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GERMAN DOCUMENTARY PROSE OF THE 1970S

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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* * * * *

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Postwar German Literature

Studies in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century German Literature. Professors Helen Fehervary, Charles W. Hoffmann, Donald C. Riechel and Henry J. Schmidt

Studies in German Film. Professor Eric Rentschler
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INTRODUCTION

The 1970s began with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of World War II. During this decade the first postwar generation in German-speaking Europe had reached adulthood and had begun contributing to the decision-making processes in their respective societies. During this time the economic and political crises acutely felt by the adult generation during World War II slowly began to exercise less influence on attitudes and outlooks. In the 1970s the radical student movement begun in the previous decade receded in prominence. Previously unchallenged sources of political and moral authority in the West were called into question by such events as the Vietnam debacle and scandals in the governments of both the US and the FRG.

During the 1970s the term "terrorism" first became widely used. Postwar Europe constituted a restoration of the capitalist economy of the Weimar Republic. These economic and political conditions were often in conflict with the interests of specific nationalities or groups who felt themselves increasingly disenfranchised or otherwise disadvantaged in the world community. Thus the Federal
Republic of Germany, for example, experienced such terrorist actions as an attack at the Munich Olympics in support of displaced Palestinians as well as the activities of Baader/Meinhof and of the Rote Armee Faktion. Reactionary responses by government authorities to political radicalism only heightened the new lack of confidence in such structural pillars of Western society as superpower leadership, post-fascist democracy, and even the moral authority of the Church in secular affairs.

German literature of the 1970s reflects this increasing lack of faith in accepted sources of authority. It frequently contains aesthetic and formal manifestations of a Tendenzwende, in which private rather than class concerns come to the fore and in which subjective means of expression are preferred. This uncertainty is seen not only in the topics addressed, but also in the process of documentary writing. Signs of this Tendenzwende are discernible also in the evolution of documentary literature. Documentary literature produced during the 1960s used documents to reflect political and social occurrences, and the documentary literature of the following decade is to a degree an extension of that practice.

During the 1960s the drama was the more common choice of genre for documentary writers. Dramatic form allowed for a direct and immediate confrontation between an audience and relevant historical documents. In addition to views of the
German role in the Holocaust, for example Peter Weiss' Die Ermittlung, documentary literature in the 1960s also turned its critical attention toward the US. With In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer, Heinar Kipphardt reproduced in dramatic form the controversial official inquiry into the eligibility of American physicist Oppenheimer for holding a government security clearance. Kipphardt showed in the process that certain injustices and prejudices are historically not peculiar to Germany, but exist in the United States as well. US policies also received critical attention when Hans Magnus Enzensberger focused on US-Cuban relations in Das Verhoer von Habana. Another traditional base of authority, the Catholic Church, received harsh criticism from Rolf Hochhuth in Der Stellvertreter. During the 1960s German documentary literature helped reflect the belief in many quarters that Germans should reassess traditional allegiances in light of often-overlooked historical realities that make the postwar era a more complex time than is suggested by popularly-held dualisms such as East vs. West and good vs. evil.

Whereas the docudramas of the 1960s tended to confront the public with information and encourage reassessment of past and present politics, documentary literature in the 1970s appeared for the most part in the more subjective form of prose. Many of the topics and interests in the docudramas are apparent also in these prose works. However,
as the works are intended for reception by individual readers, rather than by a theater audience, there is in documentary prose a greater possibility for subjective analysis of the documents\(^1\). In addition to focusing on specific political, social, or even personal issues, documentary prose can also invite questions concerning the way in which one perceives and understands reality itself. By calling into question accepted notions of authenticity, documentary prose demands caution and critical thinking on the part of its readers. Moreover, the focus on the documentary process not only helps reveal the relationship of documents to literature, but also to other art forms. Unlike documentary dramatists, writers of documentary prose provide their readers with such realia as photographs and diagrams, which the readers thereby have in their personal possession. This enables the writer and reader in tandem to focus on the impact that documents have on our perceptions.

Two works by Hans Magnus Enzensberger illustrate that the function of documents in the 1970s is different from that found in docudramas, such as those produced in the 1960s. With Das Verhoeer von Habana (1970) he intends the audience to accept the documents at face value. The transcript with which he worked in writing the play is not further analyzed in the dramatic presentation, and he fails to invite scrutiny of possible contradictions in the documents. In his novel Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie,
however, a lack of absolute trust in documents is evident. Enzensberger provides a variety of documents, often intentionally contradictory, with the result that the reader is required to engage in an individual process of sorting out facts in a critical fashion and to question the wisdom of relying on documentation for one's understanding of reality.

Postwar documentary literature comes to terms with the reality of collective experience. It breaks from the bourgeois concept of literature as the mouthpiece of one autonomous author and articulates instead the interests of an entire class. The documents within these works represent an added voice within the literary experience, permitting a collectivity of expression. The author thus assumes the position of a mediator between those who write and those who do not.

From the documentary prose of the 1970s I have chosen works by the following four authors: Guenter Wallraff, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Max Frisch and Alexander Kluge. Guenter Wallraff, in his several volumes of reportage, has closely aligned documentary writing with specific social issues. His interest in progressivism and reform, still strong in the 1970s, led him to unearth, for example, instances of the manipulation of public opinion by the media and the inability of Church authorities morally to confront the US involvement in Vietnam.
The notion of anarchic departure from law and order, feared by many Germans during the 1970s, became the theme of Hans Magnus Enzensberger's documentary novel *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* (1972). Enzensberger's writings also remind us that the confrontation between East and West in world politics is today complemented by the opposition of North and South.

Frisch's *Der Mensch erscheint im Holozaen* (1979) represents the viewpoint, present in the 1970s as in other periods, that personal contemplation of the events in an individual life is a more meaningful motivation for the writing of literature than is the use of documents to effect change in larger contexts.

Alexander Kluge, in *Neue Geschichten* (1977), portrays a World War II bombing raid as the product of ill-conceived, even frivolous policies in the upper echelons of American military leadership. His account also illustrates the role of history in the attitudes and goals of German society in the 1970s, as well as the continued interest in *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.

Documentary prose in the 1970s tends to point out the particularly visual orientation of our modern perceptions. The documents upon which one tends to rely for comprehension of reality often emphasize visual representations rather than the printed word. Accordingly, the authors treated in this study all examine or criticize our acceptance of
documentation that has distinctly visual characteristics. Wallraff optically separates some documents with borders or distinct print and in his later works even inserts photocopied letters and memoranda into his texts. Enzensberger makes a clear visual separation between two components of his novel: his own formulations, which appear in italics, separated from the rest of the text; and material from other sources. Documents appear shaded in gray in Frisch's story and are often written by hand or reproduced directly from another work. Kluge interrupts his narrative with numerous photographs, diagrams and other visual illustrations.

While scholars and critics have paid considerable attention to German documentary literature, including its historical precedents, no study has incorporated the various directions taken by documentary prose of the 1970s, emphasized the distinctly optical nature of documentation during this period, or viewed the literature in the context of Zeitgeschichte. Major studies are Heinz Ludwig Arnold's *Brauchen wir noch die Literatur? Zur literarischen Situation in der Bundesrepublik* (1972) and the collection of essays entitled *Dokumentarliteratur* (1973), edited by Arnold and by Stephan Reinhardt. These two texts, however, do not include the significant works that appeared in the mid- and late 1970s. Peter Wapnewski, in his study *Zumutungen. Essays zur Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*
(1979) also treats the documentary technique but fails to achieve a comprehensive overview of the prose genre and its relationship to the times. Klaus L. Berghahn, in articles published in 1979\(^6\) and 1980\(^7\), has made significant contributions to the definition and theory of documentary literature and operative aesthetics, but he does not offer close analyses of specific works which are the manifestations of the theory he articulates. The studies of Wapnewski and Berghahn also are unable to include mention of Max Frisch's foray into documentation, since *Der Mensch erscheint im Holozan* did not appear until 1979. Other literary scholars and critics have chosen to concentrate on one writer of the period; and while it often illuminates the work of a given author, this research has not provided the possibility for contrast and comparison among contemporary representatives of the genre.

This study intends to fulfill some of the above-mentioned research needs. The authors and works selected as focal points in this investigation illuminate in significant ways the various sociopolitical circumstances of the 1970s and the differing operative functions that documents assume in response to these conditions.
Notes

Introduction

1 The greater possibility in prose for inclusion of private or personal aspects of a social situation found expression in the 1970s in a variety of ways, including, for example, a series of Protokolle and other documentary accounts which focused on the relationship between the socio-economic system and individual members of social groups, such as working women, male factory workers, single mothers and others. Erika Runge's Bottroper Protokolle, published in 1968, was a forerunner for works with a similar format which appeared during the 1970s. These include, for example, Sarah Kirsch's Die Pantherfrau, Maxie Wander's "Guten Morgen, du Schoene," Marianne Herzog's Von der Hand in den Mund, and the collection Liebe Kollegin, jointly produced by the Werkkreis Literatur der Arbeitswelt. Occasionally documentary literature dealt with a single figure, as in Dieter Kuehn's Josephine, an assemblage of documented biographical information on the life of Josephine Baker.

2 The documentary tendency is not merely a postwar phenomenon. The incorporation into a prose work of material directly reproduced from other sources has occurred also in earlier periods of literary history. Goethe's Die Leiden des jungen Werthers is a forerunner of the kind of literature which combines nonfictional elements into a prose narrative, since the work was inspired to some extent by an account of Jerusalem's suicide as described by Kestner. Statements by Kestner, referred to by one critic as "unpoetic pieces of . . . information," (Victor Lange, "Goethe's Craft of Fiction," Publications of the English Goethe Society, NS 22 (1952-53), 60) were included in Goethe's novel. In the 19th century Buechner incorporated statistics into Der hessische Landbote out of social and political motivations. His Lenz is a psychological inquiry based on the diary of Pastor Oberlin. Earlier in this century Egon Erwin Kisch wrote reportage with a documentary basis, and Alfred Doeblin, in Berlin Alexanderplatz, coordinated such realia as weather reports and actual news events with his narrative of happenings in the life of the fictitious Franz Biberkopf.
In the 1970s Uwe Johnson expanded upon the style employed by Doeblin. Johnson's Jahrestage is a combination of fiction and quotes from The New York Times.


CHAPTER I. GUENTER WALLRAFF

As the author of reportage with strong social commentary, Guenter Wallraff occupies an important position among German documentary writers. Wallraff's choice of topics illustrates how documents can potentially make a statement on social conditions and incite efforts at social reform. This utilitarian function overrides but does not exclude aesthetic considerations in the choice and presentation of the documents. Unlike the documentary works by Enzensberger and Frisch to be examined in the succeeding chapters, Wallraff's reportage consists largely of short reports based on first-hand information that he gathered in various industrial or institutional settings. Whereas in Enzensberger's *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* documents form the crux of a report, Wallraff's documentation often appears in the form of details that emphasize or amplify a passage of his text. Questions about the selection and arrangement of the documents, which are of stylistic importance in the documentary novel, are important here as well, but within the more limited context of the particular situation that Wallraff is describing.

Wallraff's work stands apart from the documentary novels for another reason. He has consciously divorced his
writing from the conventional concept of literature. In his essay "Wirkungen in der Praxis," Wallraff emphasizes the need to turn away from fiction. He believes that literature is too distant from reality to encourage political engagement: "Die Wirklichkeit hat noch immer die groBere und durchschlagendere Aussagekraft und Wirkungs moglichkeit, ist fuer die Mehrheit der Bevoelkerung erkennbar, nachvollziehbar und fuehrt eher zu Konsequenzen als die Phantasie des Dichters."\(^1\) For these reasons Wallraff has also distanced himself from his own early poetry: "Ich wuerde in der Form keine Literatur mehr machen--das waren Sachen fuer einen kleinen Zirkel, Literatenliteratur . . . . Der Blick war nach innen gerichtet. Es gab keine Konfrontation mit dem unmittelbaren Erleben der Wirklichkeit."\(^2\)

Of course these and similar pronouncements have hardly dissociated Wallraff from the literary community. On the contrary, such statements have attracted the attention of a number of literary scholars interested in questions of genre. Guenter Bloecker, for example, believes that Wallraff's reportage has much in common with strictly literary prose, and he describes Wallraff's collection and presentation of reality as an "eminent literarisches Geschaeft."\(^3\) Ursula Reinhold concludes that the workers referred to in Wallraff's Industriereportagen are the subjects of distinctly literary configurations.\(^4\) Raoul
Huebner is more direct in his assessment: "Was uebrigbleibt, neben der ueberspitzten Hoffnung auf die Wirkungen einer Veroeffentlichung, ist Literatur, ist Kunst. Das, was Wallraff eigentlich am wenigsten will." Heinrich Vormweg also sees Wallraff as a producer of literature, but he modifies his view by adding that the literary nature of Wallraff's work in no way compromises his desire for social enlightenment. Moreover, Vormweg supports Wallraff's claim to a maverick status in the literary community, which helps him reach his desired readership: "Als Literatur wuerden sicherlich viele Leute seine Arbeiten nicht mehr so woertlich nehmen."

The questions of classification raised in connection with Wallraff's reportage are not new. For example, the dispute between Ernst Ottwalt and Georg Lukács about the use of documents in prose involved many of the same issues raised in relation to Wallraff's work. A brief examination of this debate in the 1930s will provide a more thorough basis for understanding the aesthetics of reportage in the 1970s.

Ernst Ottwalt's 1931 Reportageroman, entitled Denn sie wissen, was sie tun, sparked a sharp critical exchange between the novelist and Lukács. In his essay "Reportage oder Gestaltung?," published in 1932, Lukács attempted to delineate the intentions and effects of pure reportage and those of a novel such as Ottwalt's. Lukács takes Ottwalt
and his novel to task for an inability to penetrate beyond the specific documented facts in the work. He finds that reportage within the framework of the novel distorts the subjective factor of the work to "ungestaltete Subjektivität des Verfassers, als moralisierender Kommentar und als übertriebe, zufällige, mit der Handlung nicht organisch verbundene Charakteristik der Gestalten." Lukács also believes the admixture is detrimental to the documentary elements of the work: "eine 'künstlerische' Darstellung mit wissenschaftlichen Zielen wird stets eine Pseudowissenschaft wie eine Pseudokunst sein und 'eine 'wissenschaftliche' Lösung der spezifisch künstlerischen Aufgabe ergibt ebenso inhaltlich eine Pseudowissenschaft und formell eine Pseudokunst" (p. 156). He believes that reportage presents the specific facts of individual cases, but that these facts have the function of illustrating a general context and are therefore an organic part of the work: "Dieser dargestellte, eventuell gestaltete Einzelfall ist aber hier nur Beispiel, Illustration für den allgemeinen ... Zusammenhang. Denn die Reportage will nur verständesgemäß davon überzeugen, daß die Folgerungen, die sie aus den Tatsachen zieht, richtig sind" (p. 154).

Ottwalt defended his novel against Lukács' criticism with the claim that literary experimentation, such as his combination of literary and journalistic elements, is necessary in order to convey changing reality without doing
it an injustice: "MuB nicht zum allgemeinen Schaden die gigantische Wirklichkeit verniedlicht, romantisch heroisiert werden, weil sie fuer die alten Formen einfach zu groB geworden ist?" He sees his writing as an example of literature that is changing along with changing reality and asks of Lukács, "Soll die Literatur etwa herausgehoben werden aus dem widerspruchsvollen FluB der Entwicklung?" (p. 163). Moreover, he intends his experimental approach to be a catalyst for further change: "Unsere Literatur hat nicht die Aufgabe, das BewuBtsein des Lesers zu stabilisieren, sondern sie will es veraendern" (p. 160). Ottwalt maintains that an author's production consists of works that should be judged seriatim and within the context of the author's political tendency. Parallel to Ottwalt's demand that an individual work be read as part of a process and within a political context is his insistence that documented facts form an integral rather than a singular, alienating element within the particular work in question:

SchlieBlich ist ein Roman nicht das Gesamtwerk eines Schriftstellers, ebensowenig wie etwa der Fuenfjahresplan die klassenlose Gesellschaft ist. Der Drang zur Totalitaet, zur Erfassung der Totalitaet dialektischer Wechselbeziehungen darf nun nicht . . . dazu verfuehren, generell auf die Gestaltung jener "Tatsachenkomplexe" zu verzichten, deren Behandlung aus bestimmten politischen--nicht literarischen--Grunden in einer bestimmten Situation notwendig erscheint (pp. 164-65).

Lukács' injunction against combining aesthetic and scientific material, which he believed diminishes the
effects of both elements, stands in contrast to Ottwalt's assertion that reportage has a place within literature, because literature should focus on topical issues and not on aesthetic considerations alone. The points that Lukács and Ottwalt raise in their exchange are applicable also to many documentary or semi-documentary works written both before and after the 1930s. While it is not the intention of this study to arrive at a verdict of whether or not Wallraff's reportage "deserves" classification as art, the ongoing debate provides a groundwork for discussion of Wallraff's work, its genesis, and its reception.

Wallraff's use of documents began in the 1960s, when the collection of reportage entitled \textit{Wir brauchen Dich} (1966) was published. (The work reappeared in 1970 under the title \textit{Industriereportagen. Als Arbeiter in deutschen GroBbetrieben}.) In it the author recounts his own experiences with poor working conditions in various German industries where he had been employed. In keeping with Lukács' idea of reportage, Wallraff chooses and relates particular conditions so as to reveal problems endemic to industrial society at large. The use made of documents in this work and in a subsequent book, \textit{Von einem, der auszog und das Fuerchten lernte} (1970), reflected the tenor of the times. During a decade remembered for protests and the questioning of standards, Wallraff's social criticism found an eager reception in the leftist literary community. In
1968 Hans Magnus Enzensberger cited Wallraff's work as being among the few examples of socially meaningful writing at that time. Wallraff could not be ignored on the right either, thanks to the impressive popularity his reportage enjoyed among workers. The Rowohlt paperback edition of Wir brauchen Dich quickly became a bestseller, and the labor union IG Metall informed Wallraff that his reportage was, next to the amusements page, the most widely-read feature in their union publication. Wallraff himself remarked in an interview, "Als meine Sachen dann sehr viel gelesen wurden, war der zynische Satz des Kapitalismus ausschlaggebend: Erfolg gibt recht."

In 1968 Wallraff, possibly influenced by the then strong interest in documentary theater, published Nachspiele, a series of "szenische Dokumentationen" which were critical of judicial practices in the Federal Republic. Later he returned to dramatic form with a documentary Lehrstück entitled Was wollt ihr denn, ihr lebt ja noch (1973), written in collaboration with Jens Hagen. More prose reportage appeared in 1969 with 13 unerwünschten Reportagen, a work that reflects the antiwar sentiment of the day through reports on the production of chemical weapons for the Bundeswehr, the attitude of Catholic clergymen toward the manufacture of napalm, and the practices of German military chaplains. The collection also includes reportage on other topics, such as facilities for
the mentally ill and the experiences of job applicants who have leftist political backgrounds.

In Neue Reportagen, Untersuchungen und Lehrbeispiele (1972) Wallraff continues to concentrate on the working world and also includes some theoretical and methodological reflections, for example, those in his essay "Wirkungen in der Praxis." Ihr da oben, wir da unten, a contrast of classes co-written by Bernt Engelmann, followed in 1973. Another collaboration, this time with Eckart Spoo, appeared in 1975. The work, entitled Unser Faschismus nebenan, documents Wallraff's experiences in Greece after he was arrested and beaten for distributing flyers against the military leadership. He and Spoo elaborate upon the nature and practices of this political system, and they question the relation between the repressive Greek regime and the Federal Republic. In 1975 Wallraff's Bericht zur Gesinnungslage des Staatsschutzes was published. The work documents activities of state security agencies by revealing the specific measures taken against Wallraff himself. The report serves as a non-fictional illustration of Heinrich Boell's satirical account of domestic spying in the Federal Republic, Berichte zur Gesinnungslage der Nation, which appears in the same volume.

Wallraff's treatment in Neue Reportagen of the newspaper Bild, entitled "Gegengeschichten zur Bildzeitung," is evidence of his profound interest in Bild and its effect
upon its working-class readers. This interest came to fruition in 1977 with Der Aufmacher, a collection of documented accounts of his experiences incognito as a reporter for Bild. He continued the expose of Bild in Zeugen der Anklage (1979) and Das 'Bild'-Handbuch (1981).

If one looks at the whole of Wallraff's work, a distinction between the earlier and the more recent writing becomes evident. The reports in Wir brauchen Dich are related in the first person, with Wallraff as the subject. Combined with this first person technique is the working class perspective of a writer who is himself laboring in German industry and whose sympathies lie with the workers around him. Wallraff continues to consider himself the subject in certain of the reports in 13 unerwünschte Reportagen and in Von einem, der auszog, although in these works the first person is not used consistently but is replaced in several reports by a montage of third person accounts of Wallraff's observations and pertinent documentary material. The amount of documentation continues to increase in the works since 1970. Was wollt ihr denn, for example, consists largely of documentation, delivered orally by two announcers and a Dokumentensprecher and visually through reproductions of newspaper articles, letters and other documents pertinent to the controversy surrounding a polluting power plant.
Franz Josef Goertz points out another important feature in the progression of Wallraff's writing. According to Goertz, the earlier reportage tends to be less complex, aiming at the exposure of rather obvious, if not crass inequities. The later works have greater success at revealing ills that lie beneath the surface and within the socio-economic system. A comparison of a 1966 report with one published in 1972 illustrates Goertz's point. "Am Fließband," from Industriereportagen, recounts Wallraff's experience as a worker in an automobile plant, from his initial application for the job through his training, his subsequent observations inside and outside the plant, and including also the reactions of the management to the earliest published versions of his report. The author records the deadening effect upon the employees of the monotonous work at the conveyor belt. The reader vicariously experiences this effect through Wallraff's narration of episodes from his stints at the belt, and through his observations and conversations with other workers. Wallraff relates his own experience, then quotes coworkers, whose statements the author is presumably better able to understand because of his closeness to his subject matter: "Nach drei Stunden bin ich selbst nur noch Band." Although the detrimental effect of work at a rapidly moving conveyor belt becomes quite clear, and although the reader may be encouraged to compare this situation to other
workplaces, there are only rare indications of the underlying problems, of which these working conditions are a manifestation. Lack of effective input by workers into company decisions is reduced to one comment by a single employee: "'Die Großen machen doch immer, was sie wollen ... Ich gehe auch nicht mehr wählen. Die stecken doch unter einer Decke'" (p. 18). Underlying problems of the subjugation of workers to profit incentives are alluded to with another isolated remark: "'Wir sind letztendes Endes nur fuer die Arbeit da'" (p. 19). Such allusions to larger questions are greatly outnumbered by more personal comments referring to the specific situation in the plant, which together suggest that there are reasons for widespread unrest other than those found in one particular factory, but which themselves do not clearly define the basic problems nor suggest solutions to them. The nature of these early reports has prompted one critic to call them "anekdotische Dokumentaristik." 

The reports in *Neue Reportagen* (1972) differ from those in the earlier collection because what Wallraff is illustrating is clear from the outset, whereas in earlier work it is left to the reader to relate them to basic social issues. As Ursula Reinhold notes, Wallraff's use of documentation after 1972 is largely responsible for this development: "Durch die Einfügung von dokumentarischem Material ist es möglich, das erzählte individuelle
Schicksal zum dokumentarisch belegten Massenschicksal in Beziehung zu setzen. Es koennen durch eingefuegte Dokumente Parallelen und Kontraste zum erzaehlten Vorgang erzeugt werden, die den schoepferischen Mitvollzug des Lesers anregen.18 For example, in his 1972 reportage about Bild, Wallraff begins with a lexical definition of "manipulation."19 He relates several examples of presumptuous, if not reckless reporting in Bild, and then contrasts them with a statement by a member of the Bundestag: "Die Bild-Zeitung ist die Zeitung der groBen Vereinfachung, aber die Faechigkeit der Redakteure, in dieser Vereinfachung das Wesentliche zu sagen, scheint mir hochentwickelt zu sein" (pp. 92-93). Wallraff has not only illustrated how Bild manipulates, he suggests also to his readers that one reason why this manipulation is not exposed is that such practices have the tacit approval of lawmakers. In the later work Wallraff's concern for the working class is presented differently than in the earlier reportage. Besides revealing conditions in specific firms, Wallraff also grapples with the national problem of foreign workers and their treatment in German industry. Here too he begins by defining a basic term, Gastarbeiter, and contrasts it with the connotation left by Fremdarbeiter, which was common parlance during the Third Reich (p. 48).20 The report on Gastarbeiter consists of Wallraff's observations and conversations with several foreign workers, interspersed
with numerous statistical data and interrupted by the comments of labor experts. These quotes stand out as illustrations of the situation Wallraff's report describes and appear enclosed in boxes that optically separate them from the text. Reading with the terms Gastarbeiter and Fremdarbeiter in mind, the reader is provoked to ask if contemporary foreign workers have any resemblance to the foreign workers of the Nazi era.

In the early 1930s Lukács had underscored the importance of illustrative, generally significant detail within reportage, noting the necessity for penetrating beneath the surface situation depicted by the specific facts. In "Wirkungen in der Praxis," Wallraff concurs: "Das Prototypische herausarbeiten--nicht personifizieren. Zeigen, daß es keine Einzelfälle sind, keine einfachwegzuretuschierende Mißstände, vielmehr systemimmanente Zustände" (p. 135). As we shall see, Wallraff complies with this guideline with varying degrees of success throughout his work. Critics have noted his successes. Oskar Negt claims that Wallraff's emphasis on the detail, carefully chosen from his own experience, reveals the essence of a situation and makes it meaningful outside the private sphere. Reinhold elaborates upon the care with which each detail of the reportage is chosen, and which results in each documentary detail having an independent significance: "Nicht nur die Summierung der Details deckt
die typischen Züge in der Wirklichkeit auf, in Wallraffs Reportage enthält vielmehr jedes Detail für sich Typisches." And Reinhard Dithmar views Wallraff's reportage as having a significance even more profound than that of economic commentary: "Jedes einzelne Urteil wird ... aus der Subjektivität des einzelnen Falles und der einzelnen Meinung herausgeholt und objektiviert. Gaängige Begriffe wie beispielsweise 'Monotonie und schlechte Arbeit,' die für den oberflächlichen Leser eine nur systemimmanente Kritik enthalten, werden durch den Kontext zu einer Kritik an der Gesellschaftsordnung." Dithmar's emphasis on reading Wallraff's specific information with a larger context in mind is important, for there are necessary limitations to the theoretical content in Wallraff's documents. As Martin H. Ludwig has noted, Wallraff avoids a thorough methodological-theoretical preparation of his material because of his interest in popularizing his findings.

Because Wallraff favors a succinct presentation of facts rather than academic theorizing, his readers must construct the larger significance suggested by the reportage. Thus while Wallraff provides the reader with a framework for interpretation, he also achieves what Reinhold, in a quotation above, called "schoepferischer Mitvollzug des Lesers," and what Wallraff, called "der erste Schritt zu einer späteren Analyse" ("Wirkungen in der
Experiences at a specific conveyor belt invite comparison to other situations experienced by worker-readers in other firms. Vicarious participation in Wallraff's factory work is a step toward the workers' realization of the larger problem: the dehumanizing nature of much modern industrial work. To repeat Ottwalt's pronouncement, quoted earlier from "'Tatsachenroman' und Formexperiment," reportage seeks not to stabilize the consciousness of the reader (as does, for example Bild), rather to change that consciousness.

If, as discussed above, Wallraff's documentation of specific circumstances and events leads to a more theoretical plane on which general issues can be considered, then the question arises as to whether the issues raised are in part determined by Wallraff's political orientation. Political considerations are also important if one examines Wallraff's work from the point of view of Ottwalt, who emphasized the author's political context. Importance of political tendency is suggested also in the relationship between Wallraff's work and the political tenor of the times. However, one finds no mention of any particular political platform in his writings. No doubt many consider his work political in nature, because of its intense interest in the proletariat and its potential for effecting change through organized, and most likely political means, and also because of the author's brushes with political
figures. These include, for example, his gathering material for *Der Aufmacher* by masquerading as reporter Hans Esser in the presence of such notables as Franz Josef Strauß, Otto von Habsburg, and Wilfried Hasselmann, a high-ranking CDU official. Some critics have disparaged Wallraff for not having set forth clear political viewpoints. Peter 0. Chotjewitz, for example, agrees that astute readers can deduce a political standpoint from Wallraff's works, but he adds the following lament: "Es scheint, daß Wallraff selbst seinen politischen Standort bisher nicht hinreichend artikuliert hat." Chotjewitz also states that the lack of overall theories, both literary and political-economic, have become a noticeable deficiency, especially in the less subjective works since 1970. As if in answer to this charge, Wallraff remarked in an interview that extensive involvement in the politics of one party is often detrimental to an author's writing. He uses as an example Günter Grass, who (Wallraff felt) had become a less effective writer after becoming a spokesman for the SPD.

It is true that reactions to Wallraff's work are often political in nature or have political overtones. After North Rhine-Westphalia awarded Wallraff its "Prize for Cultural Advancement," the CDU, obviously finding political content in his work, attempted to have the prize revoked due to Wallraff's "mangelnder Verwurzelung in der demokratischen Grundordnung."
Wallraff's primary aim is clearly a practical function for his writing within society, and for this reason his work is better understood when one examines the effect rather than the political content of his work. More important to Wallraff than making his political stance clear to his readers is his desire that his readers articulate their own needs and use the public sphere created by his reportage to work for social reform, whether politically or otherwise. In some of his works Wallraff includes Aufrufe that encourage the readers to share problems they themselves must confront in the economic system. In Von einem, der auszog, for example, Wallraff completes the circuit from producer to receiver and back again by including pages that are to be removed from the book and mailed to the author as post cards on which the readers can write of similar experiences or relay other reactions to the reportage. The Aufruf in Ihr da oben, wir da unten reads, "Wenn Sie aehnliche Faellen schildern koennen, Dokumente haben oder Erlebnisberichte, informieren Sie mich bitte, Sie tun damit den ersten Schritt zur Veraenderung der Verhaeltnisse." As critic Heinz Ludwig Arnold has accurately noted, the inevitably limited impact that published accounts of Wallraff's personal experiences can have is magnified only by the subsequent engagement of his readers:

. . . Wallraffs Intentionen sind nicht primaer politisch . . . genauer sozialpolitisch; aber dahinter steht nicht irgend eine fixierte
Ideologie, schon gar kein parteipolitisches Programm, wie manche meinen, denen das Wort "Kommunist" leicht als Schimpfwort durchgeht; Wallraff vielmehr ist bestimmt . . . von einem ganz konkreten Begriff der Humanität, der . . . mit einem rationalen und erfahrenen persönlichen Einsatz realisiert wird. Diese Realisierung geschieht publizistisch, literarisch, also nicht unmittelbar; da hat der Einsatz Wallraffs seine Grenze. Aber wo er seine Leser in steigendem Maße findet, wirkt er über diese Grenze hinaus.

Wallraff has largely succeeded in achieving typicality of documented detail in his work, especially in Neue Reportagen. Though many of his works conform to Lukács' idea of effective reportage, typicality becomes more problematic in Der Aufmacher and its sequels, Zeugen der Anklage and Das 'Bild'-Handbuch. At this point a closer study of the Bild-reportage is appropriate. Two points of departure for the author's work have been the limitation of reports to what he himself has experienced, and second, a systematic change of situation (from an incognito worker among fellow workers to an unmasked writer confronting the management, or from employment in one firm to a job in another). This change gives Wallraff a range of experiences from which he can choose and which he as an author can arrange in a literary fashion. In Von einem, der auszog Wallraff explains how this technique came about: "Mir war klar geworden, daß ich mit diesen Erfahrungen bei Ford nur einen winzigen Teilausschnitt aus der Industriewelt erlebt hatte und daß ein Beispiel nicht die Struktur eines Systems sichtbar machen konnte. Ich habe mir dann bewußt die
Firmen ausgesucht, die weit auseinander lagen, um eine breite Streuung zu haben und einen annähernd repräsentativen Querschnitt durch Großbetriebe zu bekommen" (p. 72). In addition to his practice of changing situations, Wallraff overcomes the limited nature of his experiences with the precise use of pertinent statistics, quotes from company publications, etc. Documented detail thus becomes a device with which specific experience acquires general applicability.31

Although the experiences related in Der Aufmacher are limited to those of Wallraff himself, the work differs from previous writings in that it concentrates solely on one institution. The only work experiences commented upon are those of the Bild employees, who are hardly characteristic of the mainstream of the German labor force. The documents in Der Aufmacher are less a means of expanding upon Wallraff's immediate experiences at Bild and of illustrating a general societal problem, than they are a reinforcement of specific objections Wallraff has raised against a specific newspaper. Wallraff is unswerving in his concentration on the theme of Bild's controversial practices, and he delivers his findings with stinging bluntness: "Eine Bild-Redaktion darf eine professionelle Fälscherwerkstatt genannt werden."32 "Bild manipuliert" (p. 149). "Ob die Leser alles glauben, ist unerheblich, solange sie Bild weiter kaufen" (p. 160).
One must suppose that a guiding motivation for the Bild project was Wallraff's concern about widespread misinformation among the many working-class readers of the paper, and about their possible right-wing indoctrination. Yet only one account (pp. 64-76) is directly applicable to the experiences of workers, a report on a controversy over worker safety as it appeared in Bild. The title Der Aufmacher. Der Mann, der bei 'Bild' Hans Esser war is a departure from the titles of previous works which did not draw attention to Wallraff himself as subject . . . what Wallraff terms "ein sich selbst in den Vordergrund Schieben." Not only is he squarely at the center of attention in Der Aufmacher and in Zeugen der Anklage, but a substantial portion of the latter work is devoted to documenting the various measures taken by the Springer concern against Wallraff and his work. Included are reproductions of legal correspondence, affidavits and reports of a private investigator hired by the publishers to observe Wallraff. There is a danger that Wallraff's focus on the feud between himself and Springer will divert attention away from the power exerted by Bild in German society, just as Bild has been known to focus public attention on isolated events rather than on social phenomena. In this connection, one must also not overlook the role played by the marketing stage of the literary process. Publishers Kiepenheuer & Witsch packaged Der
Aufmacher with huge print and bold lettering reminiscent of an exclamatory Bild headline. Whether intentional irony, a calculated marketing ploy, or both, Der Aufmacher was given an appearance and thrust which were decidedly different from those of previous reportage.

However, the works are not completely self-centered. There is a general invitation at the conclusion of the books for readers to send Wallraff accounts of their own experiences with the newspaper and to participate in the opposition, and this helps meliorate the topical nature of the works. Some readers, though, are participating unknowingly in the opposition to Bild when they purchase Zeugen der Anklage: inside the cover Wallraff and his publishers serve notice that the legal expenses expected to result from the book have been included in calculating its price to consumers. The motivation behind these efforts is clear and shifts attention away from Wallraff: Zeugen der Anklage is dedicated to the "victims" of Bild—"den Opfern."

In Der Aufmacher the reader learns that proceeds from the book's sale are to go to a fund established to aid those who have suffered from their treatment in Bild. Thus, even though Wallraff has limited his documentary subject matter to a single area, he has also focused the effect he desires from his work onto a specific group. Moreover, he has indicated that his own notoriety could be a helpful tool in advancing reform: "Ich will meine fragwürdige Prominenz
einsetzen, will es nicht nur beim Beschreiben lassen, sondern zur Tat auffordern, dadurch organisatorische Arbeit vorbereiten bis zur Aktion." The prominence of Wallraff himself in the Bild-reportage is a means for increasing the impact of his work.

Although the effect of the Bild-reportage is difficult to establish, some evidence has been gathered. Wallraff repeats in Der Aufmacher the following note from Neue Reportagen: "In einem hessischen Konzern veröfentlichte der Betriebsratsvorsitzende in den Mitteilungen an die Arbeiter kontinuierlich die Gegenseiten zur Bild-Zeitung. Bei einer vor kurzem erfolgten Umfrage ergab sich, daß von ca. 1500 Arbeitern nur noch 35 Bild weiterlasen. Allen anderen war bewußt geworden, daß Bild alles andere als ihre Interessen vertritt" (p. 263).

The practical effect of Wallraff's work is a consideration that also influences matters of style and form. He has claimed that his writing would cease to have purpose if he were inflexible in those areas. Reminiscent of Ottwalt's response to Lukács' delineation of genres, Wallraff believes in finding new forms for his writing so that it can have an effect in a changing society. And elsewhere Wallraff has proclaimed, "Ich [lasse] mich in keine Mode hereinpressen." It is Wallraff's changeability that accounts not only for his turning away from the first-person account in 1972, but also for his decision to
base the reportage in *Der Aufmacher* and *Zeugen der Anklage* upon his own experiences on a single case. *Der Aufmacher* marked a turning point in Wallraff's career as a producer of reportage, not a betrayal of his previous efforts.

Further comparison of Wallraff's work with the models set forth by Ottwalt and Lukács reveals more about his relationship to the artistic process and about his theory of documentary writing. Certainly, strong similarities between Ottwalt's methodology and that of Wallraff are apparent. Although Wallraff is not a novelist, the artistic quality of the selection, arrangement and expression of reality in his prose justify the claims of those critics cited earlier who consider his output literary in nature. As Wallraff himself has said of his technique, "Im weitesten Sinn sind das natuerlich kunstlerische Mittel; denn es erfordert schon Phantasie, das Material zu ordnen. Sie als rhetorische Mittel zu bezeichnen, halte ich nicht fuer richtig. Rhetorik hat immer etwas mit Demagogie zu tun, mit dem Versuch, jemanden zu ueberreden. Ich lasse mehr die Dinge fuer sich selbst sprechen; da hat der Rezipient die Moglichkeit, sich dafuer oder dagegen zu entscheiden."

In addition, he occasionally makes conscious allusions to a traditional literary presentation through stylistic means. The clearest example is his report "Wiederaufnahme einer Verfolgung: in 13 unerwuenschte Reportagen. The introduction to the piece, gives the location, the

The literary qualities are not neutralized by Wallraff's steering the interpretation of his material with the help of inserted documentation. In their debate in the early 1930s, Ottwalt had claimed that Lukács had overlooked many of the ties between reality and the author's subjective perspective in a literary work (p. 159). Wallraff, however, is not guilty of this charge. Reminiscent of Brecht's famous statement about a photograph of an exterior which
does not reproduce the reality of the setting, Wallraff has recognized the danger of merely assembling facts to form a reproduction of stark reality which is devoid of the potentially valuable subjectivity of its creator. Brecht noted in "Der Dreigroschenprozeß," "Eine Photographie der Kruppwerke oder der AEG gibt beinahe nichts über diese Institute. Die eigentliche Realität ist in die Funktionale gerutscht. Die Verdinglichung der menschlichen Beziehungen, also etwa die Fabrik, gibt die letzteren nicht mehr heraus. Es ist also tatsächlich etwas aufzubauen, etwas Künstliches, Gestelltes."\textsuperscript{39} We also see evidence of this belief in Brecht's Kriegsfiel, for which he wrote texts as accompaniments to photographs. Wallraff made the following remarks concerning the problem of photographic exactitude in documentary writing:

Auch ich bin an einem solchen Punkt angelangt, wo ich versuche, mich wieder mit hineinzubringen in das, was ich mache, zu sehen, was mit mir selbst passiert—ich habe das sehr lange vernachlässigt, habe mich selbst wie eine Kamera in diese Bereiche hineingehalten, habe alles auf mich einwirken lassen und mich selbst ganz zurückgenommen und habe schließlich alles nur organisiert. Es ist aber auch sehr wichtig, dies alles von einer subjektiven Wirkung her zu beschreiben. Auch der Leser kann sich damit stärker identifizieren. Ich meine damit nicht Psychologisierung oder ein sich selbst in den Vordergrund Schieben, sondern einfach eine subjektivere Sehweise.\textsuperscript{40}

In Neue Reportagen (p. 52) he even gives a literal illustration of the opposition between photograph and subjective description: his depiction of a Gastarbeiter
fills in details that were not revealed in a photograph of the man which had appeared in a popular magazine.

The aesthetic manifestations of Wallraff's subjectivity take several shapes. One of the basic literary-aesthetic tools he employs is irony: "Ironie ist eine starke Waffe in der Hand der Unterdrückten." It is irony, for instance, which gives the account of his brief time in the Bundeswehr a particular impressiveness in Von einem, der auszog. Wallraff began a diary during his stay in the military, partly as a means of coping with the pressures placed upon him after actively resisting military service and refusing to fire a gun. His first attempts to receive exemption from service had failed, and later he wrote, "Ich glaube, wenn ich das nicht gehabt haette, die Selbstbefreiung durch das Schreiben, dann waere ich kaputtgegangen" (p. 32). After his Protokoll was published, Wallraff received a discharge, but an army physician recommended the following condition: "'Ich wuerde es nicht als gegen die guten Sitten verstoBend erachten, einstweilige Suspension vom weiteren Dienst von der Auflage abhaengig zu machen, Veroeffentlichungen gegen die Bundeswehr zu unterlassen ...'" (p. 32).

Frequent and deliberate irony occurs in the juxtaposition of information that leads to differing conclusions on the part of the reader. Thus, in Neue Reportagen Wallraff quotes from the Grundgesetz, which states that freedom of the press requires a large number of
competing news media, and then contrasts this with information from journalistic organizations: "Gewerkschaftsorganisationen und Journalistenverbaende verweisen auf die 'Einengung und Verschlechterung des journalistischen Arbeitsmarktes' wie auch auf die 'schwindende Freiheit und Unabhaengigkeit der journalistischen Arbeit' im Gefolge der Pressekonkonzentration" (pp. 105-07). Wallraff frequently informs the reader of public policies and practices and contrasts this information with examples from everyday life. In his report "Am FlieBband," from Industriereportagen, he describes the hectic pace at which the workers must perform and the resulting errors and oversights on the production line. He concludes the description, "Auf jeden Laufzettel ist die Parole gedruckt: 'Qualitaet ist unsere Zukunft!'" (p. 15). In the report "Ketten aus Kalthof," in Von einem, der auszog, he achieves an ironic effect by quoting statements from the public relations brochures of the August Thiele Werke as well as from other sources and then comparing them with examples of strained worker-management relations in the firm (pp. 74-88). This antithetical principle of construction, which has earned such writing the designation Zangenreportage, underscores basic contradictions and conflicts of interest within the economic system.42

Oskar Negt describes the ironic effect of Wallraff's reportage in different terms: it creates an inverse
relationship between the public and private spheres. He has, for example, invaded the private spheres of public figures such as Thiele by reporting conversations between him and his employees. *Ihr da oben, wir da unten* gives the account of the so-called Gerling affair of 1973, when Wallraff, working as an insurance company page, caused public controversy by attempting to dine in the private dining room reserved for Gerling, the head of the firm, and other executives. Normally such prominent businessmen as Thiele and Gerling allow themselves to be seen only in a carefully controlled public view. But Wallraff's reportage reveals a private sphere as well, which contrasts strongly with their public image. At the same time his works create a public sphere for private figures such as industrial workers, employees in business and others who are not on a policy-making level and to whose attitudes, opinions and daily problems one normally has no access.

Wallraff's irony occasionally takes a humorous turn. Humor is an intentional though infrequent technique with which he supplements the variety of his documentation in order to prevent a monolithic presentation of facts and figures and to relieve the unrelenting seriousness of the issues he addresses. "Napalm? Ja und Amen" from *13 unerwuenschte Reportagen* (and also appearing in *Von einem, der auszog*) contains a series of responses by representatives of the Catholic Church to a query by
Wallraff about the morality of producing and selling napalm. After soliciting a few considered responses from various clergymen by telephone, Wallraff visits a monastery for further advice. The conversation provides him with an absurd extreme in ignorance of world affairs: "Nach fuenf Minuten erscheint ein etwa 70jaehriger grauhaariger Moench in schwarzer Kutte. Ich erzaehle meine Geschichte. Er: 'Napalm, was ist das?' und 'Vietnam, was geht denn da eigentlich vor sich?'" (Von einem, der auszog, pp. 103-04).

In Der Aufmacher Wallraff sardonically comments on yellow journalism with a black-framed insert entitled "Merkblatt fuer Selbstmoerder (die sicher gehen wollen, daB ihre Verzweiflungstat in Bild beachtet wird:)

Waehlen Sie eine "interessante" Todesart: Selbstgebastelter Elektrischer Stuhl zum Beispiel oder "oeffentlicher Tod." Das heBt: Springen Sie von einem moeglichst hohen Dom. Oder verfuettern Sie sich im Zoo--moeglichst an einem Tag mit viel Publikum--den Raubtieren.

... Schreiben Sie, daB Sie auf Ihre Persoenlichkeitsrechte verzichten, sonst wird Ihr Name abgekuerzt oder gar erfunden und abgekuerzt (p. 169).

There is still other evidence that Wallraff is aware that literary technique can contribute to a heightened understanding of reality. Dithmar, for example, points out the presence of motifs and leitmotifs in Wallraff's reportage. The conveyor belt in "Am FlieBband" is a symbol of power, and the author uses it as part of the recurring motif of repression. When the pace of the belt is
increased, the reader sees the effects of the management's repression of its workers. The repression of Wallraff as a writer also becomes a motif in his works. He includes in "Am Fließband," for instance, an account of his confrontation with his superior at the auto plant, who is angered by his account of working conditions there. This motif occurs also in 13 unerwünschte Reportagen, Von einem, der auszog, Neue Reportagen, and in Ihr da oben, wir da unten. Der Aufmacher contains Bild's refutation of Wallraff's findings, "Ein 'Untergrundkommunist' schlich sich ein," (p. 226) as well as numerous blank spaces. The omissions resulted from court decisions in favor of Bild's attempts at restraining publication. Wallraff has replaced the information that could not appear with the word "zensiert." (The subsequent work Zeugen der Anklage is completely dominated by a narration of the attempts to repress his work.)

The borders between narrative prose and Wallraff's reportage are of course not completely blurred. The subjective moment in Wallraff's writing is, as Zimmermann points out, considerably different from that in an ich-Erzählung, because the main figure (here especially in the earlier works) is identical to the reporter, who in turn is also identical to the author. Also, documentation often contains its inherent commentary on a situation through the selectivity exercised by the author: there is
in reportage a dividing line between subjectivity and objective documentation where documented fact is presented without a framework of clearly-defined authorial commentary. It is a distinction that Katrin Pallowski finds at those points where the documentary writer desires to let reported events and circumstances speak for themselves.  

Pallowski was referring to the "documentary mode" in general, not specifically to Wallraff. In his case the problem of subjectivity is somewhat more complicated than is indicated, for example, by Dithmar's claim that mere lack of subjective commentary by the author forms "eine Abgrenzung gegenueber der fiktiven Literatur." The nature of Wallraff's method imparts a fundamental element of fiction to all his reportage. One is to presume that the information that he relates in Industriereportagen and other works is nonfiction, and yet the situation producing the facts that the author wishes to convey (Als Arbeiter in deutschen Großbetrieben), is to an extent a fictitious one. Michael Geisler appropriately maintains that the "Erzaehlkonzept der Abenteuergeschichte" underlies Wallraff's work. In one of the explanatory inserts in Von einem, der auszog, the author describes this fiction as "... taeuschen, um nicht getaeuscht zu werden" (p. 98). While the facts that Wallraff gathers with his deception are no doubt intended, in Lukács' words, as "illustration of the general context," Wallraff's method also has an effect upon
how the general context is perceived. In this regard one must consider matters of reception as well as production. It is possible that in some quarters the context to which Wallraff's findings point is not perceived to be any larger than the immediate surroundings of a writer who is only temporarily employed as a worker. The effect of such a situation might be to evoke a reaction similar to that evoked by the adventures of a shipboard stowaway. In that case one might wonder if there were more than a coincidental connection between the popularity of Wallraff and the amusements page in the IG Metall publication. The closeness that Wallraff achieved to the workplace through his own presence there could actually function as an alienating factor for readers who, at their own places of work, are not participating in any such deception. Thus fiction, which Wallraff wishes to replace with reality, could potentially interfere with the readers' perception of the reality he is trying to convey.

The problem may apply to others besides Wallraff's working-class readers. Literary critics have also at times shown more fascination with the circumstances under which Wallraff's information was gathered than with the significance of the findings themselves, with the result that the documentation itself seems unreal to them. Guenter Blöecker, for example, apparently had difficulty penetrating
beyond a situation recounted in *Ihr da oben, wir da unten* concerning the Gerling episode:

Der Witzbold, der seinerzeit behauptete, Ionesco sei doch eigentlich ein streng naturalistischer Autor—hier in diesem Buch findet er seine Bestätigung, so absurd, so ganz und gar unwahrscheinlich wirkt das, was dennoch glaubwürdiger recherchierter und vielfach dokumentierter Befund ist. Als reale Surrealität muten insbesondere die Erfahrungen an, die der Autor bei dem Versicherungsgiganten Gerling macht. Sie gipfeln in einer filmreifen Szene: der uniformierte Bote Wallraff bei dem Versuch, sein Mittagsbrot in dem für die Vorstandsdirektoren reservierten Speisesaal einzunehmen.

Wallraff is not oblivious to this problem, as the following comments indicate: "Natürlich darf die Rollentechnik nicht Selbstzweck sein, sie darf nicht zu einem Gag werden; so daß später mehr von der Methode als vom Inhalt der Reportage gesprochen wird. Für mich ist die Technik nur Vehikel, nur ein Hebel, den ich ansetze." His awareness that his technique might inadvertently prevent the reader from thinking critically was one factor that led to the greater volume of documentation appearing in more recent works, albeit in some instances with the result of somewhat drier reading. He responds to the potential alienation from his readers by encouraging workers themselves to write of their experiences. This helps to overcome any purely "culinary" characteristics that his readers might find in his work.

The discussion above illustrates the problems involved in an operative function for documents, "with little sub-
jective involvement. Although Wallraff is aware of many of these problems, he continues to employ and to defend his methods. Often he does so with some degree of regret. In Von einem, der auszog he remarks, "Es ist immer wieder deprimierend, so arbeiten zu mussen, nur um ein Stueck unterschlagener

Far from believing that possibilities for trivial interpretation invalidate his method, Wallraff is convinced that the area of trivial literature holds considerable value for the documentary writer intent upon realizing popular appeal and fomenting social reform. His ideas are reminiscent of Ottwalt's belief both in the appeal of literature and in the value of literary experimentation: "Warum eigentlich immer am sogenannten 'guten Alten' anknuepfen, warum nicht genau so am 'schlechten Neuen;' zum Beispiel Trivialformen benutzen, um gesellschaftsbezogene politische Inhalte denen ins BewuBtsein zu bringen, die bisher unter Anwendung dieser Formen statt zum Erkennen ihrer Situation, zum Verdraengen gebraucht werden." 53

Elsewhere Wallraff is quoted as considering as a future project a Reportageroman in order to take advantage of the greater degree of potency which he finds documentation to have as opposed to fantasy, but undoubtedly also in order to co-opt the appeal of popular fiction: "Ich stelle mir einen Schlusselroman vor ... als Gangsterbob etwa Schleyer von Daimler-Benz, ausgehend von seiner SS-Zeit bis zu seinen
jetzigen Praktiken im Unternehmerlager. Ich glaube, daß lieBen sich mehr Krimihoehepunkte herauskristallisieren als in manchem fiktiven Gangsterroman."

Chotjewitz sees a structural connection between Wallraff and trivial literature. He notes that Wallraff's work as well as much of the prose written for mass consumption is based upon the principle "multa non multum." The variety of experiences rather than the cumulative number of experiences in the account is an operating principle. With Wallraff one finds this principle not only in the changing situations described earlier, but also in the variety of sources within a given situation. For his report "Napalm? Ja und Amen," the author, posing as a manufacturer of napalm for use in Vietnam, is seeking spiritual counsel on the morality of his enterprise and receives the reactions of no fewer than twenty-three Catholic clergymen, professors and theologians. He quotes fourteen of them directly. It is not, however, the number of opinions which sustains reader interest in the report, but rather the variety of the responses, including approval on a wide range of political and theological grounds, a few examples of disapproval, and several other instances where the respondent was unwilling or felt unable to offer advice. The conversations between Wallraff and his counsellors are succinct and fast-paced, and they draw the reader into the discussion by creating a sense of anticipation of how a
response might differ from the one preceding it. The report invites reader reaction first to the responses Wallraff elicits and ultimately to the question he is asking. The author provides a context for the formation of opinion by including documents about napalm which were taken from such diverse sources as the writings of Bertrand Russell, statements by weapons experts, the Bible, and Ladies' Home Journal.

Co-opting aspects of trivial literature has not always led readers to recognize their own situation rather than to suppress it. Occasionally Wallraff's reportage tends to villainize an individual employer or other authority figure with the resulting risk that his readers will lose sight of the general problem and instead take vicarious pleasure in an isolated confrontation between oppressor and victim. For example, August Thiele, in Von einem, der auszog, acquires archetypal character traits after the manner of Simon Legree:

Die Großfamilie August Thiele: "Wir sind eine große Familie, die Thiele Familie, als deren Familienvorstand ich mich betrachte, und ich werde väterlich über meine Kinder wachen."

... 

Bei einem Werkrundgang wurde August Thiele auf eine Arbeiterin aufmerksam, die draußen an der Hallenwand gelehnt stand und sich offensichtlich vor der Arbeit drückte. Thiele: "Was stehen Sie hier 'rum? Haben Sie keine Arbeit?" Die Arbeiterin wies darauf hin, daß sie schwanger sei--was jeder sehen konnte--und daß ihr schlecht geworden sei, weshalb sie draußen frische Luft schnappe. Sie verwies auf das Mutterschutzgesetz. Thiele gab ihr zu verstehen, wenn ihr die Arbeit
bei ihm zu schwer sei, solle sie doch nach etwas anderem umsehen. Im übrigen: "Hier in meinem Hause gibt es nur ein Gesetz, und dieses Gesetz bin ich" (pp. 75-76).

Chotjewitz is most critical of Wallraff for the danger, inherent to his method, of focusing on the sensational exceptions to the rule: "Wallraff schildert Auswüchse. Seine Vorfaelle sind Skandale, nicht der Normalfall. Die Unternehmer, die er beschreibt und zu Recht angreift, sind Prototypen der Flegeljahre des Kapitalismus, Fossilien, die sich in unterentwickelten Zonen des Kapitalismus aufgrund verschiedener Bedingungen in unsere Tage herüberretten konnten."  

Related to the above criticism is the question of whether the author's experience in Gerling's insurance firm accomplished anything more than embarrassing one employer. Wallraff defended the appearance in his work of such isolated confrontations, and his answer applies also to Chotjewitz's comment. Admitting that the Gerling affair initially had only a limited effect, he sees such episodes as part of a process: "Erst mal wird natürlich die Verunsicherung erreicht . . . Man sieht plötzlich, daß die Herrschenden doch nicht so fest in ihren Sesseln sitzen, Denkmäler wackeln, wenn sie auch nicht umstürzen. Das sind ermutigende Aspekte, die allerdings an sich noch nichts hergeben. Die müssen von einer Organisation später aufgegriffen werden."  

Once again Wallraff has centered
the criteria for judging his work on its presumed effect rather than on its content or the method behind it.

One should note, however, that he has also justified attention to individual cases as sometimes necessary for affecting other layers of society besides the working class: "Ich glaube, man muß solche Sachen dazunehmen, um auch Rezipienten aus anderen Schichten--also nicht nur Arbeiter--ansprechen zu koennen." These other layers of society which might be reached by reports such as those about Thiele and Gerling are middle-class consumers and the upper echelons of the corporate world. Middle-class readers, as the purchasers of insurance policies and metal products, might be attracted by such reportage because of their interest in the products. Nonetheless, the thrust of the reportage remains aimed at the working class. Wallraff makes no direct appeal, for example, to consumers to boycott the firms in question or otherwise to express their disapproval of the firms' practices. Provocation is more likely, however, among corporate leaders who occupy positions similar to those of Gerling and Thiele. However, since business leaders are precisely the readership in which Wallraff has found and can always expect to find the least amount of positive reaction and the greatest amount of resistance to his work, the criteria of presumed effect rather than content proves unhelpful here. The problem of emphasis on special cases is not as great as
Chotjewitz suggests. Primarily through emphasis on variety and documentation, many of Wallraff's reports and the collection *Neue Reportagen* in particular, avoid the concentration on a single case and the resulting tendency toward sensationalism and narrowed interpretational possibilities. Nonetheless, the specific examples cited above show that he has not completely satisfied Chotjewitz's objection, and they illustrate and lend credence to one of the criticisms Lukács raised against the combination of reportage and openly subjective input by the author.

The critical reception of Wallraff, which has drawn direct analogies between the reportage and literary works, is important in assessing the content of his work. Dietrich Steinbach, for example, has interpreted Wallraff's "Wiederaufnahme einer Verfolgung," in *13 unerwünschte Reportagen*, from the standpoint of its "literary structure." He concludes that Wallraff's account of a persecuted Wuerttemberg fruit grower of Jewish ancestry falls outside the realm of documentary writing as Lukács described it. Implied in Steinbach's argument is the belief that the rest of Wallraff's work does tend to resemble Lukács' idea of pure reportage, in that its aesthetic aspects are marked by the "Fetischcharakter der kunst- und begrifflosen Abbildungsideologie." In support of his claim that "Wiederaufnahme einer Verfolgung" is not characterized by such a fetish, Steinbach
makes two literary analogies. He compares Wallraff's description of the fruit grower Palmer and his quest for justice to a similar portrayal by Kleist in *Michael Kohlhaas*, and he points out that when Palmer protested his treatment in public, he carried a placard with the words "Denn sie wissen, was sie tun!", evoking the title of Ottwalt's *Reportageroman*. Steinbach's study illustrates one danger in using the Lukács-Ottwalt debate as a groundwork for discussing Wallraff. If one considers these two sets of ideas as irreconcilably opposed to each other, then one severely limits the possibilities for applying them to more recent writing. By championing the "literary" aspects that he finds in the piece, Steinbach not only neglects their many uses in Wallraff's other more documentary reportage, he also overlooks the full importance of the documentary aspects to the piece. For example, the wording of Palmer's placard is itself documentation. Seeking out literary allusions which can be opposed to documentary content is not only in itself a problematic procedure, it also says little about the purpose and effect of the reportage.

Following such an approach, a reader of Wallraff's first-hand report about a mental institution (also published in *13 unerwuenschte Reportagen*) might focus on the reasons for the writer's choice of the particular asylum described in the report. On the basis of Wallraff's visit to Goddelau, birthplace of Georg Buechner, the reader might
inform an interpretation of the report with allusions to Buechner's *Lenz* or to others of his works which are concerned with the psychology of social relationships. While it is quite possible that Wallraff had Kleist, Buechner and Ottwalt in mind when writing *13 unerwuenschte Reportagen*, it is doubtful that such tenuous connections play more than a marginal role in his intentions for the reports, and it is almost certain that their role in raising the awareness of his primarily working-class readers is negligible. Comprehensibility is a more significant goal for Wallraff than is artistic sensibility.

Rather than by aligning Wallraff's reportage with the ideas of either Ottwalt or Lukács, one comes to a better understanding of his work if one views it as a *synthesis* of Ottwalt's and Lukács' ideas. Wallraff realizes the importance of both objective reality and an element of subjective interpretation. He makes no attempt to exclude himself completely from the process, but he also operates with significant constraints upon his own input.

One constraint is an adherence to actual circumstances that illustrate social problems, and it manifests itself in the question of litigiousness.

Ich merke immer, wie weit ich bei meinem Vorgehen Beschräenkungen unterworfen bin; und zwar dann, wenn es um juristische Absicherung geht. Das heißt, ich muß bei meinen Arbeiten oft die Hälfte unter den Tisch fallen lassen, weil ich dafuer bei einem Gerichtsverfahren keine Beweise haette. . . . Ein Schriftsteller kann das, was er
This quote indicates a central problem in Wallraff's work, indeed in much of documentary writing: the issue of attempting to reproduce objective "truth" in prose. In order to make his reportage effective and thus successful, Wallraff must first convince the reader that his information is credible. The initial step in separating his writing from fiction and in anchoring his work as firmly as possible in reality is ensuring that his evidence is verifiable in a legal sense. At the same time, however, his material must be comprehensible and palatable to his intended audience.

Ironically, his prose relies on a simplicity and a directness of style not unlike the traits that attract readers to Bild. Wallraff relates the response of one worker to his writing: "Es kam mal vor, daß mir ein Arbeiter gesagt hat: Dich versteht man, das ist das erste Buch, das ich gelesen habe, du schreibst ja wie die Bildzeitung." However, the success of his work is also determined by his emphasis on nonfictionality and believability: "So wie der Arbeiter das meinte, war das ein Kompliment, er meinte damit naemlich: Man kann dich verstehen, das andere verstehe ich nicht. Es war nicht gemeint: Du manipulierst so wie die Bildzeitung."
Wallraff's use of documents is not without aesthetic qualities. He employs literary technique for adapting reality. Whether in the form of a structure that increases the impact of the documents, or a style that makes them more compelling or more interesting than they would normally be, the aesthetic characteristics, like the documents themselves, serve the principle purpose of informing the reader of real conditions and encouraging further enlightenment and efforts toward reform.

Other contemporary documentary writers interested in portraying reality and encouraging social change have sought accurate reflections of social conditions by writing Protokolle based upon tape-recorded interviews. In the context of literary experimentation, it is appropriate to contrast Wallraff's work with such Protokolle. Examples are the works of Erika Runge: Bottroper Protokolle (1968) and Reise nach Rostock, DDR (1971). Others include Sarah Kirsch's Die Pantherfrau (1973), Ledige Muetter, edited by Freia Hoffmann (1976), and Maxie Wander's "Guten Morgen, du Schoene" (1978). The concept of Protokolle has met with substantial criticism. Oskar Negt, pointing to the unusual circumstances into which the subject of the interview is placed and also to the new context into which the subject's documented words fall upon publication, rejects the approach as "Verdoppelung verkehrter Realitaet." Reinhard Baumgart observes that interviewees, thrust into an unfamiliar public
context, unavoidably appear to be literary figures. He finds that almost all interviewees express themselves through the art of symbolic conveyance, which often makes the reality that they relate seem fictional. For this reason Baumgart considers the "jargon" of the Runge interviewee less expressive of reality than quotes which demonstrate a "Fertigkeit des Ausdrucks."65

Wallraff has also used the tape recorder in his work, for example, in his telephone interviews with clergymen in "Napalm? Ja und Amen," and sometimes for his quotations in his various reports from industry. In "Wirkungen in der Praxis" (p. 134), Wallraff describes his method of working with the recorded text to produce Fertigkeit des Ausdrucks: "Versprecher ruhig korrigieren und nicht jede Sprachunbeholfenheit, die einen sonst ernsten Sachverhalt leicht in unfreiwilligen Humor abgleiten laßt, auf sich beruhen lassen." Strict attention to individual idiosyncrasies of speech and dialect, which Runge considered important to an exact description of her subjects' conflicts and experiences,66 is sacrificed in favor of portraying the contradictions within reality in a way that is most readily comprehended by the reader.67 This policy has of course not prevented Wallraff from including idiosyncrasies when they help to illustrate the situation he is detailing. In Industriereportagen he quotes a factory manager and refrains from deleting an interesting slip of the tongue: "Duerfen
sich kein Beispiel an unseren Fremd... hm, Gastarbeitern nehmen" (p. 55).

The most significant distinction between Protokolle and his reportage is the added dimension of personal experience in his work. Both Runge and Wallraff discover facts that are capable of speaking for themselves, but Wallraff goes a step further than research, interview and presentation by integrating himself (albeit as an observer-participant) into the social situation in question. Thus, Bottroper Protokolle remains a work written about situations while Wallraff's reportage is written out of situations. In this way his reportage more convincingly fulfills the function outlined by Lukács: "die Reportage will nur verstandesgemäB davon überzeugen, daß die Folgerungen, die sie aus den Tatsachen zieht, richtig sind" (p. 154).

Although the continued effectiveness of Wallraff's documentary technique after his Bild-reportage remains to be proven, it is perhaps a sign of its endurance that Wallraff was continuing to make it a more sophisticated tool and continuing to use it past 1977, the same year in which Runge announced her departure from documentary writing, because it did not offer her the possibility for aesthetic expression of everyday life: "Bisher habe ich nicht gewagt, meine Fantasie über den Alltag hinaus zu gebrauchen, aesthetische Möglichkeiten—mir selber!—auszuprobieren. Jetzt will
Although Wallraff's synthesis of the ideas of Ottwalt and Lukács is helpful in understanding the motivations and methods in his work, their debate does not form the complete theoretical background to modern reportage. Other literary critics, sociologists, journalists and muckrakers have also taken up the issue of reportage and its relationship to art and to reality. Among them Siegfried Kracauer stands out as a theorist who, like Wallraff, saw the necessity for reportage to reproduce reality with exactitude, but to convey it in such a way that the readers realize the whole through their own reconstruction of the individual details. In his 1929 work Die Angestellten, Kracauer explains his point by using the familiar analogy of reportage and photography, but states that the "photographs" must be used as documentary building blocks:

Wallraff's theory of documentary writing reflects Kracauer's emphasis on the active role of the receiver. In "Wirkungen in der Praxis," he writes,


Wallraff's operative aesthetic, with its journalistic reporting of factual situations, resembles forerunners in the practice of reportage. The most important journalist to influence Wallraff was Egon Erwin Kisch, another contemporary of Ottwalt and Lukács. References by Wallraff to Kisch are scant, however several ties, both theoretical and practical, suggest themselves. In a 1935 address, delivered in Paris, Kisch echoed Ottwalt's call for experimentation in literature and reaffirmed Lukács' emphasis on the importance of reportage as an independent genre. However, he also went a step further than Lukács by stressing the importance of adaptability in the writing of reportage: "Wir haben neue Formen für neue Inhalte zu suchen. . . . Dies gilt für das ganze Gebiet der Literatur, nicht nur für den Roman und das Drama, auch für das Unterhaltungsstück, das Filmlibretto, das Radiospiel. Es
gilt auch besonders für die Reportage, die von jenen gering geschätzt wird, die ihre aufklärende Wirkung fürchten."\textsuperscript{72}

Kisch was as aware of the state of literary art as he was aware of conditions in industrial society. He felt, as does Wallraff, that much of literature had become socially impotent. In his theoretical writings he established lofty goals of raising the image of reportage in society and associating it more closely with conventional art forms, not by fitting reportage to the accepted notions of aesthetics, but by changing the perception of aesthetics:

\begin{quote}
Nicht in der Hoffnung, vor dem Tribunal der herrschenden Aesthetik Gnade zu finden, haben wir zu verabscheuen all das, was wirklich banal ist, was wirklich Phantasielosigkeit, was wirklich oeder Rationalismus oder starrer Materialismus ist. Mit allen unseren Kräften haben wir für den Ausdruck unserer Erkenntnis eine Form zu suchen, die allen idealen Gesetzen einer absoluten Aesthetik genügt.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

And like Wallraff, Kisch considered practical applicability an inextricable part of his theory. He challenged writers to combine fantasy with adherence to reality and to use this "logische Phantasie" for purposes of enlightenment:

"Reportage heißt Sichtbarmachung der Arbeit und der Lebensweise . . . ."\textsuperscript{74}

Unlike Wallraff, Kisch based his reportage on observations from the outside, not on his own participation in a given situation. Wallraff's early reportage, however, does show methodological and stylistic ties to Kisch's work. It is logical to assume that he chose work in the Ford
automobile plant as material for "Am Fließband" partly for autobiographical reasons. His father held a similar job, and it is believed that working conditions there seriously affected the health of the elder Wallraff. Although insignificant in terms of the effect Wallraff intended for his reportage, it is probably more than a coincidence that Kisch was also the author of reports on assembly line work. During a tour of the United States, Kisch observed working conditions in a Detroit factory, and his published account, "Bei Ford in Detroit," may have been another contributing factor to Wallraff's interest in that branch of industry.

It is readily apparent that Wallraff's familiarity with the workplace is lacking in Kisch's report, as all the information with which Kisch supplements his observations comes from secondary sources and is gathered only with difficulty: "Durch Gespräche mit Arbeitern das zu ergänzen, was einem gezeigt wird, gelingt innerhalb der Ford-Werke nicht; erstens hat keiner Zeit, zweitens hat keiner Lust, sich den Mund zu verbrennen."76

Another distinction between Kisch and Wallraff exists in the treatment each gives to the distance between the working class and its employers. In Kisch's case this did not entail a meeting with Henry Ford. His portrayal therefore relies upon opinionated comments on Ford's opulent lifestyle and a curious critique of Ford's marketing
strategy, namely the delay in shifting from the Model T to the Model A and Lincoln.

The similarities between Kisch's and Wallraff's work are also noteworthy. Like Wallraff, Kisch intersperses information on safety and living conditions, pay scales and work schedules with details from the workplace: the prohibition on smoking (because Henry Ford was a non-smoker), the lack of clothes lockers and adequate sanitary facilities, the inadequate public transportation to and from work. Kisch also makes use of documentary material, in particular a quote from Henry Ford's autobiography. Documentation is scant, however, and it is difficult to extend Kisch's observations to areas outside the particular factory that is the subject of his report.

Documented or observed facts in both works are accompanied by ironic references to situations outside the workplace. At several points Kisch sardonically reiterates "Mister Ford ist Nichtraucher," whereas he points out at the end "Man darf sich im Auto, oder wahrend man auf die StraBenbahn wartet, eine Zigarette anzuehnen . . . . Mister Ford aber ist Nichtraucher." In a similar style Wallraff brings "Am FlieBband" to a close with a comparison of the official temperature reading at the plant and his own measurement at his work station: "Das zustaendige Thermometer haengt am Haupttor . . . wo staendig ein frischer Wind vom Rhein her weht. Da sind 25 Grad . . . .
Wir arbeiten zwischen zwei Lacköfen. Temperatur: 38 Grad um die Mittagsstunden. Hierher dringt kein frischer Wind vom Rhein" (p. 27).

Both Kisch and Wallraff seize upon the conveyor belt as a central image that reveals the subjugation of workers to their work. Kisch: "Tag und Nacht rollt das Band, an das Menschen geflochten sind. . . . Jetzt zeigt sich, daß das Fließband das Tempo der Arbeit bestimmt, nicht aber die Arbeit das Tempo des Bandes." In "Am Fließband" the motif appears as follows: "Ich spüre die fließende Bewegung des Bandes wie einen Sog in mir. . . . Die Bandarbeit ist wie Schwimmen gegen einen starken Strom. Man kann ein Stück dagegen anschwimmen . . . . Dann wird man unweigerlich wieder abgetrieben" (p. 9). Regardless whether the parallels between these two texts suggest an influence on Wallraff's work, the most significant tie between them is the striking resemblance between the conditions in the 1920s and those in his own time.

There have been several indications above of Wallraff's intentions to enlighten through his work. Wallraff carefully considers the precise reception of his reportage. The target audiences of his work and the effect he strives for in society at large have been clear from the earliest reportage in union newspapers and the industrial reportage containing direct appeals from Wallraff to the workers, on through the influential Bild-reportage, which provides the
clearest sign of Wallraff's commitment to enlightenment and to the defeat of anti-enlightenment. Not least among the possibilities for edification presented by his work is the potential for greater awareness among workers themselves of working-class problems. Coverage of the problems of the Gastarbeiter, for example, is designed not only to focus general attention on the issue. It also provides the opportunity for native workers, whose problems Wallraff addresses in the same context, to see in a new light instances of their own approval of discrimination against foreigners.

Wallraff does not equate his documents with undeniable reality so much as he encourages their use by readers as instruments for the construction of reality. His position as a documentary writer is thus determined both by the use he makes of documentation and by how his readers use it for themselves. As the author has observed, "Meine Hauptagierenden sind die Arbeiter, Angestellten, die mich zu ihrem Sprachrohr machen." 79

Wallraff's writing offers the catalyst for change in that it creates for the workers what Negt terms "primaere Öffentlichkeit," in which the readers can organize and initiate further action. 80 The public sphere to which Negt refers was explicated earlier in his and Alexander Kluge's sociological study of the public sphere, Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung. Here they explain the workers' particular need
for a new form of public sphere, a need that Wallraff's work is intended to help fulfill:


This is not to suggest that Wallraff's efforts at accomplishing a basis for awareness and positive action are completely independent of other spheres of interest and activity. To the contrary, the author's work and the reception of his work are closely tied to established literary criticism, and more importantly, to the publication and marketing of literature. Wallraff's efforts at creating a distance between his work and traditional literature (and Rowohlt Verlag's branding the books Sachbuecher rather than Literatur) are tempered by a conscious dependence upon traditional literature. Rowohlt publishes and markets the works in the same format as literature, and readers of the books find access to them through literary channels. As
Wallraff has said, "Ich kann natürlich nicht so tun, als ob ich auf den Literaturbetrieb nicht angewiesen wäre."  

His use of documentation to create a public sphere has implications for literature as well as for the working world. With his alternative to "literature as art," Wallraff has taken a step toward expanding the conventional concept of literature with the aim of maintaining it as a means for understanding reality and hindering its potential trivializing use as a means for escaping or suppressing reality: "ich [mache] es vielen schwer, sich in Literatur zu verflüchtigen und sie dazu zu benutzen, von eigentlichen Dingen abzulenken." He has also affected the specific area of reportage. Through the utilitarian and goal-oriented employment of aesthetic elements and innovations in reportage, Wallraff combined the ideas of Ottwalt and Lukács and advanced the concepts of reportage espoused in the 1920s and 1930s by Kracauer and Kisch. The aesthetics already present in the work of Kisch were supplemented with the findings from Wallraff's own integration into the situation on which he reported. He then broadened the applicability of this personal experience with the variety of typical details and with an ever greater reliance upon documents.
Notes

Chapter One: Guenter Wallraff


2 Guenter Wallraff, as quoted by Heinz Ludwig Arnold, "Gespräch mit Guenter Wallraff," Literaturmagazin 4 (1975), 49.


7 Vormweg, p. 137.

9 Ernst Ottwald, "'Tatsachenroman' und Formexperiment. Eine Entgegennahme von Georg Lukács," in Raddatz, ed. II, 164. All further references to this work appear in the text.


14 Works by Wallraff published since 1980 have been taken into account in the preparation of this study but are not discussed in detail.


17 Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs, "Dokumentarische Literatur—die Sache selbst?" in Dokumentarliteratur, p. 13.

18 Reinhold, p. 201.

19 Guenter Wallraff, Neue Reportagen, p. 90. All further references to this work appear in the text.

20 Wallraff was apparently correct in assuming that an explication of this distinction would be necessary for his readers. Raoul Hübner, for example, uses the terms interchangeably. Hübner, "Antiautoritäre Aktionskunst," 143.

21 Oskar Negt, "Wallraffs Untersuchungsarbeit in Bereichen der 'unterschlagenen Wirklichkeit.'" Literarische
Sprachlosigkeit als Ende und Anfang," in In Sachen Wallraff, p. 112.

22 Reinhold, p. 184.


26 Chotjewitz, p. 157.


31 Vormweg, pp. 140-41.

32 Guenter Wallraff, Der Aufmacher. Der Mann, der bei 'Bild' Hans Esser war (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1977), p. 198. All further references to this work appear in the text.

33 Quoted in Arnold, "Gespräch mit Guenter Wallraff," p. 52.

34 Quoted in "Schwierigkeiten beim Befahren der Linkskurve," p. 43.


36 Quoted in "Schwierigkeiten beim Befahren der Linkskurve," p. 44.

37 Quoted in Goertz, p. 181.

38 Raoul Huebner, "Dokumentalliteratur als Produktivkraft," in Literatur als Praxis? Aktualität und


40 Quoted in Arnold, "Gespraech mit Guenter Wallraff," pp. 52-53.

41 Quoted in "Schwierigkeiten beim Befahren der Linkskurve," p. 41.

42 Michael Geisler, Die literarische Reportage in Deutschland. Moglichkeiten und Grenzen eines operativen Genres (Koenigstein: Scriptor, 1982), p. 313, considers the structure and technique of the Zangenreportage to be a refinement of Eisenstein's filmic montage. This analogy is in need of more elaboration. However, Geisler's observations on the advantages Wallraff can realize from montage are important to an understanding of how the author operates: Wallraff indicates relationships and associations merely by juxtaposing the treatments of disparate events or institutions. "Damit enthebt sich Wallraff freilich auch der Muehe, diese Koppelung moglicherweise einmal in ihrer Berechtigung verteidigen zu mussen: er kann ihre Existenz leugnen."

43 Negt, pp. 111-12.

44 Dithmar, p. 71.

45 Dithmar, pp. 22-23.


48 Dithmar, p. 72.

49 Geisler, p. 309.

50 Bloecker, p. 153.

51 Quoted in Goertz, p. 178.

53 Quoted in Negt, p. 113.

54 Quoted in Christian Linder, "Dossier: Guenter Wallraff," in In Sachen Wallraff, p. 20.

55 Chotjewitz, p. 154.

56 Chotjewitz, pp. 160-61.

57 Quoted in Schwierigkeiten beim Befahren der Linkskurve, p. 41.

58 Quoted in Goertz, p. 180.


60 Steinbach, p. 30.

61 Quoted in Goertz, p. 177.


64 Negt, p. 113.


69 Runge, pp. 91, 97.

71 In Zeugen der Anklage, for example, there is an indirect reference in the chapter entitled "Der Spitzel" to a manuscript concerning Kisch which was prepared by Wallraff. (The book is not paginated.)

72 Egon Erwin Kisch, "Reportage und soziale Wahrheit," in Dithmar, p. 201.


74 Kisch, "Reportage als Kunstform und Kampfform," p. 723.


80 Negt, p. 109.


82 Quoted in Goertz, p. 174.

83 Quoted in "Schwierigkeiten beim Befahren der Linkskurve," p. 44.
CHAPTER II. HANS MAGNUS ENZENSBERGER

Enzensberger's novel *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* (1972) is set in Spain during the 1920s and 1930s and contains information from interviews, as well as other historical and biographical details, the sources of which are carefully labelled. Enzensberger traces the activities of Buenaventura Durruti and his Spanish anarchist movement, documenting a long series of bank robberies, political assassinations, and battles with the authorities and other factions. The documentary exactitude provided by Enzensberger is inversely related to the directness of its application by the reading public. It is left to the reader to find in the historical data from Spain a relation to the situation in Germany some fifty years later.

Concerning the documentary drama, Bernd Seiler notes that the literary work is seen as a mask, behind which exists the true face of history. The same may be said of many of the historical documentary prose works: "Galt einst die bewußte Aneignung der poetischen Imagination als das wesentliche Ziel jeglicher Sachanalyse, so wird das poetische heute eher als Maske verstanden, hinter der es das
Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie is a particularly enlightening example of the documentarian's concern for "the true face of history." Not only is the work unambiguously documentary, but it also conveys Enzensberger's express interest in the relationship between fiction and historical document. The author outlines his views in nine Glossen, which contain his own commentaries on the novel and its subject matter. These Glossen appear intermittently throughout the twelve chapters of documentary material. The presence of the Glossen provides the opportunity for observing the documentary prose writer at work, for examining closely his selection and arrangement of the documents, and for determining the function of the documents within the work.

The coexistence of Enzensberger's comments and his arrangement of documentary material has prompted Reinhold Grimm to view the novel as a montage consisting of Darstellung (the information in the novel's twelve chapters) and Deutung (the essays comprising the nine Glossen).² The categories Darstellung and Deutung, though, are not as distinct as one might initially believe, for Enzensberger's subjectivity is not restricted to his Glossen. The reader must choose to take his word, or more appropriately, not to take his word, that the information from unverifiable
sources is purely documentary, that his editing has not skewed the documentation, and that his translations from Spanish to German are accurate.

Enzensberger documents historical and biographical material about Durruti and the anarchist movement, always noting at the end of each passage the source for the information it contains. However, in the first Glosse Enzensberger makes clear that he does not intend a biographical focus on Durruti: the documents are not to be understood as "faktensammelnde Biographie, geschweige denn als wissenschaftlicher Diskurs." He rejects the scientific historical approach in the belief that the understanding of history is a matter of subjective impression. Because history has been a science only since the advent of documentation, the oral tradition, which transmitted the saga and the epic poem, is, in Enzensberger's view, still the most decisive influence on our perception of historical events: "aus den Geschichten wird Geschichte. . . . [N]iemand hat die Historie der Historiker im Kopf" (p. 13). Moreover, the scientific historical account is rendered problematic from the outset by the implications of reader reception, as Henning Falkenstein indicates in his study of Enzensberger: "Und selbst wenn der Autor wissenschaftlich sein koennte, wuerde nicht seinem Werk die Wissenschaftlichkeit dadurch genommen, daB jeder Leser noch einmal interpretiert?" Enzensberger stands in apparent
agreement: "Niemand weiß, was angerichtet wird, wenn Bücher geschrieben werden." Enzensberger's avoidance of the scientific historical approach stems also from his own mistrust of historians. In the seventh Glosse he accuses the writers of history of a tendency toward inconsistency and inaccuracy, and he complains that researchers often reiterate the mistakes of their predecessors:

Auch die eifrigste Quellenkritik wird die Knoten dieser Überlieferung nicht durchhauen können; mit ihrer Hilfe läßt sich allenfalls ein Stammbaum der verschiedenen Versionen zeichnen. An solchen Stemmata kann man ablesen, wie eine obskure Propagandabroschüre in einer halbwissenschaftlichen Arbeit zitiert wird und somit eine gewisse Respektabilität gewinnt. Von dort aus wandert sie weiter in seriöse Darstellungen, in Standardwerke und Lexika. Der Koehlerglaube ans gedruckte Wort ist weit verbreitet; als Tatsache gilt, was oft genug zitiert worden ist (p. 258).

In place of the traditional historical approach, Enzensberger provides the stories from which we as readers derive our concept of history. He abandons any strict claims to exactitude and instead reproduces impressions of Durruti, which together are intended to produce a truly historical account, that is, an account in keeping with Enzensberger's equation of Geschichte with Erfindung: "Die Geschichte ist eine Erfindung, zu der die Wirklichkeit ihre Materialien liefert" (p. 13).

The montage of quotes does not answer all the questions the reader might have about Durruti. For example,
Enzensberger intentionally avoids extensive psychological portrayal; as the author puts it, "Einfuerung versagt an ihn" (p. 259). Durruti as an individual is subsumed into an identity with the movement as a whole: "Gerade deshalb haben die Massen sich in ihm wiedererkannt. Seine individuelle Existenz ist ganz und gar in einem gesellschaftlichen Charakter, dem des Helden, aufgegangen" (p. 259). In some places, though, there is overlapping information, such as the several reports of Durruti's official visit to Madrid in 1936 (pp. 243-45). The documents sometimes support each other, for example in affirming the anarchists' commitment to equality for women, both in theory and in practice (pp. 95, 253), or in describing Durruti's method of disciplining his troops (pp. 219, 241).

At other times the documents are contradictory. The novel reflects the most glaring controversy surrounding Durruti, the unresolved question of why and how he was shot (pp. 267 ff.). Enzensberger dutifully represents the arguments of those who claim Durruti fell during an engagement with fascist forces, that he was assassinated by the Communists, that the anarchists themselves liquidated him, that an aide shot him because of a personal dispute, and that Durruti shot himself accidentally when he discharged his own weapon. Another contradiction arises with the mistrust that a communist leader felt for the
anarchists (p. 247) and a statement attributed to Durruti,
"... ich bin noch kein Marxist geworden" (p. 249). These
indications of Durruti's distance from the communist faction
stand in opposition to a quote from the Communist
International, insisting that Durruti was at heart a
Stalinist (p. 248). In addition the documents occasionally
convey statistical uncertainties, such as disagreeing
reports about the number of volunteers who joined the
anarchists in Barcelona (pp. 140-41).

Enzensberger not only defends the inclusion of these
discrepancies in his novel, but considers them a necessary
part of the reconstruction of historical events:

Die Rekonstruktion gleicht einem Puzzle, dessen
Stuecke nicht nahtlos ineinander sich fuegen
lassen. Gerade auf den Fugen des Bildes ist zu
beharren. Vielleicht steckt in ihnen die
Wahrheit, um derentwillen, ohne daB die Erzaehler
es wueBten, erzaehlt wird.

Das Einfachste waere es, sich dumm zu stellen
und zu behaupten, jede Zeile dieses Buches sei ein
Dokument. Aber das ist ein leeres Wort. Kaum
sehen wir genauer hin, so zerrinnt uns die
Autoritaet unter den Fingern, die das "Dokument"
zu leihen scheint. Wer spricht? Zu welchem
Zweck? In wessen Interesse? ... Das sind
Fragen, die zu weit fuehren, zu weit: denn ihre
Beantwortung wuerde uns dazu zwingen, fuer jeden
Zeugen hundert andere zu befragen; jeder Schritt
dieser Ueberpruefung wuerde uns von der
Rekonstruktion weiter entfernen und der
Destruktion der Geschichte naeher bringen (pp.
14-15).

Part of the reason for contradictions within the work
is the murkiness peculiar to the history of Spanish
anarchism: "Wer die GewiBheit liebt, den kann die
Geschichte des spanischen Anarchismus leicht zur Verweiflung bringen. Wo er Tatsachen sucht, werden ihm Versionen entgegentreten" (p. 257). However, the nature of history itself, that is, its dialectical basis, is equally important as a determining factor of Enzensberger's novel:

... die Fragwürdigkeit der Quellen ist prinzipieller Art, und ihre Differenzen lassen sich durch Quellenkritik nicht aufloesen. Noch die "Lüge" enthält ein Moment von Wahrheit, und die Wahrheit der unbezweifelbaren Tatsachen, gesetzt, sie liebe sich finden, sagt nichts mehr aus. Das Opalisieren der Überlieferung, das kollektive Flimmern rührt von der dialektischen Bewegung der Geschichte selber her. Es ist der aesthetische Ausdruck ihrer Antagonismen" (p. 15).

Despite the anarchy of form suggested by Enzensberger's image of ill-fitting pieces from a puzzle, the work is actually a thoughtfully composed mosaic, designed to be believable by attempting to reproduce the true nature of history.  

Enzensberger's goal corresponds with Seiler's notion of "das wahre Gesicht der Vergangenheit," which in turn echoes Hegel and the "Kern und Sinn einer Begebenheit, Handlung, eines nationalen Charakters, einer hervorragenden historischen Individualität." Enzensberger has created, as Klaus Schumacher describes the novel, "eine fiktive Identität von Sprecher und Hörer, Medienbesitzer und teilnehmenden Subjekt, Kolportageproduzent und Legendenkonsument."
The treatment of history in this novel was prefigured in a 1964 essay in Enzensberger's *Politische Kolportagen*, where he writes, "Es handelt sich um vielfach vermittelte Abbildungen, an denen noch das Faktische eigentümlich fiktiv wirkt: Diese Ikonen sind in aehnlicher Weise repraesentativ wie mythologische Gestalten . . . ." Der *kurze Sommer der Anarchie* reveals the interrelatedness of historical documentation and myth. Enzensberger combines both forms while striving to neutralize the flaws he finds in both, that is, the myth's tendency to blunt the import of specific facts by generalizing them in fiction, and the discrepancies and interpretational difficulties of historical study. And he exploits the advantages which both possibilities offer: the popular appeal and representativeness of the myth, the respectability and believability (even if unjustified) of the serious historical account.

Enzensberger lays claim to both history and myth with the help of several techniques. One of the most apparent is found in his expository style. In the second *Glosse*, entitled "Ueber die Wurzeln des spanischen Anarchismus," and in most of the succeeding *Glossen*, Enzensberger presents the reader with history lessons, including even dry statistical evidence of the strength enjoyed by the anarchist movement (p. 28). However, the historical data is often couched in the language of the raconteur. The opening sentence reads
like a line from a traditional fictional narrative: "An einem Oktobertag des Jahres 1868 traf Giuseppe Fanelli, ein Italiener, in Madrid ein" (p. 27). A considerable amount of information about Fanelli is presented in this *Glosse*, but Enzensberger's style often differs markedly from what one might expect of a historian. He assumes a narrative style once again to open the fifth *Glosse*: "Wo ist der Feind? Er taucht in dieser Geschichte immer nur am Rand des Gesichtsfeldes auf: ein beweglicher Fleck am Fenster hinter dem Maschinengewehr, ein Schatten jenseits der Barrikaden, . . . Er bleibt fast immer anonym. Aber zugleich ist der Feind allgegenwärtig" (p. 210).

Although his *Glossen* are separated from the other material in the novel and are clearly identified as his own contributions, Enzensberger has drafted the essays in such a way as to parallel the tone and style of the various documentary sources. These sources include not only the accounts of witnesses who recall experiences and tell stories, but also excerpts from reference works, such as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, quoted early in the work in order to provide general information about the place where Durruti was born and raised (p. 17). Accordingly, the author conveys general information in an encyclopaedic style: "Den oekonomischen Gegenpol zu den verarmten Duerrezonen des südlichen und westlichen Spanien bildet Katalonien, von
jeher die reichste und industriell am hoechsten entwickelte Region des Landes" (p. 31).

One of the most prominent distinguishing features of Enzensberger's style is a deliberate abstention from specificity. It is only long after Fanelli is first mentioned that we learn who he is and that he came to Spain to inculcate the ideology of Anarchist Mikhail Bakunin. Enzensberger again abstains from specificity when he tells the reader that Fanelli arrives on a day in October, 1868, but clouds the precision of this information by withholding the complete date. The author does not intend his inserts into the Durruti story to be parenthetical diversions into explanatory material, as, for example, an editor's notes would be; rather, they become a part of the fiction, and Enzensberger is a contributor alongside the others to the story of the Spanish anarchists. He creates what he terms "kollektive Fiktion," conveyed by means of a "kollektiver Mund" (pp. 12-13).

The mythical qualities of the historical Durruti are supported from what we learn about the man, and significantly, the most immediate knowledge we acquire is that Durruti is dead. The novel begins with an allusion to Durruti's death, and in the last chapter, entitled "Der Tod," Durruti must die not once, but seven times, as Enzensberger includes differing opinions of how the death may have occurred.
Though the accounts of Durruti's escapades are enclosed in, and colored by, reminders of his death, eyewitnesses and acquaintances resurrect Durruti with expressions of reverent admiration. One witness recalls how Durruti came to terms with the lack of discipline among the guerillas in his command: "Ich verstand die Tragik dieses starken und guten Menschen, eines mutigen Kaempfers, der zum Opfer der Ideen geworden war, fuer die er eintrat. Er versprach, alles zu tun, um seinen Maennern verstaendlich zu machen, daB es notwendig war, Madrid weiterhin zu verteidigen" (p. 251). Acquaintances credit Durruti with a genuine belief in the equality of women and men and note his insistence on cooking and cleaning after his wife took a job (p. 95). A former member of the movement praises Durruti's religious tolerance, which he showed by allowing his men to celebrate religious occasions even though Durruti himself was a nonbeliever (pp. 204-05). And mercy appears to have been another of his qualities, for, though he did not hesitate to exact strict penalties for disloyalty, Durruti is remembered by two witnesses for pardoning offenders who had been sentenced to death (pp. 160, 204).

Even detractors interviewed by the author often include in their criticism a sense of awe: "Es dauerte nicht lang [sic], und Durruti begriff, daB das Zentralkomitee ein Verwaltungsorgan war. Es wurde dort diskutiert, verhandelt, abgestimmt, es gab Akten, buerokratische Arbeit. Durruti
aber hatte kein Sitzfleisch. Draußen wurde geschossen. Das hielt er nicht lange aus. Er stellte also eine eigene Division auf, die Kolonne Durruti, und zog mit ihr an die Aragon-Front" (p. 139). Another source remarks, concerning Durruti's group, "Obwohl ich ihre Ideen nicht teile, muß ich sagen, daß mir in meinem ganzen Leben wenig Leute begegnet sind, die so großherzig und so selbstlos waren wie die Anarchisten. Ihre Moralvorstellungen waren sehr eigentümlich" (p. 253). Sometimes the respect accorded Durruti stems from simple fear: "Durruti, ein Berserker von einem Mann, ... trat auf mich zu, legte mir seine großen Faust auf die Schultern und sagte: ... 'Passen Sie auf! Spielen Sie nicht mit dem Feuer! Das koennte Sie teuer zu stehen kommen'" (p. 135).

Durruti assumes the heroic features of a legendary protagonist: "Seine großen Fausten ballen sich, seine straffe Gestalt ist irgendwie geduckt, er verkoerpert gleichsam die Erscheinung eines antiken roemischen Gladiatorenensklaven, zum verzweifelten Befreiungsausbruch gespannt" (p. 254). Yet we learn only a minimum of detail about the man's personal demeanor or appearance. A female member of the movement remembers him as a rugged man with large hands and a booming voice (p. 107). Another admirer recalls his physical strength, complemented by a kind and intelligent face (p. 77). It is a description general enough to fit the masculine hero of almost any legend. In
addition Durruti is quoted directly only rarely, and, true to his anarchist ideals, he speaks of the movement (p. 104) or of the masses (p. 172), and not of himself as an individual. As the readers engage in the inevitable individual interpretation of Durruti's description, Enzensberger permits them considerable freedom in supplying finer details to their own impressions of the man. Just so, as Grimm has noted, readers are drawn into the Durruti discussion and asked to formulate their own opinions.

The documents convey the notion that Durruti is as much a mythical abstraction as he is an actual figure from Spanish history. But Enzensberger is careful not to allow his hero to recede too far into the aura of legend. He evokes parallels to contemporary conditions by occasionally yanking back into the 1970s. One witness recounts "Es sah ungeheuer aus: ein Wirrwarr von Uniformen, Freiwillige aus allen Erdteilen, die Kleider bunt gewuerfelt und zusammengeflickt. Sie hatten fast etwas Hippieartiges, aber es waren Hippies mit Handgranaten und MGs, und sie waren entschlossen, bis zum Tod zu kaempfen" (p. 139).

Another departure from the traditional presentation of history is the author's refusal to relate the events of Durruti's career in chronological sequence. The following excerpts, presented in the order in which they appear in the text, illustrate Enzensberger's technique: "Auf einem groBen antiparlamenterischen Meeting im Herbst 1933 sagte
er: 'Der Betrieb ist die Universitaet des Arbeiters'" (p. 94). On the following page another source reports, "Anfang 1936 wohnte Durruti gleich neben mir, in einer kleinen Mietswohnung im Viertel von Sans" (p. 95). The next date mentioned is two years previous: "Ascaso traf ich in der Druckerei der Solidaridad Obrera. Dort holten wir damals, 1934, immer unsere Propagandabroschueren ab. . . ." (p. 96).

His arrangement of the documents by general theme forces the reader to leap back and forth through time, sometimes to resume a narrative thread after an interruption by material from an earlier or later time period. Although the events do progress from Fanelli and the inception of the anarchist movement to the defeat of the anarchists and the subsequent rise of Franco, linear time is suspended for the most part within the chapters, and in its place one reads of Durruti's life and death and of the rise and fall of Spanish anarchism as historical milestones, the appreciation of which is not necessarily determined by a precise and linear account of preceding events. Rather Enzensberger's particular arrangement of events yields, as Raoul Huebner mentions in a discussion of montage, new revelations of reality: "Die Montage soll, ihrem extremen, konstruktivistischen Begriff nach . . ., aus den Beziehungen, die sie--zwischen Bildern, Worten usw.--herstellt, interpretatorisch-begriffliche Funken springen lassen, die die Bilder, d. h. die Realitaetsmomente als solche noch nicht unbedingt hergeben,
sondern erst in einer spezifischen Zusammensetzung offenbaren (soweit diese dann mentaliter sowohl als emotiv erschlossen wird)."11

Enzensberger has used documentation not to reproduce an objectively distanced historical portrait but rather to mediate through literature the myth surrounding the hero of Spanish anarchism. He has created a documentary myth, with which he informs his readers of the often-ignored anarchist role in European history and offers an example for analogy with current political conditions.

The novel evinces meticulous research on Enzensberger's part into the history of anarchism, both specifically in Spain and generally in the contributions of political theoreticians. As a result one might contend that Enzensberger occasionally betrays his announced dissociation from history as a scientific discipline. He professes part of his motivation for writing the novel to be the need for an expansion of existing histories on the Spanish Civil War, few of which treat the anarchist movement: "Die beiden Darstellungen des Bürgerkriegs, die als Standardwerke gelten, erwähnen Durruti nur auf ein paar Seiten; aber selbst die späterlichen Daten, die sie geben, stimmen keineswegs miteinander überein" (p. 257). He also feels obligated to draw attention to forgotten events other than those involving the anarchists. For example, in the fourth Glosse he briefly discusses a Leninist-inspired revolt in
Asturia in 1934: "Im Oktober 1934 kam es in Asturien .. . zu einem Aufstand, der die bewaffneten Aktionen der Anarchisten weit in den Schatten stellte. Diese asturische 'Oktoberrevolution' ist zu Unrecht in Vergessenheit geraten" (p. 80). Enzensberger believes the Durruti story holds lessons for succeeding generations, and he indicates a responsibility to counteract historical amnesia: "Sein Leben ist in seinen Handlungen aufgegangen. Diese Aktion war politisch und zu groben Teilen illegal. Es handelt sich also darum, ihre Spuren aufzufinden, die eine Generation spater nicht mehr ohne weiteres zutage liegen; sie sind verwischt, vergilbt, nahe daran, vergessen zu werden" (p. 14).

A thorough understanding of history through historical documentation seems to be imperative, not only to the analysis of the Spanish anarchist movement, but also to the writing of a novel about that movement. The Guiseppe Fanelli mentioned above comes to Madrid to meet with workers from the Spanish printing industry and to share Bakunin's published speeches with them (p. 27). After a few years, and after the revolt of the farmers in Andalusia, the effect of Fanelli's efforts becomes apparent. Enzensberger tells us, "Spanien ist das einzige Land der Welt, in dem die revolutionaeren Theorien Bakunins zur materiellen Gewalt geworden sind" (p. 28). Bakunin as a historical figure is important to Fanelli's endeavors at introducing anarchist
precepts to Spanish workers, and Fanelli is equally important to Enzensberger as he informs his readers about Durruti and the anarchist movement. He also relies on theoreticians of revolution in providing an overview of the events that culminated in the rise of Francisco Franco. In the fifth Glosse Enzensberger quotes Trotski's *History of the Russian Revolution* as a background analogy to the developments in Madrid (p. 211). He makes reference to Marx and draws upon Marxist terminology in describing prerevolutionary conditions in Spain (p. 29). There is also a lengthy excerpt from Engels' critique of the Bakunist movement in Russia (p. 236).

Nonetheless, the author's stated distance from history as a discipline of study finds reflection within the chapters of his Durruti account. The theoretical postulations of Trotski, as well as the fundamentals of anarchism according to Bakunin, were for the most part unknown to the Spaniards who acted out the events that are at the core of the novel. The prior history of anarchism must therefore remain secondary to a knowledge of the activities of the anarchists themselves: "Es ist verblüffend zu sehen, wie diese meist analphabetischen Bauern, natürlich ohne es zu wissen, genau den Anweisungen Bakunins folgten" (p. 30). Of Durruti one source remarks, "Er grübelte oft, dachte sich sein Teil. Freilich, ein Intellektueller war er nicht, und eine gewisse theoretische
Bildung hat er sich erst später erworben, in Barcelona" (p. 290). In composing his fiction Enzensberger depends primarily on documents pertaining to anarchist actions, rather than on the writings of theorists. This is due in part to his belief that the theoreticians of anarchism have been no more helpful in understanding the movement than the historians have been. Referring to the attractions which competing ideological camps held for the Spanish people, he remarks, "Die anarchistischen Theoretiker waren außerstande, solche Mechanismen zu begreifen. Ihr Horizont reichte immer nur bis zur nächsten Barrikade" (p. 213).

Discussion of Enzensberger as an author of fiction raises another issue. The author of Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie is the same Enzensberger who in the 1968 essay, "Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend," rejected all literature and criticism except Günter Wallraff's work, columns by Ulrike Meinhof, and certain works on Chile and Iran. Enzensberger's use of the conventional term Roman to designate this work and the romantic aspects of the Durruti figure within the context of his "eigene Fiktion" (p. 15), are decisive steps away from his position in "Gemeinplätze," where he indicated that novels, at least in the traditional sense, had outlived their usefulness. The only factor that mitigates against the conventional notion of the novel in Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie is an overlay
of collectivity, stemming from an unconventional method of composition.

Enzensberger responded to the problem of literature after the "death of literature" in a 1979 interview and claimed that the critics had misunderstood "Gemeinpläetze" and had overlooked the literary metaphor in his statement: "Der Tod der Literatur ist selber eine literarische Metapher von ehrwürdigem Alter.... In Wirklichkeit handelte der Aufsatz von einer ganz anderen Frage, naemlich davon, daß die meisten Schriftsteller, wie andere Leute auch, das Bedürfnis haben, gesellschaftlich sinnvolle Sachen zu produzieren." The importance of the myth in the understanding of historical developments depends on its applicability to a variety of settings and situations. Otto Knoerrich even generalizes the Durruti experience to that of an archetype: "Die Biographie des anarchistischen Helden soll sich zum Epos eines neuen archischen Menschentums ausweiten, die historische Dokumentation aus dem spanischen Bürgerkrieg zur Saga der reinen Revolution." Enzensberger also points out the political advantage to the legend, which cannot be challenged by what he calls "wissenschaftliche Widerlegung:" "Diese Immunität verleiht dem Helden ein eigentümliches Gewicht, mit dem auch die abgebrühtesten Schachspieler der Realpolitik zu rechnen haben...." (pp. 259-60). The Durruti story seems to hold much the same significance for Enzensberger as Durruti
himself does to one of the author's Spanish sources, who remarks, "Durruti war ein Mann, mit dessen Namen man noch nach seinem Tod eine Schlacht gewinnen konnte--so wie mit dem Namen des Cid" (p. 262).

Enzensberger did not entirely abandon his position of 1968. Having approved of works by Guenter Wallraff as well as other works of a documentary nature, he shows a degree of support for his earlier statements in "Gemeinpläetze" by using the documentary technique in Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie. And, as Klaus Berghahn has noted, Enzensberger expresses all the more emphatically his interest in the material he has assembled and discussed, by refraining as narrator from establishing the fictional unity of a historical novel. In his seventh Glosse he continues to stress the discrepancy between his ideals and the conventional literature which he has condemned:

Die Geschichte eines Helden aber gehorcht Gesetzen, die der bürglerische Entwicklungsroman nicht kennt. Ihr Stoffwechsel wird von Bedürfnissen gesteuert, die mächtiger sind als bloße Tatsachen. Die Legende sammelt Anekdoten, Abenteuer, Geheimnisse; sie holt sich, was sie braucht, und scheidet aus, womit sie nichts anfangen kann; und auf diese Weise erreicht sie eine Art von Stimmigkeit, die zäh verteidigt wird (p. 259).

One apparent way in which Enzensberger believes his novel is "gesellschaftlich sinnvoll," is in the ideological stance it reflects. His ideological position becomes clear not only through comparison with his previous writings, but
also early in the novel through its emphasis on collective production and historical dialectics. The Marxist underpinnings to his Glossen and the partisanship which he shows for the anarchists, pose an interesting test for the legitimacy of his use of documents to reconstruct a myth. One could consider partisanship to be too heavy a directing hand in historical reconstruction and thus a duplication of the errors that Enzensberger finds in scientific studies of history: discrepancy and reduced effectiveness resulting from an ultimately subjective or narrow perspective.

In his first Glosse, Enzensberger defends his stance by making the (also Marxist) claim that history belongs to those who tolerate and narrate it:¹⁶ "Die Geschichte ist keine beliebige Erfindung. Das Interesse, das sie erweckt, gründet auf den Interessen derer, die sie erzählen; und sie erlaubt es denen, die ihr zuhören, ihre eigenen Interessen, ebenso wie die ihrer Feinde, wiederzuerkennen und genauer zu bestimmen" (p. 13). Enzensberger freely alludes to his political leanings, just as he also consciously portrays Durruti in a subjectively favorable light. The subjective view of Durruti and the concomitant emphasis on oppressed classes can be considered analogous to his political partisanship. Thus the ideological flavor of the novel is not inconsistent with Enzensberger's espoused aims for the work. As Knoerrich points out, subjectivity is inseparable from Enzensberger's announced approach to
history: "Auf wissenschaftliche Quellenkritik verzichtet er, an ihre Stelle tritt die bewusste Parteilichkeit des Bearbeiters. Sie aber ist 'legitim,' weil Enzensbergers Collage nicht auf eine dokumentarisch belegbare Faktenwahrheit zielt, sondern auf eine 'fiktionale,' die gerade an den Fugen, Rissen und Widersprüchen des Materials in Erscheinung tritt."¹⁷

Enzensberger's intention to make the potency of the myth "gesellschaftlich sinnvoll," proved to be quite timely in 1972. In the year of the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics and the activities of such figures as Baader and Meinhof, Europe was entering a period of violence, the philosophy of which was not always clear. This period would include the death of industrialist Hanns Martin Schleyer and a number of kidnappings and other actions. Enzensberger's comments in Kursbuch 11 of 1968, concerning third world guerilla movements, prefigure his motivation for writing the Durruti novel: "Wer die Erfahrungen der Guerillas ignoriert, ist kein Reaktionar: wer sie unbequem kopieren mochte, ist ein Illusionist. Die nüchterne Vermittlung zwischen den Befreiungsbewegungen in der Dritten Welt und den politischen Aktionen in den Metropolen ist eine Aufgabe, deren Schwierigkeiten bisher kaum erkannt, geschweige denn gelöst sind."¹⁸

Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie also provides examples of the alternative to enlightened awareness of political
violence and political change. At one point in the novel Durruti's mother is quoted as she responds in angry bewilderment to newspaper reports about her son. It is the futile response of those who cling to past standards rather than attempt to influence inevitable change, and it carries the same ineffectualness as when Hebbel used it: "manchmal verstehe ich die Welt nicht mehr" (p. 49). The words of Durruti's mother only foreshadowed the outcome of the hopelessly idealistic program espoused by some of her son's generation. Bereft of its leader, fatally flawed by lack of discipline, upstaged by the Communists, and defeated militarily by the Fascists, Durruti's faction was reduced to a few intractable anarchists in exile. Enzensberger remarks of them in his final Glosse: "Sie verstehen die Welt nicht mehr" (p. 283).

Enzensberger has paradoxically used documents to create a myth and continued the paradox by using the myth to teach readers the lessons of history. Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie marks not only the author's turn to prose and admitted subjectivity, but it also stands at the early stages of German documentary writing of the 1970s, among works which assume the more subjective prose form as a vehicle of expression, rather than the drama, which was more common in the previous decade. Enzensberger claims not to believe in the efficacy of history as a scientific discipline, preferring instead to write fiction. But by
approaching his fiction through documents, he breaks apart the usually seamless combination of realia within the fictional setting and encourages the reader to examine more closely and consciously not only the history he invents for us, but also the history we invent for ourselves.
Notes

Chapter Two: Hans Magnus Enzensberger


3 Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie. Buenaventuras Leben und Tod (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972), p. 13. All further references to this work appear in the text.


6 This is not, however, to diminish the significance of deliberately anarchic form in Enzensberger’s work in general. See Reinhold Grimm, "Poetic Anarchism? The Case of Hans Magnus Enzensberger," Modern Language Notes 97, No. 3 (1982), 745-58.

7 G. W. F. Hegel, Aesthetik Vol I, as quoted in Seiler, p. 413.


13 Hans Magnus Enzensberger, as quoted in Andersch, p. 92.


17 Knoerrich, p. 623.

CHAPTER III. MAX FRISCH

In a 1979 essay which appeared in Orbis Litterarum under the title "Verlust der Unmittelbarkeit: Ueber Max Frisch und die 'Neue Subjektivitaet,'" Jan Knopf observed that Max Frisch continues to resist the recent expansion of literature to include the historical document. As Knopf put it: "Waehrend sich die Literaturwissenschaft als Wissenschaft vom Text neu entwarf und damit den Literaturbegriff so erweiterte, daB auch noch unseren Papierkoerben die literarische Weihe angedroht wurde, bestand Max Frisch auf Fiktion, auf Entwuerfen vom moeglichen, nicht wirklichen Leben." ¹ Some months after the publication of Knopf's article, Frisch's Der Mensch erscheint im Holozaen appeared. As an initial glance will confirm, this work contains documents that might well be an assortment of scraps from Frisch's wastebasket.

Holozaen, which Frisch calls an "Erzaehlung," is the author's account of an elderly widower living alone in an isolated mountain village in Switzerland. As with many of Frisch's characters, the principle figure in Holozaen, Herr Geiser, is contemplating the end of his life. The narrative traces the course of Herr Geiser's thoughts, which are related not only by the story's narrator, but also by
documents inserted into the prose. Excerpts from a variety of sources are included, beginning appropriately with the Bible verse Genesis 1: 1, followed by, among other things, a geological history of the Canton of Tessin, a handwritten problem in geometry, and an account of landslides and avalanches in Switzerland. We may assume that these bits of information, appearing early in the book as notes or passages torn from reference sources, indicate that the works are being consulted by Herr Geiser. Herr Geiser's village, we learn, has just been cut off from the outside world by a landslide brought about by a violent storm.

Herr Geiser's preoccupation with excerpts from his home library results from his progressive mental deterioration and is at the same time intended to combat it. He is becoming forgetful in his old age, losing information which he once had known. At first Herr Geiser underlines passages in his books, but he soon finds this effort insufficient in aiding his memory. He begins to cut passages from his books with scissors. Throughout the story Herr Geiser continues to excerpt passages from lexica, works on natural and local history, and other sources. Desperately trying to retain the knowledge they represent, he fastens these slips of paper to his walls, and Frisch inserts each one into the text as documentation.

The physical isolation of Herr Geiser's village invites a number of analogies. Is there a parallel between this
out-of-the-way place, which, we are told, is no longer attractive to its young people and which seems to cultivate its seclusion, and Switzerland's disengagement from the world? Or is the personal isolation of Herr Geiser at the center of the work? The increasing alienation of Herr Geiser from the body of knowledge he has accumulated supports the latter possibility, and clearly the erosion of the mountain on which his house stands parallels the process of mental erosion. However, the personal, physical, and geographical isolation into which Frisch has placed his character has the more important function of providing the possibility for reflection. The absence of interference from telephone, television, and mail, and the relative lack of interaction between Herr Geiser and others in the village ensure that the story will remain completely private.

Such isolation is often the setting in Frisch's works for reflection on death, for example in Homo faber and Biografie: Ein Spiel. Herr Geiser's solitude is also conducive to pondering the approach of death. This isolation and introspection is also not unlike that of Frisch the soldier during his prewar border duty, at which time he expected his country to be invaded. It is significant that this period of reflection produced Frisch's first literary diary, Blaetter aus dem Brotsack (1940). In fact, the relationships between Frisch's Tagebuecher and
Holozaen prove to be of fundamental importance in interpreting the work in the context of recent prose.

Earlier diary entries by Frisch reject the validity of documentary literature. In Blaetter aus dem Brotsack, he writes that the true artist loves "das Schaffen, nicht das Geschaffene." Of course, Frisch has not excluded the possibility that an artist might use "das Geschaffene," for example, the document, as an instrument for use within the creative process. Nevertheless, the above entry, as well as a note from his Tagebuch 1946-1949 tend to confirm Frisch's commitment to fictive rather than non-fictive forms: "das Fertige wird stets etwas trostlos sein, unheimlich; alles Fertige hoert auf, Behausung unsres Geistes zu sein . . . ."

While the most common use of documents within prose other than the diary has been for sociopolitical reasons, Frisch has not hesitated to express his doubts about the value of politically engaged documentary literature. Speaking of Peter Weiss' Die Ermittlung, he points out the loss of authenticity which documents undergo when they are included in a literary work: "Denn das, was zum Beispiel das Stueck Die Ermittlung mitteilt, evoziert, das hab' ich auch in den reinen Dokumentationen, und zwar meiner Meinung nach sehr viel staerker, naemlich sehr viel genauer. Ob das nun noch Literatur ist oder nicht, weiss ich nicht . . . ." Frisch is convinced that just as fiction robs documents of
their original meaning and effectiveness, so the presence of historical or political documents compromises the basic nature of the literature. In the same interview he notes, "denn von reiner Dichtung sprechen wir erst dort, wo die Tendenz uns als solche nicht mehr bewußt ist, wo die Deutung, die ja immer vorhanden ist, sich mit der unseren deckt, indem sie die unsere geworden ist . . . ." Thus it is only to be expected that the documents in Holozaen are never allowed to have significance outside the private world of Herr Geiser.

Tagebuch 1966-1971 is an example of a previous use of documentation by Frisch, which helps underscore the particular significance of the literary diary to the Holozaen discussion. The diary is replete with accounts of conversations, quotes from newspapers, and other realia which are often accompanied by the author's own comments and opinions. The interaction of Frisch's subjective experience with the pieces of realia which helped to form that experience yield an understanding of Frisch's political consciousness. Even his earlier Tagebuecher, which contain evidence of his resistance to documentation and which deal with none of the specific political concerns included in his Tagebuch 1966-1971, are helpful in understanding the documentary aspects of Holozaen.

The importance of the diary has been studied as an organizational and stylistic principle in Stiller, Homo
faber, Mein Name sei Gantenbein, and most notably in Montauk. Studies by Rolf Kieser and Manfred Jurgensen, among others, have extended the significance of Frisch's concept of the literary diary to all of his literary endeavors. Jurgensen notes, "... Frischs Tagebuch-Konzept beinhaltet seine Vorstellung vom Wesen der Literatur und einer fortdauernden Selbstbestimmung. Alle seine literarischen Werke behalten ihren diarischen Grundcharakter bei."⁶ And if we view Holozaen in light of Kieser's comments on the literary diary, we find that the concept underlying Frisch's documentary work assumes a marked resemblance to that of the diary: "Der Akt des Tagebuch-schreibens bedingt, daß sich der Autor zu einem subjektiven Standpunkt bekennt und gleichzeitig wahrnimmt, daß sich dieser Subjektivismus auch auf die Erfassung der 'Wirklichkeit' bezieht."⁷

Holozaen has other features in common with the diary. Rolf Kieser points out the diary's typically sketchy and abrupt style, which results from the writer's need to commit fleeting ideas and feelings to paper in a concise form.⁸ This disjunctive style is appropriate to Frisch's work and to that of many contemporary writers whose works reflect the fragmentary quality of modern existence per se. Holozaen's simple language with, for the most part, short paragraphs and fragments of sentences is certainly in keeping with the style of the diary. Moreover, since the prose narrative
reports Herr Geiser's thoughts and actions, it too has a distinctly documentary character.

Kieser also reminds us of Frisch's concept of time. In his *Tagebuch 1946-1949* Frisch designates human existence as "eine Allgegenwart des Moeglichen," and he describes the passing of time as an illusory force which mitigates against the commonality of all events within time: "eine Abwicklung, die uns nacheinander zeigt, was eigentlich ein Ineinander ist, ein Zugleich . . . ." The literary diary corresponds to this concept of time in that it takes what appear to be chronologically ordered events and combines them into a narrative whole. Frisch's documentarian in *Holozaen* shares a similar view of time. Herr Geiser is simultaneously aware of the passing of the time which remains in his life and of the unity of historical events as they combine to form human existence. Moreover, Herr Geiser's awareness of an "Allgegenwart des Moeglichen," which coincides with the stopping of the village clock, is not the result of his senility, which, it is true, relieves him of a conscious distinction between days of the week and between day and night and which enables him to relive his youthful adventures as a mountainclimber. Rather his preoccupation with prehistoric life as evidenced by the documents reminds us that the humans of the Holocene Epoch are as much a part of Herr Geiser's existence as are his twentieth-century experiences.
One aspect of the story which might appear to be inconsistent with its similarities to the Tagebuch is the third-person narrative employed throughout. But this is not the third-person narrator of the realistic novel; there is no trace of an omniscient viewpoint. Rather the narrator describes only what Herr Geiser experiences. The narrative perspective, as in the diary, is that of a single reflecting individual, who does not intend his writing to be an interpretation of his actions, thoughts, and feelings so much as a record of them.

The body of literature available to Herr Geiser includes novels as well as reference works, but Frisch's documentarian rejects the fictional works: "Romane eignen sich in diesen Tagen überhaupt nicht, da geht es um Menschen in ihrem Verhältnis zu sich und zu anderen..." Instead, the documented information in the work is of an impersonal nature and accessible to the general public. Yet the reasons for paying particular attention to certain passages are purely private ones, and the documents have a special importance for only one individual. It is the combination of these nonfictive elements within the private sphere of a fictional text which reveal how one person confronts his old age and his place in time.

Frisch's use of scattered bits of encyclopaedic information differs markedly from the techniques employed in most other documentary works produced in the 1970s, for
example, the historical information used by Alexander Kluge, Uwe Johnson, and Hans Magnus Enzensberger, and the need for social reform pointed out by Guenter Wallraff, Erika Runge, Sarah Kirsch, and Maxie Wander. Frisch has placed no activist designs on his documents, which distinguishes his writings fundamentally from those of other authors mentioned here, even those who share the spirit of "New Subjectivity." The single exception appears to be Kluge's *Lernprozesse mit toedlichem Ausgang* (1973), in which an account of a future society is illustrated with photographs of unfamiliar people and things which have been assigned fictitious identities. The documents' aesthetic function of illustrating and lending "authenticity" to the fictional text of *Lernprozesse* bears some resemblance to Frisch's use of documents but is not so far-reaching. Herr Geiser's snippets of information do more than illustrate what Frisch describes, they complement the fiction with indications of the nature of Herr Geiser's ponderings, curiosities, and fears.

The solely private significance of the documents in *Holozaen*, coupled with the distance which Frisch has created between himself and the documents, suggests a connection between *Holozaen* and Frisch's attitude toward documentary literature as a whole. By writing in the third person, Frisch has made Herr Geiser the ostensible selector and editor of the documents within the story. Frisch's
third-person description of Herr Geiser (who is never referred to with any greater degree of familiarity) and his relation of the documentary process in *Holozaen* may reflect Frisch's own rejection of documentation as a means for expressing one's ideas.

He rejects documentation, among other reasons, for its inherent limitations. If we compare Herr Geiser to a typical collector of documents, the information he nails and tapes onto his wall becomes a parallel to the corpus of documents available to the documentary writer. Frisch makes it explicitly clear at the story's beginning that once Herr Geiser has excluded fictional works from consideration, the amount of material available to his documentarian in the isolated house is severely limited: "Eine Bibliothek kann man es nicht nennen, was Herrn Geiser in diesen Tagen . . . zur Verfuegung steht . . ." (p. 17). But the necessity to confine one's writing to a particular category of material or to the material at the disposal of the documentary writer is not he only constriction to be found in documentary writing. Frisch's belief that documents become less meaningful when included in literature finds expression also in *Holozaen*. The danger within contemporary literature of documents losing their original function of proof and becoming haphazard bits of reality is suggested when those selected by Herr Geiser early in the story appear to be pointless later: "Als Herr Geiser vor der Zettelwand steht,
erinnert er sich nicht, wie er darauf gekommen ist, Abbildungen von Saurien und Lurchen auszuschneiden und an die Wand zu kleben—" (pp. 122-23). Another problem familiar to documentary literature arises when Herr Geiser removes documents from their sources. As he cuts pictures from a natural history, he discovers that the information on the reverse side of the page has been rendered unusable, and he realizes, "der Text . . . wäre vielleicht nicht minder aufschlußreich gewesen; nun ist dieser Text zerstueckelt, unbrauchbar fuer die Zettelwand" (p. 116). The selection of one document from a particular source always has the potential of replacing and obscuring another valid point. Frisch clearly shows that the documents fail to serve the purpose for which Herr Geiser intended them. His scraps of paper are inconclusive and unhelpful as evidence of Herr Geiser's knowledge. In addition their meaning is private. He refuses to receive visitors, and when a scientist friend calls at the house, Herr Geiser, perhaps aware that the documents would be meaningless to others, feels a sense of shameful annoyance at the possibility that an outsider might see his Zettelwand (p. 111).

Moreover, despite his preoccupation with documented fact, there is doubt as to the accuracy of Herr Geiser's understanding of the origin of his species. Did the human being appear in the Holocene Epoch? Natural histories, including the one which Herr Geiser appropriates for his
wall, refute his apparently firm belief ("Der Mensch erscheint im Holozaen," p. 103) and tell us that humans appeared during the earlier Pleistocene Epoch (p. 28). The anchors which Herr Geiser attempted to place in reality simply cannot hold. At the story's end the amassed documentation is as functionless as Herr Geiser himself: "die Zettel liegen auf dem Teppich, ein Wirrwarr, das keinen Sinn gibt" (p. 137). "Alle die Zettel, ob an der Wand oder auf dem Teppich, koennen verschwinden" (p. 139). As Herr Geiser slips into the final helplessness of a stroke, duly clipping the definitions of the words Erosion, Eschatologie, kohaerent, and Schlaganfall from his lexicon, the ultimate futility of documenting reality becomes clear; and we are reminded of an opinion about the role of literature which Frisch had expressed years earlier. In Tagebuch 1946-1949 he notes "die Selbstaufgabe der Dichtung, die ihre Ohnmacht erkennt, ihre Ohnmacht zeigt."¹² In Holozaen Frisch continues to undercut his own literary activity: his rejection of documentation must also include his own Tagebuecher. He would likely maintain that it is precisely the impotence of literature which contemporary documentary writers do not recognize. Enzensberger has proclaimed the ineffectualness of fiction but continues to hope for sociopolitical change through his writings. Frisch's foray into documentation has brought documents from the public sphere into the private sphere, and by denouncing documents
he has emphasized again the importance of fiction as an appropriate response to the times.

Returning to *Tagebuch 1966-1971*, we find another important link to *Holozaen*, which entails not only structure or language but also content. In a fragment entitled "Skizze eines Unglückes (II)" Frisch foreshadows Herr Geiser's isolation in *Holozaen*. He imagines a house and its single occupant on an island which has just been ravaged by a storm, and a scenario similar to that involving Herr Geiser follows. The man leaves his house and swims into the ocean, continuing until he can swim no farther and until he no longer can see land. The fragment ends rather ominously here, but the suggested outcome of the unfortunate man's situation is no different from the impending demise of Herr Geiser. At one point in *Holozaen* Herr Geiser leaves his house and embarks on a long hike through the mountains. He revels in complete privacy: "Die Gewißheit, daß niemand wissen kann, wo Herr Geiser sich in diesem Augenblick befindet, hat Herr Geiser genossen" (p. 96). The passage is characterized by an unusual absence of the befuddlement that Herr Geiser experiences at home. He proceeds with certainty and deliberateness: "Herr Geiser weiß, was er tut" (p. 89). This portion of the story is notable also because Herr Geiser has no documents at hand. The account of the hike is uninterrupted by snippets of "reality." Immediately upon his return home, however, Herr Geiser feels he must resume
his documentation, as Frisch describes it elsewhere, "um
sich behaust zu fühlen in dieser Welt." Herr Geiser's
confusion resumes as well, and his demise is certain as we
are told, "Herr Geiser wird das Tal nicht verlassen" (p.
111).

**Holozaen** is a private, fictional work, which, like much
of Frisch's previous writing, confronts the problems of
aging and death. Frisch recognizes the basic importance of
real elements combined in the subjective whole of fiction,
and he has not only incorporated documents into **Holozaen**,
but also has adopted a documentary style in his fictional
narrative. This combination of fictive and non-fictive
elements is a process evident also in the origins of
**Holozaen**. Frisch admits that the sources for the work
include his own walks in the mountains where Herr Geiser
hikes, and the autobiographical material is complemented by
Frisch's observations of a Swiss neighbor, who, like Herr
Geiser, lived as a hermit, recording information on bits of
paper. But in **Holozaen** Frisch asserts the primacy of
fictive and subjective elements in literature: not only are
Herr Geiser's attempts at documenting reality fruitless, but
Frisch also has demonstrated in **Holozaen** his insistence that
a carefully documented account of his eccentric neighbor is
less meaningful than his own fictionalization of the man.

In an interview Frisch asked the question, "Hat aber
die Literatur, ich meine was nach der Meinung eines
Großkritikers diesen Namen verdient, hat das nichts zu tun mit der konkreten Erfahrung der condition humaine, also was ihr das Private nennt . . . ?"15 With Holozaen, Frisch answers his question in the affirmative. Documentation and his observations of reality have been used to reaffirm his belief in the value of literature centered in the private sphere. While he would freely admit that his work is powerless to help one confront the end of life, he nonetheless has communicated konkrete Erfahrung to reflect the condition humaine. In this sense, Frisch's writing is a swim in the ocean, a hike in the Alps, a moment of clarity and personal freedom preceding the return to chaos.

Frisch believes that the dominance of fictionality over the nonfictive elements of his prose is, as Jan Knopf stated in the study cited earlier, a response to the times, and not a flight from them.16 Thus it is actually Frisch's conception of the condition humaine, more than the way in which he reflects it, which distinguishes him from many of his contemporaries. Der Mensch erscheint im Holozaen is characterized not only by Frisch's long-held view of the world as a chaotic place which is best defined in terms of erosion and hopeless isolation: it is also marked by an equally insistent rejection of contrary views, held by those of his contemporaries who seek alternatives to the chaos.
Notes

Chapter Three: Max Frisch


3 Max Frisch, Tagebuch 1946-1949, WA IV, p. 634.


5 Frisch, as quoted in Kieser, p. 150.


7 Kieser, p. 17.

8 Kieser, pp. 35-36.

9 Kieser, pp. 28 ff.


11 Max Frisch, Der Mensch erscheint im Holozaen. Eine Erzaehlung, (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979), p. 16. All further references to this work appear in the text.


14 Frisch, as quoted in Raddatz, p. 15.

15 Frisch, as quoted in Raddatz, p. 15.

16 Knopf, p. 149.
CHAPTER IV. ALEXANDER KLUGE

In the 1960s Alexander Kluge's interest in documentary prose first surfaced in Lebensläufe. Anwesenheitsliste für eine Beerdigung (1962), a collection of first and third person narratives, conversations, anecdotes and reportage. The skillful mixture of fact and fiction in Lebensläufe prefigures later challenges to the reader's critical judgment, and, as Albert von Schirnding has noted, "Dabei ist die Komposition . . . aus Rückblende und Aktualitätsenschau raffiniert genug, um den Leser immer wieder dazu aufzufordern, hinter der Montage den erlösenden Zusammenhang zu suchen, der alles erklärt." Kluge employed a similar principle in Schlachtbeschreibung (1964). The work is an account of the Battle of Stalingrad, based on official documents and press releases, which are contrasted with eyewitness accounts. The disagreement between the two sources of information in Schlachtbeschreibung raises questions and involves the reader's individual judgment in ways that were to become characteristic of Kluge's later work. Wilhelm Voßkamp and Klaus Berghahn have both pointed out that in Schlachtbeschreibung Kluge presents the reader
through" the documents. As VoBkamp puts it, "Schlachtbeschreibung liefert also keine bloBe Dokumentensammlung, vielmehr ist es gerade die auswaehlende Perspektive, die das Material durchsichtig machen soll, um den Leser den Blick fuer moegliche Ursachen des Geschehens zu oeffnen." If examined closely, then, documents can be found not only to report an event; they can also themselves be a key to understanding the attitudes and processes which contributed to the event. As the reader begins to "see through" documents, it might even be discovered that the origin of a document can lie in a desire to skew or otherwise distort historical understanding. Ursula Reinhold, writing in the GDR, maintains that Schlachtbeschreibung shows how truth can be concealed by documents rather than brought to light. There is a suggestion in this comment that there is an available and absolute truth with regard to Stalingrad and that accounts are measurable in their accuracy according to the extent of their deviation from this truth. Reinhold's suggestion actually illustrates a point Kluge makes concerning documented arguments: they are unavoidably subject to ideological tendencies. Kluge's work includes several filmscripts as well, and he also subsequently turned these into films with himself as director (for example, Gelegenheitsarbeit einer Sklavin, 1973, Der starke Ferdinand, 1975, and a contribution to the collective work
Deutschland im Herbst, 1978.) In addition, he has contributed to and edited an anthology of essays on film, Bestandsaufnahme: Utopie Film (1983). Together with Oskar Negt, he wrote the previously-quoted Oeffentlichkeit und Erfahrung (1972) and also the later theoretical work, Geschichte und Eigensinn (1981).

In the 1970s Kluge devoted even more attention to a documentary approach to prose. Lernprozesse mit toedlichem Ausgang (1974) is a series of third-person narratives interwoven with reflections on historical events and including a fictional account of future happenings in outer space, for which Kluge adapted such twentieth-century documents as photographs from the time of the Third Reich. There followed in 1977 Neue Geschichten. Hefte 1-18 "Unheimlichkeit der Zeit." Much of Neue Geschichten is historical in nature, lending a deliberate ambiguity to the title of this series of stories and histories. The work contains some of the best examples of Kluge's documentary and pseudo-documentary technique, and these will form the basis for the discussion to follow.

Heft 2 of Neue Geschichten, entitled "Der Luftangriff auf Halberstadt am 8. April 1945," deserves particular attention. In his foreword to the book, Kluge attaches autobiographical significance to that section by revealing that he was in Halberstadt at the time of the air raid. Moreover, he admits to his lack of commitment to documentary
exactitude and at the same time defends his approach as a means for telling what really happened in Halberstadt. In the foreword he writes of "Verkürzungen:" "Einige Geschichten zeigen Verkürzungen. Genau dies ist dann die Geschichte. Die Form des Einschlags einer Sprengbombe ist einprägsam. Sie enthält eine Verkürzung. Ich war dabei, als am 8. April 1945 in 10 Meter Entfernung so etwas einschlug." A close look at this account of the bombing of Kluge's home town will help elucidate the role of authenticity in his documentary technique in general and the specific function of his technique as a tool in the service of Vergangenheitsbewältigung.

Kluge's technique permits him to enjoy the narrative advantages of dialogue between characters without always subjecting himself to the obligations and restrictions of a truly documentary account. Some direct questions are asked without quotation marks, for example, when a suspicious photographer, whose pictures illustrate Kluge's account, is questioned by authorities just after the air raid: "Der Führer . . . fragte ihn deshalb: Was haben Sie da fotografiert?" (p. 38), "Was soll jetzt noch im April Spionage im Berggelaende? fragte Oberleutnant von Humboldt" (p. 41). In a later passage, also without quotation marks, Kluge even adapts the first person form during much of the narrative about a wedding party that was interrupted by the air raid, but he lapses into the third person with little
transition: "Ich war heute früh um 6 Uhr hier und habe geguckt. Wollte euch nicht hierherlaufen lassen und nichts ist vorbereitet. Blumen und alles. Das sagte die Brautmutter, als sie vom Dom her ankamen ..." (p. 48).

Elsewhere direct quotes are given in quotation marks, as when the author reproduces the thoughts of a cemetery groundskeeper as he expresses concern for the safety of his horses during the attack: "'Sane schaenen fare sind'n tir verjenejen'" (p. 44). Finding cover in an open grave during the bombing, the groundskeeper takes advantage of the period of inactivity to take a nap. Kluge attributes two lines of spoken verse to the man's thoughts, inserting them into the narrative: "'Macht alle alten Jahre neu / macht alle Zeiten satt'" (p. 44). The use of direct quotes leaves the impression of documentary exactitude, but we must surmise that it is likely nothing more than an impression. The use of Plattdeutsch, which Kluge translates into standard German in a footnote, suggests that the author had access to the groundskeeper's actual words. Unlike Enzensberger, however, he gives no indication of how he might have come by this information. Furthermore, he calls into question the authenticity of the quotes with his own inconsistency: in reproducing the lines of verse Kluge switches from the earlier Plattdeutsch to Hochdeutsch, but with a footnote that states, "Er sagt das auf Platt" (p. 44).
But besides yielding technical insight into his methods, the quote from the groundskeeper also directly reflects Kluge's intentions for "Luftangriff." He is actualizing a chapter from the history of his home town, ("making old times new,") and thereby filling ("macht satt") a need for understanding which is shared by people of all generations ("alle Zeiten").

Kluge invites an even stronger doubt about the authenticity of those comments attributed to members of the wedding party when he informs us that they died during the attack. After conveying words spoken by the mother of the bride, Kluge describes their descent into the cellar as the air raid commenced, then informs us, "Zwoelf Minuten spaeter sind sie alle verschuettet" (p. 48). The only member of the party not to have suffocated in the collapsed shelter was the bride's unidentified brother, who remained above in his duty as an air raid warden. He, then, can be Kluge's only source of information about the conversation among the wedding guests. While the quotes attributed to the party are credible, complete accuracy was not Kluge's primary intention. Rather his technique makes it possible to cope with, recollect, or become aware of the bombing without his having created a memorial to specific people, and thus an account of limited appeal and applicability.

The passages cited above are important to an understanding of Kluge's method and its relation to
authenticity. They illustrate three elements of the author's technique: direct quotes, the use of dialect, and the use of footnotes. Kluge, however, while employing these elements, also undercuts the authority one usually attaches to them. A hallmark of Kluge's approach to documentary writing is that these contradictory signals actually work in tandem to produce a desired effect. For example, the footnotes with which Kluge embellishes the text of Neue Geschichten might suggest a scientific historical approach. The content of the notations, however, most frequently serves as a mere extension of the story Kluge tells in the text, rather than as a scholarly undergirding for it. The content of one or both of the notes described above, for example, could just as easily have been incorporated into the groundskeeper's account. Their separation from the text suggests that they are contrived addenda. Attributing words to a particular speaker serves to lend a sense of credibility to the account while also giving the narrative a livelier pace and heightening reader interest, particularly when native dialect brings the reader closer to the events being conveyed. However, by occasionally omitting quotation marks or altering the dialect of the speaker, Kluge simultaneously undermines the authenticity of an eyewitness account which was initially suggested by his technique.

To return to the "unknown photographer," we find here another example of how Kluge recalls the bombing of his home
town by combining documentation and fiction in such a way as to present a supposedly objective account by subjective means. The series of photographs, showing bomb damage and recognizable locales in Halberstadt, is accompanied by Kluge's undocumented prose account of the photographer's experiences while photographing. Kluge's subjective input into the narrative reveals itself in passages such as the following plausible yet unsubstantiated assertion concerning a militiaman who interrogates the photographer on suspicion of espionage: "Der Streifenfuehrer, angesichts der hochrangigen Ereignisse dieses Tages an eine verhaeltnismaeBig langweilige Waldstelle gebannt, konnte nicht hoffen, an diesem Tag einen besseren Fang als diesen zu machen" (p. 40).

The author's personalized narrative of such events enlivens the account and encourages his readers to imagine themselves in the midst of the activity being described. Kluge's narrative style furthers this attempt to sweep the reader up in the action by beginning the account in medias res, before "the man" referred to in the opening line has been explained as the source of the photographs to follow: "Der Mann wurde in der Nahe des Bismarck-Turms/ Spiegelsberge von einer Militaerstreife gestellt" (p. 38).

Having piqued the interest of his readers in the identity of this unknown man, Kluge perpetuates the mystery while simultaneously exploiting it as an opportunity to
present documents in new and interesting ways. It is entirely possible that the photographs in Kluge's text did not all originate with the same photographer, indeed that the "unknown photographer" is not an actual person but rather a structural device invented by the author for the purpose of presenting the Halberstadt photographs in a narrative context. The idea for the photographer was possibly suggested by historical fact: it is quite likely that any number of suspicious persons were detained by the authorities in Halberstadt, especially given the presence of munitions works hidden underground in the area. However, had Kluge truly been interested in documenting a case of detention on suspicion of espionage, he could have gone considerably farther in providing the reader with pertinent information. His own text gives rise to the dubiousness of the "unknown photographer."

Through the photographs, a map and his own prose, he conveys to the reader his own intimate familiarity with his home town. Through reading Kluge's report of the bomb damage, one gradually becomes familiar with the main streets and intersections, as well as with the locations of landmarks such as taverns, churches and cafes. When the photographer was apprehended, and before he escaped, Kluge attributes to him the following explanation: "Er behauptete, Inhaber eines Fotogeschaefts am Breiten Weg zu sein . . . (p. 39). This story is lent some credence by
"Foto Nr. 1," supposedly from the man's confiscated camera, which shows a view of that particular street. However, the author's knowledge of Halberstadt and his research capabilities are not employed to determine whether there had been one or more camera shops on the Breiter Weg, and if so, whether a camera shop proprietor from that street vanished on April 8. Clearly, he is interested in the appearance of authenticity, not in proving the actual authenticity for each of his documentary presentations. Even so, his account of the "unknown photographer" and the accompanying photographs inform us of the extent of the devastation of Halberstadt in 1945. This much authentic information is a necessary basis for Kluge's attempt at coping with the war-time past and examining the course of postwar events.

The author also includes information in the form of two interviews. Both are supposedly the products of reporters' postwar investigations into the bombing. The source of the first conversation, "Interview mit Brigadier Anderson," is given only as "der Reporter Kunzert, Halberstädter" (p. 75). The undated conversation supposedly took place at a conference of the "Institute for Strategic Research." Kluge includes authentic photographs of General Frederick L. Anderson, chief of the Eighth Air Force Bomber Command in 1945. There is also an unclear and badly reproduced photograph merely labeled "Reporter Kunzert" (p. 81). The words of the reporter and Anderson are divided into an
alternating sequence, as if the interview were transcribed from a recording. Yet Kluge gives no indication of where or even whether this interview ever appeared prior to its appearance in *Neue Geschichten*. The second dialogue is entitled "Interview eines Korrespondenten der *Neuen Zuericher Zeitung* mit einem hohen Stabsoffizier" and purports to be a conversation between a reporter, named Keller, and Brigadier General Robert B. Williams, an aide to Ira C. Eaker. He mentions the name of the newspaper but again fails to provide evidence, such as a publication date, that the interview is authentic. No explanation is offered as to how the responses of English-speaking interviewees appear in German; whether they were translated, and if so, by whom.

Both interviews are freely interrupted by subjective third-person commentary and narrative description, beginning, for example with an explanation of the setting: "Sie sitzen auf Barhockern im Hotel 'Strand'" (p. 75). Some of the inserted commentary reveals the unhappiness of the reporters with their subjects: "Es war eine Verstimmung eingetreten zwischen den beiden. Der Reporter lehnte es ab, eine Tasse Kaffee anzunehmen" (p. 80). This dissatisfaction seems well-founded when the interviewees are faulted for displaying flippant behavior. General Anderson, for example, seems almost addle-brained in his response to Kunzert's first question about the Halberstadt raid:
REPORTER: Sie sind also nach dem Frühstück losgeflogen?
ANDERSON: Richtig. Schinken mit Eiern, Kaffees.
Ich lese Kriminalromane immer auf die Stellen hin, in denen der Detektiv viermal Schinken und Eier und drei Portionen Kaffee vertilgt. Das gibt mir ein Gefühl von Masse. Essen würde ich das nicht (p. 75).

The subjective nature of Kluge's interview format becomes most clear when the conclusion of the second interview lapses into a very personal exchange between the reporter and his subject, General Williams:

NZZ: Ich wollte ja nur wissen, was Sie davon denken.
WILLIAMS: Als Offizier oder als Historiker?
NZZ: Mehr privat.
WILLIAMS: Und das wissen Sie jetzt?
NZZ: Habe ich eine Frage vergessen? (p. 84).

It is possible that Kluge could somehow have access to the exact words used by a real reporter, even those comments and questions which would not have been included in a printed interview. Once again, however, it is the possibility that such an interview could have taken place, rather than its probability, which he exploits as a vehicle for presenting his readers with relevant information. This time the trappings of documentation are used in order to create a subjective framework around the information imparted. We learn, for example, from these interviews, as if from knowledgeable sources, certain aspects of World War II air warfare. They remind us that it is dangerous for airplanes to return to base carrying unused bombs, once
plans against a primary target have been cancelled (p. 79); that the monetary value of the explosives was a factor in the policy of dropping bombs only on strategic or populated areas, so as not to "waste" them (p. 79); and that the bombing of inner city areas was intended to lower the morale of German civilians (p. 83). At the same time, Kluge's method of pseudo-documentation conveys a private disapproval of callous and mechanical attitudes toward war.

Despite the factual nature of the interview format, Kluge has certainly not precluded the possibility for making his own input and opinions felt. The disapproval of the bombing indicated in the first interview by the Halberstaedter Kunzert is the disapproval of the Halberstaedter Kluge. Moreover, the author cleverly follows the interview attributed to Kunzert with an interview supposedly conducted by a Swiss reporter who has "neutralen Status" (p. 82), and who might thus be considered objective. However, by ending the interview with General Williams (as quoted earlier) on a private note, and by abruptly closing the conversation, this reporter also betrays his disquiet at the deliberate bombing of civilian targets and with attempts at rationalizing this practice. Writing as a documentarian has enabled Kluge both to analyze the actual historical circumstances of an event and to editorialize, that is, to react personally to the event as an episode from his own experience.
Studies by literary historians have isolated Kluge's method of combining fact and fiction as a general characteristic of his writing, one which is further illustrated by this discussion of Neue Geschichten. Christoph Eykman has noted in Kluge's work a new function of realia as components of fiction. Von Schirnding, in a similar vein, describes Kluge's method as a means of uniting the real and the possible. Rainer Lewandowski concurs and attributes to Kluge an "ausfabelnde Tendenz," which he considers a tendency, "das Moegliche aus einer gesellschaftlichen Situation herauszudenken." VoBkamp also maintains that Kluge's peculiar portrayal of historical facts rests upon the nature of source selection as well as upon the his commentary on or stylization of those sources. The author himself, in an interview recorded prior to the publication of Neue Geschichten, outlined his approach as a "Nachahmung der Realitaet," grounded in the reality of "was ich beobachte," and refined in a procedure that he characterizes as "Sortierung der Wirklichkeit."

While these observations are useful for a general understanding of Kluge's operating principles, neither he nor any of the critics cited above have connected the aesthetic and theoretical questions of authenticity, documentation and fiction to the account related in "Luftangriff." More to the point, the critics have failed to discuss Kluge's technique as a means of
Vergangenheitsbewältigung. "Luftangriff" provides an excellent opportunity for examining how his "pseudo-documentation" serves the autobiographical and social function of coming to terms with World War II. The dynamic of a subjective framework for objective information allows first for recollection of wartime destruction and suffering, but Kluge's account also provides for reflection on the attitudes and policies that accompanied the actual events. The fictional components to his narration permit the author and the reader vicariously to explore possibilities for coping with the destruction, i.e. affixing blame on Allied officers or planners or even on a possible traitor (the unknown photographer); or ultimately, as we shall see, assuming an attitude of considered resignation.

The sections of Neue Geschichten concerned with the unknown photographer and the newspaper interviews support the general observations of Kluge scholars, who point out that he presents pertinent factual and historical information in a manner of his own choosing and also infuses the information with private commentary. Other of his documents, however, have a quite different function: behind the pastiche of documents and pseudo-documents in Neue Geschichten is a keen awareness of both the limitations of documents and of the human tendency to rely upon them unquestioningly as evidence of truth. Some documents tend
to reveal less about the text's historical subject matter than about the nature and possible effects of Kluge's own documentary style.

One interview provides an example of Kluge's tendency to use his documentary style to call the value of documents into question. Kluge criticizes the interview with General Anderson for completely failing to give the reporter (or the reader) a viable picture of the bomber force and its mission, even after Kunzert manages to steer Anderson back to the subject of the air raid:

REPORTER: Wenn Sie das mal nicht aufzählen, sondern anschaulich machen. Was sieht man?

Anderson konnte kein anschauliches Bild vermitteln (p. 75).

Many of the documents included here are technical in nature and in "Luftangriff" include "Staffelung der Kampfbloecke, denen auBerplanmaeBige Maschinen vorausfliegen" (pp. 66-67) and "Die Ware" (pp. 72-73). Rather than explicit photographs or straightforward questions and answers, these documents are highly detailed graphic illustrations of airplane formations and bomb components, supposedly relevant to the bombing of Halberstadt. In fact, however, their significance is accessible only to readers well-versed in military science and in explosives technology. For the average reader they
serve as a Verfremdungstechnik, in that they tend initially to confuse rather than to enlighten. While illustrating his work with technical support material, Kluge is also tacitly reminding the reader that documentation of subject matter does not necessarily contribute to a deeper understanding of it.

The graphs are thus a visual complement to Anderson's pertinent but unhelpful explanations. They precede the interview with General Anderson, which contains details of the forces and equipment available for use in the attack on Halberstadt. Anderson's own references to technical details, as well as the placement of the interview at a conference of the "Institute for Strategic Research," suggest that anonymously official strategy and a barrier of technology have been used by experts to direct attention away from human concerns. Moreover, this particular example illustrates a more general point made by Rolf Kieser, who has noted how Kluge demonstrates in documents the irrelevance of individuals to any kind of Staatsraison.11 One of the reasons Anderson's attitude is objectionable is that he tends to dehumanize the events in Halberstadt, to view them only from the distant standpoint of a technician. Likewise, the graphs and charts in question represent only a structure for thought. They are themselves a perplexing barrier of technology which hinders one's attempts to perceive the reality of the situation.
The implications of documents that actually obscure a facet of reality rather than illuminate it are twofold: on the one hand, Kluge suggests that a degree of reserve or even skepticism on the part of the reader toward the author's use of documentation is only healthy. Moreover, if by encouraging his readers to question the usefulness of documents, Kluge also discourages them from believing that documents are sacred, or that they are possessed of unquestionable integrity, then he has also helped to legitimate his unorthodox technique of elsewhere using pseudo-documents to make his points. The subjectively fictional interviews reveal more about the raid on Halberstadt than do the objectively factual charts and graphs.

The unhelpful nature of some documents is a factor on more than one level. Not only do technical documents chosen by the author appear less than useful to his readers but also to the characters within the fictional framework. Part of Kluge's narrative about Halberstadt, for example, is in the form of a first-person account, presented largely in the present tense and attributed to an unnamed officer in the fire brigade. This fireman informs the reader of a number of statistics and other data about the city, which ordinarily might be of use to firefighters, but which are rendered useless by the overwhelming circumstances of the calamity: "Sie dürfen nicht denken, daß wir dazu mit dem
In these conditions technical information seems to be merely a distraction from the pressing task at hand. Decisions cannot be dictated, for example, by examination of data about the relative solidity of local structures. Rather the actions of the fire brigade are determined both by the practical consideration of its limited resources and by the establishment of humane priorities which are often less than practical. The hospital is favored over the theater: "Selbstverständlich hätte ich das Theater retten können. . . . Das war eine klare Entscheidung: muß man abbrennen lassen" (p. 100). Purely practical reasoning is abandoned, however, in the decision to save the house of the poet J. W. L. Gleim: "Warum haben wir eigentlich diese paar Ölgemälde und wackeligen Tische retten sollen? fragen die Helfer. Was war hieran wichtig? . . . Das Andenken Gleims" (p. 92). Of course Kluge's selection of these accounts has the added effect of emphasizing not only that the air raid was a destroyer of culture but also that his home town is a cultural center.

Kluge's way of dealing with documents and technical considerations are seen also in the account of an officer in another city, who, after the bombing, desperately tries to
ascertain the fate of a particular house in Halberstadt and the well-being of the owners of that house—presumably family or friends. Because of the partially-destroyed telephone system, Oberst Kuhlacke arranges ingeniously circuitous trunk calls to operable telephones in or near Halberstadt. When he does receive an answer to his queries about the house, he rejects them as inconclusive: "Sie sagten: Das ist alles zerstoert. Vermutungen, sagte der Oberst. Er hatte einen Lageplan der Stadt im Verhältnis 1:200 000 vor sich liegen . . ." (p. 89). But the maps and diagrams to which the officer turns for information and understanding do not illuminate the situation: "Mehrfach kam die Rückantwort: Die sind alle tot. Bare Vermutung, sagte der Oberst. Reden Sie nicht StuB, ereiferte sich der Oberst. Er hatte die Stadtkarte vor sich. Aufgrund der sich vervollständigenden Eintragungen schien es ihm ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß der Lindenwegteil vom Brand erfaßt wäre" (p. 90).

Moreover, the "telefonistisch komplizierte Gesprächsstoepselung" (p. 90) is also ultimately of little value to Kuhlacke, but serves, along with the city maps, as a means for believing only that what wishes to believe, or for rationalizing a decision one has already made. General Anderson's belief that the Halberstadt raid was necessary finds support from diagrams of flight formations and bomb components. Oberst Kuhlacke's insistence that a certain
house in Halberstadt was unscathed might seem justifiable while viewing the address on a city map. The very ability to place telephone calls to the city, although only to a limited extent, might also help allay fears of total destruction in Halberstadt. Yet Kluge shows this means of communication to be no more an accurate reflection of the actual conditions in the city than are the Oberst's printed materials. A telephone at the city defense headquarters in the basement of the city hall, for example, was determined to be in good working order by a technician in another city, despite the his failure to receive a response from anyone at the other end when Oberst Kuhlake's call was put through. Kluge illustrates with this particular incident a larger concern addressed by the work as a whole: the view that empirical research and technical data can be irrelevant to the reality of a given human situation:

Kluge makes this point in other parts of Neue Geschichten as well. An extreme example appears in Heft 4, where we encounter SS Obersturmführer Madloch, an inspector
of work camps. Madloch conducts scientific research into the cost effectiveness of human labor under the conditions existing in the Nazi camps and reports, "... menschliche Arbeit (und auch soweit es sich um untermenschliche handelt, Nutz davon nur der menschliche Teil) ist in Form bloßer Muskelarbeit unwirtschaftlich wegen der hohen Brennstoffkosten" (p. 144). Kluge is offering an example of how human, moral questions can be decided and rationalized by considering them in terms of technical documentation.

The discrepancy between Madloch's report, annotated with medical jargon and chemical formulae, and the reality of harsh conditions in the camps becomes most evident after one prisoner hangs himself: "Madloch nahm diesen Protest-Tod fuer seinen Bericht zur Kenntnis. Er schaetzte die eigentlich unbezifferbare 'geistige Verwirrung' und den Gespraechsaustausch ueber den Vorfall unter den Haeftlingen auf eine Kraft von 10 Millionen erg (die so verloren ging)" (p. 148).

In a section at the end of the Halberstadt account, the results of an opinion poll conducted by an American researcher, James N. Eastman, are described. This attempt at documentation mitigates the tendency to jump to conclusions: Eastman expected to prove that the Halberstadt bombing had hardened the populace toward a vengeful attitude but could find no evidence of that. At the same time the Eastman study clearly underscores the problems which Kluge
associates with the use of documents and which he has illustrated in *Neue Geschichten*: the documentary technique often runs counter to the desirable integration of a subjective element into an account of actual events. Concerning one response to a question from Eastman, Kluge remarks, "Stichwort: 'Jetzt brauchen wir uns nicht mehr zu sorgen, denn wir haben ja nichts mehr.' Wie sollte der arme Eastman die Klangfarbe dieses Satzes protokollieren? Er hatte ja auch nur seinen Eindruck, konnte die qualitative Auffassung nicht in Obertoene, Anteile von Jauchzer, Traurigkeit, usf. zerlegen" (p. 106). In contrast, Kluge deliberately departs from the pseudo-objective nature of the Eastman study. He expands the concept of reality, as it is conveyed through documents, to include also that which is possible. In addition, the format into which he places this admixture of the real and the possible is always endowed with the immediacy of a documentary presentation.

Another quote from one of Eastman's respondents also has implications for Kluge's technique: "'An einem gewissen Punkt der Grausamkeit angekommen, ist es schon gleich, wer sie begangen hat: sie soll nur aufhören'" (p. 106). The focus of attention away from factual questions, such as who perpetrated the air raid, finds a parallel in Kluge's documentary approach, in which authenticity and exactitude cease to be ends in themselves and can even be irrelevant to a successful illustration of "die Unheimlichkeit der Zeit."
Even as he indulges in his "Verkürzungen," Kluge is more capable than Eastman of conveying the kinds of attitudes and reactions which Eastman sought to document.

Lewandowski has noted that in Kluge's work, even though it appears that facts are speaking for themselves, the narrator's presence is strongest precisely when he is least conspicuous.\textsuperscript{12} Certainly a key element to the technique—indeed what constitutes a driving force behind Kluge's prose—is a suspended distinction between fiction and authentic document. This distinction of course also has the effect of involving the reader's critical thought to a greater extent than does a purely scientific study, and it suggests certain limitations on the value of documentation in general. Some postulations are now in order concerning the origins of Kluge's unorthodox approach to prose. To what does Kluge owe his attitude toward documentation? An investigation of Kluge's interest in film theory will provide answers to this question and shed further light on his prose work.

Prior to writing \textit{Neue Geschichten} Kluge had already made significant observations on the relationship of fact and fiction in film, particularly with regard to recent historical dramas and pseudo-documentary film work: "Der heutige Fernseh- und Kinofilm vermischt Dokumentation und Fiktion—bis hin zur Umkehrung ihrer Funktionen: Dokumentation wird fiktiv, Fiktion hat dokumentarischen
Ausdruck . . . ."13 A later collection of essays on cinema, Bestandsaufnahme: Utopie Film, contains other indications of the extent to which Kluge's technique in prose has been influenced by his views on film. In a chapter entitled "Das Genaue und das Ungefaehre," he argues for abandoning the goal of exactitude in film, since this can actually rob the work of meaning. He envisions in place of exactitude "eine Hochkultur der Pseudogenauigkeit," and he laments the currently predominant tendency in filmmaking: "die Filmtext-Juroren pruefen die 'Genauigkeit des Autors,' wie man die Genauigkeit eines Schuelers prueft, der einen Aufsatz schreibt. Klar ist, dass diese Methode einen Verlust an Lebens- und Assoziationszusammenhang produziert, der sich nachteilig auf die Kinoerzaehlung auswirkt."14

This blend of documentation and fiction, which Kluge identifies as filmic, has the effect of bringing distinctly filmic aspects to his writing. This is particularly true of Neue Geschichten, in which Kluge creates numerous situations that could easily be found in a film script. Beginning "Luftangriff" with a visual image is quite deliberate (p. 34): a reproduced film poster announcing the feature at the local cinema at the time Halberstadt was bombed. The advertisement for Heimkehr, a 1941 UFA release heavily screened during the war, doubles as a bit of historical realia relative to wartime Halberstadt, and as a
frontispiece for Kluge's own literary return to his home town in the account that follows.

There are aspects to "Luftangriff" which are reminiscent of film technique. A filmmaker has the capacity for arranging visual images in such a way as to divaricate from the constant linear progression of the film by appearing to accelerate or decelerate the passage of time, or even to analyze a particular moment in time with the appearance of simultaneity of different events. Filmmaker and author Kluge displays an awareness of these capabilities by analyzing the ninety minutes following the bombing. He frequently shifts perspective in order to convey what is happening at various locations (an air raid shelter, a printing shop, an apartment, a tavern) during this same time period. Kluge's filmic cutting shows how the bombing causes those affected to perceive time in a new manner, and as the subtitle to the volume indicates, to realize time as "unheimlich:" "Die Katastrophe laeuft jetzt seit 11.32 Uhr, d.h. seit fast anderthalb Stunden, aber die Uhrzeit, die gleichmaeBig wie vor dem Angriff vorbeischnurrt, und die sinnliche Verarbeitung der Zeit laufen auseinander" (p. 53).

Kluge makes clear in his foreword that the narratives to follow will not recognize conventional divisions of time. In keeping with his principle of merging the real and the possible, Kluge blurs the linear progression of time and its subsequent delineation into past and present. He reminds us
that even those events that have already occurred have a present-day potency as realities and as possible reoccurrences: "Es hat den Anschein, daß einige Geschichten nicht die Jetztzeit, sondern die Vergangenheit betreffen. Sie handeln in der Jetztzeit" (p. 9). Furthermore, while Kluge admits in his foreword that the air raid is a personal memory from his childhood, the significance of the events in Halberstadt reach beyond childhood. His treatment of the event shows that the ramifications of this memory cross the boundaries of childhood and adulthood and make such boundaries difficult to discern. This notion is presented metaphorically when Kluge describes toy soldiers being melted by the fire into unrecognizable puddles (p. 54).

It is appropriate now to return to specific examples of a filmic treatment of time in "Luftangriff." If examined from a filmic perspective, the passage concerning the wedding party, which was discussed earlier, can easily be considered a flashback. As noted above, the source of information is the bride's brother, and the story is told with shifting perspectives. The account begins in the first person with the purported words of the bride's mother; however, there is frequent insertion of a third person narrative description of the air raid. The reader gradually becomes aware that the first-person accounts are the recollections of the brother as storyteller. The technique employed here is distinctly reminiscent of a common practice
in narrative film, in which the filmmaker fades back and forth from the storyteller to a dramatization of the events being narrated. This creates the visual impression of experiencing past events, while also reminding the viewer, or in this case the reader, that the events are being narrated from the perspective of the present.

An essential element in the making of a film is editing. Allusions have been made to Kluge's editing skills in discussing how he refracted a ninety-minute time period into different but parallel realms of experience. This ability to relate simultaneity of events is seen quite clearly also in two juxtaposed passages with the subtitles "Strategie von unten" and "Strategie von oben" (pp. 55-74). By means of filmic cutting, Kluge first recounts the experiences of one Gerda Baethe, a bombing victim. The description is related as if through the lens of a camera: "Hier von ganz unten gesehen . . ." (p. 56). Kluge later cuts to the simultaneous experiences of the flight crews in the air. These are of course completely disparate experiences, and although Frau Baethe acutely feels the effects of the bombers' work, the flyers' technical concerns about altitude, flight direction and bomb tonnage are irrelevant to her immediate misery. Likewise, Kluge's account makes plain that the men above cannot see the people below and have absolutely no relationship to them: "Sie konnten weder Genaues von der Stadt wahrnehmen, noch
empfanden sie die im Moment vorsichtig gebremsten Wünsche der Baethe" (p. 62).

Kluge's narrative even approximates cutting between photographic close-ups and long shots. This is evident in the passages described above, in which the reader's attention is focused alternately on objects in the immediate vicinity of the subject ("die Eingangstür zum Gartenhäuschen," p. 55; "an der Wand hängende Salz-, Pfeffer-, Zucker-, Gewürzkästchen," p. 56); and then on objects which may be too far away to see ("zu den für Gerda nicht sichtbaren Planern in 3000 m Höhe über der Stadt ... oder auch ganz fern zu den Absprungbasen der Bomber hin, wo die höhere Planungsstäbe saßen," p. 56).

The technique of narrating by describing camera shots was of course established early in "Luftangriff" with the device of the unknown photographer. Kluge describes the man's movements and camera positions, both within the city and from a vantage point outside it. The visual rhythm of alternated close-ups and distant views is illustrated in the juxtaposition of Photos 5 and 6 (p. 42), which show, respectively, the front of the post office and a long shot containing an overview of the burning city. Kluge subsequently maintains this filmic rhythm in his prose account.

The peculiar relationship between Kluge's documentation and the principle of authenticity also has its roots in film
theory. Moreover, an examination of theoretical postulations by Kluge and others on the medium of film will further clarify the motivations behind Kluge's pseudo-documentary writing.

Walter Benjamin, in his essay "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," contributed significantly to the discussion of authenticity. Explaining his emphasis on technical reproduction, the category into which film falls, Benjamin's essay maintains that the concept of authenticity actually falls outside technical reproducibility:


Kluge's alignment of his prose with the technical medium of film means that he intends for his writing to
share with film a similar relationship to authenticity. Kluge views his recollections, photos and interviews to be just as valid and to carry just as much authority as a documentary film consisting of technically reproduced images of Halberstadt, which were collected and arranged by the filmmaker. His independent manipulation of documentary material, and the photographer's or filmmaker's technical ability to process documents for use in a mechanically reproduced medium both have the advantages, noted by Benjamin, of bringing otherwise obscure or invisible aspects of the documented events to light while also injecting documentation of the event into a new context. Furthermore, a documentary film concerned with historical reality can often be controversial, in part because by its very nature it does not contain an apparatus of substantiating documentation. Similarly, Kluge considers his writing on Halberstadt, which has much of the appearance of a documentary account, but which nonetheless is often not verifiable, to be just as valuable as a film about the bombing.

There are other parallels between Kluge's filmic approach and Benjamin's ideas about art designed for reproducibility (such as photographs). According to Benjamin, reproducibility not only diminishes the importance of authenticity, it also affects the very function of art:
Das reproduzierte Kunstwerk wird in immer steigendem Maße die Reproduktion eines auf Reproduzierbarkeit angelegten Kunstwerks. Von der photographischen Platte z.B. ist eine Vielheit von Abzügen möglich; die Frage nach dem echten Abzug hat keinen Sinn. In dem Augenblick aber, da der Maßstab der Echtheit an der Kunstproduktion versagt, hat sich auch die gesamte soziale Funktion der Kunst umgewandelt. An die Stelle ihrer Fundierung aufs Ritual tritt ihre Fundierung auf eine andere Praxis: naemlich ihre Fundierung auf Politik.16

Political concerns are the basis underlying Kluge's approach to both film and prose. At the same time, Kluge has created tales that are interesting and enjoyable for his readers and viewers. Political commentary on the nature of warfare is complemented in Neue Geschichten by a pseudo-documentary technique, that, as has been noted earlier in this chapter, tends to involve the critical judgment of the individual reader. Kluge's concept of authenticity, elucidated in his film theory, actually depends in large part upon such individual participation and is equally applicable to Neue Geschichten: "Authentizitaet heiBt: daB eine Situation stimmig ist, nicht bloB, daB ein Sachverhalt oder die Formen stimmen. Authentisch ist auch die direkte Konfrontation von kollektivem Umfeld und Individualitaet, die nicht gegeneinander verwischt werden, sondern auch einen Moment der Produktion von Individualitaet beinhalten."17 The reader's thoughts in response to Kluge's presentations will often be in a political direction, but the author also maintains that readers or viewers play an
aesthetic role, in that they themselves actually determine the nature of his work. If Kluge's thoughts on film are applied to Neue Geschichten, it becomes clear that it is not the author who makes a prose work documentary or fictive but the reader:


Kluge is actually no less concerned with authenticity in his work than are Frisch, Enzensberger or Wallraff. He insists, however, on a quite different definition of that concept, one which does not adhere to a strict requirement for exactitude. He also appears to consider "authentic representation" to be a source of pleasure as well as of enlightenment about historical events. Relying to a large extent on the properties of filmic reproduction, Kluge's pseudo-documentary technique permits him to interlace fact and fiction in such a way as to claim private, even autobiographical subject matter, as well as to treat sociohistorical topics and engage in Vergangenheits-bewaeltigung.
Notes

Chapter Four: Alexander Kluge


4 Alexander Kluge, Neue Geschichten. Hefte 1-18 "Unheimlichkeit der Zeit" (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), p. 9. All further references to this work appear in the text.

5 It is appropriate at this point to insert, however, that Kluge does not go so far as to document his identity with the Kunzert figure. The photograph of Reporter Kunzert mentioned earlier bears no likeness to that of the author.


7 von Schirnding, p. 206.


9 VoBkamp, p. 249.


12 Lewandowski, p. 18.


16 Benjamin, pp. 481-82.


18 Kluge, ed. *Bestandsaufnahme: Utopie Film*, p. 216.
CONCLUSION

The synthesis of documentary tendencies, ascribed to Kluge in the introduction to Chapter Four, becomes clear in the comparison between Neue Geschichten and works by Wallraff, Enzensberger and Frisch. Through this comparison four different possibilities for the use of documents stand out as representative of major impulses in the documentary prose of the 1970s. These uses of documents, in turn, reflect reactions to the sociopolitical trends and circumstances of the decade.

The immediacy of Guenter Wallraff's call for attention to current social problems is absent in Neue Geschichten, although Kluge addresses pressing social and political concerns in some of his film work. The similarities between Kluge and Wallraff lie in their respective techniques, both of which are inherently subjective yet carefully designed to allow for the engagement of a broad circle of readers. Wallraff's information about journalistic abuses and working and living conditions is mostly derived from his personal experiences. Although his works present a view of corporate practices in the Federal Republic and occasionally focus on other problems, such as political oppression in Greece, they
also present an account of Guenter Wallraff's activities and career.

A focusing upon the self and personal needs and accomplishments and a concomitant retreat from politics are attitudes often attributed to the 1970s, as implied by the decade's popular descriptor "the me-generation." However, the 1960s and the social concerns about war and injustice which were expressed during that decade are not forgotten in the documentary prose of the 1970s. Kluge and Wallraff illustrate the balance between the personal and the public, the subjective and the distantly objective, which characterizes much of the documentary writing of the decade. Kluge's stories, for example, often deal with World War II, though he touches on numerous other topics as well. The bulk of his material, however, is either set in or around his home town or it concerns itself with people from that town. Thus, the book and its documents have the effect of portraying Kluge's place of birth, its history and the environment in which the author lived as a youth.

At times Kluge's technique resembles Wallraff's method of surreptitiously obtaining information, then conveying it in the form of reportage. Documents are presented for purposes of enlightenment, as sources of unique insight. The privilege of access to this insight is due only to the author's work as documentarian. In "Luftangriff" Kluge employs the device of an unknown photographer and invites us
to follow the path he takes during the hours following the bombing of Halberstadt. The text is punctuated by examples of his photographs, making readers aware of the immediate aftermath of the air raid, and doing so in such a way as to impress upon them that the information was obtained under unusual, even dangerous circumstances, by a man who could have been a spy. Yet nothing conclusive is ascertained about the photographer, and he disappears from Kluge's narrative as mysteriously (and conveniently) as he appeared. Whereas the tendency in the documentary dramas of the 1960s might well have been a totally unmediated and forthright presentation of World War II-era documents, Kluge's prose in the 1970s employs the device of the photographer for telling a story, and by this method he focuses attention not only on Germany's wartime past, but also on the process by which information is relayed and received.

Kluge, like Wallraff, invites the public to share in privately obtained information, with the effect that Kluge too appears as something of an Aufmacher, examining the dialectic of public and private spheres. Even an account as public as an act of war is recounted from private sources and portrayed in terms of its effects upon private individuals (a family in an air raid shelter, a civil defense volunteer in a church tower). By the same token, however, Kluge's foray into a private home in Halberstadt, in the piece entitled "Jahrgang 1892," moves the family
(left anonymous by the author) into the public sphere. Not unlike Wallraff's dynamic of public and private spheres, several interior photographs turn the privacy of the home inside out. Details of a single representative household are used to render a description of a generation.

There are also marked differences between Wallraff and Kluge. Wallraff focuses on well-defined issues: corporate practices, health care, fascism, Bild, etc. His didactic approach is designed to encourage his readers to learn, then use the newly acquired information as a point of departure for concerted action. There is less concreteness in Kluge's work. Even when Kluge concerns himself with a distinct issue, such as the questionable decision to bomb Halberstadt, his treatment tends less to spur indignation, sympathy or the desire to assume a particular standpoint; rather it subsumes the issue into a mass of diverse examples illustrating the nebulous concept of "Unheimlichkeit der Zeit," including quirks, contradictions, inequities and curiosities of human existence. But for Wallraff the "Unheimlichkeit der Zeit" is a given. His documentation is intended not just to point out the contradictions of history, but to combat them, to contribute to the process by which time can be made less unheimlich. Of the four authors discussed, Wallraff is thus the most closely linked to sociopolitical concerns and actions. His writings continue
the articulation of issues that first found significant followings during the 1960s.

The difference in the intentions of Wallraff and Kluge of course also has implications for the nature of the documents used. Within the context of Wallraff's realism, reliability to the point of verifiableness is necessary in order for the author to affect readers' opinions about particular situations. Were his intended readers to suspect fabricated documents, they would be less likely to become concerned about a particular injustice, even if they found the situation completely imaginable. The issues Kluge raises are less immediate, or if they have an immediacy, then it is for Kluge himself, as is the case with the attack on his home town. That is, he is not attempting to agitate for direct involvement in social processes. The diverse documents provided by Kluge are assembled in the mind of the individual reader with individualized results. Kluge does not call for concerted action in response to his documents and pseudo-documents; rather his writings encourage individual reflection upon phenomena that are distinctly possible in the course of human life. The accuracy of situation, rather than the exactitude of detail, is Kluge's standard for authenticity.

Kluge serves as an interesting point of comparison also to Enzensberger's documentary work. Clearly both Enzensberger and Kluge share a concern for how history is
conveyed and perceived. Enzensberger's comment in *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie*, "aus den Geschichten wird Geschichte"² is also the intention behind the double meaning of Kluge's title *Neue Geschichten*. Bernd Seiler's discussion, quoted in Chapter Two, of "the true face of the past, behind the mask of poetic imagination,"³ applies also to Kluge, whose imagination dictates not only the selection and arrangement of documents, but is also sometimes the source of the purported historical realia.

Kluge's pseudo-documents represent a significant difference between his approach and that of Enzensberger. Whereas the sources for material in *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* are conscientiously labeled, Kluge consistently avoids providing any such information. Enzensberger's "collective fiction," created by a multiplicity of opinions and varying accounts, is often replaced in Kluge's work by a mere appearance of collectivity, an appearance engineered by the author. Although Enzensberger is interested in introducing subjectivity into historical narrative, he clearly does not share the view that documents may be fabricated to achieve accuracy of situation, even if in the process one forfeits exactitude of detail.

As was pointed out earlier, Enzensberger's work is far from being an exacting scientific study. He deliberately participates in the construction of a myth in his account of Durruti, conveying the image of the anarchist figure as a
kind of folk hero. Folk heroes are a part of history, and both Enzensberger and Kluge display a sensibility toward them. The two authors temper their documentary techniques with invitations to the reader to identify with and appreciate the sacrifices and accomplishments of legendary figures. In a passage from Neue Geschichten entitled "Willi Scarpinski der Heizer" (pp. 358-60), for example, Kluge recounts the story of a young resident of Halberstadt, who as a child during the war managed to survive a serious illness without the benefit of hospitalization, then went on to serve the community in the postwar years by supervising the ingenious use of a steam locomotive to provide the local hospital with emergency heating. Similarly, the history of the Spanish anarchists is presented in part through a portrait of Durruti as a legendary humanitarian, an uncompromising fighter who is also remembered for his compassion and his belief in human dignity. There is little reference to Durruti's activities on the battlefield. It is the lesser publicized and more human side of war, involving sacrifice and stewardship, that interests both Enzensberger and Kluge more than do heroics in combat.

Enzensberger intentionally chooses material from a time and place alien to his German readership, drawing the reader's attention to location more than to the time in which events are occurring. Analogies which Enzensberger's readers may be encouraged to make will likely be to
geographical, political and cultural settings other than Spain: for example, to Third World revolution or even to the terrorist activity in Germany and Spain during the 1970s, which raised fears of an anarchic breakdown of law and order. Both the instability of a possible power vacuum following the rule of Franco and the violent attempts by Basque separatists to achieve autonomy from the government in Madrid made Spain a European trouble spot. Developments there evidently were watched closely by West German authorities, who were concerned with a possible spilling-over of violence into German ideological fronts, and because of sentiment in the Federal Republic in support of terrorist actions in Spain. (For example, Wallraff, in his Bericht zur Gesinnungslage des Staatsschutzes, 1975, documents the concern of the West German police over "spanischen Terroristen, die anarchistischen und trotzkistischen Gruppen angehoeren." In fact, Wallraff himself is mentioned in the same police file as a suspected affiliate of Spanish terrorists, although with the qualification, "einer unbestaetigten Information . . . zufolge." Moreover, the choice of Durruti provides a comparative historical example that can be drawn upon as a background for events in the FRG during the 1970s, just as in Durruti's time the figure of Bakunin and his anarchist struggle provided a historical point of comparison for the situation in Spain during the 1920s.
Kluge too treats distant times and places in his prose, but he relates such situations to a personally familiar German setting. Soldiers on the Eastern Front, for example, are identified as being from Halberstadt. Kluge focuses more on time than on place, and his prose highlights the Unheimlichkeit of human trauma. The private interest in Kluge's accounts is explained in the foreword to Neue Geschichten, where the author reveals the unabashedly autobiographical impulse behind his stories. Personal and autobiographical content in turn suggests still another area of comparison among the authors treated in this study.

Kluge's interest in his wartime past finds a parallel also in Max Frisch's early work. Frisch's diaries provide another set of autobiographical reflections, most notably Blaetter aus dem Brotsack, describing Frisch's own experience during World War II. While in Neue Geschichten Kluge considers the effects of war on a community at large and explores causal relationships, such as the reason for dropping the bombs on Halberstadt, Frisch presents historical documents but refrains from presenting a critical interpretation of them. However, Frisch engages in critical historical analysis much later, in his diaries. For example, Tagebuch 1966-1971 contains an account of the author's meeting with Henry Kissinger and of Frisch's visit to Wall Street, as well as reflections on US policies, particularly in Vietnam. It is significant that whereas his
diaries show that politics play a role in Frisch's thoughts, political topics have virtually no place in his fiction. Kluge, however, has sought to fuse the political and personal realms, believing that political processes have an impact in the most intimate of settings, i.e. the dropping of a bomb "in 10 Meter Entfernung." Kluge explores political and strategic machinations, because he recognizes them as part of the "Unheimlichkeit der Zeit." He reminds us that certain events, including wartime cataclysms, tend to confound our perception of a linear progression of time. Frisch's Holozaen, however, underscores that very progression by drawing our attention to a protagonist in the last stages of his life-long aging process. While Kluge, in his foreword, equates the past and the present, Frisch presents in Holozaen a notion of previous experience and understanding as irretrievable commodities. Their meaning is realized only individually, and that meaning dwindles steadily with the approach of death.

Both Kluge and Frisch evince a tendency to undercut their own documentary prose. We have seen how Holozaen is a documentary work that questions the value of documentary writing. Kluge, with his pseudo-documents, suggests that his own supporting material might not be authentic, and as a consequence of his calling his own documents into question, he also raises the possibility that documentary evidence in general might best be received *cum grano salis*. However,
this area of comparison also illustrates the central difference between the two authors. Kluge's method more directly spurs reader judgment and critical thought. Frisch wishes to offer a detailed description of a fictitious situation. There is a distinct sense of inevitability in the account of Herr Geiser's decline. In this sense, Holozaen has more in common with earlier prose and drama written by Frisch from the 1950s onward, than it does with the documentary tendencies of the 1970s. Kluge, in dealing with events of forty years ago, accepts the unchangeability of the fait accompli. This analysis asks not just what transpired, but how and why it happened, sometimes also positing alternatives by asking "what if . . .?" For example, Kluge wonders what effect would have been realized, had the town arranged to display an enormous flag of truce from the church tower, or if approaching Allied ground forces had reached Halberstadt just prior to the bombing and had attempted to abort the air raid. He thus encourages the reader to ponder ways of avoiding disasters. He discourages the reader from thinking in terms of inevitabilities. Frisch's documentation of Herr Geiser's demise, on the other hand, bears little overt connection to sociopolitical issues, such as inquiry into the nature of postwar Vergangenheitsbewaeltigung and the individual's response to history, and conveys instead a general and familiar sense of Endzeit-cynicism.
In a technical sense we have come full circle from Frisch's use of documents. For Kluge and for Frisch the origins, authenticity and identity of their documents are ultimately of little importance. Both authors have in varying ways discarded the notion that the integrity of documents is inviolable. Herr Geiser discovers their uselessness. With Kluge it is seldom any historical or fictional character who comes to a new realization about documents, rather it is the reader who makes realizations and comes to conclusions about the process of conveying and comprehending reality.

The four authors investigated each use documents to confront their readers with social, historical, personal or technological reality. Their use of documents in prose suggests some common general attitudes toward documentation, i.e., that documents are a forceful and effective means of describing a situation, that documents are supporting evidence, and that they are useful tools because the public or the average individual generally perceives them to be reliable (even if that trust is not always deserved). Wallraff has pursued justice through social activism. Enzensberger articulated a timely interest in armed struggle and the way in which we perceive political endeavors in history. Frisch is fascinated with the prospect of one's own disappearance from the species and reminds us of the inevitability of this event. Kluge has inquired into the
phenomenon of World War II as it happened and as it still affects human affairs, and in so doing has posed pertinent questions regarding the impact on our perceptions of the technologically reproducible document.

In addition, the readers of German documentary prose of the 1970s are challenged to consider the question of process. Process is closely tied to the way in which we perceive reality. These documentary writers are not simply presenting documents as if they had an ultimate truth value; rather they are causing readers to reflect on the impact documents have upon the way in which we comprehend information. The four authors distinguish their narrative from commentary by making the documents separate and conspicuous. This takes us beyond previously-written works that contained documentary elements without clear distinction between documentary and fictional prose. German documentary prose of the 1970s reflects the visual orientation of modern society, the importance of format in written works and the lesser reliance on the printed word in favor of photographic reproduction.

Each author in his own way draws visual attention to the documentary aspects within his prose. Wallraff, stressing the verifiableness of his claims, supports his Bild reportage with profuse photographic illustrations and also employs such visual devices as highlighted print and bordered texts. While Wallraff's points depend upon the
authenticity of his documents, he encourages his readers to criticize documents and their authenticity in situations at the workplace and in everyday life. Enzensberger is the least radical of the four in his method of optically separating documents, though he does meticulously distinguish his own interpretation and opinion (which appear in italics) from material obtained from outside sources.

Frisch's documents in *Holozaen* obviously originate from other works or from private notes and are highlighted in such a way as to be considered illustrations by some literary reviewers. Kluge, while conspicuously employing an inconsistent standard for the authenticity of his quotes, also relies heavily on visual representations. The authors thus transcend the more restricted use of documents in earlier forms that reproduced the content of the documents but not their visual quality.

Much of the documentary prose of the 1970s deals with collectivity and intersubjectivity. (Frisch is an exception, since he negates documentary writing to focus on individual expression and resignation.) The documents in Wallraff's, Enzensberger's and Kluge's works introduce other voices that effectively deconstruct the bourgeois narrator, whose view is the perspective of a particular class. This collective authorship reflects respectively the collectivity of production in the workplace, of rebellion against totalitarianism, and of wartime trauma. Similarly,
intersubjectivity, as a matter of reception, is evident especially in Wallraff's and Enzensberger's appeal to specific groups, rather than to the traditional private reader.

In these ways the authors of documentary prose make problematic the limits of conventional literary reproduction of human experience. They expand these limits by pointing toward a collective concept of realism in literature, as well as toward the potential for a collective response to the circumstances such literature portrays.
Notes

Conclusion


5 Kluge, pp. 78-79.

6 Kluge, p. 80.
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