

Postcolonial Berlin? Pieke Biermann's Crime Novels as Globalization Critique

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Set in and around Tempelhof Airport, the crime novel *4,5,6* poses the question whether social, cultural, and economic “globalization” continues and aggravates colonizing practices (as scholars like Miyoshi, Chomsky, and Said have argued), or whether the term describes the social conditions of postcoloniality, beyond superpower domination and the bloc system it created. Ironically advertising itself as a sequel to Billy Wilder’s cold war comedy *One, Two, Three* (1961), which staged the confrontation between the American CEO of Coca-Cola and his future son-in-law, an East German communist, on the tarmac of Tempelhof, the novel reveals the usual quandaries surrounding the specific nature of the “post” in postcolonial: does the city’s farewell to Allied troops in 1994, on the 50th anniversary of D-day, herald the end of military occupation and the dawn of national sovereignty, peace, and freedom, i. e. an absolute (and positive) transition from foreign domination to self-determination? Does the covert arrival of the small private plane from Minsk that delivers the “Red Godfather” to Berlin at the end of the novel signal a neocolonial era of economic rather than military conquest, with a new generation of corporate Mafiosi entering Berlin in the footsteps of Wilder’s Coca-Cola-CEO but from the opposite direction? Does the spread of political corruption, the deepening of class differences, the erosion of civil rights and social programs formerly secured by the state, and the intensification of ethnic strife indicate the kind

of post-colonial malaise usually associated with Africa or south-east Asia? Framing a critique of political developments in Berlin in the 1990s as “postcolonial” is an eminently polemic move, since neither West nor East Germans commonly view themselves through this lens. Tempelhof Airport was the destination of the famous “airlift” of 1948 which, in the words of one of the novel’s characters, produced “three generations of democrats through the stomach” (149). Its importance signals the fact that nowhere in West Germany was the political presence of Western powers, especially the Americans, as visible and as welcome as in West Berlin, and nowhere was the equation of occupation and democratization as accepted. The West Berliners who gather for a festive farewell to the boys do not conceive of the Allied withdrawal as decolonization (or of themselves as postcolonial). Nor would East Berliners, vacillating between enthusiastically embracing all things American and seeing themselves as victims of Western annexation, regard themselves as postcolonial. Nonetheless, the novel’s framing of globalization in terms of postcolonialism opens up important perspectives on contemporary, reunified Berlin, not least because this discourse, unlike the one on globalization, carries with it a full-blown analysis of gender, astutely elaborated by scholars from Gayatri Spivak to Susanne Zantop.

In her series of four crime novels published between 1987 and 1997, the Berlin-based writer Pieke Biermann develops a feminist critique of globalization, names its consequences for women, and suggests strategies of resistance. The author portrays the profound transformations in Berlin as new forms of colonization which are driven not by national or bloc interests but by transnational entities, including corporate business and organized crime, abetted by corrupt local elites jockeying for power in the emerging global order. Its agents no longer need to enforce their interest through military aggression. Whereas earlier colonizing powers cloaked their material interests in the imperial rhetoric of civilization, modernization, and progress, the new masters wield a rhetoric of seduction through consumption, supplemented by the promise to protect “internal security” against foreign threats. Biermann shows how the discourses of national

identity (and its corollary, xenophobia) have been neither displaced nor rendered obsolete by globalizing processes, but fulfill an important ideological function within them: they serve to both cement new configurations of colonial class interest and conflict and mystify the new relations of domination between transnational elites and local populations.

Berlin's image as modern, European metropolis is certified, among other things, by its designation as the new capital of German crime fiction on a par with Conan Doyle's London or Raymond Chandler's Los Angeles. It features bookstores catering to murder mystery fans, numerous authors of national reputation, and presses specializing in this literary genre. The city is also the subject and setting of a growing host of novels, anthologies, and series (e. g., *Berlin Crime*, published by Edition Monade). In her essay "Synchroni-City," Biermann describes Berlin as the "secret protagonist" of her novels, each of which is set in a different neighborhood, and adds:

[N]aturally, I mean West-Berlin. Did I say *naturally*? That's wrong. What prevented me from regarding Greater Berlin as my personal cloud nine were not natural but—that's scientifically proven—so-called social forces. Anyway, Westberlin. An islet. A fenced-in principle of openness. A dot on the map. A pressure cooker full of contradictions, paradoxes, nonidentities and impossibilities. The most ungerman city in the entire German-speaking world. Where emergency laws, hunting laws, the right to bear arms, the legality of the NPD [Nationalist Party of Germany], the draft, and the freedom to produce weapons of destruction did not apply. A territory defined by wall-to-wall restrictions, which did not recognize two restrictions prevailing in federal lands: the curfew and the sexual zoning restrictions. (3)

In her first two novels, the writer depicts West Berlin as a privileged vantage point from which to view the competing systems of capitalism and communism, a vantage point that grows out of the peculiar political status of the formerly divided city and the insular culture that flourished within the walls enclosing the three western sectors for almost three decades. The common portrayal of the Cold War "outpost" West Berlin as a shopwindow for capitalism's taunting display of the pleasures of consumption

(broadcast eastward via radio and television) has tended to emphasize the city's West German affiliation (see Carter); Biermann stresses instead its liminality, depicting it as a space where democratic state institutions were uniquely uncoupled from the structures of national belonging. In significant ways, Berlin has been a "transnational" city since 1945, when the erstwhile Nazi capital was divided into four sectors by the victorious Allies and initially governed by the *Alliiertes Kontrollrat* (Allied Control Council) composed of American, British, French, and Soviet members. The Soviets' withdrawal from this body in 1948, the currency reform in the western sectors shortly thereafter, and the subsequent blockade of the western sectors from 1948-49 sealed the city's division into an Eastern/socialist and a Western/capitalist part. The Western Allies, however, never relinquished the principle of four-powers authority over Greater Berlin (referring to the city limits established in 1920). West Berlin was officially a "state," but according to the Berlin Treaty of 1971 not a "constitutive part" of the Federal Republic, and until 1990 it remained under American, British, and French jurisdiction. This status provides the context for Biermann's literary, critical exploration of capitalism, socialism, and also feminism in the late 1980s, a time when she perceived each of these systems as hindered by glaring internal contradictions between their utopian promise of freedom and progress and their "real existing" formations marked by inequality, injustice, and exploitation. In the 1990s, these explorations are further energized by the need to develop critical strategies with which to tackle the profound economic, social, and political transformations now labelled "globalization." Her positive evaluation of the state and its police apparatus is especially noteworthy in view of theories of globalization that either diagnose a general erosion of nation-states as a corollary of the strengthening of transnational corporations (Miyoshi), or hypothesize the shrinking of the state's role to its policing function (Bauman).

For Biermann, West Berlin is not only a peculiarly extranational space, it is also the "city of women." While that label usually refers to the vigorous and diverse feminist culture that flourished there, the special sexual conditions created by the

city's military occupation, specifically the absence of restricted zones for sex work (noted in the passage above), are of particular interest to the author. Biermann, a trained academic who studied German literature with Hans Mayer, is not only a widely published journalist, critic, translator, editor, and critically acclaimed author. She also formerly worked as a prostitute, wrote one of the first sociological studies of prostitution from a feminist perspective, and for several years served as spokeswoman for the sex workers' movement.¹ One might indeed see her award-winning, popular crime novel series, constructed around the twin teams of police inspectors and a group of sleuthing prostitutes, as a continuation of her earlier academic and activist work in a popular literary medium.² Prostitution constitutes a crucial site where the changing conditions of women's work and the sexual division of labor in the global order can be grasped and criticized. In contrast to discourses (including feminist ones) that use prostitution as metaphor for the horror and immorality of exploitation, Biermann's materialist-feminist depiction of women's sexual labor rejects the bourgeois values shaping the moralistic discourse about sex work as the epitome of male domination and female shame. On the contrary, prostitution in her novels becomes the site where the conditions of and impediments to female autonomy and power are explored and where women collectively resist oppressive structures and ideologies.

Biermann's four novels tell the intertwined stories of a group of prostitutes and a team of homicide detectives. A group of whores who call themselves "Migraine" founds a self-help group in order to improve their working conditions (*Potsdamer Ableben* [Death in Potsdam], 1987), insists on celebrating and remembering the connections between sex work and revolutionary politics (*Violetta*, 1990), organizes direct actions against expanding pimp domination after reunification (*Herzrasen* [Heartbeat], 1993), and finally founds a collectively owned and operated night club in the Tempelhof Airport (4,5,6, 1997).³ Biermann assembles a transnational, inter-generational group of women around Migraine's central threesome, the old Helga, the voluptuous Kitty, and the young biker chick Kim. The whores' attempts to improve

their working conditions and safety through collaborative practices (e. g. , Helga records clients' license plates on a palmtop computer in exchange for food) take on more systematic forms in subsequent novels. They proceed to rent an office and negotiate with a variety of officials about giving their 'club' the proper legal and corporate status. They learn how to use a computer to their advantage, to compose the first database of "do not serves," enemies, and allies, from information derived from a large pool of West Berlin prostitutes, many of whom also contribute financially to the upkeep of the office. The group's growing strength and connections enable them to declare all-out war on the East and West German pimps, who attempt to control business in the German capital. 4,5,6 features the opening of a bistro with service and escort agency as well as two *chambres séparées*. Their efforts to diversify even include plans for a training and professional degree program. The series tell the story of a business that flourishes even though it doesn't easily fit into extant administrative, political, and economic structures because it combines the functions of a union with those of a corporation, the values of financial advancement with those of fair sharing. In short, Migraine constructs its own capitalist-socialist-feminist economy from scratch.

Their counterpart is police unit MI/3, a motley crew comprising both genders, numerous sexual orientations, and assorted ethnicities. They specialize in crimes against people and share with Migraine a commitment to justice, experience with corruption and hypocrisy, and revulsion at sexual domination, although they resort to different means to gather information and achieve their goals. Through the MI/3 Biermann tracks political changes in the city that was to become the German capital, including the merging of Eastern and Western police and their different investigative methods, the entrance of right-wing extremists into party politics and their infiltration of police, the battle against transnational crime organizations, and the impediments resulting from the interweaving of politics, police, and crime at the highest level. The character that connects both groups is the MI/3's head Lietze, a cigar-smoking, middle-aged, unmarried woman with a crew cut, who grew up with the prostitute Helga in an

upscale Berlin brothel. Biermann's refusal to construe these two groups as opposites constitutes a significant break with generic customs as well as their feminist inflection. Her queer police team embodies a notion of the state as an important guarantor of social relations and values like equality, safety, and legal redress. Although the MI/3 is portrayed as an anomaly in an otherwise patriarchal, xenophobic, and classist institution, it may be interpreted as optimistically anticipating the result of the previously scorned leftist-feminist project of reforming the institutions of power, which had begun to gain ground in the mid-1980s with the entry of the Green party into parliamentary politics and was formalized in the equal opportunity offices at the communal level. The benign personification of state authority also suggests that despite the continued erosion of women's hard-won legal rights, economic prospects, social status and the defunding and dismantling of feminist institutions in the 1990s, the state can be a useful ally in combating the misogynist effects of globalization.

Biermann challenges the moralizing depiction of prostitutes in mainstream and feminist crime fiction. Her celebration of the sex worker as feminist entrepreneur sunders capitalism's historic alignment with bourgeois ideology and weds a feminist vision of women's economic and political autonomy to a capitalist notion of fair trade. Migraine exemplifies a "socialized" capitalism which contests patriarchal oppression, increases female self-esteem, and even improves the overall health of the social body.⁴ Together with the team of police detectives, Migraine models a feminist state and economy, a vision increasingly at odds with the rapidly changing world of unified Berlin.

Biermann's series offers a critique of socialism and feminism as entrenched, "real-existing" cultural, political, and state formations, in order to salvage what is still useful from the Marxist and feminist critiques. The investigation of the murder of a prominent feminist in her first novel *Potsdamer Ableben* reveals feminism as a schizophrenic formation unable to reconcile the cultural-feminist ideology of women's victimization and women's increasing integration in economic and political power systems. While wary of collective utopias that cloak and perpetuate eco-

conomic competition, violence, and the interests of political vanguards, Biermann's series insists on the values of solidarity and social justice and portrays them as consonant with capitalist notions of economic advancement. The prostitutes embody a pragmatic as opposed to a utopian model of sexual politics. As shrewd activists, who reconcile the job of serving men with the commitment to opposing patriarchal power, the sex workers are not traumatized by the collapse of political utopias, which assumed center stage in the early 1990s. In his essay "What is globalization?" the sociologist Ulrich Beck captures the sense of an era beyond the grand modernist narratives of liberation or progress: "With the peaceful fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet empire, many thought that the end of politics was nigh as we entered an age beyond socialism and capitalism, utopia and emancipation" (99). Reversing his periodization, which associates utopian thinking with the past, Biermann's pre-1990 novels evince a deep skepticism of all utopian promises that disguise relations of dependence and exploitation, extending from the individual level of sexual transactions and relationships to political ideologies such as socialism and feminism. Conversely, her third novel *Herzrasen*, written after reunification and set in the pulsating center of the new capital, considers the politics of faith, hope, and love. That dark story, which stages the convergence of Eastern and Western patriarchies and the threat this entails to women's hard-won economic and political autonomy, revolves around love as a utopian principle.

In West Berlin, sex work is not concentrated in the dense "red light" districts familiar from other western cities, where the stark competition fostered by zoning laws favors the territorial rule of pimps. Due to this special circumstance, Biermann shows, West Berlin prostitutes suffer less harassment from police and pimps and enjoy more self-determined working conditions, so that it is not surprising that the city was the first in Germany where sex workers organized to challenge the legal discrimination of their profession. (Their persistent lobbying led to the passage of a more liberal law governing prostitution in 2001.)⁵ These conditions create a uniquely distanced perspective on Western-

capitalist and Eastern-socialist gender systems. The divergent legal and economic frameworks for sexual labor in the two German states, characterized by the privatized pimp system in West Germany, and the state-organized prostitution business in East Germany, reflect what sociologist Myra Marx Ferree terms “public patriarchy” in the German Democratic Republic vs. “private patriarchy” in the Federal Republic of Germany. The divergent organization of sex work thus stands in for gendered divisions of labor, structural dependence, and economic exploitation more generally in the two systems. The character of Chris Eube, a neo-Nazi from Schleswig-Holstein who has murdered his small son and beats women, including his girlfriend and a woman who works for him as a prostitute, embodies a supremely violent western-capitalist model of private sexual relations, replete with nationalist politics, colonialist economics of territorial expansion and occupation, and a bourgeois mentality characterized by the division of procreative and recreative sexuality.⁶

On the other side of the Cold War division, neither the socialist German state, nor the burgeoning democratic renewal movements in Eastern Europe, which are shown to finance their attack on the socialist state with money earned in the sex industry, offer women sexual self-determination or political participation (Biermann 1990). The criminalization of sex work in 1968 did not necessarily deter women from prostitution, but it did serve to make workers vulnerable to the demands of the Ministry of State Security. While officially disavowing the existence of prostitution in socialist society, the Ministry not only ran brothels and condoned prostitution in the hotels catering to foreign visitors, as well as at the biannual International Trade Fair in Leipzig, but also directly orchestrated sexual services in accordance with its own agenda of spying on specific foreign politicians and businessmen in order to establish an “unbroken chain of surveillance,” as the social scientist Uta Falck has demonstrated (110). The state viewed prostitution as a welcome means of funneling “hard money” into the East German economy, since women were paid in foreign currency. The Ministry and the state gained both money and information from women’s sexual labor, so that in-

deed Biermann's characterization of the East German state as "pimp" seems apposite. In *Herzrasen*, East German prostitutes are portrayed as particularly vulnerable to West German pimps' immediate, aggressive forays into the East German sex business after reunification. Through feminism, organized sex workers in the West, had access to both a critique of the state and of domestic sexual relations. By contrast, East German prostitutes' long cooperation with the secret police had accustomed them to complying with men's demands in public and in private. This situation has allowed the territorial expansion and economic strengthening of the western pimp system that results in the territorial war narrated in *Herzrasen* over control of the lucrative Oranienburgerstrasse, traditionally worked by East German streetwalkers. Its climax is the stand-off between autonomous whores and East/Western pimps.

The novel is set in the historical district Mitte, where tourists gape at natives, former Stasi agents combat both West German neonazis and reform socialism, East German businessmen seize the opportunity to make a quick fortune, whores make a living, and the Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Democratic Socialist Party), successor party to the state socialists, takes up residence in their brand-new, Western-style headquarters. Old Helga, descendent of a long line of whores, wanders through the streets disturbed by distant memories of the war and the immediate postwar years. Around her, the historic Scheunenviertel, the poor quarter where until 1933 Jews and prostitutes lived and worked, where curious bourgeois mingled with social outcasts, and artists with felons, is transformed into a buzzing, hip, and glamorous playground for artists, designers, and dot commers. In this morphing, pulsating center of Berlin, people and forces circulate at an accelerated pace; firmly held beliefs are questioned, prejudices are tested, and new alliances formed.

The beating (literally: racing) heart of the title organizes the revaluation of values after the fall of the wall. If Mitte is the center of the new capital and the symbolic heart of Germany, it does not merely circulate antagonistic particles, but pumps them through transformative nodes, notably the socialist party's head-

quarters, the prostitution strip along Oranienburger Strasse, a fast food stall-cum-organ market owned by the shady businessman Jähder, but also the apartment of Neumann, an Afro-German carpenter from Saxony and the detective Roboldt's new lover. Of the antagonistic pairings in the novel, two deserve particular attention: one pits the Migraine women against the threatening convergence of Western and Eastern patriarchies. Western neonazis, who finance their eastward expansion through pimping, take over the previously state-managed East German prostitutes and place them in Berlin in an attempt to bring the business in the city into their hands. Their take-over is facilitated both by the authoritarian provider mentality of East German women who accept the men as their new masters, and by the sexism of East Berlin policemen, whose harassment of the prostitutes plays into the hands of pimps as putative "protectors." In a dramatic confrontation, the Migraine women defend the traditional streetwalkers' turf against police harassment and pimp aggression. By forging an alliance with their East German colleagues as well as with law-abiding police, they successfully prevent the men's assault on their economic independence, political autonomy, and bodily health.

The second pair of characters whose relationship is narrated in *Herzrasen* tells the story of patriarchal reconstruction and feminist resistance in allegorical terms. The East German businessman Jähder, formerly involved in the lucrative organ smuggling operation between the socialist state and Sweden, uses his old connections to continue his business under capitalist conditions. In addition, he bullies a succession of hapless, low-paid female employees in his fast-food chain with the tellingly misspelled name "Barbiecue." Jähder, the opportunist who effortlessly adapts to capitalism, personifies patriarchal continuities unfazed by the privatization of publicly organized gender relations. Yet the heart palpitations from which he suffers also point to the mor(t)al flaw at the core of this economic/political model. The enigmatic woman he identifies as a prospective donor to replace his own faulty organ is Svetlana Karin Hall, named after Stalin's daughter and Goering's residence, and, like Jähder, born on the very day

the East German state was founded. This character's interior monologues and journal entries reveal memories of the woman's increasing marginalization, loneliness, and frustration in East Germany, her disillusionment when things did not improve after the demise of the socialist state, and her determination to end her own life. Swetlana Karin's "coronary insufficiency" is the physical symptom of her loss of hope and strength, but also of her own acceptance of powerlessness. This moribund woman is an allegory of feminism that suffers from the inability to separate the *negation* of power from the *renunciation* of power. The fall of 1989 presented a brief opportunity to rethink feminism's relationship to power and incorporate a theory of power into its practice: "*Men have outvisioned themselves*, she wrote in the euphoria of that November in 1989. *For centuries it's been their prerogative to imagine new worlds, new men, but their time is over*, she contended. Or tried to persuade herself. *Man has exceeded his quota of producing happiness for humanity. A new era begins now*. But men had continued to talk. Their words gushed from men's and women's hollow mouths" (Biermann 1993, 102; original emphases). Women's habit of imagining themselves as either powerless or resisting power causes them to miss the historic opportunity of toppling patriarchy and imagining "new worlds." Even worse, it caused men to roll back the accomplishments of Eastern and Western women, from reproductive rights to fair divorce laws and public day care. Shortly before her suicide, Swetlana Karin reflects: "The women refused to notice that their entire, beautiful movement was being snuffed out by reunification. Shoo, ladies! We've got more important stuff to do now" (1993, 241). To judge by the failing coronary health of both allegorical figures, it seems that neither capitalism nor socialism nor the feminist modes of resistance these systems produced during the cold war have a good chance of survival. The novel's optimistic ending, in which the police expose and punish the murderous violence of reunified patriarchy and the city's self-confident, militant whores drive back the invading pimps, reveals the hope that the war between feminism and patriarchy is not yet lost. That premise produced the most (or rather: only) utopian novel in Biermann's series, in which

love—dismissed in previous novels as an ideology cloaking women's submission and exploitation—can fuel new alliances (between Eastern and Western detectives, police and sex workers, white Germans and ethnic minorities, Eastern and Western whores), on which survival in the emerging global order depends.

In each novel, Biermann constructs the local as a site of struggle and defiance against the territorializing attempts of hegemonic discourses. Whereas in *Herzrasen* she risks romanticizing the local as the site of folk practices (embodied by Helga's memories of antifascist resistance and collaboration in the Scheunenviertel), other novels develop a more complex notion of the local as a relationship between competing colonizing discourses rather than a place. The paradoxical supposition that the walled-in city of West Berlin was the freest space in all of Germany is underscored by the setting of Biermann's latest novel on the terrain of Tempelhof Airport, which until 1993 was under military command. Biermann's "sequel" to Billy Wilder's *One, Two, Three* revolves around a series of transnational seductions, arrivals, and departures: while the city plans its official farewell to the four Allies, emissaries of the Russian mafia prepare the arrival of a powerful "godfather." As the fiftieth anniversary of D-day approaches, when British and American troops accomplished a surprise landing in Normandy, the city's takeover by transnational crime organizations again relies on feats of deception and the manipulation of the enemy's expectations. The demilitarization of the airport and privatization of the premises opens it to all kinds of legal and illegal traffic: aside from a man who turns out to be the Russian Godfather's stand-in, the new tenants include the Migraine women (whose opening of a nightclub coincides with the nineteenth anniversary of the legendary whores' strike in Lyon), a police unit specializing in "political and reunification-related crime" called ZERV (*Zentrale Ermittlungsstelle für Regierungs- und Vereinigungsverbrechen*), a sleazy criminal organization of brutal former secret agents from East bloc countries appropriately called DIE (*Deutsche Industrie Erschliessung*, German Industrial Development), whose expertise includes real estate speculation, arms smuggle, and the illicit

disposal of toxic waste, and an Afro-German carpenter, who has become so disenchanted with the macho leftists at the Volksbühne theater in East Berlin that he has quit his job there and opened his own furniture shop in Tempelhof. The location of the airport across from Berlin's new police headquarters emphasizes the entwining of city government, crime, and corporate interests at the highest political level.

The novel's thesis is that the end of the cold war, symbolized by the departure of occupying troops, should not be mistaken for peace. The three gangsters from DIE illustrate the effortless adaptation of criminal thugs rising from the ruins of the communist industrial-military complex to the rules and opportunities of the capitalist market, as well as the entanglement of Prussian aristocracy, old Nazis, West German bureaucrats, and socialist politicians in post-unification crime. Thus, they embody the continuity and indeed escalation of violence. Their torture and murder of a woman who not only refused to cave in to their threats and sell her business to them, but threatened to expose their illegal transactions conforms to a criminal practice that is characterized as still operational but about to be superseded by modern, less violent methods of corporate/criminal domination. In particular, the interactions between the godfather's frontman and his superior in the organization provide key insights into the changing methods, scope, public presentation, and aspirations of international crime. Whereas O. E. Stieber (aka Wotzka Bazookas) conforms in appearance, training, and mentality to the criminal stereotype of the brutal, trigger-happy Mafioso, his superior "Nadja" as well as the Godfather himself belong to the international class of corporate criminals who speak several major languages, are expensively and elegantly clad in business attire, hobnob with top politicians, diplomats, media moguls, and artists, are cultural and social sophisticates, and aspire to own rather than rob banks. When Bazookas rejoices at his new office's location because he can mow down the entire airport with one sweep of his machine gun, Nadja asks him: "and after that? We'd have to leave. You can only pull that once. What's the point? We want to stay here. Do you get that?" (Biermann 1997, 165; original em-

phasis). His higher-ups regard it as a brilliant joke that the imbecilic Bazookas, whose name they have picked from a dime-store crime novel, acts the part of the Mafioso in front of (paid) journalists while the Godfather cavorts with the captains of politics and industry in full public view. Offering to the media the image of a brutal, foreign Other, they know, allows politicians to channel the public's fears of vaguely understood changes into support for the covert militarization of society—police surveillance, intrusion, regimentation—euphemized by the magic watchword of “internal” or “homeland security,” and allows them to proceed unhindered. To the criminal class portrayed in the novel, the Mafia signifies mainly a theatrical repertoire of roles and images, not unlike the ploys invented by Allied intelligence to divert attention from their invasion of the European continent and secure a military advantage through a surprise attack.

Some characters meet the challenges of the new era with a commitment to professional duty (Lietze) or even with optimism (the Migraine women), but others respond with alarm to their perception of an emerging, bellicose social order masquerading as “peace” and “freedom.” In particular, the reflections of Lietze's lover Lang, an officer serving in the anti-corruption unit ZERV, provide important clues about the rebuilding of Berlin. He interprets political changes as signs of an impending “civil war” between an undemocratic government and its citizens with the help of a militarized police (149). Although globalization does not fit the nation-centered definition of war, the novel suggests that it in fact constitutes a form of civil war fought about property and territorial control but through seduction, through the media, the arts, and culture, rather than physical threat or open violence. Whereas Bazookas worries that his superiors' preoccupation with culture is a sign of their “softening” and loss of power, they know that power operates more effectively through seduction and consensus rather than through coercion. Indeed the convergence of political, corporate, criminal, and cultural control eliminates the need for violence. The association of globalization with war, and the premise that war always has a gendered dimension, necessitates the reconsideration of feminist thinking about war, and pos-

sibly a revision of feminists' traditional pacifism. Detective Schade's lover Anita researches the multifarious deceptions preceding the Allies' landing on Omaha Beach, and in the process retrieves the history of women's crucial but covert contributions to warfare. Her findings lead her to conclude that only women's active and open participation can avert capitalism's destructive trajectory: "War does *not* take place in a sandbox!" she argues. "Perhaps that was women's decisive mistake, to not get involved. Did we get rid of war that way? If you're sitting in a carriage, what do you do when the horses go wild? You knock the drunken driver out of the saddle and take over the reins. Right?" (Biermann 1997, 181; original emphasis). Anita's hope regarding women's powers of intervention, however, is contrasted with the despair of the young prostitute Chérie, the daughter of high-ranking Vietnamese parents who grew up in the GDR. Chérie mourns her aunt, a prostitute whose knowledge of American military operations helped the Vietcong defeat the American aggressors and who later killed herself in a Vietnamese "re-education" camp for the politically suspect. Weeping on the shoulder of her colleague Kitty, the widow of a black American soldier killed in Vietnam, Chérie realizes that war corrupts everyone and knows no heroes.

Despite her sober chronicling of Berlin's "colonization" by transnational corporations and criminal organizations abetted by local political and cultural elites, Biermann arrives at an optimistic evaluation of the role of the state as well as of women's agency regarding these changes. Her sex workers are immune from any false promises made by political ideologues or putatively protective pimps and develop a mode of production that is at once capitalist (allowing for profit and economic independence), feminist (aimed at women's economic, social, and political independence on the individual and collective level), and democratic (hinging on the ethos of equal representation and opportunity). Biermann's somewhat ironic lauding of West Berlin as a "city of women" outside of national space and governed in international cooperation with Allied occupation forces results in the separation of the state's administrative, redistributive, legislative functions from its historical imbrication with national-

ist, bourgeois ideologies. Relieved of this baggage, she can then envision the state as a bulwark against class-, race-, and gender-specific exploitation.

Inasmuch as historical colonial empires required a military force that invaded either adjacent or remote territory and set up an administration to systematically exploit an entire population for its own benefit, the term *colonization* does not adequately grasp the socio-cultural-economic transformations wrought by globalization that Biermann portrays in Berlin during the 1990s. If postcolonial status is equated with national self-determination and freedom, it also cannot adequately describe the social reality of reunified Berlin as Biermann sees it. The widening of class differences, the deepening of social misery, and the erosion of state authority are presented as symptoms of a neocolonial order. Her contrasting of the covert landing of a Russian mafia boss with the official demilitarization of the city on the anniversary of the Allies' historic landing in Normandy reveals globalization as a process that differs from military methods of warfare, invasion, and occupation, but pursues aims that resemble traditional colonizing ventures. As the Godfather's stand-in learns, it's more profitable to own than to rob a bank in the long run, and the Mafia has settled in to stay. Biermann suggests that colonialism provides a useful critical language to describe not only the process by which local territories and populations are brought under the control of transnationally operating corporate/criminal interests, but also to explain many people's cooperation with this process. The East German "Everyman" Herr Jähder (in *Herzrasen*), lord of the "Barbiecue" fast-food chain, exemplifies what David Chioni Moore diagnoses as the postcolonial desire of former Soviet subjects, a desire that "fixates not on the fallen master Russia but on the glittering Euramerican MTV-and-Coca-Cola beast that broke it" (118). That this power wears an American face does not necessarily point to national interests behind it; the Red Godfather, whose New York-made suit (by an Italian-American label aptly named *Synergy*) provides good coverage in the bright lights of the media and the cultural scene, is a case in point. Here Bhabha's notion of colonial mimicry, which describes the colonial subject's

imitation of dominant practices long exalted and withheld, is given one more twist, as a national iconography deflects from the transnational organization and interests of the entities that deploy it; as Mary Kaldor has said about the politics of "new wars": nationality serves purely as a ruse.⁷

Nor does Biermann envision national identity, whether suppressed or victimized, as the basis for resistance to such colonization, diverging from Benedict Anderson's linking of anticolonial and nationalist discourses. Neither her police detectives nor her sex worker collective are driven by nationalist motives (although both have learned from the history of German nationalism, particularly the Nazi era). Significantly, Biermann rejects the cultural-feminist paradigm of fascism as the nadir of women's unremitting oppression by a misogynist state in favor of a more differentiated account of women's responses to fascism, ranging from resistance to complicity. But she also departs from the political conclusions drawn by those feminist scholars who have studied the history of Nazism (Koonz; Grossman; Bridenthal et al). This divergence specifically in regard to notions of women's resistance to patriarchy is instructive because to some German feminists the sexist structures of oppression created by globalization recall fascism (e. g. Ditfurth). Claudia Koonz's theorization of a "female style of resistance," informed by feminist notions of masquerade and defined as the calculated performance of (feminine) identity in order to deflect from illicit, oppositional interests and activities, is rejected as a recipe for resistance to global forces, perhaps because masquerade is so strongly characterized as a corporate/criminal strategy. Instead, Helga's memories of the antifascist solidarity among whores, Jews, and communists in the Scheunenviertel of the 20s and 30s, the episode of a Prussian policeman's protection of the synagogue on Oranienburgerstrasse against Nazi looters during the pogrom on Nov 9, 1938 (narrated in *Herzrasen*), and Anita's conclusions about women's unacknowledged contribution to warfare (described in 4,5,6) argue instead for a more overtly oppositional, collectively organized, and participatory/interventionist strategy. While the series portrays armed violence as the prerogative of the state, it evinces a

gradual reconsideration of the degree to which individuals may use violence as a means of defense. Whereas *Violetta* had polemicized against feminist vigilantism by linking it to fascism, *Herzrasen* evinces fewer qualms about the prostitutes' collective challenge to pimp rule through a kind of guerilla action (albeit with police permission and support), and 4,5,6 elaborates a full-blown argument for women's participatory intervention in warfare, bolstered by historical research on World War II. *Migraine* best illustrates the notion of feminist resistance embodied in a transnational institution that allows its members independence, support, and protection, that does not shrink back from violent provocation, and that constitutes an important medium for the preservation and transmission of local and international histories. The cooperation of its members is based on ideas, not identities, and on the construction and defense of counter-institutions defined by transnational collaboration, loyalty, and communications technology, not subversion or transgression—central notions in 1990s feminist critiques of power.

As Susanne Zantop has shown, colonialism has produced a specific set of gender fantasies that embed (and disguise) the desire for conquest or exploration in the metaphors of romance and family, which anticolonial critiques have supplemented with the metaphors of rape and abuse. As I have argued earlier, feminists self-consciously deployed the iconography of sexual violence to intervene in politicians' characterization of reunification as "marriage" of the previously divided nation in order to disrupt the yoking of heterosexual desire to the nationalist project and call attention to the naturalization of patriarchal power differences through the image of Eastern wife and Western provider-husband (1993). The prostitute occupies a central place in many feminist critiques of reunification, but also, as I've argued elsewhere, of globalization (Sieg 2002). In the crime novels of Doris Gercke, for instance, written during the same time period as Biermann's series, the prostitute consistently allegorizes the masochism of women, who love those who exploit and cruelly abuse them, and, more generally, the masochism of the masses that love their oppressors. She exemplifies domination, dishonor, corrup-

tion, and false consciousness. By contrast, Biermann's sex workers are professionally immune to the false promises of "love" and protection, whether these issue from individual pimps or from political ideologies.

Biermann differs from those critics like Miyoshi, Chomsky, and Said, whose location in the United States arguably underscores their connection of a critique of globalization as a new form of colonization with a Marxist critique of capitalism; the identification of the United States as the earliest and prime agent of transnationalization embodies this critical convergence. Ironically, the vantage point of previously occupied Berlin prompts Biermann to extricate capitalist structures from their historical alliance with colonial endeavors, and allows her to imagine a capitalism that is both democratic and feminist. Of course, Biermann's centering of gender and sexuality in a critique of globalization also inserts a crucial difference between her and the aforementioned scholars (and scores of others) who continue to neglect a feminist analysis of global transformation processes (as Paul Jay noted in 2001). Yet the author also challenges notions of power and resistance central to feminist theory and practice in the 1980s and 1990s, captured by the terms *masquerade* and *performativity*, which gained centrality in feminist theory at precisely the moment when the defeat of communism also threw into crisis feminist visions of political alternatives to capitalism that were subsidized by a Marxist critique, as Sue-Ellen Case has pointed out. While her notion of gender and sexuality clearly locates Biermann within postmodern feminism, her insistence on feminist institution-building recuperates the cultural-feminist discourse of counter-culture that postmodernists usually decry as essentialist. She situates feminist counter-culture within, rather than outside of dominant cultural technologies and infrastructures, however. She predicates her feminist institution both on the mobility of the "meat" in the international sex market and on the virtual technologies her whores command via palmtop, modem, fax, and phone.⁸

On the level of textual production, one can identify this notion of resistance in Biermann's use of the police novel, a genre

characterized by excessive paternalism and whose postwar history in Germany was initially marked by a strong association with American themes, figures, and milieux.⁹ Biermann's deployment of this genre might be conceptualized in terms of regional differentiation (adapting a generic formula to local conditions), and as a feminist appropriation of a genre traditionally emplotting patriarchal resolutions of gender conflicts. Her decision to discontinue publishing with the independent, leftist Rotbuch Press (Berlin) and sign up with Goldmann, an imprint of the transnational Bertelsmann corporation (currently the second largest media giant worldwide), may be viewed in this light, since her decision was at least in part motivated by the hope that the corporation's global marketing expertise might translate into increased circulation through transnational distribution networks. This hope, she conceded, has proved futile.¹⁰ Bertelsmann, which has funneled English, American, and other international bestsellers into the German literary market since the 1950s, and since its expansion into the U. S. book and music market (acquisition of Bantam Books 1980; Doubleday Dell in 1986; Random House in 1998; consolidation into Random House, Inc. publishing group) controls the lion's share of the American book market (as well as the music market, through BMG [Bertelsmann Music Group]). While on its website the corporation boasts about its economic prowess and reach ("Bertelsmann is the largest book publisher in the English-speaking world"), it fundamentally distinguishes between, for example, musical and linguistic cultural products.¹¹ While the former has greater chances of transnational circulation through the corporation's channels of distribution, executives regard literature as more tied to national culture. That explanation leaves the wide circulation of American literature unaccounted for, however, unless one regards American literature as "transnational" in the sense of providing "universal" literary moulds and shaping reader expectations on a planetary scale. The increasing domination of the bestseller-driven literary market by a few generic formulas and publishing superstars (a development described by the veteran New York editor Jason Epstein) makes this a likely proposition.¹² Ironically and, I suggest, not

accidentally, Biermann's only novel originally published by Goldmann/Bertelsmann is the only one that remains untranslated. Her novels' translations into French, Italian, and English were made possible only by the connections that the author has forged with friends and colleagues (she works as a translator of feminist fiction herself). This "failure" to hijack a transnational corporate infrastructure for the circulation of a feminist critique of globalization along the lines traced so persuasively by George Lipsitz in regard to anticolonial, revolutionary politics and popular music in *Dangerous Crossroads* (1994), indicates the difficulty of transposing discourses of subversion, resistance, and opposition from one cultural practice to another. While some critics, like Paik Nak-chung seek to reinvigorate national literatures in order to halt a process that Rey Chow summarizes as the familiar (colonial) story of exclusion: "adopt Western ways and evacuate your own; learn English or French and forget about Gujarati or Vietnamese; and so forth" (69), the story Biermann tells in her series suggests that for feminists, nationalism promises little protection against global forces, that the local is always-already colonized, and that feminists need to build their own cultural and political networks across national lines.

The novel answers the question I posed in the title of this article, whether demilitarization constitutes decolonization, and postcolonial status entails freedom, by simultaneously negating and reformulating it: No, Berlin is not postcolonial, but colonized. This colonization is not so much defined by "foreign" domination (as opposed to national self-determination) but by transnational control in conjunction with local political structures. While *globalization*, which for Rey Chow is but another word for *western imperialism*, is synonymous with the threat of "Americanization" to many Germans (Wagner), Biermann's series stresses the complicated historical relationship connecting the postwar German states with the United States, which was at once an occupying force, an ally in the international western alliances that framed West Germany's political reconstruction, an admired and hated superpower that often pursued isolationist, violent, and imperialist policies, and for East Germans the

ideological enemy as well as the hero that defeated the Soviet "masters" (Moore). Although Biermann echoes Chow's critical language about colonization, her liminal location in Berlin allows her to peel apart the overlapping meanings of Americanization, western imperialism, nation-driven colonization, and transnationalization.

To describe globalization as a neocolonial, western-imperialist discourse invokes "race"/ethnicity as an integral dimension of domination and certainly relies on it for rhetorical effect and polemic force. In the sense that the labor of prostitution, which occurs in informal and stigmatized sectors, is "invisible in most accounts of women's work, commercial activities, and economic and labor force reports" (Kempadoo 29) sexual labor may be seen as representing women's often invisible and unrecognized work more generally in the global economy (see Wichterich). As Kamala Kempadoo has argued, feminist accounts of "colonialisms, recolonizations, and cultural imperialisms, as well as specific local cultural histories and traditions that shape the sexual agency of women are important for any account of global manifestations of sex work" (28). Yet she also warns that the inclusion of "race" in feminist analyses is often more metaphorical rather than concrete, and frequently serves to merely reinvigorate a troublingly universalizing notion of male violence and female victimization through the notions of "trafficking" and "sexual slavery" (28). While Biermann's novels throughout resist both a monolithic notion of sex work as coerced and a universal notion of women (or Woman) as oppressed, her implicitly anticolonial narratives risk displacing the Third World, postcolonial women of color who constitute the majority of workers in the global sex industry, including in the *Standort Deutschland*. By pushing them to the narrative background, Biermann also downplays the degree to which the sexual agency of prostitutes of color differs from that of their white colleagues, since it is much more circumscribed by the conjunction of neocolonialism and sexual profiteering.¹³ Although Kamala Kempadoo cautions against the exclusive conceptualization of prostitution as coercion that dominates the scholarship on postcolonial women of color, there is no doubt

that the Schengen Treaty (1995), which permits the swift deportation of undocumented aliens, has left foreign sex workers with even less recourse to protection against sexual violence, and made them more vulnerable to coercion and exploitation by pimps and organized traffickers. The articles about the working conditions of foreign prostitutes that regularly appear in *Hydra Nachtexpress*, a magazine by and for sex workers in Berlin, discuss the marketing of racial difference as “exoticism” alongside the racist violence to which these women are also frequently subjected in Germany, as well as the legal uncertainty of their situation.¹⁴ By inverting the racial coordinates of sexual transactions, exemplified by the German Kitty and her lover Morris, a black G. I., Biermann obscures some of the systemic inequalities structuring the sex industry and women’s agency.

The story of the Russian prostitute Ludmila told in 4,5,6 illustrates Biermann’s insistence on women’s agency even under the constraints of undocumented migration: the collapse of the Soviet regime robbed Ludmila, a trained engineer, of her income and hence independence. She paid a company to smuggle her into Germany, where “she didn’t end up working on a construction site in any traditional sense” but was able to “apply her knowledge of electricity to male processes of releasing tension” (Biermann 1997, 131). Her lack of proper identification, however, makes her vulnerable to bureaucratic harassment. Her German colleague Kim, traveling with a team of queer artists to a gay and lesbian film festival in Moscow, bribes Russian officials (with U. S. dollars) to procure legal documentation for Ludmila. This utterly non-bathetic, tongue-in-cheek biography of a foreign woman who finds herself working in a brothel and prevails thanks to queer-feminist solidarity starkly diverges from the narratives of “sexual slavery” that Kempaloo describes as the cornerstone of the feminist discourse of women’s global victimization. Yet the focus on Eastern European prostitutes in Biermann’s Berlin series, while reflecting the trends in the Western European sex industry in the 1990s, deflects attention from those whose appearance prevents them from escaping police attention. Her emphasis on women’s agency cannot easily be extended to women of color,

whose position in a racialized grid has historically trapped them between projections of hypersexuality and projections of passivity and victimization. An active, desiring sexuality is a notion through which western feminists have challenged stereotypes of white femininity as passive, but through which women of color have been categorized as uncivilized and bestial in colonial discourse. Biermann's privileging of prostitutes as post- and anticolonial subjects draws on critical notions forged through racial conflict and domination, but cannot in the end recognize women's different access to these critical practices.¹⁵ While the discourse of neo-, post-, and anti-colonialism allows Biermann to refigure patriarchal oppression and feminist resistance after the cold war, the omission of "race" from this discourse shows up the limits of her project to reconfigure feminism as politically diverse (ranging from complicity to opposition), but haunted by the kind of universalism that earlier envisioned Woman as uniformly oppressed as well as white and heterosexual.

Biermann's postulation of West Berlin as walled-in utopian preserve exempt from the conflicts and social misery integral to nationalism, capitalism, and the state leads her to conceptualize the city's integration into national space and transnational practices as a colonization that imports the bourgeois gender system, capitalist exploitation, and socialist authoritarianism. Her polysexual, multicultural detective team figures a positive notion of the democratic state as a bulwark against the crime, corruption and impoverishment produced by corporation-driven globalization, but cannot account for the ways in which the democratic state itself constructs privatized patriarchal relations through its family politics and bears responsibility for the unequal consequences of globalization for women and men. Her embodiment of feminist agency through a sex workers' collective refuses the equation of economic globalization with victimization and insists on the reconcilability of capitalism with women's sexual, economic, and political self-determination, but cannot account for the way in which women's sexuality is commodified differently by the global sex industry. While she is able to mobilize a critique of colonization without invoking nationalist ide-

ology, she invokes a racialized rhetoric of domination for a feminist notion of agency that is specific to white women, ignoring the political needs of the great majority of sex workers and other "globalized women" in Berlin and elsewhere.

In *Spaces of Hope*, David Harvey reminds us of the power of concepts, and the images they conjure up, to open up or close down the political possibilities of critique and opposition. The term *globalization*, which attained such currency in the 1990s, does not refer to *new* developments, but applies a *new term* to phenomena that have been called by a number of names, including *late capitalism*, *neoliberalism*, and *western imperialism*. The image of capitalism's global embrace, he warns, severely constrains political visions of alternatives or resistance and makes it a disabling descriptor of the world today as one in which resistance is either futile or conservative (13). Biermann's insistence on the conceptual tools of colonial and postcolonial discourse in conjunction with feminism's set of metaphors and critical vocabulary suggests a more empowering, politically charged analysis that, unlike *globalization*, never forgets the gendered iconographies of conquest and seduction, attends to sexual divisions of labor, production, and consumption, offers a critique of cultural encounter and appropriation, and allows for the gender-sensitive theorization of power, institutions, and resistance.

Notes

1 Biermann's study *Wir sind Frauen wie andere auch* (We are no different from other women, 1980) constituted the first feminist analysis of prostitution written by a practitioner. According to the collective of Frankfurt prostitutes that edited a handbook on prostitution (1994), Biermann's reflections on the French prostitutes' strike in Lyon and Paris in 1975, which applied strategies from the workers' movement, initially shaped the women's political strategies.

2 *Violetta* won the Deutscher Krimipreis (German Crime Fiction Award) in 1991, *Herzrasen* received the same award in 1994.

3 This fictional development parallels that of the actually existing sex work organization Hydra in Berlin (est. 1980), which has striven for the recognition of prostitution as a profession in order to improve the legal, economic, and social modalities of sex work. Hydra has documented its political analyses in the anthology *Beruf: Hure* (1988). Since 1980, they have also published the *Hydra Nachtexpress: Zeitung für Bar, Bordell und Bordstein*.

4 Migraine's fight for tax-exempt status revolves around the German law's distinction between *Eigennutz* (individual profit) and *Gemeinnutz* (benefiting the community); the sex workers, while clearly interested in working for profit (the more the better), also see their profession as benefiting society at large. In one scene in *Violetta*, the young Kim panders to a customer's incestuous fantasies of having sex with his daughter. After complying with his wishes, she concludes her work with "her customary speech about leaving his daughter alone" (Biermann 1990, 86-87). By allowing men to act out their fantasies, the prostitute is shown to diminish the risk of abuse, hence therapeutically repairing the inherently pathological bourgeois family unit. Biermann's view of sexual fantasies echoes the position developed in the early 1980s by the "sex radical" feminists in the United States, which challenged the opposing viewpoint that sexual fantasies, e. g. , pornography, confirm and promote sexism and sexual violence.

5 Critics have noted, however, that the law does not do much to protect foreign prostitutes working in Germany against coercive brothel managers or pimps and have pointed to the loopholes created by the discrepancy between national and European law (see Schellenberger and Vestring).

6 A similar figure appears in *Violetta*: the brutish caretaker Alfred Henke, who rapes and kills women of foreign appearance, then stamps their foreheads with letters denoting their "race" or nationality in Gothic script, likewise personifies a compound of Nazi politics, patriarchal masculinity, and petit-bourgeois sentiments. In both novels, these villains are killed off, not by characters that would be their political antagonists but by figures sharing the villain's convictions.

7 In her book *New & Old Wars* (1999), Kaldor writes: "The political goals of the new wars [exemplified by the war that broke up Yugoslavia] are about the claim to power on the basis of seemingly traditional identities – nation, tribe, religion. Yet the upsurge in the politics of particularistic identities cannot be understood in traditional terms.

It has to be explained in the context of a growing cultural dissonance between those who participate in transnational networks . . . and those who are excluded from global processes and are tied to localities even though their lives may be profoundly shaped by those same processes” (69-70).

8 Case inserts a gendered distinction between the masculine dream of virtual, transcorporeal identities and the “meat,” defined by its location (and often immobilization) in a social grid of differences.

9 Wolf Dieter Lützen notes that the first, incredibly popular German writers of police novels in the early 1950s (Frank Arnau and Karlheinz Höber) set their series in the United States (172), a setting that hardboiled novels published in paperback, along with Hollywood noir movies, consistently associated with crime and corruption. It is worth recalling that Chicago had already been almost synonymous with gangsters and organized crime in the imagination of writers like Bertolt Brecht in the 1920s.

10 Conversation with the author on October 15, 2001.

11 This information is taken from the Bertelsmann website.

12 <www.bertelsmann.de/bag/chronicle/chronicle5_content.cfm> (August 24, 2001).

13 The recent autobiography *Book Business* by Epstein, an editor who began his career at Doubleday in 1950 and for many years worked for Random House (both owned by Bertelsmann now), describes this development. Between 1986 and 1996, he writes, the sale of not-best-selling books in the United States dropped by half as the business consolidated (at present, five global corporations dominate the U. S. book market). During the same period, about two thirds of the top 100 best-selling books were written by only six authors (32), most of whom also top the best-selling lists on the German market, one might add. These authors represent the main formula genres, including romance, horror, and suspense (i. e. , thriller and crime fiction). Their books, bought by “loyal readers literally addicted to their formulaic melodramas” (Epstein 18) not only reach editions in the millions, but also create a market for other books written in their respective rubric. While his remarks refer to the North American literary market, recent changes in Germany, including the elimination of the fixed-price-policy (that prevented publishers’ and retailers’ competition through dumping prices), the consolidation of presses, the growth of media

superstores, and the emergence of a best-seller driven system, suggest that his observations would also be applicable to the German situation.

14 Wichterich reports that three quarters of all sex workers in Germany are foreigners. In Frankfurt "a large proportion of women comes from the Dominican Republic" (105), and in Berlin 3000 of 7000 prostitutes come from Thailand (104). She complements her account of foreign prostitutes in Germany with an account of German male sex tourists traveling to Third World destinations, where governments of postcolonial countries rely on tourism to fuel their economies (see also Kempadoo; Enloe).

15 One might make a similar argument in regard to sexual differences between heterosexual and lesbian women, which the novels assimilate to feminists' general resistance to patriarchy.

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