the adaptability of the play and shown the different interpretations of two directors working in two societies that were ideologically polarized from one another. The analysis of the East Berlin and Munich productions has also demonstrated how the play

could be manipulated to suit a political purpose -- as happened with Alexander Stillmark's production -- or moderated to lessen its political volatility -- as illustrated by Dieter Giesing's production. The programmes for the Munich and East Berlin productions were shown to be indicative of the varying emphases of the play, and have again demonstrated the adaptability of the play for an East or West German audience. However, the scripts and programmes were seen only to reveal the individual intention of the production, and not its reception. Hence, the press reviews of the performances were consulted to gain insight into the effect of *Bruder Eichmann* on its audience and the critical success or failure of the play.

It has been shown that most of the reviews of the Munich production focus on the analogy scenes and betray a misinterpretation of Kipphardt's intention in writing *Bruder Eichmann*. These scenes were not meant to equate the Holocaust to other crimes; rather, they were meant to demonstrate the continuity of the *Eichmann-Haltung* in Western society. The glimpses into the present necessitate a confrontation of the Western society shaped by the Second World War -- the society which Kipphardt knew best. By contrast, the press reviews of Alexander Stillmark's production in East Berlin praised their interpretation of the anti-Western message of the play as reflected in the analogy scenes. These reviews emphasized Stillmark's theme that the capitalist system had produced a phenomenon such as Eichmann, a fact illustrated by the museum setting in the production and the exclusive concentration on the figure Eichmann. Due primarily to the anti-Western propensity of *Bruder Eichmann*, the play was received more favourably in the German Democratic Republic than in the Federal Republic of Germany. However,

our examination of both productions has also raised the issue of the extent to which a director may interpret an author's work. Should a performance always render a truthful account of the original text? Or should every performance be considered an interpretation of an author's work by the director? These questions illustrate the capacity of a play such as *Bruder Eichmann* to introduce larger theatrical issues.

Heinar Kipphardt's greatest accomplishment in terms of *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung* may be found in the press reviews of the Munich and East Berlin productions. Varied as they are, these provide confirmation of Kipphardt's ability to force a confrontation of the factors and society that could have created an Adolf Eichmann -- thereby making a significant contribution to the need to deal with the National Socialist past. In its Eastern and Western forms, *Bruder Eichmann* generated discussion and forced individuals to ask the same question the dramatist asked himself in 1967: "Wäre ich Eichmann geworden?". This facilitates a confrontation of both the present and the past, as one must consider the continuity of the *Eichmann-Haltung*. The play seems to have been less effective in the German Democratic Republic -- which claimed to have already (officially) come to terms with the past, and to have by that time eliminated all *Eichmänner* from its society. Nevertheless, the East Berlin production still contributed to promoting an understanding of the normality of individuals such as Eichmann who had been deemed representative of the "banality of evil" by Hannah Arendt. Our analysis of the reception of the play also leaves larger questions about the theatrical reception of controversial plays such as *Bruder Eichmann*. Can the media determine the critical success or failure of a production, or does subject matter influence

the popular success of a play? Finally, is "success" measured by the popular or critical acclaim of a production? The reception of *Bruder Eichmann* and the questions it introduces reflect Kipphardt's attempt at facilitating understanding, and the dialogue engendered by both productions attests to the validity of the play as an instrument to achieve *Vergangenheits- und Gegenwartsbewältigung*.

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Appendix I

The following is an excerpt from the programme for Alexander Stillmark's production of *Bruder Eichmann* in East Berlin. See Grischa Meyer and Heinz Rohloff, *Ein Arbeitsmaterial des Deutschen Theaters zur Inszenierung "Bruder Eichmann" von Heinar Kipphardt*. Berlin DDR: Deutsches Theater Berlin/Staatstheater der DDR, 1983/84. 56-59.

Zu Fuß und in Luftwaffenuniform macht sich E. zusammen mit seinem Adjutanten Janisch auf den Weg nach Bad Ischl/Bayern, wo beide von einer amerikanischen Patrouille aufgegriffen werden. E. gibt sich als Luftwaffen-Obergefreiter Adolf Barth aus. Als man unter seiner Achselhöhle die Blutgruppentätowierung entdeckt, gibt er sich als Angehöriger der Waffen-SS aus. Zusammen mit Janisch kommt er im Juli 1945 ins Lager Oberdachstetten, wo er sich als SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Eckmann aus Breslau ausgibt. Er wählt die sen ähnlich klingenden Namen, um notfalls Verwechslung vortäuschen zu können. Er weiß auch, daß sich seine Angaben im zerstörten Breslau nicht nachprüfen lassen.

Im November 1945 beginnt der Nürnberger Prozeß. E. erfährt, daß sein Name in Zeugenaussagen genannt wird. Er vertraut sich den deutschen Lagerführer, einem SS-Offizier, an. Die ehemaligen Kameraden beraten seinen Fall, verschaffen ihm falsche Papiere auf der Namen Otto Henninger und verhelfen ihm im Januar 1946 zur Flucht. Zunächst kann er in Prien am Chiemsee untertauchen, dann flieht er im März 1946 nach Celle/Lüneburger Heide, wo der Bruder eines SS-Offiziers als Revierförster tätig ist. Durch ihn erhält E Arbeit als Holzfäller in der abgelegenen Gemeinde Eversen, wo er 3 Jahre unerkannt lebt. Zeitweilig arbeitet er auf einer Hühner farm.

Anfang 1950 beginnt E., seine Flucht ins Ausland vorzubereiten. Eine der Nazi-Untergrundorganisationen, die in Westdeutschland Österreich, Italien und in der Schweiz ihre Agenten hat, schleust ihn im Mai 1950 nach Italien, wo er in Genua bei einem nazifreundlichen Franziskanermönch untertaucht, der ihm über die Hilfsorganisation des Vatikans einen Flüchtlingspaß besorgt. Im Juli reist E. als Ricardo Klement per Schiff nach Buenos Aires.

In Argentinien findet E. eine Anstellung bei der argentinisch-deutschen Gesellschaft der Firma „Capri“ in Tucuman. Jetzt setzt er sich brieflich mit seiner Frau in Verbindung, die mit den Söhnen Klaus, Horst und Dieter in Linz lebt. (Angeblich von E. geschieden, hatten sie nach Kriegsende ihren Mädchennamen wieder angenommen. Um den Nachforschungen ein Ende zu machen, hatte sie 1947 versucht, E. für tot erklären zu lassen, womit er von der Fahndungsliste gestrichen worden wäre. Dieser Versuch mißlang.)

Januar 1952 beantragt Vera Liebl für sich und die Söhne einen deutschen Paß, den ein Büro in Zürich ausstellt (die Unterlagen darüber verschwinden auf mysteriöse Weise). Ostern 1952 verläßt sie Linz mit den Kindern, erhält in Genua das argentinische Visum und trifft Ende Juli in Argentinien ein. Für die Kinder heißt E. jetzt „Onkel Ricardo“. Die Familie lebt in Tucuman. 1953 schließt die Firma „Capri“. Für einige Monate eröffnet E. zusammen mit zwei Nazi-Kameraden eine Wäscherei in Buenos Aires, dann arbeitet er zeitwei-



Eichmann bei der Überfahrt nach Argentinien, 1950

lig auf einer Kaninchenfarm, schließlich vermitteln ihm Freunde eine Anstellung bei den Mercedes-Benz-Werken in Suarez, einem Vorort von Buenos Aires. Die Familie zieht um und wohnt in einem Vorort der Hauptstadt, in der Chacabuco-Straße. Vera Liebl heiratet „Ricardo Klement“. 1955 wird der vierte Sohn geboren. Er heißt Ricardo Francisco Klement, während die anderen Söhne den Vatersnamen Eichmann behalten.

Einer der hartnäckigsten Verfolger von E., Simon Wiesenthal, hatte bereits 1953 glaubwürdige Hinweise für den Aufenthalt Eichmanns in Buenos Aires bekommen und an israelische Stellen weitergeleitet. Zu dieser Zeit erregte jedoch ein anderer Fall politisches Aufsehen in der israelischen Öffentlichkeit: Dr. Kastner, inzwischen maßgebendes Mitglied der israelischen Regierungspartei, geriet wegen seiner Verhandlungen mit Eichmann 1944 in Budapest ins Zwielficht der Kollaboration. Ein Prozeß wegen Beleidigung kommt 1954 zu einem Urteil, das den Verdacht gegen Kastner bestärkt. 1957 wird ein Berufungsverfahren angestrebt, doch ehe Dr. Kastner 1958 rehabilitiert werden kann, wird er im März 1957 unter ungeklärten Umständen erschossen. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Ereignisse wächst das politische Interesse der israelischen Regierung an der Aufspürung Eichmanns.

Ende 1957 erhält der israelische Geheimdienst neue Informationen über Eichmanns Aufenthalt in Buenos Aires. Der hessische Generalstaatsanwalt und Antifaschist Dr. Fritz Bauer nennt die Adresse in der Chacabuco-Straße. Sein Informant ist der blinde deutsche Auswanderer Lothar Hermann, dessen Tochter die Bekanntschaft eines Nicolas Eichmann gemacht hatte und durch dessen nazistische Äußerungen Verdacht schöpfte. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt scheint sich E. sicher zu fühlen. Er weiß um die Verjährungsbemühungen in der BRD, wo ehemalige Nazi-Größen vielfach mit Bagatelstrafen davongekommen bzw. wieder zu Amt und Würden gelangt sind. E. beginnt seine Anonymität zu lüften. Dem holländischen Journalisten Sassen (früherer SS-Angehöriger) gibt er einen ungeschminkten Lebensbericht, der allerdings erst nach seinem Tode veröffentlicht werden sollte.

Irritiert durch das unerwartet schäbige Haus in der Chacabuco-Straße und noch immer ohne Kenntnis des Decknamens Ricardo Klement bleibt der israelische Geheimdienst im Frühjahr 1958 erfolglos. Als man im Dezember 1959 den Decknamen (wiederum von Dr. Bauer) erfährt, ist E. gerade in die Garibaldistraße umgezogen. Das Haus im Vorort San Fernando hat weder fließendes Wasser noch elektrisches Licht. Hier wird E. im Frühjahr 1960 längere Zeit beobachtet, bis man genügend Anhaltspunkte für seine Identität hat. Am 11. 5. wird E. entführt und für einige Tage in einem Versteck in Buenos Aires untergebracht. Schon beim ersten Verhör gibt er seine Identität zu und erklärt sich zur Zusammenarbeit bereit. Am 21. 5. wird er mit einer israelischen Sondermaschine nach Israel geflogen.



Bauers Informant, der blinde deutsche Auswanderer Lothar Hermann



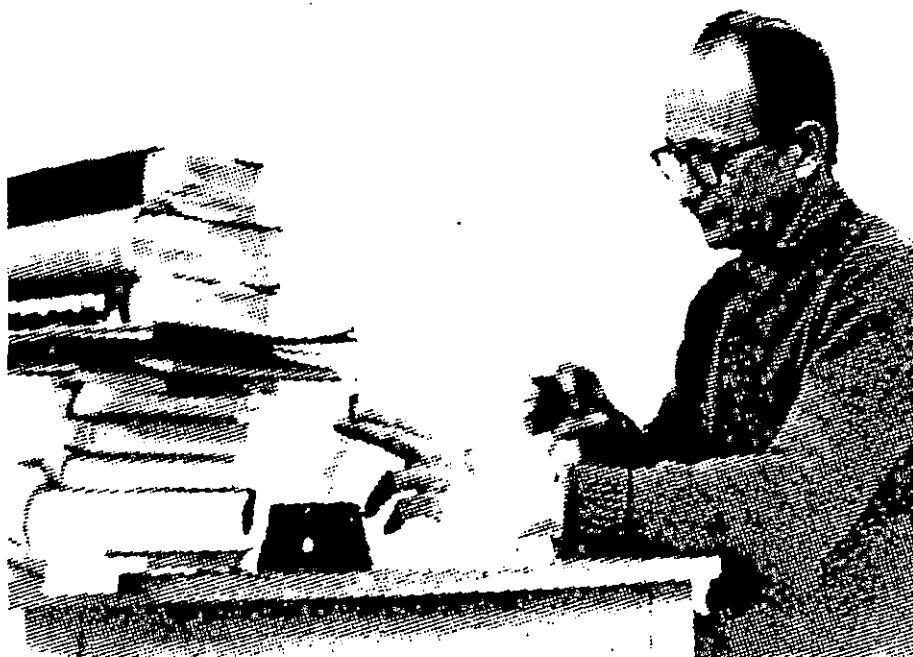
Eichmanns Haus in der Garibaldistraße

Am 23. 5. gibt Ministerpräsident Ben Gurion vor dem Parlament bekannt, daß E. sich in israelischem Gewahrsam befindet. Unter strengsten Sicherheitsvorkehrungen wird E. am 26. 5. in dem abgelegenen Gefängnis Iyar untergebracht.

Am 29. 5. beginnt Hauptmann Less mit dem Verhör, dessen protokollarische Niederschrift die Hauptquelle für Kipphardts Stück BRUDER EICHMANN darstellt.

9. 10. 1960 Der von E. gewählte Verteidiger Dr. Servatius aus Köln kommt nach Israel.

2. 2. 1961 Hauptmann Less beendet das Verhör, das nach insgesamt 275 Stunden ein Protokoll von 3 564 Seiten füllt.



Bei der Prozeßvorbereitung



Beim Rundgang auf dem gesicherten Gefängnisdach



Eichmann in der Zelle



- 11. 4. 1961 Beginn des Prozesses in Jerusalem.
- 15. 8. 1961 Ende der Verhandlung nach 114 Sitzungstagen.
- 11. 12. 1961 Schuldpruch und Begründung.
- 15. 12. 1961 Verkündung des Todesurteils.
- 21. 3. 1962 Beginn der Berufungsverhandlung.
- 29. 5. 1962 Das Oberste Gericht verwirft die von E. eingelegte Berufung. Darauf reicht E. ein Gnadengesuch ein.
- 31. 5. 1962 Der Präsident des Staates Israel lehnt das Gnadengesuch ab.
- 31. 5. 1962 E. wird um 23.58 Uhr gehängt.



Table of Scene Comparison: *Bruder Eichmann* - Part II

KIPPHARDT	MUNICH	EAST BERLIN
II.1	II.1	
II.2	II.2	
II.3		
II.4	II.3	
II.5 a,b,c,d,e		
II.6	II.4	
II.7	II.5	
II.8		
II.9	II.6	
II.10	II.7	Scene 12
II.11	II.8	

Key to the Analogy Scenes:

I.7

- a - Misio Kamaguchi
- b - Amerikanischer Experte
- c - Das nukleare Schlachtfeld
- d - Captain Weiss
- e - H.B. Glass

I.9

- a - Ein passionierter Jäger
- b - Eine alte jüdische Frau
- c - Eine Geschäftskorrespondenz...
- d - Eine deutsche Frau
- e - Ein israelischer Soldat

I.11

- a - *Stürmer*
- b - Conferencier
- c - Gemeinnützigkeit

I.17

- a - Paola Maturi
- b - Ein Polizist aus Venetien
- c - Aussage Irmgard Möllers

II.5

- a - Kurze Erklärung des israelischen Verteidigungsministers General Ariel Scharon...
- b - Oriana Fallaci interviewt Ariel Scharon...
- c - Eine Palästinenserin berichtet...
- d - Scharon gibt nach starken Protesten...
- e - Meldung der Tagesschau...

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