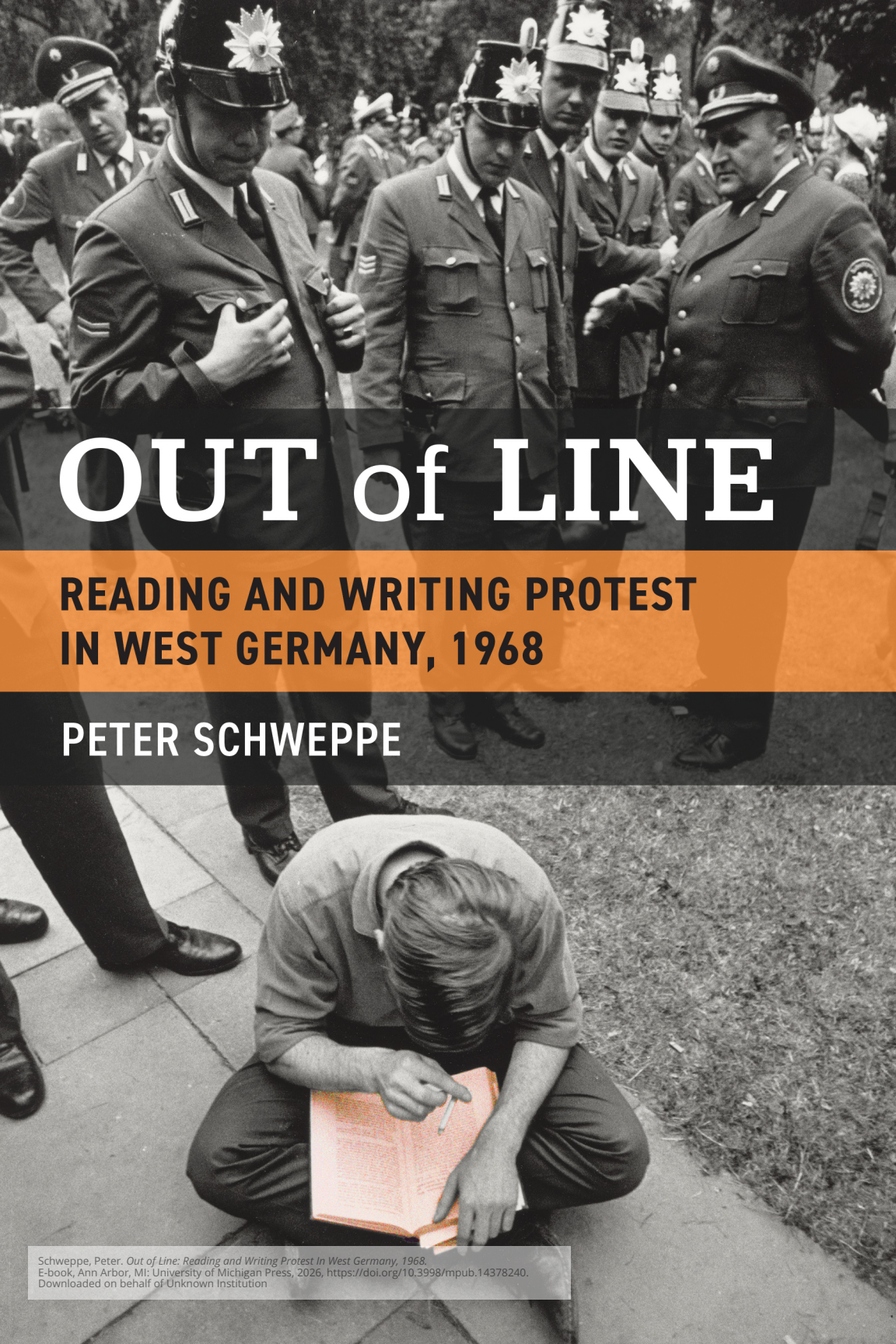


OUT of LINE

READING AND WRITING PROTEST IN WEST GERMANY, 1968

PETER SCHWEPPE

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Dedicated to Claudia Albrecht.
May the music keep your memory close at heart and in mind.

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thank you for orchestrating our journey through Berlin's theater, media, and authorial landscapes, which helped me think about the past and present of writing, reading, and experiencing literature. In addition, I would like to extend a special acknowledgment of the colleagues and friends who encouraged and energized me to keep going: Liesl Allingham and Richard Apgar at Sewanee; Tove Holmes, Sun-Young Kim, and Michael Cowan at McGill; and many more. Closer to what I now call home, my academic journey started at the University of Montana, where Hiltrud Arens, Liz Ametsbichler, and more recently Marty Marko have lent invaluable support, which in many ways led me to the University of Washington, where Jane Brown, Rick Gray, and Klaus Brandl helped me grow into someone I did not know I could become, both in and out of the classroom.

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sun is a pale calamity."[2] Your poetry emanates the profound magnitude that words and art compel. Family has meant a lot to me throughout this work. I am very grateful to Krista, Doug, Louisa, Marty, and, of course, my parents Linda and Paul for support. Also, I could not have done it without my other family: Sky, trustworthy trail guide and adventurer, Luna, Machiavelli, Oskar, Freja, and, always and forever, Ollie.

Lastly, there are too many protesters to name who have inspired this work and will continue to inspire the protest work to come. To those who have stood up to power and faced it down on behalf of an unknown neighbor, civic right, or universal value of what it means to be human, what it feels like to be human, or love a human, and to stand for that, thank you. Being out of line, when being in line otherwise perpetuates what Herbert Marcuse coined as repressive tolerance, has taken on increasing significance as of late. While this book very much stemmed from an esteem for protest against repressive tolerance or injustice, my hope is that it adds to broader histories of social movements and communication, as it accentuates how being out of line not only interconnects words and actions but also deeply humanistic questions surrounding what it means to read and write protest.

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Preface

SHOW ME WHAT YOU READ, AND I'LL TELL YOU WHO YOU ARE.
—West German protest poster, 1967

In all-caps, the words from the opening quote that looms above loom similarly over a group of young student writers, peering out onto the editorial scene where they discuss the content of a flyer or school newspaper. Titled "Peter Brandt and Acquaintances Composing Texts," Ludwig Binder's photograph from July 1, 1967 captures more than an intriguing scene featuring the Social Democratic Party leader Willy Brandt's son in action with fellow protest writers. This photograph also encapsulates the spirit of texts, words, signs, political engagement, and creative protest in West Germany's "1968." Reading and writing at this time was in many cases collective work, where reader consumers could easily transform into writer producers. Binder's image depicts the social nature and social *media* of the protest movement, also known as the student movement, antiauthoritarian movement, or the Global Sixties writ large. As the scene divulges, the poster served as a contemporary badge of solidarity with students who liked to read; but more importantly, it embodied a *Plakatsprache* (poster language) in and of its own right. The medium represented the visual kind of work that materials and messages were doing to advertise and energize student protest in 1968, here as visual aid in a scene of writing. The poster design was aesthetically simple. A blank white poster and bold black font announce the adage: "SHOW ME WHAT YOU READ, AND I'LL TELL YOU WHO YOU ARE" (fig. 1).

Emphasized by all-caps, the presumptive tone of the poster signals its meaning: read politically. In other words: read texts that will help bring change to the world; or, as the setting in the image suggests, also *write* such

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Fig. 1. German protest poster
Credit: Ludwig Binder, Bilder der Revolte: 01.07.1967: *Peter Brandt and Acquaintances Composing Texts*, http://bilder-der-revolte.de/photo/peter-brandt-und-bekannte-beim-verfassen-von-texten-2/

texts so that others might read them and take part in the change—the goal of the group's own student newspaper, *Radikalinski*. Binder's image reflects the role that posters played in the Global Sixties, as background props, visual cues, and discursive conversation starters that came to epitomize the verve of West German protest and beyond. It also reflects how intertwined protest posters were with other media such as underground newspapers, paper flyers, and other forms of agit-prop that circulated on West German streets. In some respects, the confluence of words and actions recaptures Bertolt Brecht's observations of the literary-infused street life in 1935 Moscow.

> I was particularly struck by the power of the word to move the masses, and how it has penetrated their consciousness by means of slogans, quotations, books, newspapers, public meetings. I would like to call it the 'literarizing of the conditions of living.' But it is not just a question of words, for they are constantly followed by insights, by action.[1]

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In a more contemporary vein, graffiti writer Peter-Ernst Eiffe similarly saw the poster as an urgent site of engagement in 1968. "Posters define the masses' awareness of time and life. We have to converse with [them]."[2] Eiffe's sentiment uncovers the allure of the poster medium, denoting the powerful ability to broadcast a message to a crowd or public space. At the same time, it reveals a deeper seated mediality of text, harkening back to the ways that posters hanging on walls—or quotes on the upper margin of this preface—inhabit and manifest protest communication, not just by virtue of their marginal position but also their ability to push boundaries. To read and write protest in West Germany's Global Sixties was inevitably about pushing boundaries, if not breaking through them outright. As this book sets out to argue, political change in West Germany during the late 1960s very much centered around a tangible and medial engagement with textuality that evoked alternative peripheries and margins of expression. Being "out of line" disclosed how protest posters informed print media like protest flyers, and how *showing* texts and protesting with them became as much an act of resistance as simply reading or identifying with their contents. Accordingly, *Out of Line* does not try to retell the story of protest literature in "1968" in a conventional sense. Instead, it shows what happens when the texture and textuality of words performed protest through paratextual, typographical, and material modes, establishing new boundaries of language and action as well as new bibliographies of form and materiality.

When I first started this project, my goal was to analyze the boundaries of publication platforms and the material transformations of literary forms and formats that were *out of line* with literary and sociopolitical norms. As I believed then, this process shaped the West German culture of protest in the 1960s and also redrew the lines between protest and textuality as a whole. Like the paper airplane featured in Harun Farocki's 1967 documentary film, *Words of the Chairman*,[3] the mobilization of literary form symbolized something larger, more tangible and metaphorical than even the film set out to represent. To me, the film's depiction of a reader tearing a page out of a book and repurposing it as a paper airplane pointed toward what Bertolt Brecht outlined as the *Literarisierung* (literarization) of the street and of protest, where words fused with actions and actions effected words. As I progressed in my archival discoveries, I noticed how Peter Schütt's *Asphalt-Literatur* (asphalt literature) or *Flugblatt Gedichte* (flyer poems) in print magazines like *SPARTACUS* physically reconceptualized literary form as a politically and materially active agent in scripting and performing protest. This kind of form exceeded the physical print boundaries of publication and literary

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boundaries of genre. The medial outcome of this process called into question where the print publication itself began and ended, and that idea continues to fascinate me today. By tracing the margins, paratexts, and materialities of such forms, I began to see movement in a new light, where medial actions like removing or circulating print somewhat mirrored or articulated the mobilization of protest on streets. As opposed to clean columns and regular fonts of conventional print, crooked, hand-drawn, imprinted, stapled layers characterized collage-like expressions of protest on the page. Meanwhile, protesters fashioned marches, sit-ins, and disruptions around texts and images, proliferating further layers and contexts of resistance on the street. Back then, this entire ecosystem felt *out of line*, which was remarkable for the ways it was reshaping literary history, artifactual value, and protest as I had previously envisaged it.

Today, in the summer of 2025, the project of uncovering what *Out of Line* was in the Global Sixties feels different. For one, it's been a long time since I first stepped foot in one of my home archives, the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (HIS), which has been a pivotal stop for many researchers who informed and inspired my own research. But in 2024, the historic institute announced its intended closure in 2028, 45 years after its opening.[4] The news shook the academic worlds of history, cultural studies, and political sciences since the HIS is a formative influencer of social movements, LGBTQ histories, Red Army Faction (RAF) sources, and other highly niche areas of primary source consequence. The HIS is where I first learned about categories like "gray literature" and where I was able to contrast it with other fringe media and genres that do not completely or neatly fall under one category or another. Indeed, it is also the first place I encountered the visual pieces of print that motivated much of this book's contents and arguments, including many of the posters with which this book stands in conversation. When I read about the impending closure of the HIS last year, I was struck by the institutional fragility and ephemerality of the very infrastructure of knowledge, not to mention all of the ephemera and fringe documents it houses or what the future of protest studies in Germany might look like. Closer to home, the institutional, scholarly landscape also has a different feel. To name just one example, the US Supreme Court recently granted the sitting president authority to begin dismantling the Department of Education and Office of Civil Rights, which comes on the heels of a broader infringement on universities, schools, libraries, curricula, funding structures, scientific research, and entire public education systems. Worse yet, this move to restrict and censor the information environment has starkly raised doubt over what may

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or may not be considered truth, history, scholarship, medical expertise, independent press, and human rights.

In a vivid sense, then, understanding what *out of line* meant in the Global Sixties echoes beyond its historical era. From a contemporary lens, this book revitalizes certain arguments and configurations put forth by past intellectual movements like the Frankfurt school, critical theory, and second wave feminism, many of which resonate as much today and, arguably, tomorrow, as in the past. Whether one loves or critiques the protests of the Global Sixties, it historically ushered in talking points, aesthetics, assumptions, and strategies of collective resistance that went on to influence much of the modern world as we know it. But as of today, familiar geopolitical and intellectual fault lines are in some ways as ruptured and uncertain as they were in 1968. In addition to the many areas of conflict around the world (Darfur, Ukraine, Gaza, Myanmar, and more), the US alone has witnessed a relitigation of the right to abortion, enshrined in the constitution since 1973; the right to transgender care has been revoked; civil rights and human rights have shrunk; masked federal agents currently patrol American streets with weapons, arresting people without warrant/s; the president has cited the potential threat of World War III numerous times before noting that his public dispute with one world leader or another would make for good television. In Germany, 20 percent of voters recently selected the Alternative for Germany (AfD) as the best path forward, a party notorious for trivializing Germany's Nazi past, criticizing its commitment to remembrance, and lampooning its laws against invoking Nazi slogans, songs, and gestures by carefully toeing the line on the boundaries of legality and taste. Undeniably, the AfD has politicized and instrumentalized *history* as such to shore up harmful, disrespectful, and shocking paradigms in social discourse. Today's predisposition to recast facts and rewrite history by the AfD and other political movements around the globe has become a contested grounds for tomorrow's world. Hence, whereas this project started out as a scholarly intervention into literary discourse about textual and material form in West Germany's Global Sixties, its scope also raises questions about the consequences and lessons this history offers. What can protest's past teach its future? What role do texts, be they asphalt poems, graffiti slogans, or protest posters, play in shaping the future? Where do we draw lines? Where do we step out of them?

Out of Line demonstrates the galvanizing potential of reading and writing protest, which helped inscribe politics with new texts and texts with new politics in 1968. At that time, reading and writing protest edified a certain

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closeness between text-objects and political actions that draws attention to a longer arc of history. Writing in 1968, Edition Voltaire publisher Bernward Vesper noted how "the book is just one of the media which, in conjunction with political action—and only in this way—creates the awareness that the existing social order should be changed and can be changed."[5] Tracing the closeness of text-object and political action, this book apprehends publication features like crooked layouts and ink overlays but also removable supplements, theft actions, and *Buchstabenballette* (letter ballets) to stress a dynamic interplay between textuality and social change. In the Global Sixties, the politics of textuality mobilized a new style of protest that leaned on tangible interactions with the page and the ways that words or graphics appeared on them.

In many ways, protest and activism at that time focused on finding new ways to medially communicate and be *out of line*. By wearing, carrying, or performing acts associated with protest, for example, individual protesters displayed political solidarity with the movement and actively changed their surrounding environment.[6] In a 1969 essay that appeared in the Left-leaning journal *kürbiskern*, Erasmus Schöpfer described the movement of fringe literary form into "short poster and spoken word poetry; short texts for flyers, wall newspapers, . . . slogans for chants, banners, street pavements, house walls, toilets, opinion buttons, etc."[7] As per Schöpfer, the movement of literary form from conventional formats to less conventional objects materializes a history of communication that inscribed the West German protest culture. Objects like buttons, banners, and posters made protest visible, and it put them into a more medial context of deployment, circulation, production, and consumption.[8] This kind of visibility changed the look of literary forms on the page and literary formats external to the page by introducing a medial language of protest, which I epitomize as an aesthetic closely connected to being and appearing *out of line*. By encoding colors and layouts on pages, stickers and stamps in packaging, paint and felt-tip pen on walls, the mantra of being *out of line* notably unveils the kind of media literacy that was at play in the West German protest movement, but it also highlights the need for medial thinking and reading still today, where subtexts and hidden meanings in tweets, Roman salutes,[9] and a veritable tempest of falsehoods and pretensions bombards societies around the globe. Hence, *Out of Line* is not just a project that helps decode the past but rather a project about how encoding and decoding become vital practices of democratic societies and free citizens.

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Introduction
Literary Form and/in Protest

> Books of today are actions of tomorrow.
> —Heinrich Mann
>
> Give in to your phrases once, to the point where they are embodied.
> —Georg Büchner

In Harun Farocki's 1968 documentary film, *Words of the Chairman*, a new relationship between politics and literary form took shape around Mao Zedong's book, *Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the film's main prop.[1] In this short documentary, scenes of intentional reading merged with actions of resistance against the shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, whose infamous official state visit to West Berlin in 1967 culminated in the death of unarmed student protester Benno Ohnesorg and spurred the protest movement in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Juxtaposing the title of the book, Farocki's *Words of the Chairman* brought into focus the potentials and perils of revolutionary reading in the late 1960s as it led viewers from a close-up of the book to a subsequent protest action derived and constructed from the print object itself. Mao's renowned text indeed lent itself to the anticapitalist sentiment of Farocki's film, but it was the film's specific treatment of the text that helped the short documentary become a phenomenon. Rather than showcasing a traditional scene of reading, Farocki politicized literary form by assembling the book for an action that involved a paper airplane, matches, and a metaphorical explosion in the face of the shah of Iran. This potent combination of a figurative and tangible missive caused quite a sensation among West German protesters. As Klaus Kreimeier has noted, "The film was showered

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at the teach-ins in the Audimax of Freie Universität partly with thunderous applause, partly with deafening catcalls. It provokes immediate, spontaneous reactions; . . . Farocki was a Dadaist of Maoism in 1967/68."[2] Such fanfare revealed Farocki's poignant cache in the late 1960s; however, it also underscored how this film had its finger on the pulse of the Global Sixties, where word and moving image, past Dadaism and contemporary Maoism, reading and revolution stylized an emergent nexus of political expression.

Yet a closer analysis of the film emphasizes how this kind of protest performance with literary material stood in relation to the Global Sixties social movements. Depicted in the film's opening scene, a close-up of Mao's *Quotations* fills the frame and gives visual currency to its iconicity, repeatedly turning on a horizontal axis and alternately displaying the open book cover and open title page. When the cover rotates into view, the background lighting illuminates its leather facade, highlighting the durability of the book and introducing the physical texture—the *materiality*—of the words embossed onto the front cover's surface. More than print alone, the close-up on the embossed imprint accentuated the staying power of the book's ideology as well as the vitality of its physical format (fig. 2). When the rotation turns to the inside title page, a photograph of Mao visually prefaces the contents inside of the book with the image of their author, cementing image to text, visual icon to printed word.[3] On one level, then, Farocki's opening scene determined how the materiality and visuality of the book touted the monumental impact of Mao's words in a way that the printed words alone could not.

On another level, the book's physical rotation signaled a more vibrant political mobilization of literary form. As the next scene depicts, the reader tears out a page from the book and thereby specifies a corporeal interaction with print. The tearing action taps into a performativity of text that resounded in global cultures of protest around this time, encompassing what James Loxley has described as words becoming actions themselves.[4] Removing pages from the Mao Bible, as it was often called in German, scandalized the sanctity of the print object while also amplifying content from the book format by repurposing it for more urgent use elsewhere. To that end, the camera then brings the spectator closer to the removed page and the reader who can be seen folding the page and assembling a paper airplane with wooden matches, ushering an incendiary overtone into an otherwise readerly context (figs. 3–4). On cue, the film's reader concludes the scene and film by casting the newly assembled paper airplane at a paper bag caricature of the shah of Iran, which had commonly appeared in the protests against

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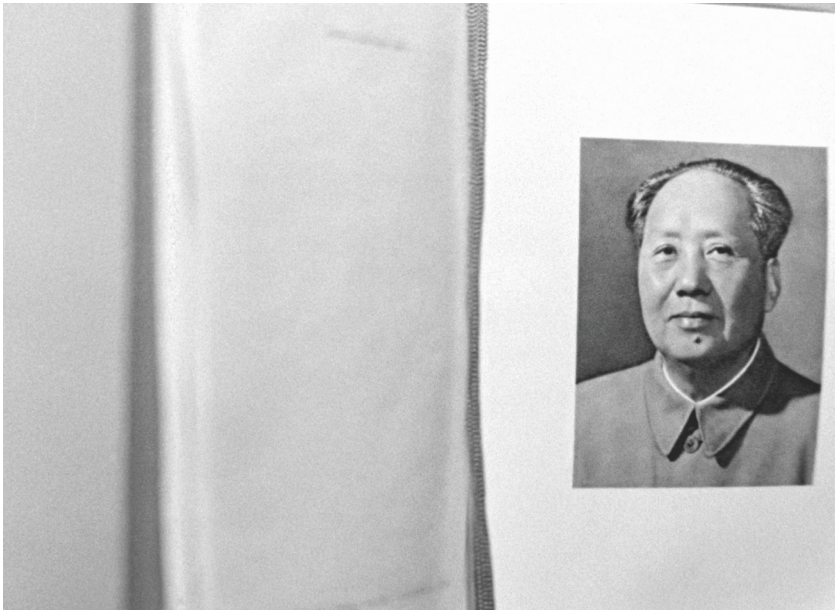


Fig. 2. Title page of *Quotations of the Chairman*
Credit: *The Words of the Chairman* © Harun Farocki 1967

the shah of Iran's visit to West Berlin in May-June 1967.[5] The paper airplane hits its mark, presumably killing the caricature whose hands fly up in the air, succumbing to the print projectile—the "words of the chairman."

In Farocki's film, the reappropriation of the book's content turned paper into projectile and, in doing so, helped reimagine how the political engagement of protest literature could occur. By *literally* taking a page from the book, the reader converted the rhetoric of the book and instrumentalized its material format. As the film's narrator states, "We have to put [Mao's] words on a completely new level again. We have to put them in new contexts. . . . We must transform them coolly. In our hands they must become weapons."[6] Throwing print at a political target achieved Farocki's stated goal of "a metaphor literally: words can become weapons. However, [the film] also shows that these weapons are made of paper."[7] With the elemental substance of print culture—paper—this scene illustrated how literary form such as flyers or torn out pages tangibly performed protest, here by physically mobilizing not its textual content but rather its materiality. Similarly, such a performance visualized how the physical function of print did not

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Fig. 3. Deconstructing book
Credit: *The Words of the Chairman* © Harun Farocki 1967

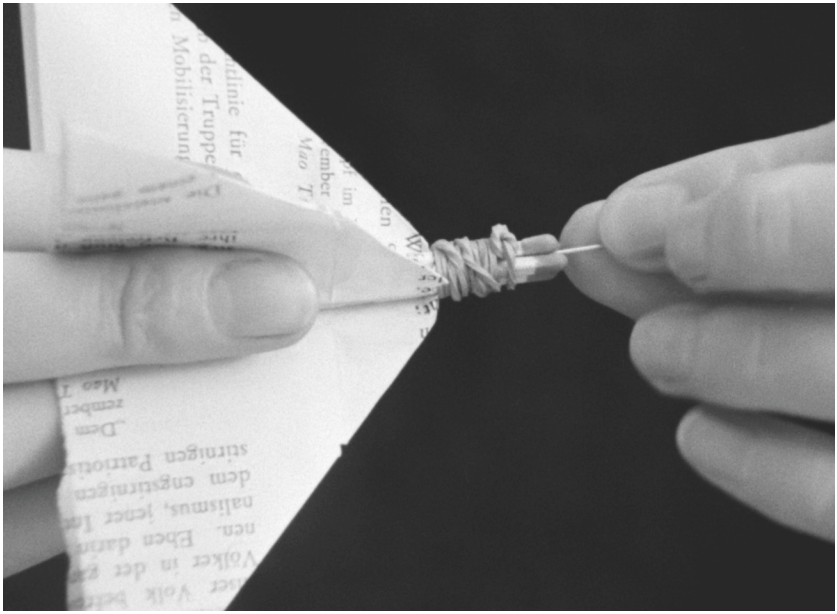


Fig. 4. Constructing paper airplane
Credit: *The Words of the Chairman* © Harun Farocki 1967

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stem from Mao's words in any conventional sense of reading alone. Instead, the short film revealed the connectedness of words, performativity, literary form, materiality, and media in an imaginative culture of protest in West Germany's Global Sixties.

Beyond Content

Through its analysis of protest in scenes like Farocki's *Words of the Chairman*, this study seeks to recover a material and paratextual history of literary form in the West German protest movement. Focusing on reciprocal relations of material, paratext, and protest, this study discloses the disruptive politics of reading and writing in the Global Sixties. It casts light on how form and format themselves can become troublesome and what this means for textual studies of protest, if not also studies of the political functions of texts. Whereas the content of any given page from Mao's book might offend a leader like the shah of Iran, the physical impact of paper and its metaphorical explosion suggest that protesters' ideas about material and paratext were invested in scripting new techniques of resistance that often hinged around forms and formats themselves. In this case, the iconic scene in Farocki's film embodies a performative style of protest, which challenges assumptions we make about the signifiers of writing—on the one hand in physical formats such as books, periodicals, flyers, and graffiti; on the other hand in textual forms such as drama, slogans, and even words.[8] Indeed, building on past traditions like Dada and surrealism, much of the West German underground print culture took delight in skewing and eschewing traditional standards of the day, while blending the categories of form and format through collage imprints, psychedelic centerfolds, and even live agitprop performances.[9] In contrast to a clean column style or coherent layout on the page, West German underground avant-garde print represented a different approach that sought to awaken sensibilities, consciousness, and political revolution. As Jan-Frederick Bandel argues, this new style marked a badge of pride for writers and readers and flew under the radar of mainstream presses because

> it was too small, too crude, too disorderly, too dirty, too flippant, disunified, frivolous, rudimentary, messy and untamed. Pamphlets with the violet, blurry typography of hand-cranked printing, stapled or Lumbeck bound booklets, shaky spidering sketches, crudely cut collages, a typographic mishmash of Letraset rub-downs and the typewritten and handwritten, mounted found objects, comics of heretofore unseen edginess, pornographic

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> photos, psychedelic smears and spirals of colour, cool pop elements and ridiculously over-egged self-depiction, inflammatory slogans, macrobiotic recipes, flippant reports, scathing polemic and awkward poetry.[10]

To engage underground texts and the contexts in which they circulated—from mounted objects to blurry typography—this study pursues materialist readings that are by and large more curious about paratextual meaning as opposed to textual; the movement of text through physical space in contrast to a more traditional hermeneutics; the typographical and material aesthetics as opposed to literary content; the page in contrast to the messages on it. Such materialist readings make the case that you could in fact read a book by its cover and words could indeed become weapons in the Global Sixties, and beyond.

Through physical impact and metaphorical explosion, Farocki's film raises a broader set of questions about textuality and protest. In what ways *were* words informing Global Sixties protest? How did the physical circulation of texts reciprocate the political movement of protest? What was the political relationship among text, layout, and supplement? How did differences in form and format as well as text and context inscribe protest? What was the status of reading and writing protest in the Global Sixties? What legacy has this left behind? The answers to these questions show that reading beyond content in West Germany's alternative scene reveals how material and paratextual features brought literature "out of line" with literary and sociopolitical norms in the late 1960s, and it uncovers the meanings this continues to have for histories of literature and protest today.

Herbert Marcuse, writing in 1969, observed how "today's rebels want to see, hear, feel new things in a new way: they link liberation with the dissolution of ordinary and orderly perception."[11] Turning away from the ordinary or familiar, the fascination with newness framed the experience, construction, and circulation of alternative literary form and formats in the Global Sixties. The materiality of acetate (also known as overhead projector sheets), which was used in the University of Mainz student magazine *nobis*, or the metal covers of the underground Quer-Verlag publication *Kampfreime* expanded the physical norms of a publication object and mobilized them into tangible, usable instruments of protest. Further examples like the *flugblattgedichte* ("flyer-poems") in the revolutionary periodical *SPARTACUS* or the onomatopoeic title of the underground newspaper *FIZZ* (the sound of a Molotov cocktail) medially and audibly reconceptualized texts as politically active agents that could perform protest on the page and the street alike. Spanning the distance between page and street became an unspoken man-

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date for the critical thinking, civic engagement, and collaborative dissonance that so embodied the Global Sixties. Accordingly, protest reading and resistance writing turned into vital preconditions of progress and social change. Yet, since many of the underground texts or paratextual features were of a more fleeting nature and not preserved in the same way as mainstream titles such as the well-known literary journal *Akzente*, they have been left out of the canon and, in some cases, literary discourse. Hence, by recentering our attention around less familiar forms and formats of West German protest, it becomes possible to recover the material and paratextual histories of literature that have tended to be marginalized, while also scrutinizing how the political function of literature fell out of line with literary convention and developed new materialities that took literary formats from the page to the street in the late 1960s. Getting or being out of line intertwines cultures of protest and print, and, in the process, forges new definitions of textual expression and resistance that influence the historicization of literature and protest. At the heart of this study, I seek to uncover the performative, ephemeral, visual ways in which text and material constructed political practices of reading and writing protest in the late 1960s. At the same time, this study accentuates the ruptures and continuities that the Global Sixties represent for longer genealogies of protest, paratext, and materiality.

A Global Sixties

To date, scholarship on the Global Sixties is replete with histories that begin and end around the construct of "1968," which is in and of itself more of an umbrella ersatz for the kinds of dissent that coincided around the late 1960s.[12] Indeed, almost any attempt to singularly define 1968, the Global Sixties, or antiauthoritarian movements that were resonating around the world in the late 1960s tends to run into hurdles of a spatial, temporal, ideological, or historical nature. As Susana Draper has stated, "We often talk about '68, and the many '68s around the world, as if the date itself were the site in which a singular plural memory took place."[13] Timothy Scott Brown, too, notes that "the designation of 1968 is, of course, a terminological convention, one that enfolds certain analytic assumptions . . . aimed at suggesting a world-historic conjuncture, centered roughly around the year 1968."[14] As Brown and Draper both point out, while issues like the Vietnam War echoed in many of the protest movements around the world and became important orientation nodes for contemporary activism and subsequent scholarship, other tensions took on a more local or regional specificity in the Global Sixties and obfus-

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cate attempts to periodize or firmly define broader unrest around the world, from resistance to apartheid in South Africa to university troubles in Japan and socialist reform in Czechoslovakia, to name a few. Moreover, as Frederic Jameson maintained, the 1960s arguably began in the 1950s in Algiers, Havana, Accra, and other places impacted by colonialism, which went on to define anticolonialist actions in the next decade.[15] According to Richard Langston, some theorists have even called out the very idea of a "1968," from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari ("May '68 did not take place") to Michael Hardt ('68 "'lasted only a few months' in France").[16] Former West German protesters like Götz Aly, whose disparaging memoir title *Unser Kampf* (Our Struggle) acridly hinted at the likeness between his lived-experience of 1968 protests and Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, attacked West Germany's protests as a kind of "psychodramatic charged-up Marxism."[17] Along with the veritable abundance of anthologies, exhibitions, monographs, and memoirs about protest in the 1960s, such wide swaths of perspectives, debates, and terminological aporia here might spark concern about what might even remain for future historians of the Global Sixties to recover and how to best go about doing it.

One path forward is a pluralistic, global lens which sheds light on the comparative depth and locality of the Global Sixties. In reference to Africa's anticolonial movements, for instance, Burleigh Hendrickson's work on the Global South reminds us that "the Third World was not simply a fantasy location for Western radicals enchanted by Mao and Che but a site of activism in its own right."[18] In his study of African 1968s (plural), James Ferguson similarly relates how perceived, rhetorical "peripheries" of the Global Sixties should just as well be considered centers of 1960s protest.[19] For Rupert Lewis, the global Black Power movement fused together race and class in Kingston's Rodney riots of 1968, helping mobilize Jamaica's broader opposition to postcolonial structures of inequality.[20] As Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke highlight, a political speech from Robert F. Kennedy in front of an audience at the segregated University of Cape Town on June 6, 1966 took stock of the Establishment around the world and the voices that opposed it.

> There is discrimination in New York, the racial inequality of apartheid in South Africa, and serfdom in the mountains of Peru. People starve to death in the streets of India; a former Prime Minister is summarily executed in the Congo; intellectuals go to jail in Russia; and thousands are slaughtered in Indonesia; wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere in the world. . . . As I talk to young people around the world I am impressed not by the diversity

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> but by the closeness of their goals, their desires, and their concerns and their hope for the future.[21]

Kennedy went on to poignantly discuss the power of youth, the fleetingness of the inequitable present, and the hope for a more just future. Each example here shows how the specific site of protest embodied stood in interconnected relation to the Global Sixties social movements in different ways. Such sites became key focal points of action and change, as opposed to a fringe outlier or a "projection screen" for discursive consumption, as some rhetorical devices have encoded.[22] In turn, comparing Global Sixties' protest events, techniques, and conditions from around the world binds them and demonstrates how a pluralistic view of dissidence reciprocates with activism's global pasts and futures still to be written.

Within the FRG, the pluralistic lens magnifies an interconnected global plethora of common frameworks, tensions, and efforts to enact sociopolitical change in specific places such as the FRG. In terms of language, Charity Scribner punctuates West German journalist Ulrike Meinhof's deployment of the Latin American term *Stadtguerilla* (city guerrilla) as a gender-neutral, universalizing intervention into German language nomenclature for protesters otherwise simply referred to via the masculine form.[23] For Karin Bauer, Meinhof's implementation of a US slogan she heard at the international antiwar gathering, the Vietnam Congress, in Berlin in 1968 inspired her subsequent famous essay title "Vom Protest zum Widerstand" (From Protest to Resistance), which brought ideas about political resistance and violence into West German discourse and ultimately justified terrorism.[24] In the pre-social-media era of the 1960s, Klimke shows how tracing the networks of protest communication remains an imperative for understanding the dynamic conduit of West German interest in global issues, frames, and rhetoric.[25] When it came to global solidarity—or in some cases complicity—Christina Gerhardt cites how poet and editor Hans Magnus Enzensberger urged West Germans to reflect on the disheartening reality that no West German citizen "wants to hear anything about Algeria. The Algerian War is being is being carried out in our name; . . . by NATO troops, from NATO support sites, with NATO materials and funding."[26] Other examples from the Biafra Union West Berlin to the Confederation of Iranian Students National Union, Vietnam Congress in 1968, and Black Panther Solidarity Committee all point to a groundswell of what Quinn Slobodian calls the "foreign front" of West Germany's protests, which was composed of protesters very much aware of international struggles from around the world—protesters who sought to incorporate talk-

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ing points and initiatives into street marches, teach-ins, and underground publications.[27]

At a Free University West Berlin teach-in on June 1, 1967—the eve of June 2 when student protester Benno Ohnesorg was notoriously murdered—one foreign student from Iran took the microphone after Dr. Bahman Nirumand's lecture on the conditions of the brutal dictatorship of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The protester appealed to the crowd of German listeners, acknowledging their intended protest action of wearing a paper bag with the face of the Shah on it, but also reminding them to remember the anti-imperialist essence of the resistance:

> There are many Persian and foreign paid or unpaid people who are trying to present a cartoon caricature Persian [the shah]. But we are happy to have the opportunity to tell the truth through our action against this dictatorship and this murderer who unfortunately wants to visit your city tomorrow. What Dr. Nirumand wrote in his book [and told you just now] is all correct. He must continue to write and say that all opponents of freedom in the whole world are our common opponents. They must finally be eliminated, not only in Cuba, not only in Vietnam, not only in Africa, but in all of the oppressed countries and the poor world.[28]

The crowd's raucous applause was a thunderous signal of anti-imperialist support, ahead of a state visit from Iran, and was also expressed at subsequent teach-ins that covered conditions in Vietnam, the US, Africa, and other global places. All in all, the profoundly global mindset of West Germany's protests illustrates how singular places contributed to and positioned themselves around the concept of the *Global* Sixties, and shows why this frame persists today.

One reason for this mindset was the proliferation and global reach of mass media in postwar society. As Rita Chin has pointed out, new technologies and infrastructure such as satellites ushered in a global form of synchronicity that underscored the very idea of the Global Sixties being temporally and medially aligned.[29] For Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Erling Sivertsen, and Rolf Werenskjold, mass media from print newspaper to television gave protests a certain "attractiveness" in the public imaginary around the world.[30] Indeed, as former British Situationist member Charles Radcliffe remembered, "The media constantly fed us images of our own seemingly unstoppable, global revolution. Wherever you looked we were forward, acting, and they were forced on to the back foot, reacting. It looked as if world was ours for

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the taking: it was simply a matter of when."[31] Yet, as Fahlenbrach has maintained elsewhere, mainstream media was not just something for consumption but also an arena for the intentional staging of activism, designed with larger mass media audiences in mind.[32] In 2008, former West German protester and *Kommune I* political communard Rainer Langhans confirmed that "we learned back then that you can handle the media and do with it what you want."[33] His comment tapped into contemporary traditions of subverting or hijacking the messages of media for alternative political purposes, a practice the Situationists called *détournement*, or a hijacking of an original advertisement for a subversive political purpose.[34] As Langhans put it, playfully redirecting mainstream media coverage through publicity stunts like the "pudding assassination attempt" on US Vice President Hubert Humphrey during a 1967 state visit turned him and his fellow communards into "pop stars" and "political stars" as they used and flaunted any negative coverage for their own goals.[35] Then, as now, new technologies and media environments went hand in hand with new cultural practices of protesting and popular mobilization.

West Germany's Global Sixties

While scholarship on West Germany's Global Sixties has identified key historical, spatial, and literary frameworks that have come to commonly represent the history of West German protest in the late 1960s,[36] such frameworks beg the question of what inspired the FRG's intensive, networked, dynamic protest movement in the first place. Historical context shows how West Germany's course to rebuild a democracy, following the complete collapse in World War II, involved physical, economic, emotional, and intellectual efforts to propel society forward. As Laura Bowie has shown, these categories of rebuilding were closely intertwined in places like West Berlin in the 1960s, where the construction of the empty city underpinned the formation of a new global, urban identity.[37] Philipp Felsch, too, recounts a West Berlin tourist's observation on how empty West Berlin was in 1968, and "that emptiness was a great attraction to bohemians dreaming of a self-determined life. Nouveau Berliners, fleeing West German military service and the high cost of living in Hamburg or Stuttgart, were able to move into spacious old flats."[38] While the attractiveness of West Berlin offered new opportunities to rebuild, its geopolitical position in world politics made it nonetheless an edgy space. Sitting at the very edge of the Cold War, with its very city structure split in half by the Berlin Wall, which itself was the physical rendering of the "Iron

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Curtain," West Berlin's reconstruction and, by extension, the reconstruction of West Germany as a whole took on global magnitude in the postwar decades. Supported by the US Marshall Plan and coordinated by the West German government and Allied occupiers, the subsequent growth in the FRG was so surprising and historic it became known as the *Wirtschaftswunder* (Economic Miracle).[39] Moreover, Lauren Stokes relates how new record marriages and birth rates fueled reproductive increases in the 1950s and 1960s, yet the FRG required further impetus for growth. The recruitment of guest workers from Turkey and other places starting in 1955 played an extremely important role in West Germany's economic output of the late 1950s and early 1960s.[40] Because of measures such as these, the miraculous reconstruction of West Germany paved the nation's way to becoming a stable global partner in the West and won accolades for the young democracy's first Christian Democratic Union (CDU) leaders in Konrad Adenauer (1949–63) and Ludwig Erhard (1963–966), the alleged "founding father" of the FRG and "father of the Economic Miracle," respectively.

Yet such fast-paced growth covered up some of the *Realpolitik* and tensions that Jennifer Kapczynski and Caroline Kita associate with new critical questions about the "grand historical paradigms" and the ongoing scholarly work of "reassessing this totalizing and triumphant narrative of the FRG as a 'model' of democracy."[41] Starting in 1965, for instance, Stokes reminds us that the passage of an antidemocratic law on foreigners gave the government power to "control and expel" anyone considered to be harmful to the "interests of the Federal Republic,"[42] a procedure police eventually used against international protesters in the years that followed. Furthermore, whereas the grand historical paradigms have considered Adenauer's postwar rule as a stabilizing time for the FRG, the very first election of 1949 implies a different reality: Adenauer won his first electoral victory by exactly one vote, including his own.[43] As the *New York Times* reported directly afterwards, "An experienced Western official summed the feelings of the Allies and the Germans alike when he commented: 'The new Government is off to a shaky start.'"[44] In 2022, a startling revelation that Adenauer had placed intelligence spies in the opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) from 1949 to 1962 vastly overshadows Richard Nixon's Watergate and suggests a different consideration of politics and governance during the Economic Miracle.[45] In addition, despite public campaigns to denazify, Christina Gerhardt shows that West Germany had not dealt with its Nazi past, opting instead to employ many former Nazis in powerful public positions, from Hans Globke (head of the Federal Chancellery, 1952–62) to Kurt Kiesinger (CDU chancellor of

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West Germany, 1966–69), and the overwhelming statistics of former Nazis working in the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation, where the majority of inspectors had been former Nazi SS (Schutzstaffel) members.[46] Samuel Huneke, too, reminds that the West German government chose to preserve §175 in the federal criminal code, which had long deemed male homosexuality a criminal offense, but which the Nazis revised for their especially horrific persecution. As with other sectors in society, many FRG judges and prosecutors were former Nazis themselves and carried forward the heavy-handed campaigns against gay male citizens in shocking statistical amounts. In this new democracy, home of the Economic Miracle, "more than 50,000 men between 1949 and 1969" were arrested and persecuted up until federal decriminalization in 1969.[47] The triumphant postwar period thus requires attention to how democracy took shape as an "idea" and an active repertoire of strategies to uphold its outwardly functional appearance.[48]

On a domestic level, the late 1960s also witnessed shifting attitudes on family and gender roles in West Germany. The famous slogan of the Global Sixties *das Private ist politisch* (The Personal is Political) was vested in keeping government out of personal matters such as family, sex, sexuality, or communal styles of living that had emerged with new forms like the *Wohngemeinschaft* (shared flats), squats, and other arrangements.[49] In the example of the heteronormative, traditional family model, such attempts to redefine everyday life and living structures significantly refuted postwar notions of childrearing and home/work life. As Lauren Stokes describes it, "The FRG was wedded to an ideal of a male bread-winner and female homemaker."[50] But along with the advent of theoretical texts like Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*[51] and Betty Friedan's *Feminist Mystique*,[52] the birth control pill in 1961 and so-called sexual revolution in West Germany helped intervene into such notions of traditional homemaking, childrearing, and gender roles. A 2011 German television documentary from ZDF (German public television) provides a telling perspective on alleged newfound freedoms that came with the pill. Whereas the objective-sounding male voice of the documentary described the innovation as "the little pill with the big effect—in 1961 a compound called Anovlar goes on the market in Germany. The name means no ovulation."[53] The next scene featuring an expert witness, biologist Astrid Kranz, who helped interpret the unveiling of the pill onto the market and into pharmaceutical vernacular. "In the package insert it said that it should be used for menstruation complaints. Right at the end, as if shamefully hiding in small print, it also said that it protected against conception."[54] As Kranz implies here, the very birth of the birth control pill came

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with hesitation about the new paths forward, and not the overarching sexual revolution that tends to get wrapped together with West Germany's 1968. At the same time, the pill did help provide women a modern kind of say in the social discourse surrounding sex, femininity, and organization. In the FRG, the growth of public consciousness stood in relation to a growing number of celebrities, theorists, scientists, and authors openly calling into question the previous conservative, "traditional" values surrounding gender and sex. Magdalena Beljan points to the influence of "sexual enlighteners like Oswalt Kolle, Beate Uhse, and Günter Amendt" for the liberation of sexual freedom, for instance.[55] In addition, the growing popularity and visibility of liberation movements spread into other areas of grassroots organization.[56] Kristina Schulz outlines how abortion campaigns proved to be a "stimulus for a lot of women to participate in local women's groups, help collect signatures, demonstrate in the streets, and develop strategies for mobilization."[57] Hence, West Germany's shifting domestic realities reflected broader global movements of radical politics, new ideas about personal and professional life, and organizational activism that spurred movements like women's liberation.

But the women's liberation movement in the FRG was also characterized by more urgent claims to public recognition and dialogue. During a speech from Helke Sander, spokesperson for the Action Council for the Liberation of Women in Frankfurt, audience member Sigrid Rüger threw a tomato she happened to have in her bag at fellow male panel members to get them to listen. The *Tomatenwurf* (tomato-toss) has often been associated with the beginning of second wave feminism in West Germany.[58] Observing the fellow male panel members ignore Sander, whose speech addressed the troubled, gendered private and public fault line women experienced when it came to child raising and professional prospects,[59] Rüger's *Tomatenwurf* not only redirected the attention of the male panelists but also helped catalyze feminist responses to and critiques of mainstream West German protest in and of itself.[60] Distributed shortly after the 23rd SDS conference in Frankfurt, one circular relayed the following message to its readers:

> dear comrades [*genossinnen*], the ACTION COUNCIL FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN . . . manufactured a public sphere for our problems in frankfurt. as the discussions showed, the question of the situation of women is being suppressed. . . . we will not be participating in the demonstration on november 9: we believe that the time of protest is over. a demonstration in the same old familiar form is outdated. it shows us what we know. militant demonstrations are just those that can only be meaningful to men.[61]

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This circular stood as a powerful example of how internal communications were shaping feminist identity. As Ingo Cornils and others have noted, resistance was increasingly taking on a direct action approach to disrupting events and using bodies as a medium to achieve it.[62] From Ursula Sepper's (and eight female comrades) topless song-protest against "asexual judges" in the Hamburg District Court to Beate Klarsfeld's notorious slap of West German chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger at a CDU congress, which bluntly communicated collective disgust at the former Nazi and personal outrage at the loss of her parents in Auschwitz, West German feminist resistance often took the lead in public protest actions.[63] In addition, subsequent underground groups like the Red Army Faction, June 2 Movement, Tupamaros West Berlin, and other cells of militant resistance after 1970 introduced not only resistance against state violence but also new models of femininity since over 50 percent of the membership of these groups was female, as Patricia Melzer has noted.[64]

In many ways though, movements of liberation diverged from mainstream West German protest in the late 1960s. On a fundamental gender level, Ute Kätzel intimates how "women not only wanted to change society, but first and foremost themselves and their own role, unlike most men."[65] To that end, books like Erike Runge's *Bottroper Protokolle* introduced stories from the working class that otherwise tended to remain unnoticed. One account from "Erna A., Housewife" details a heavy resignation to her social reality. "I once had dreams . . . First: Don't get married so young [18]. I never intended to do that. And second—having 3 kids already at age 22, that's also a bit much."[66] Erna A.'s story stands as one example in Runge's project to bring working-class perspectives into the public spotlight, but what it highlights is the profound gender imbalance, where Erna A.'s description of her intensive daily routine is exhausting, for her and the reader both. Wistful comments like "one has to hang in there" and "I have never been anywhere [outside of Bottrop]. I have never gotten out. . . . One day I want to see something"[67] divulge how stuck Erna A. felt in her social role. In turn, her story represented a call for readers to change themselves and their roles in the male-dominant society of the 1960s. For groups like the Kommune I, which promoted sexual liberation and the mantra "make love, not war," the protest culture in many ways perpetuated the patriarchy as opposed to subverting it.[68] Eschewing bourgeoise normative couple relationships, the Kommune I's philosophy of open-ness in living spaces and intimacy fueled the public perception of a free love, co-living political collective, positioned to fight back against the "colonization of the everyday."[69] But Kätzel's work and other accounts call the underlying gender dynamics surrounding groups

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like the Kommune I and the antiauthoritarian movement into stark question. Moreover, the Kommune I's engagement with child raising and education, which came into a public spotlight in the notorious issue of *Kursbuch* 17 in 1969, revealed how far such communal political experiments with alternative practices had strayed. Nicknamed the "horror-commune" in the press at the time, the original goals of open and alternative styles of communal living arguably gave way to male-driven agendas of sexual desire and problematic instances of early childhood experiments with sexual openness.[70] On a general level, then, Dagmar Herzog augments how the Global Sixties was in fact not the source of a simple sexual liberation in the FRG but instead an expediter of developments that were already underway, and that some of these developments should in fact not be as easily bracketed under terms like liberation or freedom.[71]

Take, for example, the history of gay rights around this same time. Despite the wave of sexual freedom that characterized the student movement in the FRG, gay rights did not garner much space in the public sphere or even the protest sphere for that matter. As Huneke points out, "For all the students' sexual preoccupations, . . . they rarely thought about the place of queer people in Western societies. Radical publications from the 1960s often neglected homosexuality, even when explicitly addressing sexuality."[72] According to Craig Griffiths, too, "The gay movement was not part of '68, narrowly defined."[73] In 1983, a University of Essen State-Exam (Staatsexamen) titled "Homosexuality in the BRD" (informal reference to West Germany), called out the ongoing *Rosa Liste* (pink list) in the West German judicial system, which kept track of the whereabouts of gay citizens. Following the decriminalization of male same-sex acts in the FRG, "the first reform of paragraph 175 in 1969, a complete destruction of all data from previous years should have followed. It is doubtful that this happened."[74] In other words, political records carried on past trauma on state-institutionalized levels, preserving past pain and carrying it forward into the contemporary reality of the late 1960s and 1970s. Such evidence indeed points to the shortcomings of the mainstream protest movement then but also to some of the ways it tends to get historicized and conflated with broader movements of gay rights, second wave feminism, and the sexual revolution, which require and deserve their own nuanced histories apart from more familiar notions of West Germany's "1968."

When it came to education, the university and school systems across the FRG became focal points and hotspots of resistance. One 1970 federal report on education outlined how "the German educational system, which was

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established in the nineteenth century not according to democratic, but class and authoritarian state ideas on order and education, produced achievements acknowledged throughout the world under the social conditions and criteria pertaining at that time."[75] The report went on to call for reform of the West German university system. Yet an alternative reading of this same report suggests that student protests, which have garnered West Germany's "1968" the moniker of "student movement," had effectively disrupted the university through a groundswell of teach-ins, sit-ins, go-ins, and other happenings on campuses across the FRG. By all accounts students were no longer accepting the norms of higher education. As Kommune I member and student Ulrich Enzensberger described it,

> the misery of the university is the misery of those who have to study at it. . . . If we refuse to allow ourselves to be trained by professorial idiots, we pay with the risk of having to finish our studies without a degree. In the "university" factory, the student is supposed to get his certificates and, after work, indulge in the humanity he has learned as a private citizen.[76]

Enzensberger's dour outlook on education was represented by ever increasing forms of student resistance against the institutions. During the May 27 go-in at the Free University of West Berlin, students occupied the seminar room, inscribing "only fascists study today" and the "university is opium" on the chalkboard (fig. 5).

Occupying university spaces and inscribing them with protest slogans became a vital method of conducting protest, redirecting the authority to write, teach, and engage around issues students found important. Other instances of university occupations ranged from the multiday takeover of the Free University's German Studies Institute—where students barricaded themselves into the building, wrote graffiti on the walls, held dance parties, broke into administration offices, and stole bureaucratic equipment like stamps that certified completion of education[77]—to other go-in events like the iconic University of Frankfurt occupation of a "Frankfurt School" seminar room, which led to the theorist of the New Left Theodor W. Adorno's call to the police to ask them to forcibly remove his own students. In short, the university became contested ground where students critiqued the differences between theory and praxis, asserting new demands on what their educational experience should entail.

For many students, the apparent unwillingness to discuss contemporary events at the university and an overarching incompetence of the university

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Fig. 5. Free University go-in, West Berlin, 27 May 1968
Credit: Ludwig Binder, Bilder der Revolte: 27.05.1968: *Auditorium of the Faculty of Law*
http://bilder-der-revolte.de/photo/hoersaal-der-juristischen-fakultaet-2/

to effectively stand up to antidemocratic incidences like increasing state violence against students and the ensuing Emergency Laws, which banned protest, proved to be a tipping point of student unrest in disciplines across the board.[78] For Heinz-Dieter Kittsteiner, the occupation of the German Studies Institute at the Free University showed how students could provoke national conversation: "Whereas neither the labor unions nor the political opposition are consistently in position to offer meaningful resistance, students can offer this resistance under these conditions on campus: the spectacular political action."[79] In addition to staging elaborate, hour-long teach-ins that featured student speakers, professors, and other public figures, a new push for a "critical university" with a more urgent, politically relevant set of educational and curricular objectives emerged.[80] While ultimately unsuccessful in its goal to subvert public universities with counter models, the student movement in the late 1960s arguably forged the subsequent reforms that came into effect in the 1970s, making access to university more available and democratic,

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while shifting some of the power dynamics around questions of curriculum, purpose, and outcomes.

In terms of historical timelines, it was perhaps the street violence of events such as student protester Benno Ohnesorg's murder in June 1967 and the shooting of student leader Rudi Dutschke in April 1968 that serve as effective bookends to West Germany's Global Sixties. The first tragedy of Ohnesorg's assassination by plainclothes police officer Karl-Heinz Kurras brought the extent of state violence into a public spotlight, which was only enhanced by a governmental ban on forms of protest in the days that followed, not to mention the subsequent acquittal of Kurras later that November. For one, the shooting of a student protester caused widespread alarm about antidemocratic regression in the FRG, where West Berlin police in conjunction with Iranian security forces had notoriously beaten protesters leading up to the tragedy. Kurras's point-blank shooting of the unarmed Ohnesorg outside of West Berlin's German Opera House in Charlottenburg while the shah of Iran sat inside watching Mozart's *Magic Flute* added one layer of historical outrage, where police shootings were rare in a Western democracy.[81] Yet, as Timothy Scott Brown has described, a news report in 2009 (shortly after Kurras's death) revealed that Kurras had been collaborating with the East German Stasi while on duty, presumably serving as a chaos agent or instigator. While this epiphany only adds to the intrigue of Cold War tensions that unfolded in West Germany's Global Sixties, it also shows how historical processes, evidence, and methods are ongoing in the analysis of protest in the late 1960s, as Stasi records become public and other historical perspectives or materials enter into consideration.

The second tragedy of an assassination attempt against student protest icon Rudi Dutschke in West Berlin—exactly one week after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis—furthered the alarm because of the monopoly the conservative Springer Press had on the market and its consistent calls for its wide readership to "eliminate" protest leaders like Dutschke leading up to the shooting. As Christina Gerhardt reminds us, the West German conversative media mogul Axel Springer controlled 70 percent of the media market and 30 percent of the daily newspaper market, and when its top-selling tabloid *Das Bild* kept goading its readers to stop the leftists at any costs, this was taken to heart by the far-right 17-year-old Josef Bachmann, who waited for Dutschke outside of a store in downtown West Berlin and shot him three times up close.[82] Dutschke was severely wounded but survived the shooting.[83] In turn, the public outrage over this shooting spilled out into some of the most violent actions of the West German protest

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movement prior to the emergence of the underground militant cells like the Red Army Faction a couple of years later. As Alexander Sedlmaier recounts, the spring/Easter 1968 protest actions across West Germany ushered in an escalation of violence and counterviolence that engaged 21,000 police officers, severe injuries from delivery vans, and the deaths of a journalist and a student in Munich. According to Sedlmaier, "hands-on protest targeted the commodity side of the Springer empire" where students attacked Springer delivery vans, flipped them over and set them on fire.[84] Their anger was not just at the Springer Press but at the system itself. As iconic East German singer Wolf Biermann penned in his song "Three Shots at Rudi," "We saw exactly who shot."[85] He then lyrically implied that the first bullet came from the mass media alternate reality, a "newspaper forest," cultivated by the Springer Press. The second bullet came from the mayor of West Berlin, Klaus Schütz, who embodied the system and was targeted in rhymes like *Brecht dem Schütz die Gräten / alle Macht den Räten!* (Break the bones of Schütz. / All power to the councils!)[86] The third bullet from the "noble-Nazi-chancellor," Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who led the Grand Coalition as the conservative CDU politician. Biermann's legendary song repeats the lament "Ah Germany, your murderers!"[87] As Biermann's song relates, Dutschke's shooting touched on a deeper symbolic nerve that challenged the very notion and structure of democracy in the FRG.

In response to the groundswell of violence and other deep-seated concerns about a slide into authoritarianism, conceptual art gave protesters a venue to see with new lenses, feel with new anger, and organize with new articulations of resistance. Such art came in practice and theory alike, building on and subverting past traditions, while staking claims in public discourse. In a theoretical intervention into artistic conventions, Lucy Lippard and John Chandler's 1968 essay "The Dematerialization of Art" proclaimed that "the visual arts at the moment seem to hover at a crossroad that may well turn out to be two roads to one place, though they appear to have come from two sources: art as idea and art as action."[88] The idea of action art influenced filmmakers such as Valie Export, whose expanded film project *Tapp- und Tastkino* (Tap and Touch Cinema) from 1968 sought to dismantle the male gaze in a provocative, interactive staging of real encounters with Viennese passersby. Standing closely together next to Export, spectators were asked on camera to place their hands inside of a box worn by Export herself and grope her breasts, while Export looked directly at them, critiquing male desire in cinema and advertising. Export described her project as the "first mobile female film, action film, street film, screen action, skin film,

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trans-societal communication, social-action, body-action, minicinema, male visitors, female visitors."[89] Export's action art reciprocated with other contemporary art like Yoko Ono's *Cut Piece*, which she first performed in Kyoto in 1964, before performing it in New York City the following year. As Louis Menard clarifies it,

> "Cut Piece" is a concrete enactment of the striptease that men are said to perform in their heads when they see an attractive woman. It weaponizes the male gaze. Women participate in the cutting, but that's because it's not just men who are part of the society that objectifies women. The piece is therefore classified as a work of feminist art (created at a time when almost no one was making feminist art), and it plainly is.[90]

Moving from still art to action art, the 1960s transformed and critiqued the dynamics between subject and object, process and product, *l'art pour l'art* and politically engaged art.

Such engagement fed right into the repertoires of protest that were playing out in West Germany around the late 1960s. The movement's organizational drive introduced a series of practices such as archiving local newspaper articles, documenting protest actions, recording teach-ins, printing and distributing flyers, writing on different surfaces and objects, disrupting ceremonies, and more. From the West Berlin underground scrapbook series titled *LOG*, which collected flyers into coherent and brightly colored pamphlets, to the extensive grassroots archive of the Kommune I, which cut and pasted newspaper articles haphazardly onto discarded Kommune I flyers, the desire to capture and preserve the unfolding protest through the home archives and scrapbooks movement can be felt from the materials themselves. Indeed, while much of West German protest was intentionally ephemeral—designed for the moment before then getting discarded—the persistent urge to photograph and record perhaps pertains to a need to justify the fervent actions of protest, revealing how protesters in the 1960s had a growing recognition of the Global Sixties' significance for future generations.

Death and Life of Literature, Discourse

To evaluate writing and reading within the political backdrop of the Global Sixties, I want to diverge from more traditional debates[91] surrounding literature such as its prominently alleged death, which resulted from Hans Magnus Enzensberger's article "Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betref-

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fend" (Commonplaces on the Newest Literature) in the special literary issue, *Kursbuch* 15.[92] Framed as a semisatirical critique, Enzensberger cited and disparaged the long-standing metaphor of literature's death in an effort to galvanize a "political literacy"[93] of West German society. Invoking the work of a mortician, the article went on to dissect the underlying cyclical problem of literature's political potency, which he summarized as "deliver swallow deliver swallow: this is the imperative of the market; if writers and readers notice that whoever delivers is swallowed and whoever swallows is delivered, this leads to stagnation."[94] Appearing in a special literary issue meant to commemorate literature, not denounce it, these striking sentiments instigated a heated debate in West German society over literature's political role and helped fuel the journal's subsequent break from its publisher, the mainstream Suhrkamp Verlag.[95] Ever since, scholars such as Klaus Briegleb, who called Enzensberger's article "the most famous text from '68, misunderstood to the bone,"[96] and Stuart K. Parkes, who suggested that "Enzensberger does not seem to have his feet on the ground,"[97] have added to the tradition of regarding *Kursbuch* 15 in grand terms with specific reference to the "death of literature."

Taking the "death of literature" as a point of departure instead of a focal point,[98] this study emphasizes particular forms of literary resistance this discourse brought up. As scholars like Sabine von Dirke have accurately perceived, Enzensberger's critique railed against the commodification of literature, not against political writing in and of itself.[99] Furthermore, Mererid Puw Davies notes that "there is a rich, if paradoxical substratum of literary sensibility in the protest movements, which combines with other important impulses to form their distinctive textuality."[100] Davies's sentiment gestures back to Walter Benjamin's citation of Bertolt Brecht's "literarization" of the streets, an aesthetic consciousness and expression that related political actions on the street back to the literary ideas on the page. Carrie Smith, too, posits the quintessence of Enzensberger's argument, contending just "the political enlightenment of literary [West] Germany can take place only when both author and reader agree on its necessity, which begins a unified drive towards shared political praxis."[101] By extension, in turning to the alternative scenes of textual protest in the late 1960s, *Out of Line* reevaluates how text and protest interconnected in a figurative and literal sense. In doing so, it reconsiders textuality's political engagement in terms of the *literary protest* it conducted. The term "literary protest" here describes a more dynamic form of political protest based on tangible, typographical, and ephemeral elements within and around a text. Shifting the focus from the content to the contexts

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of literary protest opens up avenues for investigating how writing, reading, and other political performances with literature were literally *playing a part* in conducting West German protest in the 1960s and what that means for literary scholarship today.

Due to the influential work of scholars such as Judith Butler, who has asserted that "understanding performativity as a renewable action without clear origin or end suggests that speech is finally constrained neither by its specific speaker nor its originating content," the "performative turn" in the humanities has helped open up new avenues of protest research.[102] In applying a performative methodology to 1968 protest studies, Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth's attention to the "discovery of performativity" helps ascertain why it is important to gauge how protest was mediated through objects, expressions, acts, and gestures in addition to—or in some cases, in replacement of—historical facts, literary debates, or memory discourses that have tended to dominate recent research on the West German protest movement.[103] These mediations attest to the imperative of a performative study of protest to assess how literary media can help not only provide historical or literary clues about a social movement but also represent literal cues and props thereof. In one poster example, a picture of Karl Marx, titled *Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa* . . . (A Specter is Haunting Europe . . .), personifies the ambiguous boundary of text and image, coaxing viewers to read Marx's text and readers to view Marx's face (fig. 6). The text itself quotes the opening of *The Communist Manifesto*, but the portrayal of Marx's face may have just as well signaled the same message calling for political change. Such visual performativity with typography lent the words new artistic meaning. In his analysis of West Germany's reception of *Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*, too, Quinn Slobodian observed a key difference between reading books about protest versus conducting actual protest with them:

> In activist provocations from 1967 to 1969, the Little Red Book acted as the textual equivalent of a tomato, a projectile favored by socialist students. When the police in Freiburg protested that students had no permit to sell books in 1968, they sold tomatoes 'two deutsche marks each with a Mao as a bonus,' likely implying that the tomatoes could be thrown rather than eaten.[104]

What emerges from examples like this is a brand of literary protest that had less to do with reading, circulating, or publishing protest literature convention-

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Fig. 6. Karl Marx: A Specter is Haunting Europe

Credit: PO & PO Poster Press. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History.

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ally and instead emphasized a more hands-on engagement of literature with politics: *doing things* with books rather than just reading them.[105]

To examine how text and performances conflate, this study builds on the "materialist"[106] approach to literary interpretation put forth by Bill Brown in his cogent article, "[concept / object] [text / event]."[107] By revealing the more pragmatic, "artifactual"[108] attributes of texts, Brown challenges the way that literary scholars tend to differentiate concepts from objects, texts, events, and the materials that give them shape. In one example, he conveys how the archaeological search for residual traces of external books inside ancient works like the *Aeneid* regenerates a pragmatic, etymological comprehension of what literary scholars do when they interpret print literature.[109]

> The point (of this method) is not to come up with new meanings for some passage of the *Aeneid*, but to disclose certain material shifts in printing procedures. And thus, at long last, a literary-critical cliché about the etymology of *text*—from *textus*, derived from *texere*, hence "thing woven," thus proximate to textile and texture—has become literalized in aspects of textual (or textualist) engagement, including attention to the fibrous specificity of the paper page.[110]

This minute approach to textual interpretation has significant consequences for how physical publication platforms inform the literary forms they materialize; it also reflects how the woven stuff of paper has changed over time and textile-based objects like banners correlate to the production of print objects like flyers, periodicals, or books.

The fusion of text, textile, and texture shows how materiality contributes to textual discourses around literature. Taking the Kommune I paper bags at the protests against the shah on June 2, 1967 and a very large sheet of paper hung at the international Vietnam Congress in Berlin on February 18, 1968 as two examples of nonconventional formats, one can see how the alternative materials bring messages of protest into a different light than any conventional literary text might. The shah was faced with his own caricature when he toured around West Berlin. The bags served as a prop in an ecosystem of protest signs that included a "Wanted Letter" outlining the shah's despotic crimes and calling for his arrest along with a shooting target with the shah's face placed right in the middle (fig. 7). The resulting violence of the day came in part because of how offended the shah's security team was. The secret police of the imperial state of Iran (SAVAK) began attacking West Berlin protesters with sticks, while the West German police looked on

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Fig. 7. Kommune I bags on duty
Credit: Kommune I

before eventually joining in on the violent suppression of protest. The now famous *Shah Tüte* (Shah bag) received extra traction from a teach-in that announced the paper bag and strategies for getting protest contents into visible sight of the shah,[111] but also the Kommune I flyer #15 from June 1, 1967, which informed readers on how they should participate: "EVERYONE IS CALLED UPON TO BAG-UP!"[112] It gained further notoriety from Farocki's film, *Words of the Chairman*, which appeared shortly after the shah's visit to West Germany. Meanwhile the large paper, which drooped over a ledge from the next floor, served as a textual, material beacon in the midst of the International Vietnam Congress at the Technical University of Berlin. Written in all caps at the bottom, the words *WANDZEITUNG ZUM MITMACHEN* (WALL NEWSPAPERS ARE FOR PARTICIPATION) provided some textual pressure to use walls for writing protest messages and to read walls with protest messages on them (fig. 8). Subverting capitalization norms in this way became a common protest practice at the time. For paper flyer and wall newspaper alike, uppercase letters coalesced a linguistic form of textual resistance with alternative formats of literature.

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Fig. 8. "Wall Newspaper for Participation"
Credit: Kommune I

With its inclusion of alternative literary formats like wall newspapers, bags, flyers, and graffiti, *Out of Line* thus cultivates a methodological link between hermeneutic, content-based techniques of interpretation and a more dynamic material, visual, and performative understanding of the literary protest that deeply influenced the political climate of West Germany. To that end, this study teases out an active ecology of textual resistance that permeated the protests of 1968, inferring Whitney Trettien's bibliographic notion of *bookwork*, which takes into account "all the conceptual labor that springs out of books, pushing off from the material text—the work of reading, composing, annotating, note-taking, thinking, doodling, sharing, orating—and especially the ways these bookish pursuits propel readers back into the world."[113] In West Germany's protests, such bookwork propelled readers into political action oftentimes derived from underground and alternative forms of print. Unlike mainstream literature with conventional layouts, market-

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ing, or distribution, alternative literature tended to have smaller print runs, unconventional distribution methods, and a nonconformist cultural message, material, or content. This more fringe literature requires extra interpretive attention to the political context that shaped it; it not only epitomizes bookwork but also compels and perpetuates it. Since alternative literature *looked* different from conventional literature and tended to be read and used differently, it follows that it should be analyzed in a different way than traditional literature. In addition to bookwork, such considerations harken back to Rita Felski's call to pause over the *uses* of literature.[114] Felski's notion helps decode alternative books like *Klau mich*, an acerbic collage, which stood for much more than its textual content alone, and reaffirms the necessity for alternative methods of analysis such as visual or performative approaches. Turning to the techniques and contexts of reading and social uses of texts in the late 1960s, *Out of Line* recuperates paratexts and materialities of protest in order to denote the political functions they catalyzed in readerships. At the same time, it ties each example, from book to graffiti, into a larger conversation about what textual actions like writing and reading *do* in protest, or, in many cases, out of protest.

Reading Protest

Recent scholarship on textual politics has outlined the varying roles that materiality and reading play in cultures of protest. As Jonathan Senchyne has noted, "the haptic dimension of material texts becomes the site for political and aesthetic argument."[115] Senchyne's argument mirrors what Nicholas Thoburn describes as the "anti-book," which centers the politics of materiality in print and "dynamic interplay of textual content and media form."[116] For Andrew Piper, basic reading gestures offer profound insights into how we use and conceive of literature.[117] Taking the emergence of the codex as an example, Piper ties the physical act of marking a page with a finger to the spiritual conversion in St. Augustine's *Confessions*.[118] This momentous conversion was based on "the book's graspability, in a material and spiritual sense."[119] Along these lines, the reader in Farocki's film underwent what can be considered a geopolitical conversion with the *Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong*, a book that Alexander Cook has described as "a weapon of mass instruction."[120] Touching the page with a finger, the reader demonstrates comprehension of Mao's words and, in a metaphorical sense, puts her finger on the political importance of reading (fig. 9).

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Fig. 9. Reading protest
Credit: *The Words of the Chairman* © Harun Farocki 1967

This action reflects Slobodian's argument on how West German socialists adopted "the notion of cultural revolution as their own, self-consciously asserting a common political lineage linking East and West."[121] Slobodian's observation here addresses what editor Lin Biao referred to as the "spiritual atom bomb" import of Mao's *Quotations*: the power of his words to *unite* the working masses.[122] The book stood for something symbolically and politically larger than its own contents and has continued to do so ever since.[123] As the reader in Farocki's film shows, a geopolitical conversion of its own began with a touch of words and paper, physically connecting with their ideological cause and symbolically adopting them as her own.

But while this act of reading invokes the interpretive work of close reading—literally touching the words—it must be situated alongside a distanced practice I will refer to as public reading, which occurs in public with media like wall newspapers and their revolutionary relations with political messaging. As the editors of Stuttgart's *W.Z.* (*Wandzeitung*) wrote in 1969, "wall newspapers are information media, communication media!" The con-

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flation of categories reflects not only how the editors conceived of this print medium but also how they observed its longer revolutionary media history. As the editors inform readers, wall texts or wall newspapers extend back to the *stengazeta* (wall newspaper) of the early Soviet Union that embodied a sort of commentary-driven, paper-based social media where workers read and learned to publish.[124] As such, the Soviet *stengazeta* became important tools for mobilizing the proletariat at a critical time of a mass political experiment. But perhaps the most famous wall news is the *dàzìbào* or big character posters that emerged during China's Cultural Revolution. As contemporary journalist Mark Gayn observed in 1966:

> The first "big character poster," seen on the campus of the University of Peking, was an attack on the university president. . . . Posted on May 25, 1966, it was at first covered up by the president's followers, but on June 1 Mao saw the poster and was quoted as saying, "This poster is good." This at once led to the fall of the university's head and an ordeal at a "struggle" meeting on the campus. Between June 1 and June 10, some 100,000 posters were put up by the students on the U. of Peking campus alone. After that they spread across China, to cover every likely wall and even window with many layers of paper.[125]

Populating every city surface with big characters helped spread the influence of words on public surfaces and in the public sphere. It also introduced new ideas about where and how reading had a say in political discourse (fig. 10).

And yet public-reading objects like wall newspapers not only staged acts of literacy but also prompted political discourse and discussion in West Germany's Global Sixties. At the famous 1968 Vietnam Congress held at the Technical University in Berlin, for instance, one slogan promoted the idea of "wall newspapers are for participation," which emphasized how reading wall newspapers generated forms of public dialogue that otherwise remained private. Slobodian points out that protesters conceived of wall newspapers as a solidarity gesture with the Cultural Revolution in China, which, along with Cuba, made up one of the global models of anticapitalist resistance. As Slobodian notes, West Germans incorporated "Wandzeitungen (wall newspapers), audacious confrontations, and renaming of institutions of the Chinese Red Guard to the repertoire of techniques they used to break the rules of decorous discourse, stimulating discussion and undermining structure of authority."[126] Indeed, breaking decorum proved to be one of the driving strategies

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Fig. 10. Reading walls
Credit: Mark Gayn Papers (MS Coll. 215). Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

of protest where reading often took center stage. Take the example of one anti-shah protest in Frankfurt where two protesters wearing crowns symbolizing the Shah and his wife lounged in bathtubs out on the street while reading the daily paper, as fellow protesters helped contextualize the reading performance by distributing print flyers and engaging with the crowd about the moral implications of the 1967 state-sponsored visit.[127] In this case, the public-reading performance publicly demonstrated political literacy to its audience but also cued and inspired further acts of reading protest. From tactile touches of the page, which marked ideological conversion to public-reading acts that raised the visibility of protest reading, a fundamental mindset behind textual interactions in the late 1960s showed that it was no longer enough to passively or conventionally read literature about protest. Instead, the focus shifted to the politicization and performance of acts of reading protest. Whether reading on walls, into margins, between lines, or in bathtubs, protest reading was becoming the new call sign of resistance in West Germany's Global Sixties.

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Writing Protest

This politics of reading intersects with recent scholarship on writing, materiality, and examples like Farocki's configuration of Mao's *Little Red Book*. Citing Jacques Derrida's impressions on the never-ending interplay of writing and the substance of paper,[128] Christina Lupton has stated that materiality can help us explore the notion of "thoughts" as finite, visible characters on a page versus "thoughts" as infinite, invisible perceptions in literary texts.[129] Farocki's film centers this notion when the page itself gets dislodged from the book, a scene where the material presence of writing served as a platform for a different kind of writing performance, which was not based on the linguistic value of the words or inscription of thoughts onto paper but on the physicality of the page, the monumentality of the content, and the political context of the scene. Lupton's observation on the usefulness of materiality and the visibility of writing serves as an important launching point for more dynamic, abstract acts of protest writing, since the page in the scene arguably authored its own extrainscriptive resistance against the shah. As the film aptly reminds us, written words can become actual weapons, but only via the actions that set them physically into motion. Separated from the book, the flight of the page was arguably also a flight from its own covers—its own literary and material boundaries—and an inventive protest against the shah of Iran insofar as it rewrote the revolutionary textual meaning in the film.

To bolster a more expansive notion of protest writing, Rüdiger Campe's concept of "Schreib-Szenen" (writing scenes) grounds a cumulative and "problematic ensemble" of writing processes that productively destabilize what conventional writing and its written results means.[130] For historiographies of texts, thinking about writing in terms of scenes, processes, and materialities has longer lasting consequences for the Global Sixties protest canon. In Japan, for example, the rise of the Xerox machine inspired advertising campaigns that centered on more abstract notions of writing and protest featuring protesters holding blank posters and a message in the foreground: "What would you write to live a beautiful life?"[131] The Fuji-Xerox advertisers relied on blank placards to lure readers/viewers into the idea of reproduction and blank paper material as a revolutionary form of protest expression. In the late 1960s, challenging the privileged status of writing and redefining it was a political rite of passage for many West German protesters, at once a method of expressing protest and a frame of mind for contesting convention.

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In an effort to forego normal writing practices like the use of paper and typewriter, some writers began to seek out more contested materials like public walls and illicit acts like defacing them. Before the proliferation of graffiti culture in the 1970s and 1980s, writing on public walls seemed to alter the very addressivity of reading and writing in and of itself.[132] In the aftermath of the shooting of Benno Ohnesorg, one slogan helped protest the police arrest of Kommune I member Fritz Teufel, who had allegedly thrown a stone at the anti-shah protest, and not the police officer who had infamously shot Ohnesorg in the back of the head, Karl-Heinz Kurras.[133] With the words "TEUFEL raus, KURRAS rein" (TEUFEL out, KURRAS in),[134] the slogan promoted the release of Teufel from prison and the arrest of Kurras, but in doing so imbued the wall with an agency that drew attention to its immutable public structure, from which it addressed a large crowd like no print flyer or newspaper could.[135] Since its location was at the site of a protest march, the names on the wall addressed protesters, bystanders, and police alike and thereby oriented them to the reason for the protest, regardless of their political alignment.[136] In defacing this structure, however, the act of writing figuratively *effaced* the illusory façade of justice and normalcy that attempted to take hold in West Germany following Ohnesorg's death. In this sense, the slogan *Teufel raus* provocatively cited its age-old referent by stigmatizing a West German public structure, hence "letting the devil out" on the rule and order for which it symbolically stood. In effacing this rule and order, writing activated its status as a mode and product of protest.

Besides graffiti on walls, the alternative print scene arguably emerged as the most dominant form of writing in the West German protest movement. Turning away from conventional text columns and even print margins, this print scene participated in a longer genealogy of visual typographic traditions from the early twentieth-century avant-garde movements. As scholars like Johanna Drucker argue, print artists of this time period were invested in new, disruptive typographic strategies and, as such, exhibited intrinsic layers of visual and material meaning. In one close examination of an early twentieth century futurist work, Drucker tellingly identifies how

> fragments of printed material have been cut, pasted, layered, drawn on, and rephotographed for reproduction. Letterforms have been violated and the discrete integrity of the letterpress shapes have been interlaid, creating a spatial confusion not possible in normal relief printing except through multiple printings.[137]

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Indeed, for many futurist or Dada artists, a page's display of its own constructedness inferred its disjointedness, which could functionally transmit a sense of, and resistance to, society's fragmentation. As Patrizia McBride notes of Dada, "Montage practices upended the uninspected conventions of a traditional, print-based culture that neatly separated visual from literary modes of communication, demanding instead that words be viewed like pictures and images decoded like signs."[138] Dada required readers to look and spectators to read with a specificity that comingled textual forms with visual forms of interpretation. McBride's notion of the "chatter of the visible" sheds light on the vernacular and visual collision that Dada montage enabled. According to Ellen Lupton, too, "The turbulent poetics of the avant-garde, which playfully manipulated commercial techniques and imagery, were retooled by proponents of functional communication in the 1920s."[139] As was the case for many manifestos and other print objects from this time, the work of writing in a given piece never felt complete, leaving space for further layers, markings, and graphics.[140]

Writers of the West German alternative print scene attempted to stress the importance of galvanizing their works through accessible technologies like offset printers, and thereby create a new understanding of aura that stemmed from collective and reproducible practices like amending and pirating. As Thomas Daum has noted, the spread of offset printers enhanced a new set of possibilities for textual interaction.

> Only the offset process allows the uncomplicated authentic reproduction of handwritten texts, comments and additions in the margins, in the text and between the lines of the finished original text, simplifies the composition of image and text collages and results in a sometimes intentionally confusing layout.[141]

By making the space of the page more accessible, offset printing helped reframe how layouts were increasingly seen as reproducible, visual springboards of interactive print protest. With the rise of xerography and photographic copy machines, protest readers could more easily become active writers, who, according to Brown, were "marked by an intensive engagement with, and instrumentalization of, the printed word."[142] On the one hand, offset printing brought new ideas about a work's finality to the forefront. Unlike the mechanical age, which used its means of production to create a finalized, layered aesthetic,[143] the proliferation of affordable offset printers in the 1960s created a new political praxis of DIY (do it yourself), which was more focused on putting its politics on display easily, quickly, and repeatedly. On the other

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hand, the technical ability to assemble documents creatively revamped the page's appearance but also reinvigorated the impact of a political print culture on the protest culture of the time. With hand-drawn illustrations amplifying and circumventing irreverent, biting commentaries, the unruly bricolage of text and image,[144] material and medium, typeprint and handwriting served to hyphenate, perforate, and arbitrate a new visual grammar of print protest, which politically aestheticized the fullness of writing processes, materials, and, in Campe's terms, "writing scenes," rather than finalized products or commodities of writing (figs. 11–12).

Bricolage

On a broader scale, this bricolage emphasizes a prerogative for thinking about how unconventional contexts of literature such as appearance, materiality, and performativity structure its interactions on the page and off the page. On the page, visual features like crooked text columns and collage restructure practices of reading by making the reader turn the page or peer more closely or distantly into its layered dimensions. Off the page, materials like stamps, staples, flexi-discs, and cardboard design key materialities of physical meaning into a variety of literary platforms.[145] These aspects point out the necessity for understanding how material literary practices of writing characterize physical protest cultures. While such cultures are often represented in canonical "1968"[146] protest literature such as Uwe Timm's *Heißer Sommer* (1968), Bernward Vesper's *Die Reise* (1969), or Rolf Dieter Brinkmann's *Keiner weiß mehr* (1968), it occurs in conventional print formats and does not fully include the kinds of roles writing literally and figuratively play when conducting protest. Instead, a less-canonical plethora of alternative literature reveals how material writing practices made political messages visible but also *usable*, *audible*, and *ephemeral*. What this suggests is that debates about writing and reading in the 1960s[147] were crucially in tandem with emergent new forms of textual, literary, and medial protest, which galvanized a new textuality of global protest.

In one of the most prolific global examples, the occupation of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris in May 1968, which student protesters renamed *Atelier populaire* (popular workshop), placed the medium of the poster into the limelight.[148] In addition to commandeering an institutional space, renaming it, and collectively printing in it, the technological capacity to produce graphic screen prints allowed this eminent act of defiance to set the *pace* for French protest. As Kristin Ross writes:

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Fig. 11. Writing protest

Credit: *Ça ira*. Special thanks to the APO Archiv at the Freie Universität Berlin.

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Fig. 12. Kommune I pamphlet

Credit: Kommune I. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

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> The goal [of posters] was to be at one with—at the same time, contemporary with—whatever *was* occurring. Speed, a speedy technique, was of the essence; students learned this soon enough when they abandoned lithography early on because, at ten to fifteen printings an hour, it was far too slow to respond to the needs of a mass movement. Serigraphy, which was light and easy to use, yielded up to 250 printings an hour.[149]

Faster than lithography, serigraphy provided a practical method of reproducing and plastering graphic visual content onto Paris's walls quickly enough to set the tone for the French protests in "May '68" and continue to export political iconicity ever since.

Yet while artistic screen printing characterized the fame and reproducibility of protest on Parisian walls, West German posters showed a more *producible* and mobile presence in the streets. Before the nationwide proliferation of screen-printed posters from the graphic artists Klaus Staeck and Ernst Volland around 1970,[150] many of West Germany's *Plakate* (protest placards) tended to be drawn by hand directly onto poster-board, cardboard, or roll paper at protest marches. Thomas Kaplan has described this as an intentional decision to create an "anti-placard effect" staging a coarse aesthetic response to the professional political campaign posters.[151] This affordable method of production provided amateurish flexibility for poster-making at political events but also bore witness to broader West German habits of thinking about protest as an ephemeral action, with the emphasis being on continually producing and discarding objects like posters rather than reproducing and preserving them. Moreover, what made handwriting such a flexible method of conducting protest in West Germany has continued to fuel its popularity in cultures of protest since.[152] In the 1960s, West German handwriting unveiled the material legacy for conducting protest. Making posters together at a protest march merged collaborative practices of writing with collective materialities of reading, thereby converging public actions with poster publications (fig. 13).

In contrast to posters, the scale and surface texture of *Transparente* (fabric banners) often featured an intersection of alternative writing tools like tape and other forms of material text with textile format. Whereas the fabric of a banner visualized a broad material message of protest in tall vertical spaces or above a moving crowd, taped lettering made specific content stick out, figuratively and legibly. Located on what was perhaps the most famous banner of the West German protest movement, the *Unter den Talaren—Muff von 1000 Jahren* (Under the talars, the stench of 1000 years) slogan was due to its bright white tape, which distinctly stood out against a dark fabric

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Fig. 13. Protest writing
Credit: Holger Ellgaard. CC 3.0.

background.[153] In another banner example, the same effect was apparent. In the days that followed the student protester Benno Ohnesorg's murder, this banner showed how protesters in West Berlin responded to the coarse public statements of West Berlin mayor Heinrich Albertz and its police chief, Erich Duensing. Whereas the allusion to Albertz as a pastor, calls his former profession as a Lutheran pastor into question, the use of the word *Fleischer*

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(butcher) refers to Duensing's brutal and infamous "liver sausage tactic" of breaking up protests. As Duensing infamously stated: "If we take the protesters as liver sausage, then we have to poke it in the middle so that it bursts apart at the ends."[154] Unlike the handwriting that was common to posters, the tape in both of these banners produced a crisp representation of letters, which helped magnify text slogans for more distant audiences. Etymologically, too, the connection of banners to tape—*Transparent* to *Klebeband*—juxtaposes a democratic concept of transparency with an adhesive history of bringing things together. Through this pliability and ability to magnify, taping textual content onto banners imbued textile platforms with political significance.

Similar to the handwritten markers or tape, the small-sized hectograph printer, which was key for flyer production, left its mark on West German writing history. While the media coverage of events like the "Moabit Soap Opera," where Rainer Langhans and Fritz Teufel went on trial in West Berlin's Moabit courtroom for distributing incendiary flyers, helped make the print flyer the most articulate marginal literary medium of West German protest,[155] the affordability and speed of the hectograph printer fueled the popularity of the medium. With low-technology ink cartridges and the turn of the handle, the quick production of ephemeral flyers like the flyer #21 from the Kommune I allowed authors to produce and distribute a message within hours of one action and prompt the message of the next.[156] As a 1957 advertisement for the "Greif Rekord 160" hectograph printer stated, "The simple operation makes the work easy even for the inexperienced, and the few manual operations are quickly learned. The printing speed of the model with electric drive can be infinitely adjusted up to a capacity of about 130 pieces per minute."[157] The simple operability democratized the printing technology and allowed a wide variety of aspiring authors to produce their own texts. In addition to an uncomplicated operating system and fast output, the size and portability of the hectograph printer mobilized the printing operation itself and turned a personal space like an apartment room into a private, uncensored "Home Print-Op."[158]

In turn, the closeness of these media to the protest movement relates to the technologies that produced them. Whether printing or drawing, the method of producing these forms indeed impacted how they were conceived or used in protest. But historicizing their technology also reveals consequences for how these marginalia have been preserved and historicized thereafter. Namely, a comparative analysis of French *affiches*, German *Plakate*, or other national posters around this time reveals different histo-

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riographies of protest. Whereas the word *affiche* has become synonymous with French protest and received global attention, the word *Plakat* has had a different historical reception.[159] In West Germany, *Plakat* has generally been associated with one of the most well-known posters of the West German protest movement, the SDS poster with the title *Alle Reden vom Wetter. Wir Nicht.* (Everyone Talks about the Weather. We Don't.)[160] in which the SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund, or Socialist German Students' Union) subverted a popular advertisement from the Deutsche Bahn by replacing the image of a train with images of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Lenin. But while this poster and numerous others like it were printed on rotational printing presses and sold at book fairs, universities, and leftist bookstores, this famous poster does not truly represent a complete picture of the poster culture of West German protests. As opposed to printing and selling posters, many posters *in* the actual West German protest movement showed dynamic collective practices of writing and reading, many of which were folded into other print objects like periodicals. In turn, these practices reveal fundamentally different notions about using literary forms in political contexts and connect the utility of posters to other marginal protest media like banners and flyers. At the same time, reading into practices like handwriting and platforms like fabric banners shows how a deeper look at the visual representation of a bricolage textuality in West Germany's protest history can offer insights into the political literacy that emerges when protest, text, image, and material intersect.

What makes performances like these so compelling for the West German protest movement has to do with the political function they embodied then and the way this still informs textual form and format today.[161] Indeed, this book seeks to show how performances alter the public frame of protest by moving from conventional notions of what texts are to a more dynamic constellation of objects, textures, and public performances that bring texts into protest contexts in a way that has continued to identify contemporary global protest movements. More recently, protests from the US (George Floyd) to Iran (Mahsa Amini) featured slogans, poster-images, and performances of dissidence, ranging from chalking streets to haircutting. In Russia and China, too, protesters have turned to the materiality of paper as a universal expression of resistance. As Rory Truex outlines in his article "China's Blank-Paper Protests Are Only a Beginning," "the A4 Revolution—named after the size of the printer paper held up at vigils throughout the country—is a series of scattered, spontaneous protests against the brutality and absurdity of 'dynamic zero-COVID' lockdowns and quarantines. The blank sheets

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say nothing and everything at the same time." Written in December 2022, Truex's comment reminds us that the material and performance thereof can very much be the message, not unlike the medium in the 1960s and thereafter, as object-centric movements like Hong Kong's umbrella movement showed. Closer to home in Montana, the 2023 Helena protests against the conservative legislature's prohibition of gender-affirming care culminated in a three-minute die-in in the State Capitol building. The staging of bodies and other instruments of protest drew attention to the nuance between action and reaction. In other words, foregoing the use of words in some cases, while foregrounding the material or performativity in others, reveals just how dynamic spaces of protest become for acute, collective articulations of agitation, uprising, and revolt, and how dynamic these spaces will remain long after the Global Sixties.

Chapter Breakdown

In the first chapters, my close investigation of two central literary formats—books and periodicals—uncovers key material and medial expressions of protest against mainstream society and conventional literary production. These chapters focus more closely on the print platform and its movement and influence on its surrounding environments. By turning to the politically alternative contexts of underground books or supplements from journals, these chapters seek to reexamine how the function of literature was reconceptualized through an alternative set of distribution and consumption practices such as theft and removal. In chapter 1, I evaluate the material relationship between books, protest, and literature by placing a bestselling, famously stolen book, *Klau mich*, into the backdrop of alternative book production in the late 1960s. I maintain that this book presents a way to assess how dissident book performances happened inside books but also resonated expressly outside of them. Meanwhile, chapter 2 uses the infamous *Kursbuch* 15 literary issue, which set off the debate over the "Death of Literature," to investigate the movement and removal of literary form in and around alternative periodicals. Highlighting a publication feature called *Kursbögen* (invented name of removable supplement) in the widely renowned journal, *Kursbuch*, my study evaluates the politicizing function of publication layouts such as the centerfold or sticker in light of a variety of other periodicals that were in circulation.

The last two chapters of this book focus on four marginal formats of literature—flyers, posters, banners, and graffiti—in order to evaluate how

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their marginal status mobilized and expanded the boundaries of literature. While these chapters also home in on the layout and appearance of text, they privilege the publicity and public spaces in which these fringe forms performed their protests. With a close examination of media such as flyer spectacles or graffiti, these chapters emphasize the political visibility these marginal publications had in their public surroundings. Mapping out the ways that marginal formats of literature scripted and participated in West German protest reinscribes literary boundaries with political convention, form, and articulation. In chapter 3, I frame an analysis of flyers, posters, and banners around a discussion of the Kommune I "arson trial," which, in a sense, put literature, literary techniques and history on trial and featured literary testimonies from scholars, authors, and activists alike. Chapter 4 incorporates the street- and wall-writing cultures of postwar Germany into a larger argument about the mediality of writing. I maintain that practices of defacement and effacement transformed and informed underground movements in street writing in the 1960s and 1970s, long before the proliferation of popular graffiti culture of the 1980s. This chapter notes how fringe publications could be reimagined less as uniform literary formats and more as expansive materials and modes of conducting protest. I show what happened to alternative literary form when dissident political content forewent paper or print and instead used everyday materials like T-shirts, street signs, walls, and performances like go-ins or mock-funerals. As such, these materials and performances gave physical definition to literary categories such as the slogan or aphorism. But more importantly, they did so by renegotiating public space, challenging claims of property, and extending print practices of layout or typesetting into new topologies of protest. In its analysis of books, periodicals, and other literary media, this book explores the intersection between literature and protest by apprehending the interplays of materiality and political engagement, print layouts and reading engagement, ephemerality and writing engagement. Keeping these interplays in mind amends our understanding of what literature *was doing* in protest at this time and—arguably just as important for the ongoing histories of literature and protest—what it has been doing ever since.

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CHAPTER ONE

Book Trouble

> Book theft is counterrevolutionary.
> —Anonymous Poster

In September 1968, the Frankfurt Book Fair—the world's largest book event—found itself embroiled in a political spectacle that disrupted what was supposed to be a celebratory atmosphere for readers, writers, publishers, and bibliophiles.[1] In addition to a general atmosphere of protest at public events like the book fair, one problematic book helped spur the bibliographic trouble in Frankfurt. The book stemmed from West Berlin's notorious collective, the Kommune I, and featured a dynamic montage of splashy newspaper headlines and lewd quotes from its authors Rainer Langhans and Fritz Teufel, who had been put on trial for inciting violence in a series of satirical flyers the year prior. Their book offered readers a brazen critique of the West German justice system, recounting in-court protest actions from their court trial, witty comebacks for prosecutors, and unscripted philosophical debates about divergent understandings of the meaning of justice. But what really initiated the trouble was its title. Namely, the Frankfurt Book Fair organizing committee Börsenverein had vetted and accepted the original title proposal of *Strafprozessunordung* (Courtroom disorder), which was based on its recognition of the popular demand for books thematizing the ongoing protest movement and the specific, lurid account its authors detailed about their infamous legal trial. And while the book's internal contents from the trial helped fuel its popularity among fellow protesters and fans, it was the authors' decision to make a secret last-minute change of title to *Klau mich* (Steal me) that turned the book into a sensation. For one, the title *Klau mich* was not included in the widely distributed promotional materials, which marked an administrative faux pas

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with potential legal ramifications between the publisher edition Voltaire and the Börsenverein, not to mention confusion for book fair attendees or other venues that had advertised it under the original title. Moreover, the secret change in title seemed to legitimate any qualms the Börsenverein organizers had in the first place about allowing the participation of radical authors and publishers during the Global Sixties. As Börsenverein director Friedrich Georgi insisted ahead of the fair, it was imperative that all publishers and authors abstain from "political confrontations of any kind."[2] Georgi recognized that the prestige and scale of the book fair had turned it into an ideal political target for the coinciding protest movement, and his main goal for the 1968 fair was to keep all forms of protest to a minimum or at least to relegate them to the margins. Having a secretly titled book in circulation at the book fair indeed stood as a political confrontation to its rules and order as it showed a lack of respect from authors and publishers, if not something more.

Yet the new title's visual imagery, which depicted a hand grabbing the book itself, doubled down on the visceral message of the book and seemed to convey to passersby: "steal me, don't buy me" (fig. 14). For the Börsenverein, the words *Klau mich* on a book's front cover symbolically refuted the business principles of the enormous sales event by visually and textually instructing book fair attendees to steal books. Even worse, such messaging led to an actual spike in book thefts at the fair. As was evident by the late 1960s, stealing books had become a popular form of protesting against the industry of literature. According to the West German newspaper *Die Zeit*, "The book fair books serve as free replenishments for home bookshelves. Stealing must have become such a sport at trade fairs that publishers forced to reckon with particularly committed enthusiasts did not even dare to exhibit books at all."[3] For the publishing history of books, this showed how *Klau mich* not only endorsed a new form of political protest in 1968 but also changed the way publishers showed up at the book fair, not with books but instead with poster surrogates and mail order forms. For a book fair whose success hinged on its ability to celebrate the culture of books, writers, and readerships, then, the spectacle of *Klau mich* called the underlying business enterprise into question and propagated new political meaning for the old adage about judging books by their covers. At the same time, it showed how books were not just about protests at this time but also physical advertisements and incarnations of them.

In addition to its problematic cover, *Klau mich* revealed how materiality politicized other aspects of the book's design. Much like the misnomer in the book fair's official catalog, Langhans, Teufel, and fellow Kommune I mem-

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Fig. 14. *Klau mich* (Steal me)
Credit: Kommune I. A special thanks to Kinner Bullock. © Kinner Bullock

bers misled the Börsenverein into thinking *Klau mich* was a traditionally formatted publication when it was anything but. To its chagrin, the Börsenverein discovered on opening day that the Kommune I had—again secretly—inserted three removable pornographic supplements into all 20,000 print copies from the Heinrich Heine Verlag's staging quarters. As Andreas Roth describes it, the Do It Yourself clandestine operation took three days and was no small feat.[4] Lampooning the book fair with pornography despoiled the

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book event and upended the otherwise upstanding book fair, which did not discover the scandal until after its doors had opened. But on another level, the supplements drew attention to the circulatory powers that unsanctioned textual and visual forms had in 1968. With 20,000 copies on full display, the pornography at the edition Voltaire's stand publicly provoked the norms of the reputable event, which itself placed West Germany onto an important global stage. According to Timothy Scott Brown, "[The book fair's] 3,000 publishers from some fifty-seven countries . . . [were] a symbol both of the vibrancy of German publishing and of the growing internationalization of West Germany."[5] Upstaging the West German book industry, pornography explicitly contradicted Director Georgi's request that every participant conform to "the boundaries of tactfulness and good manners."[6] In response to the pornography, the Börsenverein immediately moved to confiscate the book on the second day of the fair only to discover that all but 13 copies remained on the stand's shelf.[7] Hence, *Klau mich* had undermined the book fair authority by eluding its confiscation while also stimulating its success, *via* the apparent popularity of its lewd pornography, to the chagrin and embarrassment of the Börsenverein. As *Die Zeit* reported, "*Klau mich* belonged to the five most remarkable new nonfiction publications at the 1968 Frankfurt book fair." This kind of acclaim turned the otherwise conventional retail of a book into an unconventional book stunt. By provoking the Börsenverein in title and content, eluding its own confiscation, and mobilizing its physical format, *Klau mich* publicly exposed how a book could deploy its medium and materiality to stage a book protest from its covers and beyond.

Literary Matter

This chapter analyzes how books can help reconsider literature's role in scripting and performing political protest. While a book such as *Klau mich* self-referentially expounded on its own format, here sparking a wave of actual book thefts, it also questioned normative structures of society, from the justice system to the education system. Notably, it did so within the bounds of the book itself, leaning on longer genealogical practices such as scrapbooking or annotative imprinting. *Klau mich* and other underground, alternative books thus raise questions about the political function of literature's foremost format, the book, through a tangible, material lens as well as a textual, rhetorical lens. On the physical level, bibliographic forms of dissent harken back to *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which itself came to embody a "textual equivalent of a tomato," serving as free "bonus"

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at a vegetable stand sale in places like Freiburg, where the ubiquitous red books blended in with the ubiquitous Rhine Valley produce.[8] But across West Germany, too, Mao's famous book circulated in versatile ways. Take, for instance, this depiction of a Heidelberg university seminar, where Mao's book took to the air:

> In May 1969, a student in Heidelberg hurled two Italian-language copies of the Little Red Book at a university instructor while screaming insults at him (and had the chutzpah to charge the janitor with theft for taking the books afterward).[9]

Throwing actual books in acts of dissent verified the text's physical ability to politically engage. By tracing the tactile interfaces of such texts with their political uses in West Germany's 1968, this chapter centers the political role of books in physical acts of protest such as the Heidelberg seminar. As Leah Price reminds us, "doing things with books" does not necessarily align with traditional acts of textual reading but can instead highlight the instrumentalization of the material as a mode of engaging readers, viewers, and handlers.[10] Reconceptualizing books as embedded platforms for technologies such as flexi-discs or multifunctional utensils ready for action to scrape away street signs reveals a fluid and dynamic history of literary form. And yet the books discussed in this chapter can also be seen to resist the very dichotomy of internal reading versus factors like pages in and of themselves. As Andrew Piper, Chad Wellmon, and Mohamed Cheriet argue, constructs such as a "Page Image" underscore the dynamic site of interpretation on the page and with the page, requiring visual, textual, and material consideration.[11] Recovering histories of the page compels a willingness to assess the ways that features like layouts and graphic design accentuate literary form. From the imagery of the grabbing hand on the cover of *Klau mich* to the psychedelic typographies that blended the shape of words with aesthetic expression, the West German book scene embodied a visuality and materiality of political communication that spread across West Germany, conjoining literature with protest, spilling from the street onto the page.

When focusing on modes of bibliographic protest—in other words, by taking the materiality of the book and its medial effects into account—one can trace how interactions with print inform and inscribe the matter of literature from paratext to text and back. As Gérard Genette insisted, unlike a simple text in a physical book format, the paratext consists of the messages surrounding the book and the convergence of practices, discourses,

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and actions it implicates.[12] In the political context of the Global Sixties, such paratextual convergence harkens back to Nicholas Thoburn's notion of the "anti-book," which entwines a bookish resistance to passive consumption through a variety of material, graphic, and sensorial characteristics in the production and circulation of books.[13] In West Germany's protest movement, underground books mobilized their reach and influence through a political form of materiality and performativity that transposed protest from the street to the page and back again. This transposition played out literally with public protest performances of reading books on the street (i.e., cover image of this book) as well as figuratively in the thematization of streets in protest books such as Peter Schütt's *Asphalt-Literatur*, a collection of poems and short literary forms invoking the space of the street as a space of protest. What is more, the materials used in constructing books also seemed to contest traditional book norms such as reading. The alternative milieu of West Germany grappled with an imperative to take *action* with books, whether by writing in the margins and personalizing the book object or by removing electronic sound documents of street protest and playing them on a record player. By recentering the gaze around such transpositions, then, a paratextual history of alternative books takes a more visceral, material shape in the late 1960s, less in terms of canonical resonance and more in terms of fringe experimentation with literary matter and the matters that gave rise to its bookish protest.

In order to understand the transpositions of protest and literary matter, this chapter turns to the undercurrents of print performativity, where a vigorous engagement with text and image was at work augmenting sentiments of political dissent in the subcultural print scene at this time. Demarking the page of a given book made it politically viable but also invoked older practices like grangerizing (inserting ephemera into books) and scrapbooking, which tended to emphasize the dynamically manual and annotative interactions with print objects.[14] Scholars like Ellen Gruber Garvey have characterized such interactions as "writing with scissors," where the scrapbook curator overrides authorial intention or any notion of singular work.[15] In West Germany, protesters were often writers with scissors, whose experimental engagement with print created new layers of critique and new space for interaction with the page. Another popular form of engagement was piracy, which protesters perceived more in terms of liberation than theft. To counteract the FRG's censorship of certain kinds of scandalous texts like Wilhelm Reich's 1927 *The Function of an Orgasm*, which had been banned in West Germany or the US where it was even publicly burned, underground publishers

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reprinted passages in a defiant stance against the regulation of moral tastes surrounding sexuality. In this case, reprinting banned literature promoted resistance by preserving its aura and status as a vogue text on the fringes of the law. Such focus on the versatile performativity of print inferred techniques like William S. Burroughs's cut-up texts, which influenced authors like the Kommune I or Rolf Dieter Brinkmann, who went on to configure word and material within the covers of books, scrapbooks, and other print objects. Removing and replacing preexisting texts into new storylines not only undid the status quo of writing; it also showcased the political functionality of reading. In the late 1960s, books indeed transformed notions of originality, author, or narrative through everyday object and literary matter that circulated in and out of their print materiality. In some cases, reading books and creating them *implied* scissors, glue, and other tools that helped migrate textual and material meaning from one context to the next, calling into question where a text started or stopped. For the reader, such experiences of reading intermixed with documentation and archival representation within DIY *fringe* forms of books like scrapbooks, thus preserving and perpetuating an alternative social life of literature on the experimental fringes too often cut out of histories. Or, as Philip Lejeune points out, it is "the fringe of the printed text which, in reality, controls the whole reading."[16]

Fringe Book History

In the late 1960s, protesters turned their focus to one of West Germany's most profitable cultural institutions, the book industry.[17] Through a series of central shifts, a deeper discontent among smaller publishers fueled new initiatives that were meant to counteract the prevailing *Buch als Ware* (book as commodity)[18] motif driving the book sales of mainstream publishers across West Germany. On an institutional level, alternative book fairs like the 1968 Gegenbuchmesse (Counter-Book Fair) in Frankfurt and the 1970 Minipressen-Messe (Mini-Publisher Congress) in Mainz as well as the "Uprising of the Copy-Editors" in 1968 and "Author Syndicate" in 1969[19] showed a growing awareness of how alternative publishers could use their readerships and modes of production to stage an effective protest against the mainstream industry.[20] As one underground announcement stated, "One can steal, write, read, and [or] burn books. ONE CAN ALSO SELF-PUBLISH BOOKS!" (*linkeck* 6). By capitalizing the letters in the second sentence, the new publishing collective known as the Red Syndicate emphatically ranked the status of book publishing higher than other forms of protest involving

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books. This statement highlighted the relationship between authors and producers, invoking Walter Benjamin's interplay of "authors and producers," which posited the self-actualization and emancipation of the reader into a future producer of political literature. Arguably as popular in 1968, Ulrike Meinhof's television screenplay *Bambule*, which shed light on the dire situation of adolescent women living in a juvenile detention center, sought to activate a broad swath of readers by turning them into protest writers.[21] The answer for Meinhof and contemporary protesters was to collectivize writing and write collectively outside of the mainstream. Examining this phenomenon uncovers the political stances that alternative and collectively created books took in the protest movement: rejecting existing institutions and creating ones that polarized and mobilized protest.[22]

Collectives like the Red Syndicate and alternatives like the Counter-Book Fair fostered new countercultures of literary and political protest, which quite often centered on making literature's foremost medium of the book more experimental, unfamiliar, and intermedial. As Peter Chotjewitz outlined in 1968, contemporary protest practices like happenings intertwined with theoretical, aesthetic notions like Dick Higgins's "Intermedia."

> As can be seen, the intermedia are thus approaching mass events and direct, personal, mass agitation. For the actions of the Provos in Amsterdam and communards in West Berlin, for the be-ins, sit-ins, love-ins, walk-ins of the American hippies and civil rights activists, the term "happening," which was initially only introduced for the intermedia that transcended conventional art genres and connected them with one another, has therefore been used again and again.[23]

One can tease out of this sentiment the idea that experimental literature was changing the nature and business of books in the Global Sixties. Alternative forms of books were happening, and happenings were books. To refer to a publication with a small- to medium-sized print run and a nonconformist cultural message, material, or content, I will use the term "fringe books." Slightly different than experimental literature, which had more to do with the contemporary production process of creating literature experimentally, fringe books included nonexperimental but instead intentionally political practices of writing. In the late 1960s, West Germany's fringe books were often printed through nonmainstream publishing houses or small presses and played an essential role in the protest movement by publishing a perspective from the cultural or political *fringe* of society. These books frame this study of literature because of how

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they mediated larger fringe expressions of protest; but more importantly, they expressed their protest bibliographically by mobilizing their print formats both on and off the page (fig. 15).

Print History

Prior to the proliferation of xerography and its photographic capacity to copy,[24] ink-based Rotaprint printers[25] and other small-scale offset printing operations helped create a "Mini-Press," "Selbst-Verlag" (self-publishing), or "Do-It-Yourself" movement in West Germany in the late 1960s. The popular call to print-it-yourself complemented the protest movement's well-known propensity to produce, reproduce, and distribute books as an expression of protest against the normative society and all its publications. As Brown has pointed out, "The Rotaprint printing machine became the indispensable technological tool of the antiauthoritarian rebellion in West Germany."[26] From a visual standpoint, offset printing harkened back to Dadaist strategies, which employed typeface and layout to negate artistic convention, and surrealist strategies, which sought to revolutionize artistic convention.[27] Unlike these artistic movements, however, visual idiosyncrasies specific to the rebellious culture and print technologies of the 1960s demarcated and redefined the boundaries of print and protest. According to John McMillian's account of the underground press in the US:

> The Offset Revolution . . . allowed for creatively designed layouts, whereby prose could be fitted around swirling drawings like photo collages. Some of the more mystically oriented papers . . . pioneered split-fountain printing techniques that allowed them to blend colorful inks and create beautiful rainbow effects on their pages, no two of which were ever exactly alike.[28]

In West Germany, offset printers similarly utilized tinted ink, highlighted sections, alternating text sizes and other experimental elements, which gave West German print a so-called APO-Ästhetik (APO-Aesthetic) connecting the main organizational body of student protest— Außerparlementarische Opposition (Extraparliamentary Opposition)—to an aesthetics of print. For Thomas Daum, this aesthetic added a sense of urgency for the alternative literary scene:

> The experimentation with a print template made of familiar paper—demarcated, pasted, cut-up, painted, and painted-over—allowed an aesthetic of the immediacy and spontaneity differently than a conventional print

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Fig. 15. Fringe print publications
Credit: © Kinner Bullock

technology, one which mirrors the lifestyle and ideals of the publisher and target readership.[29]

The typically unaligned, unruly arrangement of text passages, incorporation of handwriting over the text, and visible cut-and-paste traces punctuated the lifestyle of protest with the experimental fringe printing practices. In turn, the words "print" and "protest" became interchangeable as nouns and verbs and defined how textual tendencies could overlay political praxes.

Alongside street marches, teach-ins, or other public protest rituals, print platforms had turned books into one of West Germany's vital social functionaries of protest by the late 1960s. Politically minded publications in Left-leaning books such the Voltaire Verlag's *Demonstrationen: Ein Berliner Modell* (1967) or the Rowohlt Verlag's *Rebellion der Studenten oder Die neue Opposition* (1968) proved to be quite popular with student protesters since they addressed the most pressing issues of the time. The internal contents of these books disseminated dissident political ideas from iconic figures like Herbert Marcuse or Rudi Dutschke and renarrated pinnacle events from the protest movement including Benno Ohnesorg's murder. As a result, this political literature cemented the importance of books as a main resource for the latest information to come out of the protest movement.[30] However, the standard layout of these books corresponded to normal reading practices, which, for some protesters, were seen to support and comply too much with the institutions from which books most profited.[31]

West Germany's Fringe Books and Their Bibliographic Protests

To counter this tendency, readers and producers began to shift their attention away from contents alone and to explore how the page layout and physicality could produce different political functions. Take, for instance, a 1968 book published by the Fackelträger Verlag whose name implies the German verb *abfackeln*, meaning to torch something. While the name of this publisher ascribed meaning to the increasingly violent protest movement, the publication from Manfred Limmroth and Peter Odenthal provided somewhat of a comic relief as an interactive book prompt. Officially titled *Der Staat muß weg!* (The State must go!), this publication visualized two opposing ideologies by splitting its layout down the middle, where one half represented the viewpoints of protesters (The State must go) and the other half represented those of the government: *Die Studenten müssen weg!* (The Students must go!). The book's layout flipped upside down at the halfway point, which required

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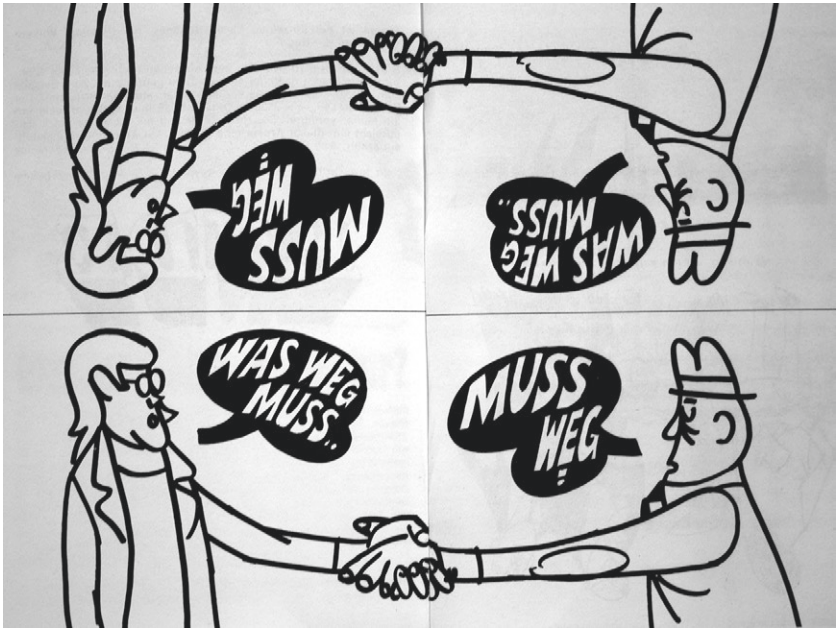


Fig. 16. "What must go." "Must go." *The State Must Go*
Credit: © Kinner Bullock

the reader to actively rotate the book vertically 180 degrees. The first half of that process of reading in turn highlighted the talking points and arguments from that point of view. But since the book could be picked up from either side, the layout also rendered the official title—and any subsequent attempt to catalog or sell it—ambiguous. Even more important, the halfway point of the physical book offered a humorously palpable *and* metaphorical middle ground where both sides met and the layout flipped (fig. 16). With a cartoon aesthetic, the speech bubbles of the characters switch accordingly with the phrase *Was muss weg* (What must go). With this modification of print, *The State must go!* exemplified how the space of the page could comment on the political atmosphere.

Off the page, books expressed new materialities and medialities in the West German protest movement. In his 1968 Quer-Verlag book,[32] *Eiffe for President, Frühling für Europa* (Eiffe for president, spring for Europe), Uwe Wandrey attempted to magnify graffiti writing in the West German protest movement by reprinting graffiti slogans of Hamburg's Peter Ernst Eiffe.[33] Whereas the book remediated the contents of Eiffe's graffiti slogans from

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public wall to page, the book's cardboard packaging constructed Eiffe's slogans into a uniquely material format. Stuck to the cover, a sticker image of Eiffe and stapled cardboard binding fabricated the book's materiality to package and thereby performatively pack up the ephemerality of Eiffe's graffiti for another day (fig. 17). The attention to the packaging comments on the consumer culture that such alternative literature sought to provoke and remind readers, gesturing toward the *Wegwerf* (disposable) culture not simply as a critique of capitalism but also a sort of redemptive moment for a new literary matter, one that draws attention to the intertwined nature of books with other cultural goods, if not commodities in and of themselves. As Jan-Frederik Bandel writes, "The question of books as a commodity is also specifically a question of objects: books as design object, meta-object."[34] Interpreted with Wandrey's cardboard aesthetic, the question of the book as object connects Wandrey's project of magnifying street graffiti to the ephemeral project of redesigning and repacking the matter of literature.

In a more medial fashion, a 1969 book from the März Verlag offers another example of a meta object, blurring boundaries between textual and multimedial content. Imprinted over tourist imagery of West Berlin, the book publication *Subkultur Berlin: Selbstdarstellung, Text-, Ton-, Bilddokumente; Esoterik der Kommunen, Rocker, subversiven Gruppen* (Subculture Berlin: self-representation, text-, sound-, image-documents; esoteric of the communes, rockers, and subversive groups) lures readers into the content from the topography of the city on the cover to the gritty subcultural aspects of the city. In large red type, the book's title relays an alternative introduction to the city, which—imprinted on top of conventional-looking tourist materials—challenged any official attempt to brand or claim West Berlin. Moreover, the book incorporated a flexi-disc as a document of sound and, in doing so, medially fused audio recordings with the physical format of the book (fig. 18). In contrast to the more rigid vinyl record, the original "Soundsheet" of the early 1960s began to circulate in paper publications like magazines or cards in which it could flexibly bend. As Allyson McCabe argues, "Pressed on thin plastic or coated paper, flexi discs first started appearing commercially in the 1960s. Cheap and easily distributed, they were sold at newsstands, stocked in vending machines, inserted into books and magazines, and embossed on cereal boxes."[35] For *Subkultur Berlin*, the square-shaped flexi-disc helped broadcast the book's overarching protest message with a bilingual position on its copyright, "COPYING PUBLIC PERFORMANCE, BROADCASTING OF THESE RECORDS ARE FORBIDDEN EXCEPT FOR UNDERGROUND STATIONS UND PIRATENSENDER," and a recording filled with 12 minutes

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Fig. 17. *Eiffe for President: Springtime for Europe*
Credit: Uwe Wandrey

of commentaries on capitalism, telephone calls, and chants from a protest march. The goal of the flexi-disc, like much of the underground literature of the day, was more focused on immediate impact and less on longevity, hence the flexi-discs were not designed to be played more than several times before falling apart. To emphasize the timeliness of the book, the print content on the inside cover presented a list of West Berlin telephone numbers from prominent Left-leaning figures like Peter Handke (along with a histrionic apology for making his number public) and thus served as a telephone hotline for the protest movement. The book's authors, Hartmut Sander and Ulrich Christians, named it a "new mass hotline,"[36] which turned the fringe protest book into a phonebook by encouraging readers and "Berlin visitors" to place a phone call and exchange ideas about protest acts.

From a medial perspective, this drew attention to how readers could interact with the book's material format; namely, recording actual phone

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Fig. 18. *Subkultur Berlin: A Self-Presentation of Text, Sound, and Image Documents, Esoteric of Kommune Rocker Subversive Groups*
Credit: Harmut Sander, editor. © Kinner Bullock

calls onto the flexi-disc amplified and multiplied the book's content. According to an instructional guide on the back cover, bookstore owners were encouraged to:

1. Verkauf soviel wie möglich von diesem Buch!
2. Ritze beim Verkaufsakt die beigelegte Schallplatte an, Mach Kratzer!
3. Laß dich dabei nicht in Diskussionen ein!
4. Paß auf! Viele klauen!

1. Sell as much of this book as possible!
2. Throw on the attached vinyl when you buy it, make some noise!
3. Don't get distracted by discussions!
4. Watch out! Many steal!

These instructions conspicuously encouraged the storeowner to place the flexi-disc book insert onto the record player with the verb *kratzen* (scratch) and not *spielen* (play), which associated playing sound with making a scratching noise and, by extension, intensifying the listening experience so that no patron could avoid it. At the same time, the verb *kratzen* gestured toward the ephemerality and fragility of the flexi-disc, but not in a conventional sense that might persuade new owners to treat it with care. Rather, the implication for the flexi-disc was that the more scratched up it was, the better: scratched sounds aurally participated in the destructive tendencies of the late 1960s rock culture and were a token of the flexi-disc's usage and thereby the political solidarity of its listening audience. As Brown has written of a famous contemporary performance, making destructive music often meant literally destroying its instruments: "[when] Jimi Hendrix concluded his sexually charged performance by setting fire to his Fender Stratocaster guitar, beckoning to the flames as feedback moaned through stacks of Marshall amplifiers, the link between the new youth culture and the revolutionary potential of popular music was solidified for a mass audience."[37] For the flexi-disc, the scratching similarly implicated its own medial disembodiment from the book as book content was removed from the covers but also as its own surface was etched and damaged as a predetermined condition of its own materiality. In turn, this conception ascribed audial meaning to a physical format better known for viewing or reading, thus reinscribing the space of the book and the air around it with sounds of protest.[38]

And yet perhaps the materiality of exteriority was performed nowhere as saliently as Uwe Wandrey's 1968 *Kampfreime*. First, the book's beige and red sticker on the outside *covered* the book with a flag, which intermedially

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advertised its solidarity with other protest media like banners or flyers (fig. 19). But as Wandrey designated on the first page, the book's content itself was intended to be a catalyst on multiple protest platforms. With a brief collections of slogans, each one printed on its own page, Wandrey describes how the content could be used: "FOR BANNERS, BARRIERS, TIMBER FENCES, WALLS, PLACARDS, FLYERS, WALL NEWSPAPERS, SCHOOL BLACKBOARDS AND AS PROMPTS FOR CHANTS." As is evident here, Wandrey envisioned a mobilization of the book's contents into public forums like protest marches or onto public surfaces like banners, while its format and small size meant it could be carried around in a pocket from where it could be used to look up protest chants and better organize protest. The book's material performance transformed it from a mnemonic script into a tool, as the book's metal covers invoked its role as a literary weapon. As Adam Davis has pointed out, "The lasting power of 'Kampfreime' is as a metaphor. A talisman to protect the bearer and a text designed to destroy other texts." While it is a stretch to imagine the book's capacity to defend against a police baton, the metal covers of the book allowed it to scrape other texts off public walls. Davis maintains that "the business end of the book was also intended to tear away posters, flyers, advertisements—to clear an open space in an encroaching universe of bourgeoisie paper." In other words, the metal covers of the book made it possible to literally protest official rules or other forms of print by removing them from the public surfaces on which they were often posted. Rather than only scripting protest marches with a selection of slogans, then, Wandrey's book also proved how materiality propagated instrumentality by literally engaging in protest.

Klau mich

While these books each exemplify political performances on and off the page, the fringe literature of the Kommune I was possibly the most performatively iconic of the West German protest movement. For the West Berlin communards, the philosophy of "Revolutionization of the Daily Routine—Daily Routine of the Revolutionary" went hand in hand with the production and distribution of their own fringe literature, which inspired political actions like a trip to the Chinese Embassy in East Berlin where they obtained hundreds of copies of the "Mao Bible" and distributed them in West Berlin.[39] But whereas self-publishing and self-distributing helped the Kommune I fashion a distinct set of political print statements in West Berlin, it was their book *Klau mich* that gave the literature of the Kommune I and its two named authors, Teufel and Langhans, a *novel* profile.[40] The decision to

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Fig. 19. *Battle Rhymes*
Credit: Uwe Wandrey

outsource their publishing operation to edition Voltaire, a subsidiary of the newly founded Heinrich Heine Verlag,[41] transformed their publishing output from ephemeral flyers and pamphlets to a more lasting book format as part of Bernward Vesper's new book series, the *Voltaire Handbücher*. As an official publishing leaflet from 1970 explained, "The term reference guide is to be understood quite literally with regard to the handy long, narrow format. . . . they want to be understood as a guide to critical thinking and, above all, to political action."[42] Hence, while the large-scale rotational press of the Heinrich Heine publishing house bolstered the production scale of Kommune I's grassroots operation, the hand-held format of *Klau mich* helped politicize the Kommune I's history with books.

Following its commercial success at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1968, the contemporary impact of *Klau mich* was relatively brief. While some believed the book could build on its momentum with further print editions, the second edition only appeared in 1977 from the new Trikont Verlag, which suggests that the book's success at the Frankfurt Book Fair was not only somewhat unanticipated by authors and publishers but also without endurance.[43] In a 1969 interview with *Der Spiegel*, Heinrich Heine Verlag's owner, Rudolf Schöning, confessed how the massive hype around *Klau mich* at the 1968 book fair "surprised us all. We had to suddenly, uncannily hire many people."[44] The single print run was also a result of changes in the Kommune I; directly after the 1968 book fair, the departure of Teufel and arrival of

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famed model Uschi Obermaier in the Kommune I marked a significant shift in the Kommune I's historical trajectory.[45] Moreover, the Kommune I was embroiled in the fallout from their criminal trial and acquittal on March 22, 1968, which directly preceded an actual arson in Frankfurt on April 2, 1968, thus bringing the satirical contents of their 1967 flyers back into discussion.[46] The perpetrators of the crime were in fact friends of the Kommune I and future members of the Red Army Faction (aka Baader Meinhof Gang), which made the ensuing "arson trial" similarly spectacular and marked the beginning of a shift from protest to terror in West Germany.[47] While all of these factors played into the sole publication of *Klau mich* in 1968, the most compelling reason why a second edition did not appear until 1977 arguably had to do with the politically bibliographic character of the book and the West German fringe book scene of the late 1960s, which *Klau mich* emblematically impacted as much as any other fringe book of the protest movement.

Through a close analysis of print content, material format, and performative context, *Klau mich* exemplifies the bibliographic politics of books at this turning point. Indeed, *Klau mich* mobilized its book format to conduct and perform its protest against conventional print and cultural boundaries of books. Unlike Abbie Hoffman's more prominent *Steal This Book* (1971) which similarly espoused ideas of how to be culturally out of line, the political performances of *Klau mich* emanated from the format of the book itself, where being out of line took on new political meaning in terms of radical publishing. A first glance at the layout of *Steal this Book*, for instance, reveals a typeset that was in line with mainstream publishing companies (fig. 20). By comparison, the colorful and jagged layout in *Klau mich* contributed to its political message by making ample use of the scissors and giving its visual design strategic consideration (fig. 21).

Rather than articulating political commentaries in straight lines and even margins, the Kommune I authors compiled newspaper cutouts alongside other components in order to visually revitalize their arson trial of 1967 and 1968. This attention to the layout lent the book more bibliographic agency than *Steal This Book*. The image of the hand on the front of *Klau mich* along with its implied first-person voice—"steal me"—can be also interpreted as bearing a phenomenological aspect of the book's protest, which at once acknowledges its commodity format and gives it a voice of dissent (see fig. 14). By suggesting that shoppers steal books from bookstores, *Klau mich* instrumentalized its own commodity form and a became a material prop in a book protest against the West German book industry; but this attests to how being out of line uncovers bibliographic implications for the performances, materialities, and print layouts in which books integrally participate.

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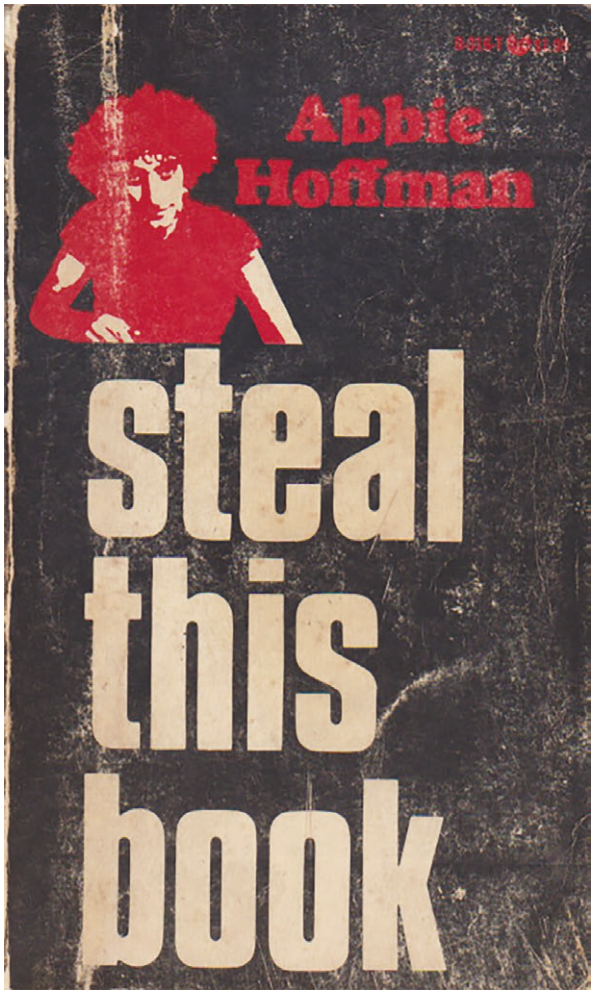


Fig. 20. *Steal This Book*
Credit: Uwe Wandrey

The Case for *Klau mich*

Following the West German judge's acquittal of Teufel and Langhans in March 1968, the Kommune I's own version of its experiences in court makes the book an intriguing historical document. As the original title implied, the Kommune I conceived the book as part of its attempt to rehistoricize the *Strafprozessunordnung* (Courtroom disorder) in West Berlin's Moabit courtroom (Moabit is a neighborhood in Berlin). However, in a move that

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heit, über die Herstellung und Verteilung der Flugblätter zu sprechen – was haben Sie dazu zu sagen?

LANGHANS: Daß sie den Vorwurf so auf sich sitzen lassen, ist interessant.

BEISITZER: Wer hat denn die Texte verfaßt?

LANGHANS: Wir haben die alle verfaßt, hier sitzen aber nicht alle, es waren mehrere. Ich bin nur einer der Initiatoren. Es ist bei allen Flugblättern so, daß darüber gesprochen wird, und daß mehrere an der Formulierung arbeiten.

BEISITZER: Von wem ging die Idee aus, war das Ihre Idee, den Brüsseler Brand zu behandeln?

LANGHANS: Wir saßen am Frühstückstisch und lasen die Zeitungen. Alle Zeitungen. Das tun wir fast immer. Uns fiel die Verbindung auf, als eine Demonstration erwähnt wurde.

SCHWERDTNER: Wem fiel das ein? Einer muß doch die erste Idee gehabt haben?

LANGHANS: Es geht nicht, daß der eine für das eine und der andere für ein anderes Flugblatt verantwortlich gemacht wird. Ich fühle mich außerstande, genaues darüber zu sagen, weil die anderen dazu mindestens genau so viel Auskünfte geben können. Deswegen meine ich, daß es Begünstigung im Amt ist, auch schon, weil nicht nur wir beide die Flugblätter geschrieben haben.

Zwischenspiel: Anständiges Stehen

SCHWERDTNER: Wenn Sie sprechen, dann lehnen Sie sich nicht an den Tisch!

LANGHANS: Wieso denn nicht?

SCHWERDTNER: Weil das als Ungebühr vor Gericht ausgelegt werden könnte.

LANGHANS: Wieso kann das so ausgelegt werden?

SCHWERDTNER: Weil es üblich ist, daß man anständig steht vor Gericht . . . usw. – – Aber Sie können uns doch schildern, wie das vor sich ging. Hat das einen Tag gedauert oder mehrere Tage?

LANGHANS: Wir haben die Zeitungen gelesen und darüber diskutiert. Der Brand war am 22. Mai 1967, in den Zeitungen stand es wohl am 23., und die Flugblätter haben das Datum vom 24.

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Langhans las in der roten „Mao-Bibel“

Prozeß gegen zwei Kommune-Studenten begann

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Fig. 21. Print politics
Credit: Kommune I

espouses scrapbooking or grangerizing techniques before it, the Kommune I constructed *Klau mich* as a political resource filled with contemporary documents from newspapers and personalized commentaries, which, as Jochen Vogt has argued, came to symbolize the undercurrent of the protest movement itself and allowed readers to engage with the documents and, by that token, the surrounding evidence as they wished (fig. 22).[48]

In re-presenting the actions in and around the courtroom, the Kommune I considered the book a narrative of their trial as well as a handbook on how to conduct protest against the justice system from inside the courtroom. Since then, scholarship on *Klau mich* either accepts this interpretation without further analysis,[49] discounting it as having little worth for German studies.[50] Yet, if one reads the book in its print, material, and performative contexts, a case can be made for why *Klau mich* engenders the critically political function of books in protest and therefore obliges a closer analysis that fills in essential gaps in this book's history and gaps that concern the history of books itself. To harken back to Gérard Genette, fringe matter matters.

> [The] fringe, in effect, always bearer of an authorial commentary either more or less legitimated by the author, constitutes, between the text and what lies outside it, a zone not just of transition, but of *transaction*; the privileged site of a pragmatics and of a strategy, of an action on the public in the service . . . of a better reception of the text and a more pertinent reading—more pertinent, naturally, in the eyes of the author and his allies. It would be an understatement to say that we will return to this action.[51]

In addition to politically documenting the events surrounding the trial and the quips that highlighted it, the book's paratexts visualize how its print layout underwrites and mediates the political demonstration of the book. At first glance, what stands out about the content is its unconventional structure. By excluding a table of contents or page numbers, the book imitates the structure of *Quellen für Kommuneforschung* (Sources for common research), a Kommune I pamphlet printed earlier that year in their West Berlin apartment. More notably, the book's assembly rejects traits like the coherent storyline, narrative, or plot development of conventional books and opts instead to employ visual cues like shifting text sizes and image qualities. These cues made readers differentiate reading acts from viewing acts as they read closely (sentences, lines, or pictures) or more distantly (gazing at the page layouts and highlighted passages). The book's content thereby helps restructure the otherwise one-directional flow of reading and one-

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einem halben Jahr wurde ich dann dort ausgeschlossen wegen der Kommunegeschichte, die sich für mich aus dem Unbehagen an meiner SDS-Funktionärsarbeit ergab.

RA MAHLER: Wie sind eigentlich Ihre häuslichen Verhältnisse?

LANGHANS: Vater war schlagender Corpsstudent, Mutter ist unpolitisch. Mein Elternhaus war typisch großbürgerlich. Hitler wurde abgelehnt, weil er kein Akademiker war.

SCHWERDTNER: Wie kam es, daß Sie Ihr Jura-Studium aufgegeben haben?

LANGHANS: Man hatte mir gesagt, mit Jura könnte man alles werden, auch Staatsanwalt und Richter oder so. Aber ich merkte dann, daß ich damit nichts werden konnte. Dann habe ich umgeschwenkt auf Psychologie, weil ich dachte, dann könnte ich wenigstens rauskriegen, was mit mir los ist.

SCHWERDTNER: Haben Sie Ihre Scheine gemacht?

LANGHANS: Ja, ja, einen ganzen Haufen.

SCHWERDTNER: Wann wollen Sie das Studium abschließen, wie lange dauert es normalerweise?

LANGHANS: Es gibt einen Nennsatz von 10 Semestern. Anfang des Jahres habe ich mich auf die Vordiplomprüfung vorbereitet. Ich habe auch die Arbeit geschrieben, aber die war dem Dozenten zu soziologisch. Bisher hatte ich deswegen keine Lust, mit einer neuen Arbeit anzufangen.

SCHWERDTNER: Was wollen Sie denn beruflich machen?

LANGHANS: Augenblicklich mache ich Kommune.

SCHWERDTNER: Aber ist denn das eine Lebensaufgabe?

LANGHANS: Es kann schon eine werden — ich weiß es noch nicht, und es interessiert mich auch nicht.

SCHWERDTNER: Sie haben zu Beginn von den weiterreichenden Aktionen gesprochen, die zunächst den privaten Bereich betrafen.

LANGHANS: Es handelt sich da nicht um besondere Aktionen — es stimmt, wir wollten auch die persönlichen Dinge einbeziehen.

SCHWERDTNER: Ihr Privatleben interessiert mich nicht.

LANGHANS: Müßte Sie aber interessieren — Sie sind hier Richter, und abends nett zu Ihrer Frau. Wir wollten

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Gebrauchs-anweisung

1 Du musst Deinen Prozess führen - niemand sonst

2 Vorbereitung:

Es geht nicht darum, juristisch zu gewinnen — Du musst politisch gewinnen, für Dich.

a) Du musst mit Deinen Leuten den Prozess als Aktion planen, im Gerichtssaal als Zuschauer, Zeugen und ausserhalb mit Flugblättern, Demonstrationen, auf Veranstaltungen usw., vor allen Selbstanzeigen.

b) Du musst mit Deinem Anwalt die Strategie absprechen.

c) Du musst Dich über die Prozessbeteiligten, auch die Zeugen, informieren, um sie hinreichen zu können.

3 Durchführung:

Das Wichtigste ist Zeitgewinn: Du musst mindestens einen Tag zum Üben haben.

a) Du kannst jederzeit reden.

b) Du kannst Dir über jeden prozessualen Schritt Rechtsbelehrungen geben lassen, ihn protokollieren und Beschlüsse darüber herstellen lassen.

c) Du kannst jeden Beteiligten aus Besorgnis der Befangenheit ablehnen.

d) Dein Anwalt muss Deine Einfälle und Prozessführung juristisch untermauern.

4 Erst wenn Du Deine Strafe abgesessen hast, ist Dein Prozess zu Ende — vorher gibt es bis zu drei Instanzen und Aktionen im Gefängnis.

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Fig. 22. Instruction manual
Credit: Kommune I

dimensional understanding of the trial. In doing so, it epitomizes how a book can conduct a bibliographical act of protest that confounds print boundaries with material and political boundaries.

The arrangement of the layout utilizes the space of the book to set up separate narratives, which, via left-side and right-side pages, opens up notions of perspective, truth, and media coverage. According to Hubert Martin, this technique generates an alternating method of storytelling:

> On the respective left-side of the page of the colorful brochure . . . are the prosecutorial text and passages from the trial itself. On the right side, there are newspaper and magazine clippings about the trial, [reprinted] flyers and protest circulars of the commune as well as witness testimonies from the trial.[52]

In this scenario, the pages on the left-hand side represent the linear West Berlin Moabit court proceedings, which were to a great degree written down by spectators in the crowd.[53] This side demonstrates how protesters can undermine courtroom norms and the rule of law through ironic exchanges with judges[54] and instances of courtroom noncompliance.[55] Meanwhile, the pages on the right-hand side represent a nonlinear mosaic of evidence,[56] headlines,[57] and agit-prop materials from the Kommune I,[58] which serve as historical realia that complement the linear narrative. On another level, the layout critically complicates any one narrative of the arson trial by turning the reader into a witness and spectator of the legal system. Both sides of the layout dialectically engage the reader with a multitude of perspectives on the trial, as opposed to reading one story about the trial from beginning to end. The layout thus *renovates* the way the story can be told, whether from the courtroom record or from the news media's reports and Kommune I's agitprop.

Yet, while the sides of the pages performed a reenactment of and reaction to the trial, I propose more dramatic implications for this layout. Scholars like Alexander Vasudevan have observed how the Kommune I members viewed the courtroom as a theater of protest,[59] but scholarship to date has tended to overlook the bibliographical roles the book played in restaging this protest.[60] The fact that the Kommune I referred to the trial as a "Moabit Soap Opera"[61] in jest also makes a case for reading the layout as a *script* that sets the stage for the trial's dramatic reproduction. In this vein, the courtroom setting of this script can be read as redramatizing the actual Moabit courtroom itself. The political drama that follows includes characters, like judges, lawyers, defendants, witnesses, and audience, and can be organized

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into five sections: the "Anklageschrift" (Indictment) prologue, "1. Moabit Soap Opera," and "2. Moabi Soap Opera," "Conclusion" from Rainer Langhans, and "Urteil" (Verdict) from the court. Meanwhile, subheadings like "Vorspiel" (Prelude), "Zwischenspiel" (Interlude), and "Am 2. Tag: Vorhang runter!" (Day 2: Curtains Down) structure the drama with distinct theatrical flair, and extradiegetic phrases, like "the Public Defender takes to the stand for the first time" and, one paragraph later, ". . . but cannot make it plausible," guide the reader with commentaries similar to an omniscient narrator. On the right-hand side, the pages agitate and compound the script like the background noise or visual prop of a play. Here, historical realia supplement the script *and* distract the reader from the main storyline. In turn, this causes tension with the official script by trivializing the courtroom setting itself. To reconcile the left side with the right side, a dramatic reading of the Moabit Soap Opera drama reveals another bibliographical function of the book—representing the political agenda of the Kommune I by interrupting, revitalizing, and *revolutionizing* dramatic perspectives on the page with their cultural implications off the page.

On the back page of *Klau mich*, the following poem titled "THE BOOK IS NOT FROM US" portrays and performs a Gebrauchsanweisung (Instruction Manual) for the book:

> weil wir für andere das sind,was ihnen
> zu sich einfällt,
> weil sie deshalb besser wissen,was wir
> sind.
>
> weil die anderen mehr sind und deshalb
> auch mehr wissen,
> weil die anderen weniger machen,weil sie
> mehr sind.
>
> weil das Buch für andere ist,muss es
> auch von andern sein.
>
> because we are for others,that which stands
> out to them
> because they therefore know better,what we
> are.

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because the others are more and therefore
know more,
because the others do less,because they
are more.

because the book is for others,it must
be by others.

Despite clean breaks between strophes, the structure in the poem appears off. Rather than placing each clause on its own line, the poem seems to cut into the clauses and displace them, which gestures towards the cut-up technique that was popular at this time. Furthermore, the spacing within each strophe creates unique enjambments with typographic errors. On the one hand, the enjambments show a resistance to a conventional reading of the poem by drawing attention to the word combinations of "sind,was"; "wissen,was"; "machen,weil"; and "ist,muss" ("are/what"; "know/what": "do/because"; "is/must"). On the other hand, a closer reading of the poem suggests that the development of the first three enjambments connects verbs with conjunctions and, in doing so, intimates a rejection of linguistic rules and a grammatical framework of protest in which the comma is pinned between the action in one clause and the connecting word in the next. If one reads the poem this way, the fourth enjambment disrupts this development and implies that two verbs, "sein" (to be) and "müssen" (must), complete the progression of enjambments with a grammatical emphasis on action that pins accepting how things "are" against recognizing how they "must be." Furthermore, the ending of each strophe—"sind"; "mehr sind"; "auch von anderen sein" ("are"; "are more"; "also are from others")—appears to be dislodged from its appropriate clause. When considered in terms of the title, "THE BOOK IS NOT FROM US," this disavowal ties into the structural and visual meaning in the poem: to draw attention to what appears wrong. The closing Instruction Manual[62] at the very back of the book thus uses the medium of poetry to consummate the book's political message, and, by the same token, the Kommune I's disruptive brand of politics is used to structurally, visually, and grammatically disorder the poem.

In a similar act, the presentation of errors in the book prompts an awareness of tangible printing processes. Namely, the Kommune I custom of writing *over* texts or crossing out texts leaves a trace of the editing processes and a visual trace of writing that reflects a technique featured

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in many fanzines that have followed.[63] By drawing attention to numerous textual mistakes or edits, the corrections not only preserve printed material but also add layers to the original manuscript, which then subvert and augment the textual meaning of the page with visual meaning. In one case, the copyright of *Klau mich* on the back page misspelled Frankfurt, leaving out the letter "k," and handwriting a "k" into the word "Franfurt." By correcting the mistake, the handwriting stresses it and thereby calls into question the legitimacy of the copyright of itself. As a result, the traces of print layers performatively use visual strategies to thematize the idea of originality and legality.

Finally, the visual function of the print layout structures how *Klau mich* can be picked up and read.[64] Flipping through the pages backwards discloses a colorful set of margins on the left-hand side of each page (fig. 23). These margins lure the reader into reading out of line. Making a case about the "technical invisibility of color," scholars like Tiphaine Samoyault have argued that

> color disturbs the habits of black-on-white reading by creating optical variations that are sometimes hard on the eye and lesser contrasts . . . that hinder cursive, successive, and continuous reading. This particular form of visibility brings into question the common, mechanical, systematic, and unchallenged visibility of black-on-white writing and of the reading reflexes it establishes.[65]

In this sense, the bright margins of *Klau mich* can also be argued to *color* the left-hand side's arson trial not just with politics, but with political levity. Through highlighted areas, the representation of *Klau mich* gives it the feel of a coloring book and embellishes areas on the page with text boxes, shapes, handwritten lines, hand-drawn shapes, pictures, and parts of newspaper clippings throughout the entire book. This infusion of color into the layout changes the reader into a viewer by directing the eye to the surface of the page and attributing a hierarchy of visual importance that calls into question the differences among print forms, be it between colored contents and noncolored contents or serious contents and innocuous contents. As a result, the integration of visuality into the print layout not only enhances the gaze of the viewer but also helps redraw the lines between conventional reading acts of print and viewing acts, while pushing back against antichromatic biases of the book's historical tradition.

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Fig. 23. Chromatic bookend
Credit: Kommune I

Material History, Book History

Even more than the print layout, perhaps the removable content of *Klau mich* can be seen to have characterized the book's fringe history best or, as I believe, mischaracterized it. In the direct aftermath of the Frankfurt Book Fair, reports about the pornography in *Klau mich* created a hype around the three removable inserts that made them easy to write off as a lewd gesture

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typical of its time. Indeed, famous Kommune I phrases like "the Personal is Political" specifically referred to discourses surrounding sexuality and gender roles in the late 1960s.[66] In line with this narrative, the standard version of the book's pornography suggests that it embodied the Kommune I's effort to reject the norms of the Frankfurt Book Fair by debauching it. To be sure, *Klau mich*'s original pornographic inserts graphically depict three different acts of coitus between a male and female, which led to its hype in the late 1960s. But pornographic imagery at this time was more engaged with culture than one might first think. Susan Sontag's 1968 essay "Pornography I" in the literary journal *Akzente* portrays how she not only accepted artistic pornography as a literary genre but also was confounded that works like George Bataille's *History of the O* did not garner more literary respect.[67] In terms of the protest culture, Brown points out that it articulated a specific form of political action that tied back to the underground printing production of the time:

> Alongside attempts to infuse political activism with Reichian sex theory came efforts to instrumentalize a more banal facet of sexual engagement: pornography. From fairly early on, pornography was imbued by a portion of the antiauthoritarian movement with a political legitimacy that warranted its inclusion in the panoply of left-wing action forms.[68]

Brown's argument here bolsters the question and possibility of pornography's place in mainstream society and any possible critique that it could enact.[69] For Mia Lee, in "an environment steeped in sex commodities, sexual images, and discussions of sexuality, New Left publications attempted to steer a course for a sexual politics."[70] Both scholars discern a new sex-positive approach to sexuality, albeit one in which heteronormative, masculine sexism persisted.[71] Nonetheless, smuggling pornography into a forbidden place like a book fair can perhaps be seen to have been as much a politically subversive act of the New Left as a conventionally sexual one.[72]

In addition to the symbolic politics of sexuality that pornographic images invoked, the removable materials themselves offer medial insight into the bibliographic function of the book. Whereas three removable pornographic images were placed into the back of the book, the reader had a choice of placing them onto a color-filled square space with white words: *Foto . . .Wenn du Lust hast—einkleben* (Photo . . . If you wish/if you have lust, stick here).[73] The random color-filled spaces encouraged the reader to remove the inserts from the back of the book and tape them directly onto

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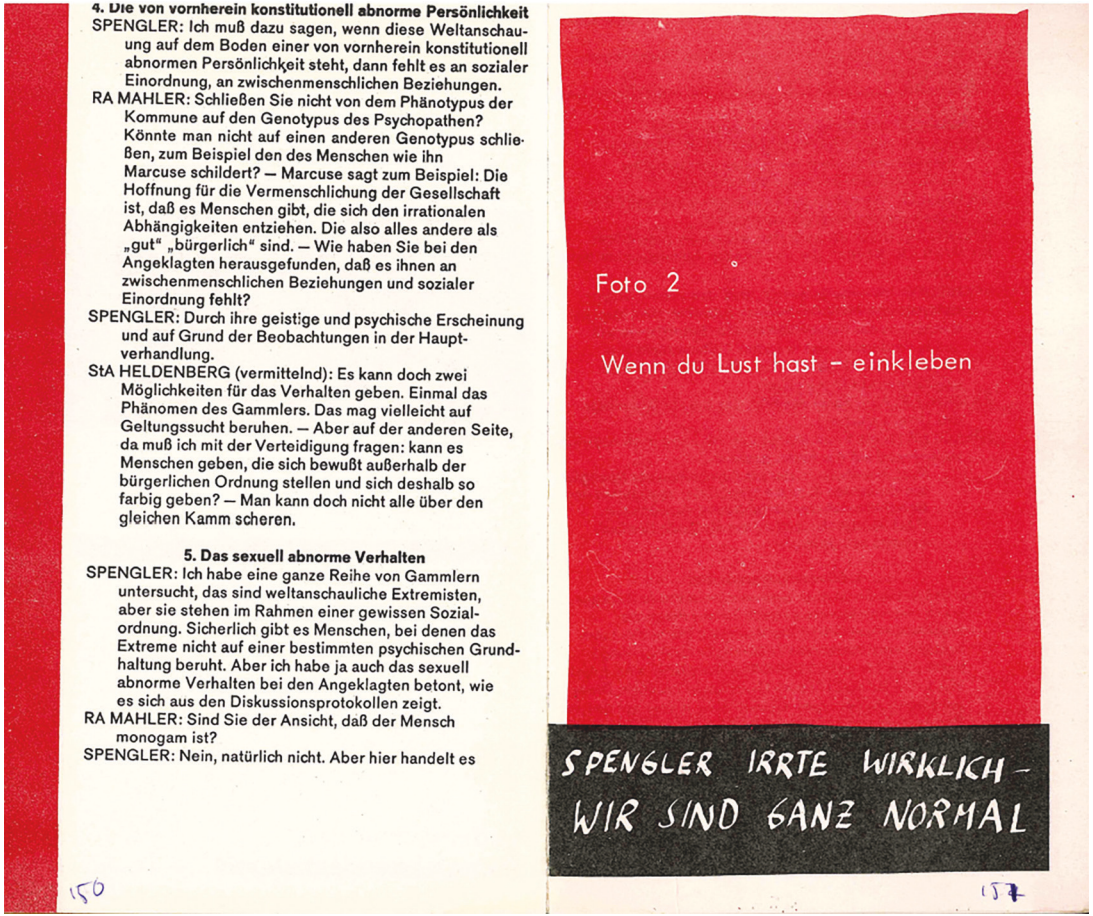
the pages in the book, thus engaging with the content like a scrapbook and making it their own (fig. 24). Even more remarkably, the book's removable feature promoted an intriguing medial interaction with repercussions for how *Klau mich* and books with similar features tend to get historicized by scholars, catalogued by libraries, and republished by publishers. In the second edition of *Klau mich*, which was published by Trikont Verlag in 1977, an advertisement declares the book to be an "unmodified reprint" in large letters on the front cover. But whereas this apparently unmodified replica contains the original blank pages that state "Photo 2 . . . If you wish/if you have lust—stick here," there is no further trace of the removable content originally intended as part of the book itself. For the material history of the book, these missing contents uncover assumptions one might make about reproducibility and removability in publication platforms. For this reason, the removable pornographic images in *Klau mich* elucidate a vital material history of the book's liminality and mediality in 1968, but they just as much remind us to historicize books in their material contexts.

Stealing Books, Literary History

While print layouts and removable materials uncover the bibliographic relevance of *Klau mich*, what was most instrumental for the protest movement was how this particular book brought the business of books into the public spotlight. As the imperative behind the title suggests, *klau mich* (steal me) stood as a programmatic praxis for an antiauthoritarian protest against the commercial underpinnings that drove the big business of the West German book market in the late 1960s. Stealing books rather than purchasing them *problematized* their commodification, and, just as importantly for protesters, it distinguished a larger practice of protest traffic in the late 1960s and early 1970s. *Klauen* consummated alternative ownership, redistribution, and dissident performance, in which theft was practiced as a political action as well as a social performative act against commercial businesses. In turn, *klauen* came to be seen as an important mantra of protest that combined acting with action and vice versa. On a bibliographic level, this showed how acts of reading were linked to the performative acts of acquiring books through theft. The story of *Klau mich* therefore offers more than a persuasive example of how books inspired the literal theft of books at the Frankfurt Book Fair or even in bookstores across West Germany; it presents a way to assess how dissident performances resonate expressly *around* books. For literary schol-

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4. Die von vornherein konstitutionell abnorme Persönlichkeit

SPENGLER: Ich muß dazu sagen, wenn diese Weltanschauung auf dem Boden einer von vornherein konstitutionell abnormen Persönlichkeit steht, dann fehlt es an sozialer Einordnung, an zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen.

RA MAHLER: Schließen Sie nicht von dem Phänotypus der Kommune auf den Genotypus des Psychopathen? Könnte man nicht auf einen anderen Genotypus schließen, zum Beispiel den des Menschen wie ihn Marcuse schildert? — Marcuse sagt zum Beispiel: Die Hoffnung für die Vermenschlichung der Gesellschaft ist, daß es Menschen gibt, die sich den irrationalen Abhängigkeiten entziehen. Die also alles andere als „gut" „bürgerlich" sind. — Wie haben Sie bei den Angeklagten herausgefunden, daß es ihnen an zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen und sozialer Einordnung fehlt?

SPENGLER: Durch ihre geistige und psychische Erscheinung und auf Grund der Beobachtungen in der Hauptverhandlung.

StA HELDENBERG (vermittelnd): Es kann doch zwei Möglichkeiten für das Verhalten geben. Einmal das Phänomen des Gammlers. Das mag vielleicht auf Geltungssucht beruhen. — Aber auf der anderen Seite, da muß ich mit der Verteidigung fragen: kann es Menschen geben, die sich bewußt außerhalb der bürgerlichen Ordnung stellen und sich deshalb so farbig geben? — Man kann doch nicht alle über den gleichen Kamm scheren.

5. Das sexuell abnorme Verhalten

SPENGLER: Ich habe eine ganze Reihe von Gammlern untersucht, das sind weltanschauliche Extremisten, aber sie stehen im Rahmen einer gewissen Sozialordnung. Sicherlich gibt es Menschen, bei denen das Extreme nicht auf einer bestimmten psychischen Grundhaltung beruht. Aber ich habe ja auch das sexuell abnorme Verhalten bei den Angeklagten betont, wie es sich aus den Diskussionsprotokollen zeigt.

RA MAHLER: Sind Sie der Ansicht, daß der Mensch monogam ist?

SPENGLER: Nein, natürlich nicht. Aber hier handelt es

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Foto 2

Wenn du Lust hast - einkleben

SPENGLER IRRTE WIRKLICH -
WIR SIND GANZ NORMAL

157

Fig. 24. "If you are interested/horny, glue here."
Credit: Kommune I

arship, the interplay of books and theft helps rethink how book consumption influenced articulations of protest in West Germany and, indeed, how books frame the consumption of literature at large.

For *Klau mich*, the implied *Selbstbedienung* (self-serve) and liberation praxis brings it into an intriguing contemporary cultural junction of performance and consumption. The dissident performance of book theft expressed by *Klau mich* tapped into a current that was felt by countercultures around the Western world, which ranged from intellectual theft to petty theft. As one 1970 article from *Die Zeit* stated, "We are talking about robbery, or rather the subdivisions 'piracy' and 'counterfeiting' that have become so socially acceptable in recent times. One remembers: robbery is considered a synonym for theft of all kinds."[74] In West Germany, new attempts to control theft began with initiatives from authors like Arno Schmidt, who took part in a lawsuit against *Raubdrucker* (pirate printers) in Frankfurt and West Berlin[75] but also led to the creation of the Institute of Self-Service,[76] which was founded in Cologne to better research and combat theft in retail stores in 1969. Developments like these point to the growing pattern of *protesting* the culture of consumerism and capitalist norms by stealing from it.

These broader cultural discourses of theft also had bibliographical ramifications for the West German book scene. A 1969 *konkret* report titled "Klau mich: APO Book Stores" notes that "stealing is happening today in almost all bookstores in the Federal Republic; both in established and left-wing stores. And everywhere, people are trying to defend themselves against it."[77] The report goes on to mention the financial losses brought on by the boom of book theft in various cities across West Germany that were cited as high as $2,500-$3,000 USD.[78] In order to stem the loss of profits, storeowners reacted to the growing mantra of theft by altering the space of their store with nails, glass, and other protective measures. As a 1969 article in *konkret* described:

> The Munich bookseller Wolfgang Gielow was furious: he nailed up his shelves filled with left-wing literature, posters, records and pornography with wooden slats. At about the same time, the owner of Cologne's university bookstore had the glazier come and install mirrors in obscure places in his store. And Nuremberg's left-wing bookshop "Cuba libre" also resorted to drastic measures: suspicious customers had their jackets and trouser pockets searched. The reason for all the security precautions: the fear of left-wing book thieves who act according to the motto of the Teufel-Langhans book: *Klau mich*![79]

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In addition to this reaction, bookstore owners turned to posting warnings like "[S]HE WHO STEALS BOOKS HERE STEALS FROM COMRADES"[80] and librarians to posters like "BOOK THEFT IS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY,"[81] which was placed directly over a library shelf. According to Siegfried Detlef, the growing popularity of book theft by German youth initially went hand in hand with the reeducation ideals and an idealistic redistribution of goods from large stores, rather than a simple act of petty theft. Nonetheless, one frustrated bookstore owner boiled down the ideological conflict to the following sentiment: "On the one hand, they say that property is theft, and on the other hand, they steal in order to take possession of books. That's bullshit!"[82]

Thus, for many, *Klau mich* not only redramatized protest inside of the Moabit courtroom; its ideology of stealing bibliographically reflected political actions of other protest publications around this time. Earlier in 1968, Rolf Dieter Brinkmann's stream-of-consciousness novel *Keiner weiß mehr* (No one knows anymore) concluded with a scene from a bookstore that narrates the theft by the protagonist, Rainer, who overcame the newly instituted bookstore detectives in order to steal a book in his jacket pocket.[83] In 1969, the underground newspaper *linkeck* romanticized the ideology of book theft with a hand-drawn "Klaut mehr!" circled around a narrative passage of one attempt to steal books (fig. 25).

> When I tried to steal my first book, I thought everyone in the store had seen it. In my fear, I pulled it out from under my sweater and put it back in its place with a red face Then I waited devotedly for the end of the world. . . . It was clear that I had caught myself. The "thou shalt not steal" learned from Pappi and Mammi and the resulting fear, if one tries it, had played the trick on me. (*linkeck* 2)

While this passage narrates an unsuccessful attempt, the biblical command "Thou shall not steal" stands as a performative reminder about how the indoctrination of rules can be overcome by breaking them. The passage goes on to rationalize book theft by implying that bookstore owners do not actually mind theft because anyone who has enough interest in stealing books also has interest in purchasing them.[84] Finally, the topic of stealing books gained greater attention in institutional spaces of books. In December 1969, Dieter Nord published an article in *Pardon* titled "The Thieves Are among Us" which noted the spike of book theft at the 1969 Frankfurt Book Fair:

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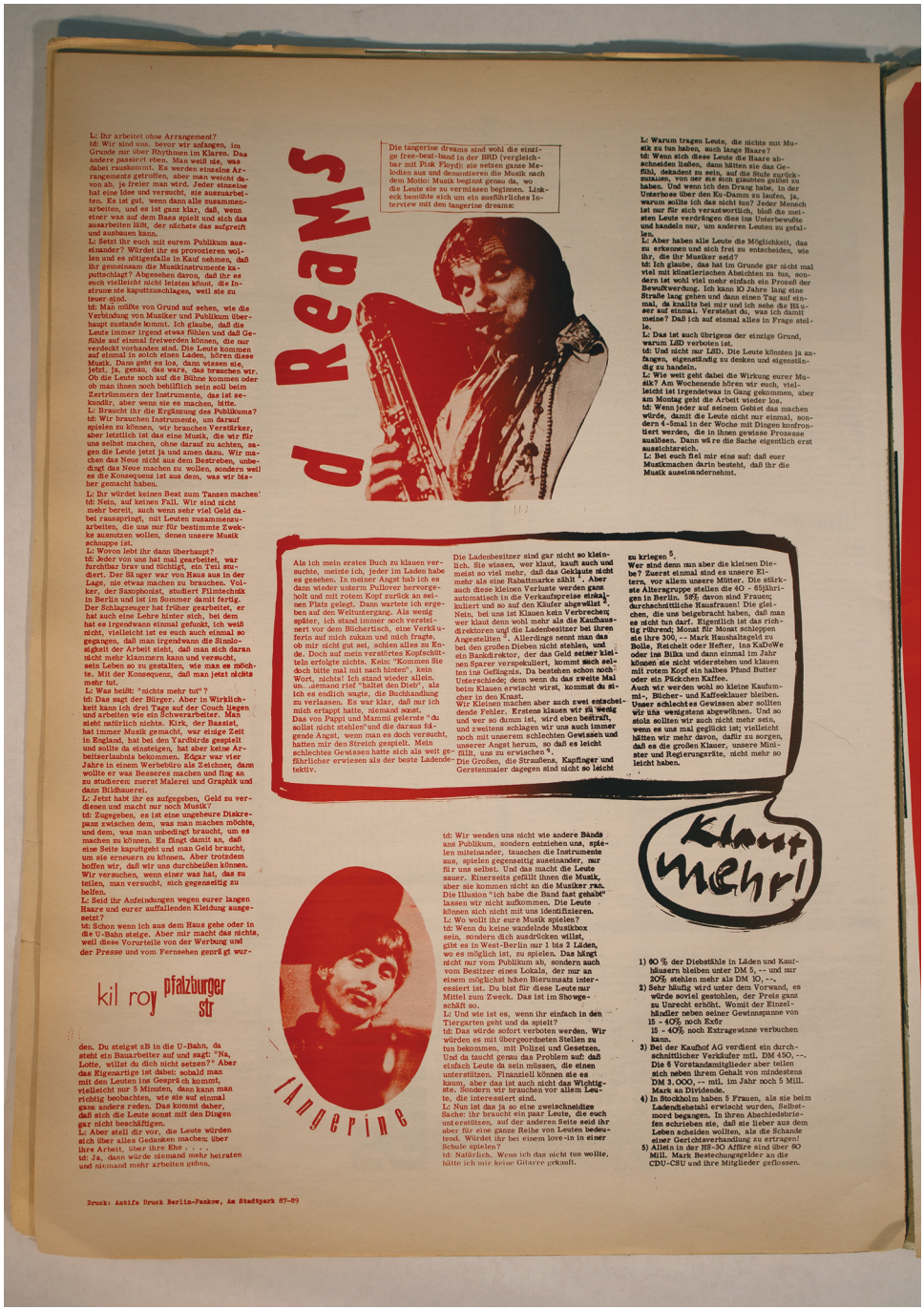


Fig. 25. “Steal more!”

Credit: *linkeck*. Special thanks to Kinner Bullock. © Kinner Bullock

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> A third group, however, not only talks [about changing our ownership], but acts: they steal. . . . If the theft at the last book fair had broken all previous records and made many dealers long for an ideal world again (one GDR exhibitor: "Damn it! Steal from the class enemy!"), according to business people and professional thieves, our department stores, bookstores, etc. are threatened with a similar situation.[85]

This article and other references from *Die Zeit* or *Der Spiegel*[86] indicate the extent to which theft had not only problematized the commodity form of the book; it made stealing books an effective ideology and praxis of political protest.

Conclusion

The material difficulties in retracing publications like *Klau mich* historically implicate the ways in which fringe books can fall apart or parts go missing.[87] Today, the original version of *Klau mich* is considerably difficult to find, which has to do with the fact that it sold out at the 1968 Frankfurt Book Fair and most copies probably remain in private ownership. Arguably of similar interest are the original pornographic supplements, which have rarely survived today. For the history of this book[88] and, indeed, the field of book studies in general, missing contents like these are quite relevant for performative contexts. The very status of "missing" relates to how republications can reproduce pages that say "paste here" and how these pages represent a material trace of lost content and, more importantly, lost political and literary context. In the performative context of the West German protest movement, this loss has significantly affected the way in which scholars have pieced together the story of this book's protest but also protests that stemmed from books like *Subkultur Berlin*, which incorporated the flexi-disc into the book's format, a technology that was never designed to last in the first place. Accordingly, the removable feature in these fringe books discloses how a book's materiality reflected the ephemeral culture of performing protest with fringe literature in the late 1960s, not simply reading, retailing, or storing it on a shelf.[89]

In order to rethink the history of books in the West German protest movement, it is necessary to understand how the significance of books like *Kampfreime*, *Subkultur Berlin*, or *Klau mich* does not stem from a cult-like popularity in the 1968 West German protest movement; rather it stems from

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their bibliographic connection to cultures of protest. As this chapter has shown, the ephemerality of fringe books is informed by political contexts, but, as scholars of literature and protest, it is important to note how and why these political contexts were also designed directly into material book formats. Whereas the story of missing inserts, flexi-discs, or rare fringe books does not tell the entire political story of books in West Germany, the fact that these components are often deteriorating speaks to their material history on the fringe. At the same time, this history uncovers the need for alternative material histories of books and print cultures.

From a bibliographic perspective, the out of line print protest against conventional layouts bridges how institutional or societal biases about fringe books still play out today. *Klau mich* and books like it have had less of an ongoing impact than other works of protest literature in the late 1960s. Yet, alongside a proliferation of other printed forms like underground newspapers, pamphlets, flyers, and posters, fringe books imbue the alternative print publication culture of the late 1960s with new critical notions of publicity. Moreover, like their grangerized predecessors, which confounded the idea of publication through visual or material layers, fringe books require a renewed attention to how a hands-on analysis can interact with more recent, intriguing digital techniques of literary and cultural interpretation (i.e., digital methods of reading[90]) to show how literature's construction specifies a distinctly tangible, material story. In this sense, being out of line continues to change perspectives on what the function of fringe books was in 1968, and how adages like judging books by their covers or commands about stealing them have helped them assume political meaning ever since.

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CHAPTER TWO

Periodical Platform

> Newspapers are dying everywhere.
> —*A: Die kritische Zeitung* (1967)

In November 1968, the *Kursbuch* 15 special issue on literature hit a political nerve in West Germany when it spurred one of the most pronounced debates in postwar German literary history, the alleged "death of literature" debate. Setting off the skirmish were three now-famously incendiary references to literature's death in *Kursbuch* 15's final editorial section, which featured mortal tropes like the "death of literature," "a wreath for literature," and "criticism is dead."[1] As many readers and critics responded, citing the literary industry's death in a special issue on literature seemed to undermine the goal of supporting and celebrating its life. Thanks in part to *Kursbuch* 15, the stakes of determining what was *literary* seemed suddenly urgent to West Germans in 1968, with writers and scholars exchanging heated opinions about literature's place in the West German protest movement, pitting adherents of *l'art pour l'art* (art for art's sake) against those of *littérature engagée* (engaged literature). In addition to the editorial section, a sharp critique of literature emerged throughout the issue vis-à-vis a somewhat playful combination of authors, texts, and genres, provoking readers to reassess the relationship between literature and politics, if not also reading or writing habits in and of themselves. Already evident in the table of contents, for instance, *Kursbuch* 15's well-known authors, such as Samuel Beckett, Julio Cortázar, and Mao Tse-tung, helped profile the journal's international prose with its Left-leaning readership.[2] It also positioned poetic compilations "Four Poems," "Eight Epigrams," and a second, different "Four Poems" among individual titles "Anti-Poetry" and the poem publication titled "Unpublished Poem."[3] This design served less to introduce content than to implicate the issue's

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dialectical engagement with poetry right from the initial encounter with the table of contents. Moreover, the journal issue presented a broad spectrum of contributions including a testimony from an enslaved person's perspective on Cuban history and a public lecture on "literature of a revolutionary phase" in Vietnam, both of which underscored how literature could be diversely utilized and universalized for political means.[4] This diverse textual arrangement played into what Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth have described as the "discovery of the performative" in the West German protest movement.[5] By packaging literary contents into politically informed constellations,[6] *Kursbuch* 15's alleged death knell could in fact be seen to have engaged and energized literature.

While these contents helped showcase literature's performativity, the more pressing repercussion of *Kursbuch* 15 for literary history stemmed from the margins of the journal's print platform where a removable poster was included in the table of contents but inserted separately into the back of the publication. The poster's marginal status distinguished it from the other contents that were similarly listed in the official table of contents. For one, the dark-tinted glossy sheen of paper and elongated format of the poster looked oddly different from the journal's normal paper stock and size (fig. 26). More importantly, though, the physicality of its design denoted a stark shift away from the one-column articles that *Kursbuch* normally published. Folded and manually placed into the journal's covers, the poster ushered in the popular, recurring publishing feature called *Kursbogen*, which indicated a new publication strategy and medial practice of taking content from the table of contents and displaying it outside of the journal. Etymologically derived from the root word "Kurs" (course) and "Fragebogen" (questionnaire) the *Kursbogen* was conceived as a separable material that, like *Kursbuch*, furthered the concept of charting West German society toward a more open-ended and open-minded political direction.[7] Similar to a questionnaire, which surveyed and solicited a reaction, the etymology of this term revealed much about the intended purpose of this inaugural *Kursbogen* and the subsequent *Kursbögen* (plural) that followed. On the one hand, the specific title of "Autodafé" elicited literary criticism through agitation by invoking the historical custom of pronouncing a death sentence in the Spanish Inquisition. On the other hand, its opening line, "Criticism is dead"[8] performed the poster's role as a death decree of literary criticism. Even more remarkable for *Kursbuch* 15, the physical format of the *Kursbogen* ascribed material meaning to a periodical margin and, in doing so, demonstrated how the political function of literature *unfolded* into West German protest.

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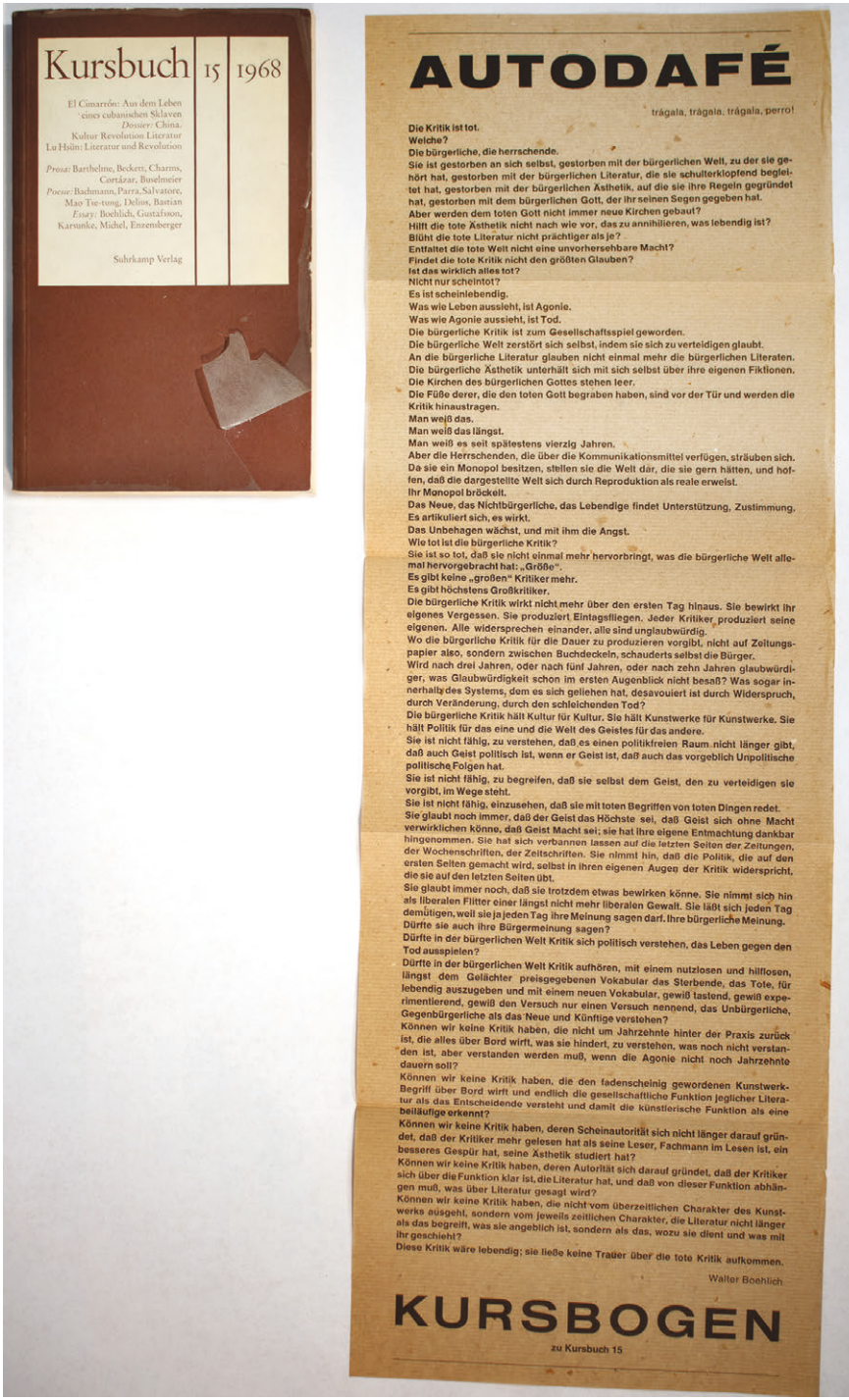


Fig. 26. "Autodafé," *Kursbuch* 1 (Credit: A special thanks to Kinner Bullock. © Kinner Bullock).

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This chapter explores how materials, medial actions, and print layouts like Walter Boehlich's "Autodafé" brought together design strategies with protest strategies in and around alternative periodicals of the late 1960s. I define alternative periodicals as nonconformist presses or publication organs published periodically that contained an unconventional perspective on social dissidence, whether in content, visual appearance, or physical format. On the page, these publications generated new print designs which mobilized alternative visual arrangements like crooked layouts and colorful overlaps. Off the page, they activated new designs of materiality, which mobilized physical formats like the centerfold and extraliterary materials like removable posters. These traits reflected print practices and distribution strategies that were out of line with the publishing conventions of more mainstream periodicals. They propagated acts of protest by politically intertwining print and materiality in the formats of periodicals. Through a close examination of how print and materiality challenged convention, this chapter seeks to recover an overlooked medial history of the West German alternative periodicals and demonstrate how the nexus of mediality and materiality not only helped politicize their formats in the protest movement but also comprised a new politics of print for larger histories of literature.

The Life (and Death) of Literature

Since it helped spark the debate about what constituted literature, not to mention its death, *Kursbuch* 15, the special issue, reveals just how print and politics overlapped in periodicals. Starting with the editorial section, which opened with *Kursbuch* editor Hans Magnus Enzensberger's article "Commonplaces on the Newest German Literature" (Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend), concepts of new versus old literature took a hyperbolic turn when Enzensberger gestured toward literature's death in several ways. Positioned as an epigraph, an excerpt from Franz Kafka's short story "Josephine the Singer, or the Mouse Folk" played with the notion of death: "Josephine's road . . . must go downhill. The time will soon come when her last notes sound and die into silence. She is a small episode in the eternal history of our people, and the people will get over the loss of her."[9] Enzensberger's overture to Kafka signals recognition of literature's past greatness. But it also sheds light on how death helped thematize literature's future. Namely, the short story contradicts itself from the opening title to the closing line, rebuking any attempt at a singular interpretation of the plot. It at once celebrates the professional life of a famous mouse singer while also calling

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into question the credibility (and gullibility) of the mouse audience and, by extension, the reader audience. By positioning the line "the people will get over the loss of her" as an epigraph, Enzensberger framed his criticism of old, traditional literature with an intertextual reminder about the vitality of literature's traditions.

Building on this frame, his notable opening words "so now we can hear it tolling again, the little death knell for literature"[10] relate a figurative funeral banquet, featuring literati, poets, and other people in the literary industry. Yet rather than assert an actual death of literature, what Enzensberger set out to do here was to broaden the context of past assertions thereof while at the same time sounding the alarm on an increasingly passive, capitalistic industry that conditioned readers and writers to "deliver, consume; deliver, consume: when writers and readers notice that those who deliver are swallowed and those who swallow are delivered up, this leads to a congestion. It is this very elitist character of our literature which makes it susceptible to such seizures."[11] Enzensberger's poignant critique of elitism and the socioeconomic conditions that drove it diagnosed literature's underlying woes while offering a different vision of the "Newest Literature," which itself gestured back to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's famous critique from 1767, "Letters on the Newest German Literature." This critique also posited an agitational model of political collage-pamphlets from the Kommune I, Ulrike Meinhof's columns in *konkret*, and other underground texts. In the case of the Kommune I pamphlets, the messy and colorful layers of text over images called attention to the unruly bricolage that shaped the political countermessages of protest writing, which, for Enzensberger, stood in resistance to the passivity of conventional literary form (fig. 27). His plea was to write and read against the grain, to write and read in a way that not only established political "commonplaces" in text but also uncovered textual histories of writing dating back to Lessing's "Letters," revealing a longer genealogy of literature's potential future.

Directly following the publication of the article in *Kursbuch* 15, the very notion of literature's death incited a vehement debate over the purpose and politics of literature in 1968, and quickly threaded its way from the journal's contents to West German public discourse. In response to Enzensberger's appeal for writers to "fight"[12] against the norms of highbrow art, the renowned literary critic Reinhard Baumgart in *Der Spiegel* retorted: "Who defends himself and who begins to fight? Not Enzensberger. For a while now, he has played the role of a littérateur—a beetle who lies on his corselet with his legs up—dead."[13] Responses like this insinuated that there was something

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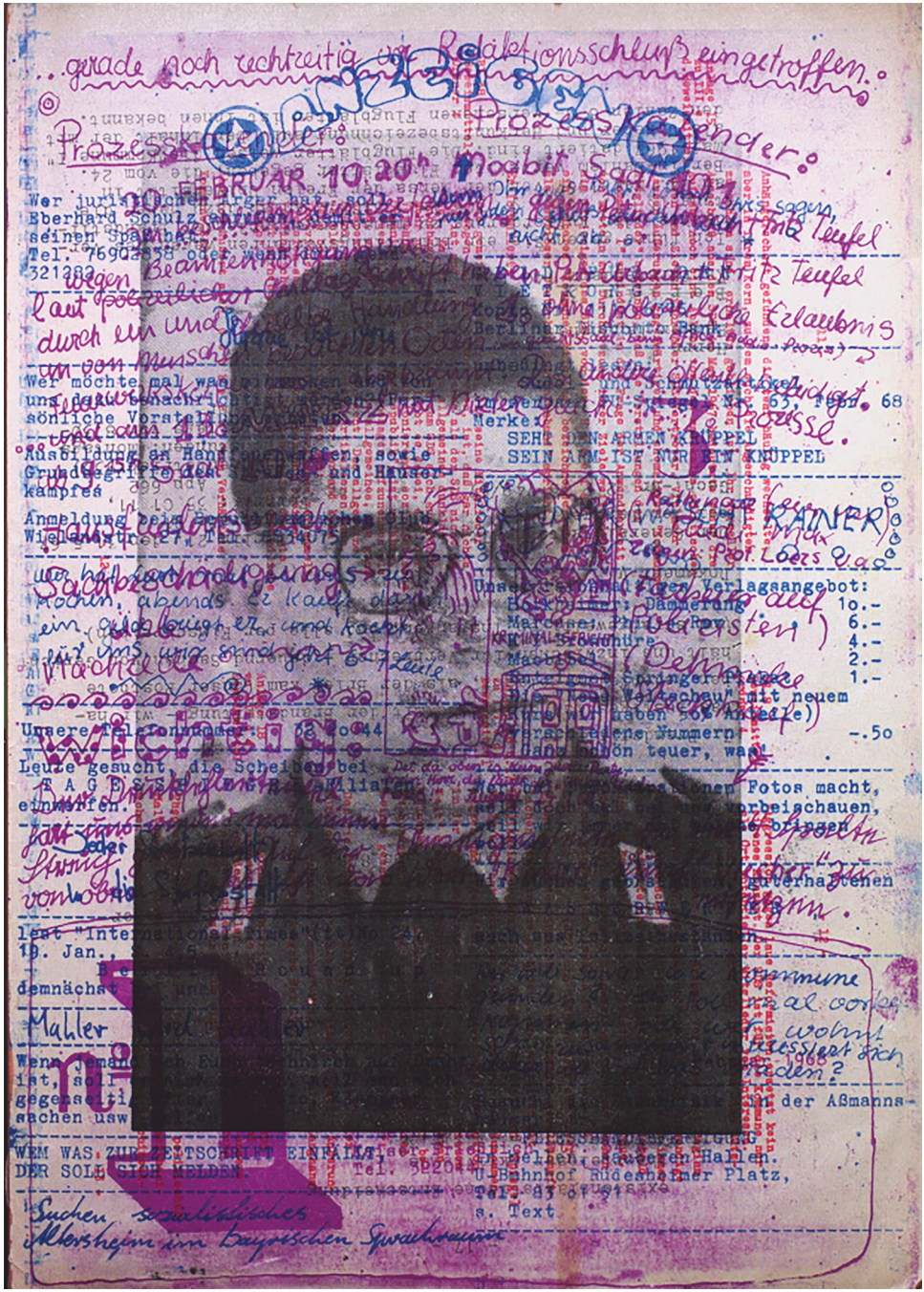


Fig. 27. Overlays

Credit: Kommune I. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

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blasphemous about pronouncing the death of literature in a culture very much defined by its literary tradition. As Enzensberger himself and many scholars have noted, however, the article did not argue for an actual death of literature, but instead pointedly noted the following: "Also worth contemplating: the 'death of literature' itself is a literary metaphor, and scarcely of recent vintage."[14] Dating back to Hegel's "death of art" discourse in the early nineteenth century and Lautréamont's stark critique of poetics, Enzensberger applied the metaphor to configure a context for why West Germany lacked a politically conscious trope within literature and what it needed to do to foster the kind of practical political change that was in large part called for by student protesters, who Enzensberger lauded. "When the brightest heads between twenty and thirty are more interested in an agitational model than an 'experimental text'; when they prefer to use faktographs to picaresque novels; when they sneer at literature, both its production and consumption, these are indeed promising signs."[15] Taking note of the new youthful tastes, Enzensberger's embrace of the protest culture suggested less a death of literature as such than a birth of new textual politics and literal political movement in and out of periodical layouts.

Periodical Texts

Recent scholarship on West German periodicals reveals a shifting set of consequences that emerged out of the debate around literature's alleged death. Jan-Frederik Bandel and Georg Stanitzek take note of the boom in alternative print objects like booklets, pamphlets, underground newspapers, and other forms of periodicals, which came into existence after the debate.[16] Indeed, the rise of newspapers like *linkeck*, serialized pamphlets from the Kommune I, and circulars from the Action Council for the Liberation of Women, each of which started in or around 1968, seems to uphold Enzensberger's argument about the political revival of literature's future. In addition, scholars have increasingly turned to the relationship between periodicals and protest to understand just how print captured the fascination with young readers at this time. From Timothy Scott Brown's examination of the "printed word" and its political imperative for the extra-parliamentary opposition to Detlef Siegfried's statistical assessment of readerships in the youth magazines *Twen* and *konkret* and Henning Marmulla's archival history of *Kursbuch*, West Germany's robust periodical landscape reveals how expressions of resistance moved into and onto the layouts of periodicals, whether in the form of removable centerfolds or stapled scraps of paper with illicit stamp markings.

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Focusing on protest and/in periodicals at this time shows how the political life of literary form in the Global Sixties not only connects to the rising interest in periodical literature as a field of scholarly study but also breaks from these traditions.

Due to its versatile character, the study of the periodical medium has been the subject of extensive academic interest as of late. Take, for example, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes' argument in the article "The Rise of Periodical Studies," where they argue that "[scholars] have often been too quick to see magazines as discrete containers of information rather than autonomous objects of study."[17] For Latham, Scholes, and others, the interdisciplinarity and miscellany required in any study of periodicals highlights the significant overlap of literary, cultural, and historical study.[18] In contrast to the more stable format of books, the variability of periodical formats discloses regular, irregular, or what Matthew Philpotts describes as "fractal" publishing scopes.[19] By interacting with creative publishing practices, spaces, and readerships, the diverse ecology of publications troubles the notion of a single bound text. To Koenraad Claes, this infers the assumed "historical hierarchy of forms of printed information," which raises questions about the status of the removable supplement, if not also the periodical as a whole.[20] Indeed, zooming in on specific features such as supplements or other fringes arguably creates space for insightful encounters with the visual and medial histories of periodicals, whether in "thick" literary journals, "yellow" newspaper journalism, "little" magazines, or "underground" broadsides.[21] Such vocabularies of print and periodicals offer a larger lesson: that it is possible to reconstruct the visual and material history of literary form inside *and* outside of literary formats in "underground" and "alternative" periodicals of West Germany's "1968."

In West Germany's protest movement, the circulation of content in and out of print formats led to new thinking about the collective function of such materials by turning consumable print into mobile multipliers or amplifiers of a political message. Along with the rise in periodical studies, print histories, too, have long turned to the materiality of print objects, which expounds on the conjectures about what the given meanings of print, text, narrative might even entail. As Bill Brown notes, for instance, textual materialism might even privilege the "paratexts, frames, folds, borders, [and] margins"[22] as fundamental categories of interpretation over narrative tropes, storylines, or plot development. Gérard Genette outlines how the very construct of "paratext" serves more as a "threshold" and "fringe" as opposed to the primary textual content of a given work.[23] One sees how Genette, Brown,

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and others are drawn to the hypothesis that the physical boundaries of the text—its tangible feel, appearance, and materiality—may, in fact, have more to say about the textual meaning than readers and scholars tend to give them credit for. In this case, publication features like centerfolds transformed traditional reading audiences into larger viewing ones, and by extension reveal what Christina Lupton considers "paper ontologies" or what Lisa Gitelman calls "paper knowledge." In West German alternative print organs, it was the politics and the performativity of paper that set the periodical reading apart from past traditions of periodical reading.[24]

Periodical History and Protest

To analyze the visual and material engagement with protest in periodicals, this chapter concentrates on how underground publications turned to print designs in order to circulate protest information. Unlike mainstream news-based periodicals like *Die Zeit* or *Der Spiegel*, for example, alternative periodicals such as the underground biweekly *Hamburger APO Info Dienst* provided logistical reports on local protest marches, updates on student protester court trials, and tips for readers in case they were arrested or photographed by the police.[25] Other publications like the underground newspaper *Charlie kaputt*, student magazine *nobis*, and even the mainstream journal *Kursbuch* presented a similar leftist range of topics including the Vietnam War, university bylaws, the extraparliamentary opposition, emergency laws, women's rights, and more. The emphasis on creating practical, informative content about protest reflected a greater mistrust of the mainstream press. In his well-known study from 1972, *Paperback Revolutionaries*, Laurence Leamer goes so far to say that "the entire history of the underground press can be viewed as a reaction against traditional newspapers and periodicals. Here on the pages of the papers, dissident viewpoints are heard in full."[26] But Leamer's assertion also reveals how the protest culture sought to reclaim political agency by combining *public action* with periodical *publication*, thus cultivating an ongoing relationship among readers, periodicals, and protest.

As important as this textual content was, however, its appearance on the page or in cases off the page made a different kind of political statement. According to the West Berlin political collective *Club Ça ira* newspaper, publishing nonconformist viewpoints was more ostentatious and visually effective with unconventional print layouts. A jagged headline that reads "one year club ça ira" shows the unruly-looking information strewn around the page (fig. 28). This particular layout vibrantly recapped the year's events

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Fig. 28. Unruly print
Credit: *Ça ira*. Special thanks to the APO Archiv at the Freie Universität Berlin.

in the political collective, but before a reader could read the textual contents, they had to visually navigate its print layout, which features a dizzying collage of newspaper clippings, hand-written signatures, visual graphics, and print overlays. This interaction with print lent the page aesthetic depth, which in turn espoused the political determination of the movement, getting protesters to read into the messaging while giving them an aesthetic style that bespoke the era's challenge of rigid West German norms at the time.

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For the underground newspaper *Agit 883*, making print look *alternative* on the page was part of its mission.

> [The editors] ensured that the newspaper did not remain a text-heavy medium, but visualized the *Zeitgeist* in its graphic and artistic design. From the beginning, the newspaper worked intensively with pictures, comics, experimental layout forms, unusual reading perspectives, and a strong symbolic language.[27]

In other words, printing experimentally expressed an important aesthetic praxis of print protest that pushed reading and viewing conventions into experimental terrains, harkening back to previous traditions like Dada. As a result, the Global Sixties alternative print scene drew from what Patrizia McBride describes as the "chatter of the visible" that not only defined avant-garde collage in the early twentieth century but also anticipated future print developments that would emerge from Xerox technologies in the 1960s, positioning it into a longer history of print and protest. From the Dada movement of the early twentieth century to the anarchist squatter movement of the 1980s, printing out of line has long helped articulate and perform protest acts by giving distinctive aesthetic, historical, intersectional depth to expressions of protest on the page.[28]

Like the "Mini-Press," "Selbst-Verlag," or "Do-It-Yourself" movement that shaped West German fringe book production, the alternative production of periodicals portrayed an inclination to print-it-yourself. As opposed to a book, which often required industrial equipment to bind, package, and mass produce, the physical features of a newspaper, and to a lesser degree a magazine or journal, allowed it to be printed cheaply on a broadside sheet and folded quickly into a ready-to-go format. The simplicity of the newspaper format provided a more up-to-date, periodical source of news than the singular book or one-page flyer. This shift went hand in hand with significant technological transitions in publishing. Dating back to the 1950s, nonmainstream newspaper producers had either relied on expensive, low-technology Linotype printers or cheap, low-technology Mimeograph printers to produce high volumes of print. With the proliferation of cheap, high-resolution offset printers in the late 1960s, a new era of underground printing began in many countries around the world and, with it, political consequences for printing. As historian of the underground John McMillian describes it:

> Before the 1960s, newspaper copy had to be set in hot type on a Linotype machine—a procedure that was both costly and difficult. But with the advent

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> of the photo-offset printing, newspaper production suddenly became cheap and easy. All one needed was a competent typist, a pair of scissors, and a jar of rubber cement with which to paste copy onto a backing sheet, which was then photographed and reproduced exactly as it was set. For just a couple hundred dollars, one could print several thousand copies of an eight- or sixteen-page tabloid.[29]

McMillian observed that cost-saving changes in printers had a large impact on readerships by making it possible for broader demographic bases to practice politics by taking up printing in the 1960s. As underground printer Abe Peck noted, "There were five underground papers in 1965 . . . ; a dozen or so by 1967; five hundred, plus perhaps a thousand more at colleges and high schools, by 1969."[30]

In terms of production, then, the resulting periodicals not only stimulated local distribution networks on streets and in newsstands[31] but also organized new international distribution networks. Beginning in 1966, the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) founded a network of copyright-free distribution among underground or alternative newspapers in North America and England. By the early 1970s, West German newspapers began to associate with the UPS content or, in some cases, simply reprint its contents without permission. In 1970, a removable poster in *Kursbuch* republished and translated a famous underground comix strip from Manuel "Spain" Rodriguez. But rather than citing the UPS, *Kursbuch* invented a copyright by inserting the name of its publishing house directly next to the name: "Underground Press Syndicate."[32] In a print culture defined by the political praxis of *raubdrucken* (pirating), this move was not uncommon at the time. Meanwhile, other periodicals like Nürnberg's *pänggg* made a different use of UPS content by officially joining it. Yet, instead of simply advertising its membership, the underground newspaper displayed the complete list of UPS members on its back cover to show political solidarity with the noncopyright distribution network.

Such displays from the US underground scene helped raise awareness about the possibilities for West Germany's alternative print communities through literary fairs like the Literarische Messe or news publications like the *Ulcus Molle Info*.[33] But according to scholars such as Thomas Daum, the narrower scope of West Germany's alternative publishing culture could never truly compare to its US counterparts. As Daum writes:

> What was missing in the Federal Republic was not so much a broad range of underground papers with different content but the existence of counter-

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> cultural institutions between which a separate press could have functioned as a communicative link and information carrier.[34]

Daum's analysis of underground print in West Germany gives a sense of the dispersed nature of print, and it is another reason why making direct "underground" comparisons and uncovering their histories presents difficulties for scholars. If one assesses circulation numbers, single-issue print runs of 60,000 from the famous *Los Angeles Free Press*[35] or 150,000 from the *East Village Other* appear to vastly outrank famous West German undergrounds like *Ça ira*, *linkeck*, or *Oberbaum*, which had single-issue print runs closer to 4,000 or 7,000 per issue.[36] At first glance, these numbers and many more like them[37] imply a greater impact of the underground press in the US than in West Germany. However, while circulation numbers may factor into the history of underground publications, scholars like John McMillian comment on how tracking down exact data around print runs, circulation, and other concrete details is a paradoxical quest, as many of these administrative details were intentionally not included in the operations.[38] On the one hand, many underground publishers simply did not keep track of print runs and circulation numbers because this kind of organization went against the political, ephemeral, and noncommercial nature of their publishing ideals. On the other hand, print runs do not consider the more dynamic publishing details like confiscations, alterations, or other intangibles that so often characterized an underground publication's history.[39] By taking institutional structures of literature like sales, marketing, and numbers out of the equation, the alternative print scene of West Germany subverted larger mechanisms of literary tradition and cultivated an alternative tradition of literature.

In turn, emerging sentiments about actively using alternative literature redirected notions from what should be read to how the reading and distribution of literature could take place. As the new West German underground newspaper *A* informed in 1967: "Distribution through street sales, at the stand at the weekly market, with old VW buses set up as mobile information stands. . . . Never sell without agitating!" At the same time, unconventional formats began to include uneven layouts, centerfolds, posters, or "comix" into their publishing platforms. These traits were considered to stand in closer relation to subversive political practices of protest than traditional formats of literature seen in mainstream periodicals. According to the underground *A*, "We don't quite believe in the outdated categories of journalism. Perhaps the unification of various, sporadic approaches of existing newspapers into new journalistic forms can become a new original style in our

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newspaper." By virtue of this alternative stance, then, materials and publication features assumed a different political role than the conventional articles or layouts within journals.

Collage Revolution

In 1968, the first issue of the West Berlin underground newspaper *linkeck* inaugurated how print and dissent could politically overlap. Calling it *verquerte Geometrie* (geometry misplaced), former *linkeck* publishers Karin Kramer and Bernd Kramer described how the political publishing commune invented its new name, which might translate to something like a left angle.

> S. now drew his 15th rectangle, a horizontally lying rectangle. Rectangle?!?! (*Rechteck*) Rectangle?!?! Shit! Are we as normal benders actually bound to the laws of conventional geometry, to Euclid's theorem? What is all this to us? If there is a (Rechteck), then from today there is a *linkeck*![40]

Rejecting the norms of geometry and the German language, the name accentuated the status quo by writing hand-written cursive letters of its new name *linkeck* inside of a "Rechteck." Visually, this juxtaposed the meaning of the new sign with the old one, but it also turned the inaugural title into a rebellious inscription, puncturing the square lines of the rectangle with curvy lines. In addition, the cover page added confusion by pirating the trademark of the Springer publishing house's *Berliner Zeitung*, "*B.Z.*," and placing it directly above the *B.Z.* subtitle, "Berlin's largest Newspaper." While a first glance misguided casual viewers into thinking the newspaper might in fact *be* a *Berliner Zeitung*, the naked image of a buttocks with speech bubbles coming out of it with the words "Split into three—never!" referring to a satirical additional split of the city, which was featured in a placard slogan in support of unity between the Berlins.[41] But it accomplished this by associating a vulgar visual impression of a flatulent with the politically caustic block letters with *Vergast die Kommune!* (Gas the commune!). Whereas the words in the speech bubbles sarcastically referred to a contemporary political slogan promoting unity in the separated Berlin, vocabulary like *vergasen* garishly elicited memories of the gas chambers in the concentration camps. This kind of provocation rejected efforts to whitewash or diminish Germany's Nazi history from public discourse by bringing the term *vergasen* again into the public spotlight. Indeed, the lewd imagery of a flatulent cued an audible set of reprehensible words, which stood as a public documentation of the threats received by Kommune

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I protesters and as a surrealist-like symbol that subverted any power of the term's Nazi past. For Timothy Scott Brown, such a move showed a desire to recuperate a revolutionary past:

> If the history of National Socialism had been, as it were, "erased" (although the extent of this erasure is disputed) so had that of the German revolutionary tradition. The German left had been forced into exile or exterminated, its works and the works of its illustrious forebears burned, banned, and largely erased from public memory. The desire to recover this lost revolutionary past—to recover usable traditions, bodies of theory, and radical practices—became a central component of the West German 1968.[42]

Lewdly positioned, here, the blend of word and image radically altered the function of the term *vergasen* and led to its confiscation by West German authorities, which in turn highlighted attitudes about literary convention against three of the main features of underground literature. As an article from *Der Spiegel* reported, *linkeck* was confiscated "for dissemination of lewd writings as well as for violation of the Trademark Act."[43] Here, presenting lewd imagery, pirating the logo from *B.Z.*, and getting their own content confiscated showed how *linkeck* mobilized the page layout to form its own underground print culture trademark.[44]

One year later, on April 3, 1969, print layouts came under prosecutorial inquisition with an issue of *Agit 883*. In this case, an image of an imprisoned Rainer Langhans and text columns visually articulated print protest. Here, a slanted, overlayed text column in the middle of the page first seems to obstruct an image of Langhans pacing in a prison yard, which not only stood in contrast to the text aligned with the left-hand margins but also disrupted the tendency to begin reading there as opposed to viewing or reading elsewhere on the page (fig. 29). As the voice in the slanted column exclaims, "Who is sentenced every day in Moabit? It is the little man—the traffic offender, . . . the housewife who has helped herself in the self-service store, who . . . cannot pay the installment etc." Through word and image, the obstructive column drew attention to the ambiguity of the scene in the photograph and to the physical position of the photographer. The image gives the impression of Langhans's imprisonment, circling the Moabit jail's courtyard, but the photograph was presumably taken through a window inside of the jail, which calls into question who is on the inside and who is on the outside of its walls and incriminates how the news gets filtered and framed in the first place. By looking out onto the jail courtyard, the photograph impli-

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Fig. 29. Text behind bars
Credit: *Agit 883*

cates the reader's own state of imprisonment inside of the walls of capitalist society. As a result, the depth and visuality of the elements on the page confront the perspective of the reader and viewer, overlaying a depiction of imprisonment with the mobility and constructiveness of literary form.

Other forms of materiality also inscribed a new kind of protest site in alternative periodicals. Take, for example, a collage in the underground newspaper *Charlie kaputt*, which set out to document and renarrate a go-

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in from May 29, 1968 where the Kommune I's Fritz Teufel and others took over the German Department of West Berlin's Freie Universität (Free University). While the notorious go-in resulted in damage to university property and broken office doors, it also inspired new material expressions of dissent against curricula and a stultified certification culture. With the title "200 Stamps," an article in *Charlie kaputt* described how protesters occupied the German Studies Seminar in order to repurpose the space for appropriate political goals that took into account urgent realities such as West Germany's Emergency Laws and the murder of an innocent student protester. The article went on to describe that protesters therefore stole "stamps and other such authoritarian schmuck from the FU [Free University]." In a rejection of the long-standing compliance of university students of having their qualifications stamped—"A Stamped Qualification as a Student"—the protesters appropriated material goods with symbolic educational value. In West Germany, stealing stamps defiantly called into question a university system built on certificates, stamps, and their ritualistic capacity to sanction academic progress or the lack thereof. The use of a stolen stamp *undermined* the authority of the stamp as an instrument of power itself. But while the stolen stamps protested against this ritual, their stamped appearance on the page of the underground newspaper turned the surface of the page into a platform of action and material site of protest (fig. 30).

By stamping the page, publishers encouraged readers to further dilute the official dominion of the stamps and to subvert the sanctioning authority of the university. This fact politically activated the collage form. Moreover, the text "thieves can forge important documents" not only explained the ramifications of this new technique but also visualized the intermedial nature of its protest through its appearance in speech bubbles. Emerging from an image of a megaphone and pointing to Teufel's arrest by two police officers, the speech bubbles appeared to graphically speak on behalf of the incarcerated Teufel, turning the page into an homage to his protest action (fig. 31). Unlike the cutting and pasting techniques of offset printing, stamping brought the official, static format of a stamp into contact with the ever-changing page of an underground newspaper. As a result, *Charlie kaputt* used the materiality of print to *un*-officially stamp a new periodical protest into existence and, by extension, performatively sanctioned its readers with the *un*-official authority to do the same.

In addition to stamps, other tangible formats of print's materiality configured page designs at this time. On the opposite page of *Charlie kaputt*, for instance, an additional piece of scrap paper supplemented the appearance of

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Fig. 30. Stamp act
Credit: *Charlie kaputt.* Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

stamps. Stapled to the layout, the piece of scrap paper accentuated its own material design and work that went into its construction. As the instructions on the left-hand page instructed its readers, "anyone who happens to get hold of one of the stamps should stamp as many forms of all kinds as possible." By stapling a piece of stamped paper, the newspaper thus demonstrated what it meant by this and also presented an implicit, layered critique of the paperwork and bureaucracy that famously characterized West Germany's university system (fig. 32).

While the use of paper pieces, a staple, and stamps marked the fusion of concrete materials on the page of *Charlie kaputt*, the University of Mainz's student magazine, *nobis*, revealed how print materialities could forgo paper altogether. In the April 1968 issue, the front cover and an inside page were replaced with translucent, acetate plastic pages that were more commonly used for overhead projectors. Comprised of blue columns of shoes and translucent plastic, the front cover made a colorful statement of solidarity by visual association with Rudi Dutschke's shoes that had been left on the site of his attempted assassination in West Berlin just prior to the publication. Following transportation to the hospital, a chalk circle around and along with

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Fig. 31. The megaphone and the message
Credit: *Charlie kaputt*. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

Dutschke's shoes, which had fallen off his feet, demarcated the immediate physical evidence of the crime scene, where they became iconic symbols of the tragedy. By designing the new plastic page with shoes on its front cover and discussing the assassination attempt in the issue,[45] *nobis* participated in mourning the shooting and protesting against the mainstream press, which many blamed for the shooting in the first place.[46] The artificiality of the

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Fig. 32. Protest staple
Credit: *Charlie kaputt.* Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

page's new material combined the fabricated nature of the mainstream press coverage with a palpable awareness of how periodical contents are constructed. In addition to the transparent plastic on the cover page, a similarly transparent red-hued plastic page in the middle of the magazine pushed this concept one step further. Like the transparency of the cover page, the composition of this plastic page allowed the contents of the page below to appear, which introduced a cut-and-pasted montage from the underground movement. Yet, by cutting a hole that perfectly fit the psychedelic font and words "Make It," the material function of this page rendered its transparency superfluous or supplementary and instead highlighted the visibility of the words in the hole even more.

Supplemental Politics

In addition to print layouts and materialities, physical traits like the centerfold mobilized the page itself as a medial space of protest. From bicycle

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safety advertisements to war propaganda posters and pin-up girls,[47] centerfolds had long captured the interest of readers and publishers alike because of how they activated periodical formats. The placement of the poster into the center position of a publication allowed for easy removability and simple packaging. Yet, whereas the English term centerfold still connotes the physical position of the poster at the center, the German term *Beilage* points to an addition, something extra. In the 1960s, for instance, youth magazines like *twen* and *Bravo* used their layouts to create extra visual dimensions of print, though not always from the center.[48] Whereas *Bravo* incorporated the collectible *Star-Schnitt* (Star Cut) publication feature from the inside of its covers,[49] *Twen* displayed distinctive ideas about how to unfold a magazine.[50] When considered as something extra or outside of the conventional contents, these publication features epitomize how supplements stretched notions of print and its formats.

For the West German protest movement, the distinction between supplements and centerfolds illustrates how to rethink the dynamic medial interactions they embodied. Examples like the low-resolution *Faltbild* (Folding Image) of Langhans in the *Oberbaum Blatt* in 1967, the imprint "Plakat" of Ché Guevara *Pinx* in 1968, or high-resolution "Polit-Poster" of Ho Chi Minh in the youth magazine *elan* in 1969 give visual currency to extramedial periodical features. Moreover, by virtue of the design, their supplements are conceived as a part of the physical publication platform, where they mark intriguing sites of protest that mobilized the physical platform of the periodical into an extramedial dimension of protest. While scholars like Brown and others have taken note of the various visual or medial functions posters served in the protest movement, these examples show how they were manufactured directly into periodical platforms from where they expanded dimensions of print. Like the unruly print layouts, the design of these embedded protest posters required physical interaction with their print hosts in order to access and conduct the visual and intermedial protest they propagated (fig. 33).

Removable *Beilagen* and Their Politics

While embedded features like centerfolds and some supplements expanded how protesters interacted with periodical contents on the inside, removable supplements gave periodical formats new political form and material outside. For instance, *Underground*[51] magazine's "Sexuality and Lordship" themed calendars not only enlightened the readers about popular top-

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Fig. 33. Centerfolds
Credit: *Oberbaum Blatt*. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

ics of the protest movement but also allowed their magazine brand to be advertised on the walls of its readers' homes as they posted the removable calendar. This new form extended the *Underground* contents and brand to audiences that might not otherwise select it as a periodical to read. More important for scholars today though, the removability of extraliterary periodical material like this one has significant implications for an

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expanded material history of literature. Even though these materials were often conceived as being content and included in the table of contents, they were designed to be removed from the periodical and displayed elsewhere. Hence, any absence from these periodicals today points to their ephemerality in the protest movement. As a result, removable materials have a different kind of material history and scholarly reception than the contents from the table of contents of such periodicals. To better understand the relationship between periodicals and their removable materials, then, the next section turns to one of the most famous periodicals in West Germany at the time and one of the most telling examples of removable content in its protest movement.

Kursbuch and the (Re-)Movability of Literary Form

As Henning Marmulla notes in *Kursbuch* 170,[52] the political cachet of the journal had to do with its use and circulation. For Marmulla, "it circulated, lay on the bedside tables, next to the mattresses, spread in the universities. Hardly any antiquarian edition could be found that did not contain numerous reader comments. The Kursbuch was not an organ for the shelf."[53] This rationale solicits a simple, undervalued question in the many histories of "1968": if not for the bookshelf, for what was *Kursbuch* or other political-literary publications like it otherwise meant? While *Kursbuch* journals can generally be found on personal bookshelves or in public libraries today, that fact does not reflect the entire story. For one, the journals themselves were often carried around and read in public, as demonstrated by the protagonist in Uwe Timm's well-known novel *Heißer Sommer* (Hot Summer, 1974). Nevertheless, Ben Mercer's observation that "the politicized minority frequently disdained the reading habits of the majority" narrows in on the question of whether readers even read journals like *Kursbuch*, and, if so, how?[54] In contrast with more conventional *Kursbuch* readers who showed great interest in the journal's content and who fueled its rise in popularity,[55] the protesting student demographic of the late 1960s put great stock into the removability of content, such as posters. Accordingly, *Kursbuch* responded to the student readers' interests in removing print from the journal, as this University of Tübingen fan mail demonstrates:

> You could—and if the Kursbuch is more than a business you must—supply the Basisgruppe Germanistik with propaganda material, with the "Kursbogen" to Kursbuch 15 [Autodafé by Walter Boehlich]. . . . Could you provide

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> us with about 1,000 copies of the Kursbogen free of charge or for a maximum of 50,- DM? If that is not possible, can we reproduce it ourselves without paying you royalties?[56]

Written directly after *Kursbuch* 15's publication on November 13, 1968, this letter denotes the enthusiasm for using posters as political instruments in the protest movement, which notably played out in universities to the extent that protest in the late 1960s has now become synonymous with the student movement. Letters like this one show the level of involvement that the student population had in protest politics and how alternative circulation factored into their protest. Moreover, it is easy to infer from the letter that Boehlich's "Autodafé" visually perpetuated a political statement about criticism in the Tübingen Department of German itself.[57] As Marmulla proposes, the fact that *Kursbuch* granted permission to reprint and reproduce the poster was a symbolic act that helped diffuse texts from publication platforms like journals to public spaces like the walls of university departments, *Wohngemeinschaften* (shared flats), or homes. This visual experience of reading introduces a new set of parameters that help reassess the role of *Kursbuch* and its *Kursbögen*. First, how can the political relationship between journals like *Kursbuch* and protest through removable *Kursbögen* be understood? How did the removal and circulation of the *Kursbögen* propagate the journal's message and meaning? To what extent did acts of viewing confound how one might think about reading? By examining three early *Kursbögen* with these questions in mind, I demonstrate how it becomes possible not simply to contextualize the removable *Kursbuch* contents from a historical perspective but also to read into the margins of the journal and recover the medial ways in which *Kursbögen* transformed the political function of literature into visual and material cues for conducting protest.

It is perhaps not surprising that the first removable *Kursbogen*, which itself invoked a proclamation of death, appeared in the same famous literary criticism of *Kursbuch* 15 that allegedly announced literature's own death. As mentioned, by citing the symbolic "Autodafé" and words "Criticism is dead," Boehlich's critique historicized the misguided Spanish Inquisition's attempts to publicly execute unbelievers. While this is remarkable for its implications for literary criticism, I want to suggest that the removal of the poster might also be regarded as having *disembodied* literary criticism as it was physically removed from the body of the journal and, more specifically, the section of literary criticism it pronounced dead. When one considers the poster through this medial effect, the act of removal becomes striking because it also shows how texts, materials, and alternative features like the

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Kursbogen could performatively mobilize literary form inside and outside of journals at the time. In comparison to articles inside of the journal, posters urged public and proactive techniques of deployment. By displaying the poster, literary form visually politicized a public message, which in this particular case reflected the widespread rejection by the Left of bourgeois criticism that had prevailed into the late 1960s. This practice of display drew attention to the more nuanced kinds of interplay between public and publication, as the poster medium called into question whether or not literature had too often been categorized only by the quality of its content rather than by its visual function.

In encouraging its own removal and external placement, the phrase "criticism is dead" in the first *Kursbogen* (see Fig. 26) complicated the interactions between reading and viewing. To actually *read* Boehlich's condemnation of criticism, one had to remove the "Autodafé" from the journal and unfold it. This interaction was somewhat paradoxical. Once removed, it was bulky to hold and better suited for display on a wall. Once taped to the wall, the *Kursbogen* stood autonomously. With this in mind, one can better evaluate what the "Autodafé" enacted. With its small font size, one cannot help but notice that the poster either seemed to be intended less for reading than for looking at or in fact required a "close reading" in a way that posters normally do not. In that respect, the "Autodafé" markedly blurred the lines about the extent to which the poster was converted to a text or a text to a poster. After all, *Kursbogen* viewers may not necessarily have been *Kursbuch* readers at all; however, assuming they read it closely or looked at the poster, they nonetheless interacted with the journal's content on a visual level. Furthermore, the text's message accentuates an important function of the poster. Underneath the large all-capital bold title, the subtitle *trágala, trágala, trágala, perro!* (swallow it, dog!) helped visually re-create the atmosphere and acoustics of the plaza where the religious Inquisition trials had taken place. The selection of words at the top of the poster sets the scene for the trial of criticism and thereby raises a key argument about its own role in *Kursbuch* 15. Whereas this historical "auto-da-fé" death announcement precludes the life of literary criticism, the poster's marginal position at the end of the journal materially extended, and thus resurrected, the special issue on literature as a figurative closing statement and as literal text to take away.

Following Boehlich's "Autodafé," the second *Kursbogen* by Peter Schneider highlighted public speeches as a popular form of protest. Printed for *Kursbuch* 16 in March 1969, Schneider's "Speech to the German Readers and Their Writers" staged conventional reading as a speech act. Like the "Autodafé" before it, the small font and four columns drew attention to the textual

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Fig. 34. Speech to the German Readers and Their Writers, *Kursbuch* 16
Credit: © Kinner Bullock

impact of the poster. While this small font distinctly necessitated a close reading and close engagement with the large poster, the aesthetic look of the poster as well as the title *Rede* (Speech) portrayed a transcription of spoken words into written words and vice-versa. When looked at from a distance (as large posters generally were), the small text acutely tied into how speeches and speaking were being symbolized in the late 1960s (fig. 34). In accordance with the theme of *Kursbuch* 16, "cultural revolution," the *Kursbogen* criticized

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the lack of discussion in West Germany: "when i step out onto the street, i see no traffic between people, no groups talking about the newspaper, there is no conversation in the air." The poster therefore politicized the message of speaking in a way similar to what other print media like one flyer encouraged: "DISCUSS! DON'T CONSUME! DISCUSS! DON'T CONSUME!"[58] But as a printed depiction, the lowercase letters of the speech also fashioned a visually stimulated colloquial tone and expressed a political expansiveness that could be read and understood as a visual indicator of the text's vernacular character.

In written German, the speech's use of lower-case letters rejected the customary capital letters of German nouns and could be traced in the titles of popular leftist magazines and journals such as *konkret* and *Hamburg links-LITERARISCH* or often seen in underground newspapers like *FIZZ* and *Radikalinski*. On another level, the speech must be considered in terms of the other political speeches in *Kursbuch* 16, which nearly made up the entire issue. From the dossier that was subtitled "Workers talk"[59] to speeches taken from the renowned "Liberation of Dialectics" congress from London in 1967, the act of giving speeches was re-presented in *Kursbuch* 16 to show the crucial role they played for global protests.[60] As opposed to the first two theoretical articles of *Kursbuch* 16,[61] Schneider's removable poster followed famous political speeches such as Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power" and Herbert Marcuse's "Liberation from the Affluent Society."[62] Building on the politics in these speeches, the removable poster gave visual evidence of what Nina Verheyen has called the *Diskussionsfieber* (discussion fever) outbreak and, once manually removed, served as a talking point that stood in a mnemonic relation to the journal's other speeches.[63] In this sense, Schneider's removable speech visually prompted German readers and their writers not only to read its speech contents but also to speak out themselves.

In 1969, the fifth and final *Kursbogen* published by the Suhrkamp Verlag incorporated layers of media that conspicuously disoriented viewers and readers. Printed for *Kursbuch* 19, the handwritten capital letters that presented the title of the poster "THE ANARCHISTS AT PICCADILLY, CLUELESS" as well as the words "STREET FIGHTING MAN" and "KURSBOGEN" stood out from typed text (fig. 35). These words consisted of Rolling Stones lyrics and an interview with the commune leader Peter Polish and could only be read from up close. When viewed from a distance, both forms of text ambiguously faded into the background of the poster as a more visually striking collection of photographic images from London's Piccadilly Circus moved to the forefront of the poster. With the title, *Die Anarchisten*

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Fig. 35. Anarchists at Piccadilly Circus, Clueless, *Kursbuch* 19
Credit: © Kinner Bullock

auf dem Piccadilly, ratlos (The Anarchists at Piccadilly, Clueless), Gerold Dommermuth and Jürgen Seuss's *Kursbogen* directly referred to Alexander Kluge's 1968 film *Die Artisten in der Zirkuskuppel—ratlos* (The artists under the big top: Perplexed). Kluge's film tells the story of a circus actor's failed attempt to socially reform the circus, while the *Kursbogen* shifted the metaphor to London's Piccadilly Circus, which was a physical, symbolic site of the "Swinging London" of the late 1960s and not an actual circus. As Brown writes, bands like the Kinks, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones all gave the subculture soundtracks of inspiration for underground newspapers but also for other experimental social-political projects.[64] Places like Piccadilly Circus

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were complicated crossroads that contributed to London's centrality in the worldwide artistic fringes and transnational protest. In the *Kursbogen*, the alternative life at the Piccadilly Circus resisted gentrification and attempts at social reform from the top down. In the small text that underlined the poster, the commune member Peter Polish subversively outlined how squatter's rights and looting were essential expressions of a more proletarian resistance to government, law, and social norms by adding that "when people on the street need something, they go to a store and liberate it."

In addition, the imposition of a photographic image, purple tint, and lyrics were superimposed over images and gave a multimedial, noisy impression that made it difficult to determine whether text or pictorial image makes up the forefront or background of the poster. Familiarity with the Rolling Stones song advertised the implication of the politically transformative role that rock'n'roll music could play. In contrast to the famous song by the German American singer Bill Ramsey, whose 1968 hit "Piccadilly Circus" lulled West German listeners into pleasant modes of listening and sold them on the notion of Piccadilly Circus as an iconographic place of pop culture, famous protest songs like the Rolling Stones' "Street Fighting Man" refuted the pop culture of the *Schlager* (hit song) and its musical genre entirely. For these reasons, the anti-gentrification polyphony that fit into the poster's material frame lends itself to the chaos that fit into Piccadilly Circus and its contentious negotiation of public space, music, pop culture, and protest.

As a result of the *Kursbögen* (plural), *Kursbuch* not only circulated political content more closely in line with the protest movement but also asserted how it was out of line with the mainstream publishing industry. As with many Left-leaning publishers around this time, *Kursbuch*'s sudden break from its mainstream publishing house, Suhrkamp Verlag, revealed a larger rift between the demands of running a large journal and the politics of including removable materials in 1970. Following *Kursbuch* 19 and its "anarchist" *Kursbogen*, publisher Siegfried Unseld of the Suhrkamp Verlag requested that the posters no longer be printed in conjunction with the journal. In a letter to *Kursbuch*'s editor Enzensberger in December 1969, he wrote: "Kursbogen. Indeed, I find that the level of the last supplements is below the line that I consider decisive for the signum of Suhrkamp Verlag."[65] Enzensberger's refusal to stop printing the posters marked a final breaking point of Unseld's dissatisfaction with the *Kursbogen* publishing feature.[66] In part based on this disagreement, *Kursbuch* began its departure from the Suhrkamp Verlag and established an independent, self-titled Kursbuch Verlag in cooperation with some financial and institutional backing from the

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Left-leaning Wagenbach Verlag. Following this move, Enzensberger reimagined the removable *Kursbogen* feature with new titles and formats like *Kurszettel* (Kurs-Slip of Paper),[67] *Kursbuch-Kommix* (Kursbuch Comix),[68] or even more provocatively a poster titled *Der breite und der schmale Weg* (The wide and narrow path), contrasting *Die Worte des Vorsitzenden* (Words of the Chairman, aka "Mao Bible") with the Bible,[69] which juxtaposed the binary of Communism versus capitalism and heaven versus hell. Hence, the removable *Kursbögen* not only accounted for a key political vitality of the journal; they materially factored into its legacy.

In focusing on this politics of print removal, the margins of journals like *Kursbuch* were not only limited to a historical time and space in 1968 but also continued to be politicized in memory, classification, and republication. Whereas a search for *Kursbuch* 15 in European and North American libraries and archives usually discloses the journal with a complete table of contents, the contents of the issue and others that follow it are themselves often incomplete. With surprising regularity for a publication as prominent as *Kursbuch* 15, the removable poster that was conceived as part of the journal and that concluded the special issue on literature is missing.[70] The most likely suggestion for the missing content is that *Kursbuch* readers in the late 1960s used the poster, but it also implies more intriguing forms of institutional removal, which can feasibly occur, whether by librarians who mistook posters for advertisements and discarded them or by ongoing biases that do not take supplemental forms of literature into enough account. Taking the 2008 Suhrkamp Verlag "one-time special edition" of *Kursbuch 1968* as one example, one can see that while the "Autodafé" in *Kursbuch* 15 is clearly listed in the table of contents, it is curiously omitted from the republication. In other words, neither a removable poster nor any other representation of the "Autodafé's" content is commemorated by or within the journal, despite its historical importance for the *Kursbuch* special literary issue. This discrepancy of content raises deeper concerns about the ways supplemental material like the "Autodafé" was removed from *Kursbuch* in 1968 and, arguably just as important for the longevity of the journal, why it has been removed from subsequent publications.

Conclusion

For scholars today, what makes rare objects like *Kursbögen* so intriguing rests on something more than their popularity in 1968. Extraliterary materials like posters elucidate ideas of what the margins of publications could

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politically signify and therefore embody a kind of print politics that was based on material contexts of deployment and visual performance in forums like periodicals. Additionally, official tables of contents, which *are* generally reprinted and usually structure how objects end up being preserved in the form of republications or catalogs, have historical consequences for archives and libraries that do not always take these physical performances into account. In that respect, *Kursbuch*'s tables of contents serve as an index for lost archival practices of finding and cataloguing materials. Searching for why these materials have been or become omitted, this examination of the *Kursbögen* posters opens new avenues for comprehending the politics of 1968 through the material paratext of the popular *Kursbuch* journal and the specifically political publishing features of other alternative periodicals like it.

As publication features like the removable posters flourished in alternative periodicals in the late 1960s, their marginal positions in the publications privileged a propensity to be mobilized and visually or materially deployed rather than a more conventional, hermeneutic tendency to be read. By changing how these features could script and stage political protest, alternative periodicals thus helped transform the West German protest movement. At the same time, their publication strategies can be placed into the greater alternative media history of posters that inscribed 1968 protest movements around the world from the French protest *affiches*,[71] to Frank Zappa's *Phi Zappa Krappa* (a famously bootlegged, satirical poster of the rock star sitting on a toilet with his pants at his ankles),[72] to a variety of features from subsequent West German radical newspapers like *FIZZ*.[73] In addition to removable posters, other materials, forms, and practices of removal, materiality, and print layout made similar gestures toward the growing possibilities for subversive print acts to gain traction in the mid-1960s. The fact that removable posters are often missing today flags how one should consider the politicization of texts; but the fact that print layouts and the materiality of print require visual analysis and not simply traditional hermeneutic interpretation requires a rethinking of the look and context of literature, and not just its textual contents. Moreover, these traditions have an enduring legacy; in an announcement of *Kursbuch* 183 (2015), the editors reinstated the removable publishing feature, which first reappeared as a poster-map that charted the path of refugees in the summer of 2015.[74]

In the Global Sixties, the politics of periodicals stemmed from the print platform. As Heinz Bude stated, "The New Left was a movement of new texts."[75] However, it is important to note that the protest movement of the

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late 1960s did not just mobilize through political literature or "death of literature" discourses. It also embodied a material and visual mobilization of texts. Hence, the example of the *Kursbögen* posters, but also materialities and print layouts, raises larger questions of how marginal forms of literature can traffic modes of protest in print forums such as journals by exceeding physical formats. These marginal forms were often therefore positioned and experienced beyond the margins of their print hosts. And there, on the periphery, they make a case for how print and materiality activate literary form. The politics of this kind of print activism is critical for gaining a deeper appreciation of the ways fringe forms of literature scripted and inscribed protest movements, not just through content but also through a unique propensity to move and to be removed.

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CHAPTER THREE

Revolting Marginalia

> Support the resistance movement, distribute the flyers!
> —*Die Weiße Rose*, Flyer number 5, January 1943

On July 6, 1967, a spectacular criminal trial kicked off and overtook West Berlin's Moabit courtroom, pitting the inflammatory contents of four protest flyers against allegations of arson. In the official charges, West Berlin prosecutor Heinrich Kuntze accused members of the Kommune I of distributing threatening flyers at the Freie Universität on May 24, two days after an arson attack on a Brussels department store that had tragically caused the deaths of 322 shoppers (fig. 36).[1] With phrases like "New forms of demonstration tested for the first time in Brussels,"[2] "NEW! BREATHTAKING!,"[3] and "When will Berlin's department stores burn?,"[4] Kuntze claimed that the *Brandstifter* (arsonist) flyers instigated incineration and were therefore dangerous to the West Berlin public.[5] In response, the accused authors Fritz Teufel and Rainer Langhans maintained that the flyers satirically prodded readers into reflecting on West Germany's complicity in the Vietnam War.[6] As Teufel stated, "We did not want to perpetrate . . . aggressive acts, but instead only to elicit the moral indignation of the complacent citizens who never get indignant about Vietnam by using provocative public methods."[7] The defense lawyer at the time, Horst Mahler, pointed out how this writing resonated with surrealist strategies, sparking a reaction in readers, not an actual fire.

To bolster his defense, Mahler and other members of the Kommune I encouraged students and professors to attend the trial and show political support. Mahler gathered 19 eyewitnesses and obtained expert witness statements and in-person testimonies from well-known Free University literature professors Peter Szondi, Jacob Taubes, Peter Wapnewski, and seven others, who laid out a convincing case for the literary-surrealist context of the flyers.[8] Despite an objection from Kuntze, who exclaimed he had listened to

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Fig. 36. Langhans distributes flyers
Credit: Ludwig Binder, Bilder der Revolte: 04.07.1967: *Rainer Langhans Flugblätter verteilend*
http://bilder-der-revolte.de/photo/rainer-langhans-flugblaetter-verteilend/

"everything possible about art"[9] and that such a literary interpretation was not relevant for the legal trial,[10] these statements were permitted as official evidence, countering Kuntze's sole prosecutorial witness, 21-year-old student Hans Schneider, who informed the court the flyers had prompted him to commit arson.[11] Visibly overwhelmed by the testimony and responses from the accused,[12] the state prosecutors moved to adjourn the trial until they could perform a psychological and neurological assessment of Teufel and Langhans. When the trial resumed eight months later, the judge found them, and, by extension, the *Brandstifter* (arsonist) flyers not guilty of inciting arson. Alex Vasudevan describes how "in the end, neither Teufel nor Langhans were convicted while the 'Moabit Soap Opera' received extensive press coverage leading one German theatre critic to praise Teufel as the 'most remarkable German playwright of the sixties.'"[13] It can be conceded that the trial gave the flyers a literal and proverbial day in court, but, in the process, also politicized their marginal literary status as an incendiary medium of West German protest.

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In addition to the flyers that were *on* trial, however, other flyers and print media scripted the trial's more notorious legacy as a "Moabit Seifenoper" (Moabit soap opera) a multifaceted term rife with political insinuation. For starters, the diminutive nickname undermined the lengthy, official title of the court: the 6th Grand Criminal Chamber of the Moabit District Court and promoted nonstop melodramatic interruptions from hecklers, protesters, and spectators in the courtroom.[14] As Vasudevan writes, "Before an 'audience' of over 80 students and 60 members of the press, the space of the court became—quite literally—a 'theatre of protest' as Teufel and Langhans challenged the traditional roles conferred to them in a formalised legal environment."[15] But the root word of soap also referred to the common protest action of blowing soap bubbles, which, as Joachim Scharloth has noted, "was often used in the '68 movement, in order to characterize the speeches of political opponents as idle chatter."[16] In the courtroom, blowing soap bubbles was seen as a visible counterpoint to the invisible "air bubbles" of West Berlin prosecutors.[17] Appearing on a print flyer, however, the Kommune I flyer number 21 announced a soap bubble protest action against the soap opera and West German legal system as a whole. Distributed on the evening of July 6, 1967 and again at the trial the very next day, this flyer set the stage for public protest performances with marginalia in and around the trial. Scharloth describes the scene as follows:

> Langhans reads the Mao Bible while the indictment is read; Teufel reads the newspaper during a witness examination; Kommune I [*sic*] leaflet 22 is distributed in the courtroom; while the court is in the deliberation room, the defendants sell the collected KI [Kommune I] leaflets for the price of 2 marks; Langhans puts up a cardboard sign reading Freedom for Teufel.[18]

Hence, the original four protest flyers that were on trial took a backseat to the marginalia, which permeated the space of the courtroom and visualized an atmosphere of textual protest (fig. 37). By circulating these print objects in front of a public audience, the performance of reading magnified the soap-opera-like disorder of the courtroom. On another level, it demonstrated how the tangible movement and visuality of texts in the courtroom space was changing the role and scope of textual protests in the late 1960s.

This chapter examines how such literary marginalia engaged public surroundings through acts that expounded on traditional notions of reading by turning them into vigorous performances of public protest. Since marginal objects such as flyers, posters, and banners were invested in establish-

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Fig. 37. Langhans and Teufel hold (Mao Bible and) court
Credit: Ludwig Binder, Stiftung Haus der Geschichte
https://www.flickr.com/photos/132468467@N06/16898175048/

ing a visible, physical presence at protest sites, these objects tended to have a more visceral function in public protest when compared to conventional formats like books or periodicals. One reason for this is that flyers, posters, and banners generated short and simple formats of text or image, which could be produced and consumed swiftly. As Mererid Puw Davies posits, the short form garnered a kind of "protest thinking" where genres of "flyers, posters, stickers, cabaret, performance, graffiti, street theatre, indoor theatre, happenings, demonstrations, self-criticisms, 'Third-World' writings" and many more examples mobilized.[19] Thomas Kaplan, too, writes that "activists in the European student and youth revolts of the 1960s made extensive use of leaflets and posters as tools to voice their criticism and increase their support. Cheaply and quickly produced, these communication tools played an unmatched role in creating a counter-public sphere that challenged mainstream political discourses and practices."[20] Peter Chotjewitz's 1968 essay in the literary journal *Akzente*, "What Is 'Experimental' Literature?" confirms the significance of these more marginal forms. For Chotjewitz, "It is

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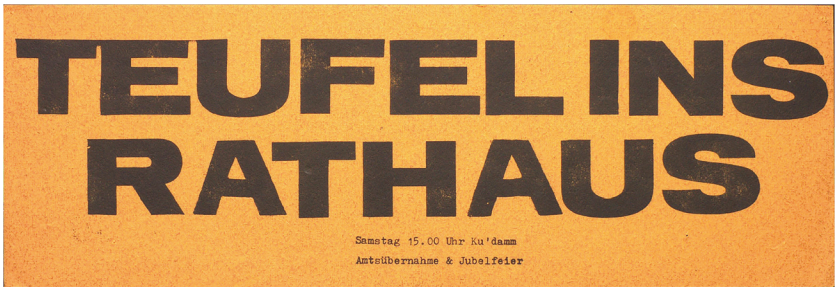


Fig. 38. (Fritz) Teufel for Mayor leaflet
Credit: Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

noteworthy that it was not the *literati* who achieved success in West Berlin in recent years with the flyer, a form of communication belonging to literature, but members of Kommune I with their flyers, some of which were also outstanding in literary terms."[21] Hence the paper media of short form found on flyers, stickers, pamphlets, and more helped distinguish new roles for writers like the Kommune I, which significantly boosted their reception. In addition, the formatting features of these single sites of text structured visual techniques of cuing and promoting protest in ways that ushered in visible materialities of reading and writing directly *in* protest events where slogans and words became talking points for protesters. Take, for example, the leaflet titled *TEUFEL INS RATHAUS* (Teufel for Mayor), which circulated at the Moabit trial and beyond. With its bright orange print, the textual message proposing "Teufel for Mayor," given his apparent political leadership and potential skills in government as opposed to the courtroom where he stood on trial, was underscored by the subtitle, "Assumption of Office & Celebration" (fig 38).

The leaflet served as a political campaign-like flyer, which was also distributed to passersby on West Berlin's famous shopping street, the Kurfürstendamm Street. The event was covered by newspapers, which photographed the leaflets lying on the ground in a seemingly disparaging sign that might indicate the larger public's apathy. But here, too, the Kommune I redirected the message by reprinting the same image in their 1968 pamphlet, *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*, with an alternative caption that read: "Voters vote with their feet." As the image depicts, the lower torsos of the passersby can be seen stepping over and around the leaflets on the ground, which—in the context of the Kommune I interpretation—was a caucus-esque vote for Teufel. Indeed, such materiality of leaflets, banners, and posters

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propagated and politicized literary forms that were otherwise considered marginal. But such materiality also represented a broader literacy of protest, which transformed the function of protest literature in the late 1960s through visual and performative contexts of literary protest.

The analysis of how marginal dissident publications like flyers, posters, and banners engaged their surroundings reveals how protest utilized literary form and material to visually traffic political expression. In terms of theory, focusing on how texts moved through space raises questions about literary form's political place and time. As Davies notes, the protest thinking at this time tended to conflate genres of *text* like a flyer and an *event* like a happening. In turn, moving away from questions of what constituted literature in the late 1960s to "when" and where it politically happened helps one configure the participatory kind of connection literary forms had with protest performances such as happenings or go-ins.[22] As Kirstie Beaven notes, "Participatory events blurred the line between what was life and what was art, what was an everyday movement and what was a performance."[23] As West German protest actions reveal, performances with words, text, or short forms can easily get overlooked or bracketed into a category that does not incorporate what might otherwise be considered literary study. Such consideration or lack thereof taps into broader assumptions about scholarly fields and foci pertaining to literature. Take Rita Felski's observation on the theoretical traditions of literature. For Felski, these traditions often "shortchange the heterogeneous, and politically variable uses of literary texts in daily life," privileging certain kinds of reading acts over others.[24] But through reads of short forms like the "Teufel for Mayor" leaflet, one can theorize the movement of texts through space and the resulting heterogeneity of literary form, which distinctly underscores the physical, ephemeral, and performative nature of marginal textuality.

Such an endeavor to expand textual thinking aligns with the "visual turn" in the humanities, which dates back to works like W. J. T. Mitchell's *Picture Theory* (1994), in which he asserted that "the notion that *spectatorship* (the look, the gaze, the glance, the practices of observation, surveillance and visual pleasure) may be as deep a problem as various forms of *reading* (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.) and that 'visual experience' or 'visual literacy' might not be fully explicable in the model of textuality."[25] While seeing text versus reading text had long intrigued movements like Dada and genres like concrete poetry, the visual turn has helped ground contemporary scholarship in questions that require interdisciplinary flexibility, which bridge textual analysis with material textuality and art history

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with literary art. For instance, studies like Sarah James's *Paper Revolutions* outline how the specificity of GDR (the German Democratic Republic, East Germany) society "offers us a way to reimagine artistic practices and artworks as part of a far more expansive, messy, lived dialectical and dialogical field."[26] The combination of dialectical and dialogical, expansive and messy uncovers the subversive commonality and emancipatory potential of words and paper, from leaflets to paper airplanes. To borrow from another recent example, Briana Smith's study *Free Berlin* shows how "reconstructing the intersections between art, urban politics, and everyday life in East, West, and post-Wall Berlin requires nimble use of many different levels of magnification, from the street level to the global."[27] Smith touches on the notion that interactions with words and art happened in social spaces such as the street. In West Germany's Global Sixties, Thomas Kaplan, specifies how

> activists directly distributed [leaflets] to audiences on university campuses, at busy urban intersections or during protest events. Protest movements enlisted them as communication tools in their daily political struggles and, during specific campaigns, frequently circulated more than one flyer per day. As a result, they were only distributed once and not used again at a later date. Leaflets generally encompassed one to two and, if folded, up to four pages of text. They advanced a more accessible language than the jargon-filled theoretical explications in movement journals and often directly addressed and involved their readers. Protest leaflets, finally, were the outcome of collective processes and assumed a key function in activists' much-celebrated political practices.[28]

From the conception of simple, accessible language to the messy circulation in public, the visual turn invokes the legacy action-art performances that provoked passersby by interrupting them in the experience of their public commutes or public lives.

For scholars of the 1960s, the idea of envisioning texts and publications is especially intriguing since it invokes a crucially alternative corpus of political texts like flyers. Wolfgang Ruppert maintains, for instance, that "the flyer remained the most important medium for articulating content to the public in order to inform and influence people's attitudes."[29] Whereas Ruppert points out the significance of the flyer, the visuality and materiality this medium projected is of equal significance. The flyer trafficked in the visual currency of Global Sixties protest by virtue of public circulation events but also by the color scheme and materiality of objects like stickers,

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which added depth to the surface of the page. Whether superimposing ink images over text columns or photographically depicting iconic individuals, dissident literary forms around this time indeed took a very visual turn of their own. For Nora Alter, the roots of such a visual turn date back to politically informed concepts like Guy Debord's *spectacle* and *détournement*. While the spectacle was overwhelming and the oversaturated image society turned subjects into passive consumers, *détournement* activated an ability to protest by intervening into the image environment and altering its signs such as the Teufel leaflet press coverage above. Exploring how flyers, posters, and banners acted and interacted with public protest, whether as props or prompts, renews their value for textual discourses surrounding the West German protest movement but also shows how methodologies of literary interpretation can influence the ways we marginalize, classify, and remember literature as a whole.

Public Relations

One example of a textual protest action occurred at a commemoration of the White Rose, the famous student resistance group known for distributing anti-Nazi flyers in the Third Reich. The group consisted of youth like siblings Sophie Scholl and Hans Scholl, who were caught by the Nazis after tossing flyers over a university balcony ledge. The Scholls were caught, tortured, and executed in 1943; other members were eventually caught and faced the same fate. On February 23, 1968, the remaining members of the Scholl family and the community gathered at Munich's Ludwig Maximilian University main hall, the Lichthof, to commemorate the flyer resistance of Sophie Scholl and Hans Scholl, and their friend, Christoph Probst, who were executed by guillotine 25 years prior. As part of the commemoration, the university's Political Science Department unveiled its new name, the Geschwister-Scholl Institut (Scholl Sibling Institute). But upon learning that a professor with well-known conservative ties was scheduled to give a speech at the prominent event, members of the SDS (Socialist German Student Association) and other student protesters organized a more spectacular commemoration of their own: a provocative interruption of the ceremony vis-à-vis a reenactment of a White Rose–like happening from the top floor balcony. Gesturing back to the Scholl resistance, protesters dropped flyers on the crowd and also unrolled a banner encouraging audience members to join a protest event at the Springer Press in Munich, the same site where the Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* had been printed.[30] As the ban-

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ner appealed: "WHOEVER CELEBRATES RESISTANCE SUPPRESSES IT TODAY. DEMOLISH THIS CYNICISM. COME WITH TO THE SPRINGER PRESS." For SDS protesters, the happening set out to authentically honor the antifascist resistance in 1943 by drawing connections to the conservative university leadership and its speaker that night, Professor Walter Bußmann, whose membership in the conservative, nationalist Germany Foundation was not only a call for concern for Ludwig Maximilian University but also an affront to the kind of resistance the Scholls carried out and symbolized.[31] As one of the flyers informed its readers:

> Back then as now, it was the same idiot-disciplinary ignorants and elite preachers who did not prevent Fascism but instead supported it. . . . The more critically one wallows in the past, the more pretty the present becomes. The fact that a colleague of the pro-fascist Germany Foundation is holding the keynote speech characterizes this event well enough. Thus solidarity for Third Reich resistance fighters means a fight against this democratic hypocrisy, against Neofascism in the BRD.[32]

The subsequent shock resonated throughout the crowd. As one former participant described it in 2007, "We were chalked up to that a little bit, because the Scholl siblings were holy. You can't disturb an event in their honor. The old father was still there, the old Scholl, and the mother, both in the front row as guests of honor, and Minister Hundthammer with his full beard, a complete reactionary. And as it rained down, and the flyers were all lying on the ground in front of them."[33] Indeed, whereas the content of the flyers directly called out the event organizers, the flight of the flyers through the Lichthof auditorium defined the protest. As Christine Hikel has described the event, the students "each threw leaflets into the atrium—quoting the White Rose—on which they articulated their demands."[34] By dropping protest flyers off a university ledge, this form of protest signaled a *détournement* action centered around flying paper. Here, the reenactment did not appropriate the same kind of resistance as that of the White Rose but instead inserted a new political message of resistance into a space otherwise symbolically set aside for a commemoration of resistance.

Arguably, this protest act plays into what Susan Sontag described as an "ethics of seeing"[35] and "ecology of images"[36] while also helping us acknowledge Mitchell's characterization of visual culture when he outlines "the dynamics of seeing and being seen by other people as a critical moment in the formation of the social."[37] Without the images, the flyer content alone

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might not describe the fervor and the context of the event. Local newspaper coverage and first-person accounts describe the extent to which protesters disrupted the formal commemoration through symbolic actions. But the images themselves help establish the aesthetic flair of the flyers in flight and at the feet of the audience. The visuality of their movement through space—fluttering and filling the hall—and their resting status on the ground reveal the ignominy of the formally dressed crowd, who ignored the flyers and left them on the ground. Reading into the images implicates the ethics of seeing and the ecology of images. Regarding the former, the first image that contains the fluttering flyers notably juxtaposes an ephemeral, objective act of assessing the visual content within the camera's frame with the more timeless, subjective act of viewing that the photograph itself allows. At the forefront of the first image, the blurred edges of one flyer depict the motion and close proximity of the camera to the paper flyer. While the focus of the lens captures the multitude of flyers in the distance, the eye is drawn to the blurred image that fills the center of the frame. Here, the blurred close-up of the single flyer subjectively provides the viewer an impression of an audience member on the ground, creating a sense of solidarity in the experience.

At the same time, the image refocuses the viewer's gaze from the historical event as a whole to the very medium of the flyer and ephemeral mediality of its flight. Compared to the second image, which shows how the flyers littered the floor and disrupted the solemnity of the commemoration, this first close-up reflects just how the flyer medium was performing its namesake of *Flugblatt* (paper flyer), while establishing a temporal scope of the protest act, which arguably had its greatest impact in the seconds of flight. But the second image uncovers the ethics of seeing in a different manner. The perspective of the camera does not establish a feeling of solidarity with the protesters but instead takes on a more objective role of capturing the scene on the ground, as a reporter might. What it reveals is an elder audience uninterested in resistance flyers; or at least not the resistance flyers right in front of them. Instead, this image shows an audience that drew a distinction between accepted forms of resistance and a willingness to make connections with its legacy in the present. The photographs here illuminate the social experience of text, material, and performativity, each of which conjoined to highlight notions of time and material: historical past and political present, the meta level of *Flugblatt*: something in flight, and the ways that paper could symbolically, historically, politically agitate.

What this example reveals is just how connected textual contents are

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to visual culture and the physical formats, public surroundings, and performances of distribution that characterize their meaning. To push this concept away from a static frame into a more dynamic one, let us turn to another intersection of reading and nonreading performance with text, image, and public space. In the days after Benno Ohnesorg's murder in West Berlin, the city's mayor Heinrich Albertz banned all forms of public demonstration and specifically objects like flyers, posters, and banners. A group of students from the Free University developed the idea of a *Buchstabenballett* (alphabetical letter ballet) in which eight protestors gathered on the boulevard of West Berlin's most famous shopping street, the Kurfürstendamm, to conduct an alternative form of protest that was meant to subvert these new rules. Whereas the ban had forbidden flyers and protest texts, it did not forbid letters in and of themselves. Hence, with single letters emblazoned on T-shirts, eight protesters spelled out the words "ALBERTZ!" on the front side of their shirts and "ABTRETEN" ("step down") on the backside, a public message calling for the mayor's resignation. Instead of conceiving this act for a live public audience, however, the protesters actively posed for a photograph in front of the iconic Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche, which, like other bombed-out ruins that have been preserved across Germany, remains a notable antiwar memorial in Berlin today. Posing in front of this symbolic structure spelled out a much more potent form of visual, material, and performative protest with text, however. In addition to the message, "Albertz! Abtreten," the protesters' collective staging of these words on their bodies instrumentally enacted it in front of a camera, which, in turn, inscribed and anticipated its own publicity in the newspapers and television. For Kathrin Fahlenbrach, this points to the "for and against" media stance of protesters then. As she writes, "The student movement [is] the first social movement to articulate its protest not only in alternative sub-publics and on the streets, but to make targeted use of the mass media for its political and habitual protests."[38] At the same time, the critical embodiment of words and protest invokes what Andrea Pabst has called the need for scholars to "think through the body," or what might also be called the need to think away from the literary text alone:

> The commitment of the body [invokes] . . . the key practices—marching or blockading a street, staging theatrical protest performances, undressing to stage the naked body, or dressing up in fanciful costumes—simultaneously use and shape the body. Hence, like the body in general, the protesting body

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> should not be considered as a static material entity, but as an entity that is itself effected by discourses, social institutions and practices.[39]

In this case, staging the combination of painted letters on shirts on a boulevard of West Berlin's most iconic street materially and visually integrated text, image, and body into a dynamic performance of protest. By photographing the street, T-shirt, and bodies, then, this image helped write and advertise a visual resistance action where viewers are forced to read and readers are asked to situate the words into the public space and political context.[40]

Cases like the *Buchstabenballett* and White Rose flyer protest diverge from text-based models of interpretation into the visual and performative contexts of marginalia and the literary protest practices that set them into motion. Such contexts interrelate to the publicity-campaign driven nature of underground texts like those of Hans Imhoff, whose 1968 book *Hans Imhoff produziert sich* (Hans Imhoff produces himself) features a close-up of his face and a recounting of his own protest actions. As Jan-Frederik Bandel describes it, this work is "a documentation of his artistic and political disruptive acts. He not only plays on Karl Marx's wording, according to which production was the 'active species-life of a person' but also names the process of self-publication as the artistic 'production of publicity.'"[41] Indeed, Imhoff declared in his work, "This isn't art anymore, it is publicity." Prior to the internet or social media, such insight underscores the evolving dichotomies of publication and publicity during West Germany's protests. But assessing literary protest in flyers, posters, and banners helps interrogate what is meant when referring to protest textuality and the West German protest movement by asking where, when, and how it transpired, happened, appeared, and disappeared. As Michael Warner has observed, "Printed objects—which we would commonsensically call 'publications'—are intelligible only under very special conditions. To think of them as publications, we must make certain assumptions about texts, speakers, addressees, and the 'public.'"[42] Other scholars like Thomas Bredehoft have noted how the very word "text" requires a dual definition: "on the one hand, a text is a media object, that which is reproduced or otherwise caught up within an economy of reproduction; on the other hand, a text must be understood as that which is bounded and defined by paratext."[43] Hence, highlighting just how protest actions began to take shape in and around literary practices shows how visual and performative backdrops and places of texts underwrote new forms of literary protest.

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Flyers

An assessment of West Germany's protest flyers as a whole would be hard-pressed to overlook the flyers of the Kommune I. The fame of the Kommune I flyers stemmed to a great degree from the media attention they received from the "Moabit Soap Opera," if not also the "pudding assassination attempt" from April 1967.[44] Indeed what made the flyers of the trial so famous was their extensive and hyperbolic coverage in a plethora of local newspapers like *Die Welt* or documentation in journals like *Merkur*, which either demonized and dramatized the flyers as being "explosives from Peking,"[45] or academically and intellectually pondered the roles that flyers played in past surrealist actions. But the flyer fame also came from the Kommune I strategy of visual serialization, in which they overlaid text contents with an outline of numbers, thus signposting a given flyer into a larger corpus of flyers. As Walter Delabar describes, the West German protest's connection to the Kommune I flyers dates back to flyer 1 from May 3, 1967 and goes through June 21, 1968.[46] This technique of marking flyers with serialized numbers helped redraw typographic frameworks of print protest directly on the surface flyer and anticipated as well as promoted the longevity of flyers. At the same time, another reason for the Kommune I flyers' ongoing fame had to do with their rhetorical approaches to drafting flyers, which had up to that time been regarded as a platform for informing, persuading, or appealing to readers. As Sara Hakemi has written, the Kommune I was less concerned with convincing readers than provoking them; less focused on enlightening readers than telling stories; less troubled with getting readers on the same political page than confounding them.[47] The direct kinds of reactions the flyers inspired revealed how multifaceted and momentous they were in 1967 and 1968, and beyond. In addition to their engagement with West Germany's protests, scholars like Sara Hakemi, but also Thomas Hecken and Walter Delabar, have noted how the Kommune I flyers stood in a direct linear historical relationship to the Red Army Faction acts of terror. But while the historical evidence of certain Kommune I leaders merits this association—Teufel and Dieter Kunzelmann did become involved in underground terror cells like the Tupamaros West-Berlin and the June 2 Movement after all—pinpointing flyer protest actions and the flyers themselves too readily connected them to West German terrorism, and perhaps unnecessarily inserted an asterisk into the diverse medial history of protest flyers around this time.

Rather than focusing on the famously alleged arson flyers alone, closer scrutiny on key formatting shifts highlights the surface of the flyer as a

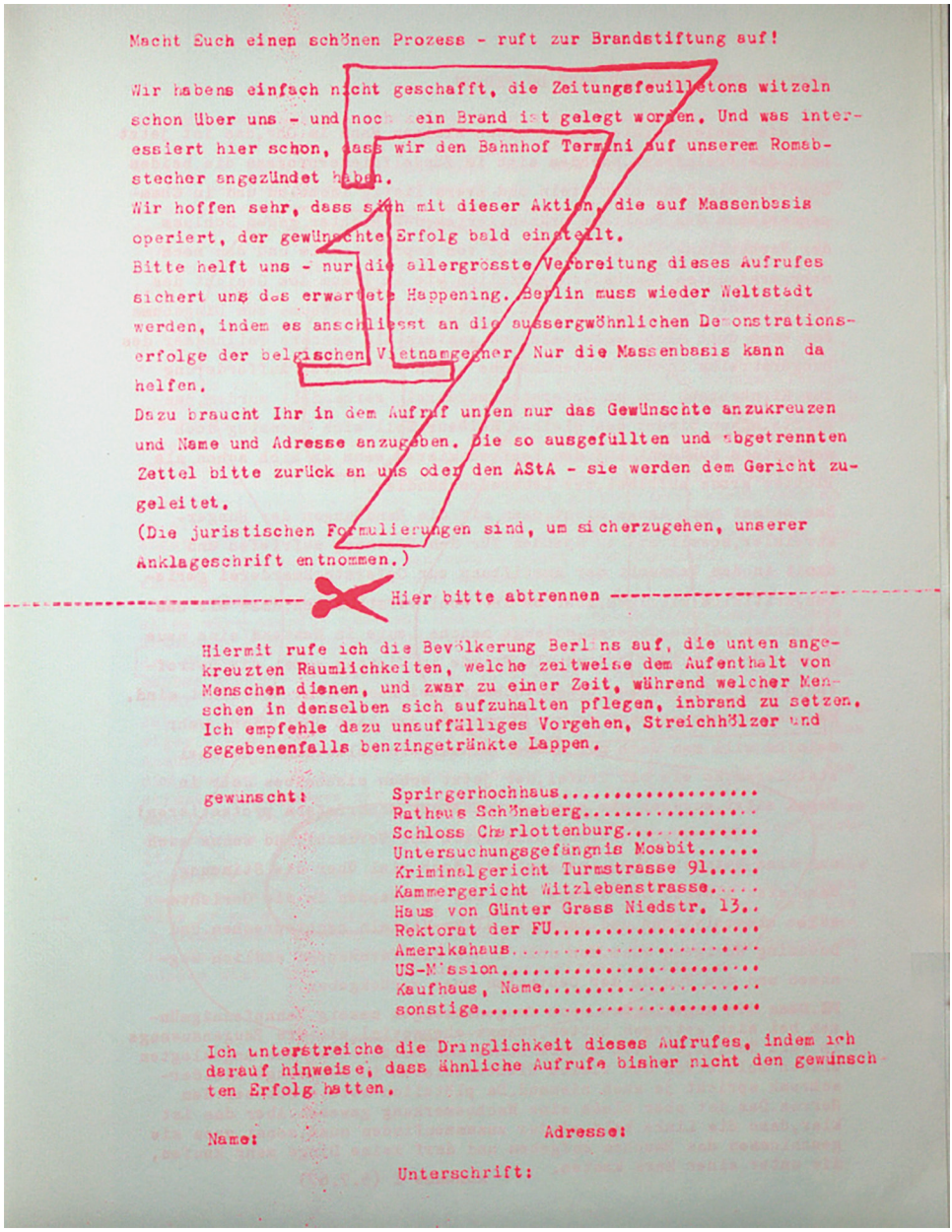
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springboard of protest, which helped transform the flyer from a reading publication into a public protest action. On the level of the page, flyers were using space for this action. In the days leading up to "Moabit Seifenoper," for example, Kommune I flyer number 17 scripted a new form of protest by turning the reading platform of a flyer into a writing platform, on which protesters signed confessions of guilt for inciting arson in a show of solidarity with Teufel and Langhans.[48] On the first day of the trial, the Attorney-General's office in West Berlin received over 200 of these confessions in the mail. The confessions arrived as half-sheet flyers entitled "Selbstanzeige für Teufel" (self-disclosure to the police)[49] and contained a form, on which protesters could denote a public building they intended to set on fire and include their name, address, and a signature to make it official. As the *Hamburger Abendblatt* reported, "The signatories justified the self-disclosure by stating that 'they themselves could have been authors of these leaflets and also participated in their distribution.'"[50] While this performative show of solidarity sought to obscure the legal proceedings by flooding prosecutors with paperwork, it was only half of the story. The original flyer that the Kommune I distributed was in fact a full-sheet flyer with the Kommune I's visual call sign, the serialized number 17, and typical rhetoric at the top of the page. The headline "Have yourselves a nice trial—call for arson!" encouraged protesters to follow the example of the arson flyers numbered 6 through 9 and satirically participate in the protest act of getting arrested and having a subsequent show trial (fig. 39).

What visually separated the top half from the bottom of the flyers, however, was an image of a scissors, dotted line, and the words "Please separate here," which indicated where to cut the flyer, but also something else. By designating a border between Kommune I's provocative instructions on the top and a space for protest action on the bottom, the flyer denoted a more comprehensive flyer performance, which assembled and associated acts of reading with acts of cutting, mailing, and performatively confessing on the flyer page itself. The dotted centerline on the flyer arguably signaled a metaphorical disembodiment of the flyer format, which broke the page into spaces for reading and spaces for public action. For these reasons, flyer number 17, or *Selbstanzeige* (self-disclosure to the police), by which it was publicly known, shows how a physical flyer formatted political meaning onto the page and, along with it, the transformation of a flyer protest act.

In contrast to incendiary flyers numbered 6 through 9, other Kommune I flyers and fringe publications introduced a different relationship between flyers and the shifting notions of what publications could do at

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Macht Euch einen schönen Prozess - ruft zur Brandstiftung auf!

Wir habens einfach nicht geschafft, die Zeitungsfeuilletons witzeln schon über uns - und noch kein Brand ist gelegt worden. Und was interessiert hier schon, dass wir den Bahnhof Termini auf unserem Romabstecher angezündet haben.
Wir hoffen sehr, dass sich mit dieser Aktion, die auf Massenbasis operiert, der gewünschte Erfolg bald einstellt.
Bitte helft uns - nur die allergrösste Verbreitung dieses Aufrufes sichert uns das erwartete Happening. Berlin muss wieder Weltstadt werden, indem es anschliesst an die ausergwöhnlichen Demonstrationserfolge der belgischen Vietnamgegner. Nur die Massenbasis kann da helfen.
Dazu braucht Ihr in dem Aufruf unten nur das Gewünschte anzukreuzen und Name und Adresse anzugeben. Die so ausgefüllten und abgetrennten Zettel bitte zurück an uns oder den AStA - sie werden dem Gericht zugeleitet.
(Die juristischen Formulierungen sind, um sicherzugehen, unserer Anklageschrift entnommen.)

---------- Hier bitte abtrennen ----------

Hiermit rufe ich die Bevölkerung Berlins auf, die unten angekreuzten Räumlichkeiten, welche zeitweise dem Aufenthalt von Menschen dienen, und zwar zu einer Zeit, während welcher Menschen in denselben sich aufzuhalten pflegen, inbrand zu setzen. Ich empfehle dazu unauffälliges Vorgehen, Streichhölzer und gegebenenfalls benzingetränkte Lappen.

gewünscht:

- Sprirgerhochhaus.....
- Rathaus Schöneberg.....
- Schloss Charlottenburg.....
- Untersuchungsgefängnis Moabit.....
- Kriminalgericht Turmstrasse 91.....
- Kammergericht Witzlebenstrasse.....
- Haus von Günter Grass Niedstr. 13..
- Rektorat der FU.....
- Amerikahaus.....
- US-Mission.....
- Kaufhaus, Name.....
- sonstige.....

Ich unterstreiche die Dringlichkeit dieses Aufrufes, indem ich darauf hinweise, dass ähnliche Aufrufe bisher nicht den gewünschten Erfolg hatten.

Name: Adresse:

Unterschrift:

Fig. 39. Solidarity flyer #17
Credit: Kommune I. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

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this time. On August 7, 1967, for instance, a number of Kommune I publications were center stage for a public commotion that began with an explosion at the top of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche[51] and ended on the Kurfürstendamm shopping street below it. In a report titled "Fire Starters and Flyers Detected Together," *Die Welt* described how "unknown perpetrators set fire to the tower niche of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church yesterday afternoon. The fire department was able to extinguish the fire. An existing second incendiary device had not ignited. At the same time, according to police reports, demonstrators from the roof of the Europa Center threw leaflets with the inscription 'Freedom for Fritz Teufel' onto the street." The explosion not only set off the beginning of a new kind of flyer protest act; it incorporated fringe protest publications into a larger public spectacle that relied on timing and choreography. In addition to Ulrich Enzensberger and Rainer Langhans, who were coincidentally handing out sheets of paper below on the Kursfürstendamm, the *Berliner Zeitung* reported that a "Rain of Flyers" came down from the top of the Europa-Center shopping mall across the street and that three other protesters had been caught distributing other flyers.[52] The publications confiscated by the police included a wanted poster for a West Berlin state prosecutor, Diether Dehnicke, whom the Kommune I accused of unjustly tampering with Teufel's trial,[53] a circular announcement about a protest set to occur during the funeral procession of the parliamentarian Paul Löbe two days later, and the famous "Freedom for Teufel" sign, which, as mentioned, was prevalent at many events. The Kommune I made sure to note in their documentation of all of their protest acts that the publications they distributed in this protest act were *not* flyers, but other forms of publication: "This circular letter reached not only the addressees but also the readers of Springer's MORGENPEST on the same day."[54] While the differentiation (and public correction) of flyers from other fringe protest publications was notable because it showed key nuances in how the Kommune I conceived of its political printing, the expansive dimensionality of the public surroundings that ushered in a new, explosive technique of distributing print: not just by handing it out physically, but by creating a protest spectacle of print publicity.

Building on the momentum of this publicity stunt, the spectacle continued three days later with a macabre protest celebration of death during the official funeral procession of the statesman Paul Löbe, a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag. After newspapers announced a citywide procession in West Berlin, at which citizens could pay their final respects to Löbe, the Kommune I and other notable figures like Hans Magnus Enzens-

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berger and Ulrich Enzensberger, as well as Langhans and Andreas Baader carried a black coffin as a form of political effigy onto West Berlin's streets as part of a mock memorial service for the politicians and officials who had been involved with the brutal crackdown on West Berlin protests that summer.[55] In its announcement, which spectacularly circulated on the Kurfürstendamm on August 7 and was republished in the Springer Press's *Berliner Morgenpost* on August 9, the Kommune I wrote:

> *Dear friends,*
>
> On Wednesday, the 9th, the very people here in Berlin will solemnly bury a certain Paul Löbe, chairman of Incurable Germany, etc here, [people] who have been denying the Berlin judiciary and administration the long overdue burial since [June] 2nd: Brandt, Kiesinger, all of them are coming. The state funeral we have long longed for is here! All we have to do is put the right corpses under them: Albertz, Büsch, Duensing, the Senate with its police and judiciary, we will solemnly bury them all on Wednesday in the proper setting.[56]

In addition to informing the audience of the ghoulish intentions, the Kommune I included the following footer: "To get people mobilized, you have to have the devil in your body (or in the ground). Bakunin." The raw offensiveness of the flyer showcased how provocative textual content could be in stirring up protest. Viewed in today's post–January 6, 2023 context, which witnessed a mob attack the US Capitol, but also on the eve of Germany's Autumn and the rise of West German terror, such an announcement strikes a different, portent chord. It pushed the line with a so-called Press Announcement calling for the figurative death of leading West Berlin figures. The text of the flyers highlighted the act of the protest with appalling and offensive language like "Schornstein" ("smokestack"), which, while referring to Paul Löbe's cremation, in fact suggested imagery associated with the Holocaust along with descriptors like "verscharren" ("to hastily bury"), which invoked the quick act of dumping or covering up of bodies with earth. This kind of language and ghastly action reflected how closely protest toed the line between satirical and insensitive to outright menacing.

Yet what characterized the funeral service was its spectacular performance with paper. Similar to the explosion a few days prior, the public spectacle at the Schöneberg City Hall was choreographed to distribute a fringe paper publication in public at a specific time and place. Namely, when the

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protest funeral procession reached West Berlin's city hall, Kommune I leader Dieter Kunzelmann jumped out of the coffin wearing a white nightgown and began casting pieces of paper titled "Press Release" out onto the surrounding crowd. Aribert Reimann describes the action: "through deliberate tastelessness, [the effort was to] achieve maximum public outrage. . . . The verbal aggression . . . was thus meant as an explicit media tactic, to which the Berlin tabloid press responded."[57] Indeed, the technique of this public protest act not only rested on producing or distributing offensive political content but also on timing this distribution in front of the city hall, where it would create a political spectacle. The ensuing photographic images from the media in the public audience helped broadcast this spectacle. As photographs, they continue to depict how the visuality of this protest implicates the protest actions that enacted it; while the first image shows Kunzelmann poised to throw the Press Releases, the second image captures the paper in flight. This sequence turns an act of protest into an iconic display of literary distribution. Moreover, the subsequent arrest of Kunzelmann, shabbily pictured being carted off by four police officers, figuratively embodies the culmination of the dissident distribution act with the retribution of the justice system. All in all, the photographic traces of paper and the fallout it caused make visible how performative dissidence overlapped with literary forms of protest that not only captured the moment but also celebrated it via protest postcards that the Kommune I then sent out for people to help spread the word about the joys of protest.[58]

Across West Germany, too, print flyers rapidly were becoming one of the most prolific media of protest because of their capacity to relay or report on news stories that other media did not. Yet the popularity of flyers was tied to the way they integrated and packaged other practices of literary protests. For instance, one flyer at the University of Hamburg stamped "Streik" presented itself as a main periodical source of news about the new university student strike that began on May 28, 1968. As its footer stated, "Strike is issued for the time of the strike several times as needed, in any case daily." But what jumps out about the flyer is its colorful appearance. Stamped on top of the text, the announcement "Streik" visually propagated the student strike by subverting an official act (stamping) and highlighting (red) the text's announcement. With the bright red stamp, the flyer could be first seen from a distance, which, in a sense, reached out to potential readers in a way that the informative textual content did not. Similar to the stamp, other materialities were helping flyers to reach out visually. Several weeks before the "Streik" flyer, another flyer advertised public action with an anti-

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emergency law sticker titled "Forced Labor." Stuck to the flyer, the sticker brightly broadcast a protest demonstration and, in doing so, metaphorically embodied the common practice of stamping and wearing stamps. Positioned on the flyer, the political sticker gave the flyer additional visual and material currency but also demonstrated how print platforms of flyers could recirculate and remediate other protest media. As a result, material and visual flyer designs like these reflected how print layouts took on new dimensions and thereby stylized messages of protest.

In addition to packaging new styles onto pages, flyers spurred protest action by announcing, denouncing, or even self-regulating political events. In one example from the Free University in West Berlin, a flyer from the Kommune III asked: "WHO WAS THE STUDENT WHO ATTACKED A FEMALE STUDENT AFTER PROF. ADORNO'S LECTURE AT AUDI MAX ON 7.7. AND BRUTALLY PULLED HER TO THE GROUND? Name:. . . . . Address:. . . . . -The Audi max is not a 'playground' for pent-up sexual aggression."[59] As this flyer shows, the West German student movement was still plagued by patriarchal and sexist beliefs and actions. Along with more recent accounts from Ute Kätzel and others, which highlight toxicity and sexism within the West German New Left movement, this flyer helps document a history of violence and prejudice against women in the West German protest movement.[60] At the same time, it ties into what Rita Felski has observed about the social function of literature in the development of a feminist public sphere. For Felski, "it becomes possible to examine the specific ways in which the women's movement has served to repoliticize reading and writing practices."[61] The flyer's text, which publicly calls out the action in order to hold the actor accountable, indicates a growing awareness of patriarchal and sexist behavior and of gender inequalities within the protest movement. Christina Gerhardt has similarly noted how reading practices proved pivotal for West German feminism. Gerhardt outlines the meet-up of Helke Sander and Marianne Herzog at an SDS working group that read Springer newspapers in order to develop an understanding of their ideology. This meet-up led to the establishment of one of the first *Kinderläden*, whose "goal was to liberate women from the expectation to parent,"[62] followed by the institution of the Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen (Action Committee on the Liberation of Women) in January 1968. Popularizing slogans such as "The Personal is Political," the new politics of writing and reading within the protest culture shifted the discourse surrounding gender roles in West Germany.

Perhaps no flyer in the protest movement illustrates this shift quite like the "schwanzlos" flyer from November 1968. This particular flyer thema-

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tized the birth of second-wave feminism in West Germany by documenting the fallout from an SDS conference in Frankfurt on September 13, 1968, at which Helke Sander gave a speech as a representative from West Berlin's Committee on the Liberation of Women. During her speech, she addressed pressing issues about women and childcare, overarching biases in society and in the SDS itself, and the speech is widely considered a key starting point of second-wave feminism in Germany.[63] But the speech was overshadowed by a disruptive protest action that has become known as the *Tomatenwurf* (tomato toss), in which audience member Sigrid Rüger threw three tomatoes at the SDS organizer Hans-Jürgen Krahl and others, who were visibly ignoring Sander's speech while sitting at the same speaker table on stage. The widespread reaction to the spectacle of the airborne tomatoes and the contents of the speech led the Frankfurter Weiberrat (Frankfurt Women's Council) to build on the political momentum at the next SDS conference. On November 24, 1968, the Weiberrat choreographed the simultaneous distribution of a new provocative flyer and delivery of another speech on women's rights. The flyer depicted a naked female holding an axe and lounging under six mounted penises with the names of male protest leaders such as Kunzelmann of the Kommune I, Hans-Jürgen Krahl of the SDS, Wilhelm Reich who normalized the theory of the orgasm, and a number seven followed by ellipses indicating endless possibilities of more male names. Indeed, the back of the flyer went on to name up to 49 more names and ended with the message "more [to] follow." The blunt text-image combination on the flyer presented a new icon of protest, which publicized and protested misogyny within the movement (fig. 40).

The textual content on the back contained a more forceful critique. Situated as header and footer, the words "castrated—castrated—castrated—castrated—castrated" bracketed the flyer's emphatic message and social commentary:

> are we penis envious, frustrated, hysterical, uptight, asexual, lesbian, frigid, too short, irrational, penis envious, lust hostile, hard, virile, pointy, bitchy, we compensate, we overcompensate, are penis envious, penis envious, penis envious, penis envious, penis envious. women are d i f f e r e n t![64]

Citing common accusations and spacing out the letters that constituted "anders" (different), the commentary spelled out the main frustrations of females in the West German protest movement. Contrary to notions of Sigmund Freud and others, which, popularly posited the psychological hypothesis

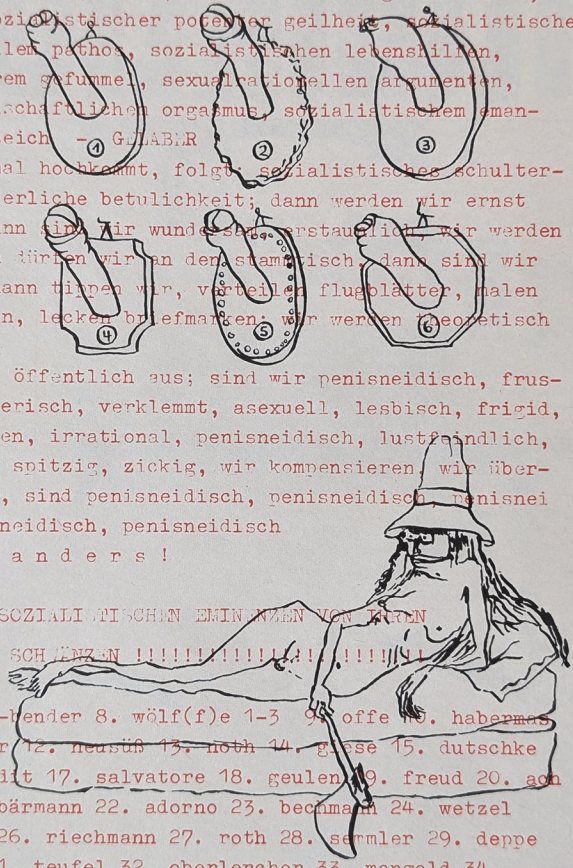
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schwanzlos - schwanzlos - schwanzlos - schwanzlos - schwanzlos

wir machen das maul nicht auf

GESCHLECHTSBERICHT

wenn wir es doch aufmachen, kommt nichts raus !
des weiberrats der gruppe frankfurt
wenn wir es auflassen, wird es uns gestopft: mit klein-
bürgerlichen schwänzen, sozialistischem bumszwang, sozia-
listischen kindern, liebe, sozialistischer geworfenheit,
schwulst, sozialistischer potenter geilheit, sozialistischem
intellektuellem pathos, sozialistischen lebenshilfen,
revolutionärem gefummel, sexualrationellen argumenten,
gesamtgesellschaftlichem orgasmus, sozialistischem eman-
zipationsgeseich - GEHABER
wenn's uns mal hochkommt, folgt: sozialistisches schulter-
klopfen, väterliche betulichkeit; dann werden wir ernst
genommen, dann sind wir wunderbar verständlich, wir werden
gelobt, dann dürfen wir an den stammtisch, dann sind wir
identisch; dann tippen wir, verteilen flugblätter, malen
wandzeitungen, lecken briefmarken; wir werden theoretisch
angeturnt !
kotzen wir's öffentlich aus; sind wir penisneidisch, frus-
triert, hysterisch, verklemmt, asexuell, lesbisch, frigid,
zukurzgekommen, irrational, penisneidisch, lustfeindlich,
hart, viril, spitzig, zickig, wir kompensieren, wir über-
kompensieren, sind penisneidisch, penisneidisch, penisnei
disch, penisneidisch, penisneidisch
frauen sind a n d e r s !



BEFREIT DIE SOZIALISTISCHEN EMBRYONEN VON IHREN
BÜRGERLICHEN SCHWÄNZEN !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

) 7. schmitz-bender 8. wölf(f)e 1-3 9. offe 10. habermas
11. schmierer 12. neusüß 13. roth 14. giese 15. dutschke
16. cohn-bendit 17. salvatore 18. geulen 19. freud 20. ach
terberg 21. bärmann 22. adorno 23. bechmann 24. wetzel
25. lefèvre 26. riechmann 27. roth 28. sermler 29. deppe
30. neusüß 31. teufel 32. oberlercher 33. mangold 34....
35. lederer 36. mao 37. petermann 38. lukasik 39. richter
40. dabrowski 41. amendt 42. amendt 43. [illegible] 44. marx
45. enzensberger 46. lauermann 47. lenin 48. [illegible]
49 + weitere folgen !

1) schauer
2) gäng
3) kunzelmann
4) knahl
5) rabehl
6) reiche
7) .....

schwanzlos - schwanzlos - schwanzlos - schwanzlos - schwanzlos

Fig. 40. Schwanzlos flyer

Credit: Weiberrat der Gruppe Frankfurt, redistributed in *linkeck*. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

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that females had intrinsic penis envy, the principle that females were different and not lacking became a rallying point for second-wave feminism in West Germany and elsewhere.[65] Hence, this flyer showcased how the protest movement's most popular and pervasive media stood as a critical platform of equality, which, in this case, helped articulate protest against the male figureheads of the West German New Left themselves.

On a different level, however, flyers also served as springboards for materiality and as alternative methods for tracking knowledge. As Kommune I member Antje Krüger later recalled, one of her contributions to the Kommune I was archival work. As Krüger stated, "We had a huge archive. Every morning, someone bought all the daily newspapers and we went through them at breakfast. Everything that was funny or exciting was highlighted, cut out and sorted into different areas, such as 'Berlin daily politics' or 'Crazy things from around the world' or 'Good campaigns.'"[66] While the archive of the Kommune I now sits at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam and contains fascinating perspectives into what kinds of contemporary newspaper articles were gaining traction with the Kommune I's interests,[67] it is the materiality of the archive that stands out for a new kind of infrastructure of paper knowledge. Namely, the Kommune I kept all faulty or unusable flyers originally intended for circulation and used them instead as a physical site of contemporary protest archival news. Moreover, Kommune I archivists like Krüger implemented a folding scheme onto flyers that allowed larger formatted newspaper pages to fit into a structured paper environment based around the flyer itself. Whereas a first glance at the jumbled textual mess of folded paper suggests disorder, in fact the original newspaper unfolds coherently to provide an accessible reading experience, which sometimes required numerous unfolds (figs. 41–42). In one sense, the transformation of a recycled paper flyer into an indexical media highlighted a tangible interaction with a print platform. In another sense, the size and structuring logic of this grassroots archive—embodied on top of and within the ecosystem of a print flyer—paid tribute to political and historical ramifications flyers still have for understanding West Germany's 1968.

Posters

Whereas flyers helped bring publicity to diverse readerships using the small single-page format, West German *Plakate* (protest posters) ushered in larger-scale visible dimensions of protest performance. Part of their visibility stemmed from having an inherently larger format and sturdier materiality, which helped project contents to larger audiences in larger spaces. In turn,

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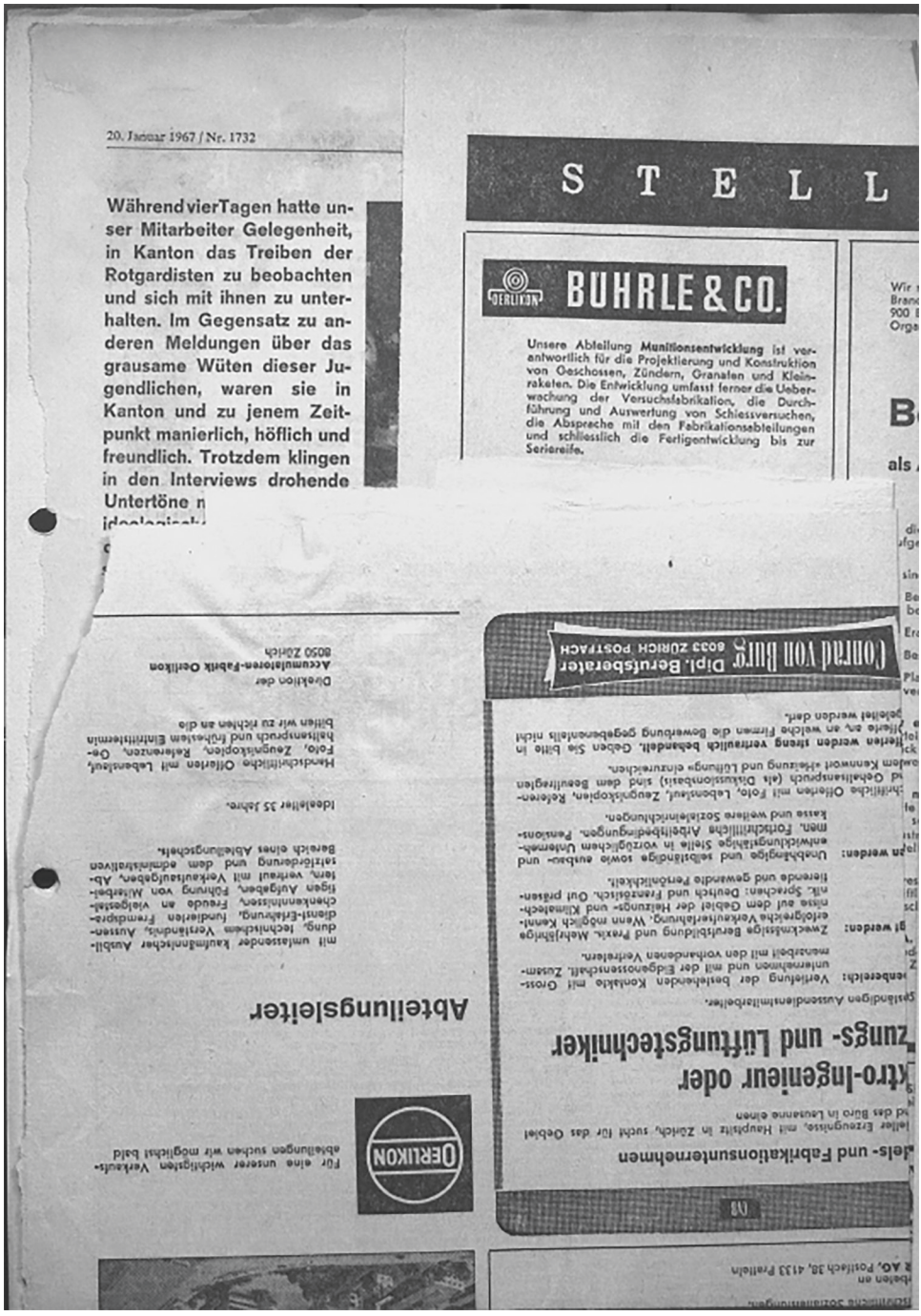


Fig. 41. Flyer archive I

Credit: Peter Schweppe. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

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20. Januar 1967 / Nr. 1732 DIE REPORTAGE DIE WELTWOCHE 13

Während vier Tagen hatte unser Mitarbeiter Gelegenheit, in Kanton das Treiben der Rotgardisten zu beobachten und sich mit ihnen zu unterhalten. Im Gegensatz zu anderen Meldungen über das grausame Wüten dieser Jugendlichen, waren sie in Kanton und zu jenem Zeitpunkt manierlich, höflich und freundlich. Trotzdem klingen in den Interviews drohende Untertöne mit, und die sture ideologische Indoktrinierung der Halbwüchsigen ist offensichtlich. In den Gesprächen offenbart sich die Psychologie des einzelnen Rotgardisten, deren Kenntnis erst ein Verstehen der Vorgänge im heutigen China ermöglicht.

Gespräche mit Rotgardisten

«Dann bringen wir sie zur Strecke»

Von Alessandro Casella

Kanton. — China ist — im buchstäblichen Sinne des Wortes — rot geworden. Ueberall hängen rote Fahnen aus den Fenstern, überall wird rot gestrichen. In den Schaufenstern der Läden sind Zitate aus *Mao Tse-tungs* Werken ausgestellt, sie kleben an den Windschutzscheiben der Autos, auf den an den Lenkstangen der Fahrräder hängenden Holzkästchen. Es sind Slogans in den Aufzügen und in den Kolonialwarengeschäften, bei den Coiffeuren, in den Wagen der fahrenden Händler, bei den Verkäufern von Zuckerrohr, in allen Restaurants und sogar bei den Antiquaren. Die auf die an den obersten Stockwerken der höchsten Gebäude befestigten roten Bänder gemalten sind mehr als zwanzig Meter lang. Die im Knopfloch befestigten nur drei Zentimeter.

Die Strassen sind voller Menschen. 500 000 Rotgardisten haben in der Stadt Einzug gehalten, vierzehn- bis fünfundzwanzigjährige junge Leute aus allen Teilen Chinas vom Tibet bis zur Mongolei, von Yünnan bis zur Mandschurei. Sie sind mit der Bahn gekommen, und 50 000 von ihnen halten sich noch in der Umgebung des für jeden anderen Verkehr geschlossenen Bahnhofs auf.

Trotz des grossen Menschenandrangs in den Strassen herrscht kein Gedränge, kein Lärm, sondern eine Atmosphäre der Wohlerzogenheit, die bei sich selbst überlassenen jungen Leuten dieses Alters überrascht. An den Autobushaltestellen warten die Roten Garden in mehr als dreihundert Meter langen Schlangen geduldig, bis sie an die Reihe kommen.

Wer sind diese Roten Garden, was wollen sie, woher kommen sie? Sie sind Studenten und Schüler der Universitäten und Mittelschulen. Alle Lehranstalten Chinas wurden für ein Jahr geschlossen, und die zu Rotgardisten beförderten Schüler erhielten uneingeschränkte Bewegungsfreiheit, können sich begeben, wohin sie wollen. Alles ist für sie unentgeltlich: die Bahnfahrten, die Unterkunft, die Nahrung. So ziehen sie in Gruppen von zwei, zwanzig oder zweihundert aus, füllen ganze Eisenbahnzüge, die Personenwagen, wenn genug Platz vorhanden ist, die Güterwagen, wenn es an Platz fehlt. Der Zugverkehr ist selbstverständlich überlastet. In Peking, wo sich elf Millionen Rotgardisten aufhalten, sind täglich sechzig Züge eingetroffen.

Die wichtigste Beschäftigung der Rotgardisten ist das Schreiben von Anschlägen, in denen sie die Ideen Mao Tse-tungs verfechten. Die Produktion von Slogans hat solche Ausmasse angenommen, dass Kanton sich in eine riesige Plakatwand verwandelt hat. Jeder Quadratzentimeter Mauer ist bedeckt, und an allen Ecken sind dreissig Meter lange, drei Meter hohe Plakatwände errichtet worden.

Selbstverständlich geben nicht alle Anschläge derselben Auffassung Ausdruck, und wäre es nur, weil sie von verschiedenen Gruppen von Roten Garden abgefasst werden sind. So äussert sich mir zum Beispiel, als ich eben im Begriff war, einen Anschlag zu filmen, ein Rotgardist und bat mich, dies zu unterlassen. Er enthalte falsche Grundgedanken. Sogleich schaltete sich ein zweiter Rotgardist ein und sagte zum ersten, wenn er nicht einverstanden sei, solle er eben einen anderen Anschlag schreiben. Man lief jedes Plakat mit ungeheurem Interesse, machte sich Notizen, diskutiert in kleinen Gruppen, und schliesslich verfasst man selbst einen, das man neben das erste klebt, um es zu verunreinen, ihm beizupflichten oder einen neuen Verschlag zu machen. Das Ganze ist eine grosse Debatte, die vierzehn Stunden im Tag dauert, eine gigantische Zeitung, die stündlich neu gedruckt wird.

Viele Rotgardisten kommen vom Land und aus kleinen Städten. Sie sehen mich an, als ob ich ein unerwartet auf der Erde gelandeter Marsbewohner sei. Im allgemeinen sind sie freundlich, kommen mir, selbst wenn sich hundert um mich versammeln, um mich zu bestaunen, nicht zu nahe. Es genügt, wenn ich ihnen zulache. Mahnrufe wurde ich von an mir vorbeiziehenden Gruppen von Roten Garden mit Handelsattachen, dem chinesischen Willkommensgruss, bedacht. Die Roten Garden lieben die Ausländer. In Peking defilierten im Verlaufe einer sechs Stunden dauernden antisowjetischen Manifestation 1 500 000 Rotgardisten, Slogans schreiend an der russischen Botschaft vorbei. Fünfhundert Meter weit entfernt jedoch klatschen dieselben Rotgardisten in die Hände, wenn sie Fremden begegnen. Diese Erscheinung, die schon zahlreiche ausländische Besucher verblüfft hat, lässt sich leicht erklären: man hat den Roten Garden beigebracht, die westlichen Regierungen seien alle «kapitalistisch und reaktionär», die westlichen Völker jedoch «lieben China». Sie sind deshalb heute zweifellos die dem Fremden gegenüber am wenigsten feindlich eingestellten Chinesen.

Sie sind darüber hinaus zweifellos auch die neugierigsten. Ich wurde auf der Strasse ständig von Rotgardisten angesprochen, die wissen wollten, aus welchem Land ich kam und was ich in China tat. Einige von ihnen hatten mich, ist ihr kleines, rotes Buch mit den Mao-Zitaten, auf gleich «Es lebe Mao Tse-tung!» zu schreiben. Als Gegengeschenk befeuten sie mir Abziehen mit dem Porträt Mao Tse-tungs an die Jacke. Bald war mein Rock mit dem roten Band, auf dem 11 chinesischen Schriftzeichen «unsterblicher Besuch» stand, mit vier Porträts von Mao und einem auf Plastik geschriebenen Zitat geschmückt.

Selbstverständlich machte dieser Schmuck einen ungeheuren Eindruck — und das war nicht ganz überflüssig. Denn wenn die Roten Garden im allgemeinen auch liebenswürdig sind, lehrt man sie doch, «wachsam» zu sein. So gebot mir einer Einhalt, als ich eine Strasse filmte, auf der junge Leute in einen der Lastwagen gepfercht wurden, die, da die regulären Autobusse zur Weiterbeförderung der halben Million von Neuankömmlingen nicht mehr genügten, die städtischen Transportmittel ergänzten. Er schien älter zu sein als die anderen und war zweifellos ein Universitätsstudent. «*Es wird im Ausland viel Nachteiliges über die Roten Garden gesagt*», erklärte er, «*und die Szene, die Sie eben gefilmt haben, könnte den Eindruck erwecken, wir seien undiszipliniert.*» Wir diskutierten ziemlich lange miteinander. Schliesslich beanügte er sich mit der Versicherung, mein Film würde nicht dazu verwendet, «*nachteilige Ansichten über China zu verbreiten*». Er war der einzige unfreundliche Rotgardist, den ich antraf. Die anderen gaben nach der Ueberwindung des anfänglichen Staunens und beim Anblick meiner «Ausweichungen» alle sehr bereitwillig Antwort auf meine Fragen. So begegnete ich *Lu Chang-wei*, einem fünfundsiebzigjährigen Rotgardisten aus Zentralchina, der mir seine Geschichte erzählte.

Lu Chung-wei ist Schüler der Sekundarschule Nr. 3 der Stadt Anwei in der Provinz Hopeh. Sein Vater ist Lotse, seine Mutter arbeitet im Hause.

«*Wie kam es zur Bildung der Roten Garde?*»

«*Es hat in Peking angefangen. Im Frühling gründeten die Schüler der an die Universität Hsin Hua angeschlossenen Mittelschule eine Gruppe von Roten Garden. Am 18. August wurden sie von Mao empfangen, der bei dieser Gelegenheit eine Armbinde der Roten Garde trug. Radio und Presse verbreiteten diese Neuigkeit in ganz China, und am 19. August wurde auch in meiner Schule eine Gruppe von Roten Garden gegründet.*»

«*Wie ging es dann vor sich?*»

«*Zuerst bildeten ein paar politisch aktive Schüler eine kleine Gruppe von Roten Garden. Die anderen Schüler mussten, wenn sie Rotgardisten werden wollten, die neue Gruppe ihre Kandidatur unterbreiten, mussten gewählt werden.*»

«*Konnte jedermann gewählt werden?*»

«*Nein. Man musste einer der fünf roten Kinder Klassen angehören: der Klasse der Arbeiter, der Kleinbauern, der Soldaten, der Beamten oder der Märtyrer der Revolution. Nur sehr selten wurde auch einmal ein Schüler bürgerlicher Herkunft aufgenommen, wenn er bewiesen konnte, dass er sich von seiner Klasse losgesagt hatte. Nur etwa vierzig Prozent der Schüler sind richtige Rote Garden. Die andern sind revolutionäre Schüler. Sie geniessen die gleichen Vorrechte wie die Rotgardisten, tragen jedoch keine Armbinden.*»

Lu Chung-wei meldete seine Kandidator zwei Wochen nach der Bildung der Roten Garden an, und da er einer «reinen» Klasse entstammt, wurde er ohne weiteres gewählt.

Einige Zeit später schlug sein Kamerad *Yang Chu-tung* den Rotgardisten der Schule vor, man möge ihn und Lu nach Peking und Kanton ziehen lassen, damit sie dort «revolutionäre Kontakte» mit anderen Schülern aufnehmen könnten. Der Vorschlag wurde angenommen. So begaben sich Lu und Yang eines Tages zum Bahnhof, warteten zwei Tage lang und kamen schliesslich in einem Zug nach Kanton unter. Nach ihrer Ankunft — zwei Tage später — begaben sie sich zum Empfangskomitee, dem von den städtischen Behörden die Sorge für Unterkunft und Verpflegung der Roten Garden übertragen worden ist. Man gab ihnen einen Stadtplan und die Adresse des Schulhauses, wo sie zur Zeit wohnen und drei Mahlzeiten im Tag erhalten.

Sogleich begannen sie, mit aus Wachstäfelchen hergestellten Schablonen Flugblätter zu drucken. Durch diese Flugblätter, die man in Gruppen von je hundert Schülern druckt und in den Strassen verteilt, wird das Volk aufgefordert, Mao Tse-tung Gefolgschaft zu leisten. «*Wir können schreiben, was wir wollen*», erklärten Yang und Lu. «*Wir lassen uns von Mann Gedanken leiten.*»

Yang trug eine militärische Uniform. Ich fragte ihn, ob er der Armee angehöre. Er lachte. Jedermann habe in China das Recht, die Uniform zu tragen, um damit seiner Unterstützung für die Armee Ausdruck zu geben. Die Soldaten erkenne man am roten Stern an der Mütze. Was hatten die beiden für Pläne für die Zukunft? Sie antworteten unbestimmt, Kanton gefiel ihnen, Peking lockte sie nicht mehr. Sie würden noch einige Zeit bleiben, dann im Bahnhof auf einen Zug warten und nach Hause zurückkehren.

Während unseres Gespräches war eine andere Gruppe von Roten Garden zu uns gestossen. Es gehörten ihr der achtzehnjährige *Hou Hua-ming*, der mit einigen Freunden aus Peking gekommen war, die achtzehnjährige *Sze Wan-wei* aus Kanton, der siebzehnjährige *Lu Yun-wei* aus Nanking und noch ungefähr zehn andere junge Leute an.

Ich fragte sie: «*Was wollen die Roten Garden?*»

«*Präsident Mao und das Zentralkomitee der Kommunistischen Partei verteidigen.*»

«*Gegen wen?*»

«*Es gibt eine kleine Gruppe innerhalb der regierenden Schicht, die dem Kapitalismus huldigt und sich im Gegensatz zu Mao befindet. Mao hat uns gelehrt, dass der bewaffnete Feind zwar besiegt worden ist, dass wir nun aber noch den Feind ohne Waffen, der in China wieder eine bürgerliche Gesellschaft herstellen will, bekämpfen müssen.*»

«*Wo hat sich dieser Feind ohne Waffen bemerkbar gemacht?*»

«*Im ideologischen Bereich. In vielen Schulen lenkten die Professoren die Schüler in eine kapitalistische Bahn. Ueber zehn Jahre lang sind wir ausgebildet worden, um auf Kosten der Ideologie auf die intellektuelle Arbeit zu konzentrieren. Die Schüler haben nur noch bestrebt, zu lernen, ihre Examen zu bestehen, in die Universität aufgenommen zu werden, um mit guten Zeugnissen wieder zu verlassen, einen Job zu finden und viel Geld zu verdienen. Sie waren nicht mehr bestrebt, dem Volk und dem Land zu dienen.*»

«*Gibt es viele ‚Reaktionäre'?*»

«*Nein. Die echten Reaktionäre sind selten. Aber es gibt viele Leute, die nicht begriffen haben. Man muss ihnen ihre Fehler zeigen und sie anprangern, wenn sie sich nicht zur Einsicht bringen lassen.*»

«*Wie?*»

«*Durch Mauerzeitungen.*»

«*Und wenn sie nicht von ihren Irrtümern lassen?*»

FORTSETZUNG SEITE 15

Lu Chung-wei und Yang Chu-tung mit ihren Kameraden: erst nächstes Jahr wieder auf die Schulbank.

Gespräche mit Rotgardisten FORTSETZUNG VON SEITE 13

Pulver oder Tabletten
NFA
erleichtert rasch

Fig. 42. Flyer archive II
Credit: Peter Schweppe. Special thanks to the International Institute of Social History

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these viewing frameworks spurred new strategies of communicating and signaling protest. For Alexander Grönert, this shift led to an increase in visuality at protest events so as to become iconic:

> Short of announcing demands or caricaturing the political opponent, (posters) showed images of leading political figures of the APO, often without the addition of text. The portrait of Rudi Dutschke or the images of political leaders such as Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, or Che Guevara, stylized into pop icons, were themselves program enough.[68]

With historical figureheads like Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, and Vladimir Lenin, or contemporary figureheads like Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, and Angela Davis, the mere display of a portrait brought intimate aspects of a face into broad public forums, where it served as a semiotic emissary from a past time or different place. As Timothy Scott Brown has written,

> Visual representation was a key site of the transnational in 1968, a site where the global and the local could be seamlessly fused together. This visual-discursive maneuver was particularly notable in the widespread deployment of images of political "heroes" such as Che Guevara, Mao Zedong, and Ho Chi Minh.[69]

Carrying a picture or image of a past hero not only signaled a visual literacy of protest history; it also imbued contemporary protest with the spirit of past figureheads. But another part of the visibility had to do with the literal movement of posters and banners in public protest marches. Being visible was often associated with physical mobility and put the onus on taking messages to the street in more ways than one. Since the posters often faced the same direction, their movement in a protest oriented fellow marchers to the way they were marching. On a figurative level, however, the direction of "forward" should perhaps fall more closely into line with popular socialist songs like "Vorwärts" (Forward) and thus can be read as tying geographical conceptions of directional progress into metaphorical conceptions of political progress. Physical mobility factored into the poster's performative role as a visual prop of theatrical protest, but this mobility also notably shifted the space of the street into new frameworks for publicly conducting and viewing protest (fig. 43).[70]

When viewed or read from a distance, both kinds of visibility influenced how posters and banners visually represented literary protest and, in turn, new political literacies of protest. On and off the poster, performa-

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Fig. 43. Portraits in motion
Credit: Bert Saß/Landesarchiv Berlin

tive and visual traits outlined a new mobility of protest. Off the poster, for instance, a photographic image of a performative *Fegeaktion* ("Street Sweeping Action") in Hamburg exemplifies how handwritten posters along with props could help script public protest. The image depicts how the words on one sandwich-board poster, "SWEEPING STRENGTHENS THE MUSCLES, WEAKENS THE BRAIN," relate exasperation about the shortage of job opportunities for young apprentices. To visually emphasize this message further, a drawing of a broom overlays the words and ties visual rhetoric into the textual rhetoric. But more important than the contents, the poster was staged as a prop into its protest surroundings. As the photographic image depicts, a moving procession of young apprentices marched and wore similar homemade sandwich-board posters around their necks, while simultaneously sweeping the streets in a display that visibly performed public frustration about their professional outlook and, in a sense, expressed how they felt swept aside from better opportunities. Viewed as a procession, the poster scripted the message by being in line with the procession on performative and visual levels, thus connecting the poster to a surrounding public presentation of protest.

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On the poster, print and protest reflected a visual *Plakatsprache* (poster language),[71] which taps into Judith Butler's notion of "excitable speech." As Butler notes, "We do things with language, produce effects with language, . . . but language is also the thing we do."[72] By breaking down the difference between the "what we do" and the "effects thereof," Butler notes that language helps activate performances of protest. In one underground newspaper issue of *Oberbaum Blatt*, a photograph of Langhans laying on top of a hand-drawn poster captured an ephemeral moment of rest during a protest march, thus leaving an indexical trace of the poster during the march. This image represents the poster's familiar protest on behalf of the imprisoned Fritz Teufel, however, its physicality as a newspaper centerfold gestures toward the politics of removal discussed in chapter 2. As part of the newspaper, the centerfold augments and frames the image of the hand-drawn poster within its newspaper medium: the visual content of the centerfold. Yet the removable centerfold itself was coined a *Faltbild* (folding image) in *Oberbaum Blatt*, doubling its tangibility and presence. This doubling attribute amplifies the visual relevance of the word "Teufel" in the photograph—doing things with language as per Butler—and the centerfold itself embodies the intermedial *effect* of West German poster language, which was instrumentalized as prop and springboard for fostering literate and legible protest goals.

This attention to the power of the poster stems from a growing awareness of what posters themselves could accomplish. But the differentiation of scale between a page or flyer and a poster changes how one looks or, in some cases, reads or discusses. Take, for instance, the famous SDS poster "Everyone talks about the weather. We don't," which was on display in the Kommune I living room.[73] The SDS borrowed and altered the slogan from the similarly well-known Deutsche Bahn poster, which had come out earlier that year, and also from Ulrike Meinhof, whose column titled "Everybody Talks about the Weather . . ." began with the words "We don't." Visually, the SDS poster drastically changed the aesthetics by switching the background color from the original black to bright red and by replacing the image of a train with an image of the three figureheads Marx, Engels, and Lenin. This change not only subverted the popular message from the Deutsche Bahn but also connected the message to the industrial imagery of a train on a track in forward progress. As Katja Iken has noted, "it was often posters that served the 68ers to bring political demands to the public." Graham Keen and Michel La Rue also recognized how "posters knew no barriers. They were stuck on walls in the street by advertisers, or on walls in the home by anyone attracted [by] their design." In the case of the SDS poster, the imperative to come dis-

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cuss built on the overarching effort to bring citizens into dialogue and make associations, whether on trains or with word-image modifications that made viewers and readers think.

Banners

Unlike these posters, which employed visual strategies on and off the page, banners utilized textiles, cloths, and sheets to mediate their message. By virtue of their fabric, they brought new textures and scales to the visibility of protest. In what was perhaps the largest publication of the protest movement, for instance, one banner at the 1968 Vietnam conference showed how expansive visual formats helped politicize atmospheres of protest. The International Vietnam Congress at the Technische Universität (TU) West-Berlin, which took place on February 17–18, 1968, hosted more than 5,000 participants from over 14 countries in a show of antiwar protest. To counter the expansiveness of the TU Audimax auditorium, the event's organizers hung an immense banner behind the main speaker table. On it, the phrase "TO THE VICTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION" announced the conference's headline textual slogan. In the middle of the text, however, the iconic five-pointed star interjected a visual rhetoric into the headline. Since the five-pointed star was a sign of Communism's history, it bore visual witness to the historicity of the conference, giving viewers the impression of being in a history-changing moment (fig.44). From a visual perspective, the banner's role in the conference did more than passively fill the space of the auditorium in 1968. Viewed hanging from the wall, its size and immobility also framed the tactile ephemerality of the West German protest culture and visualized this event's iconic legacy ever since.

In addition to framing public protest events through size, the movement also revealed how banners enacted a form of protest. For the history of West German protest, perhaps no banner has done more to focalize this than the "Muff" banner at the Universität Hamburg, which famously interrupted a public inauguration ceremony known as the "Talars," or bulbous decorative objects hanging from the cap and gown that distinguished the robe in which an incoming university president was publicly dressed . . . On November 9, 1967, the "talar" celebration was set to honor the old university tradition of showcasing the transition to a new president, an event that had been traditionally celebrated by the entire university community. In what first seemed like a show of appreciation, two eager-seeming, suit-wearing university students jumped in front of the procession of professors at the

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Fig. 44. Banner backdrop
Credit: Ludwig Binder, Stiftung Haus der Geschichte
https://www.flickr.com/photos/132468467@N06/16889769787/

back of the auditorium, stretched out a banner between them, and solemnly led the procession down the steps. Since the banner was invisible to the procession behind it, the professors in the procession assumed the students proactively were helping to celebrate the "talar" celebration. But with the words *Unter den Talaren, Muff von 1000 Jahren* (Under the talars, the stench from 1,000 years), the banner slogan invoked the Nazi propaganda term "1,000 Year Reich" in a textual criticism highlighting the lack of inquiry into the Nazi pasts of its own professors. Once it became clear that the banner was publicly sabotaging the talars ceremony, live pandemonium broke out in the auditorium from students and professors alike. Upon seeing the age-old Hamburg tradition of 1,000 years of talars compared to Nazi rhetoric, students began to chant and call out phrases like "Long live the Middle Ages."[74] Meanwhile, one university professor yelled: "You all belong in a concentration camp!" What made this act so famous had to do not only with its surprise sabotage of the ceremony but also with its photographic recording of it. As Rainer Nicolaysen noted, "The photo documenting this situation went through the media and has since been widely reproduced as a symbol: for a turning point at German universities at the end of the 1960s—and for

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the '68 movement' as such."[75] In capturing the earnestness of the crowd, the photograph shows how the banner captured the moment by performing the protest with particular attention to time and place. As a result, the banner unfurled more than a slogan in Hamburg; it opened up a critical national dialogue about the traditions, professors, and the not-so-distant past of the Nazi regime and thus materialized one of the most famous slogans of the West German protest movement.

Whereas the "Talar/Muff" banner from Hamburg showed how a choreographed spectacle could feature a cloth messaging space like a banner, other spaces of protest used banners more traditionally: to gather people under them, figuratively and literally, and to guide them in a procession. As was the case with many banners during protest marches, the large size required teamwork and collective carrying responsibility. With two more or more people holding sticks on each end, or also holding up the banner like a bedsheet, the banner served as a sort of visual line-break of protesters, which could either headline the protesters underneath or stand as a backdrop for protesters in front. For example, banners like GESTERN JUDEN—UND HEUTE STUDENTEN. MORGEN? (YESTERDAY JEWS—AND TODAY STUDENTS. TOMORROW?), along with "That's how they would like us: DOCTORS; CHURCH, POLITICAL PARTIES, MEN," both showed the varying uses of the banner that put words into motion and slogans on display differently than flyers or even posters could. Images of these banners being carried in a march relate more than any common critique of society; they reveal the inscriptive effect and the very fabric of West German protest.

Conclusion

Understanding literary marginalia like flyers, posters, and banners means reenvisioning them in their public surroundings. In public, these media not only inscribed the political movements with vibrant and expressive strategies of protest but also helped transform the uses of literature that occurred there. From interactive flyer formats to the iconic photographic imagery on posters, marginal literary media did not "read" or operate like traditional forms of literature, and this difference notably shaped their closeness to the protest action themselves. For scholars of literature, taking into account the visual and performative contexts of these marginal literary forms means renewing attention to the timing and setting of their *literary* protest. By way of the examples discussed here, things like the arson flyers, the handwritten

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sweeping poster, or the talar-stench banner relate to notions of *what* literature is to how, when, and in what context it can be politically performed. This assessment of their visibility and performativity does more than illuminate a tension that arises when one reads a flyer too hermeneutically and instead reasserts the ephemerality and public-ness that alters the constructed-ness of their meaning. As this chapter argues, these environments and the objects that circulated in them participated in representing a broader literacy of protest that underwrote common ideas and practices of public protest. Instead of considering literature in the protest movement through established and well-preserved print forums, then, this approach asserted the visual work that marginal literary forms conducted. By seeing these forms in their visual context, one can revalue literature as something *momentary* and indexical, which is important because it tends to lead to the marginalization of such forms in institutional spaces like university libraries or syllabi.

On another level, the marginal traits of these media point to other repercussions for scholarship. For example, if one compares the historical reception of the French *affiche* and that of the West German *Plakate*, it is possible to see what kinds of historiographical preconceptions exist in national histories, literary histories, and histories of protest cultures.[76] Whereas German *Plakate* have been primarily historicized as a print phenomenon, a rich culture of collective writing factored into their close connection to the culture of protest. Few hand-drawn posters may in fact remain from West Germany's protest movement, but the short lifespan does not make them less intriguing for how they contributed to the visualization of protest. Moreover, thanks to scanning technologies and a rich archive tradition in Germany, digitized poster collections have allowed for extensive access to the print posters that circulated in the protest movement. But importantly, the accessibility of the print posters can overlook crucial ephemeral and material contexts of protest that hinge on their fundamental relationship to public action.

By assessing how written forms of protest emerge from other formats, it is not only possible or productive but also prudent to draw more theoretical lines between histories of print with technological histories of things like markers or tape. In a different vein, the year 2026 marks a historical leap forward from 1968, but ephemeral objects like the flyer that followed the Adorno lecture at the FU provide an opportunity to reassess how scholars need to approach this historical time period, our own time period, and time periods to come. Flyers like that of the Kommune III document prevalent prejudices that were based around gender, sex, nationality, and race in the late 1960s and that, to a significant degree,[77] continue to be reflected in schol-

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arship through a focus on the mostly male figureheads of the protest movement and through citation practices.[78] As with marginalized literary media, these kinds of historical lenses tilt the history of protest into an imbalance. By turning the attention to marginal documents or moments such as the "tomato toss" scholars can address the kinds of underexamined histories they represent. In summary, the performances of marginal literary media came to represent a broader political literacy of protest in the late 1960s, which resonates with ongoing literacy projects in literary, visual, cultural, or political histories still in the making.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Writing Walls

> Rockefeller—Eiffe—Mao—Magical Triangle[1]
> —Peter Ernst Eiffe, Hamburg 1968

In the spring of 1968, a former University of Hamburg student helped institute a new style of protest in West Germany. Using a refillable ink marker, Peter-Ernst Eiffe tagged public walls, mailboxes, and street signs with a variety of slogans, which heightened the visibility of protest through overlays and transformations of both writing and public surfaces. Rhymes such as "Point the stream always at Axel Springer with and without using your finger!"[2] routinely targeted the famed West German media mogul and, as slogans, were fairly normal. But scrawled on the men's washroom wall at the Dammtor train station—the main transit hub for the University of Hamburg—the graffito prompted student commuters into taking multifold aim at Springer, thus linking his name to acts of urination and producing a mnemonic device for protest chants beyond. Playful designs like this characterized the ubiquitous call sign of Hamburg's emerging graffiti writer, Eiffe, and advertised his status as public commentator. While Eiffe's innocuous methods created a city-wide familiarity and notoriety, the commentaries themselves fueled a broader curiosity about public space protest for the West German citizens. What kind of political statement were the slogans? Was this method of protest authentic or simply vandalism? To what extent did this form of writing spark alternative social dialogue? How did it reflect a broader awareness of the relationship between public action and publication, if not pedagogical contexts of writing in and of themselves? In sparking these questions, Eiffe's writing left a prominent mark on both Hamburg's cityscape and protest discourse in 1968; but more importantly, it intervened into protest practices of the 1960s in a way that makes one rethink broader

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political writings of the New Left. In turning to the vibrant medial ecology of West German graffiti, this chapter examines how materiality and performativity created a new aesthetics of writing in the West German protest movement of the late 1960s.

Unlike the wide array of protest literature around this time, graffiti in 1968 disclosed how the very notion of public writing and reading literature had been mostly framed around paper and page layouts. Popular publications such as Rudi Dutschke's *Rebellion der Studenten* (1968), Erika Runge's *Botropper Protokolle* (1968), or even Mao Tse-Tung's *Little Red Book* (1965) seemed to embody what was considered protest literature in the late 1960s, serving to reinforce the higher status of print over forms of public writing that was occurring on building walls, street signs, and other surfaces. Even Uwe Timm's well-known 1974 novel *Heißer Sommer*, which cited Eiffe's slogans throughout and thematized public defacement as protest in its storyline, represents how conventional literature outshadowed and framed the actual experimental forms in the public sphere through the lens of print. In terms of scholarly discourse, the "death of literature" controversy surrounding Hans Magnus Enzensberger's *Kursbuch* 15 journal issue initiated a heated debate about literature's relevance in such turbulent times.[3] As Enzensberger argued in his essay, the real import of literature lay in more politically vital formats such as Ulrike Meinhof's *konkret* columns or the Kommune I's collage-style pamphlets rather than conventional books or layouts, which, Enzensberger argued, masked a production and distribution system built on sales numbers and profit.[4] Yet, because debates such as the "death of literature" or publications like *Heißer Sommer* have come to define the contested nature of literary discourse around 1968, these discourses have notably hinged on writing and reading practices that were essentially paper centric. In turn, the very nature of the words *literature* or *publication* around 1968 presupposed something that involved print.

When one looks beyond the page to other models of publication, however, fringe objects reveal a different interplay among writing, reading, and protest around this time. Whether staples and stamps in the underground newspaper *Charlie kaputt* or flexi-discs in the subversive book *Berliner Subkultur*, experiments with literary forms began to mobilize a variety of materialities and media ecologies into print layouts, connecting experimentation with an agenda of expanding and transcending boundaries of what could be deemed political, protest, or *literary*. At the forefront of this experimental thrust stood graffiti, which distinctly combined subversive public action with publication. For many protesters and youth around this time, writing

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on walls rather than on paper challenged fundamental notions of private property and public space, whether in cities, neighborhoods, or, especially, schools. As the high school magazine *Underground* instructed, "The best-tested means in the struggle against daft schoolteachers, -directors, -systems are wall slogans. Wall slogans provoke and coerce fierce discussions. And these are necessary."[5] Published in March 1969, *Underground* educated its readership on an alternative set of curricular practices. Writing on school walls instead of notebooks on paper put rule and order up for debate in a way that classroom discussion or canonical literary text could not. By turning school property into an unsanctioned message, the magazine article pointed out how the surface of the wall doubled as an extracurricular statement about school authority—about *where* to write and *what* to read and ultimately discuss. As such, wall slogans in and on schools merged ephemeral acts of writing with acts of protest and thereby activated a political materiality of reading and writing. By overlooking these kinds of fleeting performances, histories of protest in postwar West Germany have tended to obfuscate or overlook certain roles graffiti played in (and *on*) key public institutions such as schools, thus papering over graffiti's visibility in literary histories and urban studies that have followed.

Graffiti, West Germany, 1968

A search for 1968 West German graffiti today uncovers incongruencies in how the medium has been historicized, let alone how lexical registers of its terminology, translation, and literary debates still center around paper in 1968. As many standard postwar narratives of West German graffiti suggest, the birth of graffiti culture dates back to Philadelphia or New York City in the late 1960s or early 1970s before spreading to West Germany thereafter.[6] With a few exceptions,[7] however, postwar German scholarship has tended to uphold more historically linear kinds of narratives dating back to references like the ubiquitous US soldier slogan, "Kilroy was here," or Soviet soldier inscriptions on the Reichstag before jumping to the vibrant West Berlin Wall of the 1980s.[8] In addition to skimming over the specific interactions between written forms of text and public surfaces that preceded the 1980s in West Germany, such histories reveal something peculiar about the way graffiti stood in connection to the transnational protest movement of the late 1960s. Take, for instance, the French tradition. In this history, the mere mention of protest in 1968 conjures direct associations with graffiti. In her canonical study on the memory of "May '68," Kristin Ross invokes the adage that "graf-

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fiti blooms on its walls and communication is established in the streets,"[9] a sentiment that reflected the romantic framing that graffiti had in 1968. For historians such as Michel Winock, too, "It is in the graffiti all over the walls where one must try to grasp the secret point of '68. . . . Do they give away the secret meaning of this unprecedented movement?"[10] What stands out about Winock's meditation (and to a certain extent the aforementioned adage) is a hermeneutics of hope that seeks to buttress the historical record with new evidence and explanation.[11] When compared to West German traces of graffiti, the overwhelming amount of evidence, ongoing preservation efforts, and commentaries on French graffiti account for something more than simply a national celebration of protest graffiti surrounding May 1968. They stand more closely in line with a framework based on a shared *terminology* that has cemented a common understanding of protest.

West Germany, by contrast, had neither a shared lexicon with terms like *graffiti* nor a shared understanding of how it was articulating protest in the late 1960s. Whereas the original Italian word, *graffito*, had carried over to languages like French and English by this time, the word *graffiti* did not come into use in German until much later.[12] In 1968, the word graffiti was reserved for higher art forms like those of Brassaï, North American tags like Taki 183's, or French protest slogans.[13] In German, the verbs *malen* (painting), *beschriften* (labeling)[14] or *kritzeln* (scribbling)[15] as well as the nouns *Wandparole* or *Wandlosung* (wall slogan)[16] gave a different impression of what graffiti was—or, in this case, was not—in the late 1960s West German lingo. But this problem of naming has also generated longer-lasting misconceptions about the roles graffiti have played in German literature and history.[17] For instance, the primary historical source on West German graffiti in 1968 to date—Uwe Wandrey's book, *Eiffe for President* (1968)—does not use the word once. Instead, it invokes the vernacular character of graffiti with the term *Sprüche* (saying).

> Eiffe broadcast on every frequency of public advertisement: . . . He achieved the most attention with his endless felt-tip pen sayings. He wrote these everywhere and in every situation. He wrote on placards, house walls, street signs, monuments, mailboxes, display windows, parking garages, crosswalks, curbs, city hall gate, his car, his apartment and much more. He was active in almost every Hamburg neighborhood.[18]

While Wandrey's book undoubtedly helped advertise Eiffe's protest method and raise funds for Eiffe's release from custody in 1968, it shows how the his-

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tory of graffiti employed a different German lexicon than other places in the world. Wandrey's use of "saying" exemplifies how writing in public connected written forms of language with spoken forms. For Walter Ong, this vernacular quality was important:

> Slogans . . . are typically action-oriented, fitted to short-term goals. The slogan enters more directly into the spirit of the new orality. It is not reminiscent but programmatic, ordered to the future and thus even to something new. The graffiti on the walls in the Latin Quarter in Paris after the University rioting were generally slogans, not formulary devices in the older sense. They are more original (and by the same token more literary) than formulary devices as they are also more evanescent. A literate culture—and our secondary oral culture remains literate even in its orality—does not mobilize itself around sayings as permanently as an oral culture does.[19]

As Ong describes, graffiti slogans are not simply textual forms; they are oral mobilizers of a new literary protest. Ong's understanding of this political function builds on Bertolt Brecht's notion of *Literarisierung* or "literarization" of the streets through language, where words publicly and politically catalyze civic action.[20] Hence, by rediscovering the contemporary German vocabulary of *Wandbemalung* (wall painting), *Inschrift* (inscription), and *Wandparole* or *Wandlosung* (wall slogan), one can better recontextualize how sayings, slogans, and other statements of protest turned public surfaces into platforms of political communication.

Seeing Writing

A closer examination of research on the visuality of writing reveals a deeper fascination with how *surfaces* impacted cognitive and historicization processes. As Vilém Flusser pointed out in his 1973 essay "Line and Surface," "Until recently, the official Western thought has expressed itself much more in written lines than in surfaces."[21] For Flusser, those who think in lines or written words were destined to act from within history and the alphabet cultures that comprise it, while those who think in surfaces would be able to "act *upon* history" from a position that is inherently on the outside of history.[22] Graffiti indeed encompass a surface kind of thought in that they often appear first as image to the viewer rather than text to the reader, even when a given graffito comprises a textual message. In this sense, graffiti tie into contexts of literary viewing not unlike those derived from the early

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cubist calligrams of Guillaume Apollinaire, whose works invoked a series of impressions on the brain that extended beyond reading. As Stefan Themerson described it in 1968, "With a calligramme . . . you start with the image. Your eyes see it. And only then, when your eye has already seen it, your ear is allowed to decipher the elements that have created it."[23] Themerson's observation of the visual and textual overlaps here show how Apollinaire confounded alphabet-based written expressions and image-based impressions. More recently, scholars like Ellen Lupton have argued that "visual and verbal expression are inextricably linked. A poet or novelist paints images that readers conjure in their minds. Text, whether printed on a page or rendered on a screen, is itself a visual image; each letterform reflects centuries of tradition and reinvention. Yet despite the visibility of text, readers rarely stop to notice its physical form and presence."[24] Hence, by taking closer note of the physical presence of text, Lupton encourages us to reconceive notions of text as something that can extend beyond simple communication and also include a significant amount of visual information. This assertion has broader implications for how we can consider visual histories of media such as graffiti. By thinking through imagery and surfaces, which Flusser considered *outside* of the narrative lines and texts, it becomes possible to recognize how inscriptive physical encounters of writing can influence the visual presence and afterlife of a text on a given surface and in a written history—or, in the case of media such as graffiti, *upon* it.

Such scholarly attention to the interplay of lines/surfaces, words/images, and text/form indicates a sustained curiosity about histories of writing; it also points to the position that fringe media like graffiti have in these histories. As Jan Mieszkowski put it, graffiti is writing that is in fact "out of place"—something "lying on top of and yet outside of formally or legally delineated surfaces."[25] Its very liminality thus precludes the kind of canonicity otherwise awarded to more established, durable media like literature or film. Turning to the liminality of graffiti as a key form of protest writing facilitates a reconceptualization of why and how public-facing surfaces came to the forefront the way they did in 1968 and what that might reveal about the understanding of the history of West German protest. On one hand, painting walls or mailboxes with slogans conjoined the ephemerality of a public protest action with an act of publication, which, in turn, challenges what theorist Roy Harris has critiqued as a "metaphysical premise of writing: that the written text is an object, not an event."[26] By revising a public surface, a graffiti writer reclaims or demarcates public space, thus renegotiating an understanding of where the surface boundaries of public and private lie. Yet,

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as an often short-lived form of writing, the symbolism behind the actual act of writing tends to outstrip the significance of the final product. On the other hand, the placement of a slogan on a wall stood as an autonomous, material referent, which cited a past public action and directly amended how a passerby read, viewed, or experienced the surrounding city, thereby politicizing its own materiality. These instances reveal how graffiti repurposed West German cityscapes into backdrops of political messaging and recalibrated boundaries of public and private.

Since the Global Sixties were so rife with public displays of written dissent, the relatively scant scholarly attention paid to public surfaces is striking, though not incomprehensible. First, whereas graffiti in France can be seen to have transcended its time and space through its preference for universal slogans, lofty inspiration, sincerity, and anonymity,[27] West German graffiti writers such as Eiffe often signed their names, penning or autographing public creations that were intended to amuse or offend. The content of the graffiti is perhaps therefore less quotable and inspirational as it is banal, a written trace deemed unworthy of preservation or examination. Second, while numerous books, photographs, and websites help narrate the history of graffiti in France, West Germany reveals more latent, problematic forms of evidence like misleading allusions that were written after the fact[28] or subjective newspaper clippings from dominant presses like the *Springer Verlag*, which looked to paint the protesters in a negative light. These approaches tend to mischaracterize graffiti in the late 1960s or simply identify it as nothing more than vandalism or public mischief. And yet, on the one hand German graffiti historians such as Johannes Temeschinko have noted how "a tag represent(ed) the *Ur-form* of writing"[29] around this time; on the other hand, contemporary pop writers like Rolf Dieter Brinkmann grumbled how "so much time [was] spent writing that none [was] spent seeing."[30] Such sentiments suggest a new fascination with overlapping, shifting political cultures of writing and seeing in 1968, which, in turn, compels another look at how the nexus of images, words, and actions influenced and intervened in more conventional practices of protest. Following Flusser, by turning the attention to the *surfaces* of history and away from its linear lines and narratives enables one to see how writing informed the historiography of protest in 1968.

In many respects, graffiti rewrote notions of authorship, ownership, and spectatorship by showcasing new materialities and vocabularies of writing. Whereas this distinction influenced graffiti discourses in 1968, it also necessitates a renewed investigation of the way ephemeral formats shape the historicization and hermeneutic legacy of unconventional writing, reading, and

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Fig. 45. West German wall writing

Credit: Reprinted with permission from Inge Sauer, *Fassade der Düsseldorfer Kunstakademie*, 1969, black and white photographic print. From Cara Schweitzer, "Das erweiterte Bewusstsein ist die Intuition," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer—lange Wirkung*, edited by Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Essen: Klartext, 2008), 261.

viewing still today. By 1968, for example, West Germany's fascination with wall slogans transpired in contested educational spaces like the University of Bonn or Düsseldorf Art Academy where students' decision to take their writings out of the classrooms and put them on display made an educational statement. The walls of these institutions came to be seen as instructive platforms for protest slogans such as "STUDENTS, CARRY OUT RESISTANCE" or "Life, Work, Money, Work, Money, Death" (fig. 45).

In both cases, the writers used individual blocks of the building to bracket specific words, which symbolically visualized language as a foundation of protest, exemplifying what Cara Schweitzer has described as an

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"optimal forum for the distribution of political perspectives."[31] For student protesters, painting or marking walls staged an effective method of conducting *and* publicizing public protest by defacing private property of the institution. On another level, there was also something inherently democratic about such acts of writing. As Mererid Puw Davies points out, "Graffiti . . . disrupt the conventions of private property, for they seem to belong neither to their author nor to the owner of the surface on which they are written, but simultaneously to everyone and no one."[32] Positioned on the sides of the buildings, the graffiti reinscribed their place in the dynamic ecology of writing and seeing by attracting the public gaze to the anonymity, universality, and transparent lack of authority the walls might otherwise project.

To a considerable degree, though, the evolving nature of public surfaces limited the longevity of any given graffito and therefore reduced its message to a local urban environment in the late 1960s. Before the proliferation of today's cell phone cameras, it was less common to carry a bulky camera around for spontaneous pictures that could help record messages on the walls before property owners or city workers could remove them. Yet the challenge of interpreting the contexts of graffiti has implications for how one thinks about their function in the protest movement. Rather than understanding a lack of longevity as a delimiting condition that hinged on being present in the late 1960s, graffiti's ephemerality can also be interpreted as a mobilizing factor that promoted a dynamic and essential overlap of literary and urban practices like gazing, reading, or listening.[33] Protesters looked beyond the ordinary for new actions and avenues of aesthetic resistance. In his *Kursbuch* 15 article titled "A Wreath for Literature," Karl Markus Michel describes how this played out in graffiti writing, which he designated as

> less the sum of specific sayings as the situation in which the act of writing came into play. And the meaning of such sayings lies as much on this act as in the meaning of singular quotes or slogans . . . . It is less their distinctiveness as their omnipresence. Walls are everywhere; as soon as one begins to describe certain walls, others appear empty, they are begging to have slogans, not "texts."[34]

As Michel intimates, reading walls *with* protest slogans pervasively affected how people began to read walls *without* them. At the height of the protests around the world, graffiti and other forms of public writing helped transform how people understood their urban environments and the ephemeral texts that appeared and disappeared on and within them.

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For many West German protesters, redefining the status of writing was in its own way a political *rite* of passage, ratifying what contemporary artist Hans Imhoff outlined in 1968 as publicity and not art.[35] When one regards West German graffiti in this visual context, one sees how reading and writing inscribes the symbolic impact and longevity of public forums of protest. When protesters broke in and wrote on the walls of West Berlin's Rosa-Luxemburg-Institute, for instance, the painted words constituted the act of protest. Slogans like "BOYCOTT" and "SLEEP [IN] THE INSTITUTE TONIGHT!" encouraged students to take over the institutional space by sleeping in it as a sign of protest against West Germany's impending Emergency laws.[36] Yet the transitive form of sleep here, *beschlaft*, can also be read to have sexualized squatting, citing an older, less common German expression for intercourse or, in some contexts, impregnation. This leads to numerous potential interpretations and sheds light on the multifaceted character of graffiti. For scholars of 1968 like Davies and others, graffiti's "meanings can multiply exponentially, demonstrating more ostentatiously than is usual something fundamental about all language and texts: that meanings cannot be originary, fully known, or identified with the author's intention."[37] In the case of the slogan above, one can read the slogan aimed at protesters as a directive to occupy and illegally spend the night, or as a referential sign of an older, perhaps more erudite terminology aimed at learned faculty. More importantly, the red-painted letters on the university walls embodied a different materiality of protest writing. The streaks of paint reveal the consistency of text and an index of speed, thus varnishing a scrawled aesthetic that not only helped politicize the appearance of the words but also underscored the act of writing itself (fig. 46). In a certain sense, the dripping paint lines served to prolong the duration of the writing and redraw the figurative line between the legibility of protest and the institutional walls it sought to break down.[38]

Seeing graffiti in this light reminds us that they could not be circulated like a flyer or stored on a shelf like a book but were instead tied more concretely to a place and space. In turn, the location of graffiti helped disrupt and contribute to more common forms of aesthetic resistance. Take, for example, the story of a gymnasium student in Rendsburg who unsuccessfully attempted to bring up policy changes at his school. Following what the student described as censorship by school authorities, the magazine *Underground* reported that the student was left with no other recourse than "open provocation," which, to him, meant writing his opinion on the school's building. As the article explained:

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Fig. 46. Drip lines
Credit: Ludwig Binder, Bilder der Revolte: 27.05.1968: *Spectators line up at the upper barricade of the Rosa Luxemburg Institute*, http://bilder-der-revolte.de/photo/neugierige-stehen-schlange-an-der-oberen-barrikade-des-rosa-luxemburg-instituts/

> In Western tradition, it is custom to write proverbs on stately walls or inscribe them onto gates. Who would deny that the process laid out above exposes authoritarian structures and that the wall of this school was worthy to bear the label Slave-Subject-Factory.[39]

The description of the protest action also had a pedagogical message for the readership in giving the exact recommendations of letter size (50cm), amount of paint (1kg), and cost of the provocation (DM 10, 90). The cut-and-dry measurement reads like a political *recipe* for action. Moreover, the article introduced a variety of slogans from around the area as well as clever methods of writing slogans with oil-based versus water-based soluble paint. It informed the *Underground* readership that such mixtures allowed for a chemically subversive act in which parts of words could be washed away while leaving other parts exposed. In their attempt to wash the graffiti off the building, for instance, German articles like "kein" exhibited how the school and school officials could be manipulated when first attempting to remove it. As the maga-

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zine wrote, using washable paint for the letter "k" and nonwashable paint for the letters "ein" transformed the problematic and incitant, but satirical message, into an action statement where the phrase *KEIN TOTER LEHRER IST EIN GUTER LEHRER* (NO DEAD TEACHER IS A GOOD TEACHER) turns into *EIN TOTER LEHRER IST EIN GUTER LEHRER* (A DEAD TEACHER IS A GOOD TEACHER).[40] Making use of the chemical solubility of paint here played on the first impulse of school authority, which was to remove the message; but in doing so, it made school authority complicit in fulfilling the action of writing.

For many wall painters, the slow process of painting exposed them to the dangers of getting caught and spurred new technologies of writing, as Hamburg student Peter Schütt recalls:

> I was arrested yesterday evening because I had attempted to put a slogan on the fence of the university with a brush and paint bucket. *Ehrlicher*—that was the name of the president—*wird immer entbehrlicher* [Ehrlicher is becoming dispensable]. Two plainclothes police had taken the tools out of my hand and brought me to the station. Eiffe came up to me and began to tell me *You have to do it differently! Bucket and brush is yesterday's snow! I have the modern weapons of the cultural revolution.* . . . And he opened his briefcase and showed me—a spray can and tons of felt-tipped pens. Technical novelties![41]

The appearance of the Flo-master refillable ink pen on the West German market in the mid-1960s changed the nature of writing in public. As something portable and easily refillable, the Flo-master gained instant popularity for its practical ability to write on surfaces other than paper while on the move (fig. 47). In a 1965 article, *Der Spiegel* introduced the state-of-the-art pen to the West German readership with a presidential endorsement from Lyndon B. Johnson, whose nickname for it, *Wunderschreiber* (Miracle Pen), portended an optimism similar to the contemporary postwar *Wirtschaftswunder* (Economic Miracle). Rather than inserting an advertisement on the margins of its layout, *Der Spiegel* ran a full-length article that described how the pen writes "easily like a fountain pen or paint brush on paper, cardboard, plastic, wood, glass, and film."[42] By making it possible to write on a variety of materials, *Der Spiegel* deemed the refillable ink pen one of the most successful advances in the writing industry since the discovery of the pen itself. Thanks to the refillable ink pens, the process of writing on a variety of materials transformed old techniques of etching or painting into a new movement of material penmanship. As the CEO of the import export company Jens-Peter

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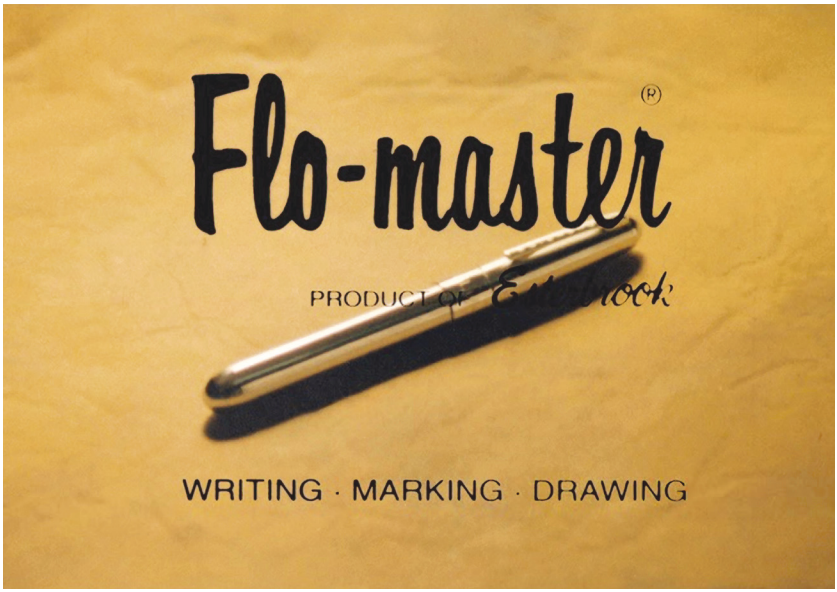


Fig. 47. Flo-master
Credit: Screenshot from *Eiffe for President—Alle Ampeln auf Gelb*; courtesy of Christian Bau, who graciously invited me into his studio and shared his stories, research materials, and time. Christian Bau, *Eiffe for President—Alle Ampeln auf Gelb* (Hamburg: die thede, 1995).

Carstens described it, "People feel uplifted when they can put a prominent signature down with such a pen."[43] In fact, the versatility and finesse of the Flo-master arguably helped convert public surfaces into prominent kinds of publication platforms.

"Eiffe the Bear Is Coming"

By the same token, refillable ink pens mediated and magnified writing in more ways than one. Turning again to Eiffe in Hamburg, whose name and playful nickname "Eiffe the bear" were both renowned, one can trace how pencraft marked the 1960s protest landscape. According to fellow protester and writer Uwe Wandrey at the time,

> Eiffe attracted attention with his innumerable slogans in marker pen. He wrote them everywhere and in all possible situations. He wrote on posters, house walls, road signs, monuments, letter boxes, shop windows, underground garages, zebra crossings, pavements, the gateway to City Hall, his car, his home and in many other locations, too.[44]

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For Eiffe, his graffiti was indelibly tied to his tool of choice, the pen, which allowed for a mobility and flexibility in size, space, and impact. Since contemporary Hamburg locals recognized his penned "Eiffe the bear" as a sort of aphorism, whose meaning normalized a sense of anticipation for his imminent arrival, the slogan began to take on a significant medial afterlife already in 1968 in Wandrey's popular cult book, *Eiffe for President*. Published in his grassroots Quer-Verlag, Wandrey documented Eiffe's slogans in order to raise bail money after Eiffe's arrest in May 1968. Reprinting the slogans extended the reach of Eiffe's pencraft but also transformed it in the process.[45] In Wandrey's book, the slogan appears in a series of similar slogans: "Eiffe, the bear, makes everything good," "Eiffe for all," and "Eiffe please!" On the page, the famous slogan "Eiffe, the bear, is coming soon" initiates a progression of textual meaning, which opens multiple avenues of interpretation.[46] In terms of content, the slogan frames the repetition of Eiffe's name and textually suggests his actual signature. While scholars such as Davies have explored the tension surrounding the aura of the original and the reprint in a book format,[47] the repetition here also serves to emulate an auratic universality of Eiffe's graffiti, which by some accounts numbered in the thousands. The repetitive reprint allowed it to seem everywhere and nowhere at once.

But as Davies notes, more central to this particular slogan is its original physical context on a public traffic sign that indicated drivers should yield, which offers what Flusser might consider a surface reading. Scrawled onto the sign, Eiffe's slogan literally subverted the rule of the road by defacing it, thus breaking a law. Located directly across from Hamburg's chamber of commerce, town hall, and main police station,[48] the altered sign thus conveys Eiffe's right of way in Hamburg. On a visual level, Eiffe's cursive handwriting contrasts the rigidity of the metal sign and the appearance of any official lettering that would normally appear on it (fig. 48). As graffiti scholar Lisa Gottlieb has described, "Just as important as the graffiti writer's name is how that name is rendered."[49] By integrating his name into the sign's physical context, Eiffe's inscription merges the directionality of the text with the traffic of the cars, conceptualizing an alternative right of way to the standard rules of the road and conventions of reading, viewing, and following law and order. Moreover, similar to Wandrey's page layout, the arrangement of the words mirrors the sign's triangular shape—a favored constellation for Eiffe—and thereby confounds any attempt at a one-dimensional/-directional reading. Whereas the top line depicts one of Eiffe's common slogans, "Eiffe the bear," the slanted left side of the sign contains another, "Eiffe is coming soon."[50] Since these phrases can be read separately or together, the sign's triangular shape structures ambiguity into the meaning here and gestures

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Fig. 48. Eiffe the bear is coming soon
Credit: Screenshot from *Eiffe for President*. Christian Bau, *Eiffe for President—Alle Ampeln auf Gelb* (Hamburg: die thede, 1995).

toward the physicality, mediality, and, oftentimes, mythology that tends to underline histories of graffiti.

As Wandrey wrote in his book, even "the walls . . . of London and Paris spoke of Eiffe."[51] While this is most likely exaggerated, the fact that avant-garde trans-European underground journals like *PRO* did include some of Eiffe's slogans and photographic evidence of his writing illustrates how widespread his fame had become by the summer of 1968. Such notoriety extends beyond Eiffe's penchant for just demarking Hamburg property; he also increasingly included more performative protest acts based on and around writing. For instance, one of the most spectacular moving pieces of writing was his Fiat 600, which he instrumentally drove around the city as a testament. According to Wandrey,

> In his thickly marked-up Fiat 600, which bore the name "Eiffe-Republic" on the door, he demonstratively drove onto [Hamburg's] pedestrian zone, Große Freiheit Street, despite the rules against cars. A gathering of about 100 bystanders eagerly read the slogans on the car's surface until a firetruck

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> and two police cars cleared the obstruction from the way. A different time, he drove into the main terminal of the Hamburg train station with his car and began to write his slogans onto the surrounding surfaces.[52]

By using his car to publicly demonstrate against parking zones, pedestrian zones, and train stations, Eiffe introduced the auto-writing mobilization of protest: writing where writing was not allowed.

By writing *upon* city surfaces, however, Eiffe and his graffiti spurred a variety of public reading acts. In one example, Eiffe wrote "Herr Bünning was abused by Senator Schutz for many years. P.E. Eiffe" with small letters onto the white paint of a street crosswalk. In addition to the provocative content, the personal information at the top of the graffito, "Kieler Straße 386," and at the bottom, "Hbg 22 W Ch 305, Tel 207710,"[53] imitated an official letter and turned this act of writing into an interactive platform of protest. While Eiffe's graffiti did not typically list the personal information of others, his own personal information often appeared as part of his signature, where it was intended to generate an interpersonal or multimedial interaction. According to Wandrey again, "Many of his inscriptions included the full address and telephone number. Eiffe had an answering machine recording. Callers were asked to leave their name, occupation, and number. He would call back."[54] By penning his personal information directly onto the street, Eiffe not only called on readers to pick up the telephone and dial Eiffe's number; he also encouraged them to *write down* his personal information, which serves less as a precursor to a modern-day tag and more as a conversation starter. In framing this information into the white-painted stripe of a "zebra crossing," Eiffe reenvisioned the public street marking for a new cityscape of reading. But whereas the idea behind staging graffiti *on* a pedestrian stripe conventionally intended for a safe road crossing gave passersby a right of way to stop and read the writing on the road, it also alerts historians to the need for seeing how such writing played out on surfaces and by association upon the histories that continue to mediate protest movements past and present.

Conclusions

As Johanna Drucker, Ellen Lupton, and others have argued, the *place* and *situated-ness* of textual forms relate a different message when one looks at the visual or physical formats of their texts.[55] Whether on a metal sign or a cement wall, West German graffiti indeed forged material façades and visual

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protest literacies in urban environments. In addition to presenting their own kind of public intersection of protest and materiality, graffiti ascribed political importance to visual form and gave physical definition to alternative aesthetic categories. The interface between graffiti and literary form here calls for a differentiation in how one reads on paper from how one reads or sees against material or physical backdrops. Narratives like Timm's *Heißer Sommer* and others[56] show how graffiti in the late 1960s expanded beyond national histories and lexical descriptions. Their very materiality imbued and reinscribed textual formats with a texture, performance, and dimensionality. At the same time, considering how Timm's novel is still considered canonical for protest literature of "1968," variable and vibrant textual representations like these suggest a greater influence of visuality like graffiti on Germany's literary history than has yet been fully realized.

With respect to the 50th year anniversary of "1968" in 2018, recovering the fringe visuality of graffiti can reveal something about how one studies, remembers, and continues to *write* about social movements. Reexamining the various medial representations of graffiti invokes Flusser's notion of thinking through surfaces as a critical methodology while also exploring what happened to writing and literary form when paper was taken out of the equation. This, in turn, could make one question not only how debates like the *death of literature* have claimed too much credit for redefining literature in the late 1960s, but also how literary histories, libraries, and archives have been privileging print materials and notions of publication as a whole. In order to better historicize graffiti in the West German protest movement, we must first recognize their role as *public*-ations that reshaped public surroundings to create new topologies of literary protest for the West German protest movement of the late 1960s. Indeed, graffiti did more than etch city surfaces; it caught hold of an imaginary that was in conversation with contemporary literary methods like cut-up, concrete poetry, or flexi-disc inserts prevalent at the time. The more one revitalizes the political functions of materiality as seen in the case of graffiti, the better one can reimagine why surfaces and interfaces are essential for writing *upon* the history of protest in 1968 and beyond.

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Conclusion
Literary Form and Its (Dis)contents

> It was after all a revolution in the appearance of the book.
> —Karl-Heinz Bohrer, 2008

On February 27, 2024, German police arrested a member of the Red Army Faction, Daniele Klette, who had been living incognito for over 30 years. As the *Deutsche Welle* reported, the capture was made possible by Canadian investigator Michael Colborne working for the transnational organization bellingcat, which uses public data to investigate issues around the world.[1] In other words, Colborne mobilized public artificial intelligence (AI) tools to conduct the search, which was more of a hypothetical test of what might turn up. But notably, what had dragged on in the German justice system for over the 30 years was a mere matter of a 30-minute search via AI and some investigative search terms and parameters by someone who does not speak, read, write, or understand the German language.[2] This revelation is indicative of how the ongoing influence and intrigue of the Red Army Faction and other militant groups, which emerged out of the West German Global Sixties, persist as a present feature in contemporary news and imaginary. As of today, other RAF members still remain underground, stirring up revolutionary pasts. But this admission also raises questions about the future of research when it comes to engaging with revolutionary pasts and the digital tools of tomorrow, ranging from AI to open-source analytical means of working with textual corpora like Voyant.[3] Indeed, the future of research on political textuality, materiality, performativity, and protest are laden with possibility. For its part, *Out of Line* seeks to draw attention to the ways that material and text inaugurated new practices of resistance in the Global Six-

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ties. And yet these practices take place in longer arcs of dissidence and activism dating back to early print cultures, violent revolutions, and transfers of power that stemmed from democratic elections like that of the Weimar Republic in late 1932. As the interactive, communicative nature of the texts lay bare, there *was* already an active social media in the late 1960s, and it played out in the materiality, the paratext, and the communal ways protesters went about reading, writing, and resisting. From interactive flyer forms to flexi-disc hotlines, the 1960s demonstrated how much protest showcased the need to connect and exchange information in order to pursue the political changes that tend to get taken as a given after the fact. Recovering this history shows the significance that the culture of political textuality had for scripting protest in the late 1960s of West Germany. Whether underground newspapers that were consistently confiscated, flyers that were put on legal trial, graffiti that was deemed illegal, or books that were pirated or stolen out of stores, the politics of the medium not only stood defiantly against the norms of the establishment in 1968 but also participated in a long, global tradition of resistance that has included things like subversive pamphlets and antifascist flyers.[4]

The Global Sixties proves how micro paradigms and genres of protest unveiled a dynamic repertoire of people standing up to systemic power. Take, for example, the legendary song "Caminhando" (Walking), an incubator of Brazilians' 1960s resistance to the military junta. As Victoria Langland notes, this particular song underscores the power of lyric and sound for a protest *movement* and remains a tangible orientation point for understanding Brazil's resistance.[5] Meanwhile, Jaime Pensado's study of counterrevolutionary violence also reminds us that the *Libertad de Expresión* (Freedom of expression) poster, created in the 1950s, helped make Mexican dissidence in 1968 iconic as it uprooted dissonance against governmental censorships that crystallized around the Olympic Games in Mexico City through a historical gesture back at the conditions and rights of citizens over time. In the print poster, the subject's mouth is chained closed, visualizing an invasive censorship of the voice and body.[6] Similarly, James Ferguson argues that Julius Nyerere's 1967 Arusha Declaration is "perhaps the most widely cited and discussed political document ever to come out of sub-Saharan Africa."[7] With its progressive, humane comments on development, equality, and money, this paper statement served as a pillar of basic rights that was disseminated far beyond its originally intended political boundaries.[8] When it came to longer-form texts, Alonso Cueto points out how Peruvian authors used novels to condition revolutionary readers to social change.[9] In Peru, acts of fiction

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writing and products like the novel helped forge political ideas about citizens, communities, and common values. As these examples suggest, the connections between the lyric, image, declaration, text and street protest offer up concrete, tactile points of political convergence where words and images animated, echoed, and scripted new visions of social order and freedom. In turn, concentrating on the micro characteristics of local protests such as their circulation, materiality, and mediality opens crucial doors for scholarship on the overlaying conjunctions of past and future unrest.

By focusing on the materialities and paratexts that helped articulate resistance from the mid-1960s into the early 1970s, *Out of Line* has connected the protest actions and publications that characterized West Germany's protests from this time to longer trajectories of print culture and activism that inspired them. *Out of Line* has argued that the typographical and material features on and off the page introduced a rebellious appreciation of textual protest, which redrew the lines between resistance and text along with ideology and material as a whole. To understand this process, it becomes necessary to examine how literature was dying and being reborn in the political arena, not just through rhetoric but through an alternative ecosystem of circulation, production, consumption, and materiality. Furthermore, this study's focus on four main categories began with the foremost medium of the book and the industry that drove the booming business of literature to other sectors of writing and reading like periodicals, flyers, and graffiti. Traversing through each of the categories allows a clearer picture of how the diffusion of word came about through physical actions like the paper plane in Harun Farocki's film, *Words of the Chairman*, but also publicly staged events like the reading protest in front of the police officer as depicted on the front cover of this book, where holding space and reading subversive literature became a textual statement and performance of West German protest in and of itself.

And yet the status of "1968" is a fraught topic of political and aesthetic interest. In his iconic study of social unrest, Gerard DeGroot famously quipped that the 1960s protests "rose again as religion" a decade after dying.[10] To be sure, recent decades have witnessed debates about how to remember the past, what to remember, and how to carry the conversation forward in political, cultural, and social discourse. Helping orient this territory, Uwe Sonnenberg notes how the recently named Rudi-Dutschke-Straße (Rudi Dutschke Street) in Berlin sits across from the Springer Publishing House headquarters, continuing to provoke the publisher as a reminder from the past.[11] In 2017, *The Economist*'s coverage of the rise of the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party asserted that "anti-1968 is AfD's calling card."[12]

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In 2018, Germany's CDU health minister Jens Spahn proclaimed the post-era Global Sixties generation to be over. In 2011, French president Nicolas Sarkozy's call for a "liquidation of May '68" disclosed just how vitriolic standpoints on the Global Sixties were. Going back to 1984, too, the editors of *The Sixties without Apology* already noted that

> Trashing the 60s has become a strategic feature of the current struggle for hegemony. Attacks on "permissiveness," the defense of the old-fashioned nuclear family, the return of excellence in schools, short hair and a general turn away from the cultural "styles" of the 60s, strident antifeminism and anti-gay backlash, the rise of an "intellectual" racism of the new Klan, the almost uncontested slogans about "fiscal responsibility" which signify the dismantlement of the welfare state, the financial "realism" brandished in order to bring, by persuasion and menace alike, labor to the appropriate "givebacks"—all of these things.[13]

What these comments divulge is something about the Global Sixties that perseveres in the collective consciousness, perhaps akin to what Ingo Cornils has called simultaneously "a holy grail and a black hole."[14] Whatever it is, the battles over the legacy and future of "1968" are likely far from over.

While this study was not specifically focused on the memory debates of the Global Sixties, the thrust of *Out of Line* underscores two main aspects about the ongoing projects to commemorate and remember the text and textuality of the protest movement. First, the alternative literary scene asserted itself in cultural, legal, and political realms with a new kind of cognizance about dissident reappropriation, reproduction, and distribution. By mobilizing its physical characteristics, such as felt-tip pens or official university stamps, new practices of writing challenged notions about public or private property itself, whether in terms of copyright or in material property. Second, the ongoing project of remembering "1968" has undergone a variety of intriguing histories of its own: subjective dissociation,[15] romanticization,[16] rationalization,[17] commodification,[18] and more.[19] These histories have repositioned our scholarly gazes on the particular ways texts and textuality have mediated this memory. Accordingly, this study made the case for why literature's relationship to political protest reveals an intriguing *material* and *performative* historiography of literary form and textuality. *Out of Line* has thus scrutinized just how texts give material definition to literary categories such as slogans or aphorisms through tangible objects like banners or flyers. As I suggest, these objects and textures underwrote transnational histories of

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protest and literature in the late 1960s. But more importantly, the history of West German print and writing at this time underwent political transformations, which arguably did not only come *after* avant-garde print traditions or *before* other material cultures of protest such as zines,[20] social media, and the internet;[21] these transformations are instead constant and will continue to shape the political vitality of texts and textuality in the protest movements still to come.

To date, the very ideas of protest have changed how one thinks about some of the main protagonists and frames of the Global Sixties in West Germany. One common thread was the desire to disrupt and change existing social, political, and artistic conventions. In terms of gender, Ute Kätzel reminds us that

> [women] had to fight many battles and gained from them personal strength. But they also had to deal with numerous injuries which were the consequence of being champions in many ways. The female 68ers conquered new lifestyles and areas of politics that ran counter to the established gender roles of the ‘50s and ‘60s. They broke taboos, revolutionized the private sphere, and because of this had a much greater impact on changing the world than many highly theoretical speeches.[22]

Along with the progress that was earned in the 1960s came a toll. Today, this legacy continues to face institutional challenges. In looking at the ways 1968 has tended to get documented and historicized, for instance, ongoing biases still abound. During her speech on September 13, 1968—the second day of the national SDS congress—Helke Sander observed that the first day of speeches had only featured one female speaker compared to the long list of male speakers.[23] This same phenomenon is also evident in the audio recordings of teach-ins and sit-ins from the Freie Universität of Berlin, a center of action, where the speakers were overwhelmingly male. More evidence can be found in countless other institutional collections, archives, and accounts. But notably, the 2004 publication *1968: An Encyclopedia* from the edition suhrkamp—historically known for its close relations to West Germany's 1968[24]—has 55 entries listed in the table of contents, while only three of them are female, one of whom is Rosa Luxemburg, from the year 1917.[25] This is one historiographical example of many and reminds us all why inclusive, realistic histories of protest benefit from gendered methodologies that will continue to valuably contribute to the future of protest, not to mention studies thereof.

The same line of thinking extends to race. As Peggy Piesche has main-

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tained, "The movements of 68 were fundamentally inspired by the international civil rights and liberation movements of Black people and people of color, which, in the context of the contemporary commemorative construct known as '68,' have been woven into a very Western-oriented history of anti-capitalist and left-wing movements."[26] In countless West German underground newspapers, journals, and even music events, features on figures such as Angela Davis,[27] who studied in Frankfurt in the 1960s, political entities such as the Black Panthers,[28] and West German singers like Fasia Jansen[29] appeared semiregularly and helped prompt awareness of diversity within German readerships and listeners. As Jamele Watkins has pointed out, when German studies scholarship and curriculum forgets or ignores these stories, it perpetuates anti-Blackness and undercuts significant "Black thought and Black contributions to the field."[30] Suffice it to say, the same edition suhrkamp encyclopedia titled *1968* from 2004 only managed to include one Black author out of all 55 entries. Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power" stands as a textual call to recognize the power of diversity and inclusion, and a call to research the structures and systems that perpetuate certain sets of privileges.

Institutionally, the Feministisches Archiv FFBIZ and the Schwules Museum's archive in Berlin contain nonmale, nonstraight, and nonwhite political activism that cannot be separated from the history of West German protest but has been too often marginalized by it.[31] From safety concerns surrounding cruising spots to the extensive correspondences of feminist organizations and concerns about child care and equal pay, these collections contain further insights into a fuller picture of what protest entailed in West Germany's Global Sixties and how certain rights that emerged from this time and are now encoded in German law should not be taken for granted. I acknowledge the shortcomings of this work in each of these respects, but I hope to have brought methods to light that might serve future studies and to continue to work on my personal responsibilities and resiliencies as a scholar, educator, and citizen.

In the Global Sixties, traditions of resilience deeply marked West Germany's "1968" with its many visual and textual references to figures like Rosa Luxemburg, Mikhail Bakunin, and other revolutionaries who stood for a politics of reading and writing protest. In 1968, protesters found power in history and genres of resistance. In the antifascist vein, poems like Bertolt Brecht's "The Invincible Inscription" manifest how the etchings of a political dissident could thematize walls as sources of political protest. Finalized as part of his 1938 *Svendborg Poems* published in Danish exile, Brecht's poem

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features a jailed dissident who flouts the ideology of his captors by rejecting the authority of the walls that imprison him. The dissident notably does this by etching the words "Hail Lenin!" onto the jail wall. When the guards attempt to remove the text, the very words themselves seem to refuse and remain steadfastly in place. Regardless of chalk, paint, or even knife-chisel, the fascist guards eventually resign to the only remaining option, which comes in the form of a final command: "Now remove the wall!" This parable offers insight into the vital resiliency that surfaces like walls and various cultures of demarking them have. For Hans Magnus Enzensberger, too, politicizing poetry meant ensuring it was visible and public:

> Hans Magnus Enzensberger wants his poems to be understood as inscriptions, posters, flyers, scratched into a wall, posted onto a wall, handed out in front of a wall; they should not fade away in space, in the ears of one patient reader; they should, rather, stand and live in the eyes of many, in particular the impatient, they should affect them like a small ad in the paper, like a poster on an advertising pillar in the street, like sky-writing. They should be communications, here and now, to us and to everyone.[32]

Titled *Verteidigung der Wölfe* (defense of the wolves), Enzensberger's book, with the sharp tone in the poems, gained him the nickname of a "wrathful young poet" in 1957.[33] By the late 1960s, Enzensberger's editorial work with *Kursbuch* and public engagement with the protest movement cemented his antiestablishment oeuvre. As was the case with writers like Brecht and Enzensberger, younger generations drew inspiration from historical struggle documented in text and literary form, channeling and galvanizing their own new forms and techniques of dissent as a result.

In 1968, the alternative magazine *SPARTACUS* drew attention to another facet of protest that often gets overlooked. When the magazine raised the issue of funding, it struck a deeper political fault line:

> to hell with poems as cultural goods. poems, like any other kind of "art," must finally become commodities! SPARTACUS leaflet poems make an important contribution to this demand . . . in A3 format on cheap paper with attractive typography. to be pinned to the wall, above the workplace, no more expensive than a daily newspaper.[34]

As the advertisement relates, the concept of SPARTACUS's new publication feature of "flyer poems" repudiated poetry's autonomous sphere by seeking to

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create a more politically usable one. On an ideological level, the flyer poems called out the postulated impotency of bourgeois art, which was reflected in popular European slogans like "Art is dead. Don't consume its corpse"[35] and showcased in the subtitle of the magazine: *zeitschrift für lesbare literatur* (magazine for readable literature). In contrast to autonomous art, which was seen as being divorced from the political sphere, alternative formats like flyers were seen as being more relevant for a critically minded audience, if not more effective for politicizing a nonpolitical one. On a material level, however, a flyer poem signaled a greater metaphorical transformation of political literature, which bridged the tangible substance of paper with the less tangible genre of a lyrical poem. In doing so, this publication feature disclosed the connectedness of alternative political literature to a physical culture of protest. Moreover, by relocating poetry to the margins of the magazine, where it could be removed and displayed for a broader audience, editor Peter-Paul Zahl politicized the publication platform of the magazine and the physical format of the poem, which, in turn, exhibited and celebrated key traits of the alternative literary scene of the time: materiality, visuality, and performativity. Hence, acts of removal like this one demonstrated the capacity of a literary form like a flyer poem to mobilize content from within publication platforms and, by the same token, revealed the text's political propensity to contest material and social boundaries.

On another level, however, the instability of ideological frameworks within West Germany's Global Sixties became increasingly apparent as time wore on. Whereas much of the alternative, fringe literature like the Kommune I book *Klau mich* seemed to purport a desire to not be sold or purchased, *SPARTACUS* advertises its desire by naming its purpose and affordable price. The notion that "poems must become commodities," purchased for the same price as a "daily newspaper," draws attention to how protest needed financing, not to mention protesters themselves. As evidenced by early revolutionary strategies, it is easy to think that West Germany's protests were incompatible with the idea of profit. Quoting Rudi Dutschke, T. Käsemann, and R. Schöller, Alexander Sedlmeier describes how early protests were designed around the idea of disrupting commercial activity.

> The revolutionary tactics were rather simple: "We entered the department stores *en masse*, distributed flyers, more or less obstructed the normal sales rhythm, and encountered a lot of sympathy on the part of the sales producers. The management was forced to temporarily cease profit maximisation."[36]

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As Sedlmeier writes, many of the primary sites of protest in West Germany became shopping spaces like the KaDeWe, Europe's largest shopping center. Protesters saw the disruption of passive consumption as being an important vehicle for furthering their ideological goals. At the same time, Sedlmeier notes writer and student protester Peter Schneider's lament that "the human being has become a commodity and the commodity has become the subject."[37] Indeed, the success of books like *Klau mich* did contribute a significant amount of money to the collective finances of the Kommune I, which famously dispersed in 1969 after being robbed by a biker gang. Moreover, Kommune I was welcome in the Chinese Embassy in East Berlin where they were given copies of Mao Bibles to distribute back in West Berlin, which they did to raise funds. And of course, the million dollar sex industry and the emergence of pornography undoubtedly fed into the success of *Klau mich*. As Susan Sontag underscores in her article from 1968, West German society was a "glowing example" of a pornographic society, in which "such an overwhelming hypocrisy and repression formed that can only bring out an unavoidable current of pornography."[38] As demonstrated here, the question of money and profit is in many ways hard to separate from protest, where many of the underground and alternative texts were swept up in the commodification of goods. In turn, the future studies of protest will benefit from a focus on issues surrounding the financing of protest ideology and action.

By tending to the fringes of literary forms and formats rather than conventional protest literature—by reading out of line—this study apprehended the categories of materiality and paratext as key expressions of politics, assessing how dissident performances happen inside physical literary formats but also resonate expressly *outside* of them. In the example of the communally written/composed scrapbook, *Klau mich*, one sees why performative, visual, and material approaches typify how the book's format influenced literature's relationship to the protest movement. On one level, the production of the book contained an eclectic mixture of newspaper clippings, legal proceedings, crossword puzzles, and pornography inserts, each of which showed how practices of print invoked materialities of cutting, pasting, and moving content around on the page and in the book itself, which harkened back to early twentieth-century traditions of montage.[39] By manipulating and drawing *over* original newspaper text columns, the authors reconstituted, layered, and satirized the news with handwritten text along with ink blots, colorful margins, and lewd images. In doing so, they challenged the notion of authorship and authorial appropriation as such. The effect of this political scrapbook not only visualized a collective collage

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of political dissent but also made *Klau mich* one of the best-selling books at the 1968 Frankfurt Book Fair. On another level, this rhetorical aesthetic cannot be read apart from its urgent political strategy for circulation, which in many ways continues to shape an ongoing legacy of protest: to *liberate* goods from their capitalistic chains and not support the capitalist structure by purchasing them.[40] By assessing how acts of reading and writing were linked to more comprehensive acts of theft such as pirating[41] or shoplifting, *Out of Line* specified how commodities and theft impacted the literary culture of protest at the time and how its legacy frames how we can think about the consumption of literary form and textuality today.

More broadly, the combination of visual and material cultures with textual studies helps expand how scholarship can productively engage with literary form from different angles. Scrutinizing the material and media history of objects helps contextualize and restructure how textuality appeared in 1968 and, importantly, how it has persisted thereafter. Pausing over the mediality of removable posters uncovers the historically elusive manner in which journals like *Kursbuch* have been republished and remembered. Evaluating the materiality of extraliterary layout features such as centerfolds, stickers, stamps, and inserts allows us to ascertain how these features helped critically *overstep* the boundaries of literature by confounding them or challenging them, and how they shaped a broader practice of alternatively diffusing literary form as an expression of strategic protest. Thus, reading *out of line* shows the role that lines can play as limits,[42] metaphors,[43] as well as graphic indicators of literature.[44] Ephemeral performances of protest and literature, which are more difficult to preserve in an institution such as an archive, calls into question the basic process of literary canonization and ongoing status of more performative traditions like past avant-garde movements. Whereas literature that fits onto shelves or commemorated as "events"[45] might garner more privilege in literary histories, the fascination that West German protesters had with, say, surrealism from the early 20th century changed the ways they interacted with literary form. Moreover, connecting the methods used here to other disciplines of study, whether American studies or Victorian studies, allows for an analysis that will ideally open doors for further interdisciplinary discoveries of resistance, materiality, and performativity. By examining the performances that these kinds of publications invoked in West Germany's Global Sixties, the vital reciprocity between publication and public action uncovers a profound nexus of what being *out of line* entails, from word to deed, from paper substrate to asphalt surface, from resistance writing to political reading, then, now, and in the future.

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Notes

Acknowledgments

1. "The Politics of Removal: *Kursbuch* and the West German Protest Movement" appeared in *The Sixties* 7, no. 2 (2014): 138–54. Published by Taylor & Francis Group. Copyright © 2015 *The Sixties*. "Writing upon History: West German Graffiti and 1968" appeared in *German Studies Review* 44, no. 3 (October 2021): 527–44. Published by Johns Hopkins University Press. Copyright © 2021 German Studies Association.

2. Maja Lukic, "The Afterlife," *New England Review* 46, no. 1 (2025): 156.

Preface

1. Bertolt Brecht, "Interview," in *Brecht Chronik: 1898–1956*, ed. Werner Hecht (Suhrkamp, 1997), 443.

2. Mererid Puw Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements: The Textual Revolution* (University of London, 2020), 154.

3. Harun Farocki, *Die Worte des Vorsitzenden*, Film (1967).

4. "Reemtsma schließt Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung." *Der Spiegel*, January 15, 2024, https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/jan-philipp-reemtsma-will-hamburger-institut-fuer-sozialforschung-2028-schliessen-a-cc1e894f-b338-4ecd-881b-f4c15f67bd80

5. Andreas Roth, "Der Voltaire Verlag und die Edition Voltaire," in *Die Politisierung des Buchmarkts: 1968 als Branchenereignis*, ed. Hans Altenhein and Stephan Füssel (Harrassowitz, 2007), 44.

6. Wolfgang Ruppert, "Um 1968: Die Repräsentation der Dinge," in *Um 1968: Die Repräsentation der Dinge,* ed. Wolfgang Ruppert (Jonas Verlag, 1998); Marian Sawyer, "Wearing Your Politics on Your Sleeve: The Role of Political Colours in Social Movements," *Social Movement Studies* 6, no. 1 (2007).

7. Erasmus Schöpfer, "Demokratisierung der Künste," *kürbiskern* 2 (1969): 296.

8. As Kai-Uwe Hellmann writes, "The bodies become, so to speak, the last means of failed communication: one no longer speaks, but shows oneself, becomes visible" (Hellman, 241; cited in Fahlenbrach). Kathrin Fahlenbrach, *Protest-Inszenierungen: Visuelle Kommunikation und Kollektive Identitäten in Protestbewegungen* (Fachmeddien, 2002), 151.

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9. In February 2025, Donald Trump supporters Elon Musk and Steven Bannon both made what appeared to be a Nazi salute, but they both claimed it was a Roman salute.

Introduction

1. Farocki, *Die Worte des Vorsitzenden.*

2. Klaus Kreimeier, "Papier-Schere- Stein: Farockis frühe Filme," in *Der Ärger mit den Bildern: Die Filme von Harun Farocki*, ed. Rolf Aurich and Ulrich Kriest (u v K Medien, 1998), 37.

3. While Mao Zedong/Mao Tse-tung was the author, it was the defense minister, General Lin Biao, who collected and edited his speeches in 1964 in order to educate the Chinese military.

4. James Loxley, *Performativity* (Routledge, 2007), 2.

5. For more on the famous "Shah Tüte," which depicted the face of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, see the Kommune I flyer number 15 from 1 June 1967.

6. The film was narrated by assistant director Helke Sander, who attended the new Deutsche Film und Fernsehakademie in West Berlin with Farocki and actively partook in the West German feminist movement, in particular by helping establish the *Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen* (Action Council for the Liberation of Women). All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

7. Harun Farocki, *The Words of the Chairman*, accessed 14 July 2022, https://www.harunfarocki.de/films/1960s/1967/the-words-of-the-chairman.html

8. Such assumptions indeed tap into larger discourses surrounding literary study as a whole. Scholars such as Leah Price, for example, have contended that methodological or disciplinary biases have significant consequences for our impression of literature and our interpretation thereof. In one case, Price exemplifies how "on the first day of English class, freshmen learn that the 'book' is a dirty word: what they're reading needs now to be called a 'text.' This is more than a euphemism: one refers to a material object, the other to a sequence of words." Leah Price, "Introduction: Reading Matter," *PMLA* 121, no. 1 (2006): 10.

9. See, for example, the "Presentation of an AgitProp Piece on the Spengler Report from the Teufel-Langhans Trial by the Psychosomatic Working Group of the Critical University, performed by Peter Tautfest and others" ("Vorstellung eines Agitprop-Stückes zum Spengler-Gutachten aus dem Teufel-Langhans-Prozess durch den Psychosomatischen Arbeitskreis der KU, u.a. vorgetragen von Peter Tautfest." APO Archiv, Sound Document #1132, Teach-in at Free University West Berlin from 20 May 1968 [00:36:55—00:48:55]).

10. Jan-Frederik Bandel, Annette Gilbert, Tania Prill, and Bradley Schmidt, *Under the Radar: Underground Zines and Self-Publications 1965–1975* (Specter Books, 2019), 1.

11. Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Beacon Press, 1969), 34.

12. As Wolfgang Kraushaar and others have argued, the very construct of "1968" is a cipher. Wolfgang Kraushaar, *1968 als Mythos, Chiffre und Zäsur* (Hamburger Edition, 2000); Christina Gerhardt and Marco Abel, "Introduction: German Screen Cultures and the Long 1968," in *Celluloid Revolt: German Screen Cultures and the Long 1968*, ed. Christina Gerhardt and Marco Abel (Camden House, 2019).

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13. Susana Draper, *1968 Mexico: Constellations of Freedom and Democracy* (Duke University Press, 2018), 1.

14. Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962–1978* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3.

15. Frederic Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s," in *The 60s without Apology*, ed. Sohnya Sayres, Anders Stephanson, Stanley Aronowitz, and Frederic Jameson (University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 180.

16. Richard Langston, "Palimpsests of '68: Theorizing Labor after Adorno," in *The Long 1968: Revisions and New Perspectives*, ed. Daniel J. Sherman (Indiana University Press, 2013), 52.

17. Götz Aly, *Unser Kampf: 1968-Ein irritierter Blick zurück* (Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), 39.

18. Burleigh Hendrickson, *Decolonizing 1968: Transnational Student Activism in Tunis, Paris, and Dakar* (Cornell University Press, 2022), 7. In the Western Hemisphere, too, Kate Quinn notes how a regional dissonance across Caribbean places like "Anguilla, Antigua, Bermuda, Curaçao, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, Suriname, Trinidad, and the Bahamas testified to a groundswell of discontent with conditions for the ordinary citizen in the Caribbean state." Kate Quinn, *Black Power in the Caribbean* (University Press of Florida, 2014), 3.

19. James Ferguson, "Invisible Humanism: An African 1968 and Its Aftermaths," in *The Long 1968: Revisions and New Perspectives*, ed. Daniel J. Sherman, (Indiana University Press, 2013), 120. See also Jennifer Hosek's *Sun, Sex and Socialism* for more on the idea of peripheries and the Cuban imaginary for Global Sixties protests. Jennifer Ruth Hosek, *Sun, Sex and Socialism: Cuba in the German Imaginary* (University of Toronto Press, 2017).

20. Rupert Lewis, "Jamaican Black Power in the 1960s," in *Black Power in the Caribbean*, ed. Kate Quinn (University Press of Florida, 2014), 55.

21. Phillipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, *1968: On the Edge of World Revolution* (Black Rose Books, 2018), 18–19.

22. For more on the metaphor of the Third World projection screen in West Germany, see Bastian Hein, *Die Westdeutschen und die Dritte Welt: Entwicklungspolitik und Entwicklungsdienste zwischen Reform und Revolte, 1959–1974* (R. Oldenbourg, 2006). In addition, an anonymous author from the Third World penned the following critique in West Germany's famous leftist journal, *Kursbuch*, in 1967, titled "On the Critique of Progressive Intelligence in Germany: A Voice from the Third World": "More meaningful than a categorical division of first, second, and third world, is it seems to me the difference between the world that has stepped into its liberation—every developing country—and the world that has not yet begun." A. A., "Zur Kritik der progressiven Intelligenz in Deutschland," *Kursbuch* 9 (1967): 181.

23. Charity Scribner, *After the Red Army Faction: Gender, Culture, and Militancy* (Columbia University Press, 2015), 4.

24. Karin Bauer, "'From Protest to Resistance': Ulrike Meinhof and the Transatlantic Movement of Ideas," in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Belinda Davis (Berghahn Books, 2012), 171.

25. Martin Klimke addressed gaps in historical scholarship on the "exact pro-

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cesses through which activists from numerous countries established contact, shared ideas, and adopted each other's social and cultural practices." Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 2.

26. Christina Gerhard, *Screening the Red Army Faction: Historical and Cultural Memory* (Bloomsbury, 2018), 29.

27. As Slobodian maintains, recovering West Germany's reception of the Third World during the Global Sixties is an urgent task: "The more time passes, the more it seems to disappear. Scholars and former activists insist that the Third World of West German radicals never actually existed. It was an artifact of their own imagination and a 'projection screen' for their self-centered revolutionary yearnings." Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Duke University Press, 2012), 7.

28. "Beitrag eines persischen Bürgers." (APO Archiv, Sound Document #1104, Teach-in at Free University West Berlin from 1 June 1967 [00:28:22—00:30:23]).

29. Rita Chin, "European New Lefts, Global Connections, and the Problem of Difference," in *A New Insurgency: The Port Huron Statement and Its Times*, ed. Howard Brick and Gregory Parker (University of Michigan, 2015), 360.

30. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Erling Sivertsen, and Rolf Werenskjold, "Introduction: Media and Protest Movements," in *Media and Revolt*, ed. Fahlenbrach, Sivertsen, and Werenskjold (Berghahn Books, 2022), 1.

31. Charles Radcliffe, *Don't Start Me Talking: Subculture, Situationism and the Sixties* (Bread and Circuses, 2018): 18.

32. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, "Protestinszenierungen: Die Studentenbewegung im Spannungsfeld von Kultur-Revolution und Medien-Evolution," in *1968: Handbuch Zur Kultur und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007), 11.

33. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth's interview with Langhans was titled after one of Langhans's references. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, "Du musst den Dingen ihre eigene Melodie vorspielen und sie werden zu tanzen beginning: Ein Gespräch mit Rainer Langhans," in *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007) 316.

34. As Stefan Aust summarized in a 25th anniversary publication, the protests of 1968 were "with the media, against the media, in front of the media." Stefan Aust, "1968 und die Medien," in *1968—Bilderbuch einer Revolte*, ed. Edmund Jacoby and Georg Hafner (Gutenberg, 1993), 81.

35. Langhans acclaimed how "we were the first pop stars, as well as political stars, who existed in Germany" (Klimke and Scharloth, "Du musst den Dingen ihre eigene Melodie vorspielen und sie werden zu tanzen beginning: Ein Gespräch mit Rainer Langhans"), 314. For more on the Pudding Assassination Attempt, see Fahlenbrach, "Protestinszenierung."

36. For a notable example, see Timothy Scott Brown's *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, which structures the history of West German protest around categories of space, time, word, and other frameworks. For an account of West Germany's fascination with theory and rebellion, see Philipp Felsch, *The Long Summer of The-*

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ory: History of Rebellion, 1960–1990. Translated by Tony Crawford (Polity, 2022). Merid Puw Davies's *Writing and West Germany's Protest Movements* makes a convincing claim about the role that texts played in crafting and interacting with resistance. Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey's edited volume *1968* offers a broad look at the ways protest was and has become a subject of historical research. Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, *1968: Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1998). For an historiography of 1968 scholarship, Wilfried Mausbach's "Historicizing '1968'" provides a thorough overview of research around the 30-year anniversary that occurred in 1998. Wilfried Mausbach, "Historicizing '68," *Contemporary European History* 11, no. 1 (2002): 177–87.

37. Laura Bowie, *The Streets Echoed with Chants: The Urban Experience of Post-War West Berlin* (Peter Lang, 2022), 2.

38. Felsch, *The Long Summer of Theory,* 52.

39. Werner Abelshauser, *Wirtschaft in Westdeutschland 1945–1948: Rekonstruktion und Wachstumsbedingungen in der amerikanischen und britischen Zone* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1975), 11.

40. Lauren Stokes, *Fear of the Family: Guest Workers and Family Migration in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2022), 5.

41. Jennifer M. Kapczynski and Caroline A. Kita, "Introduction," in *The Arts of Democratization: Styling Political Sensibilities in Postwar West Germany*, ed. Jennifer M. Kapczynski and Caroline A. Kita (University of Michigan Press, 2022), 2.

42. Stokes, *Fear of the Family*, 21.

43. Peter J. Katzenstein, *Policy and Politics in West Germany: The Growth of a Semisovereign State* (Temple University Press, 1987), 10.

44. Jack Raymond, "Adenauer Elected by a Single Vote," *New York Times*, 16 September 1949, 5.

45. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, *Adenauers Watergate: Die Geheimoperation des BND gegen die SPD-Spitze* (Ch. Links Verlag, 2023). For a fascinating history of Adenauer's state-sponsored public relations footage, which helped shape his image as a leader in the 1950s, see Jan Uelzmann, "Foundational Narratives: West German Nation-Building through State-Sponsored PR Films, 1953–1963," in *The Arts of Democratization: Styling Political Sensibilities in Postwar West Germany*, ed. Jennifer M. Kapczynski and Caroline A. Kita (University of Michigan Press, 2022).

46. Gerhardt, *Screening the Red Army Faction,* 17. See also Abromeit, who outlines how "in 1959 the SDS organized an exhibition titled 'Unexpiated Nazi Justice' that documented the continued activity in the West German judiciary system of over fifty judges and attorneys who had been active under the Nazi regime" John Abromeit, "The Limits of Praxis: The Social-Psychological Foundations of Theodor Adorno's and Herbert Marcuse's Interpretations of the 1960s Protest Movements," in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Belinda Davis (Berghahn Books, 2010), 20.

47. Samuel Clowes Huneke, *States of Liberation: Gay Men between Dictatorship and Democracy in Cold War Germany* (University of Toronto Press, 2022), 8.

48. Jennifer Kapczynski and Caroline Kita's edited volume, *The Arts of Democratization*, contains an array of scholarly work on how "democracy was conceived as

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a matter of *style* as well as substance, as the subject not only of ideas, but also of images, acoustics, and ways of moving through the world" (Kapczynski and Kita, "Introduction," 11).

49. Also known as "WG," the Wohngemeinschaft model still dominates German housing options, especially in younger demographics when children move out of the family home.

50. Lauren Stokes goes on to specify how "West Berlin was investing heavily in the microelectronic and textile industries, both of which produced huge numbers of 'women's jobs' whose low salaries did not incentivize women to relocate from other parts of the country. . . . Foreign women with no preexisting tries to Germany were attractive because they could be sent anywhere" (Stokes, *Fear of the Family*, 23).

51. Simone de Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe* (Gallimard, 1976).

52. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (W. W. Norton, 1963).

53. "Die Pille und die sexuelle Revolution," *Momente der Geschichte* ZDF, 6 October 2011, https://www.zdf.de/dokumentation/momente-der-geschichte/die-pille-und-die-sexuelle-revolution-102.html

54. "Die Pille und die Sexuelle Revolution."

55. Magdalena Beljan, *Rosa Zeiten? Eine Geschichte der Subjektivierung männlicher Homosexualität in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren der BRD* (Transcript Verlag, 2014), 22.

56. For example, activist Ellen Willis described how New York City's radical feminists "had enormous energy and enthusiasm and used a variety of tactics—demonstrations and speakouts; tireless organizing among friends and coworkers, on street corners, in supermarkets and ladies' rooms; above all, a prodigious output of leaflets, pamphlets, journals, magazine articles, newspaper and radio and TV interviews. The movement exploded into public consciousness." Ellen Willis, "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism," in *The 60s without Apology,* edited by Sohnya Sayres, Anders Stephanson, Stanley Aronowitz, and Frederic Jameson (University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 91.

57. Kristina Schulz, "Remembering 1968: Feminist Perspectives," in *Women, Global Protest Movements, and Political Agency*, ed. Katharina Karcher and Sarah Colvin (Routledge, 2019), 23.

58. Rebecca Hillauer, "Der befreiende 'Tomatenwurf' von 1968: Beginn der neuen Frauenbewegung," Deutschlandfunk Kultur, 12 September 2018, https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/der-befreiende-tomatenwurf-von-1968-beginn-der-neuen-100.html

59. In addition to advocating for child care and an understanding of how gendered child-rearing has been female-centric, Sander notes how "the split of private life and societal life always throws the woman back to individual conflict of isolation she must carry alone. . . . We cannot solve the repression of women individually." Helke Sander, "Rede des 'Aktionsrates zur Befreiung der Frauen' bei der 23. Delegiertenkonferenz des 'Sozialistischen Deutschen Studentenbundes' (SDS) im September 1968 in Frankfurt," in *1968: Eine Enzyklopädie* ed. Rudolf Sievers (Suhrkamp Verlag, 2004), 373–74.

60. Katharina Karcher, *Sisters in Arms: Militant Feminisms in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1968* (Berghahn, 2017), 6. Also, see chapter 3 of this work.

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61. "BRIEF AN DIE WESTDEUTSCHEN GENOSSINNEN" (LETTER TO THE WEST GERMAN FEMALE COMRADES).

62. Ingo Cornils, *Writing the Revolution: The Construction of "1968" in Germany* (Camden House, 2016), 141.

63. Cornils, *Writing the Revolution*, 141–42.

64. Patricia Melzer, *Death in the Shape of a Young Girl: Women's Political Violence in the Red Army Faction* (New York University Press, 2015), 3.

65. Ute Kätzel, "Vorwort," in *Die 68erinnen: Porträt einer rebellischen Frauengeneration*, ed. Ute Kätzel (Ulrike Helmer, 2008), 9.

66. Erika Runge, *Bottroper Protokolle* (Suhrkamp, 1968), 51.

67. Runge, *Bottroper Protokolle,* 49, 55.

68. As ex-Kommune I member Volker Gebbert wrote in 1969, "It was a very simple situation, they lay down together in their big bed and just before they fell asleep they all groped and touched each other again and then only one of them made out with one of them, yes, and the other one was lying next to him and didn't give a shit about his previous pregenital activity." Alexander Holmig, "Zäune anrempeln, die den Alltag begrenzen! Von Kommunen und Wohngemeinschaften," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, ed. Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Klartext, 2008), 56.

69. Andreas Schwab, "Das Private ist Politisch," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, ed. Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Klartext, 2008), 60.

70. For more, see Kätzel's *Die 68erinnen*, which contains numerous female perspectives on 1968 that broaden and critique many of the normative histories of protest that emerged directly after 1968.

71. Dagmar Herzog, "Between Coitus and Commodification: Young West German Women and the Impact of the Pill," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, ed. Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (Berghahn Books, 2005), 261.

72. Huneke, *States of Liberation*, 98.

73. Craig Griffiths, *The Ambivalence of Gay Liberation: Male Homosexual Politics in 1970s West Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 219.

74. Martin Bellwinkel, "Homosexualität in der BRD," Abschlussarbeit für das 1. Staatsexamen für das Lehramt Primarstufe. August 1983. (Bibliothek der Freunde eines Schwülen Museums in Berlin. GeW / B.24/Bel/1. Ge 222 Bel 1), 33.

75. Katzenstein, *Policy and Politics in West Germany*, 332.

76. Ulrich Enzensberger, *Die Jahre der Kommune I: Berlin 1967–1969* (Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2004), 82–83.

77. For more, see chapter 2 of this book.

78. As one anonymous contributor to the leftist pamphlet *alternative* described it in 1968, "The impotence of German Studies in the face of the Emergency Laws became apparent in the helpless reaction of this discipline. As the passage of these laws in the FRG and in West Berlin set off protest demonstrations, protest actions, and strikes, the discussions and go-ins in the German Studies seminar rooms and other spaces remained an academic controversy." j-b. "Besatzung des Germanistschen Instituts: FU Berlin." *alternative: Deutschunterricht und Germanistik* 11 Jahrgang, no. 61 (1968): 99.

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79. Heinz-Dieter Kittsteiner, "Demonstration als Aufklärung: Theorien auf dem Campus." *alternative: Germanistik Reform oder Politisierung?* 10 Jahrgang, no. 55 (1967): 141.

80. As one flyer from November 1,1967 urged: "The Critical University is developing from a critical to a counter-university to the extent that its work and its results can be used directly as a means of social struggle." Eckard Düwal, Wolf Jacob, Peter Otte, unter anderen. "GEHT ES DER KRITISCHEN UNIVERSITÄT WIRKLICH UM HOCHSCHULREFORM?" *LOG: SONDERNUMMER: DOKUMENTATION BERLINER FLUGBLÄTTER II*, ed. T. Eggeling, 15 November 1967.

81. For more, see Nick Thomas, *Protest Movements in 1960s West Germany: A Social History of Dissent and Democracy* (Berg, 2003).

82. Gerhardt, *Screening the Red Army Faction,* 72.

83. Along with the news of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination the week prior, Josef Bachmann's ties to the newly legalized neo-Nazi party, his access to weapons, and his fervent political belief in *Das Bild* gave him motivation to carry out this attempted assassination.

84. Alexander Sedlmaier, *Consumption and Violence: Radical Protest in Cold-War West Germany* (University of Michigan Press, 2017), 176.

85. Wolf Biermann, *Mit Marx- und Engelszungen: Gedichte, Balladen, Lieder* (Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1968), 73.

86. Aly, *Unser Kampf*, 100.

87. Biermann, *Mit Marx- und Engelszungen*, 73, 75.

88. Lucy R. Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972: A Cross-Reference Book of Information on Some Esthetic Boundaries* (Praeger, 1973), 43.

89. Valie Export, "Tapp und Tastkino." Accessed 1 February 2024. https://www.valieexport.at/jart/prj3/valie_export_web/main.jart?rel=de&reserve-mode=active&content-id=1526555820281&tt_news_id=1956

90. Louis Menand, "Yoko Ono's Art of Defiance" *New Yorker*, 13 June 2022. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/06/20/yoko-onos-art-of-defiance

91. Other contemporary literary debates, such as the "Zürcher Literaturstreit" (Zurich literary dispute) that erupted after Emil Staiger's call for a return to beautiful, subliminal literature, or Leslie Fiedler's "Case for Post-Modernism," which essentially called for the opposite, instead seeking to "close the border—cross the gap" between high literature and pop literature, similarly profiled literature's contested role in society. For more on Staiger, see Carrie Smith, *Revolting Families: Toxic Intimacy, Private Politics, and Literary Realisms in the German Sixties* (University of Toronto Press, 2013); for more on Fiedler, see Paul Neubauer, "The Academic Reception of Postmodern American Literature in Germany," in *Closing the Gap: American Postmodern Fiction in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands*, ed. Theo d'Haen and Hans Bertens, (Rodopi, 1997).

92. Borrowing from the Enlightenment dramaturge Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Enzensberger reused a phrase in Lessing's title, "Briefe: die Neueste Litteratur betreffend" (1759–1766) (Letters on the Newest Literature), to commemorate his push to change literature in the 18th century in order to designate political and literary "Commonplaces" (Gemeinplätze) in 1968. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend" *Kursbuch* 15 (1968): 187–97.

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93. Enzensberger, "Gemeinplätze," 197.

94. Enzensberger, "Gemeinplätze," 188.

95. For more, see Amslinger's history of the breakup. Tobias Amslinger, *Verlagsautorschaft: Enzensberger und Suhrkamp* (Wallstein Verlag, 2018); see also Marmulla's history of this literary breakup. Henning Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch: Eine Zeitschrift um 68* (Matthes & Seitz, 2011).

96. Klaus Briegleb, *1968: Literatur in der Antiautoritären Bewegung* (Suhrkamp, 1993), 248.

97. K. Stuart Parkes, *Writers and Politics in Germany, 1945–2008* (Camden House, 2009), 73.

98. For studies that take up this debate more closely, see Hans Christoph Buch, *Die Literatur nach dem Tod der Literatur: Bilanz der Politisierung* (Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1975); R. Hinton Thomas and Keith Bullivant, *Literature in Upheaval: West German Writers and the Challenge of the 1960s* (Manchester University Press, 1974); Roman Luckscheiter, *Der postmoderne Impuls: Die Krise der Literatur um 1968 und ihre Überwindung* (Duncker & Humblot, 2001); Alfred Andersch and Hans Magnus Enzensberger. "Die Literatur nach dem Tod der Literatur: Ein Gespräch," in *Nach dem Protest. Literatur im Umbruch*, ed. W. Martin Lüdke (Suhrkamp Verlag, 1979).

99. Sabine von Dirke, *All Power to the Imagination! The West German Counterculture from the Student Movement to the Greens* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 62.

100. Davies, *Writing and West German Protest Movements*, 34.

101. Smith, *Revolting Families,* 10.

102. Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (Routledge, 1997), 40. To name a few other examples, see Fahlenbrach, *Protest-Inszenierungen*; Mia Lee, "The Gruppe Spur: Art as a Revolutionary Medium during the Cold War," in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, ed. Timothy S. Brown and Lorena Anton (Berghahn Books, 2011); Andrea Pabst, "Protesting Bodies and Bodily Protest: 'Thinking through the Body' in Social Movement Studies" in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, ed. Timothy S. Brown and Lorena Anton (Berghahn Books, 2011); Corina L. Petrescu, "Performing Disapproval toward the Soviets: Nicolae Ceauşescu's Speech on 21 August 1968 in the Romanian Media," in *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and Revolt in Europe, 1960–1980*, ed. Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder, and Joachim Scharloth (Berghahn Books, 2011.).

103. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, "Maos Rote Garden? '1968' zwischen kulturrevolutionärem Anspruch und subversiver Praxis—eine Einleitung," in *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegun*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007), 2.

104. Quinn Slobodian, "Badge Books and Brand Books," in *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, ed. Alexander C. Cook (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

105. Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton University Press, 2012).

106. In addition to his other elucidations of textual materialism, Brown writes that "for the textual materialist, . . . size matters, style matters, shape matters, color mat-

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ters." In this sense, "materialism" does not equate to the same notion as the critical interpretation from the Marxist tradition. Bill Brown, "[CONCEPT / OBJECT] [TEXT / EVENT]," *ELH* 81, no. 2 (2014): 526.

107. Brown, "[Concept / Object]."

108. Bill Brown, "Introduction: Textual Materialism," *PMLA* 125, no. 1 (2010): 25.

109. For more on this example, see Brown's discussion of Randall McCleod's work, which Brown describes as a "micromaterialist archaeology of print culture" ("[CONCEPT / "OBJECT]," 522).

110. Brown, "[CONCEPT / OBJECT]" 522.

111. "Beitrag eines persischen Bürgers." APO Archiv, Sound Document #1104, Teach-in at Free University West Berlin, 1 June 1967 [00:28:22—00:30:23].

112. Kommune I, *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung* (1968).

113. Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste: Fragments from the History of Bookwork* (University of Minnesota Press, 2021), 19.

114. Rita Felski, *Uses of Literature* (Blackwell, 2008), 7–8.

115. Jonathan Senchyne, *The Intimacy of Paper in Early and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), 4.

116. Nicholas Thoburn, *Anti-Book: On the Art and Politics of Radical Publishing* (University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 1.

117. For more, see Andrew Piper, *Book Was There: Reading in Electronic Times* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); Deidre Lynch, *Loving Literature: A Cultural History* (University of Chicago Press, 2015); Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (Viking, 1996); Felski, *Uses of Literature.*

118. As Piper asserts, "In aligning the practice of book reading with that of personal conversion, Augustine established a paradigm of reading that would far exceed its theological framework, one that would go on to become a foundation of Western humanistic learning for the next fifteen hundred years" (Piper, *Book Was There,* 2).

119. Piper, *Book Was There*, 2.

120. Alexander Cook, *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1. Oliver Lei Han also notably points out that the "*Quotations Of Chairman Mao ('Mao Zhu Xi Yu Lu')* . . . probably still holds the world record for most copies printed of a single work in under four years (720 million books by the end of 1967)." Oliver Lei Han, "Sources & Early Printing History of Chairman Mao's Quotations." 2003. BibSite, Bibliographical Society of America. Accessed 14 July 2024. https://bibsite.org/Detail/objects/25

121. Slobodian, *Foreign Front*, 170.

122. Taken here from the preface of Tse-Tung, *Worte*. Mao Tse-Tung. *Worte des Vorsitzenden Mao Tse-Tung*. Peking: Verlag für Fremdsprachige Literatur, 1967.

123. Take, for example, a 2015 scene from the British Parliament where Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell read aloud from the "Little Red Book" before tossing it at Chancellor of Exchequer George Osborne as a taunt.

124. Catriona Kelly, "'A Laboratory for the Manufacture of Proletarian Writers': The Stengazeta (wall Newspaper), Kul'turnost' and the Language of Politics in the Early Soviet Period," *Europe-Asia Studies* 54, no. 4 (2002): 584.

125. Mark Gayn, "Mark Gayn Papers (Series 20: China)." Archive Collection. Fisher Rare Books Library. University of Toronto.

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126. Slobodian, *Foreign Front,* 171.

127. Tadeusz Dabrowski, "Protestaktion der Zeitschrift Pardon gegen den Schah von Persien. Frankfurt am Main. Juni 1967,'" in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, edited by Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Klartext, 2008), 9.

128. As Derrida wrote in a letter, "Sometimes I have the impression (the impression!—what a word, already) that I have never had any other subject: basically, paper, paper, paper. . . . I have always written, and even spoken, on paper; on the subject of paper, on actual paper, and with paper in mind." Christina Lupton, "The Theory of Paper: Skepticism, Common Sense, Poststructuralism," *Modern Language Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2010): 407.

129. For instance, Lupton notes how "the materiality of writing complicates the idea that thought can simply be represented" ("Theory of Paper," 417).

130. According to Campe, "Although 'the scene of writing' does not denote a self-evident framing of the scene, but rather a nonstable ensemble of language, instrumentality and gesture, it can nevertheless precisely characterize the enterprise of literature as this problematic ensemble, this difficult framing." Rüdiger Campe, "Die Schreibszene. Schreiben," in *Paradoxien, Dissonanzen, Zusammenbrüche: Situationen Offener Epistemologie*, edited by Hans Gumbrecht and Karl L. Pfeiffer, 759–72. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991.

131. Ory Bartal, *Critical Design in Japan: Material Culture, Luxury, and the Avant-Garde* (Manchester University Press, 2021), 65.

132. To read more about early wall writing cultures, see Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); for more on addressivity, see Garrett Stewart, *Dear Reader: The Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

133. To read about the subsequent court trials of Kurras, his exoneration(s), the 2009 revelation that he had worked as an undercover agent for the Stasi, and the reductionist histories that have since then ensued, see Timothy Scott Brown's chapter, "Space." Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties.*

134. For a photographic image of this graffiti, see Michael Ruetz, Tilman Fichter, and Siegward Lönnendonker, *'Ihr müsst diesen Typen nur ins Gesicht sehen' (Klaus Schütz, SPD): APO Berlin, 1966–1969* (Zweitausendeins, 1980), 82.

135. As von Dirke has put it, "The space in or on which the graffiti were written—walls of house and other public edifices—was itself meaningful. The strength of graffiti does not arise from the bourgeois category of originality but from its omnipresence" (von Dirke, *All Power to the Imagination*, 62).

136. For more on the indiscriminate presence of public formats of writing such as storefront signs or graffiti, see Johanna Drucker, "Language in the Landscape," in *Figuring the Word: Essays on Books, Writing, and Visual Poetics*, ed. Johanna Drucker (Granary Books, 1998).

137. In this case, Drucker analyzed Italian futurist Filippo Marinetti's work, the "Tumultuous Assembly." Johanna Drucker, *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909–1923* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), 137.

138. Patrizia C. McBride, *The Chatter of the Visible: Montage and Narrative in Weimar Germany* (University of Michigan Press, 2016), 3–4.

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139. Ellen Lupton, *Graphic Design in the Mechanical Age: Selections from the Merrill C. Berman Collection* (Yale University Press in conjunction with Williams College Museum of Art and Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 63.

140. For more on avant-garde print and modernity, see Stephen Bury, *Breaking the Rules: The Printed Face of the European Avant-Garde 1900–1937* (British Library, 2007); see also the University of Iowa's online collection, the International Dada Archive.

141. Thomas Daum, *Die 2. Kultur: Alternativliteratur in der Bundesrepublik* (New-Lit Verlag, 1981), 44.

142. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 123. For more, see J. Mort, *The Anatomy of Xerography: Its Invention and Evolution* (McFarland, 1989).

143. Ellen Lupton notes how "the modernists didn't invent new technologies but rather devised new ways to use them, ways that often sought to emphasize technology itself. The means of production became a tangible presence, infusing the printed page with the taste—bitter, metallic, invigorating—of the mechanical age" (Lupton, *Graphic Design in the Mechanical Age*, 8).

144. As Claude Lévi Strauss outlined in *The Savage Mind*, "The 'bricoleur' . . . principally derives his poetry from the fact that he does not confine himself to accomplishment and execution: he 'speaks' not only with things, as we have already seen, but also through the medium of things." Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (University of Chicago Press, 1966), 14.

145. For more, see Jan-Frederik Bandel and Georg Stanitzek's chapter on the underground political pamphlet boom around this time, "Broschüren." Jan-Frederik Bandel and Georg Stanitzek, "Broschüren," in *Bleiwüste und Bilderflut: Geschichten über das Geisteswissenschaftliche Buch*, ed. Caspar Hirschi, Carlos Spoerhase, Karen Lambrecht, and Simone Zweifel (Harrassowitz, 2015).

146. As many scholars and former activists have noted, West Germany's "1968" occurred to a great extent in 1967. I refer to the numeric calendar year here merely as a common signifier of global protests.

147. For contemporary critiques of writing, see, for example, Ulrike Meinhof. "Kolumnismus." *Konkret* 2 (February 1969), 2; Martin Walser, "Berichte aus der Klassengesellschaft" Preface to *Bottroper Protokolle*, ed. Erika Runge (Suhrkamp, 1968); Peter Schneider, "Rede an die deutschen Leser und ihre Schriftsteller" *Kursbuch* 16 (1969): Kursbogen.

148. Still today, the prolific online presence of these posters is remarkable. Exhibits like the 2009 *The Postwar Avant-Garde and the Culture of Protest, 1945 to 1968 and Beyond* at Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, or the 2015 *Paris, May '68: Icons of a Revolution* at the Victoria University Library (Toronto), for example, show how these posters captured the imagination of protesters in 1968 and have retained their iconic value ever since. For more, see Nick Heller's review of the Beinecke Rare Book exhibit, "Postwar Avant-Garde." Nick Heller, "The Postwar Avant-Garde and the Culture of Protest, 1945 to 1968 and Beyond," *Sixties* 3, no. 1 (2010).

149. Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15–16.

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150. As Klaus Staeck explained, "At the end of the sixties, the first screen prints, collages and objects emerged with clearly recognizable sociopolitical content" (10). For more, see Klaus Staeck, *Plakate* (Steidl Verlag, 1988); Ernst Volland and Peter Wippermann, *Ernst Volland: Plakate, Montagen, Zeichnungen, Karikaturen, 1964–1979* (Zweitausendeins, 1979).

151. Thomas Pegelow Kaplan, "Leaflet-Posters as Discursive Spaces of Trans-European and Transatlantic Student Protests during the 1960s," *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte* (2012), 3. Accessed 14 July 2024. https://www.europa.clio-online.de/essay/id/fdae-1577

152. For example, following the 2011–12 "Occupy" movement, Rick Poynor made the point that "radical poster-making almost seems to be becoming a badge of good citizenship." Rick Poyner, "Why the Activist Poster Is Here to Stay," *Design Observers Group*, 15 September 2012. Accessed 1 August 1 2016. http://designobserver.com/feature/why-the-activist-poster-is-here-to-stay/36068

153. Daniel Messner, "Unter den Talaren—Muff von 1000 Jahren," *University of Hamburg Newsroom*, 8 November 2017. Accessed 1 July 2018. https://www.uni-hamburg.de/newsroom/campus/2017-11-08-unter-den-talaren.html

154. Kai Hermann,"Die Polizeischlacht von Berlin," *Die Zeit* 23, 9 June 1967. Accessed 1 May 2016. http://www.zeit.de/1967/23/die-polizeischlacht-von-berlin/komplettansicht

155. Wolfgang Ruppert, "Um 1968: Die Repräsentation der Dinge," 21.

156. Andreas Schwab, "Unter den Talaren von 1000 Muff," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, ed. Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos, (Klartext, 2008), 39.

157. 1957 Flyer Advertisement. Greif AG.

158. In the same advertisement, the Greif Rekord 160 makers pitched the portable printer to potential buyers as "Hausdruckerei für das Büro."

159. For instance, whereas a basic Google search for "France affiche 1968" reveals a collection of poster images from the *Atelier Populaire* as well as a Wikipedia page dedicated to Mai 68, which is characterized by the same images, a search for "Deutschland Plakat 1968" shows a much less cohesive pattern of protest posters, instead revealing movie posters, Afri-Cola posters, and other consumerist imagery.

160. Articles like Renz's "Das Plakat der Bewegung" have fueled the idea that this poster was the most famous one of the protest movement. Meanwhile, other scholars like Ute Schmidt have argued that the most famous poster in West Germany was the *Viva Ché* poster. Gabriele Renz, "Das Plakat der Bewegung," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 10 February 2010. Accessed 22 July 2016. http://www.fr-online.de/zeitgeschichte/1968-das-plakat-der-bewegung,1477344,2775040.html; Ute C. Schmidt, "'Alle reden vom Wetter—Wir nicht.' Das Plakat als Medium," in *Um 1968: Die Repräsentation der Dinge*, ed. Wolfgang Ruppert (Jonas Verlag, 1998), 50.

161. For more, see Craig J. Peariso, *Radical Theatrics: Put-ons, Politics, and the Sixties* (University of Washington Press, 2014); Martin Papenbrock, "Happening, Fluxus, Performance: Aktionskünste in den 1960er Jahren," in *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007).

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Chapter 1

1. As *Die Zeit* wryly noted, the 180,000 books on display meant that "the book fair was the largest of all time, like every year." For a statistical synopsis and commentary about the book fair, see Hellmuth Karasek, Petra Kipphoff, Rudolf Walter Leonhardt, and Dieter E. Zimmer, "Getrennt von Buch und Börse: Die Buchmese," *Die Zeit* 39, no. 27 (September 1968). Accessed 1 May 2014. http://www.zeit.de/1968/39/getrennt-von-buch-und-boerse/komplettansicht

2. "Verlage / Buchmesse: Ja ja ja." *Der Spiegel* 38 (16 September 1968), 171.

3. Hellmuth Karasek, Petra Kipphoff, Rudolf Walter Leonhardt, and Dieter E. Zimmer, "Trügerische Schönwetterberichte aus Frankfurt: Die Buchmesse," *Die Zeit* 42, no. 17 (October 1969). Accessed 1 May 2014. http://www.zeit.de/1969/42/trueger ische-schoenwetterberichte-aus-frankfurt

4. Roth, "Der Voltaire Verlag und die Edition Voltaire," 46.

5. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties,* 116.

6. "Verlag / Buchmesse: Ja ja ja," 171.

7. For more on the specific events and press surrounding the confiscation, see Roth, "Der Voltaire Verlag und die Edition Voltaire."

8. Slobodian, "Badge Books," 215.

9. Slobodian, "Badge Books," 215.

10. Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 2.

11. Andrew Piper, Chad Wellmon, and Mohamed Cheriet, "The Page Image: Towards a Visual History of Digital Documents," *Book History* 23, no. 1 (2020): 371.

12. Gérard Genette and Marie Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," *New Literary History* 22, no. 2 (1991): 262.

13. Thoburn, *Anti-Book*, 2.

14. As Gabrielle Dean explains, "Grangerization . . . developed into a bibliophile pastime that involved the insertion of many types of ephemera into books: manuscript papers as well as prints, many of which, it needs to be said, came out of other books. The extra-illustrated book is not illustrated in the usual sense; the tipped- and pasted-in additions do not visually re-create actions, things, people, or places represented in a text. Rather, as paper remnants of environments outside the book, they propose to summon those actions, things, people, or places, via documentary proxies." Gabrielle Dean, "'Every Man His Own Publisher': Extra-Illustration and the Dream of the Universal Library," *Textual Cultures: Text, Contexts, Interpretation* 8, no. 1 (2014): 58.

15. For more examples of scrapbook productions, see Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Seth Jacobowitz, *Writing Technology in Meiji Japan: A Media History of Modern Japanese Literature and Visual Culture* (Harvard University Press, 2015).

16. Cited in Genette and Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," 261.

17. In the late 1960s, West Germany's book market was booming. As Ute Schneider noted in her history of the 1967 Frankfurt Book Fair: "[1967] was the largest book display since the end of World War II, with 2,871 exhibitors, 2,031 of which were

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international alone, and 36,000 square meters. . . . 174,490 visitors and an exhibit volume of over 200,000 titles, 20,000 more than the previous year, pointed to the record year for the international book trade branch as well as an especially successful book fair." Ute Schneider, "Literarische und politische Gegenöffentlichkeit: Die Frankfurter Buchmesse in den Jahren 1967 bis 1969," in *50 Jahre Frankfurter Buchmesse. 1949–1999*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Frankfurt, 1999), 93.

18. For more on the *Buch als Ware* discourse, see Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, "Transformation durch Partizipation? Die 68er-Bewegung und die 'Demokratisierung der literarischen Produktionsverhältnisse,'" in *Politisches Theater nach 1968. Regie, Dramatik, Organisation*, ed. Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, Dorothea Kraus, and F. Schößler (Campus, 2014); Hans Altenhein and Stephan Füssel, *Die Politisierung des Buchmarkts: 1968 als Branchenereignis* (Harrassowitz, 200); Daum, *Die 2. Kultur*.

19. "Syndikales."

20. Monika Estermann and Edgar Lersch, *Buch, Buchhandel und Rundfunk 1945–1949* (Harrassowitz, 1997); Timothy Scott Brown's chapter "Word" (*West Germany and the Global Sixties*).

21. In her foreword to the screenplay, Meinhof decried the conditions of the detention center, where "violence produces counter-violence, pressure counterpressure. The forms of resistance, which are practiced in welfare homes, develop always only spontaneously and without a plan, unorganized as insurgence, resistance, racket, as 'bambule.'" Ulrike Meinhof, *Bambule: Fürsorge—Sorge für wen?* (Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2002), 11.

22. For another example, see the 1970 back cover of the underground newspaper *pänggg*, which called for an independent German-speaking political publishing network: "PARTISAN MEDIA. THIS IS THE SELF-ORGANIZATION OF THE GERMAN -LANGUAGE FREE PRESS. ALL MEMBERS EXCHANGE THEIR NEWSPAPERS SIMULTANEOUSLY, TAKE BACK THE COPYRIGHT AND EXCHANGE INFORMATION. ETC." *Pänggg*, Magazine (1970).

23. Peter Chotjewitz, "Was heißt 'experimentelle Literatur,'" *Akzente* 5 (October 1968), 426.

24. For more on the "Xerox" machine, see David Owen, *Copies in Seconds: How a Lone Inventor and an Unknown Company Created the Biggest Communication Breakthrough since Gutenberg: Chester Carlson and the Birth of the Xerox Machine* (Simon & Schuster, 2004).

25. In German, offset printing was often referred to as "Hektographie" and the Rotaprint brand was the most common brand in West Germany in the late 1960s.

26. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 127.

27. For more on Dadaism and surrealism, see Martin Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution: Marx, Manifestos, and the Avant-Gardes* (Princeton University Press, 2006).

28. John C. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7.

29. Daum, *Die 2. Kultur*, 44.

30. In addition to including theoretical texts from Herbert Marcuse, Bernard Larsson's book *Demonstrationen* included more pragmatic texts like "Demonstrations now and on that location" ("Demonstration jetzt und an jenem Ort") as well as

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speeches like Peter Schneider's famous "We made mistakes" ("Wir haben Fehler gemacht"). Bernard Larsson, *Demonstrationen: Ein Berliner Modell* (Voltaire-Verlag, 1967).

31. In *Klau mich*, for example, the Kommune I's "message in a bottle" for the "afterworld" was the following: "NEVER AGAIN A BOOK IN A PUBLISHING HOUSE!" (NIE MEHR EIN BUCH IN EINEM VERLAG!) Rainer Langhans and Fritz Teufel, *Klau Mich* (Edition Voltaire, 1968).

32. It should be noted here that the German word "Quer" means crosswise or slanted, which, like the Fackelträger Verlag, had a political connotation.

33. Sometimes considered Germany's first modern graffiti artist, Peter Ernst Eiffe became a public figure of protest in Hamburg in 1968.

34. Bandel, *Under the Radar*, 299.

35. Allyson McCabe, "It's Thin, It's Plastic, It's Back: Flexi Discs Find New Fans," *NPR*, 18 April 2015. Accessed 14 July 2018. https://www.npr.org/2015/04/18/400369975/its-thin-its-plastic-its-back-flexi-discs-find-new-fans

36. On the inside cover page of the book, editors Sander and Christians write: "For visitors to West Germany: here are all of the 'left' addresses and 'Leftists,' who are ready to help you when you come to Berlin and perhaps even want to stay here." Hartmut Sander and Ulrich Christians, *Subkultur Berlin: Selbstdarstellung, Text-, Ton-Bilddokumente. Esoterik d. Kommunen Rocker, subversiven Gruppen* (März-Verl, 1969), inside cover.

37. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 155.

38. Erika Runge's *Bottroper Protokolle* (1968) employed recording devices to (literally) bring the voice of the industrial working class into book form—a voice brought into recorded book form. Rolf-Ulrich Kaiser's *Fabrikebewohner* (1970) also documented voices into transcripts, which were textually reproduced in his book. Rolf-Ulrich Kaiser, *Fabrikbewohner: Protokoll einer Kommune und 23 Trips* (Droste, 1970).

39. In a 2010 interview with Timothy Scott Brown, Antje Krüger of the Kommune I described how "we had also a room with a print machine . . . and did all kinds of work; I . . . mailed out our publications and reprints to the bookstores, and I also went to the bookstores in person and sold them, and sold them at the university. . . . I also did the mailing to West Germany, to bookstores in Frankfurt and in München and . . . Bamberg . . . and elsewhere. I was always carrying on correspondence with people" (Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties,* 128).

40. Since Teufel and Langhans were the two Kommune I members who were officially put on trial, the Kommune I listed their names as the authors of the book, even though the book was collectively produced like all of the other Kommune I publications.

41. The Heinrich Heine Verlag was founded in the late summer of 1968, just before the start of the 1968 Frankfurt Book Fair.

42. Roth, "Der Voltaire Verlag und die Edition Voltaire," 44.

43. In a 2004 interview, Voltaire Verlag cofounder Udo Heiland recounted the preparation that went into the printing of *Klau mich.* According to Heiland, it was prepared in a spectacular operation for the book fair of 1968 and distributed uninvited only during the night prior to the book fair. . . . The book was transcribed and

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printed in a Blitz-Action within fourteen days (Roth, "Der Voltaire Verlag und die Edition Voltaire," 45).

44. "Mal etwas machen." *Der Spiegel* 8 (16 February 1969). Accessed 14 July 2028. https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/mal-etwas-machen-a-cc26d824-0002-0001-0000-000045794061

45. For more on the history of the Kommune I, see Timothy Scott Brown, "A Tale of Two Communes: The Private and Political in Divided Berlin, 1967–1973" in *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and Revolt in Europe, 1960–1980*, ed. Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder, and Joachim Scharloth (Berghahn Books, 2011).

46. In a statement to *Der Spiegel* from 8 April 1968, the Kommune I wrote that "in the arson flyers, the municipality fictitiously presented the means of political arson. The situation has worsened since then—this is supported by the fact that political arson is widely discussed in the press." "Stellungnahme der Berliner Kommune I für *Den Spiegel*," *Der Spiegel* 15, no. 8 (April 1968), 34.

47. For more on the overlap of the arson trial of the Kommune I and the arson trial of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Thorwald Proll, and Horst Söhnlein, see Timothy Scott Brown's chapter "Time" (*West Germany and the Global Sixties*). For more on the shift from protest to terror, see Meinhof, "Vom Protest zu Widerstand"; for more about the Rote Armee Fraktion, see Karin Bauer, Introduction to "Questioning the RAF: The Politics of Culture." Special issue, *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 47, no. 1 (2011); Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (University of California Press, 2004); Gerrit-Jan Berendse and Ingo Cornils, Baader-Meinhof Returns: History and Cultural Memory of German Left-Wing Terrorism (Rodopi, 2008).

48. Jochen Vogt, "Gestörte Beziehung: Berührungen und Berührungsängste zwischen Literatur und Studentenbewegung," in *Erinnerung ist Unsere Aufgabe: Über Literatur, Moral und Politik 1945–1990*, ed. Jochen Vogt (Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991), 84.

49. For more on some of the scholarship that has taken up *Klau mich* as a subject, see Joachim Scharloth, *1968: Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte* (Fink, Wilhelm, 2010); Vogt, "Gestörte Beziehung"; Martin Hubert, *Politisierung der Literatur, Ästhetisierung der Politik: Eine Studie zur Literaturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der 68er-Bewegung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Peter Lang, 1992).

50. In fact, many contemporary scholars and commentators did not agree on what category *Klau mich* fell under. Hans Magnus Enzensberger referred to it simply as the "Arbeit Fritz Teufels" in *Kursbuch* 15; *Die Zeit* called it a "Sammlung," and *Der Spiegel* referred to it as a "Dokumentation." Scholars like Huber name it a "Broschüre."

51. Genette and Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," 261–62.

52. Hubert, *Politisierung der Literatur, Ästhetisierung der Politik*, 138.

53. Since no audio recordings were allowed in West German courtrooms in the 1960s or still today, most of the book's proceedings derive from the handwritten records of Margarete and Hans-Joachim Frohner, who, as Joachim Scharloth notes, were "trial observers for the radio program *procontra—People and Articles*, which they present and edit" (*1968*, 143); see also, Ulrich Enzensberger, *Die Jahre der Kommune I.*

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54. See, for example, the numerous dialogues with Judge Schwerdtner, whose first trial proved to be difficult. For more, see Gerhard Mauz, ". . . Und Abends Sind Sie nett zu Ihrer Frau," *Der Spiegel* (10 July 1967): 26.

55. See, for example, the section titled "Zwischenspiel: Stehaufmännchen?"

56. See, for example, flyer 6, "Neue Demonstrationsformen in Brüssel erstmal erprobt."

57. See, for example, the various front covers of the *Bild Zeitung*.

58. From handwritten phrases like "Criminals of all countries—unite!" ("Kriminelle aller Länder—vereinigt euch!") to the swastika that called protesters to partake in the May 1 protests, agitory propaganda can be found throughout the right-hand side of the book.

59. As Alex Vasudevan writes, "In the end, neither Teufel nor Langhans were convicted while the 'Moabit Soap Opera' received extensive press coverage leading one German theatre critic to praise Teufel as the 'most remarkable German playwright of the sixties.'" Alex Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations: The Spatial Politics of Squatting in Berlin* (Wiley/Blackwell, 2016), 71.

60. One exception can be found in Joachim Scharloth's *1968*, which approaches the book as a way of assessing how social disruption served an antiritualistic function, though his analysis also tends to privilege the trial over the role of the book itself (Scharloth, *1968*, 142–66).

61. Following the official "Anklageschrift," the middle of the book introduces the first act, which is titled "1. MOABITER SEIFENOPER, Juli 1967" and complements the first two days of trial before it was adjourned until further notice. The second act is titled "2. MOABITER SEIFENOPER, März 1968" and relates to the reassembly.

62. The first *Gebrauchsansweisung* appeared earlier in the "1. Moabiter Seifen Oper," which included four headings: "1 You must conduct your trial—no one else; 2 Preparation; 3 Execution; 4 Only when you have served your sentence is your trial over."

63. Zines or fanzines emerged in the 1970s punk culture and have been pivotal in more recent movements like third wave feminism. For more on the history of zines and these movements, see Stephen Duncombe's canonical *Notes from Underground* and Kate Eichhorn's *The Archival Turn in Feminism*. See also the Riot Grrrl special collection at New York University's Fales Library. Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (Verso, 1997); Kate Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order* (Temple University Press, 2013).

64. For a longer genealogy of books and their interactive reading actions, see Andrew Piper's chapter, "Take It and Read" in his *Book Was There*.

65. Tiphaine Samoyault, "Color Writings: On Three Polychrome Texts," in *Visible Writings: Cultures, Forms, Readings*, ed. Marija Dalbello and Mary Lewis Shaw (Rutgers University Press, 2011), 237–38.

66. As Rainer Langhans explained to the judge at his trial, Judge: "What do you do professionally?" Langhans and Teufel, "Kommune," *Klau mich*.

67. Susan Sontag, "Die pornographische Phantasie I," *Akzente* 1 (February 1968), 77.

68. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 314.

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69. In an article titled "Grandpa's Bookstore Is Dead" (Opas Buchhandel ist tot), Herbert Grundmann noted that "in 1968/69, in the wake of the student revolt, pornography entered almost all bookshops alongside Marxist trivial literature on a large scale and with its shallowest representatives. Marx and sex dominated the displays of major bookshops for months. The bourgeois age would never have tolerated this. This demonstration was a sign that the taboo of sex had been broken." Herbert Grundmann, "Opas Buchhandel ist tot. Wie soll es weiter gehen?" in *Buchhandel zwischen Geist und Kommerz*, ed. Herbert Grundmann (H. Bouvier, 1984), 49–50.

70. Mia Lee, "Political Pornography in the West German Underground Press," *History Workshop Journal* 78, no. 1 (2014): 186–87.

71. To name just one example of many, see Ute Kätzel, *Die 68erinnen*.

72. For more on the politics of sex and sexuality at this time, see Lee, "Political Pornography"; Brown's chapter "Sex" (*West Germany and the Global Sixties*).

73. The three pages contained the respective numbers: 1, 2, or 3.

74. Petra Kipphoff, "Frischauf zum fröhlichen Rauben!" *Die Zeit* 42, no. 16 (October 1970), 24. http://dieklaumichshow.org/

75. For more on Arno Schmidt's famously pirated, 1,352 page masterpiece book, see Wolf Donner, "'Zettels Traum' als Raubdruck: Keine Ente und 100 Eier," *Die Zeit* 33, no. 14 (August 1970). Accessed 1 May 2015. http://www.zeit.de/1970/33/keine-ente-und-100-eier; see also "Literature / Arno Schmidt: Gut raub," *Der Spiegel* 37 (7 September 1970), 216–17; for a more recent broader context of pirating, see Carmen Maria Thiel, "Das Urheberrecht und die 68er-Bewegung: Quantitative und qualitative Untersuchungen zur Rezeption und Bedeutung der Raubdruckbewegung zwischen 1967 und 1973 in der BRD." PhD diss., Universität Leipzig, 2007.

76. For more on the problems of self-service, theft, and the Institut für Selbstbedienung, see Lydia Langer, "Revolution im Einzelhandel: Die Einführung der Selbstbedienung in Lebensmittelgeschäften der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1949–1973)." PhD diss., Universität Köln, 2009.

77. Guy von Auer, "APO-Buchläden: Klau mich," *konkret* 12, no. 2 (June 1969); 8.

78. von Auer, "APO-Buchläden: Klau mich," 8.

79. von Auer, "APO-Buchläden: Klau mich," 8.

80. von Auer, "APO-Buchläden: Klau mich," 8.

81. To see a photograph of the sign, see Ruetz, Fichter, and Lönnendonker, *'Ihr müsst diesen Typen nur ins Gesicht sehen' (Klaus Schütz, SPD),* 135.

82. von Auer, "APO-Buchläden: Klau mich," 8.

83. As the protagonist recounts, "Detectives are running around in the book store; they should be keeping an eye out inconspicuously as a kind of permanent customer the entire day." Rolf Dieter Brinkmann, *Keiner Weiss Mehr: Roman* (Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1968), 304.

84. "(The shopkeepers) know that whoever steals also buys, and usually so much more that what is stolen no longer counts as a discount stamp. . . . In our country, stealing is not a crime; who steals more than the department store managers and shopkeepers from their employees? However, the big thieves don't call it stealing, and a bank director who speculates away the money of his small savers rarely goes to prison either" (*linkeck* 2).

85. Dieter Nord, "Die Klauer sind unter uns," *Pardon* 12 (December 1969), 17.

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86. See also *Der Spiegel*'s report on the book fair protest calls against Springer Verlag stand, which showcased the slogan of "Steal the books from these vermin!" "Verlage / Buchmesse: Heiß gekocht," *Der Spiegel* 44 (23 October 1967).

87. For more on the topic of missing literature, see Andrew Piper, "Deleafing," in "The History and Future of the 19th-Century Book," ed. Maria Schoina and Andrew Stauffer. Special issue, *Gramma* 21 (2013): 13–25.

88. As for *Klau mich* itself, the book had a curious revival in 2012 when artist Dora García abridged its story into a 2012 book with different content. The goal of this book was to bring its original political ideology into a twenty-first century context. Shortly after, García developed the concept into a German theater-tv documentary project: *Die Klau mich Show*. For more on this political experiment, see Dora García, *Mad Marginal: Cahier 3: Klau Mich = Steal Me* (König, 2012).

89. Books like Hartmut Sander and Ulrich Christians, *Subkultur Berlin: Selbstdarstellung, Text-, Ton-Bilddokumente. Esoterik d. Kommunen Rocker, subversiven Gruppen,* Uwe Wandrey, *Eiffe for President / Frühling für Europa: Surrealismen zum Mai 68* (Quer-Verlag, 1968), and Uwe Wandrey, *Kampfreime* (Quer-Verlag, 1968) are quite rare today, having sold out in the late 1960s and not been institutionally stored at libraries like other more conventional literature; as of the fall of 2016, *Kampfreime* is selling for $2,000 USD.

90. For several illuminating examples, see Andrew Piper, "Reading's Refrain: From Bibliography to Topology," *ELH* 80, no. 2 (2013); Paul Vierthaler, "Fiction and History: Polarity and Stylistic Gradience in Late Imperial Chinese Literature," *Cultural Analytics* 23 May 2016. Accessed 10 August 2016. http://culturalanalytics.org/2016/05/fiction-and-history-polarity-and-stylistic-gradience-in-late-imperial-chinese-literature/; Geoffrey Rockwell and Stéfan Sinclair, *Hermeneutica: Computer-Assisted Interpretation in the Humanities* (MIT Press, 2016).

Chapter 2

1. Enzensberger's "Gemeinplätze," subeditor Karl Markus Michel's "Ein Kranz für die Literatur," and Walter Boehlich's "Autodafé," respectively. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); Karl Markus Michel, "Ein Kranz für die Literatur: Fünf Variationen über eine These," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); Walter Boehlich, "Autodafé," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968).

2. For a complete list of *Kursbuch* entries from the time when Enzensberger was editor of the journal (1965–75), see Vibeke R. Petersen, *'Kursbuch' 1965–1975: Social, Political, and Literary Perspectives of West Germany* (Peter Lang, 1988).

3. Ingeborg Bachmann,"Vier Gedichte," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); *Arnfried Astel, "*Acht Epigramme," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); Friedrich Christian Delius, "Vier Gedichte," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); Nicanor Parra, "Antipoesie," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); Mao Tse-tung, "Unveröffentliches Gedicht," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968).

4. Der Cimarrón, "Aus den Erzählungen eines ehemaligen Sklaven," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968); Lu Hsün, "Vier Schriften über Literatur und Revolution," *Kursbuch* 15 (1968).

5. For more on the performative character of the West German protest movement, see Joachim Scharloth, "Ritualkritik und Rituale des Protests: Die Entdeckung

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des Performativen in der Studentenbewegung der 1960er Jahre," in *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007).

6. In a supplementary editorial announcement in *Kursbuch* 1 (1965), editors Enzensberger and Michel identified the new journal's strategy. Instead of solely hosting pieces of fiction and prose like many other literary journals of the time, *Kursbuch* 1 announced it would include a variety of literary forms such as "protocols, expert opinions, reports, documents, polemical and nonpolemical conversations." Hans Magnus Enzensberger and Karl Markus Michel, "Ankündigung einer neuen Zeitschrift," *Kursbuch* 1 (1965): 2.

7. In 1965, the opening lines of *Kursbuch*'s first editorial reflected on what editors hoped would become a contingent, impermanent character of the journal's future issues. "'Kursbücher' do not dictate directions. [Instead] they specify connections. Therein lies the journal's topicality" (Enzensberger and Michel, "Ankündigung einer neuen Zeitschrift," 1).

8. As Thomas and Bullivant have observed, Boehlich continued the motif down the page in "a series of hard-hitting, polemical arguments" against literary criticism. R. Hinton Thomas and Keith Bullivant, *Literature in Upheaval: West German Writers and the Challenge of the 1960s* (Manchester University Press, 1974), 71.

9. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Commonplaces on the Newest Literature," in *The Consciousness Industry: On Literature, Politics and the Media*, ed. Hans Magnus Enzensberger and Michael Roloff (Seabury Press, 1974), 83.

10. Enzensberger, "Commonplaces," 83.

11. Enzensberger, "Commonplaces," 85.

12. In his article, Enzensberger cites a letter from Regis Debray, in which Debray writes, "For the struggle . . . we need works that bear witness to it: we need the sum of all actions of which such works give news. Only when we have them, indispensable and simple reports, songs for the march, cries for help and slogans for the day, only then do we have a right to enjoy literary beauties" (Enzensberger, "Gemeinplätze," 192).

13. Reinhard Baumgart, "Wozu Dichter?" *Der Spiegel*, 16 December 1968, 165.

14. Enzensberger, "Commonplaces," 85.

15. Enzensberger, "Commonplaces," 85.

16. Bandel and Stanitzek, "Broschüren."

17. Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, "The Rise of Periodical Studies," *PMLA* 121, no. 2 (2006): 517–18.

18. See Barbara Green, "Around 1910: Periodical Culture, Women's Writing, and Modernity," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 30, no. 2 (2011); Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell, *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Maria DiCenzo, Lucy Delap, and Leila Ryan, *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction* (Yale University Press, 2010).

19. Matthew Philpotts, "Dimension: Fractal Forms and Periodical Texture," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 3 (2015): 404.

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20. Koenraad Claes, "Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 2 (2010): 196–97.

21. For more on thick journals, see Deborah A. Martinsen, *Literary Journals in Imperial Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Philpotts observes that "the small scale of little magazines is usually understood to refer to their small and non-commercial readership, but the idea of 'littleness' extends to other key properties: their precarious and short-lived publication runs, narrow editorial programmes and values, and physical dimensions" ("Dimension," 403).

22. Brown, "Introduction: Textual Materialism," 24.

23. Genette and Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," 261–62.

24. In her article "Paper Ontologies," Christina Lupton asks: "Can a text use language to point usefully towards its own material substratum?" Christina Lupton, "Paper Ontologies: Reading Sterne with Bruno Latour," *Textual Practice* 31, no. 2 (2017): 299.

25. See, for example, "Verhalten bei Festnahmen." *Agit* 883 13 February 1969, 1.

26. Laurence Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* (Simon and Schuster, 1972), 15.

27. Knud Andresen, Markus Mohr, and Hartmut Rübner, "Unruhe in der Öffentlichkeit," in *Agit 883: Bewegung, Revolte, Underground in Westberlin 1969–1972* (Assoziation A, 2006), 31.

28. See, for example, Andrew Hoyte's look at the diminishing role of the wood engraver in the nineteenth-century newspaper industry. Andrew Hoyte, "The Inky Protest of an Anarchist Printmaker," in *Protest on the Page: Essays on Print and the Culture of Dissent since 1865*, ed. James P. Danky, Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen, and James L. Baughman (University of Wisconsin Press, 2015); Ashley Dawn Farmer's assessment of African American female intellectual production in the twentieth century. Ashley Dawn Farmer, *What You've Got Is a Revolution: Black Women's Movements for Black Power*, PhD diss., (Harvard University, 2013); and Carrie Smith and Maria Stehle's assessment of the role of digital tools and global activism in the twenty-first century. Carrie Smith and Maria Stehle, *Awkward Politics: Technologies of Popfeminist Activism* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2016).

29. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 6–7.

30. Abe Peck, "Forward," in *Insider Histories of the Vietnam Era Underground Press: Part 1*, ed. Ken Wachsberger (Michigan State University Press, 2011).

31. According to Donna Lloyd Ellis's 1971 history of the U.S. underground press, "The Underground Press Syndicate ran a survey in which 48% of its member papers reported that they take care of distribution themselves, usually by hiring street vendors to sell the papers on commission. . . . Street sales are reported to be the most effective way of selling according to 48% of UPS members, followed by newsstands (40%) and head [hippie] shops (24%)." Donna L. Ellis, "The Underground Press in America: 1955–1970," *Journal of Popular Culture* (1971): 114.

32. First published in the *East Village Other*, the *Kursbuch* 22 issue included the U.S.-inspired "Kursbuch-Kommix" as part of its focus on "North American Conditions." With the name of The Trashman—Agent of the 6th International, the superhero's adventures were illustrated by Spain Rodriguez and portrayed a radical protagonist who could shift shapes into any material around him as he sought to

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revolutionize the world against evil capitalists while pursuing sexual escapades that were quite common to underground heroes at this time. For more on underground comix, see Patrick Rosenkranz, *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution, 1963–1975* (Fantagraphics Books, 2002); James Philip Danky, Denis Kitchen, and Chazen Museum of Art, *Underground Classics: The Transformation of Comics into Comix* (Abrams, 2009).

33. The "info-zentrum," as it was known, provided literary news from the underground by shared nonmainstream titles, authors, and events. The 1971 cover advertised itself as being an "Alternative Presse" and "LITERARISCHES INFOZENTRUM."

34. Daum, *Die 2. Kultur*, 72.

35. In a 1971 article, "The Underground Press," Donna Lloyd Ellis wrote that "the oldest of the true undergrounds, the *Los Angeles Free Press*, is the most professional of the undergrounds and boasts a circulation of 68,000. It employs a full-time staff of forty-three, grossed $450,000 in 1967, and filed for incorporation" (Ellis, "Underground Press in America," 107).

36. The front cover of *Oberbaum* 3 from June 12, 1967 listed its print run at 7,000. The front cover of the 1968 Ça ira advertised its print run as being at 5,500. Similarly, the print runs of *linkeck* ranged from 4,000 to 6,000 copies. Bernd Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht? Anarchismus und libertäre Presse in Ost- und West-Deutschland* (Klemm und Oelschläger, 1998).

37. According to Leamer's estimations in 1971, for instance, "The narrowest possible definition of the underground press would be membership in *UPS*, and that alone adds up to a circulation over 1,500,000. The formula employed by mass magazines (estimating six readers for each magazine) suggests a readership of over 9,000,000. And by including high-school undergrounds, reupholstered old-left papers, rock-culture papers, and other publications that identify with youth culture, it's possible to come up with a circulation figure of at least 3,000,000 papers, or 18,000,000 readers, an even better indication of the enormous audience for a medium that is blatantly anti-Establishment" (Leamer, *Paper Revolutionaries*, 14–15).

38. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 192.

39. The fact that West Germany was physically located at the front door of the Iron Curtain was one trait that distinguished the history of the nation's underground scene. For many publishers, negotiating border crossings from West Berlin to the rest of West Germany impacted the way the fringe literary contents were often disseminated. Take, for example, a *linkeck* story about their trip from West Berlin to Munich. While they were stopped at the East German border with 5,000 copies of *linkeck* 4, which contained a "copulating pair" and words of encouragement from Mao Tsetung, the editors recalled that "the comrades at the eastern border crossing were very taken with this issue . . . But: The Bavarian Free State brothers now saw it very differently." Following the accusation of pornographic smuggling and a compromise of ink-stamping *over* the sexual imagery in the border control office before traveling further, *linkeck* 4 made it to Munich, where it presumably sold out. Stories like these make research of an exact count of *linkeck* 4 abstruse at best.

40. Robert Halbach, *Linkeck: Erste Antiautoritäre Zeitung*. Berlin-Neukölln: Kramer, 1987.

41. Halbach, *Linkeck*.

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42. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 13.

43. "Schüler / Pornographie: Statt Turnen." Der Spiegel 18 (29 April 1968), 112. Accessed 14 August 2016. http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46050127.html

44. The new underground newspaper celebrated its confiscation with another defiant handwritten phrase on the front cover of the next issue: "Linkeck Nr.1 beschlagnahmt" (Linkeck no. 1 confiscated). Whereas the editors provoked its readership by using Nazi vocabulary, they insolently crossed the line by situating the confiscation advertisement directly next to a banned swastika image and more nude imagery, which was equally celebrated. The introduction to the 1987 republication celebrated how "*linkeck* number 2 was confiscated for insulting and depicting so-called obscenities; number 3 for depicting a forbidden National Socialist emblem and calling for acts of violence; number 3a fell victim to censorship because we had reported on the SS past of the Berlin police commander. . . ." For the complete list of the confiscations and official justifications, see the editorial introduction to the republication of *linkeck*. Halbach, *Linkeck*.

45. As the "Impressum," the cover page was designed by a guest contributor and famous printer, Thomas Bayrle, who would go on to win Print Biennale in the English city of Bradford as well as several other notable art awards.

46. For more on the attempted assassination of Dutschke, see Timothy Scott Brown's chapter "Power" in *West Germany and the Global Sixties*.

47. For more on this history, see Diane Hanson, Sarahjane Blum, and Louis K. Meisel, *The Art of Pin-Up* (Taschen, 2014); in her history of pin-ups, Priscilla Frank writes that the story of the medium "overlaps with both women's liberation and women's objectification." Priscilla Frank, "The History of the Pin-Up Girl, from the 1800s to the Present," *Huffington Post*, 6 December 2017. Accessed 14 July 2018. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/pin-up-girl-history_n_6077082. *Playboy* magazine began the incorporation of centerfolds in the December 1953 issue with Marilyn Monroe.

48. As an article in *ReadyMag* describes it, "Twen (short for ″twenty″) was a magazine for the first generation of postwar teens and young adults. It was a wild conglomeration of the controversial ideas and blooming freedoms of the 1950s. A big part of the impact came from Willy Fleckhaus' design: a 12-column modular grid with already familiar blown-up headlines set in Schmalfette Grotesk; psychedelic illustrations; extremely tightly cropped or enlarged black-and-white photos, and, of course, a lot of white space perfectly arranged on the page. Twen was stunning, groundbreaking, sometimes shocking." "Twen." *ReadyMag*. Accessed June 1, 2025. https://readymag.com/designstories/willy-fleckhaus/twen

49. Stars such as Brigitte Bardot and Elvis Presley could be collected and pieced together so readers could tape a life-sized portrait on the bedroom wall. As featured on one cover, the description "ELVIS PRESLEY in Lebensgröße zum Ausschneiden" (ELVIS PRESLEY life-size cutout) referred to the practice of removing contents from the magazine and collecting all parts of Elvis's picture.

50. Both publications were seen as being mainstream. But while *Bravo* was considered a purely pop cultural magazine that sold the mainstream culture of Hollywood, *Twen* fashioned a pop culture that was more in line with the protest movement.

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51. It should be noted that *Underground* was mostly in name only and was attacked by many of the other underground newspapers for its connection to the larger Nickel and Barmeier Verlag, which was also the publisher of the famous satirical magazine *Pardon*.

52. Following several changes of publishing house and numerous pauses in publication, *Kursbuch* is currently published by Murmann Publishers with editors Armin Nassehi and Peter Felixberger. For more information, see http://kursbuch-online.de/uber-das-kursbuch/ Accessed March 15, 2015.

53. Henning Marmulla, "Verbindungen: 1965/2012," *Kursbuch* 170 (2012): 16–17.

54. Ben Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution: Mass-Circulation Books and the Cultural Origins of 1968 in Western Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72, no. 4 (2011).

55. With its print number of 5,800 copies of *Kursbuch* 1 in 1965 to 24,260 copies of *Kursbuch* 20 in 1970, the significant increase in initial production numbers testified to the success of the journal. The *Auflagenentwicklung* (number of copies) of *Kursbücher* 1–20 was recorded on 24 February 1972 and can be found in the Siegfried Unseld Archive collection at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv (German Literary Archive).

56. Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch*, 123.

57. Days later, Karl Markus Michel gave the students permission to reproduce the poster in his editorial response.

58. "Arbeitsgruppe Theater der Uni und Kunstakademie." Ralf Bentz. "Flugblatt." In *Protest! Literatur um 1968*, edited by Ralf Bentz, Sabine Brtnik, Christoph König, Roman Luckscheiter, Ulrich Ott, and Brigitte Raitz, (Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1998).

59. The complete title is "Dossier zu Spontaneität und Organisation [Arbeiter reden—Bei Massey-Ferguson]" (Dossier of spontaneity and organization [Workers speak—a Massey-Ferguson production factory]). "*Dossier* zu 'Spontaneität und Organisation.' (Arbeiter reden—Bei Massey-Ferguson)," *Kursbuch* 16 (1969).

60. For more information on the London congress and a reprinting of key speeches, see David G. Cooper, *The Dialectics of Liberation* (Penguin, 1968). In addition, live footage of the congress such as the "Preview" from STUDYofVIOLENCE gives a better idea for the intensity of the famous meeting and interactions between famous figures like Allen Ginsberg. STUDYofVIOLENCE. "Dialectics of Liberation Preview." Online video. YouTube, 27 August 2010. Accessed 15 March 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oN-Zksippj8

61. Peter Schneider, "Die Phantasie im Spätkapitalismus und die Kulturrevolution," *Kursbuch* 16 (1969); Walter Kreipe, "Spontaneität und Organisation: Lehren aus dem Mai-Juni 1968," *Kursbuch* 16 (1969).

62. In *Kursbuch* 16, the speeches are listed as follows: Ronald Laing, "Undurchschaubarkeit und Evidenz in modernen Sozialsystemen," *Kursbuch* 16 (1969); Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power," *Kursbuch* 16 (1969); Jules Henry, "Soziale psychologische Kriegsvorbereitung," Kursbuch 16 (1968); John Gerassi, "Imperialismus und Revolution in Amerika," *Kursbuch* 16 (1969); Paul M. Sweezy, "Die Zukunft des Kapitalismus," Kursbuch 16 (1969); Herbert Marcuse. "Befreiung von der Überflußgesellschaft." *Kursbuch* 16 (1969).

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63. In her article, "Diskussionsfieber," Nina Verheyen writes about how discussing became a viable form of practicing politics. Nina Verheyen,"Diskussionsfieber: Diskutieren als kommunikative Praxis in der westdeutschen Studentenbewegung," in *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007).

64. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 136.

65. Siegfried Unseld, Raimund Fellinger, and Ulrike Anders, *Chronik* (Suhrkamp, 2010), 104.

66. As one letter from Unseld notes in 1969, "I have been asked once whether I agree to a *Kursbogen* for issue 15. You and Michel expected me to accept Boehlich's contribution in this *Kursbogen*, and not only me, but a public that was really only surprised by it. . . . The last step is really the course sheet for issue 19. I can't go any further down this path" (Unseld, Fellinger, and Anders, *Chronik*, 104).

67. Anonymous author, "Lebenszeichen aus Ungarn," translated by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Kursbuch* 23 (1971): Kurszettel.

68. Manuel ("Spain") Rodriguez and Algernon Backwash, "Trashman: Kursbuch Komix," translated by Sebastian Pfaff, *Kursbuch* 22 (1970): Kursbogen.

69. Anonymous author, "Der breite und der schmale Weg," *Kursbuch* 25 (1971).

70. In many libraries and archives in North America and Europe, a search for the removable materials of *Kursbuch* might turn up one *Kursbogen* or several *Kursbögen*, but a complete collection of the materials is rare. My search was conducted in a large variety of major North American and German university libraries as well as many of Germany's largest student protest movement archives. Arguably, the Hamburg Institute for Social Research has the most complete collection.

71. To read more on the role of French *affiches*, see Volkhard Brandes, *Paris, Mai '68: Plakate, Karikaturen und Fotos der Revolte* (Brandes & Apsel, 2008); or Nick Heller's review of the 2009 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library's protest poster exhibition at Yale University. Heller, "The Postwar Avant-Garde and the Culture of Protest, 1945 to 1968 and Beyond."

72. Nick Awde, "Zappa and Satire: From Conceptual Absurdism to the Perversity of Politics," in *Frank Zappa and the And*, ed. Paul Carr (Ashgate, 2013), 97.

73. Among *Beilagen* like the iconic picture of Mikhail Bakunin in *FIZZ* 3, text boxes with information about a political youth center spurred on extracurricular reading activities instructed readers to act: *Ausschneiden, Weitergeben—Diskutieren—Zusammensetzen—Initiative Ergreifen—Bildet das Lehrlingszentrum* (Cut out, pass on—Discuss—Put together—Take initiative—Form the apprenticeship center).

74. In an editorial for *Kursbuch* 183 titled "Wohin flüchten?," editor Armin Nassehi informed readers that "a special mention should also be made of the *Kursbogen*—with which we are reviving an old *Kursbuch* tradition and will certainly not be presenting it for the last time. " Armin Nassehi, "Wohin flüchten?" *Kursbuch* 183 (2015). Accessed 14 August 2016. https://kursbuch.online/kursbuch-183-editorial/

75. Heinz Bude, *Das Altern einer Generation: Die Jahrgänge 1938 bis 1948* (Suhrkamp, 1997), 37.

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Chapter 3

1. As per custom, West Germany referred to state prosecutors only by last name. For more on the arson at À l'innovation department store, see "Belgien / Kaufhausbrand: Leises Klingeln." *Der Spiegel*, 29 May 1967, 128.

2. Flyer 6, Kommune I: *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*, (no page numbers), "Sources for Kommune Research."

3. Flyer 7, Kommune I: *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*, (no page numbers), "Sources for Kommune Research."

4. Flyer 8, Kommune I: *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*, (no page numbers), "Sources for Kommune Research."

5. To see the complete charges, see Kommune 1: *Gesammelte Werke gegen uns*. Berlin: Kommune 1, 1967, 25–30.

6. As Gerhard Mauz wrote in *Der Spiegel*, "Mr. (Judge) Schwerdtner orders 'shock by joke.' . . . Student Langhans corrects: 'Satire would be the better vocabulary.'" Mauz, ". . . Und Abends Sind Sie nett zu Ihrer Frau," 26.

7. Kommune I, *Quellen für Kommuneforschung*.

8. Mahler reached out to 16 expert witnesses from authors, professors, and editors for testimony, some of whom sent similar testimonies. For more, see Briegleb, *1968*, 103–11; Sedlmeier, *Consumption and Violence*, 46–48; see also Kommune I, *Gesammelte Werke*, 40–46.

9. Briegleb, *1968*, 103.

10. Peter Szondi observed that "the next day, the chief public prosecutor [Kuntze] announced that he had taken note of the expert opinions 'with interest, but also with astonishment, because (they) had not been pertinent.'" Peter Szondi, "Aufforderung zur Brandstiftung?" *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter* 25 (1968): 338.

11. Gerhard Tomkowitz, "War das Teufels-Werk ein satirisches Strohfeuer?" *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (7 July 1967), 3.

12. A report in *Die Welt* described the scene of the first day as follows: "The presiding judge, District Court Director Schwerdtner, noticeably confused, painfully lacks authority, aplomb, and oversight." Hans-Wolfgang Sternsdorff, "Gelächter im Gerichtssaal," *Die Welt* 155 (7 July 1967), 6.

13. Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations*, 71.

14. Kommune I leader Dieter Kunzelmann was no stranger to such courtroom antics. His experiences as a member of Gruppe Spur, a political art collective, which was famously put on trial in 1962, paved the way for the subsequent Kommune I strategies.

15. Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations*, 71.

16. Scharloth, "Ritualkritik," 79. See Scharloth's article also for a look at the photograph of Langhans blowing bubbles at an event in September 1967.

17. As the Kommune I flyer 21 exclaimed, "Unfortunately, many of you were not able to see how Kuntze, prosecutor and soapmaker, brilliantly saved his bubbles from the first day of the Moabit soap opera. . . . You should finally produce the soap bubbles yourselves, instead of gawping at the one hanging in front of Kuntze's mouth. Just as beautiful soap bubbles!" For an image of Kommune members blowing bubbles outside of the courthouse, see Kommune I, *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*.

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18. Scharloth, "Ritualkritik," 79.

19. Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements*, 35–36.

20. Kaplan, "Leaflet-Posters as Discursive Spaces of Trans-European and Transatlantic Student Protests during the 1960s," no page.

21. Chotjewitz, "Was heißt 'experimentelle Literatur,'" 145.

22. For more, see J.P. Hunter, "When Is Literature? What Is a Canon?" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21, no. 3 (1997).

23. Kirstie Beaven, "Performance Art: The Happening," Tate Museum. Accessed November 1, 2023. https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/h/happening/happening

24. Felski, *Uses of Literat*ure, 13.

25. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16.

26. Sarah E. James, *Paper Revolutions: An Invisible Avant-Garde* (MIT Press, 2022), 20.

27. Briana J. Smith, *Free Berlin: Art, Urban Politics, and Everyday Life* (MIT Press, 2022), 10.

28. Kaplan, "Leaflet-Posters as Discursive Spaces of Trans-European and Transatlantic Student Protests during the 1960s," no page.

29. Ruppert, "Um 1968: Die Repräsentation der Dinge," 21.

30. Günter Gerstenberg, *Hiebe, Liebe und Proteste: München 1968* (dgb bildungswerk, 1991), 84.

31. Beate Schappach, "Ein Adolf war genug," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, ed. Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Klartext, 2008), 133.

32. "sds sds sds sds sds sds sds sds sds sds," Sozialistische Deutscher Studentenbund, flyer image. Cited in Gerstenberg, *Hiebe, Liebe und Proteste*, 84.

33. Schappach,"Ein Adolf war genug," 133.

34. Christine Hikel, "Lügengeschichten, Sensationsromane und andere Machwerke: Vergessenes von der Weißen Rose," *WerkstattGeschichten* 3 (2010): 23–37.

35. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (RosettaBooks, 2005), 1.

36. Sontag, *On Photography*, 141.

37. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetic* (University of Chicago Press, 2015) 9.

38. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, "Protestinszenierungen: Die Studentenbewegung im Spannungsfeld von Kultur-Revolution und Medien-Evolution," in *1968: Handbuch Zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007), 11.

39. Pabst, "Protesting Bodies and Bodily Protest," 191.

40. One month later, students performed a similar "Buchstabenballett" with the phrase "FREIHEIT TEUFEL!" in front of the Europa Center shopping mall. For a vivid illustration of this act, see Ruetz, Fichter, and Lönnendonker, '*Ihr müsst diesen Typen nur ins Gesicht sehen,*' 49.

41. Bandel et al., *Under the Radar*, 53.

42. Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Harvard University Press, 1990), 11.

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43. Thomas A. Bredehoft, *The Visible Text: Textual Production and Reproduction from Beowulf to Maus* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

44. As Timothy Scott Brown notes, "A planned bomb attack on the motorcade of visiting American Vice President Hubert Humphrey was foiled by the police. It was quickly revealed that the communards' 'bomb' was made of nothing more deadly than pudding, but not before the Springer Press had gleefully trumpeted the arrest of dangerous assassins armed with 'explosives from Peking'" (*West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 56).

45. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, 56.

46. Walter Delabar, "'Burn, Ware-house, Burn!' Zu den Flugblättern der Kommune I." *Literaturkritik*, 10 December 2007. Accessed 1 May 2014. http://literaturkritik.de/public/rezension.php?rez_id=11455

47. Sara Hakemi, *Anschlag und Spektakel: Flugblätter der Kommune I, Erklärungen von Ensslin/Baader und der Frühen RAF.* Posth: 2011.

48. "We have since been charged, Fritz and Rainer Langhans. We made the leaflets together. The rest of us will therefore press charges against ourselves" (Kommune I, *Gesammelte Werke*, 19).

49. It should be noted that the first "self-report to the police" (*Selbstanzeige*) came from the remaining members of the Kommune I, who, in satirical fashion, informed the attorney general that the "Brandstiftflugblätter" were collectively authored by the Kommune 1. As their self-report described, "After all, we made and distributed the flyers together, and somewhere in the law there is something like a right to intellectual property. It's not just Fritz and Rainer who own the flyers, but the rest of us: Dieter Kunzelmann, Volker Gebbert, Gertrud Hemmer, Ulrich Enzensberger are allowed to use them. And we want to. So please be so fair as to try to lock us all up" (Kommune I, *Gesammelte Werke*, 30).

50. "Selbstanzeige für Teufel," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 7 July 1967, 15.

51. As Aribert Reimann and other scholars have alleged, the person who set off the explosion in the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtnis tower was none other than the new friend of the Kommune I, Andreas Baader. For more, see Aribert Reimann, *Dieter Kunzelmann: Avantgardist, Protestler, Radikaler* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 175.

52. As the title of the *Berliner Zeitung* reads, "Alles nur Zufall . . ." ("Everything just a coincidence"), August 8, 1967. The article explained how the two Kommune I members were not charged with any crime because the West Berlin police could not establish a valid link to their complicity in the explosion. Their alibi of being on the scene was "just coincidental." "Alles nur Zufall . . ." *Berliner Zeitung*, 8 August 1967, 3.

53. Along with the picture of Dehnicke, the *Steckbrief* (Wanted Sign) opens up with the following: "Dr. Diether Dehnicke, attorney general in Berlin, is wanted. The wanted man is urgently suspected of having committed a crime of deprivation of liberty in office to the detriment of Fritz Teufel in Berlin in the months of June and July 1967, presumably out of political motives" (Kommune I, *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*).

54. Instead of referring to the newspaper with its official "Morgenpost" title, the

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Kommune 1 incorporated a play on words with "MORGENPEST" and the reference to the plague.

55. As Enzensberger explained in a 2014 interview with *Der Spiegel*, "I got into it that day. They were making some kind of costumes and nailing together a coffin in which they were going to bury the Berlin justice system. I thought that was very funny, so I put on a mask and went along." "Nichts wie weg." *Der Spiegel* 41 (6 October 2014), 134.

56. Kommune I, *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*.

57. Reimann, *Dieter Kunzelmann*, 174.

58. See IISG Archive, Fritz Teufel Folder, Anarchistische Blätter.

59. *LOG: Sondernummer Dokumentation Berliner Flugblätter II*. Pamphlet. Ed. Tilo Eggeling (Verlag Marburg, 1967), 3.

60. Kätzel, *Die 68erinnen*.

61. Felski, *Uses of Literature*, 10.

62. Christina Gerhardt,"Helke Sander's dffb Films and West Germany's Feminist Movement," in *Celluloid Revolt: German Screen Cultures and the Long 1968*, ed. Christina Gerhardt and Marco Abel (Camden House, 2019), 74.

63. To read the full speech, see Ilse Lenz, *Die Neue Frauenbewegung in Deutschland: Abschied vom Kleinen Unterschied: Eine Quellensammlung* (VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 57–62. For more on this, see Myra M. Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective* (Stanford University Press, 2012); Beate Schappach, "Mein Bauch gehört mir," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, ed. Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Klartext, 2008).

64. In addition to airing the grievances of gender inequality by SDS leaders and members, the flyer listed the names of the old and New Left (from Wilhelm Reich and Karl Marx, to Dieter Kunzelmann and Jürgen Habermas).

65. For more on the gender history of this time period, see Ute Kätzel's *Die 68erinnen* and Ingo Cornils's chapter, "Women of the Revolution" (Cornils, *Writing the Revolution*).

66. Corina Raupach, "Es war sehr windig in der K1," *taz*, 10 April 1993. Accessed 14 July 2022. https://taz.de/Es-war-sehr-windig-in-der-K1/!1621317/

67. For example, the Kommune I members had a section on Cuba that featured some of the crackdowns of the new Castro government. In particular, the Kommune I noted how the Castro regime had begun to initiate penalties for not keeping a proper beard in what appears to be a pushback from Ché Guevara's assassination and subsequent heroization. In Castro's new Cuba, as the articles relate, keeping a clean beard was a matter of respect. The Kommune I archival team collected numerous articles on the topic of crackdown and clean beards. For more, see International Institute of Social History (IISG), "*Kommune I*."

68. Alexander Grönert, *Politik, Pop & Afri-Cola: 68er Plakate* (Pomp, 2008), 17.

69. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties,* 207.

70. For Kathrin Fahlenbrach, "The linguistic and visual equipment of the demonstrations is thus strongly oriented towards the media public. By directly cognitively and emotionally mobilizing their participants on the level of collective affect coordination in their forms of action, the public protests are at the same time oriented towards the interactive communication possibilities of the primary public. The

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expressive self-assurance takes place primarily through the formation of a visually perceptible mass body" (Fahlenbrach, *Protest-Inszenierungen*, 197).

71. In a publication that documented the famous 2007 exhibition at the Deutsche Plakat Museum in Essen, Hartwig Fischer and René Grohnert describe the "Plakatsprache" of 1968 as a new visual language that developed new forms of expression to match the new themes of politics and society "from a poster history perspective, the first beginnings of a new poster language became apparent—new themes led to new forms." René Grohnert, *Zeitzeiger: Plakate aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Hermann Schmidt, 2007), 9.

72. Butler, *Excitable Speech,* 8.

73. Ruppert, "Um 1968: Die Repräsentation der Dinge," 29.

74. As *Die Zeit* reported, "The solemnity was over. Bach, played by the student orchestra, was barely audible in the second row. Chants and individual interjections from the back of the hall were much louder: 'Long live the Middle Ages'" "Es Lebe das Mittelalter." *Die Zeit* 46, no. 17 (November 1967). Accessed 1 May 2014. http://www.zeit.de/1967/46/es-lebe-das-mittelalter

75. Rainer Nicolaysen, "'Unter den Talaren Muff von 1000 Jahren.' Ein Hamburger Studentenprotest trifft den Nerv der Ordinarienuniversität," in *19 Tage Hamburg: Ereignisse und Entwicklungen der Stadtgeschichte seit den Fünfziger Jahren* (Dölling und Galitz, 2012), 112.

76. As Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey recently put it, "The analytical concept, 'politics of perception,' claims that 'the political' starts where protagonists call into question dominant schemes of perception and classification, and set examples through expressive and subversive discourses, proclaiming the cancellation of the clandestine assent to the prevailing order, redefining situations and events, and formulating alternative referential values or leading ideas and thereby confronting the established order with another alternative concept of order." Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, "Introduction," in *A Revolution of Perception? Consequences and Echoes of 1968*, ed. Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey (Berghahn, 2014), 7.

77. For example, see Kristina Schulz, "Frauen in Bewegung: Mit der Neuen Linken über die Linke(n) hinaus," in *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (J.B. Metzler, 2007).

78. For one example of many, compare Ulrich Enzensberger's history of the Kommune I, *Die Jahre der Kommune I*, to Inga Buhmann, *Ich habe mir eine Geschichte geschrieben* (Zweitausendeins, 1983), as well as Ute Kätzel's *Die 68erinnen.*

Chapter 4

1. Peter Ernst Eiffe and Uwe Wandrey, *Eiffe for President, Frühling für Europa Surrealismen zum Mai 68* (Quer-Verlag, 1968), 39.

2. Peter Schütt, "Eiffe für alle." *Die Zeit* 12 no. 17 (March 1995). Accessed 1 August 2016. http://www.zeit.de/1995/12/Wer_hat_in_Deutschland_die_ersten_Graffiti_gesprueht

3. Enzensberger, "Commonplaces on the Newest Literature."

4. For example, the Frankfurt Book Fair, the world's largest, was not only one of West Germany's most illustrious cultural institutions; it also generated tremen-

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dous profit for the booming book market, a crossroads of fanfare and festivity. In a review of the 1968 Frankfurt Book Fair, *Der Spiegel* observed how "the fair was the biggest of all-time, like every year. 180,000 book titles stood across from 180,000 free glasses of high-alcohol mimosas." Karasek, Kiphoff, Leonhardt, and Zimmer, "Getrennt von Buch und Börse".

5. "Aktion Menetekel." *Underground* (March 1969).

6. See, for example, Andreas Tzortzis's 2008 report on how "the roots of graffiti culture can be traced back to West Berlin in the early 1980s." Andreas Tzortzis, "'Bombing' Berlin, the Graffiti Capital of Europe," *New York Times*, 3 March 2008. Accessed 1 May 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/03/travel/03iht-04graffiti.10654044.html

7. Gerd Kroske, *Striche Ziehen*. Berlin: Realistfilm, 2015.

8. To name a few: Oliva Henkel, René Westhoff, and Tamara Domentat. *Spray City* (Akademie der Künste, 1995); Johannes Temeschinko, *Graffiti Writing in Deutschland* (GRIN, 2009).

9. Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 185.

10. Michel Winock, *Chronique des années soixante: La poussée des jeunes* (Seuil, 1985), 60.

11. Winock, *Chronique des années soixante*. To that end, a plethora of photographic evidence and visual archives indexically reinforce histories of 1968 protest graffiti in France more so than any other nation. Numerous books about "May 68" have cemented graffiti's role into the nation's collective memory. Julien Besançon, *Les murs ont la parole: Journal mural Mai 68, Sorbonne, Odéon, Nanterre, Etc* (Tchou, 1968); Marc Rohan, *Paris '68: Graffiti, Posters, Newspapers, and Poems of the Events of May 1968* (Impact Books, 1988).

12. With exception of Karl Markus Michel's 1968 article in *Kursbuch*, which focused on French graffiti, the use of "graffiti" likely did not appear in the German lexicon until closer to the 1980s. Even more notable, a search for the more common terms *Wandbemalung* or *Wandlosung* surprisingly yield similarly few results in the digitized archives of *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit*. One exception here was a 1969 article in *Der Spiegel*, whose title "Ogottogott" referred to a singular *Wandbemalung* at a Hamburg *Kunsthochschule*. "Studenten / VDS: Ogottogott." *Der Spiegel* 48, no. 24 (November 1969); Michel, "Ein Kranz für die Literatur."

13. Michel, "Ein Kranz für die Literatur."

14. Eiffe and Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*.

15. Schütt, "Eiffe für Alle."

16. "Aktion Menetekel"; Michel, "Ein Kranz für die Literatur."

17. Also of note is the widespread phenomenon of terminology across historical cultures. In her study of graffiti in early modern England, for example, Juliet Fleming writes that "early modern English contains no term to denote graffiti writing—a fact suggesting not so much that the vice was unknown, but that the activity was not distinguished from other writing practices, and not yet considered a vice" (Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*, 33).

18. Eiffe and Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 5–6.

19. Walter Ong, "The Literate Orality of Popular Culture Today," in *Rhetoric,*

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Romance and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture (Cornell University Press, 2012), 299.

20. As Bertolt Brecht stated in a 1935 interview with the Moscow newspaper, *Deutsch-Zentral Zeitung*, "I was particularly struck by the power of the word to move the masses, and how it has penetrated their consciousness by means of slogans, quotations, books, newspapers, public meetings. I would like to call it the 'literarizing of the conditions of living.' But it is not just a question of words, for they are constantly followed by insights, by action." Bertolt Brecht, "Interview," in *Brecht Chronik: 1898–1956*, ed. Werner Hecht (Suhrkamp, 1997), 443.

21. Vilém Flusser, "Lines and Surfaces," in *Writings*, ed. Andreas Ströhl; translated by Eric Eisel (University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 25.

22. Emphasis mine.

23. Stefan Themerson, *Apollinaire's Lyrical Ideograms* (Gaberbocchus Press, 1968), 30.

24. Ellen Lupton, *How Posters Work* (Cooper Hewitt, 2015), 146.

25. Jan Mieszkowski, "The Writing Is on the Wall," *Postmodern Culture* 21, no. 1 (2010), no page.

26. Roy Harris, *Rethinking Writing* (Indiana University Press, 2000), 39.

27. To name a few: "Let's not change bosses, let's change life"; "No replastering, the structure is rotten." "Bureau of Public Secrets." Accessed 1 August 2016. http://www.bopsecrets.org/CF/graffiti.htm

28. See, for example, Ulrich Ott and Roman Luckscheiter's book, which cites graffiti in the title but does not go on to address it in the book. Ulrich Ott and Roman Luckscheiter, *Belles Lettres, Graffiti: Soziale Phantasien und Ausdrucksformen der Achtundsechziger* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001).

29. Temeschinko, *Graffiti Writing in Deutschland*, 26.

30. Bandel, Gilbert, Prill, and Schmidt, *Under the Radar*, 121.

31. Cara Schweizer, "'Das erweiterte Bewusstsein ist die Intuition': Annäherungsversuche an eine Holzkiste und andere künstlerische Positionen um 1968," in *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer, Lange Wirkung*, ed. Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos (Klartext, 2008), 261.

32. Mererid Puw Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements: The Textual Revolution* (University of London, 2020), 153.

33. For instance, Peter C. Herman notes how "Baudrillard *heard* May '68 happen; graffiti recollected for him verbal exchanges; and he witnessed others hearing reproductions of their own noise and voices" (emphasis mine). Peter C. Herman, *Historicizing Theory* (State University of New York Press, 2004), 131.

34. Michel, "Ein Kranz für die Literatur," 170–71.

35. Hans Imhoff, *Hans Imhoff produziert sich* (Self-published, 1968).

36. For an image of this graffito, see Ludwig Binder, "Bramm / 27. Mai 1968, Neugierige stehen Schlange an der oberen Barrikade." Digital image. *Bilder der Revolte*. Accessed 20 July 2016. http://bilder-der-revolte.de/photo/neugierige-stehen-schlange-an-der-oberen-barrikade-des-rosa-luxemburg-instituts/

37. Davies, *Writing and West German Protest Movements*, 162.

38. Piper, *Dreaming in Books*, 183–234.

39. "Aktion Menetekel," 48.

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40. For an image of this graffito, see "Aktion Menetekel," 48.
41. Schütt, "Eiffe für alle."
42. "Filzschreiberstifte mit Gefühl," 45.
43. "Filzschreiberstifte mit Gefühl," 45.
44. Cited by Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements*, 144.
45. For more on the circumstances surrounding the arrest, psychiatric institutionalization, and death of Eiffe, see Christian Bau, *Eiffe for President - Alle Ampeln auf Gelb*. DVD (1995).
46. Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 42.
47. Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements*, 162.
48. The exact location of this sign is on the corner of the Große Johannisstraße and the Börsenbrücke, a contemporary and historical crossroads of commerce, law, politics, culture, and politics. In the background of the image, Hamburg's Handelskammer stands attached to the Rathaus and Polizeiwache. Directly behind the photograph, famous institutions like Das Haus der Patriotischen Gesellschaft, frequented by Lessing, and *Die Hamburger Börse*, Germany's first stock exchange, make this specific location historic.
49. Lisa Gottlieb, *Graffiti Art Styles: A Classification System and Theoretical Analysis* (MacFarland, 2008), 77–78.
50. Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 42, 45.
51. Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 6.
52. Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 6.
53. This stood for "Hamburg 22, Wandsbeker Chaussee 305, Tel. 207710." Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 19.
54. Wandrey, *Eiffe for President*, 6.
55. Johanna Drucker, "Diagrammatic Writing"; see also Piper, *Book Was There*, 109–30.
56. See also Alfred Andersch's short story "JESUSKINGDUTSCHKE," the title of which represents a graffito on the Berlin Wall that appears in the story itself. Alfred Andersch, "JESUSKINGDUTSCHE," in *Mein Verschwinden in Providence: Neun neue Erzählungen* (Diogenes Verlag, 1971).

Conclusion

1. Bellingcat. Website. Accessed 14 July 2024. https://www.bellingcat.com/
2. "How Was RAF Terrorist Daniela Klette Tracked Down in Berlin?" *Deutsche Welle News*. YouTube video. Accessed 14 July 2024.
3. In honor of Stéfan Sinclair, a great scholar, teacher, family member, and human. Stéfan Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell, *Voyant Tools*, Website. Accessed 1 May 2024, https://voyant-tools.org/.
4. Lyndal Roper, *Summer of Fire and Blood: The German Peasants' War* (Basic Books, 2025); Christine Hikel, *Sophies Schwester: Inge Scholl und die Weiße Rose* (Oldenbourg, 2013).
5. Victoria Langland, *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* (Duke University Press, 2013), 2.
6. Jaime Pensado, "The Anonymous Dead of 1968 Mexico: A Comparative

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Study of Counterrevolutionary Violence and Protest with Uruguay and Brazil," in *Global 1968: Cultural Revolutions in Europe and Latin America,* ed. Anthony P. Motha and A. James McAdams *(*University of Notre Dame Press, 2021), 341.

7. James Ferguson, "Invisible Humanism: An African 1968 and Its Aftermaths," in *The Long 1968: Revisions and New Perspectives*, ed. by Daniel J. Sherman (Indiana University Press, 2013), 123.

8. The Arusha Declaration uncovers a human-centric view on the geopolitics of money and philanthropy: "The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money." Ayanda Madyibi, "The Arusha Declaration," 5 February 1967. Accessed 1 November 2023. https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nyerere/1967/arusha-declaration.htm. Nyerere's statement went on to be a force for African nations in negotiations about development and human rights in Africa, if not also the world.

9. Alonso Cueto, "Words as Acts: A Literary Rebellion," in *Global 1968: Cultural Revolutions in Europe and Latin America*, ed. Anthony P. Monta and A. James McAdams (University of Notre Dame Press, 2021), 444.

10. Gerard J. DeGroot, *The Sixties Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade* (Harvard University Press, 2008), 449.

11. Uwe Sonnenberg, "Linke Buchläden in den 1970er Jahren: Kommunikationszentren im Hintergrund des Protestgeschehens," *Indes* 5 (2016): 65.

12. J. C., "To Understand Germany Today Compare It with 1968," *The Economist*, 29 September 2017, https://www.economist.com/kaffeeklatsch/2017/09/29/to-understand-germany-today-compare-it-with-1968

13. Sohnya Sayres, Anders Stephanson, Stanley Aronowitz, and Frederic Jameson, ed. *The 60s without Apology,* (University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 8.

14. Cornils, *Writing the Revolution*, ix.

15. See, for example, Gerd Koenen, *Das Rote Jahrzehnt: Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967–1977* (Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002).

16. Briegleb, *1968.*

17. Kraushaar, *1968 als Mythos, Chiffre und Zäsur.*

18. Citing 2009 advertisement campaigns from clothing stores like GAP and Target, Susanne Rinner critiqued "the sanitized version the 1960s student movement that allows global corporations to market the event as the 'summer of love' in order to sell their products." Susanne Rinner, *The German Student Movement and the Literary Imagination: Transnational Memories of Protest and Dissent* (Berghahn Books, 2013), 152.

19. For more on the diverse variety of ongoing memory work around "1968," see Ingo Cornils and Sarah Waters, *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives* (Peter Lang, 2010); Alexander Vazansky and Marco Abel, "Introduction: What Was Politics in '1968' in West Germany?" in "What Was Politics in 68?" Special issue, *The Sixties* 7, no. 2 (2015); Bernard Larsson, "Leaving Is Entering: Fotografien 1961–1968," Exhibit at the Museum für Fotografie, 8 August 2016–8 January 2017; see also the plethora of autobiographies, including Kätzel, *Die 68erinnen*; Enzensberger, *Die Jahre der Kommune I*; Peter Schneider, *Rebellion und Wahn: Mein 68: Eine Autobiographische Erzählung* (Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008).

20. For more, see Duncombe, *Notes from Underground.*

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21. See Smith and Stehle, *Awkward Politics*.

22. Kätzel, *Die 68erinnen*, 18.

23. Helke Sander, "Rede des 'Aktionsrates zur Befreiung der Frauen' bei der 23. Delegiertenkonferenz des 'Sozialistischen Deutschen Studentenbundes' (SDS) im September 1968 in Frankfurt," in *1968: Eine Enzyklopädie*, ed. Rudolf Sievers (Suhrkamp Verlag, 2004), 373.

24. Philipp Felsch refers to the famously paperback series as a "Paperback Revolution" (Felsch, *Long Summer of Theory*, 41).

25. Rudolf Sievers, ed., *1968: Eine Enzyklopädie* (Suhrkamp Verlag, 2004), 5-8; Rosa Luxemburg, "Die russische Revolution," in *1968: Eine Enzyklopädie*, edited by Rudolf Sievers. (Frankfurt: edition suhrkamp, 2004), 89.

26. Peggy Piesche, "Another 68! Decolonize 1968! How to Shift the Perspective of Collective Memory," *Contemporary And*, 18 December 2028. Accessed 15 August 2023. https://contemporaryand.com/magazines/decolonize-1968-how-to-shift-the-perspective-of-collective-memory/

27. *Agit 883* 40, to name one example.

28. *linkeck* 5, to name another example.

29. Liedermacher-Raritäten, "Fasia Jansen 1964 beim Waldeck Festival: 'Die Antwort weiß ganz allein der Wind' (Auszug)." YouTube video, 14 July 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qYcCLMpYLKw; "Fasia Jansen Stiftung." Website. Accessed 1 July 2022. https://www.fasia-jansen-stiftung-ev.de/; Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (University of Michigan, 2004).

30. Jamele Watkins, "Anti-Blackness in German Studies," in *Transverse Disciplines: Queer-Feminist, Anti-Racist, and Decolonial Approaches to the University*, ed. Carrie Smith and Simone Pfleger (University of Toronto Press, 2022), 289–90.

31. FFBIZ.de and Schwulesmuseum.de, respectively.

32. Cited from Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements*, 73.

33. Uwe Wittstock, "Die Dichter des Zorns" *Deutschlandfunk*, 25 November 2012. Accessed 10 January 2024. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/die-dichter-des-zorns-100.html

34. Cited here from Ulla Hahn, *Literatur in der Aktion: Zur Entwicklung Operativer Literaturformen in der Bundesrepublik* (Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1978), 63. As the *Deutsche literarische Zeitschriften 1945–1970* has noted, *SPARTACUS* was a short-lived publication like many other alternative organs of its time. In addition to a special issue ("Sonderheft"), the magazine reportedly published four issues from 1967 to 1970, around which time its editor, Peter-Paul Zahl, became involved with other, more radical underground publications like *Agit 883* and *FIZZ*. To see an image of one of the "Flyer Poems," see Zahl, "Der Schornstein Maurer" (The chimney mason). Peter-Paul Zahl, "Der Schornstein Maurer," *Archiv der sozialen Demokratie.* Accessed 1 August 2016. http://archiv2.fes.de/objekt_start.fau?prj=fes&dm=Flugschriften&ref=759#1

35. As Sabine von Dirke points out, "The French student movement had originally disseminated the slogan . . . , which was quickly picked up by the West German students and was also at the heart of the misunderstanding about the death of literature. Both Enzensberger and Michel emphasized that this slogan was nothing new,

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but represented an old metaphor deeply rooted in the Western tradition" (von Dirke, *All Power to the Imagination*, 61).

36. Sedlmeier, *Consumption and Violence*, 37.

37. Sedlmeier, *Consumption and Violence*, 50.

38. Sontag, "Die pornographische Phantasie I," 79-80.

39. McBride, *The Chatter of the Visible,* 14.

40. As Michael Warner has written, "It's the way texts circulate, and become the basis for further representations, that convinces us that publics have activity and duration" (*Letters of the Republic*, 94).

41. Pirating notably contains the root word of print—Druck—in the German original, "Raubdruck."

42. Julie Scanlon, Amy Waste, Terry Eagleton, and Sally Shuttleworth, *Crossing Boundaries: Thinking through Literature* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

43. Monique-Adelle Callahan, *Between the Lines: Literary Transnationalism and African American Poetics* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

44. Andrew Piper, *Dreaming in Books: The Making of the Bibliographic Imagination in the Romantic Age* (University of Chicago Press, 2009).

45. Terry Eagleton, *The Event of Literature* (Yale University Press, 2012).

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