THE AESTHETICS OF TERRORISM

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CARRIE ANN COLLENBERG

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¡Hasta la luna!

Dedication

FOR ZIBA GUADALUPE GONZÁLEZ AND HER ANGELS
SAPERE AUDE

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Introduction

THE AESTHETICS OF TERRORISM

I remain deeply aware of the people who have lost their lives in connection to terrorism and would like to pay my respects to them and to their survivors before I begin. It has been harrowing to work on a project that is premised on the representation of death and destruction and so intimately connected to a highly contentious and topical subject matter and an emotionally charged culture of fear. Putting the words 'aesthetics' and 'terrorism' in the same sentence is offensive to many because aesthetics, traditionally, has been associated with beauty and art, which seem to detract from the historical severity of terrorism. After immersing myself in various responses to terrorism, I noticed that references and reactions to its photographic representation came up again and again and I began to question why this happened and to identify trends in how it was approached.

The aesthetics of terrorism is a term I use to explain why photographs play such a significant role in the reception of terrorism and how they are approached. It works on numerous levels but stems from the fact that the majority of people experience terrorism from a distance, through its representation in the media. It also describes the convergence of the ambiguous status of photography with the ambiguous status of terrorism. As visual depictions, photographs often resonate on levels beyond their documentary function. And yet, as documentary photographs, their firm grounding in time and space, and therefore life and death, elides aesthetic distance and establishes

their role as witnesses to an event. This idea is then further conflated with the ambiguous nature of terrorism whose attacks are distinctly related to death and destruction but executed in a visual and symbolic language with its medial representation in mind. This project demonstrates that both poles of the discussions of photography and terrorism inspire narratives that reveal both the cultural significance of witnessing terrorism through its representation. Often, the responses to terrorism then reveal how a perceived fear of the potential of the photograph to influence and subvert, indeed terrorize, established institutions of art, morality, history and nation determines how terrorism is remembered.

The terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 and their unprecedented photographic representation enabled people across the globe to witness the attacks and created a context in which discussions of terrorism were reanimated and continue as fervently as they began. I began my graduate studies in this climate and one of my first classes was on German Terrorism in 2004. In this class, I realized that the attacks on September 11 and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq had exacerbated the discussion of terrorism and war in Germany but that terrorism – especially the photographic representation of the Red Army Faction between 1970 and 1977 – had an established reception in Germany long before 2001. The more I read, the more I noticed similarities and dialogues between the representation of the attacks on 11 September 2001 and its cultural reception in the United States and the representation of the Red Army Faction and its cultural reception in Germany and connections between the two. This project is the result of these observations.

The photographic representation of the Red Army Faction and the terrorist attacks

on 11 September 2001 is well documented in a remarkably vast and interdisciplinary corpus of numerous books, biographies and autobiographies, films, artworks, exhibitions, newspaper articles, essays in academic journals, and on the Internet. Although much has been produced about the RAF and 9/11, few studies pay close attention to the photographs although they are distinctly aware of them. In *The Aesthetics of Terror*, a recent compilation of essays to accompany an art exhibition, Manon Slome outlines her experience with aesthetics and terror, the visual impact of terrorism and how it is answered with a visual moratorium of the War on Terror, how the imagery and politics of terrorism have influenced artworks, and the consequences of these. While there are numerous places where our ideas overlap, there are also significant differences in our approach. She writes:

> I am in search of what can be termed an 'aesthetics of terror' much in the way that the nomenclature 'fascist architecture' immediately connotes a style of building. At this stage, we may not have the clarity of distance as in the aforementioned example, but such an aesthetic of terror is, I believe, permeating our popular culture and that of the visual arts.[1]

Slome attempts to define a category of analysis under which numerous artworks that take terror or terrorism as its subject can be examined. This approach allows her to look at images of terrorism as well as images of war, torture, and destruction that have plagued the last ten years since September 11, which is when her analysis begins. That is to say, it allows her to escape the severity of the photograph although she is distinctly

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[1] Manon Slome, "The Aesthetics of Terror," in *The Aesthetics of Terror*, ed. Manon Slome and Joshua Simon, (Milan, Italy: Charta, 2009), 8.

aware of its significance and placement into museums. She writes:

> The link between terror and aesthetics first became apparent to me in the preponderance of images I kept seeing in galleries that seemed to belong more in the pages of *Time* magazine or in the news coverage than in an art space – depictions of tanks and soldiers, riots in the streets, bodies strewn on the ground in the 'aftermath' of conflict. As striking as many of these photographs were (some meticulously printed and presented, others 'raw' with the negative edges of a contact sheet kept as part of the composition, some real footage, others staged), I questioned their function in the museum/gallery setting. Were they protests? Did they make visible (a claim I have heard) images that the newspapers would not print because of their inflammatory nature – disclosing what the government wanted to keep hidden? Or did this translation or appropriation of war imagery, images of suicide bombers, real or fictional, itself become another trope, a kind of pop, in the sense that it was an uncritical mirroring of images already circulating in our culture, only now the soup can has become a gun? Did they move viewers closer to an apprehension of truth, allowing them to get closer to an independent experience of terror, or did they simply isolate and aestheticize the experience, projecting and protecting at the same time.[2]

Acutely aware of the importance of the photographs and of the visual character of terrorism, Slome leaves her initial observations and moves towards the art objects – some that incorporate photographs and others that do not. Like many others, she prefers

[2] Ibid., 8-9.

to leave the photographs and their proximity to death and to analyze other projects that work with photographs instead. She is well aware of the implications of this proximity considering that the *Aesthetics of Terror* exhibition, on which the book was based, was scheduled to show at the Chelsea Art Museum in New York from November 7, 2008 – January 31, 2009, but was cancelled before it began. While 'rumors' on the Internet suggest that it was canceled at the last minute because it glorified terrorism and that Slome quit her position as chief-curator, Slome diplomatically states in the introduction that it "began as an exhibition which we withdrew to keep its integrity as a concept intact."[3]

Slome is distinctly aware that many people around the world live in terror and witness death every day, recognizes the privileged position from which she writes and how trivial it might seem to write about the aesthetics of terror. In a passage that I strongly relate to, she writes: "Looking at art in the midst of war and horror may appear to be a trivialization, and an exhibition of this kind might be the artistic equivalent of the Che T-shirt referred to at the beginning of the essay – assuaging our guilt through the pretensions of artistic activity and intellectual research."[4] While it may seem that demanding visual literacy of the aesthetic impact of the representation of terrorism disrespects those who died in the attacks or surviving loved ones, this project will also

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[3] Manon Slome and Joshua Simon, introduction to *The Aesthetics of Terror*, Milan, Italy: Charta, 2009, 7. *The Aesthetics of Terror* eventually ran within the exhibition *Embedded Art* at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin from January 23 to March 22, 2009.

[4] Manon Slome, "The Aesthetics of Terror," in *The Aesthetics of Terror* (see note 1), 28.

show that aesthetic interpretations can, and often do, offer solace to those coping with loss in that it allows them to escape the severity of the photograph. Visual literacy allows one to better understand the impact of the historical and aesthetic characteristics of the photographic representation of terrorism on the creation of history and memory. Slome hopes that her work will also contribute to a type of visual literacy and comes to the following conclusion that is entirely relevant to the goals of my project as well:

> While the art is not didactic, it does, I believe, engage us in a sense of 'critical citizenship' that encourages a rethinking of the crucial role of images in our media-saturated world. When simultaneity of event and image are coupled with the omnipresent fear of war and terror, the image can be used not only for entertainment and information, but as both a weapon and a shield. It is crucial for us to learn to 'see' the difference and resist the demagogic strategies to which a media driven society can be subject.[5]

I believe that the same engagement in critical citizenship is possible by looking at the photograph of terrorism and the types of responses they provoke. In this introduction, I will provide brief background information on the attacks on September 11 and of the RAF, focusing on they relate to their visual history as well as a brief position on my take on photography and its relationship to aesthetics and visual culture followed by chapter summaries.

Numerous similarities in representation and reception transcend national distinctions and justify a dialog between international terrorism in the United States in 2001 and domestic terrorism in Germany in the 1970s. In both instances, the majority of

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[5] Ibid., 29

the public was not present when the attack took place. They experienced terrorism through its photographic representation and have what Susan Sontag refers to as a "camera-mediated knowledge of war." [6] This camera mediated knowledge of 11 September and the Red Army Faction is related to the historical context of the attacks that amplified the mediation of these photographs to the public and their impact on the reception. Jean Baudrillard emphasized the impact of images as our primal scene with regard to the images of 11 September 2001: "…what stays with us, above all else, is the sight of the images. This impact of the images, and their fascination, are necessarily what we retain, since images are, whether we like it or not, our primal scene."[7] While Baudrillard may be referring to a type of Freudian primal scene, I interpret his comment and the word 'primal' in the sense of 'initial' – the initial experience of terrorism for most people is through the image, that the experience is mediated through the camera, and that this experience needs to be validated.

On 11 September 2001, nearly three thousand people died when nineteen terrorists representing the militant Islamist group al-Qaeda hijacked four commercial planes that were en route from the east coast to the west coast of the United States and executed a series of systematic attacks. The first hijacked plane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York at 8:46 a.m. eastern standard time. A second plane crashed into the south tower of the World Trade Center in New York at

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[6] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, (New York: Picador, 2003), 24.

[7] Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, trans. Chris Turner, (New York: Verso, 2002), 26.

9:03, which collapsed at around 9:59. Shortly before the collapse, a third plane crashed into the Pentagon at 9:37. A fourth plane, United Airlines 93, crashed near Shanksville, Pennsylvania at 10:03 before it reached its supposed target in Washington D.C. The north tower of the World Trade Center then collapsed at 10:28. The 102 minutes between the initial attack and the collapse of the buildings happened at a time when most people in the world were awake and able to watch the live reportage of the attacks as they were unfolding. At 8:46 a.m. in New York – the time of the initial attack, it was 14:46 in Berlin, 16:46 in Moscow, 18:46 in New Delhi, 20:46 in Beijing, 10:46 in Sydney, and 5:46 in Los Angeles. Therefore, the majority of people in the world witnessed the attacks, the collapse of the buildings, and their aftermath through their medial representation. This representation was increased and disseminated in an unprecedented manner because of the new technology of digital cameras coupled with the Internet. In addition, the global resonance of the attacks was amplified by the experience of tens of thousands of people whose flights were grounded or redirected by the Federal Aviation Administration that day.[8]

After the initial live coverage, newspapers, magazines, publications and websites followed up with stories and photographs, which both supplemented and transcribed the live viewing experience.[9] Many strategies in the reception of the historic

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[8] See Rembert Hüser, "Introduction 911 and 9/11: Links to Link," *Cultural Critique* 57 (2004): 3-13.

[9] See Birgit Richard, "The WTC Image Complex: A Critical View on a Culture of the Shifting Image," in *9/11 in American Culture*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003), 129-133. Richard outlines the

attacks on 11 September 2001 can be understood as attempts to harness the unprecedented and unwieldy amount of photographs and, by creating a visual narrative, to direct their potential to sway the public from critique to inspiration and nationalism.

When asked to elaborate on his notorious comment that the United States is a "leading terrorist state," Chomsky replies:

> The most obvious example, though far from the most extreme case, is Nicaragua. It is the most obvious because it is uncontroversial, at least to people who have even the faintest concern for international law. […] It is worth remembering – particularly since it has been so uniformly suppressed – that the U.S. is the only country that was condemned for international terrorism by the World Court and that rejected a Security Council resolution calling on states to observe international law. [10]

In another example, Gene Ray comments on the original use of 'ground zero' – the term used to describe the site in Hiroshima after the US dropped the first nuclear bomb on civilians – to refer to the site of the attacks on the World Trade Center. Ray writes that

> Americans found and grabbed tightly onto this term from the past, in order to claim for themselves a status of victimhood that would express the gravity of the

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"horrible aesthetic" of the attacks, the Internet as a shifting archive, and moving boundaries by collecting and rearranging images in order to create meaning.

[10] Noam Chomsky, *9/11*, (New York: A Seven Stories Press, 2001), 43-44. Chomsky cites many other examples. See also Suzy Hansen, "America is the Biggest Terrorist State: A Conversation with Noam Chomsky," in *Afterwords: Stories and Reports from 9/11 and Beyond*, comp. the Editors of salon.com, (New York: Salon, 2002), 284-303.

> injury and the extent of their pain. And yet they chose a term that could not say otherwise than that they too, in recent history, have been terrorists.[11]

Numerous compilations of photographs and testimonies of September 11 seem to want to sway the public from thinking anything close to what Chomsky and Ray are suggesting.

The failure of the American media to question why the United States had been attacked was outlined in a 2002 letter written by the leader of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden. According to bin Laden, the attacks were executed against the American people who freely elect their governments and pay taxes and are therefore complicit in decisions to attack, occupy, and support attacks in and against Muslim countries and to steal their wealth. He writes that the attacks in New York and Washington were meant to call the United States to Islam, stop oppression, make them take an honest stance towards their hypocrisy, stop supporting Israel, Russia, India, and the Manila Government, leave the occupied Muslim countries and leave them to govern themselves, end the support of leaders that oppose them, and to interact on the basis of mutual interests instead of theft and occupation.[12] In many instances, the contextualization of the photographs was immediately redirected away from narratives questioning the motives of al-Qaeda that might lead to critical approaches to the United States and instead towards the experience of universal suffering, moral exceptionalism,

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[11] Gene Ray, *Terror and the Sublime in Art and Critical Theory*, (New York: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2005), 138.

[12] Osama bin Laden, "Letter to the American People," *The Guardian*, September 24, 2002, http://www.guardian.co.uk/.

and heroism. Why would critique be considered so dangerous? Jean Baudrillard offers one suggestion:

> The moral condemnation and the holy alliance against terrorism are on the same scale as the prodigious jubilation at seeing this global superpower destroyed – better, at seeing it, in a sense, destroying itself, committing suicide in a blaze of glory. For it is that superpower which, by its unbearable power, has fomented all this violence which is endemic throughout the world, and hence that (unwittingly) terroristic imagination which dwells in all of us.[13]

The idea that a 'terroristic imagination' dwells in all of us coincides with the common rhetoric on which the American Dream is fabricated –defeating that which oppresses you or rising to the top against all odds is a feature of Western, especially U.S. American, identity constructions.[14] In an attempt to preserve these constructions, the

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[13] Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, (see note 7), 4-5.

[14] See Susan Sontag's comments: "The disconnect between last Tuesday's monstrous dose of reality and the self-righteous drivel and outright deceptions being peddled by public figures and TV commentators is startling, depressing. The voices licensed to follow the event seem to have joined together in a campaign to infantilize the public. Where is the acknowledgment that this was not a "cowardly" attack on "civilization" or "liberty" or "humanity" or "the free world" but an attack on the world's self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions? How many citizens are aware of the ongoing American bombing of Iraq? And if the word "cowardly" is to be used, it might be more aptly applied to those who kill from beyond the range of retaliation, high in the sky, than to those willing to die themselves in order to kill others. In the matter of courage (a morally neutral virtue): whatever may be said of the perpetrators of Tuesday's slaughter, they were not cowards." Susan Sontag's contribution to "The Talk of the Town," *The New Yorker*, September 24, 2001,

photograph is often approached as a type of provocateur itself – capable of turning the viewer to question oppressive structures, ideas that the United States is also founded on but vehemently avoids when there is potential for this strategy to turn on itself, as was the case in the Vietnam War and its relationship to its medial representation.

The potential of photographs to influence national identity is well known. Photographs and images are often used as propaganda or in advertisement to aid in the construction of myth.[15] The potential of photographs to subvert national identity is also well known with photographs from Vietnam that are now recognized as anti-war icons such as Eddie Adam's 1968 photograph of General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing Viet Cong Captain Nguyen Van Lem, and Nick Ut's 1972 photograph of Kim Phúc, the naked nine-year old girl fleeing a South Vietnamese napalm attack. These photographs can be understood as harbingers of the so-called 'Vietnam Syndrome,' a term that was originally used to describe the post-traumatic stress syndrome of Vietnam veterans after returning to the Unites States but was then used in 1969 by Henry Kissinger, Ex-President Nixon's national security advisor, to describe how the optimism of the American public had changed to bewilderment. The Vietnam Syndrome is defined as

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http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2001/09/24/010924ta_talk_wtc/.

[15] Roland Barthes outlines the social usage of photographs in advertisements as a means of creating myths. Here, Barthes creates a second-order semiological system out of Ferdinand de Saussure's famous triad of the signifier, the signified, and the sign as outlined in his *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Roy Harris, (Illinois: Open Court Press, 2006). In Barthes's model, Saussure's sign becomes a secondary signifier, a form, and, when coupled with a signified, a concept, they create a secondary sign, what Barthes refers to as signification or myth. Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies*, trans. Jonathan Cape, (New York: The Noonday Press, 1990), 109-159.

"the belief that foreign intervention is unwinnable and therefore a quagmire to be avoided; the inability to make and follow through with overseas commitments,"[16] and is distinctly related to the media representation of the Vietnam War that is generally thought to be responsible for the shift in public support for the military during and after World War II to their skepticism in Vietnam. This syndrome was reanimated with a visual policy in 1991, when the Pentagon, and defense secretary Dick Cheney, banned media coverage of war casualties returning home. With few exceptions, the policy was not overturned until a series of lawsuits initiated by Professor Ralph Begleiter in 2004 charged the Pentagon with failing to comply with the Freedom of Information Act and demanded that the public has a right to these photographs.[17] Finally, in 2009, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates under President Obama lifted the blanket ban on news media coverage of war casualties returning home to the United States.

The photographs that flooded the media on 11 September 2001 and their reception must be understood within the context of this media ban and the Vietnam Syndrome. They were remarkable because of what they depicted, because there were so many of them, because they were globally disseminated at an unprecedented rate on the Internet, but also because they depicted some of the first images of American casualties

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[16] William Safire, "Vietnam-Syndrome," *Safire's Political Dictionary*, revised edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 779.

[17] "Obama Administration Lifts Blanket Ban on Media Coverage of the Return of Fallen Soldiers," The National Security Archive at The George Washington University, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20090226/index.htm/. The National Security Archive at The George Washington University collects and publishes documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act.

that the public had seen since 1991. Much, but not all of the reception of the attacks on 11 September 2001 pushes the rhetoric of nationalism that was needed to combat the potential of these images and a Vietnam syndrome in order to drum up sympathies for the 'shock and awe' campaign in 'Operation Enduring Freedom' of the War in Afghanistan, that began on 7 October 2001 and 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' of the Iraq War, that began on 20 March 2003.

The memory of the attacks on September 11 over the past ten years is largely defined by the ideological confinements of this historical context and then further conflated with the duality of photographs and terrorism and their relationship to aesthetics in general. Whereas the first ten years of the reception September 11 was mostly written with regard to national interests and demonstrate preemptive strategies against the role of images and their connection to the Vietnam Syndrome, the reception of the Red Army and its focus on 1970-1977 corresponds to a critique of media representation and its power to influence the public. The conflicted reception of the Red Army Faction reflects the historical context of the 1968 student movement and their platforms to out the amnesia of violence associated with World War II, to expose the misleading reportage of the Springer publishing house, and resist the imperialism epitomized by the United States in Vietnam.

In the late 1960s in West Germany, publications from the Axel-Springer publishing house accounted for more than thirty percent of the national newspaper market and seventy percent of the West Berlin press, including the *Bild-Zeitung*, the Berliner Zeitung and the Berliner Morgenpost, newspapers known for sensational reportage and provocative photographs. The Springer press and the New Left of the

student movement were diametrically opposed to each other and the New Left protested against the misrepresentative and misleading Springer reportage of the student movement. The vilification of student movement prompted aggressive demonstrations against the Springer press in West Berlin. [18] The Ohnesorg reportage prompted students to organize a Springer Tribunal where the film *Anleitung zur Herrstellung eines Molotow Cocktails* was shown. The short film, made by future Red Army Faction member Holger Meins, showed the audience how to make a bomb and then showed an image of the Springer building, which is understood to have influenced protesters, who threw bombs at the Springer offices that night.[19]

The attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke by right-wing fanatic Josef Bachmann, who claimed to have read about him in the Springer papers, ignited a protest that led demonstrators to the Springer buildings where they lit fires and stopped production, a demonstration that resulted in the death of two people. Two popular sayings at demonstrations were 'Enteignet Springer' and 'Springer hat mitgeschossen' – implying that the Springer press and its relationship to the state was complicit in if not entirely responsible for the sense of escalating violence and fear in the Federal Republic

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[18] The two most well known examples are the reportage on the police shooting of student protester Benno Ohnesorg on 2 June 1967 and the attempted assassination of student leader Rudi Dutschke on 11 April 1968. See Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 39.

[19] For more information on Meins's film *Anleitung zur Herrstellung eines Molotow Cocktails*, see Tilman Baumgärtel, "'Ein Stück Kino, das mit Film nichts zu tun hatte,'" *Deutschland im Herbst: Terrorismus im Film*, ed. Petra Kraus and others, (Munich: Schriftenreihe Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 36-47.

of Germany.[20] Heinrich Böll outlined these sentiments with regard to the unfounded media representation of a "Krieg von 6 gegen 60 000 000" – emphasizing the small number of Red Army Faction members in comparison to the population of the Federal Republic of Germany in an essay that we will return to in chapter four.[21]

Members of the Red Army Faction were active in the student movement and began their transgression into more violent demonstrations shortly before the assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke. On 3 April 1969, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Thorwald Proll and Horst Söhnlein bombed two department stores in Frankfurt to protest the apathy of society with regard to the murder in Vietnam to which famous, left-wing journalist Ulrike Meinhof responded in an essay entitled "Warenhausbrandstiftung."[22] In this essay, Meinhof states that the only progressive moment of arson is that it breaks the laws that were made to protect capitalism but that, in the end, arson is not only dangerous because it could have hurt people but also because it does not destroy but rather supports the consumer culture against which it

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[20] For a detailed account of the various attacks against the Springer Press, see Wolfgang Kraushaar, "Kleinkrieg gegen einen Großverleger: Von der Anti-Springer-Kampagne der APO zu den Brand- und Bombenanschlägen der RAF," in *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, ed. Wolfgang Kraushaar, (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 2:1075-1116.

See Rote Armee Fraktion, "Dem Volk dienen: Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf (April 1972)," in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF*, (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1997), 135-6.

[21] Heinrich Böll, "Will Ulrike Gnade oder Freies Geleit?" *Der Spiegel* 3, January 10, 1972, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-43019376.html/.

[22] Ulrike Maria Meinhof, "Warenhausbrandstiftung," *konkret* 14 (1968).

was directed. Meinhof does not recommend arson because it does not promote self-awareness in a capitalist society or because it ends up threatening the perpetrators with severe sentences. However, she ends her essay with a quotation from Fritz Teufel, founder of the Kommune I and later member of the June 2 movement, who said: "Es ist immer noch besser, ein Warenhaus anzuzünden, als ein Warenhaus zu betreiben."[23] Her essay is representative of the difficulties the New Left had in condemning violence outright. The bombing of the department stores in Frankfurt, Meinhof's essay, and her involvement in breaking Baader out of jail belong to the core of events most cited when approaching the history of the RAF.

After the explosions, the group was immediately apprehended but then released and went promptly underground where they spent time in Paris – where some of the most well known photographs of Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin were taken. One year later, Andreas Baader was pulled over for speeding in a stolen car in Germany and incarcerated. His liberation from jail marks the first formal act of the Red Army Faction that was followed with the publication of their first communiqué.[24] On 14 May 1970, Ulrike Meinhof had scheduled a meeting with Andreas Baader to discuss work they were doing on a project. At this meeting, she and three others overpowered the guards and escaped with Baader out the window. The communiqué states that the Baader liberation is the first of many actions to bring the pre-existing conflict in the Federal Republic of Germany to its breaking point and calls on the people to continue the

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Rote Armee Fraktion, "Die Rote Armee aufbauen: Erklärung zur Befreiung Andreas Baaders vom 5.6.1970," (see note 20), 24-6.

international, anti-imperialist revolution in the FRG by developing the class struggle, organizing the proletariat, beginning the armed resistance, and building the Red Army. Although the Red Army Faction officially began in 1970, it is the product of a specifically German constellation of events that began long before Baader's liberation and the first official communiqué. Their goals were similar to those of the extra-parliamentary organizations of the student movement but their method transgressed many people's perceptions of the role of violence and evoked the specific German relationship to violence in the Second World War, ironically one of the key forces in society that the student movement and the Red Army Faction were trying to out and overturn. Another conflicted aspect of the sympathy generated for the Red Army Faction was their support of Palestine as a historically oppressed people, which could be perceived as being anti-Israel, and therefore uncomfortably reminiscent of Germany's anti-Semitic past and the Holocaust.[25] The next seven years were marked by a series of attacks and illegal activities that were mediated to the public through the media and ignited a culture of fear and terror.

The culture of fear was intimately connected to the medial representation of the group and promoted by both the media, who was concerned with protecting itself and promoting their political agenda, and the RAF who used the media to disseminate material and to make the public aware of their platform. The photographs provided proof that something had happened but did not reflect the source of terror and therefore

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[25] See the RAF support of the Black September Terrorist Attacks as outlined in Ibid., "Die Aktion des Schwarzen September in Münich: Zur Strategie des antiimperialistischen Kampfes, November 1972," 151-179.

left much to the imagination. In 1971 and 1972, the RAF robbed banks and bombed US military headquarters, and German police offices and publishing houses. At the same time, the government developed a massive anti-terrorism campaign that included the proliferation of warrant posters, police blockades, and searches. During some of these attempted arrests, police officers and terrorists were shot and wounded. In 1972, the most famous RAF leaders Andreas Baader, Holger Meins, Jan-Carl Raspe, Gudrun Ensslin, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, and Ulrike Meinhof were arrested and, three months later, the Palestinian group, Black September, took Israeli athletes as hostages at the Olympics in Munich. The next few years were marked by collective hunger strikes, the death of Holger Meins in jail in 1974, and increased violent attacks in 1975 with the kidnapping of Peter Lorenz, the occupation of the German consulate in Sweden, the death of Ulrike Meinhof in 1976, the trial in Stammheim, and then the events in 1977. The stream of terrorist attacks and their representation created a situation in which the public was aware of the symptom, but could not identify the source.

Officially, the Red Army Faction ended on 20 April 1998 with a formal dissolution released to the press, but their cultural impact still resonates. In these twenty-eight years, hundreds of people were injured and a total of sixty-four people were killed– thirty-seven victims of the Red Army Faction and twenty-seven Red Army Faction members.[26] More than half of these deaths, and certainly the most sensationalized of them, occurred between the years of 1970 and 1977. While representation of the Red Army Faction documents a series of events from student

[26] Klaus Pflieger, *Die Rote Armee Fraktion*, (Berlin: Nomos, 2004), 255-257.

movement demonstrations in 1967 to the dissolution of the group in 1998, 18 October 1977 remains the most significant date in Red Army Faction history and the pinnacle of what is referred to as 'Deutscher Herbst.' On this date, members of the Red Army Faction shot Hanns-Martin Schleyer, a leading industrialist and former SS officer whom they had violently kidnapped and held hostage for 33 days; a special commando force of the German government, the GSG9, rescued German tourists from a Lufthansa plane that had been hijacked by a PFLP group that was demanding the release of Red Army Faction prisoners in Stammheim prison; and these very same prisoners, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe, were found dead in their cells.

The death of Schleyer and the terrorists can be understood to have triggered a type of deferred action that re-contextualized and exacerbated the images that had come before them and those that came afterwards. 1977 prompted many to try to construct history in order to explain what had happened. In the process, photographs were unearthed to tell this story and are often described, demonstrating that they were the primal scene – the way in which most people experienced the RAF. These photographs most often cited fall into three phases: 1) Those that depict the terrorists before they became terrorists. The most well known images include Baader and Ensslin in Paris, and Meinhof as a journalist; 2) those that show the sites and victims of the attacks. The most famous are the photographs of Schleyer in custody and the crime scene; 3) Police photographs such as mug shots and arrest photographs – here the warrant posters and the arrests of Baader, Meins and Raspe are the most well known; and 4) photographs of dead terrorists, especially of Holger Meins and the deaths in Stammheim.

The cultural differences between terrorism in the United States in 2001 and terrorism in Germany in the 1970s are vast, but there are numerous similarities in their representation and in the reception of that representation that transcend national distinctions and justify a parallel analysis. While most people throughout the world may experience the news mediated through the camera every day, the vicarious experience of terrorism in particular seems to have struck a chord in the cultural memory of the United States and Germany that separates it from other newsworthy events. This is demonstrated in the literary, scholarly, and cinematic reception, a reception that is exceptional because of its sheer size, variety, and interdisciplinarity but also because of the significance of the photograph in these different examples.

In *Regarding The Pain of Others*, Susan Sontag emphasizes the unique role of the photograph in memory. She writes:

> Nonstop imagery (television, streaming video, movies) is our surround, but when it comes to remembering, the photograph has the deeper bite. Memory freeze-frames; its basic unit is the single image. In an era of information overload, the photograph provides a quick way of apprehending something and a compact form for memorizing it. The photograph is like a quotation, or a maxim or proverb. Each of us mentally stocks hundreds of photographs, subject to instant recall.[27]

Sontag's idea of the photograph as a maxim or proverb works on personal and collective levels. It is common for people to hold on to certain photographs that appeal to them on a personal level, photographs that remind them of a loved one or of

[27] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, (see note 6), p. 22.

something important, or photographs that mark events in the narrative one uses to recount his or her life.[28] In addition, certain photographs seem to rise out of the mass of images and carry meaning for larger groups, obtaining an iconic status. However, while Sontag's comments may correspond to the experience of many people and cultures, people must see the photograph before they can mentally stock it. The reception of September 11 and the Red Army Faction has been integral in creating their memory by reprinting the photographs in different contexts with various reactions consistently over time. The focus on the photographs is symptomatic of the way in which the majority of the public experienced terrorism and indicative of shifting ideologies.

Since its invention in 1839, photography has instigated numerous theoretical responses as demonstrated in the well-known and expansive anthologies of writings on photography compiled by Wolfgang Kemp.[29] In these writings, various trends develop in how different cultures and writers respond to photography at different cultural moments. The main topics of these writings include the production and technology of photography, the relationship to photography and art, and the social function of photography. Gottfried Jäger has developed a system that attempts to account for the changes in photography over the years. In this system, he distinguishes between what he refers to as "Abbilder, Sinnbilder, Strukturbilder and Reflexbilder," whose

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[28] See Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[29] Wolfgang Kemp, ed., *Theorie der Fotografie I: 1839-1912*, (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1980); Ibid., *Theorie der Fotografie II, 1912-1945*, (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1979); and Ibid., *Theorie der Fotografie III*, 1945-1980, (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1983).

characteristics are represented in the table below. The examples he uses to represent the categories are *Blick aus dem Fenster* (1826) by Nicéphore Nièpce as an 'Abbild,' *Fading Away* (1858) by Henry Peach as a 'Sinnbild,' *Vortograph* (1917) by Alwin Langdon and *Lochblendenstruktur* (1967) by himself, and *Noya and Bill brand with self portrait (although they were watching this picture being made)* (1982) by David Hockney. If we consider the photographic representation of terrorism through Jäger's system, the photographs – as documentary photographs – fall into the category of 'Abbilder.' Appropriations of these 'Abbilder' such as those in projects by Gerhard Richter or Hans-Peter Feldmann, might be understood as 'Reflexbilder' or 'Strukturbilder.'

Bildsystem Fotografie

Bildmotive:	Aneignung äußerer Gegebenheiten	Vermittlung innerer Bilder	Schaffung neuer Verhältnisse	Reflexion medialer Realität
Bildstrategien:	Abbildung des Sichtbaren	Darstellung des Nichtsichtbaren	Erzeugung von Sichtbarkeit	Überprüfung von Sichtweisen
Bildarten (semiotisch):	Abbilder (Ikone)	Sinnbilder (Symbole)	Strukturbilder (Symptome, Indizes)	Reflexbilder (Indexe)
Fotoarten:	Berichtende Fotografie	Darstellende Fotografie	Erzeugende Fotografie	Analytische Fotografie
Kriterien:	Abbildungstreue Objektbezug	Äquivalenz Subjektbezug	Autonomie Bildbezug	Selbstreferenz Mittelbezug
Funktionsbasen:	Ähnlichkeit zwischen Bildzeichen und Bildgegenstand	Entsprechung zwischen Bildzeichen und Bildbedeutung	Zusammenhang zwischen Bildzeichen und Bildursache	Identität zwischen Bildzeichen und Bildprozess
Bildmethoden/ Bildstile:	Sachlichkeit Gegenständlichkeit Realismus	Verfremdung Abstraktion Symbolismus	Komposition Konstruktion Konkretismus	Analyse Verifikation Konzeptualismus
Fotomethoden/ Fotostile:	Realistische Fotografie Sachfotografie Dokumentarfotografie Fotoreportage	Gestaltende Fotografie Subjektive Fotografie Visualistische Fotografie Fotoinszenierung	Konkrete Fotografie Experimentalfotografie Generative Fotografie Fotokomposition	Konzeptfotografie Demonstrative Fotogr. Medienreflexion Fotorecycling

Tab. 1: Gottfried Jäger: Bildsystem Fotografie und seine Sparten im Überblick

Figure 1 Gottfried Jäger, "Bildsystem Fotografie," in *Bildwissenschaft* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005), 350.

Jäger's system is helpful in that it attempts to categorize the field of photography and to identify different trends. While this may help to understand under what circumstances these images are produced, it does not allow us to discuss their cultural impact or why a reflection of the medial process is necessary in the first place and what, if anything, this has to do with the original experience of witnessing the 'Abbilder.'[30] Although his essay was written in 2005, Jäger makes no reference at all to visual studies or visual culture, emerging fields that are attempting to bridge this gap, and grow more and more relevant as our culture grows more and more visual.[31]

Tom Holert describes visual culture as follows: "Bei *visual culture* handelt es sich um eine emergente (Post-)Disziplin, deren institutioneller Status weiterhin als

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[30] Jäger is well aware that that the manifestations of photography exceed his visual representation, a standard trend when dealing with photography, when he writes "Aus diesem Motivspektrum haben sich zahlreiche Bildarten, -kriterien, -methoden, -märkte usw. Entwickelt, die zusammen ein komplexes und insgesamt kaum mehr überschaubares System visueller Kommunikation bilden." Jäger also notes the limitations of his system: "Dieser Beitrag bezieht sich jedoch nor auf die bildnerische Fotografie. Unberücksichtigt bleibt die technische Fotografie, so im Kontroll- oder Vermessungswesen, wie der Fotogrammetrie, oder in der undustriellen Produktion, wie der Fotogalvanik o.ä." Gottfried Jäger, "Bildsystem Fotografie," in *Bildwissenschaft*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005), 351.

[31] For a thought provoking essay on the role of camera phones and how they have changed our relationship to seeing and photography, see Damian Sutton, "Immanent Images: Photography after Mobility," in *Afterimages of Gilles Deleuze's Film Philosophy*, ed. D.N. Rodowick, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 307-325.

prekär bezeichnet werden muss."[32] Indeed, visual studies is not only precarious in that it borrows from other fields such as semiotics, art history, aesthetics, and psychoanalysis, but it is rapidly changing at accelerated paces that correspond to the speed at which technology is develops that changes our ways of experiencing the world – camera phones, video surveillance, films, and the Internet.[33] W.J.T. Mitchell was one of the first to articulate the anxiety he noticed in twentieth-century trends to defend language against images that began with Erwin Panofsky's *Iconology* and describes this as "the pictorial turn" and the admission that traditional strategies of containment are no longer adequate to describe global culture.[34] For me, visual studies enables a field in which it is almost a given that photographs have an aesthetic impact on the viewer that

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[32] Tom Holert, "Kulturwissenschaft/Visual Culture," in *Bildwissenschaft*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005), 226.

[33] For an analysis that refers to Lacanian categories of analysis see: Slavoj Zizek, "Passions of the Real, Passions of Semblance," in *Welcome to the Desert of the Real! Five Essays on September 11 and Related Dates*, (New York: Verso, 2002), 5-32. Another example using the discourse of psychology is Griselda Pollock, "Response to WJT Mitchell," in *The Life and Death of Images: Ethics and Aesthetics*, ed. Diarmuid Costello and Dominic Willsdon, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), 209-212. Here, Pollock definitively states that "Terrorism is not a war of images even though the image-world is clearly one of its propaganda arenas" (209) and stresses that "the subject's encounter and transformation via that encounter with the image rather than the image's proliferation as if it were some kind of organism: cloned. I would rather introduce the psychoanalytical concept of doubling." (210).

[34] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939).

is related to the depiction and history of the photograph as well as its resonance in the tradition of what one has seen before.[35] In addition to this resonance, photographs are important personal artifacts and are related to time, nostalgia, and death.

The relationship of the photograph to death is one of the most difficult to articulate because it is, tragic and leveling, but also because it is complicated. The seminal texts on this subject that have informed my thinking and sensitivity are by Roland Barthes, Walter Benjamin, Mariane Hirsch, and Susan Sontag, who eloquently and thoughtfully elaborate on the various levels of finitude, *memento mori*, and aura associated with the photograph, its depiction, and its social function.[36] However, in thinking about photography and its relationship to death, I am distinctly aware that it – photography and photographs– are still very much living although the people

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[35] Stephen F. Eisenman, *The Abu Ghraib Effect*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2007). Eisenmann compares the photographs of Abu Ghraib and examines them in the tradition of images that depict pleasure in violence and pain.

[36] Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972), 1:471-508 and "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie," Ibid., 2: 368-385; Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, (see note 28); Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Picador, 1973); Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, (see note 6). Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980. Barthes's punctum is also related to Lyotard's "zip" in Jean-François Lyotard, "Newman: The Instant," in *The Inhuman*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 78-88. For a short but informative piece on death and photography and the relationship of photography to changing cultural relationship to death in the ninteenth and twentieth centuries, see Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 73-90.

represented may not be. For me, it is neither disrespectful to talk about the dead nor disrespectful to talk about the experience of the living. On the contrary, it reestablishes their significance and legacy in the history of humankind. Although photographs are integral to the experience of terrorism, it is not a given that they be included in and the main subject of the reception. The reception validates the role of the representation in cultural memory and demonstrates the use of various strategies to approach images that are integral in the construction of history and memory. It is therefore important to understand the visual language used and its ideological implications.

As with all photographs, there is ample space for 'misreadings and misrememberings' that are based on subjective experience as well as assumptions about the veracity of a photograph and about where, when and by whom a certain photograph was published. The idea of misreading and misremembering is central to the debate on the representation of terrorism. On the one hand, the photographs are generally bound the facts of the event and death and therefore demand a sober explanation. On the other hand, they are inextricably related to a visual, universal history of war and suffering and resonate in the mental stock of hundreds of photographs referred to by Sontag. Their status as documentary witnesses does not exempt them from critical inquiry and one must take into account their dual role as cultural artifacts, as images that were generated at a certain historical moment, by a real person, to document a real event, and published in a certain venue at a certain time with certain captions to generate a certain sentiment.

The photographic representation plays a significant role throughout the various fields covered in this reception history but is often approached cautiously. Although many studies cover the relationship between aesthetics and the representation of

terrorism, few studies have focused on the role of the photograph, despite its predominance. The reluctance to focus on the aesthetics of the photographic representation of terrorism may stem from the suspicion that the connection between a documentary photograph and the cherished category of 'aesthetics' will destroy 'art' as we know it, that an aesthetic understanding will somehow undermine the historical and political severity of the terrorist act or the mourning of the victims, or that it will glorify the terrorist as a martyr, hero, pop-icon, or artist. However, in order to better understand the significant cultural impact of these acts and their representation, it is essential to recognize and articulate how these images have manifested themselves in our cultural memory not only as documentary images but also in the context of their visual history by looking at their publication and afterlife, i.e. how they were used after their initial documentary function had passed.

The majority of the reception of 9/11 focuses on testimony in an attempt to understand the trauma of terrorism and there are few published collections of stories by people who experienced the attacks vicariously. This project does not aim to reify the experience of people who were not there; however, it does seek to acknowledge that the experience of witnessing a terrorist attack through its representation – an experience that is often unacknowledged in critical inquiry – is fundamental to the experience of terrorism. Many of those who witnessed the attacks in person connect what they experienced to a representation when they compare what they saw to a movie or a dream. To a certain extent, nearly everyone, with the exception of the people who died, were attacked by the representation of terrorism and were victims of the symbolic aspect of a terrorist attack. The word 'symbolic' is notoriously controversial in the

discourse of terrorism because it relates to an aspect of the experience of terrorism that is far removed from the actual fatalities and grinds at the moral fiber of the proclaimed ethical. And yet, the symbolic aspect of terrorism must be taken into consideration in order to better understand its cultural impact.

The 'Aesthetics of Terrorism' is a term I use that encompasses various narratives with regard to the visual representation of terrorism and takes into account changes in practices in photography, aesthetics, representation, and the nature of terror and terrorism. In my research, I have found that photographs play a significant role in the reception of 9/11 and the Red Army Faction and the trends and contexts that have developed suggest not only methods to deal with tragedy and trauma, but also preemptive strategies to counter the aesthetic potential of the photograph to influence, subvert, and indeed terrorize, established institutions of art, morality, history and nation. There is a general reluctance to address the aesthetics of terrorism because of the distinct relationship of the photograph and the terrorist act to truth and death. In the following chapters, I analyze narratives that demonstrate the importance of the aesthetics of the terrorist act and in certain photographs, and how media photographs are used in the construction of postmemory.

In the first chapter, entitled "'The Greatest Work of Art in the Universe,'" I draw on numerous examples in the reception of 9/11 and the RAF that demonstrate the ambiguous nature of terrorism and its status as 'art' and pay special attention to the historical avant-garde, the sublime, and photographs of terrorism in collections, archives and exhibitions. Ultimately, I argue that terrorism as art systematically destroys the sentimental process of modern interpretations of art but that its

representation and reception draws largely on the language of aesthetics to describe its impact.

Chapters two and three, "Dead Holger" and "The Falling Man" are case studies of two of the most prominent images in the reception whose reception distinguishes them from the others: the 1974 photograph of Holger Meins on his deathbed taken by Dirk Reinartz and the 2001 photograph of a man falling from the World Trade Center taken by Richard Drew. The reception of these images reveals a type of power of the photograph that is related to its documentary truth as well as to its resonance in established visual history of images that are related to legends of violence, revolt, and death. I demonstrate that attempts to rewrite the image can be understood as an attempt to aesthetically control the visual impact of the photographs, one that is apparently quite threatening and capable of 'inspiring' the viewer to question his or her own views on morality and violence. Often, there seems to be a fear that the image will inspire the viewer to become the 'terrorist' himself– an association that is linked to the visual history of the image itself as well as its historical context.

Chapter four, "Moving Pictures," examines trends in the use of photographs from 1967-1977 in the cinematic representation of the Red Army Faction and focuses on three of the nearly thirty films that address the legacy of the Red Army Faction – *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* (1974), *Todesspiel* (1997), and *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* (2008). These films have been chosen not only because they represent different trends in German cinematic history but also because they trace the evolution of the photograph in the legacy of the Red Army Faction and demonstrate that the history of the Red Army Faction is the history of its representation and that this

history begins with the media photographs. The early films about the Red Army Faction are clearly invested in the iconoclastic project to destroy these images and create new ones while the later films return to these photographs and supplement them with new ones to construct history, create counter narratives, and appeal to broader audiences. Most of the films about the Red Army Faction demonstrate the importance of photographs by including them or reacting to them in their projects and demonstrate that the ubiquity of the Red Army Faction photographs is not a given but something that was created. The cinematic reception of the Red Army Faction both documents the history of its representation and is historicized itself in the context of representation. This chapter reveals that the history of the Red Army Faction is the history of its representation and that the trend is just beginning in the United States with films such as *United 93*, a film that allows viewers to *see* what they could not have seen on September 11th.

This dissertation was conceived as a step towards visual literacy and understanding the contemporary representation and reception of terrorism in order to understand the visual language that is used to construct and manipulate history and memory. Felix Ensslin, the son of Red Army Faction terrorist Gudrun Ensslin as well as one of the curators of the Kunst-Werke wrote: "Die Red Army Faction ist das, was man darüber gesehen und gelesen hat."[37] Even though he was obviously and admittedly influenced by his biography and personal traumatic relationship to the Red Army

[37] Shamim Momin, "'Traumamaschine' oder was kommt danach? Shamim Momin im Gespräch mit Felix Ensslin," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF*, ed. Klaus Biesenbach, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art, 2005), 1:42.

Faction, he is also acutely aware of how crucial the visual representation and reception of terrorism is to defining what it is. With this in mind, this dissertation is also a plea to be aware of the various contexts in which images move – and to let them resound. Terrorism may not be art, but I intend to demonstrate that its impact is undoubtedly aesthetically informed.

Chapter One

'THE GREATEST WORK OF ART IN THE UNIVERSE'[38]

It is generally taboo to speak of the symbolic aspect of the attacks on 9/11 and the early terrorist attacks in Germany in the 1970s as if it would disrespect the dead, elevate the terrorist, or detract from the historical severity of terrorism. Manon Slome begins her 2009 book entitled *The Aesthetics of Terror* with the disclaimer: "The use of 'aesthetics' and 'terror' in the same sentence is more than disturbing. […] From the start, let me emphasize that I do not equate the word 'terror' only with the actions of 'terrorists' and war with its opposition, as in 'the War on Terror.'"[39] However, the reception of 9/11 and the RAF demonstrate that aesthetics plays an important role in how fear is inculcated and how an audience is influenced.

Five days after 9/11, composer Karlheinz Stockhausen said in a radio interview that the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York were "das größte

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[38] This chapter is a revised and extended version of my article on terrorism and the sublime that was published in 2008. I am grateful to Dr. Jennifer-Lorenzen-Peth and the Verlag Ludwig, who gave me permission to use it. Carrie Collenberg, "'Vorstellung des Terrors' – 9/11, RAF and the Sublime," in *Zeichen des Krieges in Literatur, Film und den Medien*, ed. Christer Petersen and Jeanne Riou, (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2008), 97-121.

[39] Manon Slome, "The Aesthetics of Terror," in *The Aesthetics of Terror*, (see note 1), 8.

Kunstwerk, das es überhaupt gibt für den ganzen Kosmos."[40] Like many others, music critic Anthony Tommasini took the comments to heart. In a widely distributed report in the New York Times, he called Stockhausen a "raving has-been" and an "egomaniac" and referred to his comments as "grotesque" and an "affront."[41] Stockhausen was generally dismissed - at least for a little while - and Germany's Senator for Culture Christina Weiß grounded him for the weekend by cancelling his concerts at the Hamburg Music Festival.[42] Although the press used the comment out of context and Stockhausen apologized like a good son, the comment and the discussions it generated make one wonder if his comment rings true on some level.

The visual impact of terrorism is implied in the various definitions of it.[43] The

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[40] The transcript of the September 16, 2001 press conference is available to the public at the following website: http://stockhausen.org/hamburg.pdf.

[41] Anthony Tommasini, "The Devil Made Him Do It," *The New York Times*, September 30, 2001, http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/30/arts/music-the-devil-made-him-do-it.html/.

[42] It was also the responsibility of Christina Weiß to see to it that the Hauptstadtkulturfonds revoke the funding it had already awarded to the Kunst-Werke *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: die RAF-Ausstellung* and reconsider their proposal after the controversy created by an announcement that the state would fund an exhibit on terrorism.

[43] According to Walter Laqueur, "the meaning of terrorism was given in the 1798 supplement of the Dictionnaire of the Académie Française as système, régime de la terreur.* According to a French dictionary published in 1796, the Jacobins had on occasion used the term when speaking and writing about themselves in a positive sense; after the 9th of the Thermidor, "terrorist" became a term of abuse with criminal implications.** It did not take long for the term to reach Britain; Burke, in a famous

Oxford English Dictionary offers two definitions of terrorism. The first refers to the terror of the French Revolution, and the second provides a more general definition of terrorism as "a policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; the employment of methods of intimidation" and cites examples from 1798 to 1977.[44] The legal definition of terrorism is much more difficult to articulate and agree upon and has baffled organizations and scholars for years. Various watershed years in the recent history of terrorism (1972, 1977, and 2001) have forced governments to attempt a definition in order to prosecute terrorism and yet the term remains elusive because of its political implications. Most definitions agree that an act of terrorism somehow involves

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passage written in 1795, wrote about "thousands of those hell hounds called terrorists" who were let loose on the people. Terrorism at the time referred to the period in the French Revolution broadly speaking between March 1793 and July 1794 and it was more or less a synonym for "reign of terror." Subsequently it acquired a wider meaning in the dictionaries as a system of terror. A terrorist was anyone who attempted to further his views by a system of coercive intimidation.*** Even more recently, the term "terrorism" (like "guerrilla") has been used in so many different senses as to become almost meaningless, covering almost any, and not necessarily political, act of violence." Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), p. 6. Subsequent citations as Laqueur, Terrorism, p. x. * Laqueur cites the following in the above quotation: Dictionnaire, Supplément (Paris, an VII [1798]), 775; ** Le Néologiste Français, quoted in Aulard, Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire (Paris, 1902), V, 490. See also F. Brunot, Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900 (Paris, 1937), IX, 871; and *** James Murray, A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Oxford, 1919). It also had a different meaning for a while – an alarmist or scaremonger.

[44] "terrorism, n.". *OED Online*. November 2010. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/199608?redirectedFrom=terrorism/.

an act of violence perpetrated by a sub-national group against innocent civilians for ideological purposes with the intent of inculcating fear. The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism in the *Dictionary of Military Terms* as: "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological."[45] And yet, this very definition could prohibit people from defending themselves against what they perceive to be tyrannical governments or could indicate a country in its military endeavors against others. For these reasons and others, the United Nations has yet to agree upon a definition.

Every year, the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, an office of the United States Department of State, is required by law (Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f) to issue an annual report on terrorism entitled the "Country Reports on Terrorism." In the report from April 2009, the definition of terrorism reads as follows: "the term 'terrorism' means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents" and corresponds to the definition in the United States Code Section 2656f(a).[46] In this definition, there is no reference to the symbolic impact of terrorism and yet this was not always the case. From 1983 to 2004, the United States Department of State and therefore the reports used a different definition that contains one notable difference:

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[45] "terrorism, n.". DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms. December 2010. U.S. Department of Defense. http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/data/t/7591.html/.

[46] "2008 Country Reports on Terrorism," US Department of State, http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2008/.

"The term terrorism means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."[47] As the primary source of relaying terrorist attacks to the public, the documentary and aesthetic character of the photographic representation of terrorism demand to be acknowledged and studied.

With 9/11 and the RAF, the attacks seem carefully planned to have been attacks on people as well as symbols and representatives that symbolize the enemy of their political and religious motivations. As mentioned earlier, the attacks on September 11 were planned at times and in places where the media and people would easily be able to take photographs and disseminate the information to the public. The first plane hit the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York at 8:46am EST, a time when the entire world was awake and could watch the attacks unfold live. As outlined in "Dem Volk dienen: Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf (April 1972)," the RAF considered the Springer Press to be a Fascist organization, an enemy of the working class, and therefore an important figure in the militarization of the class struggle that was about to

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[47] "Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003," US Department of State, 13. http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2003/c12153.html/. The "Country Reports on Terrorism were previously called the "Patterns of global Terrorism." The report also contains a footnote after the word "noncombatant": "For the purposes of this definition, the term noncombatant is interpreted to include, in addition to civilians, military personnel who at the time of the incident are unarmed and/or not on duty" and cites numerous examples.

unfold.[48] The RAF was counting on their reportage in order to create tension and fear – terror - in the Federal Republic of Germany. They write "Die Bomben gegen den Unterdrückungsapparat schmeißen wir auch in das Bewußtsein der Massen."[49] By 'Unterdrückungsapparat,' they mean the state and the media. To reach their goals, they were hyper aware of the power of their medial representation to disseminate their message to the public but also aware of how they would be portrayed and counting on the aesthetic impact of the representation to invoke counter narratives to the ones in the headlines and captions.[50]

In *What Do Pictures Want*, W.J.T. Mitchell presents two images that define our historical moment – an image of Dolly the sheep, which he refers to as "the global icon of genetic engineering, with all its promises and threats," and an image of the World Trade Center under attack, which he calls a "spectacle that ushered in a New World Order defined by terrorism.[51] Mitchell elaborates on the idea of the symbolic impact of the World Trade Centers in a passage whose relevance to this chapter makes is worth quoting at length:

> The image of the World Trade Center … signifies the potential for the destruction of images in our time, a new and more virulent form of iconoclasm.

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[48] Rote Armee Fraktion, "Dem Volk dienen: Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf (April 1972)," (see note 20), 135-6.

[49] Ibid., "Über den bewaffneten Kampf in West Europa, Mai 1971," 100.

[50] See Andreas Elter, "Die RAF und die Medien: Ein Fallbeispiel für terroristische Kommunikation, in *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, (see note 20), 1060-1074.

[51] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want: The Lives and Loves of Images*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 12.

> The towers themselves were already widely recognized as icons of globalization and advanced capitalism, and that is why they were the target of attack by those who regarded them as symbols of decadence and evil.[52] The destruction of the towers had no strategic military (as distinct from symbolic) importance and the murder of innocent people was, from the point of view of the terrorists, merely a regrettable side effect ('collateral damage' is the military euphemism) or merely instrumental to the aim of 'sending a message' to America. The real target was a globally recognizable icon, and the aim was not merely to destroy it but to stage its destruction as a media spectacle. Iconoclasm in this instance was rendered as an icon in its own right, an image of horror that has imprinted itself in the memory of the entire world.[53]

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[52] Ibid., 13. Mitchell includes a significant footnote. He writes: "From the beginning, their designer, Yamasaki, regarded the towers as 'a symbolic monument for a new millennium that was to lead to world peace through global trade' (quoted in Bill Brown, "The Dark Wood of Postmodernism," MS in progress, p. 31). There is, of course, considerable resistance to talking about the towers as symbols or icons, because it seems to minimize the real human tragedy involved in their destruction. Readers responding to my article, "The War of Images," in The University of Chicago Magazine (December 2001): 21-23 (http://www.alumni.uchicago.edu/magazine/0112/features/remains-2.html) accused me of not knowing that this event really happened! Even a commentator as shrewd and unsentimental as Noam Chomsky, in his otherwise brilliant diagnosis of September 11, seems unable to accept the notion that the towers were attacked because they were symbols. See his *9-11* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001), 77. W.J.T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want*, (see note 50), 13.

[53] Ibid., 13-14.

In his book, Mitchell puts forth the idea that the twin towers were living images - icons and idols - of modern global capitalism, that they may have also been seen bys Islamic fundamentalists as such, and that it was their religious duty to destroy idols. Mitchell switches the word 'image' to 'idol' in order to bring in his argument of iconoclasm, which he later defines as:

> more than just the destruction of images; it is a 'creative destruction,' in which a secondary image of defacement or annihilation is created at the same moment that the 'target' image is attacked. That is why composer Karlheinz Stockhausen's description of the 9/11 spectacle as 'Lucifer's greatest work of art,' however disturbing it might have been at the time, was strangely accurate…[54]

Whether it is important to define the towers as idols in order to establish the presence of iconoclasm is questionable. Mitchell puts the symbolic cache of the images first, as if it were necessary that the terrorists thought of the symbol before the people in order to develop his theory of iconoclasm. The World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the Capitol are symbols of commerce, defense, and American leadership because that is what happens inside their walls. The attacks were as strategic as they were symbolic and were enacted on various levels to destroy and inculcate fear and terror in the United States Government, the people, and in the survivors. However, it is important to recognize that the towers and their destruction resonate with the public in a symbolic way – on an aesthetic level that Mitchell calls iconoclasm – and that this symbolic

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[54] Ibid., 19.

language was answered in what Mitchell refers to as a "conscious media strategy for the American military."[55]

As an example of this American media strategy, Mitchell writes: "The widely televised spectacle of the destruction of Saddam Hussein's statue in Baghdad during the second Gulf War was a clearly staged ritual meant to achieve iconic status."[56] Mitchell's examples of iconoclasm – the destruction of the twin towers and the destruction of Saddam Hussein's statue - remind the reader that iconoclasm is a historic strategy used on both sides and reinforce ideas such as John Berger's in *Ways of Seeing*, that ideology is intimately connected to visual images and apparent in how they are used and in their juxtapositions.[57] The destruction of the twin towers by al Qaeda and the destruction of the Saddam Hussein statue by the United States military can be understood as a visual dialogue – a duel of sorts that resonates through the channels of the media to reach the public and convey a message. I hope to demonstrate and that categories and questions such as 'Is it art?' are not helpful when talking about the significant aesthetic impact these attacks had on the public – an aesthetic impact that is related to the symbolic character of the attack and to its representation.

The symbolic aspect of terrorism and its representation makes it difficult for many people to talk about because they do connect it to 'art,' and therefore to the redemptive characteristics of art, which are utterly destroyed if terrorists and murderers were artists and dead bodies become their work of art. In *Avantgarde und Terrorismus:*

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[55] Ibid., 18.

[56] Ibid.

[57] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, (New York: Penguin, 1990).

Rhetorik der Intensität und Programme der Revolte von den Futuristen bis zur RAF, author Thomas Hecken is unwilling to accept the connection between art and terrorism but the publication of his book demonstrates that it is a question that exists and indeed one that warrants an extensive theoretical analysis that separates the two just in case there was any doubt.[58] In his chapter on the RAF, he goes through various passages of their papers to demonstrate how their language mimics the language found in avant-garde manifestos and how they were intent on using the media to infiltrate the consciousness of the masses. In the end, however, Hecken differentiates between the historical avant-garde and terrorism with the idea that there are no traces of terrorism in the avant-garde unless "man würde jede Ordnungsstörung, die auf Abwehr, Konfusion und vielleicht sogar Erschrecken stößt als terroristischen Akt bezeichnen."[59] Hecken admits that while the avant-garde artists and the RAF may overlap in their destructive strategies to fuse art and life in order to disrupt order and motivate the masses to revolution, the only valid point that would connect the two is their intensity:

> So bleibt (bislang) ein einziger Fixpunkt übrig, an dem Avantgarde und Terrorismus übereinkommen. Die Intensität, mit der sich die Avantgardisten von der arbeitsteiligen und hierarchischen Ordnung abwenden und die sie als schockhafte Wirkung dieser Abwendung bei denen anstreben, die ganz und gar

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[58] Thomas Hecken, *Avantgarde und Terrorismus: Rhetorik der Intensität und Programme der Revolte von den Futuristen bus zur RAF*, (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2006).

[59] Ibid., 107.

> in solcher Ordnung aufgehen, findet sich als Prinzip auch bei den Terroristen wieder.[60]

Interestingly, Hecken does not mention 9/11 at all and ends his analysis on terrorism and art, written in 2006, in 1972 focusing instead on Kommune I, Tupamaros, the Weathermen, and the Red Army Faction.[61] Nonetheless, the motivation for his book can be understood within the context of 9/11 and the resonance of the aesthetic impact of those attacks that instigated many to question the relationship between art and terrorism and to draw the line at death.

The aesthetic category of the sublime creates a space for discussing catastrophe and has been evoked by many with regard to the attacks on September 11 – Stockhausen was just one of the first to use its rhetoric. Klaus Theweleit explains that Stockhausen, by using aesthetic terms to describe a terrorist act, used the wrong system of reality to describe 9/11. Theweleit's description of the clashing realities of "jener alten Künstlersorte am Sichverausgeben" and terrorism as crime and murder reveals the

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[60] Ibid.

[61] See also an article by Sara Hakemi in which she focuses on Andreas Baader and his relationship to the anti-bourgeois discourse of the neo-avantgarde Situationalist International and the Letterist International and the historical avant-garde. Sara Hakemi, "Terrorismus und Avantgarde," in *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, (see note 20), 604-619. Hakemi and Hecken also co-authored an article in the same volume that examines how the department store arson on 3 April 1968 was also planned as a "Happening" but that the connections with the art scene end in 1971. Sara Hakemi and Thomas Hecken, "Die Warenhausbrandstifter," 316-331.

reason behind many of the conflicting reactions to Stockhausen's comments.[62] Using aesthetic terms to describe terrorism creates a situation in which the terrorist event is treated as a type of artistic performance– a notion that is offensive not only for the reasons noted above but also because it challenges rather sentimental expectations of art (and uses rather sentimental terms to do this).[63] It also threatens to detract from the empathy for the victims, misconstrue historical contexts, and mythologize and aestheticize the event or its perpetrators. Yet, despite these distinctions, there are some obvious overlaps between the concept of the sublime and terrorism that make it a rather handy term.

The first known writing on the sublime, *Peri Hupsous* or *On the Sublime*, written by Pseudo-Longinus during the first century AD outlines a rhetorical strategy for achieving transport in the listener.[64] Longinus' treatise entered the European Enlightenment in 1674 when Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux translated it, wrote a preface and included it in his *Art poétique*.[65] The introduction of terror and the stress on violent

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[62] Klaus Theweleit, *Der Knall: 11. September, das Verschwinden der Realität und ein Kriegsmodell*, (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld, 2003), 124.

[63] See Christine Battersby's comment: "However comprehensible Stockhausen's comments might be, they are still offensive in that they seem to ally the terrorist act to performative art – 'great art' moreover – and seem to suggest that there is a kind of redemption at work here" Christine Battersby, "Terror, Terrorism and the Sublime: Rethinking the Sublime after 1789 and 2001," *Postcolonial Studies*: *Culture, Politics, Economy* 6 (2003): 68.

[64] Longinus, "On the Sublime," in *Classical Literary Criticism*, trans. Penelope Murray, (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 113-166.

[65] Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Art Poétique*, (Paris: Librarie Hachette, 1888).

emotion in the concept of the sublime is commonly attributed to John Dennis in *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry*, thirty years after Boileau's translation of Longinus.[66] Dennis' text is considered a significant forerunner to Edmund Burke's 1757 *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*.[67] Although Burke's *Enquiry* is generally accepted as the foremost treatment of terror in the sublime, Terrence Des Pres suggests in his article "Terror and the Sublime" that terror has been an essential feature of the sublime since Longinus.[68] Des Pres explains that Longinus' treatise is commonly perceived as a defense of the innocent or noble sublime simply because Longinus specifically states that the sublime is noble and grand and that some passions, such as pity, grief and fear, cannot be sublime. However, Des Pres points out that of the twenty-one excerpts that Longinus uses by sublime poets, the content of all but two is "blood, battle, rage and leaping flames, cleaving swords and piercing spears, or – in a word – the sort of mutilation, disfigurement and annihilation that goes by the name of war."[69] That is, "the notion of the innocent sublime [that] has

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[66] John Dennis, "The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry," in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 1:325-373.

[67] James T. Boulton, introduction to *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, by Edmund Burke, ed. James T. Boulton, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), xlix).

[68] Terrence Des Pres, "Terror and the Sublime," *Human Rights Quarterly* 5 (1983): 135-146.

[69] Ibid., 136.

so long prevailed owes much of its power to a style which suppresses the terror from which it draws its energy."[70]

The notion of terror is critical to the development of the sublime and can be understood as the point of departure from which the sublime was originally distinguished from the beautiful and evolved from a rhetorical term to a category of aesthetic analysis. John Dennis emphasizes terror in his piece on the sublime: "Things then that are powerful, and likely to hurt, are the Causes of common Terror; and the more they are powerful and likely to hurt, the more they become the Causes of Terror: which Terror, the greater it is, the more it is join'd with Wonder, and the nearer it comes to Astonishment."[71] Dennis' sublime is a feeling "that ravishes and transports the Reader, and produces a certain Admiration, mingled with Astonishment and with Surprize."[72] For Edmund Burke, the sublime is the "strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling" and terror is "in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently the ruling principle of the sublime."[73] Burke's sublime includes a reaction to danger that, like Kant's version, is dependent on the precondition of self-preservation that enables a feeling of simultaneous displeasure and delight. Manifestations of terror such as obscurity, power, and vastness exercise a power over the mind and, in what seems to be a desperate attempt to 'survive' the threat to the imagination, reason then naturally tries to come to terms with it. This rather optimistic and redemptive process is

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[70] Ibid., 137.

[71] John Dennis, "The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry," (see note 65), 356.

[72] Ibid., 361.

[73] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, (see note 66), 39 and 58.

most well known in Immanuel Kant's account of the mathematical and dynamic sublime in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* from 1790.[74]

In Kant's mathematical sublime, the subject sees a vast representation of nature, such as the Milky Way, and the imagination attempts to comprehend its magnitude. When confronted with the incapacity of the imagination to comprehend magnitude, the subject feels displeasure. At the same time, the subject feels pleasure in the ability to understand infinity. The sublime feeling occurs when the mind feels elevated by reason in its ability to understand that some things are so great that the imagination cannot comprehend them. In the dynamic sublime, the subject is confronted with a fearful representation of nature that does not pose a direct threat to the body. When confronted with the insignificance of the body in the face of all-powerful nature, the subject can "bloß den Fall denken, da wir ihm etwa Widerstand tun wollten, und daß alsdann aller Widerstand bei weitem vergeblich sein würde."[75] The implied distance and self-preservation is two-fold and necessary to the experience of the dynamic sublime. In Kant's sublime, the mind can still rescue itself in its ability to reason and in proving to itself that it cannot be coerced by danger. The sublime feeling occurs in the moment of aesthetic judgment, when the mind feels itself elevated in its ability to recognize the power of nature and, in the destiny of reason, to feel superior to nature. However, the possibility of a Kantian moral redemption has grown more complicated since the

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[74] Immanuel Kant, "*Kritik der Urteilskraft*," in *Immanuel Kant Werkausgabe X*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974.

[75] Ibid., 184.

catastrophes of the twentieth century, if it was ever possible at all.

In *Terror and the Sublime in Art and Critical Theory*, Gene Ray writes that Kant's transcendental idealism was intended to refute scepticism and metaphysical speculation as well as to silence pessimism with the "core of the Enlightenment project," metaphysical, bourgeois optimism.[76] Ray exposes the impossibility of the triumph of reason in bourgeois aesthetics and optimism, epitomized in Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, and reveals a specifically twentieth century form of terror and the sublime: "In the wake of Auschwitz and Hiroshima, however, the ruined dignity and destiny of human reason and its moral law can offer no compensatory pleasure. The terror of the sublime becomes a permanent, ghastly latency, compounded by the anguish of shame."[77] Evoking Kant, Adorno and Lyotard, Ray emphasizes the role of negative presentation and critical theory in approaching twentieth-century catastrophes. He suggests that negative presentation is one reason "how and why the sublime has reemerged in the wake of Auschwitz and Hiroshima."[78] The notion of negative presentation is distinctly related to the sublime in that it reflects a source of terror that resists direct representation.

The tendency to connect the sublime to terrorism suggests a means of coming to terms with the impact and aesthetic appeal of 9/11 and also fulfils the desire to believe

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[76] Gene Ray, *Terror and the Sublime in Art and Critical Theory*, (see note 11), 29.

[77] Ibid., 5. See also Giovanna Borradori, ed., "Terrorism and the Legacy of the Enlightenment: Habermas and Derrida," in *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1-24.

[78] Ibid., 23.

that ordinary humans have proven their ability to use reason to elevate the mind above the threat of terror and catastrophe. However, using the sublime also creates a situation in which one employs 'reason' to construct events whose impact rivals the impact of natural catastrophes that are also commonly attributed to the traditional sublime. While it is one thing to imagine being destroyed by something over which we have little control, such as an earthquake, it is quite another to imagine being targeted and destroyed by 'reason' and its relationship to one thing we could potentially control, our capacity for violence. In considering the aesthetic character of terrorist events, an extraordinary power is ceded to the terrorist – or any fetishized killer with an eye for aesthetic or symbolic effect – as the mastermind. In this train of thought, an apotheosis takes place and the terrorist, as the creator of the sublime scene, in this case the terrorist event, is associated with roles otherwise occupied by God, nature, or the artist –an idea that threatens cherished expectations of metaphysical order, art and humanity. Lentricchia and McAuliffe write:

> Does it make any sense to speak, as Stockhausen did, of the aesthetic character and effects of those violently transgressive acts? The events themselves, not their artful representation? To consider the merits of such an idea would require that we put aside the virtually unavoidable sentimentality that asks us to believe that art is always somehow humane and humanizing, that artists, however indecent they might be as human beings, become noble when they make art, which must inevitably ennoble those who experience it.[79]

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[79] Frank Lentricchia and Jody McAuliffe, *Crimes of Art and Terror*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 9.

Nonetheless, aesthetic readings of terrorism persevere despite the fact that it does not make much sense to use the sublime to understand an event that in turn defeats the principles behind why the sublime was used in the first place. In addition to the traditional components of the sublime, the sublime is fashionable and fulfils certain societal needs, which are just as contradictory. Using the discourse of the sublime feeds into a fascination with horror, the desire for immediacy, and the desire to be overwhelmed. It can also be understood as a means to cope with the loss of 9/11 by converting victimhood into heroism as a form of redemption. In addition, it recognizes that many people witnessed a terrible event and acknowledge their pain by attributing a certain exclusivity to the event – as if it were the first time the world had ever been confronted with a spectacle of violence.

Responding to Anthony Tommasini's insistence that the "images of the blazing twin towers, however horrifically compelling, are not art," Lentricchia and McAuliffe point out how the aesthetic character of 9/11 is generally associated more with the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York than with the attacks in Arlington or Shanksville: "Tommasini, too, is apparently compelled by the blazing towers; the poor Pentagon does not qualify and forget the smoking field of twisted metal in Pennsylvania, because who talks much about that."[80] After referring to our fascination with transforming the World Trade Center into a "narrative of spectacular images," they note: "the small section of smoking rubble, that pathetic piece of the Pentagon, a squat and ugly building, holds no appeal."[81] While an attack on the Pentagon delivers a

[80] Ibid., 7.

[81] Ibid., 6.

similar symbolic message as an attack on the World Trade Center, its representation was simply not as spectacular.

Both terrorists and viewers often blur the distinction between the historic event and its representation. Lentricchia and McAuliffe write that there were not only authors of 9/11, but also a narrative structure, a cast, an unwitting audience, and a medium of communication—the media, "without which terrorist art is ineffective and which complicitously completes its totalitarian trajectory: to saturate consciousness in the United States with the thought of terror…"[82] Martin Henatsch comments that the terrorist acts of Al Qaeda and the RAF can be understood as "Bildentwürfe" and "als symbolische Stellvertreter komplexer Konfliktpotenziale, die sich im terroristischen Akt entladen – allerdings unter Hinnahme weit über das Symbolische hinausweisender Konsequenzen, die bis zum Tod vieler unschuldiger Menschen reichen."[83] Terrorists are dependent on the media for coverage and anticipate the aesthetic impact of this coverage in the staging of events. With this intent in mind, some critics understand the coverage of the terrorist attacks on 9/11 to be a direct attack on the viewer.

Joachim Buttler compares the live transmission of the attacks on the World Trade Center to a global plague of locusts: "Wie die biblische Heuschreckenplage fielen die Bilder im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes aus heiterem Himmel via Internet und Satellit in alle Monitore und Titelseiten rund um den Globus und hinterließen eine verstörte

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[82] Ibid., 14.

[83] Martin Henatsch, "Das verwischte Bild der Geschichte: Gerhard Richters *18. Oktober 1977* – Die künstlerische Behauptung des Bildes im Zeitalter medialer Bildmächtigkeit, in *Mythos Terrorismus: Vom Deutschen Herbst zum 11. September*, Eds. Matteo Galli and Heinz-Peter Preusser, (Heidelberg: Winter, 2006), 179.

Welt."[84] His comment can be compared to how Reinhold Viehoff and Kathrin Fahlenbrach describe the terrorist attacks as attacks against the television audience in which every viewer "could and should" feel subjectively threatened.[85] The amplification of these statements about the representation of the terrorist event is comparable to Stockhausen's comment and demonstrates the extent to which the 9/11 images extended beyond their documentary function and saturated global consciousness with the thought of terror. However, the viewer was not attacked by the images, but rather, by his or her imagination.

In the catalogue for the 2006 exhibit *'The Sublime is Now!' Das Erhabene in der zeitgenössischen Kunst* at the Museum Franz Gertsch, Peter J. Schneemann includes an image from *Der Spiegel* entitled "approach of the United Airlines-Boeing to the Southtower of the World Trade Center, collision of the American Airlines-Boeing with the Northtower" alongside images of the work by artists Bruce Nauman, James Turrell, Bill Viola, and Alfredo Jaar.[86] Using the 9/11 image as a prompt, Schneemann reflects on the larger body of images:

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[84] Joachim Buttler, "Ästhetik des Terrors: Die Bilder des 11. Septembers 2001," in *Bilder des Terrors: Terror der Bilder? Krisenberichterstattung am und nach dem 11. September*, ed. Michael Beuthner and others, (Cologne: Herbert von Halem, 2003), 40.

[85] Ibid., Reinhold Viehoff and Kathrin Fahlenbrach, "Ikonen der Medienkultur: Über die (verschwindende) Differenz von Authentizität und Inszenierung der Bilder in der Geschichte," 50-51.

[86] A photograph from *Der Spiegel* on September 15, 200, printed in Peter J. Schneemann, "Overwhelming: The Sublime as the Eternal Dream of an Aesthetics of Effect," in *'The Sublime is now!' Das Erhabene in der zeitgenössischen Kunst*, eds. Elka Kania and Reinhard Spieler, (Berne: Benteli, 2006), 16.

> The discussion about the images from September 11 showed how complex the topic is and how difficult it is to draw an exact line. Those who wanted to attribute a sublime character and artistic quality to the images of a clear blue sky, the explosion and dark clouds which the media used to document an act of terror broke a taboo.[87]

In the context of modern art, Schneemann addresses the complexity of the sublime as "an empty surface for all sorts of projections, or a morass of meaning."[88] By attempting to reduce the 9/11 images to mere documentary facts, by focusing on the ambivalent character of the sublime, and by entitling the essay "Overwhelming: The Sublime as the Eternal Dream of an Aesthetics of Effect," Schneemann laments that the 9/11 images have been connected with the sublime and demonstrates his nostalgia for the redemptive qualities of art, its creators, the experience of looking, and the desire to be overwhelmed.

While Schneemann uses a single image but refers the larger group in his comment, Bernadette Buckley draws on manipulated images to support her comment about the collapse of the World Trade Center. She opens her essay with stills from Runa Islam's 2003 video, *Untitled*, shown in the 2003 Intervention exhibition at the John Hansard Gallery. In this video, Islam slows down and shows in reverse BBC news footage of the collapse of the World Trade Center. Commenting on this form of presentation, Buckley writes:

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[87] Ibid., 15.

[88] Ibid., 14.

> Slowed down and shown in reverse, the back-to-front collapse of the towers acquires a strange and terrible 'beauty'. The viewer is forced to contemplate events in a manner which is very different than any earlier responses they might have had to the ubiquitously shown news footage. The 'sublime' quality of the panorama is dealt with in such a way as to make the viewer ask if Karlheinz Stockhausen wasn't perhaps touching on some unmentionable aspect of any viewer's experience in describing the collapse of the World Trade Center as 'the greatest work of art ever?'[89]

Although the single quotations separating 'beauty' and 'sublime' and 'greatest work of art ever' seem to suggest Buckley's attempt at critical distance, their separateness more likely reveals her understanding of the "unmentionable aspect of any viewer's experience." Buckley emphasizes the importance of this statement by using this excerpt as a caption beneath the stills to open the essay and then repeating it, verbatim, including single quotations, towards the end of the essay. A back-to-front collapse implies that the viewer of Islam's video sees the towers being built back up again. In the context of rebuilding, it is not surprising that Buckley toys with the traditional sublime and its promise of redemption and restoration, but her reluctance to pursue these ideas is revealing as well.

Joel Meyerowitz is a professional photographer who documented the aftermath of 9/11 at 'ground zero' between September 2001 and June 2002 is not nearly as reluctant. During these nine months, he took over 8,000 color photographs with a large-

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[89] Bernadette Buckley, "Terrible Beauties," in *Art in the Age of Terrorism*, eds. Graham Coulter-Smith and Maurice Owen, (London: Paul Holberton, 2006), 11 and 26.

format camera with the intention of creating a photographic archive for future generations. Meyerowitz experienced the 9/11 attacks, like the majority of people, on television. When he retuned to his home and studio in New York, he found that the WTC site, now a crime scene and burial ground, had been declared off limits to photographers and was appalled that there would be no record of such an historic event. Through perseverance and connections, Meyerowitz made his way into the site and began his project. Various images from what is now called The World Trade Center Archive, housed at the Museum of the City of New York, have been exhibited since March 2002 in an international travelling exhibit that was sponsored by the US Department of State, at the 8th Venice Biennale for Architecture, where he was invited to represent the US, and are the subject of Meyerowitz's 2006 publication *Aftermath*.

In an interview with Meyerowitz, art-historian Lawrence Weschler compares art-historical images with select photographs from Meyerowitz's aftermath collection. He asks Meyerowitz to comment on and discuss the relationship between the art-historical images and their influence on his present work and shows him a comparison of Albert Bierstadt's *Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains* (1868) with his photograph from November entitled *Smoke Rising In Sunlight*.[90] Meyerowitz then describes how "huge blasts of smoke and ash would come boiling out" and the "sun glinting off the edge of one of the skyscrapers sent bands of light through the smoky cloud."[91] Weschler then asks whether the association with "the tradition of the sublime, the Alpine sublime

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[90] Joel Meyerowitz, *Aftermath*, (New York: Phaidon, 2006), 179.

[91] Lawrence Weschler, *Everything that Rises: A Book of Convergences*, (San Francisco, McSweeny's, 2006), 8.

or, in this case, the Sierra sublime" was his own or shared by Meyerowitz "out there on the site."[92] Meyerowitz responds:

> Well, I might not have been thinking specifically of Bierstadt, but I was thinking sublime, without a doubt – and for months – I was recognizing that I was in a new definition of the sublime. The awesome, horrific transformation of this place – although it wasn't nature itself – it was man acting as nature and bringing these buildings down. The collapse of these buildings was the cataract, the chasm, the Grand Canyon – it had the same kind of awesome.[93]

By comparing "the collapse of these buildings" to the Grand Canyon and elsewhere to Pompeii, Meyerowitz evokes a type of Kantian sublime in which the viewer recognizes the power of nature and, in the destiny of reason and humanity, feels elevated. Meyerowitz's decision to feature the redemptive qualities of humanity in his images can be understood as a reaction against his understanding of their terror, that it was 'man acting as nature and bringing these images down.'

One of the more uncomfortable aspects of September 11 is that over 3,000 people died and the public has seen few images of the bodies. Whether this aspect is a reflection of censorship, respect, unavailability or inability, Meyerowitz resorts to negative presentation, the discourse of the sublime, in order to represent the dead. In a radio interview, Tom Ashbrook compares Meyerowitz's work to Civil War or Holocaust photography and asks how he "deals with the horror and fact of death" at the site. After evading the question several times, Meyerowitz, usually very articulate,

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

stammers through what can be understood as his artistic vision for the project, to create a representation that enables the viewer to recognize horror through his or her own agency:

> I don't know if you'll, I mean, there's no way of seeing it. It's not like seeing 3,000 tombstones. You see the mass of destruction and the writhing mass of it. And if you are at all vulnerable, you'll put, and these pictures are made on a scale that allows you to step in. I'm trying to be invisible and self-effacing so that you can get the image of what was there in your gut. So, should you stand in front of one of these pictures and feel the horror of that massive steel falling, the blender twisting grinding shredding of it, you might feel how simply human and vulnerable we all are and all those dying people were and so the horror of it comes to you through your agency, through your connectivity to what you're seeing, not through anything that I am trying to convince you to feel. [sic][94]

Meyerowitz's negative presentation of death is demonstrated in his image of the Rakers that he and Weschler compare to Jean François Millet's 1857 painting, *The Gleaners*.[95] The photograph depicts the act of raking through rubble to find bones or relics that would help identify the dead. Rather than focusing on the dead, the image focuses on the aesthetic impact of the act, which Meyerowitz describes as "both humble and grand and it was against this huge scale of the city behind them, so they were diminished by

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[94] Tom Ashbrook, *Capturing History as it Happens: Interview with Joel Meyerowitz*, WBUR On Point, December 24, 2001.

[95] Lawrence Weschler, *Everything that Rises*, (see note 90), 17.

it."[96] Although viewers should experience the horror of death through their agency, Meyerowitz prompts them with this image and with the others by providing access to the site and creating a situation in which the horror of death and the disintegration of the bodies at the site can be imagined alongside the representation of men engaged in an "incredible ancient gesture."[97] He creates this effect by exploiting the size of the unique perspective, which differs from the others in that they present a human-scale perspective of the disaster in contrast to an aerial camera view; some photographs at the travelling exhibit in September 2002 were as large as twenty-two feet (6.7 meters).

Keenly aware of the emotional impact of 9/11, Meyerowitz seems to see his task as a photographer of 'ground zero' in the negative presentation of death to cope with the idea that it was "man acting as nature and bringing these buildings down."[98] His images, texts and interviews tell the story of a bonding experience that took place among the people down there and emphasize Meyerowitz's acceptance of the process of life and its regenerative power. Although Meyerowitz was not the only photographer of the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, future generations will likely experience 'the fall' through his artistic interpretation.[99] His presentation,

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[96] Ibid., 18.

[97] Ibid., 17.

[98] See the discussion on negative presentation referenced in note 76 with regard to Gene Ray, *Terror and the Sublime in Art and Critical Theory*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[99] Although Meyerowitz is advertised to be the "sole photographer to have continued access to the site" (Meyerowitz inside flap), another book of photographs from ground zero was published on the fifth-year anniversary of the attacks: John Botte, *Aftermath:*

endorsed by US Department of State, can also be understood as a desperate effort to recover from the fall and the subsequent and questionable war by sustaining the American government's projection of moral exceptionalism and striving for its perpetuation in the triumph of reason in the traditional sublime. Whether the redemptive qualities of humanity and art will show the viewer how to get out of the 'pile' and the aftermath of 9/11 is questionable.

As a type of brand, the term 'October 18, 1977' has come to represent the pinnacle of another term, 'Deutscher Herbst,' used to refer to a season of escalated RAF activity. On October 18, 1977, the GSG9 (Grenzschutzgruppe 9) rescued 86 hostages from a Lufthansa plane in Mogadishu, Somalia that had been hijacked five days earlier by PFLP terrorists demanding the release of RAF prisoners in Stammheim prison. The same day, RAF prisoners Andreas Baader and Jan-Carl Raspe were found in their cells with fatal gunshot wounds to the head, Gudrun Ensslin was found hanged in her cell, and Irmgard Möller was found with four serious but not fatal stab wounds to the chest. On the same day, other RAF members shot the previously kidnapped president of the German employers' association and former SS officer Hanns-Martin Schleyer. The date was the inspiration for Gerhard Richter's controversial painting cycle, *18. Oktober 1977* and, along with 'Deutscher Herbst,' continues to have a significant impact on the post-

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Unseen 9/11 Photographs by a New York City Cop, (New York: Regan Press, 2006). Despite their similar titles and that Botte also wants "these images to live forever inside all who see them" (Botte, inside flap), Botte's copumentary photographs expose the differences in their aesthetic agendas. It should be noted that Botte was asked by the police commissioner to document the aftermath and was given access to ground zero shortly after the attacks.

war cultural memory of German terrorism thirty years later, although 1977 has long since ended and the RAF announced its dissolution in 1998.[100]

The majority of people in Germany experienced the student movement and the RAF through the channels of the mass media, in particular through photographs and reports in newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and warrant posters. Although the RAF saw the press, in particular the Axel Springer publishing house, as the "Feinde des Volkes"[101] they – the "Bildermaschine RAF"[102] – were also dependent on and even

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[100] Consider the Spiegel, TAZ, and Zeit special editions commemorating "30 Jahre Deutscher Herbst" as well as numerous newspaper articles on the RAF, such as those generated by the release of former RAF members Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar, by new information pertaining to the 1977 murder of Federal Attorney-General Siegfried Buback, and by German Interior Minister Wolfgang Schäuble's suggestions for anti-terrorism reform. Consider also Nicolas Steman's controversial staging of Elfriede Jelinek's *Ulrike Maria Stuart*, the exhibition of Hans-Peter Feldmann's *Die Toten* at the Kunsthalle Wien, and the marked presence of RAF topics in film and television retrospectives. Although the heightened reception of the RAF in 2007 may seem like a German-Autumn anniversary flare-up (there was a similar flare-up in 1997), it is by no means an anomaly. Scholarly, political and artistic appropriations of the RAF have had a consistent presence in German culture since the formation of the group in 1970.

[101] "Wir verlangen nichts Unmögliches. Wir werden unsere Aktionen gegen die Feinde des Volkes Ernst einstellen, wenn unsere Forderungen erfüllt sind. *Enteignet Springer! Enteignet die Feinde des Volkes!*" This declaration was signed by the Kommando 2. Juni. Rote Armee Fraktion, "Sprengstoffanschlag auf das Springer-Hochhaus in Hamburg: Erklärung vom 20. Mai 1972," (see note 20), 147.

[102] The medial representation of the RAF is central to understanding their lasting cultural impact. In the introductory essay to the exhibition catalog for *Zur Vorstellung*

anticipated the medial representation and distribution of their attacks and messages to the public.[103] The simultaneous reliance on their so-called 'enemy,' at least on paper, Springer and desire to control the type of information printed demonstrate the RAF's awareness of the strength of the media to influence the public. The spectacle-creating manner in which RAF images were printed over an extended period demonstrates the reliance of the media on the RAF to sell their product. The viewer, ironically the person on whose behalf both sides claim to be working, stands in between. Premised on distance, self-preservation, and imagined danger, the persistence of these images and their appropriation as art objects and the reactions to them evoke the discourse of the sublime. As historical documents of terrorism in the context of the German history of violence, propaganda, and repression, the images of the RAF evoke a 'Vorstellung des Terrors' that calls into question aspects of moral and aesthetic redemption often associated with the sublime.

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des Terrors: Die RAF, Biesenbach writes: "Die Ausstellung diskutiert die Rolle der Medien al seine Kraft gegen/mit/um den Terrorismus. Print-, Rundfunk- und Fernsehberichterstttung haben eine zentrale Position in der RAF-Ausstellung und sollen auf ihr Wesen, ihre Wirkung, ihre Kommunikation mit den Tätern und dem Staat und der breiten Öffentlichkeit hinterfragt werden. Ihre Rolle in der 'Bildermaschine' RAF muss kritisch hiterfragt und großflächig ausgestellt werden." Klaus Biesenbach, "Engel der Geschichte oder Den Schrecken anderer betrachten oder Bilder in den Zeiten des Terrors," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, ed. Klaus Biesenbach, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 2:14.

[103] Martin Henatsch, "Das verwischte Bild der Geschichte: Gerhard Richters *18. Oktober 1977* – Die künstlerische Behauptung des Bildes im Zeitalter medialer Bildmächtigkeit, (see note 82), 179.

In January 2005, curators Klaus Biesenbach, Ellen Blumenstein and Felix Ensslin opened *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung* at the Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art in Berlin – an exhibition that both displayed the media spectacle of the RAF and generated its own. After an announcement that the Capital Cultural Fund of Berlin (Hauptstadtkulturfonds) had granted 100,000 Euro to Kunst-Werke for the art exhibit on the RAF, a media controversy began that generated 531 newspaper articles in Germany between July 22 and September 27, 2003 – 150 of those in the first few days.[104] The central questions of the debate concerned whether an exhibition on former enemies of the state should be funded by the state, the moral and political implications of an artistic exhibition of perpetrators and victims, and the ambiguous relationship between artistic and historical representation. Under pressure, Berlin revoked its offer to Kunst-Werke, which caused Kunst-Werke to postpone the original opening and revise their proposals with the intent to resubmit. In January 2004, Kunst-Werke withdrew their proposal entirely and decided to open the exhibit without public funding and received financial support instead from private donors and funding generated by various artists.[105] According to Biesenbach, the exhibition shows "wirklich

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[104] Ibid., Heinz-Peter Preußer, "Warum Mythos Terrorismus? Versuch einer Begriffsklärung," 70-73. Preußer counts 900 articles that were published between July 22 and November 2003. See also Joachim Baur, "Geschichtsschreibung im Feuilleton: Anmerkungen zur Debatte um 'Mythos RAF,' (see note 37), 241.

[105] Klaus Biesenbach, "Engel der Geschichte oder Den Schrecken anderer betrachten oder Bilder in den Zeiten des Terrors," (see note 37), 15.

ausschließlich, was schon öffentlich, veröffentlicht war, und trägt die einzelnen 'Bilder' in einer Weise zusammen, die so noch nie zusammen vorgestellt wurden."[106]

Zur Vorstellung des Terrors provided a place where media photographs and artworks from over fifty international artists could be displayed together in one place. The artworks included in the exhibit were created in nearly every year since 1970 and many find their strength in the appropriation, regurgitation, and subversion of media, pop-cultural and art-historical images. The significance of the media and its relationship to the artistic representation and the RAF is clearly demonstrated in the two-volume catalogue that was created to accompany the exhibition. The second volume consists of 280 pages of photographs of select art works, contributions from the artists, and essays from various RAF scholars. The first volume, however, is more than double the size of the second and contains 712 pages of excerpts from articles and photographs from various newspapers and magazines from twenty-nine dates in the RAF history, mostly between the dates of 1970 and 1977. Together, the two volumes of the catalogue create a visual dialogue between the media and artistic representation of the RAF between 1970 and 1977 and demonstrate the dominance and influence of documentary photographs on the artworks. The number of images generated before 1977, their remarkable relationship to artistic representation, the need to display these images, "die so noch nie zusammen vorgestellt wurde" nearly thirty years after their original publication, and the extreme controversy generated by the 2005 exhibit suggest a retroactive acknowledgement of a 'Vorstellung' of terror that predates the RAF but was reanimated by September 11, 2001.

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[106] Ibid., 14.

Shortly after his transition from East to West Germany in 1961, Gerhard Richter began the project of collecting images for *Atlas*, an ongoing compilation or "Kosmos" of what are now over 6,000 photographs, collages and sketches of recurring themes arranged onto panels.[107] The Baader-Meinhof photographs (panels 470-479), referred to by the most recent *Atlas* editor Helmut Friedel as "einen vorläufigen, entgegengesetzt scheinenden Höhepunkt," are among the most well-known and referenced images in the collection and were part of the Kunst-Werke exhibition.[108] Based on the reactions to Richter's project, the viewer of these images is apparently overwhelmed by the excess of meaning generated and by what can be understood as an unexpected confrontation with the sublime, an aesthetic discourse that Richter also seems to have intentionally invoked. The attempt to articulate and therefore overcome or restrain the impact of these images on the imagination suggests an engagement with the sublime that highlights its aspect of terror, a terror that links these images to their historical and political context and to images of concentration camp victims in *Atlas*, and one whose banality functions as a reminder of the recurrence of violence and repression that highlights the unlikelihood of redemption.

Although the *Atlas* images are often used as templates for Richter's paintings, determining the relationship between the two poses a challenge to many critics. Friedel has described the *Atlas* as an "Organismus" in which Richter's painted works find their "Niederschlag" and Jean-François Chevrier has described it as a "palimpsest of the

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[107] Helmut Friedel, "Gerhard Richter: Atlas Fotos, Collagen und Skizzen 1962-2006," In *Atlas*, ed. Helmut Friedel, (Cologne, Walther König, 2006), 8.

[108] Ibid., 13.

unconscious" which "underlies and tends to overtake the pictorial work."[109] Although the Baader-Meinhof images in *Atlas* look very similar to the paintings in Richter's well known and controversial cycle *18. Oktober 1977*, and receive much of their attention because of their resonance with the paintings, the *Atlas* photographs were in fact not used for the cycle.[110] Armin Zweite writes that "the photographs integrated into the *Atlas* were made after the paintings were completed, whereas the precise photographs used for the painted versions were deliberately left out of the *Atlas*."[111] Curator for the New York Museum of Modern Art and critic Robert Storr reiterates this point and explains, with regard to the October cycle, how Richter deviated from his standard practice of using images from the *Atlas* for his paintings "indem er Bilder der zweiten Generation einbezog, die nicht diejenigen sind, nach denen seine Gemälde entstanden, ja nicht einmal überarbeitete Fassungen der Bilder, von denen er diejenigen auswählte, die er schließlich malte."[112] By deviating from his standard practice, Richter creates a

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[109] Ibid., 17 and Jean-François Chevrier, "Between the Fine Arts and the Media (The German Example: Gerhard Richter)," in *Photography and Painting in the Work of Gerhard Richter: Four Essays on Atlas*, (Barcelona: Consorci del Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 1999), 45-46.

[110] Because of their similarity and thematic connection, it is a common misconception that the *Atlas* images were used for the October paintings. Even Friedel writes: "Aus den 100 bearbeiteten Aufnahmen des *Atlas* entstanden 15 Gemälde." Ibid., 13.

[111] Armin Zweite, "Gerhard Richter's 'Album of Photographs, Collages, and Sketches," in *Photography and Painting in the Work of Gerhard Richter: Four Essays on Atlas*, (Barcelona: Consorci del Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 1999), 90.

[112] Robert Storr notes that the photographs used for the October paintings are located in a notebook at the archive of the New York Museum of Modern Art and adds what could

situation in which the connection between the October paintings and *Atlas* Baader-Meinhof photographs and the memory of the event is not found in the image, but in the mind of the viewer.

The one hundred *Atlas* photographs of RAF members Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Ulrike Meinhof, Holger Meins, and Jan-Carl Raspe, were originally published in *Stern*, *Bunten Illustrierten*, *Quick* and *Revue*.[113] Richter then removed the images from their media context, cropped the journalistic commentary, re-photographed them in black and white, and blurred most of them beyond recognition before adding them to *Atlas*. Robert Storr compares the effect of the blurred images to a police interrogation: "'Sie sind sich sicher, dass dies die Person ist, die Sie gesehen haben?' fragt der Kriminalbeamte."[114] He then adds a comment that conflates the viewer with both the 'criminal' and the 'interrogator' in the scenario above: "'Erinnerst du das Gesicht, das dir früher so vertraut war, als dein eigenes?' fragt man sich selbst im Spiegel."[115] His comment reveals his interpretation of the Baader-Meinhof images, that they estrange the

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be considered an exception: "*Atlas* enthält die Vorlage für *Erhängte*, die fotomechanisch in zwei Schritten verwackelt wurde und so die malerische Verwischung der beiden unterschiedlichen Gemälde nachahmte." Robert Storr, "In Memoriam: Reflexionen über zwei Experimente partieller Erinnerung," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, ed. Klaus Biesenbach, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 2:32.

[113] Helmut Friedel, "Gerhard Richter: Atlas Fotos, Collagen und Skizzen 1962-2006," (see note 106), 13.

[114] Robert Storr, "In Memoriam: Reflexionen über zwei Experimente partieller Erinnerung," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors* (see note 111), 33.

[115] Ibid.

viewer from the most familiar of images, one's own face in the mirror. After noting the futility of projecting the usual historical and political interpretations onto these images, Sabine Flach echoes a similar experience: "Umgeben von Bildern, die in Grauschattierungen, Unschärfen und Abstraktionen das Ende jener bewaffneten politischen Revolte konstatieren, ist man als Betrachter ohnmächtig und unsicher gegenüber der Darstellung von Isolation, Ausweglosigkeit, Tod."[116]

In the *Atlas*, the Baader-Meinhof images resonate within a visual discourse of sublime imagery. Richter couches them between images of mountains, of people looking at large paintings of mountains, and of frames, evoking a visual reference to Caspar David Friedrich paintings and both the mountain and romantic sublime. The eight panels before the Baader-Meinhof images include black and white and color photographs of Niagara Falls (463-4, 1988), mountains of Sils Maria (465-7, 1989) and overpainted 'blurry' mountain ranges (468-9, 1989). The panels after the Baader-Meinhof images include architectural images of a house in Hahnwald, a table, and corners of frames (480-1, 1994; 482, 1994; 483, 1986), images of people looking at large paintings of abstract mountain landscapes, and images of more frames (484, 1989; 485, 1989; 486-9, 1986; 490-3, 1990). When the *Atlas* is exhibited, the Baader-Meinhof images are juxtaposed with images of Sils Maria, the overpainted mountain ranges, and images of picture frames, a gesture that further suggests Richter's awareness of framing

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[116] Sabine Flach, "'… meine Bilder sind klüger als ich,' Der Bilderatlas als Konfiguration des Wissen in der Gegenwartskunst." In *Der Bilderatlas im Wechsel der Künste und Medien*, ed. Sabine Flach, Inge Münz-Koenen, and Marianne Streisand, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2005), 67.

and displaying such images to the public.[117] By constructing a visual essay of the sublime, Richter underscores the role of the artist as creator and both demonstrates and creates the effect these images had and continue to have on the viewer, who is directly engaged in the act of seeing, in being overwhelmed, and in attempting to come to terms with this feeling.

Comprising over 6,000 images and nearly 800 panels, *Atlas* can be understood as a series of recurring 'scapes'. A large portion of images in *Atlas* consists of spectacular mountain-, cloud-, sky-, sea-, city-, forest-, river-, fire- and land-scapes. In addition to such sublime elemental evocations, there are images of people, most notably those from Richter's family album, mass-media sources, pornography as well as his friends, self-portraits, and images of his wife and their newborn children. As a third component of *Atlas*, there are images of abstract painting, colour plates, sketches, architectural and technical drawings, and images of museum exhibitions in which people are looking at paintings. Finally, there is the provocative inclusion of images of victims from concentration camps, Hitler, 48 portraits, the Baader-Meinhof group, drawings of the Reichstag and the layout for the book War Cut. Referring to the images in *Atlas* with "historical and political themes," Zweite writes that they are "somewhat at odds with everything else and pierce the otherwise protected sphere of aesthetic appearance like an insurmountable trauma."[118] However, the "insurmountable trauma" seems to be located in the conflation of such images with "everything else" as well as in

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[117] Gerhard Richter, *Atlas*, ed. Helmut Friedel, (Cologne: Walther König, 2006), 860.

[118] Armin Zweite, "Gerhard Richter's 'Album of Photographs, Collages, and Sketches," (see note 110), 91.

their distinction. Seen as a group of photographs among many, the Baader-Meinhof images contribute to what Benjamin Buchloh calls the "anomic banality" of *Atlas*.[119] They suggest that images of violence and repression recur in the same manner as the series of landscapes and other themes.[120] Individually, the Baader-Meinhof images 'remind' the viewer of the banality of violence, the conflicted approach to an armed struggle founded on the rejection of violence, and the possibility of such violence and counter-terrorist measures after the atrocities of the Second World War. The recurrence of violence in post-war Germany is then further conflicted by the recurrence of the repression of violence.

Comparing Richter's *Atlas* with Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas* from 1925, Buchloh relates both to "the most devastating cataclysm of human history brought about by German Fascism" and describes the *Atlas* as "looking back at its aftermath from a position of repression and disavowal, attempting to reconstruct remembrance from

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[119] Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's Atlas: The Anomic Archive," in *Photography and Painting in the Work of Gerhard Richter: Four Essays on Atlas*, (Barcelona: Consorci del Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 1999), 30.

[120] For example, images of Sils Maria, the mountain-resort area of Sils in the Engadina section of canton Graubünden in Switzerland are featured on panels 465-467 (1988); 557-574 (1992); 662-663 (1992); 684-696 (2003) and 769-783 (2006). Other *Atlas* images of mountains are found on panels 125-130 Mountain Range (1968), 221-252 Rooms (1970-71) (with the exception of 238 Sketch 1970), 332-335 Arosa (1972), 336-340 Davos (1973), and 341-359 Greenland (1972). Richter's paintings of Sils Maria are from 1989 and 2003. Sils Maria also happens to be known as the place where Friedrich Nietzsche spent his summers, worked on many of his books, and where he came up with the idea of eternal recurrence.

within the social and geo-political space of the society that inflicted trauma."[121] He understands Richter's project, started in 1961, as a "mobilization of an Atlas of remembrance against a massive apparatus of repression."[122] Although Buchloh refers to images of concentration camp victims and does not mention the Baader-Meinhof images in this essay, his interpretation resonates with their function as images that evoke a particular dichotomy between death and reality and depict people "from within" who were also mobilized against a "massive apparatus of repression," and were "attempting to reconstruct remembrance." The repression of RAF imagery demonstrated in the controversy associated with the Kunst-Werke exhibit suggests a recurring tendency to repress violence and suggests a fear that these images could potentially threaten state security by reminding the viewer of his or her historical potential. That said, Robert Storr suggests the opposite when he writes that Richter's Baader-Meinhof images should not be understood as contributions to the hypnotic topicality of terrorism but more as a reflection of it in order to stop it in its tracks.[123]

Using Richter's own words, Rainer Rochlitz describes Richter's approach to using found images for the *Atlas* by seeking out certain characteristics that "testify to their quality as images of a significant state of collective consciousness. […] [Richter] seeks to explain, by means of the image, the 'point where we have got to', not

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[121] Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's Atlas: The Anomic Archive," (see note 118),

16.

[122] Ibid., 26.

[123] Robert Storr, "In Memoriam: Reflexionen über zwei Experimente partieller Erinnerung," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors* (see note 111), 33.

according to any sociological analysis, but according to historical experience."[124] Although the characteristics of the "point where we have got to" change with the progression of time and events, i.e. with historical experience that contributes to the belated understanding of certain images, the 'point' has remained, somewhat disturbingly, remarkably unchanged. With regard to the Baader-Meinhof images, Sabine Flach writes that Richter "etabliert einen Denkraum, in dem die ideologischen Konstrukte nicht mehr passen, vielmehr wird mit Eindringlichkeit und Bedachtsamkeit darauf gedeutet, dass terroristische Akte international und aktuell sind."[125] The relationship between October 18, 1977 and 9/11 includes not only alterations to the German constitution and anti-terrorist measures but also the pattern of recurring violence and repression, which is demonstrated in Richter's approach to documenting 9/11 in *Atlas*.

In a *New York Times* interview from July 4, 2004 – American Independence Day, Jan Thorn-Prikker asks Richter why he chose to focus on March 20-21, 2003 for his book *War Cut*, a collection of 216 photographic details of *Abstract Painting* (1987, 648-2) combined with newspaper articles from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on the beginning days of the Iraq war. Richter responds: "The outbreak of war is the date that people remember. Just like the start of Hitler's war on Sept. 1, 1939. On the other hand, it seems to me that March 20-21 didn't have an impact comparable to, say, Sept.

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[124] Rainer Rochlitz, "Where we have got to," in *Photography and Painting in the Work of Gerhard Richter: Four Essays on Atlas*, (Barcelona: Consorci del Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 1999), 122.

[125] Sabine Flach, "'… meine Bilder sind klüger als ich,' Der Bilderatlas als Konfiguration des Wissen in der Gegenwartskunst." (see note 115), 69.

11, 2001."[126] The understated message that March 20, 2003 did not have the same impact as September 11, 2001 in addition to the pronounced presence of the Iraq War in *Atlas* can be understood as another thematization of repression and the human capacity for violence. In *Atlas*, the layout for *War Cut* spans nearly forty panels (697-736) while three images from September 11 are squeezed onto one panel (744), entitled *Stripes*, *WTC* (2006). The left side of this panel consists of three images of structures, two of which resemble horizontal renderings of the World Trade Center. The right side consists of four images of the burning towers, somewhat out of focus, which creates the appearance of stripes, a commentary on the stripes of the American flag. The panel is preceded by images of *War Cut* and *8 Gray* and followed by images of cathedral windows, Hahnwald and Sils Maria. When displayed, this panel is nestled between panels 740 and 748, which depict details of vertical panes, various structures, strontium, and images of people looking at these details on huge canvases at De Young Museum in San Francisco. That is, the relatively tiny and few images representing 9/11 in *Atlas* are surrounded by images of pieces of glass, metal, fighter planes, and images of spectatorship and are framed in a strikingly parallel manner to the way Richter frames and displays the Baader-Meinhof images. Using the visual discourse of the sublime, Richter's deliberate arrangement of these images represents the enduring pattern of violence and repression within *Atlas* that directly corresponds to patterns in both German and American culture.

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[126] Jan Thorn-Prikker, "Gerhard Richter Goes to War," *The New York Times*, July 4, 2004.

Indeed, the discourse of the sublime feeds into a fascination with horror, the desire for immediacy, and the desire to be overwhelmed. It can also be understood as a means to cope with loss by converting victim-hood into heroism as a form of redemption. In addition, it recognizes that many people witnessed a terrible event and acknowledge their pain and shock by attributing a certain exclusivity to the event. However, it is clearly neither the first time the world had ever been confronted with an unexpected spectacle of violence, nor is redemption a viable aspect of the sublime. Nonetheless, such readings of terrorism persevere despite the fact that it does not make much sense to use the sublime to understand an event that in turn defeats the principles behind why the sublime was used in the first place.

Articulating the relationship between terrorism and art is generally fraught with a bathetic adherence to certain belief systems. Using the sublime generally implies a certain reverence of the desire to posit aesthetics as a superior context for understanding terrorism. But while the aesthetic artistic quality of terrorist events – especially when conveyed to the public through the mass media cannot be denied, the very person who reveres art enough to want it to include violently transgressive acts must come to terms with the idea that terrorists are artists in the sublime scenario – a situation that is eased but not erased by removing the images from the media location and relocating them in the museum or collection. The sublime was a trendy exhibition theme before the attacks on 9/11 and the subject of numerous exhibitions. After the attacks, the number of such exhibitions peaked and some even recognized the connection and incorporated images of 9/11 in their exhibition.

In the four years before 9/11, there were at least five exhibitions on the sublime and afterwards there were at least ten more. In 1997, the Musée de Valence hosted a show called *Le Paysage et la question du sublime* (October 1-November 30); in 1998, the Kunsthalle zu Kiel showed *Landschaft: Die Spur des Sublimen* (January 18-March 1). In 1999, the Hayward Gallery in the United Kingdom showed *The Sublime: The Darkness and the Light* (June-July). In 2001, the Kunsthalle in Baden-Baden showed *Big Nothing. Höhere Wesen, der blinde Fleck und das Erhabene in der zeitgenössischen Kunst* (January 27-March 18), and the Deutsche Guggenheim showed *Über das Erhabene: Mark Rothko, Yves Klein, James Turrell* (July 7-October 7). After the attacks, the Tate Briton hosted an exhibition in 2002 entitled *American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States 1820-1880* (February 21-May 29). In 2004, the University of Michigan Museum of Art showed *Georgia O'Keeffe and the Sublime Landscape* (July 11-September 26). In 2006, the Art Gallery of Hamilton in Ontario, Canada showed *Sublime Embrace: Experiencing Consciousness in Contemporary Art* (May 27-September 5), and the Museum Franz Gertsch in Burgdorf, Switzerland showed *The sublime is now: Das Erhabene in der zeitgenössischen Kunst* (April 2 to July 30) – an exhibition whose catalogue featured a picture from *Der Spiegel* of the smoking World Trade Center on September 11; in 2008, The Seattle Asian Art Museum showed *Discovering Buddhist Art – Seeking the Sublime* (July 18 2003 – December), the Metropolitan Museum of Art showed the first retrospective of the work of J.M.W. Turner that had been shown in the United States (July– September), and The Fuller Craft Museum in Massachusetts showed *Edge of the Sublime: Enamels by Jamie Bennett* (January 19-May 4 2008). In 2010, the Frick Art Museum is showing *Small but*

Sublime: Intimate 19th Century American Landscape (May 15-September 5 2010), and the Trust for Museum Exhibitions is showing *The Splendor and the Sublime: Masterpieces from the Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery* (May 2010-May 2011).

Like images of the sublime, photographs and photographs of terrorism have also made their ways into collections, museums, libraries, and archives. Another well-known collection of images is Hans-Peter Feldmann's *Die Toten: 1967-1993 Studentenbewegung, APO, Baader-Meinhof, Bewegung 2. Juni, Revolutionäre Zellen, RAF*.... This 1998 collection of found images from archives, police material and private collections, was also featured in the Kunst-Werke exhibit. It consists of ninety photographs of perpetrators, victims and people who have in common that they died between 1967-1993 in connection to the groups named in the title. The photographs have been photocopied, cropped and arranged in chronological order according to the date of death and are accompanied by a type of epitaph that gives their name, date of death, and, if necessary, where they are in the picture. The back of the book contains an index that gives further information about each person – their name, age at death, profession, and how and by whom the person was killed.

The back of the book suggests that the collection was compiled because few people realize that one hundred people died between 1967 and 1993. In an attempt to condense time and information, Feldmann offers a collection, a memorial, to the people who died. The epigraph, printed in the bottom left corner of the second right-hand page of the book suggests that Feldmann sees these victims connected not only through their mortality but also through terror: "terror, oris, m; latein. – Schreck(en)." He writes:

> Das Buch versucht das Ausmaß dieser Opferzahl bildhaft zu vermitteln. Alle Bilder, die gezeigt werden, entstammen den Printmedien der Zeit. Es ist ein Versuch, die Ereignisse der jüngeren deutschen Geschichte aus einer gewissen Distanz zu betrachten und auf das Ausmaß des Geschehenen hinzuweisen.[127]

It is unclear whether this certain distance is created by time or space, or perhaps both. In 1998, the book was published five years after the last RAF deathand the same year as the dissolution of the RAF as if Feldmann hoped that it would be over, finally.[128] With this in mind, there is an implied distance of time, of five years, and of space, the new context of the book and also in the museums where it was exhibited.

The new context allows Robert Storr to invoke the image of the danse macabre twice in his short text on Feldmann. Storr writes: "Im moderen Gewand strudelt Hans Holbeins egalitärer Totentanz so in die Schlagzeilen der Boulevardpresse ('129 DIE' heißt es in Warhols gleichnamigem Bild) und verschwindet bereits am nächsten Tag im Ingmar Bergman-Stil an deren Horizont."[129] After relaying the biographies of some of the people depicted, Storr notes that they all have death in common. He writes: "Dies ist eine beunruhigende Folge des humanistischen Ansatzes, auch wenn dieser sich hier in

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[127] Hans-Peter Feldmann, *Die Toten 1967-1993: Studentenbewegung, APO, Baader-Meinhof, Bewegung 2. Juni, Revolutionäre Zellen, RAF*, (Düsseldorf: Feldmann, 1998), backflap.

[128] Wolfgang Grams and Police officer Michael Newrzella both died on 27 June 1993 in Bad Kleinen. RAF member Horst-Ludwig Meyer was shot by the police in Vienna, but not until 15 September 1999 after the book was published.

[129] Robert Storr, "In Memoriam: Reflexionen über zwei Experimente partieller Erinnerung," In *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors*, (see note 111), 30.

einer streng leidenschaftslosen anschaulichen Form manifestiert, einer säkularen Neuschöpfung des alle Unterschiede einebenden Totentanzes."[130] His references demonstrate that the new context does in fact allow for a new space in which one can discuss death but also, perhaps inadvertently, notes the problems with this. After addressing the biographies of some of the dead, he implies that the truth is difficult to stomach: "Je mehr man darüber weiß, was sich hinter diesen grobkörnigen Bildern und gedrängten Abrissen verbirgt, desto düsterer stellt sich die Sache dar."[131] While there may be some solace in recontextualizing media photographs, Storr demonstrates that the history cannot be separated from the photograph just because it was placed in a new context.

Douglas Crimp outlines some of the consequences of moving photography into the museum in his 1989 essay "The Museum's Old/The Libraries New Subject."[132] In this essay, Crimp calls retrospective museum exhibitions into question and suggests that they embrace the ideas of modern art by promoting masterpieces invented by the artist genius. For Crimp, it seems that photography has been usurped by modernist positions in that it is given a subjective approach – the focus on the view of the artist, the photographer, and can be distinguished from other art forms (evoking Clement Greenberg's definition of modernism). He demonstrates this is a new method of

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[130] Ibid., 31.

[131] Ibid., 30.

[132] Douglas Crimp, "The Museum's Old / The Library's New Subject," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 3-14.

thinking by noting that photography was excluded from modernism in the early days because it was too attached to its historical and documentary function and by citing the massive reorganization involved at various libraries to create photo collections out of photo books that had previously been categorized under their documentary purpose. In these modernist strategies, Crimp notices a subtle irony in the presence of postmodernism despite their intentions:

> … it is photography's revaluation as a modernist medium that signals the end of modernism. Postmodernism begins when photography comes to pervert modernism. If this entry of photography into the museum and the library's art division is one means of photography's perversion of modernism—the negative one—then there is another form of that perversion which may be seen as positive, in that it establishes a wholly new and radicalized artistic practice that truly deserves to be called postmodernist. For at a certain moment photography enters the practice of art in such a way that it contaminates the purity of modernism's separate categories, the categories of painting and sculpture. These categories are subsequently divested of their fictive autonomy, their idealism, and thus their power.

While putting the photographs in museums – and likewise the surge of exhibitions on the sublime and exhibitions on terrorism that feature the photographs – may subvert the modernist tendencies that brought them there in the first place, they are also representative of a nostalgia, or perhaps even a need, to try to make sense of and organize overwhelming experiences. However, while shifting the context of a large group of photographs does not remove their historical element, the types of contexts

that arise and the reactions to them reveal new historical trends that are integral in construction of the history and memory of terrorism. It also reveals the aesthetic impact of the attack, the inability to connect the aesthetic and historic impact of its representation, and the tendency to put them in a new context that makes it safe although entirely contrived.

The cultural reception of 9/11 and the RAF demonstrate the significance of their aesthetic impact on the public. However, the symbolic language of the attack along with the aesthetic resonance of the depiction of the photograph, a topic that will be addressed in detail in chapters two and three, when coupled with their documentary and historical truth and severity often prove too difficult to comprehend and there is a tendency to categorize it into smaller more manageable categories. In the process, modernist categories such as the sublime, the master artist, and the retrospective are invoked but are both anachronistic and contradictory. The documentary photograph, especially those that represent terrorism and death in particular, destroy the category that was used to harness their impact in the first place.

The aesthetic character of terrorist attacks is demonstrated not only in terrorist strategies but also in the tendencies of the reception to use modernist terms like the sublime and the avant-garde and exhibitory practices to describe and contextualize the photographs. The aesthetic character of terrorist attacks and their representation is also distinctly related to their historical fact in that the attacks reflect certain political and religious ideologies that are intended to inculcate fear and very often destroy people and property. In this chapter, I hope to have demonstrated that both aspects of terrorist attacks must be examined alongside each other in order to gain a better understanding of

how history and memory are created and which narratives survive and why. The next chapters will look at photography and the role of two specific photographs – the deathbed image of Holger Meins, and an image that has come to be known as 'The Falling Man.'

Chapter Two

DEAD HOLGER[133]

> [I]m November 1974, schlagen *stern*-Leser ihre Zeitschrift auf und sehen ein doppelseitiges Foto vom toten Holger Meins. In einem weißen Totenhemd mit Manschetten, auf weißem Kissen mit Rüschen liegt ein Greis mit langem Bart, tief liegenden Augen, die Hände übereinander gelegt – zur ewigen Ruhe gebettet.[134]

Since its 1974 printing in *stern* magazine, Dead Holger has been described and connected with iconic images ranging from the death of Christ and the victims of Bergen-Belsen to Hollywood Boulevard Stars. Such responses to the funeral photograph of Holger Meins, which will be the focus of this chapter, reveal an afterlife of the image that is deeply connected to its printing in *stern* magazine. Among several series of photographs of Meins before the printing of the funeral image and many RAF

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[133] This chapter is a revised and extended version of my article on the deathbed photograph of Holger Meins that was published in 2008. I am grateful to Erika Horvath and Editions Rodopi who gave me permission to use it. Carrie Collenberg, "Dead Holger," in *Baader-Meinhof Returns: History and Cultural Memory of German Left-Wing Terrorism*, ed. Gerrit-Jan Berendse and Ingo Cornils, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 65-82.

[134] Gerd Conradt, 'Nicht oder Sein-Ikonen der Zeitgeschichte', in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, ed. Klaus Biesenbach, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 2:131. I will refer to the catalogue in the body of the text as the Kunst-Werke catalogue.

photographs afterwards, the funeral photograph has become the nodal point of the Meins and RAF discussion but has received little critical attention as such.

The desire to understand the nature of a photograph and why it has an effect on us seldom leads to a universal or satisfactory explanation. Nonetheless, the riddle of the funeral image and its prominent role in the RAF discussion seem to have in part something to do with the manner of its printing in *stern*. Although *stern*'s printing of the image over two pages is by no means unusual,[135] Gerd Conradt questions the intention behind it: "Warum der *stern* das Bild so großformatig verbreitet hat, bleibt mir bis heute ein Rätsel."[136] In their respective publications, Conradt, Klaus Biesenbach and Astrid Proll reprint the funeral photograph and spread it over two pages, a gesture that re-enacts the trauma associated with witnessing this image in *stern*.[137] The size of the *stern*

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[135] The funeral photograph is one of many large-format photographs featured in *stern* around page eighteen. Its size and placement reflect the magazine's formulaic manner of conveying images to the public. Based on a comment by Conradt that *stern* magazine received the rights to print the photograph from the family only under the condition that it transfer a large amount of money to the accounts of the RAF defenders, it seems that *stern*'s decision to feature this particular photograph was conscious and motivated. Ibid., 131.

[136] Ibid.

[137] For various reprintings, see Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins: Ein Porträt als Zeitbild*, (Berlin: Espresso, 2001), 162-3; Klaus Biesenbach, ed., *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 1:214-5; Astrid Proll, *Baader-Meinhof: Pictures on the Run 67-77*, (Zürich: Scalo, 1998), 106-7. Astrid Proll printed another angle of the funeral photograph over two pages, one that was not printed in *stern*, but one that both resists and recalls the *stern* printing. For smaller printings of this angle of the funeral photograph, see Hans-Peter

printing seems to remain a riddle that both answers and evokes the trauma of witnessing the image and one that invites further speculation about the intentions behind the *stern* publication and what it means. Harun Farocki writes:

> The pictures of the dead Holger Meins were probably published so as to prove that there was nothing to hide. These images were intended to convey a message: we didn't kill him, he did it himself, and it was outside our power to prevent it. But photos don't always say what they are meant to. The exhibition of the dead man was to prove power, and by so doing the distance to the prisoner was removed. He was exhibited like a trophy. This evoked memories of the magical and ritualized prehistory of punishment, of lingering torture to death staged for a curious audience.[138]

Indeed, photographs do not always say what they are meant to. Viewing a body at a funeral is similar to the simultaneous finitude and viscosity of a photograph in that the

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Feldmann, *Die Toten*, (see note 126), unpaginated; Klaus Biesenbach, ed., *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 2:26. The Kunst-Werke reprinting of selected photographs to represent Feldmann's *Die Toten* included the funeral photograph. See also Robert Storr, ed., *Gerhard Richter: October 18, 1977 (18. Oktober 1977),* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2000), 96.

[138] Harun Farocki, "Risking his Life: Images of Holger Meins," in *Nachdruck/Imprint*, (Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2001), 270. Another version of this essay was published as, "Sein Leben einsetzen: Bilder von Holger Meins," *Jungle World* 52 (1998): 1-31. Gerd Conradt also included an abridged version of this essay under the title "Das Vorbild jeder stilisierten Jugendunsicherheit muss James Dean sein," in Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins: Ein Porträt als Zeitbild*, (Berlin: Espresso, 2001), 178-82.

audience is invited to view the image and reflect back in time. However, while a body is generally displayed for viewing in the context of a funeral or memorial, the funeral photograph, when printed in *stern* magazine, is detached from its intimate familial context and displayed to a larger public. The new context in the magazine and the subsequent mass proliferation of the image create new contexts in which the image is viewed, contexts that contribute to the associations connected with the image and obscure Meins's former identity and history.

The funeral photograph also echoes art-historical depictions of martyrs, which was likely anticipated by *stern* or photographer Dirk Reinartz.[139] A student of Otto Steinert, Reinartz was the youngest photographer hired by *stern* in 1970 and later made

[139] Only Kunst-Werke credits Reinartz with the photograph, "Ausgabe 21. November Nr. 48, S.16-22 '…und wenn Typen dabei kaputtgehen' (Jürgen Serke); Fotos: S.16-7. Dirk Reinartz." Klaus Biesenbach, ed., *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 1:680. Previous to the Kunst-Werke catalogue, the photographer was not listed. Robert Storr's comments from 2000 suggest that the Kunst-Werke credit in 2005 demands further investigation: 'After extensive research, the Museum of Modern Art found the following: Eventually, the Museum learned from the federal supreme court that documentary material pertaining to the death of Holger Meins had been investigated by the prosecutor's office in Trier. The reply stated that the image of the dead Holger Meins, which Richter used as a model for a painting, and later became *Abstraktes Bild* (1988), would have been taken after the completion of the police investigation, possibly by a member of the press. Astrid Proll […] told the Museum that she had also tried unsuccessfully to determine the copyright holder for this image.' Robert Storr, ed., *Gerhard Richter: October 18, 1977 (18. Oktober 1977),* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2000), 149.

his way to other prominent magazines and the art scene with his photography cycles. The stillness of Reinartz's composition in the funeral photograph is echoed in *Totenstill*,[140] his cycle of photographs of concentration camps, which is not the only example where the funeral image is obliquely associated with images from the Holocaust. There are also implicit connections between the representation of Meins and Christ and although it is not that surprising that a group of people are preoccupied with the depiction of a dead, thirty-three year old, emaciated, bearded man who died for his principles, it is ironic that this man happens to be RAF member Holger Meins, that the photograph was published in *stern*, and that the people in addition to Meins's friends and colleagues discussing the image are art historians. The size, printing, proliferation, and art-historical resonance of Dead Holger have contributed to its reception and secured it a central role in the process of remembering Meins and the RAF.

Gerd Conradt's *Starbuck Holger Meins* consists of essays and interviews with former friends and colleagues of Meins, who base their responses on documents and images pertaining to their relationship with him.[141] With regard to the concept of the

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[140] Dirk Reinartz and Christian Graf von Krockow, *Totenstill*, Göttingen: Steidl, 1994.

[141] After Meins died, Renate Sami and Harun Farocki made the film *Es stirbt allerdings ein jeder, Frage ist nur wie, und wie du gelebt hast*, which I was not able to access for this project. To make the film, Sami brought together friends of Meins who had studied with him (Ulrike Edschmid, Gerd Conrad, Hartmut Bitomsky, Harun Farocki, Helke Sander, Günther Peter Strascheck and Clara Schmitt). She interviewed them and cut in photographs and material from archives in between the interviews. See Renate Sami, "Alle waren antiautoritär," *Die Tageszeitung*, May 23, 2008. See also: Renate Sami, "Holger Meins – Zwei Protokolle," in *Deutschland im Herbst*, ed. Petra Kraus and

book, Conradt writes: "Menschen erinnern sich auf der Grundlage von Dokumenten an eine Person – Holger Meins."[142] The role of the funeral image in the interviews and the manner in which it is reprinted in the book demonstrate the extent to which the funeral photograph, above all other documents, informs the memory and discussion of Meins and can be understood as the point of departure for Conradt's book.

Conradt showed photographs of Meins to the interviewees to evoke their memories of him. In addition to the photographs that are directly connected to each interviewee and his or her experience with Meins, Conradt often solicited a direct response to the funeral image itself. His frequent references to the image in the interviews demonstrate his motivation:

> Wie war das, als du die Fotos von Holger auf dem Totenbett gesehen hast? (40) […] Aber wir wollen ja bei Holger bleiben und da gibt es dieses Foto von 1974. Dein Tonmann Holger Meins, acht Jahre später auf dem Totenbett. (46) […] Kennst du dieses Foto von Holger Meins auf dem Totenbett? (59) […] Wo und wie hast du von seinem Tod erfahren? (67) […] Kennst du das Bild vom toten Holger? (79) […] Was drückt das letzte Foto von ihm für dich aus? (87) […] Vier Jahre später entstand dieses Foto vom toten Holger. Was empfindest du, wenn du es ansiehst? (100) […] Wenn du das Foto siehst, wo er auf dem Sterbebett liegt, kannst du ihn darauf erkennen? (113) […] Wenn du das Foto vom toten Holger

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others, (Munich: Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 90-94; and Margaretha Huber, "also, was ist denn wirklich? Zu dem Film von Renate Sami über Holger Meins *Es stirbt allerdings ein jeder*...," in ibid., 61-71.

[142] Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins: Ein Porträt als Zeitbild*, (Berlin: Espresso, 2001), 177.

> siehst, was empfindest du da? (117) […] Wie hat das *stern*-Foto vom toten Holger auf dich gewirkt? (133)[143]

Although nearly thirty years had passed since the death of Meins by the time Conradt published his book, the influence of the image persisted. By including the funeral image alongside personal photographs, Conradt all but coordinated visceral responses to the image and forced the interviewees to remember the original trauma of witnessing it in *stern*, to confront the spectacle again, and to respond. Conradt's strategy and the responses indicate that the funeral image is still a neuralgic issue in RAF history that is in need of discussion.

Although he does not address his methodology directly, Conradt recognized the necessity of including the funeral photograph in series of interviews about Meins. In their responses, the interviewees remain vulnerable to the shock of the photograph and to Conradt's re-enactment of the original scene:

> Das Bild vom toten Holger geht mir nicht aus dem Kopf. Ja, dieses Bild aus dem *stern* hat mich verfolgt. Ich kann es nicht in Verbindung bringen mit meinen Bildern von Holger. (63) […] Das Foto kenne ich. Ich sehe viel Leiden in seinem Gesicht. Für einen Dreiunddreißigjährigen sieht er alt aus. Die Haut ist noch jung, aber an den Händen und im Gesicht sieht er aus, als hätte er das ganze Leiden der Welt in einem Monat gelebt. (87) [...] Er sieht aus wie eine Reliquie. (100) [...]Ich kann das Bild nicht in Verbindung bringen mit meiner Erinnerung an Holger, so wie ich ihn kannte. Der Fotograf hat Holger so fotografiert, dass es eine Ikone des Gegners wurde. (113) [...] Ich finde es makaber, solch ein Foto in so einer großen

[143] Ibid., page numbers are located in parentheses in the text.

> Zeitschrift zu veröffentlichen. Es sollte abschrecken: So geht's denen, die Widerstand leisten! (117) [...] Das *stern*-Foto hatte ich vor mir, das konkrete Bild. Also, es war ja auch die Kombination, das *stern*-Foto, da war er dann auch tot: Ich hatte ihn vor mir, nicht nur in der Erinnerung – sondern dieses entsetzliche Bild. (140) [144]

Together, these reactions constitute a collective experience of the funeral image in the memory of Holger Meins. Based on the use of the image throughout the book and the interviewees' responses to Conradt's prompts, the power of the image lies not only in its portrayal of Meins, but also in the schismatic role of the funeral image in the memory of Meins. The fantasy and associations evoked by the image reveal a distance from the man remembered and the man portrayed in the image. Another example of this distance created by the photograph involves a semantic short-cut and is demonstrated by Conradt and many others in their description of Meins on his 'Totenbett' or 'Sterbebett'. Although these words are commonly used to refer to the bed on which the deceased is displayed, little attention is given to the fact that this is not how and where he died, but how and where he was posed.

Conradt emphasizes the pivotal role of the funeral image in *Starbuck Holger Meins* by reprinting the *stern* layout over two pages, a deictic gesture directed toward the readers and viewers of the book that mimics both the manner in which he presented

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[144] Ibid., page numbers are located in parentheses in the text. See also pages 40, 46, 59, 67, and 133 for additional comments.

the image to the interviewees and in which it was originally published in *stern*.[145] On the page following the funeral image, Conradt reprinted a poster used to protest Meins's death that features a sympathetic photograph of Meins's face under the heading EiN GENOSSE iST TOT [*sic*].[146] This is the first image seen after turning the page from the funeral image. Although it was used to protest Meins's death, the poster photograph is not as prominent in the memory of Meins as the funeral photograph. The juxtaposition of the two images creates a visual dialogue that implies a necessary correction, one that is emphasised in Conradt's decision to use the poster photograph of Meins for the cover of the book. This decision can be understood as an attempt to shift the face of the memory of Meins from the funeral image to an image that was actually used to protest his death. By placing the poster photograph directly after the funeral image and by using the poster image as the cover of the book, Conradt recognises and protests against the dominating role of the funeral image and its connotations in the memory of Meins.

On the one hand, Conradt resists the associated imagery and impact of the funeral photograph by attempting to disseminate its acquired meaning, by filling in the memory of Meins that had been distanced by the funeral image, and by changing the face of Meins's memory to the protest photograph. On the other hand, the hagiographic underpinnings of *Starbuck Holger Meins* can be understood as a symptom of the martyrological associations with the funeral image, an image that is not only an 'Ikone des Gegners', as was stated in the responses, but also an icon of RAF history and the history of resistance in general.

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[145] Ibid., 162-3.

[146] Ibid., 165.

In a gesture that informs the premise of his essay and one that summarizes the other approaches to the funeral image in this chapter, Harun Farocki attributes extraordinary authority to the facial expression in the funeral image: "I saw this expression in the photos of the dead man, and this purpose in his face has imprinted itself retroactively onto all the earlier images, those I had seen and those remembered."[147] Like the others, Farocki is also drawn to the resonance of the funeral image. He writes: "His picture drove me to ever new flights of fancy. I felt like a child and wanted to be told that what was important was the seriousness of the matter and not the distinctiveness of its appearance, and most definitely not the enjoyment of discussing it.[148] Farocki is quick to articulate what he calls the 'seriousness of the matter' by mapping the similarities between the funeral image and the images of dead prisoners from concentration camps:

> It was only a few days later that the dead prisoners from the concentration camps came to mind; it probably took so long because you hardly ever see pictures of individuals from the camps. Photos almost always show several people, sometimes countless people, and it seems incongruous to focus your attention on just one person.[149]

Farocki is careful to curb the conclusions that could be drawn from the association of the political victimization of RAF members, a violent faction of a generation committed

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[147] Harun Farocki, "Risking his Life: Images of Holger Meins," (see note 137), 270.

[148] Ibid., 268.

[149] Ibid.

to outing their parents' amnesia regarding the Holocaust, with images of victims in concentration camps:

> I hope that Holger Meins did not plan for a connection to be made between his death and the deaths in the camps. Although it was part of RAF propaganda to link the West German government to the Nazi regime, there were no posters showing the mountains of corpses at Bergen-Belsen on the left and the dead Holger Meins on the right.[150]

Nonetheless, Farocki's comments are not entirely unfounded and the images do resonate with each other. Such associations add to the general unease associated with the funeral image, an unease that stems from the disconnection between the funeral image and the memory of Meins and from the *connection* between the funeral image and images of Holocaust victims and any German government proximity to the death of its citizens.

Farocki and Conradt, former *Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin* colleagues and friends of Meins, confront their own past through the funeral image. Neither Farocki nor Conradt became members of the Red Army Faction, and the funeral image serves as a conflicted reminder of their involvement in the student rebellion, their choices, and the consequences of those choices. One of Farocki's most compelling uses of the retroactive effect of the funeral photograph is a memory from the making of his

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[150] Ibid., 269-70. For an analysis and critique of the New Left tendency to represent their political victimisation in terms of the Holocaust with a special focus on a *Kommune I* photograph, see Reimut Reiche, *Sexuelle Revolution – Erinnerung an einen Mythos*, (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1988), 65.

agit-prop film *White Christmas*. Farocki remembers that he showed Meins an image of a Vietnamese woman holding her injured or dead child that he wanted to use for the film and implies that Meins responded sarcastically: "Holger Meins took a stick of charcoal and heightened the contrast between the woman and the background. He then began to shade her face saying something along the lines of: if you're going to do it at all, then you must exaggerate a little, her suffering has to be really visible."[151] Farocki admits his discomfort regarding his use of the image of the Vietnamese woman as propaganda in his film with an ironic aside: "That's the kind of thing they probably said in Hollywood when trying to have an effect against the Nazis."[152]

Farocki next responds to an implied question by answering that he does not doubt the authenticity of the memory, because he remembers that they filmed outside:

> Without this superfluous detail, *my* memory would seem false to *me*, freely invented so as to prove that Holger Meins mistrusted the political rhetoric *we* employed at the time. Invented to show that *we* ourselves had been exploiting Vietnam, by making it *our* thing – although the images of the Vietnamese Anti-Madonna whose child is already dead at Christmas refer back to the Passion images of Holger Meins.[153]

After beginning with the first person singular, Farocki switches to the first person plural, which can be understood as a means to distance himself from the memory and the implied critique. The variation from the singular to the plural suggests that Farocki

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[151] Harun Farocki, "Risking his Life: Images of Holger Meins," (see note 137), 272.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid., emphasis mine.

wants to disguise himself in the collective or expand his critique to anyone who was a part of it. In light of his other revised positions documented here, perhaps this variation alludes to a splitting between a former *I* and a present *I*. In any case, the critique of his own past is made in direct contrast to that of Meins, who, according to Farocki's recollection, mistrusted Farocki's exploitation of the Vietnam image for his own aesthetic agenda. By comparing the image of the Vietnamese mother to the 'Passion images' of Meins, Farocki ascribes a moral superiority to the face in the funeral photograph and allows it to retroactively prompt his discomfort with his own tactics.

The funeral photograph ultimately leads Farocki to the memory of Meins's film *Oskar Langenfeld.* On the one hand, the recent attention given to Meins's film can be understood as another attempt to shift the focus of the memory of Meins from his death to his life. On the other hand, viewed through the lens of the funeral image, the incorporation and discussion of the film allow Farocki to transpose his uncertainties about his own past onto the character of Meins that he has created. He imagines that Meins's role in the RAF was similar to his calm, technical, and detailed approach to film and compares him to the silent supporting actor in a gangster movie:

> In my imagination, Holger Meins was a figure on the sidelines in the RAF, one of those who in the gangster genre doesn't speak a lot, but performs the quiet, technical tasks – preparing a getaway car or blowing a safe. These gangster-workers have often turned to crime as the result of tragedy in love, or in their love for a profession, as with boxers and racing drivers.[154]

[154] Ibid., 288-90.

Farocki subsequently contrasts Meins's decision to participate in the RAF with his own decision not to do so and suspends the possibility of violence in the context of his own self-enlightenment. 'Holger and I never spoke with one another about love. Could it be that he had a deep love of film and had been disappointed? Or, if he could not cope with the claims made by such a love, how could I?'[155] By recognising himself in the last sentence, Farocki suggests that his discussion of *Oskar Langenfeld* was a means of analysing himself through the image and images of Meins rather than bringing Meins's film to the public and contributing to the restoration of Meins's history. At the same time, he guards himself from his revelations by dissolving their meaning: "It is not certain whether there are such things as meanings or whether they are created because the common conception of the world requires them."[156] Farocki concludes his essay with the following admission: "These are the fantasies of someone who felt abandoned. But what should have been and should be understood is that he [Meins] wanted to dissolve all attachments – he wanted to risk his life."[157] In contrast, Farocki 'risks' the images of Meins to confront the past and fulfil the fantasy of being a non-violent individual.

Through the face of Holger Meins in the funeral photograph, Farocki evokes the unease associated with the connection between the funeral image and images from concentration camps and the unease associated with the use of suffering in Vietnam to support his project and political rhetoric. For those who did not choose to risk their life,

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[155] Ibid., 290.

[156] Ibid., 288.

[157] Ibid., 290.

as Farocki's title "Risking his Life: Images of Holger Meins" suggests, the funeral image is a reminder of a complex web of emotions, the banality of daily life, the confrontation with the past, the pitfalls of idealism, and the fact that the viewer of the funeral photograph is still alive because of this choice.

The first volume of the Kunst-Werke catalogue *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors* emphasizes the relevance of the media to the RAF discussion by selecting and reprinting over seven hundred pages of related stories and images from various newspapers and magazines between 1967 and 1998. Although the catalogue is far from a comprehensive representation of the RAF so-called 'Bildermaschine,' perhaps the most notable omission is of the death photographs of *Stammheim* prisoners Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Ulrike Meinhof, the very photographs so crucial to Gerhard Richter's *October 18, 1977*. In what is likely a printing mistake, but nonetheless noteworthy as an oblique reference to Richter that grows more meaningful in retrospect, most of the section in the Kunst-Werke catalogue that is devoted to the dates surrounding October 18, 1977 - the section where the death photographs would have been - has been printed in a manner that makes it appear blurry, as Richter's painting style is often described.[158] The absence of the *Stammheim* photographs as well as the printing mistake mark the significance of Richter's exhibit and the reverberations of 1977, the most traumatic year in RAF history.

To a certain extent, the 1977 *stern* printing of the *Stammheim* death photographs can be understood as a kind of re-run of the 1974 *stern* printing of dead Holger. In a

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[158] Klaus Biesenbach, ed., *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung*, (Berlin: Steidl/Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art), 1:496-512.

comment that is applicable to both the funeral image and the other photographs of dead RAF prisoners, Farocki observes that it is "not really customary to exhibit pictures of a prisoner's dead body or to make it public."[159] As the first in a series of photographs of dead RAF prisoners that were released to the public, the funeral image marks the beginning of a crucial media transgression in RAF history.

Unlike the later photographs of dead RAF prisoners, the funeral photograph conceals the corporal indicator of death, Meins's body that weighed less than one-hundred pounds after his fifty-eight day hunger strike in *Justiz-Vollzugsanstalt Wittlich*. The viewer recognises that Meins is dead in the photograph through external signs such as clothing, setting, and pose, what art historian Henriette Kolb refers to as a cultural "Zusammenhang von Trauer, Bestattungsriten und –symbolen."[160] Although these signs likely reflect the family's manner of mourning and their wishes *not* to be confronted with the fact of Meins's body, they take on a different meaning when torn from the intimate funeral setting and exploited in *stern*. The printing of this photograph in *stern* raises suspicions of whether the magazine intended to cover the evidence of Meins's body, a decision that could potentially both tame and aggravate reactions to his death. In addition, the richly visual and traditional signs cue the associative mind to, as Farocki puts it, "ever new flights of fancy."[161] Marked with conventional signs that activate a certain collective memory of Christian iconography, the funeral photograph resonates outside of its specific historical moment. As the first in a series of dead RAF prisoners

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[159] Harun Farocki, "Risking his Life: Images of Holger Meins," (see note 137), 270.

[160] Ibid., 270.

[161] Ibid., 268.

dying under suspicious circumstances, the funeral image foreshadows the impact of the *Stammheim* photographs and their resurrection in Richter's *October 18, 1977* cycle to the extent that it becomes part of the discussion itself, even though it was not included in the final cycle.

> Auch wenn die Person Holger Meins auf den ersten Blick für den Zyklus insgesamt nicht so bedeutend erscheint, liefert die Frage, welche Bilder, die Meins zeigen, schließlich ausgewählt bzw. nicht ausgewählt wurden, zusammen mit einer Betrachtung der malerischen Bearbeitung doch Hinweise für eine Interpretation des 18. Oktober 1977.[162]

Kolb's discussion of the images that were not included in Richter's cycle of paintings focuses primarily on one image, the funeral photograph, and in doing so attests both to its influence and "the enjoyment of discussing it."[163] Because Kolb's essay was published in *Starbuck Holger Meins*, it makes sense that her analysis of Richter's cycle focuses on Meins and that this interpretation includes a discussion of the funeral photograph, which is not only a central image in the series of RAF images but also connected to Richter's cycle in that he attempted to paint it but then painted over it and left it out of the cycle. However, there are many other images that Richter left out of the cycle and even other images that he overpainted. Kolb's attempt to determine why Richter omitted the funeral image is symptomatic of its prominence in the series of RAF images and yields to the seemingly irresistible desire to discuss and describe it:

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[162] Henriette Kolb, "9. November 1974/18. Oktober 1977," in Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 187.

[163] Harun Farocki, "Risking his Life: Images of Holger Meins," (see note 137), 268.

> Vom Hungerstreik zwar ausgemergelt, aber zurechtgemacht und mit einem weißen, glänzenden Totenhemd bekleidet liegt der Tote friedlich in weichen Kissen, neben ihm ein Kerzenleuchter. Um diesen Toten wird getrauert, auch wenn diese Menschen nicht im Bild zu sehen sind.[164]

Robert Storr, art historian, Richter expert, and senior curator of Richter's exhibit at the New York Museum of Modern Art, gives considerable attention to the funeral photograph in the *October 18, 1977* exhibition catalogue, a forum in which it would not necessarily be obligatory since this is not a book or exhibit about Meins specifically. He conjectures about the meaning of Richter's palimpsest to the cycle:

> [B]eneath the surface of three abstractions lie layers that are not 'underpainting' in the traditional sense but the intact archaeological sediment of deliberately obscured pictures. Their cancellation is a part of the meaning of the finished abstract work insofar as finding new ways to make images visible – or invisible – is at the heart of Richter's enterprise. In that respect these painterly outtakes constitute an appendix to *October 18, 1977*, in a way similar to the frames of a movie that fall to the floor of a film editor's cutting room, frames that may in themselves be of great interest or beauty but that detract rather than add to the integrity of the realized whole.[165]

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[164] Henriette Kolb, "9. November 1974/18. Oktober 1977," in Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 189. Kolb is likely describing the other angle of the funeral photograph that was not published in *stern*.

[165] Robert Storr, ed., *Gerhard Richter: October 18, 1977 (18. Oktober 1977),* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2000), 96.

Although Storr acknowledges Richter's overpainted images of Baader and Ensslin as well, he devotes the most attention to the funeral image by reprinting it, and by citing and commenting on Richter's statements about Meins specifically.[166] Richter's omission does not seem to mitigate the canonical status of the funeral image but rather ironically aggravates its phantom presence, as is stressed in Kolb and Storr's resurrection of the image in their discussions. Storr also wonders why Richter did not include a painting of Meins in the series.

> Für Meins war der entscheidende Augenblick der seiner Konfrontation mit der Polizei: Sein qualvoller Tod hingegen war kein Augenblick, sonden eine fortgesetzte Anklage und eine gespenstische Geste des Trotzes, die sich nicht malen ließ. In der ersten figurativen Wiederholung dieser Abstraktion malte Richter die Nachwirkungen, doch trotz der Sensibilität des fertigen Bildes verwarf er dieses. Um es nochmals zu sagen: Die Totenbettszene ist eine Art Anachronismus und rührt an konventionelle Empfindungen, die Richter in seiner prägnanten, doch in anderer Hinsicht höchst emotionalen Darstellung der Ereignisse abzuschwächen versuchte.[167]

Although Storr refers to the image as anachronistic, he also notes its unique status. The funeral image becomes a sort of 'Entstehungsbild,' and the catalyst of the RAF 'Bildermaschine' and these discussions on Richter.

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[166] Ibid.

[167] Robert Storr, "In Memoriam: Reflexionen über zwei Experimente partieller Erinnerung," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors* (see note 111), 31.

Meins is also important when Storr discusses Hans-Peter Feldmann's collection *Die Toten*.[168] In an essay on Peter Feldmann and Gerhard Richter in the Kunst-Werke exhibition catalogue, Storr emphasizes the singular character of the photograph of Holger Meins. He uses Meins as a way to transition from Feldmann to Storr although some other photographs would have served just as well. For example, both Feldmann and Storr use a similar photograph of a deceased Andreas Baader on the floor at Stammheim prison. However, out of the ninety photographs of victims of left-wing violence between 1967 and 1993 in Feldmann's collection, Storr focuses on the one photograph of Meins, one of the paintings that was left out of Richter's cycle. It is obvious that Storr enjoys thinking about the Meins photograph:

> Vor diesem Hintergrund ist bemerkenswert, dass die Wirkung eines der Pressefotos in Feldmanns Buch sich deutlich von der der anderen unterscheidet, weil es nicht nur durch seine häufige Reproduktion in den Medien, sondern auch durch seine flüchtige Verwandlung in Kunst besonders nachhaltig in der Erinnerung haften geblieben ist. Es handelt sich um das Bild des RAF-Mitglieds Holger Meins auf dem Totenbett. In mehrfacher Hinsicht lässt sich dieses Bild zeitlich am schwersten einordnen, da der ausgemergelte Körper des Toten hier im Stil des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Spitzenkissen aufgebahrt und von Kandelabern umgeben ist. Meins' Bart und seine eingefallenen Augen lassen nicht nur an die

[168] Hans-Peter Feldmann, *Die Toten*, (see note 126).

> Bildnisse toter Nihilisten am Ende der Romanowdynastie denken, sondern auch an das des beim Anbruch der finsteren Stalinzeit verstorbenen Malewitsch.[169]

Storr and Kolb are more concerned with the absence of the funeral photograph from Richter's cycle than with the omission of any photographs of RAF member Jan-Carl Raspe, who also died in *Stammheim* on October 18, 1977.[170] Their comments, like others in *Starbuck Holger Meins*, also reflect the enjoyment of discussing the rich associations and resonance of the funeral image. Even so, this enjoyment happens in a particular context, one that demands that the funeral image be connected to the other RAF photographs and one that acknowledges its art-historical, political, and moral resonance.

The art historian discussion of a photograph that was excluded from Richter's cycle and one with such an anomalous and anachronistic depiction attests to the significance and resonance of this image within the RAF discussion and the art historical landscape.

> Das Bild des von Hungerstreik ausgemergelten Holger Meins, das im formalen Aufbau an die in der Kunstgeschichte immer wiederkehrende Darstellung des vom Kreuz genommenen Christus erinnert, ist zu einem kollektiv prägenden Bild der RAF geworden.[171]

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[169] Robert Storr, "In Memoriam: Reflexionen über zwei Experimente partieller Erinnerung," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors*, (see note 111), 31.

[170] Storr briefly mentions the exclusion of Raspe. Ibid., 31-2.

[171] Hans Niehus, "Warum Terroristen weinen," (2004); "Wann Terroristen weinen," (2002); "Wo Terroristen weinen," (2001); and "Hollywood Boulevard," (2001), in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors*, (see note 111), 62. See also Ellen Blumenstein, Marcus Coelen, and Felix Ensslin, "Drei... Zwei… Eins... Holger Meins!" Ein Gespräch mit

The art historical resonance of the funeral image with images of Christ, criminals, revolutionaries and martyrs is difficult to overlook. Compare the composition of the funeral image to works such as Andrea Mantegna's *Cristo morto nel sepolcro e tre dolente* (c. 1480), Hans Holbein's (the Younger) *Der Leichnam Christi im Grabe* (1521), Rembrandt Van Rijn's *Anatomische Les van Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (1632), Käthe Kollwitz's *Gedenkblatt für Karl Liebknecht* (1919-20), and Freddy Alborta's autopsy photograph of Che Guevara (1967). Farocki made the connection between the funeral image and the 'Passion' images of Meins and the responses to Conradt's interviews also made oblique connections between the image of Meins and Christ, such as his age at death of thirty-three years, his suffering, and the connection between the image and relics or lamentation.

As the responses in *Starbuck Holger Meins* demonstrate, such martyrological allusions are also present in the rhetoric of memory and contribute to the understanding of Meins as a martyr. Historian Gerd Koenen parenthetically describes Meins as "der spätere Aktivist und Märtyrer der RAF."[172] Kolb notes that "Hungerstreiks wurden von den RAF-Gefangenen als Mittel der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Staat betrachtet: 'Hungerstreik ist Kampf.' Holger Meins war in diesem Kampf 'gefallen' und wurde zur

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Ellen Blumenstein, Marcus Coelen, and Felix Ensslin anlässlich der RAF-Ausstellung in den Kunst-Werken, Berlin," by Martin Conrads and Ulrich Gutmair, *Texte Zur Kunst* 57 (March 2005): 66-79.

[172] Gerd Koenen, *Das rote Jahrzehnt. Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution,* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2004), 59.

Märtyrerfigur."[173] In his last letter to Gudrun Ensslin, Meins recognises himself in this role and writes: "Kämpfend gegen die Schweine als Mensch für die Befreiung des Menschen: Revolutionär, im Kampf – bei aller Liebe zum Leben: den Tod verachtend. Das ist für mich: dem Volke dienen. – RAF."[174] The rhetorical allusions to Meins as a martyr and the circumstances of his death contribute to the legacy of the funeral photograph.

Behind every martyrological discussion, a partisan discussion demands to be acknowledged. Kolb writes: "Sein Tod am 9. November 1974 beschäftigte die Öffentlichkeit über die sympathisierenden Kreise hinaus und verschärfte die Diskussion über die Haftbedingungen, gegen die der Hungerstreik gerichtet war."[175] The aggravated discussion also included actions. Storr notes: "Widespread rioting followed Meins's death, and a post-autopsy photograph of his horribly emaciated corpse became an icon of radicalism."[176] The day after Meins's death, Berlin Supreme Court President Gunter von Drenkmann was shot during a failed kidnapping by the June 2nd

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[173] Henriette Kolb, "9. November 1974/18. Oktober 1977," in Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 189.

[174] Stefan Aust, *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex,* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1997), 293. Compare Meins's rhetoric with that in Rote Armee Fraktion, "Dem Volk dienen: Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf April 1972," (see note 20), 112-44.

[175] Henriette Kolb, "9. November 1974/18. Oktober 1977," in Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 189.

[176] Robert Storr, ed., *Gerhard Richter: October 18, 1977 (18. Oktober 1977),* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2000), 58. Storr's comment demonstrates the tension between the autopsy photograph and the funeral image.

Movement, and five months later, the RAF *Kommando Holger Meins* occupied the German embassy in Stockholm.[177]

As a motivation for others to join the so-called second RAF generation, Butz Peters considers the funeral photograph more important than Meins's death in custody itself:

> Holger Meins' Tod in der Haft 1974, insbesondere das Foto von ihm auf dem Totenbett – unter anderem im *stern* veröffentlicht –, das ihn zu einem Skelett abgemagert zeigt, ist ein ganz entscheidender Grund dafür, dass später weitere Mitglieder zur zweiten RAF-'Generation' stoßen.[178]

His observation also reveals the distance between the funeral photograph and Meins's death. Peters's metonym 'Totenbett' echoes the others and suggests that the distance created by this depiction, a distance that both camouflages and emphasises the circumstances under which Meins died and their direct relationship to the role of the

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[177] For a discussion of Meins's death and the subsequent political reactions, see Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, (see note 18), 219-237. It should be noted that Varon neither mentions the *stern* funeral photograph nor reprints it in his selection of images to document the event. To represent Meins's death, Varon chooses a photograph of the march following the funeral that depicts Gudrun Ensslin's father among others who are holding a sign that reads: "der Guerrilla Holger Meins von Staatsschutz Justiz ermordet.'" The stylised 'ss' in *Staatsschutz* references the *Schutzstaffel* insignia.

[178] Butz Peters, *Tödlicher Irrtum: Die Geschichte der RAF,* (Berlin: Argon, 2004), 230. Volker Schlöndorff echoes the idea that the *stern* photograph radicalized the next generation: "Am Montagmorgen war er tot. Das Bild seines ausgemergelten Kopfes wurde zu einer Ikone und trug dazu bei, dass sich eine nächste Generation radikalisierte." Volker Schlöndorff, *Licht, Schatten und Bewegung: Mein Leben und meine Filme*, (Munich: Carl Hanser, 2008), 211.

state, was one reason why people joined the RAF based on this image. Featuring the funeral image over two pages seems to mock the understanding of Meins as a martyr and the principles for which he risked his life. Hans Joachim Klein reinstates the adversity to this distance and the effect of the *stern* printing by choosing to use the post-autopsy photograph, perhaps a more accurate representation of Meins's death, as a totem instead of the funeral image. He writes: "I kept the horrendous photograph of Holger's autopsy with me, so as not to dull the edge of my hatred."[179] For Klein, the horrific circumstances of Meins's death provided an impetus for further political actions. Such political actions inform the understanding of the funeral photograph, heighten its effect as a political symbol, and may further promote the idea of Meins as a martyr.

In another vein of reception that is not entirely unrelated to the circumstances of Meins's death and the funeral photograph, Hans Niehus recognised that Holger Meins has become a prominent pop figure in RAF history. The Kunst-Werke catalogue features two works by Niehus, which can be understood as responses to the retroactive effect of the funeral image on the other images of Meins. *Wo Terroristen weinen* (2001) mimics a most-wanted poster in which the well-known warrant photos of RAF members have been replaced with popular album covers.[180] In Niehus's version of the warrant poster, he substitutes Meins's headshot with a rendition of the circus scene from The Doors'

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[179] Jean Marcel Bougereau, 'Interview with Hans Joachim Klein', in: *The German Guerrilla: Terror, Reaction, and Resistance,* trans. Peter Silcock, (Minneapolis: Soil of Liberty, 1981), 21.

[180] Hans Niehus, "Wo Terroristen weinen," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors*, (see note 111), 63.

1967 album *Strange Days*.[181] Niehus's depiction seems to evoke lyrics from "When the Music's Over," one of the songs from *Strange Days*: "Cancel my subscription to the Resurrection/Send my credentials to the House of Detention/I've got some friends inside."

Niehus's second piece in the catalogue, *Hollywood Boulevard* (2001), features a red star with Meins's name on the Sunset Boulevard Hollywood Walk of Fame.[182] Niehus underscores the disconnection of the RAF images released from historical events and their immense effect on a public that, as he notes, is willing to wear T-Shirts with the logo 'Prada Meinhof'. In the upper right-hand corner of *Hollywood Boulevard*, silhouettes of photographers or tourists take pictures of the 'star', a loaded symbol in the history of Meins and one whose identity is determined through the process of taking pictures, spectatorship, and reverence. The star connects Meins to a movie star whose life is conveyed to the public through sequences of images and immortalized. The star is also directly connected to Meins's nickname Starbuck and the name of the substance force fed to him during his hunger strike, 'Stardit.' It also stresses the connection between the RAF and *stern* by referencing the red-star logo of both and implying the name *stern*, the magazine in which the funeral image of Meins debuted and the magazine so intimately connected to RAF reception.

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[181] The Doors, *Strange Days*, prod. Paul A. Rothchild, Sunset Sound Recorders: Elektra, 1967.

[182] Hans Niehus, "Wo Terroristen weinen," in *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors*, (see note 111), 64.

Considering the number of photographs of dead people in periodicals, the enduring reception of the image of a singular death is striking. The size of the *stern* printing, the particular depiction of Meins, the art-historical resonance, the circumstances of Meins's death, the events and photographs preceding and following his death, the pop potential, and the changing reception of all of these over thirty years have exposed the latent prominence of the funeral image in the memory of Meins and the RAF.

Similar to Eddie Adam's 1968 photograph of General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing Viet Cong Captain Nguyen Van Lem, the funeral photograph was released to the public and has assumed, unlike the vast majority of political images, a moral and political context beyond its initial documentation. While the Adams photograph galvanised anti-war sentiments in the United States and around the world, the funeral image is central to the discussion of armed struggle, ethical responsibility, the role of the state, and mourning in the German experience and exposes questions about government manipulation of the press and its impact on the public. Especially since 2001, the global discussion of terrorism has provided a context in which the legacy of the funeral photograph and an awareness of the reception and evolution of such images can be addressed.

The aesthetic resonance of Holger Meins is not entirely unfounded or detached from his history. Before Meins joined the RAF, he was a film student who was quite

well known for a short agit-prop film that had a considerable impact.[183] In 1997, Ulrich Kriest describes the "legends" about this film:[184]

> Legenden berichten von einem Film, der 1968 an der DFFB gedreht wurde. Sein Inhalt wird durch den Filmtitel wiedergegeben: *Anleitung zur Herstellung eines Molotowcocktails*. Die letzte Einstellung, so wird erzählt, zeigte das Springer-Hochhaus in Berlin/West, und jeder scheint seinerzeit verstanden zu haben, daß dies Hochhaus das Ziel des zuvor hergestellten Brandsatzes sein soll. Regisseur

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[183] Meins' own policy on the function of the film in 1968 is that it is primarily political. He writes: "Neben der ökonomischen als Ware ist die Funktion des Films primär eine politische. Die politische Funktion des Films in der BRD mitbestimmt die Nichtbewußtwerdung der sozialen Widersprüche in der spätkapitalistischen Gesellschaft: der Film ist ein Instrument des Klassenkampfes." Holger Meins, Michael Lukasik, and Günter-Peter Straschek, "Schülerfilmprojekt (Auszug)," in *Deutschland im Herbst*, ed. Petra Kraus and others, (Munich: Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 95. It was not until 2001 that Meins' film *Oskar Langenfeld* was made readily accessible in Gerd Conradt's book *Starbuck Holger Meins* and then included in the extras the DVD of the film *Starbuck Holger Meins* in 2002.

[184] Many people had heard of the film and had seen the film but it was no longer available. Margaretha Huber cites Renate Sami, who tells the story that the film was taken to an old communist. She writes that she found the old man, said she wanted to make a film about Holger Meins, and asked about the film. He said that he was afraid after the police had come to his house to check his identification and that he threw the film in the Landwehrkanal. Sami thinks that he probably threw the film on the spot where Rosa Luxemburg was killed and thrown into the water. Quoted in Margarethe Huber, "Zu dem Film von Renate Sami über Holger Meins *Es stirbt allerdings ein jeder…*," in *Deutschland im Herbst*, ed. Petra Kraus and others (Munich: Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 61-71.

> dieses Films soll Holger Meins gewesen sein, der später das Filmemachen sein ließ, sich der RAF anschloß, verhaftet wurde und 1974 in einem bundesdeutschen Gefängnis während eines Hungerstreiks starb.[185]

Four years later, Gerd Conradt devotes a section of *Starbuck Holger Meins* to *Anleitung zur Herstellung eines Molotowcocktail*s that replaces the legends with eyewitness accounts of people who were there and who worked with Meins on the film. If Meins were one of the people so closely connected to the demonstrations against the Springer publishing house in 1968, then it makes sense that the press would be particularly wary of him. With this in mind, the funeral image can also be understood as the final word from the newspaper that this is the last time Holger Meins would sabotage their production.[186]

After his death in 1974, Meins's name alone was enough to incite fear in the media. Meins's death and the articles in the newspaper inspired Jean-Marie Straub and Daniele Huillet to dedicate their film *Moses und Aron* (1974) to Holger Meins. At the beginning of the film, there was a ten-minute, hand written dedication that said, "Für Holger Meins, J.M.S. und D.H."[187] The ARD program directors demanded that Straub and Huillet remove the dedication before showing the film because "diese Widmung

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[185] Ulrich Kriest, "Bilder aus 'bleiernen Jahren,' in *Deutschland im Herbst*, ed. Petra Kraus and others, (Munich: Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 23. Gerd Conrad devotes an entire section to the film with interviews with people (including Peter Schneider) in *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 70-82. See also Tilman Baumgärtel, "Ein Stück Kino, das mit Film nichts zu tun hatte," (see note 19), 36-47.

[186] Although *Stern* was not part of the Springer press, they were also under attack.

[187] Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 182.

eine öffentliche Verherrlichung eines offensichtlichen Gegners der freiheitlich-demokratischen Grundordnung bedeute und damit die Grundsätze der FSK verletzt."[188] The dedication and its censorship received much attention in the media. Huillet writes, "Obwohl die Widmung nicht mehr drin war, wusste jeder, dass der Film Holger Meins gewidmet war – es hatte so viel Presse gegeben."[189] The deathbed image of Holger Meins continues to spark controversy and Rudi Dutschke's exclamation at Meins's funeral is as applicable today as it was then: 'Holger, der Kampf geht weiter.'[190]

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[188] Ibid.

[189] Ibid., 183. Straub also notes that Lorenz was kidnapped shortly before the film was supposed to run in 1975 and that Buback was shot just as the film was supposed to run a second time. Kreist writes: "Als Jean-Marie Straub und Daniele Huillet in *Moses und Aron* (1974) durch eine Widmung daran erinnern wollten, daß Holger Meins vor dem Abtauchen in die Klandestinität ein begabter Kameramann gewesen war, mußte diese Widmung für die Fernsehausstrahlung getilgt werden. Niemand sollte damit belästigt werden, daß Terroristen aus der Mitte der Gesellschaft kommen." Ulrich Kriest, "Bilder aus 'bleiernen Jahren,' in *Deutschland im Herbst*, ed. Petra Kraus and others, (Munich: Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 23.

[190] Gerd Conradt, *Starbuck Holger Meins*, (see note 141), 170.

Chapter Three

THE FALLING MAN

The media coverage of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 has been compared to a plague of locusts that left behind a devastated world.[191] The majority of people experienced the live-video coverage of the attacks on their television sets and computers and many testify that they watched for hours on end and that watching the looped videos and new footage felt as if they had been personally attacked by the images they saw. After the initial live coverage, newspapers, magazines and websites followed up with stories and photographs, which both supplemented and changed the live viewing experience. In addition to the implied distance, photographs do not appear and disappear in the same way live-video coverage does and viewers have more of a choice in their spectatorship. Although the image is still forced upon them by its printing, viewers have the choice to turn the page, look for a longer period of time, ignore, or revisit them. Often, the still image allows them to see and think things they would not have seen or thought of otherwise. Therefore, if the live-video footage can be understood as an attack on the viewer, photographs can be understood as an attack on the viewer by his or her own imagination. Based on the attempts after 9/11 to contain the associative impact of certain images, this seems to be the case.

The historical witness, cultural practices, symbolic potential and historical potential of the photograph make it one of the most significant yet underestimated

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[191] Joachim Buttler, "Ästhetik des Terrors: Die Bilder des 11. Septembers 2001," in *Bilder des Terrors: Terror der Bilder?*, (see note 83), 40.

aspects of the attacks. Photographs are obviously related to the experience of witnessing the attacks on September 11 in that they are evidence that the photographer was there – live – to take the picture, that they are meant to document, and that many will ultimately be seen. The printing of a photograph is distanced from the moment it records. It printing represents an editorial decision to choose one photograph over others. Photographs also represent changes in cultural practices beyond the moment documented. For example, the decision to choose one image over another reveals preferences of representation and the large number of photographs demonstrates a quantifiable historical example of how many people had cameras and the technology this implies. Most importantly for this chapter, certain photographs have received more attention than others and seem to have 'risen' out of the thousands of photographs taken on September 11. In this chapter, I will analyze the reception of photographs of people falling from the World Trade Centers and demonstrate how the reactions are based on a perceived threat and fear of the image that speaks to ones own historical potential and terroristic imagination.

It is estimated that 200 people jumped from the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 – the majority of whom fell from the North Tower during the 102-minute interim between 8:45am, the time of the initial crash, and 10:27am, the tower's collapse.[192] The total number of persons reported missing in the attacks on the World

[192] The number two hundred was calculated based on reviews of the footage and photographs as well as interviews with witnesses and, according to the article, officials in the fire department and medical examiner's office agreed the number was accurate. The article also cited another estimate in the *New York Times* that counted fifty

Trade Center has been estimated at a little less than 3,000.[193] Based on this number, which includes persons on the ground and passengers and crews of the planes, 7.3 percent of the casualties in New York on September 11 fell from the towers. With or without the significant quantifiable evidence of how many people died in this manner, it goes without saying that witnessing people falling from the towers was integral to the New York experience of 9/11.[194] Their representation has generated a controversial and emotional reception, the trends within this reception, in particular redemption and identity, differ from the reception of other images taken on 9/11 and other images of people falling from burning buildings over the past century. The aesthetics of terrorism

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casualties but only included falls that were recorded on camera. "*The New York Times* counted fifty different jumpers in a review of photographs and videotapes. *USA Today's* estimate attempts to include people whose falls were not documented. Nearly all photos were of the north tower's north and east faces, which were more accessible to photographers coming from uptown Manhattan. But witnesses reported that numerous people leapt from the north tower's south and west sides as well." Dennis Cauchon and Martha Moore, "Desperation Forced a Horrific Decision," *USA Today*, September 2, 2002.

[193] Steven Strasser, ed., *The 9/11 Investigations*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 392. The total number of casualties recorded on September 22, 2001 is 2,973 as recorded in the authorized edition of *The 9/11 Commission Report,* comp. by The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 11.

[194] See Jim Dwyer and Kevin Flynn, eds., *102 Minutes: The Untold Story of the Fight to Survive inside the Twin Towers*, (New York: Henry Holt, 2006); and Chris Bull and Sam Erman, eds., *At Ground Zero: 25 Stories from Young Reporters Who Were There*, (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2002).

in this case provide a space where one can mourn death but also suggests that minds can be manipulated when they are most vulnerable.

Here is New York: A Democracy of Photographs was a popular exhibition to which 3,000 photographers contributed more than 5,000 images that were displayed publically. The catalog for the exhibition, weighing approximately ten pounds, contains 864 A4 (8.27 x 11.69 inches) pages of nearly 1,000 black and white and color photographs that range in time from the attacks to the immediate aftermath and has become one of the most well-known and extensive collections of photographs of the attacks on the World Trade Center.[195] Remarkably, only one of these photographs, an image taken by professional photographer David Surowiecki and distributed by Getty Images, depicts people falling from the towers.[196] Earlier it was stated that there were 2,749 casualties in New York on September 11 and estimated that 7.3 percent of these casualties fell from the towers. Based on these numbers, this 7.3 percent – one of the most visible and haunting aspects of the 9/11 experience – is represented by less than one percent of the photographs printed in the book.

One can assume that the editors would have had more than one such image or that they at least knew of others. Surowiecki himself has seven photographs of falling

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[195] Editor Michael Shulan writes that *Here is New York* amassed "one of the largest photographic archives in world history devoted to a single event." Michael Shulan, introduction to *Here is New York: A Democracy of Photographs*, ed. Alice Rose George and others, (Berlin: Scalo, 2002), 9.

[196] Alice Rose George and others, eds., *Here is New York: A Democracy of Photographs*, (Berlin: Scalo, 2002). Photograph 1484 on website: http://hereisnewyork.org/.

people on the Getty Images online archive.[197] A photograph by Associated Press photographer Richard Drew, which we will return to later, was printed in numerous papers after the attacks and received considerable attention. Additionally, there were photographs printed by *New York Daily News* photographer Susan Watts, *New York Sun* photographer Thomas Hinton, and *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* photographer Rick Wood. Lyle Owerko, whose photograph of the towers appeared on the cover of the September 11 Special Edition of *Time Magazine*, has compiled a book of his photographs from 9/11 called *And No Birds Sang* (2002).[198] Owerko's book includes seven images of falling people. In addition to the known photographs by professional photographers, several anonymous photographs are on the Internet. Given that more photographs were almost undoubtedly available to the editors, one can assume that the decision to use just one in such an extensive collection was motivated. With this in mind, one must ask why the editors chose to use this one image above the others.

In the introduction to *Here is New York*, editor Michael Shulan writes that the book "has not been edited to showcase the 'best' or 'strongest' [sic] images, but to give the most coherent sense of the whole."[199] Indeed, the single image of people falling from the towers chosen for the collection catalogue was not the best – at least not according to the 2002 World Press Photo contest. However, another Surowiecki photograph, one nearly identical to the one in *Here is New York*, did place among the

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[197] www.gettyimages.com

[198] Lyle Owerko, *And No Birds Sang*, (New York: Wonderlust Industries, 2002). Of forty-three images in the book, seven are of falling people.

[199] Alice Rose George and others, eds., *Here is New York*, (see note 195), 9.

best of all photographs taken in the world that year.[200] In this contest, which considers itself to be the "world's largest and most prestigious annual press photography context," Surowiecki's photograph received Honorable Mention Singles, fourth place, in the Spot News Category.[201] Surowiecki's image in *Here is New York* and his image in the World Press Photo contest are nearly identical with regard to the incredible positions of five people falling through the air but differ with regard to dimension, which likely reflects that Surowiecki turned the camera to take the second shot. According to Getty images, the dimensions of image 678234, the image in the *Here is New York* collection, are 41.67 x 23.61 inches – a vertical perspective. The dimensions of image 678235, the image to place in the World Press Photo contest are 28.88 x 41.67 inches – a horizontal perspective.

The photograph chosen for *Here is New York* works well for Shulan. It both adheres to his policy not to choose simply the "best" images and its vertical dimensions conveniently fit lengthwise across two pages in a way that allows the closest view of the falling bodies. The image also shows five falling bodies as opposed to most of the other images that depict one person and provides the maximum strength one photograph can have. On the one hand, editors escape accusations of both exploitation and evasion by printing only one such photograph instead of too many or none. On the other hand, this particular layout not only allows the viewer to have the closest possible look at five

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[200] World Press Photo Foundation, *2002 World Press Photo*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 17.

[201] Ibid., 3.

contorted bodies but also, perhaps, to experience an uplifting feeling – which is entirely in line with the editor's stated agenda.

Shulan writes that the photographs in the book capture "not only grief, and shock, and courage, but a beauty that is at once infernal and profoundly uplifting."[202] The layout of Surowiecki's photograph reveals a significant aspect of the motivation behind the decision to include this image above the others and behind the construction of such collections. In the photograph, five people fall from a cloud of smoke coming out of the tower at the top of the image—three of the contorted figures are against the backdrop of the building while two of them flail against the backdrop of the sky. If the viewer turns the book to look at the photograph from top to bottom, five falling bodies are seen in various stages of plummeting through the air. However, if the book is read from left to right, as most books are, then the five bodies resemble a frame-by-frame shot of someone jumping into the air – with the last person, the person closest to the ground, transformed into the pose of a leaping dancer – triumphantly reaching the climax of the jump. Although one is aware that the 'jumper'[203] will eventually land, the viewer could, for one brief moment, be allowed to experience the fall as a triumph in conquering death and gravity instead of a mangled defeat. That is, the viewer, forced to look at the large image unflinching, may indeed experience grief and shock but, based

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[202] Ibid., 9.

[203] The use of the word "jumper" is controversial because it implies that the person depicted jumped, which implies suicide and a choice. Many prefer to believe that the victim was forced out of the window.

on the layout of the image, would be more likely to experience "a beauty that is at once infernal and profoundly uplifting" as stated in the introduction.

Attributing an uplifting or redemptive character to the images of people falling from the towers is common. A similar approach is seen at the end of Jonathan Safran Foer's novel *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2005).[204] The protagonist of the story is a nine-year-old boy named Oskar, whose father worked in the World Trade Center and died on 9/11. The book documents Oskar's scavenger hunt through New York City to locate the lock for a key that belonged to his father. As a type of Bildungsroman, Oskar learns about his family, his father and himself. The book ends with a fifteen-page flipbook using one of Lyle Owerko's photographs of a falling man. Flipping from front to back, the man in the image appears to be flying upwards. Flipping from back to front, which is cumbersome but possible, he falls again. Although the flipbook gives the reader the control to create and recreate the fall or to reverse it, the emphasis is on the man's ascension. To a certain extent, this visual exercise speaks to the imagination and represents the desire to avoid danger and to thwart or postpone death by returning to the past, and a place that is known and safe. Using the flipbook, Oskar is able to fantasize about the man floating upwards – a man who may have been his father – and to go back to a time that was safe and when his father was alive and with him. Referring to the flipbook photographs, Oskar says "[w]hen I flipped through them, it looked like the man was floating up through the sky."[205] Oskar then tells his

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[204] Jonathan Safran Foer, *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005). Owerko's name is misspelled as Owersko in the credits.

[205] Ibid., 325.

father's story in reverse like the flipbook – from the attacks to the night before when his father was reading him a story in bed. The book ends with Oskar's words: "We would have been safe."[206] The subversion of the image and the solace found within this subversion suggests that only the image can rescue the viewer from the threat posed by the image in the first place – pulling yourself out of the swamp by your own bootstraps – and allows Oskar to have control over his father's fate and return home.

On 11 September 2001, Associated Press photographer Richard Drew captured a man's descent from the North Tower of the World Trade Center in a photograph that has captured the attention of many. Because of the symmetrical composition and the incongruously poised depiction of a man who is falling headfirst through the air, Drew's photograph stands out among other photographs of falling people from 9/11.[207] Referring specifically to 9/11 images of people in freefall, David Friend describes Drew's photograph as "the most iconic of such images."[208] It received third place in the Spot News category of the 2002 World Press Photo Contest, the same contest and category where Surowiecki's image received Honorable Mention. It has come to be known as "the falling man," a title coined by Tom Junod in the eponymous Esquire

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[206] Ibid., 326.

[207] Richard Drew took the photograph at 9:41am. It is one in a series of twelve he took of this particular man's descent, one of approximately forty images he took of other people falling, and one of two hundred fifteen photographs he took that day. Of Richard Drew's photographs, three of them – the falling man, another one of people falling, and one of the South Tower exploding - were widely printed in national and international newspapers on 12 September 2001.

[208] David Friend, *Watching the World Change*, (New York: Picador, 2007), 136.

article from September 2003. “The Falling Man” was the most widely printed photograph documenting this aspect of 9/11 and has generated an extensive and contradictory reception that distinguishes it from all other images taken that day and from other images of falling people in general.

The caption of the Associated Press, the distributor of the image, reveals an important contradiction in the reception of images of people falling. The caption reads: “EDITORS: NOTE GRAPHIC CONTENT--- A person falls headfirst from the north tower of New York's World Trade Center Tuesday, Sept. 11, 2001.” In capital letters, editors – people who are trained to recognize the “graphic content” of images – are warned to note the graphic content of the photograph, as if they would not see it otherwise. Although the definitions of the word ‘graphic’ are extensive, it is likely that the Associated Press implies the definition of “providing or conveying full, unexpurgated detail; expressly stated or represented; explicit, esp. in the depiction of sex or violence.”[209] The image itself, however, is anything but graphic in this sense and is, in fact, quite the opposite. Instead of leaving nothing to the imagination, it leaves everything to the imagination – which is where the perceived danger lies. The reactions to Drew’s image, in particular those focusing on the identity of the man in the photograph, can be understood as reactions to this perceived threat of the image on the imagination, to the associations potentially generated by the image.

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[209] "graphic, adj. and n.". OED Online. November 2010. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/80829?rskey=OOZ5jd&result=1&isAdvanced=false

The reception to Drew's image has four principle phases. The first of these is the publication of the image on September 12, 2001 and the abundance of articles that were generated as a result. The decision to print or not to print the image is also the subject of a conflicted response that has at its end a peculiar insistence to see the image again. The publication instigated angry reader response in some newspapers as well as various articles regarding the editorial policy for graphic images. At the same time, other articles charge the newspapers with censoring the image from the public or for running it once and then never again. The second and third phases were influential newspaper and magazine articles written by Peter Cheney and Tom Junod on Drew's photograph. Under the guise of an apology for disrespecting someone's life by looking at such an image as if this 'virtue' were not violated daily or, contradictorily, by censoring this image, Cheney and Junod attempt to determine the identity of the man in the photograph. The extensive printing and reception as well as the nature of the quest for and construction of identity are unique to Drew's image and will be the focus of this section. The fourth phase can be understood as a reaction to Junod's influential article and consists of a made for television movie, *9/11: The Falling Man*[210] and three novels that pay particular attention to images of people fell from the towers: Jonathan Safran

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[210] *9/11: The Falling Man*, DVD, directed by Henry Singer, (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2006). This made for television movie premiered in the United Kingdom on March 16, 2006 (British Channel 4), in Canada on September 6, 2006 (CBC Newsworld), and finally in the United States on September 10, 2007 (Discovery Times Channel) for the fifth-year anniversary of the attacks.

Foer's *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2005); Helen Schulman's *A Day at the Beach* (2007); and Don DeLillo's *Falling Man* (2007).[211]

The striking composition of the photograph makes it at once an icon and a threat. On the one hand, its composition clearly motivated photo editors to choose this photograph above others like it to document 9/11, but exactly how many newspapers printed it is unclear. Tom Junod writes that Drew's photograph "appeared in hundreds of newspapers, all over the country, all over the world."[212] David Friend considers Junod's article to be the "definitive article about Drew's picture."[213] However, in *Watching the World Change*, Friend contradicts Junod when he writes that the image appeared in "scores of papers on September 12, and was then republished in follow-up stories and year-end commemorative editions…"[214] and reprints Drew's photograph with the following caption: "A man plummets from the World Trade Center in an image that, while sent out over the AP wire, was not widely published in the American press. Many editors found it too disturbing to run."[215] Friend does not cite his sources but in

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[211] See Laura Frost, "Still Life: 9/11's Falling Bodies," in *Literature After 9/11*, ed. Ann Keniston and Jeanne Follansbee Quinn, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 180-206. Although her article addresses the role of the falling bodies on post-9/11 literature, her take is that this literature challenges the idea that visual culture is the best or only way to understand what happened.

[212] Tom Junod, "The Falling Man," *Esquire*, September 2003. http://www.esquire.com/features/ESQ0903-SEP_FALLINGMAN

[213] David Friend, *Watching the World Change*, (see note 207), 138.

[214] Ibid., 137.

[215] David Friend, *Watching the World Change*, (see note 207), image 22 (the section is not paginated).

my own preliminary attempts to determine how many times the photograph was printed on September 12, I have located twenty-two newspapers that ran the image. That said, after a number of angry responses based on its composition and printing, some photo editors shied away from such images after September 12. Although the photograph was also printed in *The New York Times*,[216] the most notorious of publications was in *The Morning Call* of Allentown, Pennsylvania, where the image was printed over a full newspaper page. More than sixty people contacted *Morning Call* photo director Naomi Halperin to condemn the publication of Drew's photograph.[217] Other newspapers experienced similar reactions such as the *Florida Times Union*,[218] who received sixteen complaints about Drew's image, and *Newsday*, [219] whose photo editor fielded thirty to forty calls and emails.[220] After September 12, the printing of the image waned and, according to some, was censored.[221] Regardless of whether the image was printed in hundreds or scores of newspapers, whether a couple of newspapers experienced angry

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[216] *The New York Times*, September 12, 2001, A-7.

[217] Greg Mitchell, "Worrying about their Image," *Editor and Publisher*, September 24, 2001.

[218] Mike Clark, "Scarce Edition, Photo Rile Readers," *The Florida Times-Union*, September 13, 2001, B-7.

[219] Mark Johnson, "Photographs forced tough choices," *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, September 20, 2001, 17A.

[220] Newsday senior editor for photography Sherman Williams said, "Compared to lots of photographs we've run it got very little negative reaction," quoted in Henry Singer, dir., *9/11: The Falling Man*, DVD, (see note 209).

[221] Tom Junod begins his article with "Do you remember this photograph? In the United States, people have taken pains to banish it from the record of September 11, 2001." Tom Junod, *The Falling Man*, (see note 211).

reader response, which is insignificant compared to the overall distribution of the image, whether it was the most widely published image of falling people from 9/11, or whether it was banished, its reception demands that it be looked at again.

These initial articles and their own experiences with printing the image inspired Toronto newspaper *Globe and Mail* to send reporter Peter Cheney to seek out the identity of the man depicted in Drew's photograph.[222] Cheney's article, "The Life and Death of Norberto Hernandez," was published on 22 September 2001, around the same time as many of the second-generation articles but differs in that it is the only article at that time to actively confront the image and attempt to solve its mystery, even though his conclusion that the man in the photograph was Norberto Hernandez was likely incorrect and may have brought more trouble to the Hernandez family than resolution. To justify his quest, Cheney writes "[i]t is a private image, one many people felt should not be shown on television and in newspapers. Until now, though, no one really knew whom it was private to." In the article, Cheney outlines a family's experience on September 11 and how one of their members, Norberto Hernandez, who was a pastry

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[222] Peter Cheney, "The Life and Death of Norberto Hernandez," *The Globe and Mail*, September 22, 2001, F2. *The Globe and Mail* printed Drew's image on September 12, 2001. Two articles followed on September 15, 2001: Ian Brown, "The things we can't get out of our minds…" *The Globe and Mail*, 15 September 2001, F6 (refers directly to Drew's image); and Gayle MacDonald, "News reports show respect, professors say," *The Globe and Mail*, September 15, 2001, A-15 (refers to the decision to print the image a few days earlier and cites two angry responses.) On the same day that Cheney's article was published, another article was published that addressed the cinematic aspects of understanding tragedy: Liam Lacey, "The Aesthetics of Disaster," *The Globe and Mail*, September 22, 2001.

chef at Windows on the World on the 107th floor of the World Trade Center, lived and died. While he notes that Hernandez's brother and sister both thought that the man in Drew's photograph was their brother when they first saw the image, he also notes that Hernandez's wife would not look at the photograph and that one of his daughters, who did look at the photograph, denied that it was her father. The tagline states, "She [the sister] and her family want his story told." Cheney told the story of Norberto Hernandez, however, Tom Junod's article tells another. Cheney's article directly influenced Junod's article in Esquire, an article that also draws on the printing of the image as its source of inspiration. Junod summarizes Cheney's article and further pursues the question of identity. He provides substantial evidence that the man in the image is not Norberto Hernandez, as Cheney suggests and gives the back-story to Cheney's article. While Cheney's article can be understood as an attempt to assuage the contentious reactions to the printing of Drew's photograph in his own newspaper, Junod's article can be understood as an attempt, as extreme as it may sound, to restore the 'American' soul that is threatened by the image.

Junod exposes Cheney's intrusive tactics and hasty conclusions after only ten days of research. Cheney first traveled to New York and scoured missing person posters until he found a man who resembled the man in his enhanced print of Drew's image. He then went to the family's home to show them the picture and confirm his identity. Hernandez's sister had seen the photograph before and agreed that the man in the photo was their brother. Because Hernandez's wife and daughters would not look at the photograph, Cheney went to the funeral to ask them to look again and confirm his identity, shortly after pieces of Hernandez's body had been positively identified by

DNA samples. He had to be forcibly evicted, which was not mentioned in is own article, and although he did not receive the consent of Hernandez's wife and daughters, he published the article anyway. According to Junod, the family was devastated by Cheney's article because it divided their family on this issue and because many people who had read it contacted the Hernandez family, wrote poems about it, and believed that Hernandez jumped, implying suicide and therefore hell for some belief systems. Hernandez's wife and daughters believe that he would have tried everything to come to home to them and that he never would have jumped. According to Tom Junod, who went to the Hernandez family himself in order to get this information, Eulogia Hernandez, Norberto Hernandez's wife, pleaded with him to clear their family name. Junod writes: "'Please,' she says as she closes the door in a stain of morning sunlight. 'Please clear my husband's name'" and thus began Junod's own self-reflexive quest for identity and reconciliation, what he calls "redemptive witness."

For his own project, Junod both enlarged Drew's photograph and examined the series of twelve that it was part of. Junod noticed that, as the man descended further, his white tunic was ripped off and exposed an orange T-shirt underneath, which became a crucial detail in his project. He writes:

> Of course, the only way to find out the identity of the Falling Man is to call the families of anyone who might be the Falling Man and ask what they know about their son's or husband's or father's last day on earth. Ask if he went to work wearing an orange shirt. But should those calls be made? Should those questions be asked? Would they only heap pain upon the already anguished? Would they be regarded as an insult to the memory of the dead, the way the

> Hernandez family regarded the imputation that Norberto Hernandez was the Falling Man? Or would they be regarded as steps to some act of redemptive witness? [223]

Junod's article does turn towards the act of redemptive witness but his self-reflexive acknowledgement is not beyond scrutiny. Through a process of elimination and identification, Junod came across one man, Jonathan Briley, who fit the depiction in Drew's photograph. Briley worked for the Cantor executives, was there and died on that day, was the same height and color as the man in the photograph, had the same amount of facial hair, the same clothes, and his family can accept that he may have jumped. However, two things are still unsure. One, Briley had an orange T-shirt and wore it often but no one knows for sure whether he was wearing it that day. Two, Briley's body was found intact, making it highly unlikely – perhaps even miraculous – that he jumped from the 107th floor. Junod anticipates the miraculous connection by having previously told the story about Briley's father, a preacher and "a man who has devoted his whole life to serving the Lord," who, after he demanded God to tell him where his son was,

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[223] Tom Junod, *The Falling Man*, (see note 211). Junod's self-reflexive and sophisticated writing style seems to discourage critique. As mentioned earlier, David Friend refers to the article as the "definitive article about Drew's picture." David Friend, *Watching the World Change*, (see note 207), 138. Abigail Solomon-Godeau writes, "The story of one photograph of a man falling to his death was eloquently told by Tom Junod in Esquire last September." Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Remote Control: Abigail Solomon-Godeau's dispatches from the image wars," *Artforum International*, (June 24, 2004). Laura Frost also speaks highly of it in "Still Life: 9/11's Falling Bodies," in *Literature After 9/11*, (see note 210), 180-206.

received news the next day from the FBI that his son's body had been found intact. Junod then concludes his article with the following:

> Is Jonathan Briley the Falling Man? He might be. But maybe he didn't jump from the window as a betrayal of love or because he lost hope. Maybe he jumped to fulfill the terms of a miracle. Maybe he jumped to come home to his family. Maybe he didn't jump at all, because no one can jump into the arms of God.
>
> Oh, no. You have to fall.
>
> Yes, Jonathan Briley might be the Falling Man. But the only certainty we have is the certainty we had at the start: At fifteen seconds after 9:41 A.M., on September 11, 2001, a photographer named Richard Drew took a picture of a man falling through the sky – falling through time as well as through space. The picture went all around the world, and then disappeared, as if we willed it away. One of the most famous photographs in human history became an unmarked grave, and the man buried inside its frame – the Falling Man – became the Unknown Soldier in a war whose end we have not yet seen. Richard Drew's photograph is all we know of him, and yet all we know of him becomes a measure of what we know of ourselves. The picture is his cenotaph, and like the monuments dedicated to the memory of unknown soldiers everywhere, it asks that we look at it, and make one simple acknowledgement.
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> That we have known who the Falling Man is all along.[224]

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[224] Tom Junod, *The Falling Man*, (see note 211).

Junod trumps Cheney's identity project by universalizing the identity of "the falling man." His fetishization of victimhood functions as a cenotaph for those who have, so to speak, 'fallen' or are capable of falling. In a later article, he specifies what he means - that the falling man's "very public private death has come to stand for the simultaneous affirmation and erasure of the American soul."[225] At the same time, Junod specifically, and considering his calculated and sophisticated writing style, intentionally conflates the civilian with the soldier. His article was published on September 1, 2003 – near the two-year anniversary of 9/11 but also six months after 3/20, the date the Iraq war began, when things were not going so well – Baghdad was in a state of disarray, neither Bin Laden nor Hussein had been captured, and there were no weapons of mass destruction. With this in mind, it is possible that Junod was suggesting that the erasure of the individual American soul be replaced by its affirmation in a national American soul – that the Rumsfeldien 'sky is falling' mentality and the growing critique of the American occupation of Iraq, be transferred to the falling man, a space for the projected transmigration of the soul. Junod reveals his politics in an article written one year after the falling man article and three months before the presidential election that led to George W. Bush's second term entitled, "The Case For George W. Bush."[226] Typically Janus-faced, Junod begins the article by calling George W. Bush an "asshole" and eventually, reluctantly yet adamantly, warns the reader to find the strength to justify

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[225] Tom Junod, "The Man Who Invented 9/11," *Esquire*, May 7, 2007, http://www.esquire.com/fiction/book-review/delillo/.

[226] Tom Junod, "The Case for George W. Bush." Esquire, August 1, 2004, http://www.esquire.com/features/ESQ0804-AUG_BUSH

Bush's "constitutional indignity" of incarcerating Jose Padilla without a trial by supporting preemptive strategies for Bush's fight for "the very soul of this country." Junod concludes his article with the following:

> Eventually, the president made it easy to believe that the threat from within was as great as the threat from without. That those at home who declared moral primacy were as dangerous as those abroad who declared our moral degeneracy. That our national security was not worth the risk to our soul. That Abu Ghraib disproved the rightness of our cause and so represented the symbolic end of the war that began on 9/11. And that the very worst thing that could happen to this country would be four more years of George W. Bush. In a nation that loves fairy tales, the president seemed so damned eager to cry wolf that we decided he was just trying to keep us scared and that maybe he was just as big a villain as the wolf he insisted on telling us about. That's the whole point of the story, isn't it? The boy cries wolf for his own ends, and after a while people stop believing in the threat. I know how the story ends, because I've told it many times myself. I've told it so many times, in fact, that I'm always surprised when the wolf turns out to be real, and shows up hungry at the door, long after the boy is gone.[227]

Detecting an internal tendency to critique and perhaps sabotage the United States, Junod implies that the critique of George W. Bush is an extension of a fairy tale and suggests that the threat is real, that the fear is real. With Junod's political agenda in mind, his Falling Man article of self-proclaimed 'redemptive witness' can be understood as an appeal to the American public when they are most vulnerable to identify with the victim

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[227] Ibid.

and therefore, to remember to feel threatened and, more specifically, to support anti-constitutional acts done in the name of homeland security. [228] Images of falling people are, after all, the closest images available that document the casualties of 9/11. It is not surprising that Junod would make the case to look at them again given the political context and its relationship to 9/11 and the central role of the falling people in New York. Perhaps it would have been more appropriate to use the *Chicken Little* fable and to claim "the sky is falling." In *Chicken Little*, the sky is not really falling – Chicken Little has misinterpreted the experience of the acorn falling on its head and has jumped to conclusions. In *The Boy Who Cried Wolf*, however, the boy is a liar but the wolf's approach is imminent. Junod's wolf is not a wolf from abroad, but an internal wolf, one that was animated by 9/11 and is directly related to the falling man and its influence on and reflection of the American soul

In his article on the falling man, Junod mentions a conversation he had with Christy Ferer, the liason between the mayor's office and 9/11 families where she admitted that she visited television executives to request that they not show images of the "jumpers" in their memorial broadcasts of 9/11. She felt that it was too soon for that and compared her experience to her experience in Europe at Auschwitz, where "they can show that now…that was a long time ago. They couldn't show things like that then."[229] Junod points out that they did show photographs of the concentration camps

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[228] See Art Spiegelman: "I hadn't anticipated that the hijackings of September 11 would themselves be hijacked by the Bush cabal that reduced it all to a war recruitment poster." Art Spiegelmann, *In the Shadows of No Towers*, (New York: Pantheon, 2004).

[229] Tom Junod, *The Falling Man*, (see note 211).

after the war and that they were treated as "essential acts of witness, without particular regard to the sensitivities of those who appeared in them or the surviving families of the dead."[230] He notes that the photographs of the concentration camps were shown as historical documents in a way similar to how photographs such as the assassination of Robert Kennedy, which were coincidentally also taken by Richard Drew, and photographs of Vietnam by Nick Ut were shown.

Junod is not the only one to have made the connection between Drew's image and Nick Ut's photograph of the Vietnamese girls fleeing a napalm attack. In an interview with CNN host Paula Zahn, Richard Drew compares his photograph to Nick Ut's as well as to Eddie Adam's 1968 photograph of police chief General Loan executing a Vietcong prisoner, and to John Filo's 1970 picture of the girl bending over Jeffrey Miller at Kent State.[231] The editors of *The Morning Call*, the paper that printed the image over the whole page, also relate Drew's image to these and name its potential to be a Pulitzer prize winning photograph as one of their reasons for printing it.[232] Although they are quick to make the connection, neither Junod nor the others mention the underlying aspect that the photographs by Nick Ut, Eddie Adams, and John Filo's were essential in galvanizing anti-American sentiments. Admitting to the iconographic currency of Drew's image, they admit to its potential for such an interpretation. Junod's approach to the photograph can be understood as a calculated attempt to subvert its

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[230] Ibid.

[231] Paula Zahn, "Changed in a Moment: Interview of Photographer Richard Drew," CNN News, October, 11 2001.

[232] Quoted in Henry Singer, dir., *9/11: The Falling Man*, DVD, (see note 209).

potential for anti-American interpretation at a time when the relationship between image interpretation and national security is crucial. This strategy resonates with the Vietnam Syndrome and with Baudrillard's spirit of terrorism and idea that there exists the potential of people to imagine the demise of a super power.[233]

Like Michael Shulan, one of the editors of the *Here is New York* catalog and exhibition, Junod's project also attempts to "reclaim [the imagery] from the media and stare it without flinching" in order to "come to grips with all the imagery that was haunting us."[234] And like Shulan, his project is also a project of journalistic redemption and manipulation. Junod writes:

> What distinguishes the pictures of the jumpers from the pictures that have come before is that we – we Americans – are being asked to discriminate on their behalf. What distinguishes them, historically, is that we, as patriotic Americans, have agreed not to look at them. Dozens, scores, maybe hundreds of people died by leaping from a burning building, and we have somehow taken it upon ourselves to deem their deaths unworthy of witness – because we have somehow deemed the act of witness, in this one regard, unworthy of us.

Instead of placing the photograph in a position that allows the viewer to imagine the fall as triumph, as Shulan did, Junod enacts the journalistic parallel. By first suggesting that 'we' banished the image, which is not entirely true, he makes the case to return to the images of the falling man in order to reevaluate and modify its initial impact – turning it from a threatening image that "patriotic Americans have agreed not to look at" to an

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[233] Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, (see note 7), 4-5.

[234] Michael Shulan, introduction to *Here is New York*, (see note 194), 9.

image of unity and national identity, one that will rally "patriotic Americans" to support the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan by allowing Americans to associate themselves with the most visible casualties of 9/11. The control of the images of falling people represents a conscious effort to control their potential to effect the imagination in ways that are undesirable to Junod.[235]

The photographs of falling people from 9/11 can be understood within a pattern of representing victims of fire catastrophes. In various picture books, many images depict people waving from windows of burning buildings or plummeting through the air

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[235] Note to self: Incorporate the following. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Remote Control: Abigail Solomon-Godeau's dispatches from the image wars," Artforum International, (June 24, 2004). "This particular picture [Drew's], however, is anything but a sideshow. It is one of those exceptional photographs that can justly be characterized as traumatic. Insofar as psychic trauma is what by definition cannot be mastered, possessed, managed, it is an example whereby the arrest of the catastrophic, calamitous instant is fully matched by the arrest of the viewer; a photograph that once seen is unlikely to be forgotten. This catastrophe, which in the image is both explicitly individual and implicitly collective, will not tell us anything about terrorism or geopolitics or why the Trade towers were attacked. Indeed, it is difficult to describe what kind of message or meaning might be gleaned from it. Perhaps that is ultimately why it is a traumatic image, incapable of resolution or catharsis, taken on the cusp of life and death. But more important, the photo gives the lie to the belief in the morally deadening properties of photography. It reminds us that the image, immaterial in itself, especially when digitally registered – is nonetheless emitted into the real (not virtual) world, where it will be encountered by real, not virtual, subjectivities. And it is there, in the eyes and minds of those who view the image and individually produce its meanings, that it takes on its second active life."

in various contortions.[236] In *Fire!*, all but one are nineteenth-century engravings.[237] The exception is the well-known 1946 Pulitzer Prize winning photograph by Arnold Hardy of a woman falling through the air from the Winecoff Hotel fire. Otherwise, the photographic representation of twentieth-century fire catastrophes consists of action shots like firefighting and rescues, aftermath images like charred buildings, general devastation, corpses, and wide-angle aerial or establishing scenes of the disaster, i.e. moments that are much easier for a photographer to document. As mentioned earlier, the editors of *Here is New York* chose only one photograph of falling people although there was clearly more than one available. With regard to *Fire!*, the shortage of photographs can be attributed to a lack of images due to primitive camera technology that disabled the photographer from capturing the moment, and to an improvement in fire-safety codes, i.e. less fires and also better fire-fighting techniques. This may also explain why there are no images available of falling people from the 1911 Triangle fire, a fire considered the worst workplace disaster in New York history until 11 September 2001. It is estimated that 100 of the 146 casualties in the Triangle had to jump from the building.

Although an engraving is a type of historical documentation and cultural artifact, it does not witness a moment in the same way as a photograph. It was created after the

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[236] Edward C. Goodmann, *Fire! The 100 Most Devastating Fires and The Heroes Who Fought Them*, (New York: Black Dog and Leventhal, 2001), 24; 68; 69; 72; 78; 79; 164; 185.

[237] Another photograph from the 1967 L'Innovation Department Store fire in Belgium depicts the top of the building with a man slumped over a windowsill and a woman standing at the window. It does not depict falling people. Ibid., 185.

event and its formal and thematic composition reflect what seemed most important to represent at the time. Many of these engravings depict human struggle against the elements. The engravers depict people jumping through the air to escape fire because it was integral to the experience and because they can. Given that the image is not altered, a photograph of a person in midair depends on entirely different conditions that did not always exist.

During the beginning of the twentieth century, it was possible but cumbersome to carry around cameras. The types of film available did not allow for high-speed images. Although the new technology of photography was the preferred form of documentation, the photographer still had to be there at the right time, be close to the building or have the lens technology capable of creating the illusion, have adequate light or flash/film speed, and have the inclination to point the camera towards a falling body. The photograph was then dependent on proper light, film and development conditions. The shift in methods, technologies, and preferences of historical documentation between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - from engraving to photography - might explain one aspect of the shortage of such photographs. Improvements in camera technology coincided with improvements in codes and fire-fighting abilities such as higher ladders, more water pressure, and better dispatching. As technology changed and cameras were technically able to take better photographs, improved fire codes and better fire-fighting techniques meant that there were fewer incidents to document. A photograph of a person falling from a burning building represents a rather serendipitous and multifaceted convergence of disaster, technology, and timing and is, in itself, a remarkable feat and perhaps part of what is behind two

such images winning Pulitzer Prizes. Stanley J. Forman's 1976 photograph of a Diana Bryant and child Tiare Jones falling from an apartment fire in Boston was not in the *Fire*! book but did win a Pulitzer Prize. Like the Winecoff image, Forman's image became a statement of inadequate fire safety codes. [238]

This background may also contribute to the shock of the 9/11 images of falling people. Although they were no different than the way fires have been represented for centuries, such images had not been seen in a long time. Richard Drew's falling man and others like it represent an exception premised on technology and the photographer's presence and presence of mind at a particular moment. They also document a unique fire that has both trapped people beyond the reach of fire ladders and also blocked exit routes – one that left people with no other option but to jump, be forced out, or to burn to death.

A repressed celebration of the technology of photography and the heroic photographer can be found in the newspaper articles about Drew and his image. Many articles refer to the image of one in a series of twelve other images. While this is often used to undermine the authority of the image as historical witness in order to assure the viewer that falling is not always as graceful as it seems in Drew's photograph, it also highlights the technology of the camera and the choice of representation it offers. It is often stated that Drew took the photograph at fifteen seconds past 9:41am, a time most likely cited because the camera recorded it. Listing the time also serves to locate the photographer in a certain place at a certain time. While it was important to know and be

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[238] Sheryle and John Leekley, *Moments: The Pulitzer Prize Photographs*, (New York: Crown, 1978), 104-107.

able to testify where people were at the time of the attack, the time locates the photographer under the north tower eighteen minutes before the south tower collapsed, testifying to his own remarkable experience. Junod describes Drew's own photographic feat heroically.[239]

> He was fifty-four years old. He wore glasses. He was sparse in the scalp, gray in the beard, hard in the head. In a lifetime of taking pictures, he has found a way to be both mild-mannered and brusque, patient and very, very quick. He was doing what he always does at fashion shows – "staking out real estate"—when a CNN cameraman with an earpiece said that a plane had crashed into the North Tower, and Drew's editor rang his cell phone. He packed his equipment into a bag and gambled on taking the subway downtown. Although it was still running, he was the only one on it. He got out at the Chambers Street station and saw that both towers had been turned into smokestacks. Staking out his real estate, he walked west, to where ambulances were gathering, because rescue workers 'usually won't throw you out.' Then he heard people gasping. People on the ground were gasping because people in the building were jumping. He started shooting pictures through a 200mm lens. He was standing between a cop and an emergency technician, and each time one of them cried, 'There goes another,' his camera found a falling body and followed it down for a nine or twelve-shot sequence. He shot ten or fifteen of them before he heard the rumbling of the

[239] Reporters and their witness experience were also privileged after 9/11. See Chris Bull and Sam Erman, *At Ground Zero: 25 Stories from Young Reporters Who Were There*, (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2002).

> South Tower and witnessed, through the winnowing exclusivity of his lens, its collapse. He was engulfed in mobile ruin, but he grabbed a mask from an ambulance and photographed the top of the North Tower 'exploding like a mushroom' and raining debris. He discovered that there is such a thing as being too close, and, deciding that he had fulfilled his professional obligations. Richard Drew joined the throng of ashen humanity heading north, walking until he reached his office at Rockefeller Center.[240]

In restaging the process, Junod's description allows the reader to relive the moments that they had experienced vicariously through the photograph.

On December 7, 1946, a fire started in the Winecoff hotel in Atlanta Georgia that left 119 out of 280 people in the hotel dead. Because there were no fire escapes and the fire engine ladders only reached the ninth floor, not everyone could escape. People either died in their rooms or jumped out the window and it is estimated that 36 people died by jumping. During the fire, engineering student Arnold Hardy photographed one woman's jump. This widely published photograph received a Pulitzer Prize, making Arnold Hardy the first amateur photographer to win the prize. Although the photograph belongs to this 'canon' of photographic moments and contributed to public awareness of substandard fire standards, there has been considerably little and careless effort to identify the woman in the photograph.

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[240] Tom Junod, *The Falling Man*, (see note 211).

On December 7, 2007, Arnold Hardy's obituary made its way through the most well distributed newspapers in the nation. [241] It would be no exaggeration to say that Hardy's obituary casts the photograph as the defining feature of his life – it even replaced his own headshot. What the reader discovers of Harding's life – that he refused a job with the Associated Press, had an X-ray business, only took photographs of family and vacation, and was happy that his widely-published photograph helped change fire codes – is also centered on his relationship to the photograph. Hardy's obituary is a celebration of a moment – the success of an amateur photographer, his technology, and the luck of being in the right place at the right time. Not only is the rest of Hardy's life irrelevant but also, remarkably, so is the life of the woman depicted in the photograph.

Hardy's obituary mentions that the woman in the photograph was presumed to have died in the fire until new information was published in 1993, forty-six years later:

> Twenty-year-old secretary Daisy McCumber received even more serious injuries when she jumped for a net from the eleventh floor: compound fractures of both legs, a broken back, a broken pelvis, broken ribs, a fractured hand, a slight brain injury. She was not sure if she bounced out of the net or plunged through it. While she was hospitalized, reporters identified her as the 'jumping lady' caught in mid-flight in a picture that would win the 1947 Pulitzer Prize for amateur photographer Arnold Hardy. When shown the photo as she lay at Grady Hospital, she vehemently denied that she was the woman. But she later was

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[241] Associated Press, "Amateur Photographer Won Pulitzer Prize for Hotel Fire Photo," *The Los Angeles Times*, Obituary, December 8, 2007, http://articles.latimes.com/2007/dec/08/local/me-hardy8

> identified as the 'jumping lady.' McCumber eventually lost a leg to amputation and underwent one operation after another at hospitals around the country, all paid for the by Red Cross. At one point, she told a reporter, 'I think I would rather die than go through all of it again.'[242]

Although Hardy's obituary claims that Heys and Goodwin's book was the first to identify Daisy McCumber as the jumping woman, they clearly make reference to other incidents and reporters who made the claim before them. The obituary also misquotes her age at forty-one, when the book says she was twenty. In fact, the only thing the book and the obituary have in common is that Daisy McCumber was a secretary who survived the Winecoff fire by jumping, suffered multiple injuries, and maintained throughout her life that she was not the woman in the photograph.[243]

Clarifying the issue would be a simple matter of researching various newspaper articles or talking to the McCumber family – something authors of The Winecoff Fire, Sam Heys, a reporter, and Allen B. Goodwin, a Winecoff fire researcher, easily could have done. The Pulitzer Prize winning photograph, on the cover of their book and used to represent the Winecoff fire in general, was well known. However, pursuing the

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[242] Sam Heys and Allen B. Goodwin, *The Winecoff Fire: The Unotld Story of America's Deadliest Hotel Fire*, (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1993), 166.

[243] Hardy's obituary in *The Denver Post* states that McCumber was "probably embarrassed to ever acknowledge that the photo of the woman with her underwear showing was her." This was omitted from the obituary from the LA Times although they were otherwise very similar. Associated Press, "Photo Improved Fire Safety: Amateur Photographer Arnold Hardy won a Pulitzer for his '46 shot," Obituary, *The Denver Post*, December 9, 2007, http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_7672354

identity of this woman was irrelevant. [244] It is surprising that the identity of the falling woman has not been pursued and perhaps only a matter of time given the status of this photograph as the defining image of the Winecoff fire, the heightened reception of the Winecoff fire in 1996, which was the 50 year reunion, the impact of 9/11, which rendered topical American fire disasters – especially those that feature people who jumped to their death, and the widely published December 2007 AP obituary of photographer Arnold Hardy, which featured the photograph and was obliquely connected to 9/11 in that the image reminded the viewer of those that had recently seen and that it was published on the same day as Karlheinz Stockhausen's obituary. The careless research and nonchalant approach to the woman in Hardy's photograph is striking compared to the painstaking investigative and redemptive journalism of Drew's photograph. The uniqueness of the identity seeking of the person depicted in Drew's image stands out in contrast to the apathy with regard to the identity of the woman in Hardy's photograph.

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[244] The Winecoff fire, referred to as "the worst hotel fire in American history," is included in Stephen J. Spignesi, *The 100 Greatest Disasters of All Time*, (New York: Kensington, 2002), 267-269. Although Harding's photograph is the only photograph used to represent the event, nothing (not even a caption) is included about it or the woman in it. The Winecoff fire is also included in Edward C. Goodman, *Fire!* (see note 235), 162-164. Here, the fire is represented with three photographs, including Harding's photograph. The caption reads: "Because the ladders could only reach the ninth floor of the fifteen-floor building many people jumped to escape the flames. This woman's fall was broken by the marquee structure and she was one of the lucky survivors. This photograph won a Pulitzer Prize." There is nothing written about the identity of the woman.

By universalizing victimhood in order to rally domestic and foreign anti-terrorist revenge fantasies and to support the cause for war, Junod reacts to his projection of critical, read anti-American, sentiments that potentially could be associated with the image. Instead of ignoring the image, or worse yet, giving in to its associative potential, he charges the public to look at it again, to see it in a different light, his light, and to use it as a memorial - to unite the country instead of one to incite criticism, which he apparently sees as dis-unifying. While it may seem as if Junod's article is 'just' a magazine article, it has had a significant influence on the further reception of Drew's image and to some extent even created it. It is also important to point out the series of different images compared either directly or indirectly but through composition and circumstance to Drew's image that were quite influential in galvanizing criticism of the domestic and foreign policy of the United States. The image of the woman falling from the Winecoff fire and the fact of falling of the Triangle fire acted as witnesses to events, as 'proof' of a certain circumstance. By creating an awareness of certain circumstances, these images inspired criticism, which led to changes in working conditions and fire safety codes. However, the other images mentioned associated with the Vietnam War have become symbols for failed US imperialism. Junod's article can be understood as a reaction to a fear that the image of the falling man might also evoke criticism, which – presumably in his eyes – can be detrimental.

The associative potential of the image extends beyond its political manifestations and also corresponds to a long tradition associated with the iconography of falling such as the fall of Lucifer, the tower of Babel, and Rome, the myth of Icharus and Daedelus, anxiety associated with the common dream of falling, the Tarot card

Hanged Man, and twentieth-century photographs of divers such those from Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*, paintings of people falling like Max Beckmann's 1950 *Falling Man* or Yves Klein's *Falling Man*, statues like those by Trova, Rodin, or Fischer, comics like those by Art Spiegelmann, or film clips like "Die Verwirrung der Gefühle" in Alexander Kluge's film *Macht der Gefühle* (1983) or the beginning of the popular television show *Mad Men*. These examples evoke confrontations with hell, hubris, punishment, and the human struggle against the elements of fire, water, floods, air, hurricanes, and earth, earthquakes, and an additional element of our own capacity for violence.

Chapter Four

MOVING PICTURES

Multiple narratives spanning political, socio-historical, aesthetic, and psychological studies have emerged in the vast reception of the Red Army Faction as potential ways to approach its complex history. Although photographs of the RAF play a significant role in all disciplines of this reception and many strategies rely on the tension of the photograph as an historical artifact and aesthetic object and the various contentious roles it incites as such, there are no critical studies of the various ways in which they are used in the reception of the RAF. The persistence of these images over forty years demands that they be acknowledged as a fundamental aspect of terrorism – as a primary form of its representation and often the only way in which most people experienced the RAF. For the majority of people, including those in Germany in the 1970s and in the United States on 11 September 2001, terrorism was experienced through its medial representation and the photograph as the meme or trace of the event can be understood as a source and the initial experience. Therefore, it is not a given but hardly surprising that the films unanimously draw upon the photographs in their construction of history.

This chapter examines the use of photographs from 1967-1977 in the cinematic representation of the RAF and focuses on three of the nearly thirty films that address the legacy of the RAF – *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* (1974), *Todesspiel* (1997), and *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* (2008). These films have been chosen not only because they represent different trends in German cinematic history but also because they trace the evolution of the photograph in the legacy of the RAF and

demonstrate that the history of the RAF is the history of its representation and that this history begins with the media photographs. The early films about the RAF are clearly invested in the iconoclastic project to destroy these images and create new ones while the later films return to these photographs and supplement them with new ones to construct history, create counter narratives, and appeal to broader audiences. All of the films about the RAF demonstrate the importance of photographs by including them or reacting to them in their projects and demonstrate that the ubiquity of the RAF photographs is not a given but something that was created. The cinematic reception of the RAF both documents the history of its representation and is historicized itself in the context of representation. The consistent focus on the photographs in the cinematic reception of the RAF warrants further study but has often been neglected in other studies of the RAF in German film.[245]

In response to an article in the *Bild-Zeitung*, Heinrich Böll, who had received the Nobel Prize for Literature in the same year, published an essay entitled "Will Ulrike Gnade oder freies Geleit?" on January 22, 1972 in Der Spiegel. [246] Here, he criticizes

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[245] Most projects devoted to the representation of the RAF in German film mention but do not focus on the photographs. See Klaus Kreimeier, "Die RAF und der deutsche Film," in *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, (see note 20), 1155 – 1170; Petra Kraus and others, eds., *Deutschland im Herbst*, (Munich: Schriftenreihe Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997); and Christopher James Homewood, "From Baader to Prada: The Representation of Urban Terrorists in German-Language Film," (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2008).

[246] After a bank robbery on December 22, 1971 in Kaiserslauten where police officer Herbert Schoner was shot and killed, the *Bild-Zeitung* published an article with the headline "Baader-Meinhof Gruppe mordet weiter" without substantial evidence that it

the sensationalist coverage by the *Bild-Zeitung* of the Baader-Meinhof group, which he famously describes as a "Krieg von 6 gegen 60 000 000" and accuses the Axel-Springer press of misinforming and misguiding millions of people who rely on the *Bild-Zeitung* as their only source of information. This essay is often cited because it inspired an aggressive media campaign against Böll that in turn inspired him to write *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, a novel and film we will address shortly.

In this essay, Böll refers to images only once with regard to the television show called *Aktenzeichen XY ... ungelöst* that was hosted by Eduard Zimmermann. He writes:

> Die nach Indizien zurechtdramatisierten Spielfilmrekonstruktionen, die Herr Zimmermann als Illustrationen zeigt, sind doch nichts weiter als miese Grusicals für den Spießer, der in Pantoffeln dasitzt, Bier trinkt und glaubt, er würde zum Augenzeugen, wo er doch nur einer undurchsichtigen Mischung von fact und fiction zuschaut, gelegentlich solchen, in denen Leichenteile die Hauptrolle spielen.[247]

Böll trivializes the reconstructions of crime scenes as "appalling Grusicals" that deceive the "middle-class person who sits there in his slippers, drinks beer, and believes he is a

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was, in fact, the Baader-Meinhof group. At the time, three people had died, RAF member Petra Schelm (7/15/71), police officer Norbert Schmidt (10/22/1971), and left-wing radical Georg von Rauch (4/12/1971). All three deaths were related to attempts to capture and arrest RAF members. The *Bild* article reported the fourth death in RAF story of police officer Herbert Schoner before it was certain that RAF robbed the bank and before they had killed anyone. Böll's article precedes the attacks on the US facilities in May when four US soldiers were killed by the RAF. Böll, Heinrich. "Will Ulrike Gnade oder Freies Geleit?" *Der Spiegel*, January 10, 1972.

[247] Ibid.

witness when he is really just watching an indistinguishable mixture of fact and fiction, one in which corpses often play the leading role." This is hardly a positive depiction of the typical viewer. Although this passage is meant as a provocation where Böll later suggests that they see how the typical viewer would react if a Nazi crime were featured on the show, Böll reveals a contradictory aspect of his argument. With the exception of this passage, the entire essay is a plea for the *Bild* reader who deserves to be informed fairly and justly despite Böll's perception of this very reader as a middle-class brute - wearing slippers and drinking beer - who probably does not purchase *Bild* for its literary content anyway. Böll's disdain for the image corresponds to a trend in early responses to the representation of the RAF – a disdain aimed towards the inherent ambiguity of a photograph, the use of images to create the illusion of truth, the reception of these images by the unwitting public, and the connection of these images to death.[248]

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[248] Böll also uses the term "Grusicals and Musicals," in the novel to distinguish his literary goals from those of television and film. "Es soll hier nicht so viel von Blut gesprochen werden, denn nur notwedige Niveauunterschiede sollen als unvermeidlich gelten, und deshalb wird hiermit aufs Fernsehen und aufs Kino verwiesen, auf Grusicals und Musicals einschlägiger Art; wenn hier etwas fließen soll, dann nicht Blut." Heinrich Böll, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, (Münich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002), 10. Although it would appear that Böll wants only to relay the facts of the story that changed an innocent woman to a murderer in four days, he cannot not resist the temptation to describe the blood bath of the enemy journalist Werner Tötges: "Vielleicht sollte man lediglich auf gewisse Farbeffekte hinweisen: der erschossene Tötges trug ein improvisiertes Scheichkostüm, das aus einem schon recht verschlissenen Bettuch zurechtgeschneidert war, und jedermann weiß doch, was viel rotes Blut auf viel Weiß anrichten kann; da wird eine Pistole notwendigerweise fast zur Spritzpistole, und da es sich im Fall des Kostüms ja um Leinwand handelt, liegen hier

In the late 1960s in West Germany, publications from the Axel-Springer publishing house accounted for more than thirty percent of the national newspaper market and seventy percent of the West Berlin press, including the *Bild-Zeitung*, the *Berliner Zeitung* and the *Berliner Morgenpost*, newspapers known for sensational reportage and provocative photographs. The Springer press and the New Left of the student movement were diametrically opposed to each other and the New Left protested against the misrepresentative and misleading Springer reportage of the student movement. The two most well known examples are the reportage on the police shooting of student protester Benno Ohnesorg (June 1967) and the attempted assassination of student leader Rudi Dutschke (April 1968). [249] These incidents and others prompted aggressive demonstrations against the Springer press in West Berlin. The Ohnesorg reportage prompted students to organize a Springer Tribunal where the film *Anleitung zur Herstellung eines Molotow-Cocktails* was shown. The short film, made by future RAF member Holger Meins, showed the audience how to make a bomb and then showed an image of the Springer building, which sent protesters the message to break windows at the Springer offices that night.[250] The attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke (April 1968) by right-wing fanatic Josef Bachmann, who had read about him

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moderne Malerei und Bühnenbild näher als Dränage. Gut. Das sind also die Fakten." Ibid. Note that he also distinguishes his literary depiction as high art in comparison to low art in that his bloodbath description is compared to modern art and theater in contrast to television, film, and the media.

[249] See Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home* (see note 18), 39.

[250] See Baumgärtel, "Ein Stück Kino, das mit Film nichts zu tun hatte," (see note 19), 36-47.

in the Springer papers, ignited a protest that led demonstrators to the Springer buildings where they lit fires, stopped production, a demonstration that resulted in the death of two people. Two popular sayings at demonstrations were "Enteignet Springer" and "Springer hat mitgeschossen" – implying that the Springer press and its relationship to the state was complicit in if not entirely responsible for the sense of escalating violence and fear in the BRD.

Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum (1974) was an immediate best seller and adapted into a film with the same title by Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta in 1975. *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* is the story of a young woman who unwittingly falls in love with a man who is a suspected terrorist. She becomes the subject of a sensationalized media campaign that insists on her collaboration with him, brutally invades and exposes her personal life, and eventually, four days later, drives her to become the very monster they had accused her of being when she shoots the journalist responsible for ruining her life. While *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* may not be about terrorism,[251] it is related to the legacy of RAF, their medial

[251] Heinrich Böll defends himself in an afterword written ten years later against the idea that Katharina Blum is a terrorist novel: "Hartnäckig halt sich das Gerücht, diese Erzählung wäre ein Terroristen-Roman […] Wer auch nur zehn Jahre zurückdenken imstande ist, wird sich der Jahre erinnern, in denen eine ZEITUNG Verlemdungen und Verdächtigungen ausstreute, dieselbe ZEITUNG, die dutzendweise Menschen als Mörder bezeichnete, denen noch kein Mord nachgewiesen worden war." Heinrich Böll, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, (Münich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002), 139. For a detailed account of the RAF and Literature, see Luise Tremel, "Li*terrori*sierung: Die RAF in der deutschen Belletristik zwischen 1970 und 2004," in

representation in the *Bild-Zeitung*, and the climate of fear in the early 1970s in West Germany.

Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum clearly addresses the media and its distinct relationship to violence as can be inferred by the full title, *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum oder: Wie Gewalt entstehen und wohin sie führen kann*. Contrasting the title with the plot, the reader and viewer are compelled to ask just how violence does develop and where can it lead and surmise that it comes from newspaper headlines and leads to exasperation, more violence, and a loss of honor as demonstrated in the character of Katharina Blum but also, and most importantly for this article, that it plants the seeds for future violence. As a social and artistic engagement with the political reality of the BRD,[252] the story and film reference Böll's background with the *Bild-Zeitung* and suggest that the media apparatus and its relationship to the state are the very mechanisms that create and perpetuate violence in the most unassuming people. This paper will focus on two aspects of *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* that receive little attention in most critiques – the unsolved murder of the photographer Adolf Schönner and the iconoclastic tendencies of the New German Cinema films.

Since *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, around thirty films have been made about the legacy of terrorism and nearly all of them were directly inspired by the events that culminated on October 18, 1977, the pinnacle of what is known as 'German

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Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus, (see note 20), 1117-1154. See also Gerrit-Jan Berendse, *Schreiben im Terrordom*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2008).

[252] See Jack Zipes, "The Political Dimensions of *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum*," *New German Critique* 12 (Autumn, 1977): 75-84.

Autumn.' Over the next four years, some of the most prominent New German Cinema directors made six films about the legacy of German terrorism. These films include *Deutschland im Herbst* (1978) – a collaborative effort by eleven different directors including R.W. Fassbinder, Alexander Kluge, Edgar Reitz and Volker Schlöndorff; *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* (1979) and *Die dritte Generation* (1979) by R.W. Fassbinder; *Das zweite Erwachen der Christina Klages* (1978) and *Die bleierne Zeit* (1981) by Margarethe von Trotta; and *Messer im Kopf* (1978) by Rainhard Hauff and written by Peter Schneider.[253]

Generally considered to be films about the legacy of left-wing activism in Germany, these films present a uniform approach to override the medial representation of the RAF by transcending and correcting it. After October 18, 1977, Volker Schlöndorff writes that "Alexander Kluge erklärte, wir müssten Gegenöffentlichkeit herstellen, dürften das Monopol der Geschichtsschreibung nicht den öffentlichrechtlichen Sendern überlassen" and that *Deutschland im Herbst* was born of this motto.[254] Struggling against the hegemonic power of the state and its images, these films refuse to regurgitate the images in the media, although they were traumatic for many of them,[255] or to piece together the story of the RAF as many later films do.

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[253] Other early films about the RAF include: *Es stirbt allerdings ein Jeder*, dir. Harun Farocki, 1975; *Vor vier Jahren – Vor zwei Jahren*, dir. Wolfgang Höpfner, 1977-79; *Die Reise*, dir. Markus Imhoof, 1986-7; and *Stammheim*, dir. Reinhard Hauff, 1986.

[254] Volker Schlöndorff, *Licht, Schatten und Bewegung: Mein Leben und meine Filme*, (Munich: Carl Hanser, 2008), 223.

[255] For example, Schlöndorff writes "Ich fand ihren Selbstmord deshalb so tragisch, weil sie mit so viel idealistischem Elan aufgebrochen waren. Immer wieder musste ich

Instead, they harness, repress, and manipulate the media images in the creation of new cinematic images to focus on political discourses, and, based on the subjects of the criticism that has been generated on these films, they were for the most part successful. Nearly every academic contribution contextualizes these films as thoughtful and complex contributions to debates on the representation of history and memory, critiques of the media and violence, of justice, and of feminisms.

In 1962, the Oberhausen manifesto, the definitive document of what would become the New German Cinema, ushered in the patricidal mantra that the old cinema is dead – Papas Kino ist tot. This type of symbolic patricide involved the systematic destruction of one cinema, the so-called 'Papas Kino,' and the creation of a new cinema – the New German Cinema – which involved the creation of new images and

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an ein Foto aus der Anfangszeit denken: Gudrun Ensslin mit einem Kinderwagen auf einer Anti-Vietnam-Demo; diese protestantische Geste gegen das Böse und gegen eine Gewalt, die sie bald selbst ausüben und schließlich gegen sich selbst richten würde. Tragischer kann Idealismus nicht enden. Das war die Trauer, die wir empfanden." Ibid., 25. In another example, certain images proved too horrible for Schlöndorff to publish. "Am Vortag schon waren wir zu einer Motivbesichtigung auf den Friedhof gefahren. Es gelang Alexander von Eschwege, meinem Assistenten, die Kapelle aufschließen zu lassen. Ein Wärter öffnete die Särge, und wir schauten in drei schreckliche entstellte Gesichter. In aller Eile machten wir ein paar Fotos, die wir aber nie veröffentlicht haben. Zu entsetzlich, nur aus Haut und Knochen, waren diese Totenköpfe. Sie waren entstellt durch die Obduktion, wie uns später Rechtsanwalt Otto Schili, der dabei gewesen war, erklärte. Die Schädel waren aufgesägt worden, um das Hirn zu entnehmen, dann mit Stroh ausgestopft und wieder vernäht worden. Eine ganz routinemäßige Maßnahme, die allerdings auf der Stirn blutige Einstiche hinterließ, wie von einer Dornenkrone." Ibid., 227.

juxtapositions that evoked new narratives for a new generation. W.J.T. Mitchell uses the term iconoclasm to describe this type of creative destruction. He writes "iconoclasm is more than just the destruction of images; it is a 'creative destruction,' in which a secondary image of defacement or annihilation is created at the same moment that the 'target' image is attacked."[256] Eric Rentschler writes:

> A body of films conscious of its own status as a part of German film history, New German Cinema coalesced as a collective and, in crucial regards, a programmatic endeavor. Films, in the understanding of the generation born shortly after 1945, the cohort that instigated the student movement, did not just tell stories and orchestrate effects; they interrogated images of the past in the hope of refining memories and catalysing changes.[257]

New German Cinema films represent "secondary images of defacement or annihilation" in that they are deeply involved in the project of defacing 'Papas Kino' and its inherent thought patterns and moral institutions and of confronting the audience with scenarios that inspire them to critically examine society and their role in it.

The poster of Fassbinder's *Die dritte Generation* proudly boasted the byline "Ich werfe keine Bomben, ich mache Filme!" which can be understood as a testimony

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[256] Mitchell is referring to the destruction of the second tower on 9/11 as well as the destruction of Saddam Hussein's statue in Baghdad as examples of iconoclasm. Although the analogy is far from perfect, the notion of iconoclasm is also relevant in the representation of the RAF. W.J.T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want*, (see note 50), 18.

[257] Eric Rentschler, "From New German Cinema to the Post-Wall Cinema of Consensus," in *Cinema and Nation*, ed. Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie, (London: Routledge, 2000), 263-4.

to the iconoclastic tendencies behind the creation of New German Cinema films. Eric Rentscher claims that Fassbinder often said that "films must cease just being films and stories and come alive, so that their spectators take pause to ponder their own persons and question their own lives."[258] The films about the RAF are equally engaged in the project to destroy their fathers' cinema as they are in the project to destroy the hegemonic medial representation of the RAF and create new images and narratives. Although Heinrich Böll and Margarethe von Trotta claim that their projects are not about terrorism,[259] they are definitively engaged in its representation and redefining this representation against its prior medial presence and impact. Although the use of media photographs as a strategy for telling history is a common characteristic of nearly all projects on the RAF, it is not a given that they be used or referenced in the creation of new narratives but it is proof of their significance and further demonstrates that the history of the RAF is a history of its representation.

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[258] Ibid., 263-4.

[259] Like Heinrich Böll, Margarethe von Trotta also claims that her project is not about terrorism. She writes: "Ein Zusammenhang zwischen Film- und realen Personen besteht nur insoweit, als Personen und Ereignisse der Zeitgeschichte Ausgangspunkt aber nicht Gegenstand meines Films sind. Es ist kein Film über Terrorismus oder über das Zustandekommen von Terrorismus in Deutschland. Ich liefere auch keine Motivationskette, wie jemand dazukommt, in den politischen Untergrund zu gehen, sondern ich beschreibe die sehr enge, dabei widersprüchliche und konträre Beziehung von zwei Frauen, zwei Schwestern, die auf sehr unterschiedliche Weise auf die Befindlichkeiten in der Bundesrepublik reagieren und handeln." Margarethe von Trotta, *Die Bleierne Zeit: Ein Film von Margarethe von Trotta*, (Munich: Filmverlag der Authoren, 1981), 10.

Margarethe von Trotta's film, *Die bleierne Zeit* (1981) or *Marianne and Julianne* in English, focuses on the perspective of Julianne, a character based on Gudrun Ensslin's sister Christianne Ensslin, from her sister's arrest to her death in Stammheim prison and until the adoption of her son. Although it tells the story through the feminist mantra that the personal is political, it also demonstrates iconoclastic tendencies in that it begins and ends with a large photograph of Marianne's face that closely resembles the warrant photograph of Gudrun Ensslin. Three minutes into the film and just after the titles, the camera pans across Julianne's office to the bulletin board, focuses, and zooms in on the photograph of Marianne's face and eyes. The emphasis on the photograph is made even more dramatic because the sound cuts and the viewer sees the picture in silence. The focus on the photograph returns again at the end of the film after Julianne has adopted Marianne's son. The boy, Marianne's son, who is having a hard time with his mother's life and death, walks over the same picture on the bulletin board, tears it to pieces, and throws it into the trash. Julianne watches him do this and tells him that he is wrong, that his mother was an amazing woman, and that she will tell him everything she knows. The film ends when the boy demands that she, "Fang an" suggesting that new narratives and generations can begin once the old narratives – those imposed on the public by the photograph – have been destroyed.[260]

As part of the New German Cinema and as the first film about the legacy of

[260] Christopher Homewood sees the role of the photograph in the film as one that connects private and public and establishes family identity. See Christopher James Homewood, "From Baader to Prada: The Representation of Urban Terrorists in German-Language Film," (PhD diss, University of Leeds, 2008), 146.

German terrorism, *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* represents similar iconoclastic tendencies and is unquestionably an attack on the *Bild-Zeitung* as demonstrated in the epilogue of the film and the epigraph of the novel that ironically state: "Personen und Handlung dieser Erzählung sind frei erfunden. Sollten sich bei der Schilderung gewisser journalistischer Praktiken Ähnlichkeiten mit den Praktiken der *"Bild"-Zeitung* ergeben haben, so sind diese Ähnlichkeiten weder beabsichtigt noch zufällig, sondern unvermeidlich."[261] It is easy to see how the public would relate the plot of *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, which sold 130,000 copies in its first printing, to the recent political climate, which had, by 1974 when the novel was published and 1975 when the film came out, intensified even more with the newly ratified Radikalenerlaß, which had a considerable impact on Heinrich Böll and millions of others.

In the novel, Böll's iconoclastic strategy is to destroy images with words as demonstrated in the first crucial move, to change the name of what was the *Bild-Zeitung* to the ZEITUNG, literally cutting out the word "*Bild*," which means picture or image. Numerous examples demonstrate that Böll is invested in the destructive and restorative power of language. It was a headline not an image that inspired his notorious written essay on Ulrike Meinhof, which in turn inspired him to write a novel in which the protagonist pays meticulous attention to her own verbal testimony and whose honor is marred by the articles of a journalist, Werner Tötges – whose name implies

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[261] Heinrich Böll, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum oder: Wie Gewalt entstehen und wohin sie führen kann*, (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002), epigraph.

totgeschossen – who pays for his published and spoken lies with his life. Böll even distinguishes that Tötges was not an "Opfer seines Berufes" but rather, that one should refer to a "von beruflich bedingtem Tod" implying that it was his words that inspired Katharina Blum to shoot him and not that it was an attack against the press.[262] All of these instances involve verbal forms of transmitting information and highlight the importance of careful, meticulous language in contrast to images. Based on the passage previously discussed, it seems that Böll does not have a high opinion of images or the people who are swayed by them. While looking at body parts and appalling Grusicals may not hold much fascination for Böll, laying out the facts bare bones so that the reader can make her own assessment does and yet, given Böll's meticulous attention to words and the importance of being exact, his portrayal of the unsolved murder of the photographer can only be described as strange. In fact, it can, somewhat ironically, be described as an 'indistinguishable mixture of fact and fiction in which corpses play the leading role' the words Böll he used in his essay in *Der Spiegel*.

If the journalist's name, Werner Tötges, implies a reference to totgeschossen, which means shot dead, and the suspected terrorist's name Ludwig Götten implies a reference to Gott, Götter or göttlich, then the photographer's name, Adolf Schönner, certainly can be read as a reference to Adolf Hitler or at least to a past with National Socialism and parents who would name their son Adolf, along with a last name that is reminiscent of schöner, which means more beautiful, or to schonen, which means to preserve or spare something or someone. Adolf Schönner is neither beautiful nor spared nor does he spare anyone with his photography. He is portrayed as an older, ugly,

[262] Ibid., 13.

bumbling idiot who obsequiously follows Tötges, takes most of the pictures that accompany the headlines and articles, and was shot two days after Tötges, and found shot dead the next day in the forest. The story takes place in February during Carnival in Cologne and the celebration before Lent that peaks on Shrove Thursday, when Katharina's apartment is raided by the police, and ends on Ash Wednesday, the day the body of Alfred Schönner is found. These days, commonly referred to as the Crazy Days offer an analogy to the hysteria, masked identity, anarchy, and mock politics of the BRD at the time. The unsolved murder of Schönner suggests that anyone could have killed him and reanimates the fear of the terrorist next door but also appeals to the sombre commemoration of Lent. The discovery of Schönner's death on Ash Wednesday evokes the words in Genesis 3:19 "For dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return" and the ritual of fasting to repent for your sins.

The novel offers numerous leads and Katharina Blum, when asked whether she shot him, replies: "Ja, warum eigentlich nicht den auch" but she was in custody when he was shot.[263] Another lead suggests that it was the couple dressed as a sheik and an Andalusian Katharina met in the elevator on her way to her apartment because the photographer was last seen dressed as a sheik accompanied by a woman dressed as an Andalusian. And yet one other strange detail is that the funeral of the photographer was given substantially less pomp than the funeral for Tötges.

> Warum wohl? Weil er kein 'Opfer seines Berufes' war, sondern wahrscheinlicher das Opfer eines Eifersuchtsdramas? Das Scheichkostüm ist in der Asservatenkammer, auch did Pistole (eine 08), über deren Herkunft nur

[263] Ibid., 11.

> Blorna Bescheid weiß, während Polizei und Staatsanwaltschaft sich vergeblich bemüht haben, dies herauszufinden.[264]

There are various ways to interpret what happened. Was Adolf Schönner dressed as a sheikh because he was an undercover police officer or was his costume choice just coincidence? Did Blorna, a man who loved Katharina Blum and who previously wanted to make a Molotov cocktail and throw it at the editorial offices of the News,[265] commission a woman to kill Schönner? Or was it a random person? And here we have a prime case for *Aktenzeichen XY ... ungelöst*. Böll does not reveal who killed Adolf Schönner and, given his emphasis on truth and words, one must assume that this is intentional. Böll's own honor was under fire after publishing his Meinhof essay that began when Matthias Walden called him "der geistige Vater der Gewalt" in an article in the *Bild-Zeitung*. *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* is Böll's counter attack – one that gave the victim the opportunity to symbolically murder the journalist and to suggest

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[264] Ibid., 14.

[265] Blorna became exasperated after seeing the Sunday News. "Er schrie, brüllte, suchte in der Küche nach einer leeren Flasche, fand eine, rannte damit in die Garage, wo er zum Glück von seiner Frau gestellt und daran gehindert wurde, einen regelrechten Molotow-Cocktail zu basteln, den er in die Redaktion der ZEITUNG und später einen zweiten in Sträubleders "Erstvilla" werfen wollte. Man muß sich das vor Augen führen: ein akademisch gebildeter Mensch von zweiundvierzig Jahren, der seit sieben Jahren Lüdings Achtung, Sträubleders Respekt wegen seiner nüchternen und klaren Verhandlungsführung hatte – und das international sowohl in Brasilien wie in Saudi-Arabien wie in Nordirland - , also es handelte sich keineswegs um einen provinziellen, sondern um einen durch und durch weltläufigen Menschen; der wollte Molotow-Cocktails basteln!" Ibid., 118.

that there are others who will take care of the photographer as well.[266]

As a writer, Böll fought his part in words but he was also aware of the visual impact of this particular battle. Before the manuscript was even published, he sent it to film director Volker Schlöndorff who immediately understood the text as a "dringliche Aufforderung."[267] Schlöndorff describes their collaboration and how they went through the text scene by scene, how he sent Böll various drafts to comment and correct, how Böll even wrote the parts of the film that differ from the novel like the famous eulogy, how Schlöndorff consulted him on which actors to choose who best represented the characters, and how happy they were with the success of the film and that it won the Film Award in Gold at the German Film Awards for best Actress and Cinematography. He writes, "Es war fast wie eine Volksabstimmung. Die Zuschauer stimmten für Heinrich Böll, gegen die Hetze der Springer-Presse, gegen die Aufrüstung des Polizeiapparates, gegen die Hysterie und die Sondergesetze aller Art – von Lauschangriffen bis Hochsicherheitstrakten."[268] Based on the collaboration between Böll, Schlöndorff and von Trotta, the novel and the film must be understood together as an all out attack on the *Bild-Zeitung* – fought with words in the novel and

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[266] There is no doubt that Böll was incensed and intended to provoke and agitate with *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*. After his essay in *Der Spiegel*, he endured many years of accusations and police invasions of his house and family, which increased after Schleyer was kidnapped and finally began to wane around Böll's sixtieth birthday in December 1977.

[267] Volker Schlöndorff, *Licht, Schatten und Bewegung: Mein Leben und meine Filme*, (Munich: Carl Hanser, 2008), 212.

[268] Ibid., 220.

iconoclastically with images in the film.

1997 marked the twentieth anniversary of German Autumn and with it came a wave of publications, media attention, and films. In 1997 alone, four films about the RAF were released for television: *Todesspiel* by Heinrich Breloer, *Das Phantom* by Denis Gansel, *Im Fadenkreuz: Deutschland und die RAF* by Christian Berg and Cordt Schnibben, and *Raus aus der Haut* by Andreas Dresen.[269] Of all these films, *Todesspiel* was perhaps the most well known and received numerous awards such as the Goldener Löwe, Telestar, Bayrischer Fernsehpreis, Bambi/Fernsehspiel, Baden-Badener Tage des Fernsehspiels awards in 1997 and the the DAG Fernsehpreis in Gold and the Goldene Kamera in 1998. *Todesspiel* is a two-part, docu-drama film for television (ARD) that reconstructs the events of German Autumn from the kidnapping of Hanns-Martin Schleyer to his funeral using archival footage and material with reconstructions accompanied by interviews of victims, perpetrators, and Helmut Schmidt. Each part is approximately eighty-eight minutes. The first part, entitled "Volksgefängnis" begins with the kidnapping of Schleyer and focuses on his story, and the second part entitled "Entführt die Landshut" begins with the hijacking of the Lufthansa plane called "Landshut" and ends with Schleyer's funeral, focusing on the perspective of Helmut Schmidt and Waltrude Schleyer. According to director Heinrich Breloer, *Todesspiel* documents "den Sinn und Unsinn dieser sieben Wochen Bürgerkrieg, den die RAF der

[269] Two films were made in 1992: *Die Terroristen!* Dir. Philip Gröning, 1992; and *Der Herbst der Terroristen*, dir. Stefan Aust, 1992.

Bundesrepublik aufzwingen wollte."[270]

The use of photographs and archival material in *Todesspiel* is representative of a shift from the iconoclastic strategies of the New German Cinema to a new style of filmmaking termed by Eric Rentschler as the "German Cinema of Consensus."[271] The German Cinema of Consensus is marked in contrast to the New German Cinema in that it seeks mass appeal by mimicking genre patterns, embraces American film and spectacle, seeks to create a national German cinema, and is also a result of changes in film subsidy arrangements that encourage young directors to market their films towards a television audience with commercial priorities. *Todesspiel* can be understood as part of this pattern as demonstrated by critics Rembert Hüser and Ulrich Kriest who compare the positive reactions to *Todesspiel* as a cry to restore instead of kill Papas Kino: "Bitte, bitte, gebt uns Papa wieder!" referencing the New German Cinema motto "Papas Kino ist tot."[272] Even Breloer himself was aware of the differences between 1977 and 1997 and writes in the preface to the book that was published for the film that "[e]ine gesellschaftliche Diskussion über Alternativen und einen anderen Staat, wie sie in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren selbstverständlich war, erscheint heute

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[270] Heinrich Breloer, *Todesspiel: Von der Schleyer Entführung bis Mogadischu – eine dokumentarische Erzählung*, (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1997), 220.

[271] Eric Rentschler, "From New German Cinema to the Post-Wall Cinema of Consensus," (see note 255), 264.

[272] Rembert Hüser and Ulrich Kriest, "Rechtzeitig," in *Deutschland im Herbst*, ed. Petra Kraus and others, (Munich: Schriftenreihe Münchner Filmzentrum, 1997), 56.

altmodisch."[273]

Breloer was not only not interested in such 'old-fashioned' critique but he also seems to have understood himself as an extension of what he deemed to be an integrated and stable state and society, that was distinctly related to and a positive result of the events of German Autumn:

> Die noch junge Bundesrepublik der siebziger Jahre hat sich nach dem Angriff der RAF stabilisiert. Das war der Gewinn der Geschichte. Aber Staat und Gesellschaft sind seit dieser Zeit immer enger zusammengerückt. Die einstmals getrennten Bereiche von Arbeit und Leben in unserer Gesellschaft und der Politik, als der Verwaltung von Arbeit, sind heute fast untrennbar zusammengewachsen. Der Staat regelt weite Bereiche unseres Lebens.[274]

Unlike the iconoclastic project of the New German Cinema and the destruction of the photographer, Breloer celebrates the union of image, media, and state in his attempt to portray history. Although the film was a television blockbuster and received numerous positive reviews, some critics were not at all convinced that questioning the motives of the state was so old fashioned after all.

Although the reviews of the film may be polemic, they reveal uniform and cautious approaches to the use of photographs and their potential to influence the mind of the viewer and give insight into the formation and representation of events. On the one hand, the pubic approval of the use of old and found photographs to portray the

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[273] Heinrich Breloer, *Todesspiel: Von der Schleyer Entführung bis Mogadischu – eine dokumentarische Erzählung*, (see note 267), 10.

[274] Ibid.

German Autumn can be seen in the awards it received and that it has been lauded for its 'authentic' portrayal of history. On the other hand, critics lament the use of these images for numerous reasons claiming that they are nothing more than pornography, that they are not used to transcend anything other than what they represent, or that they reinforce dominant power structures, and therefore memory, in order to switch sympathies for the RAF to sympathies with the state and Helmut Schmidt in particular.

Thomas Elsaesser devotes a short section to *Todesspiel* in *Terror und Trauma: Zur Gewalt des Vergangenen in der BRD* and posits that the choice to show the story from the perspective of Schleyer and Schmidt differs from strategies of New German Cinema films in the 1970s that addressed figures like the terrorists, their relatives, the innocent viewers, the protestors, the prisoners and their funeral and responded to a press that found terrorists dangerous because of the amount of sympathy they garnered and the culture of fear that anyone could be a terrorist or be perceived as one.[275] With this foundation, Elsaesser argues that *Todesspiel* tells the story of how great men, in particular men with a military past in the Wehrmacht, saved the fragile BRD from going under at this precarious moment in history in order to ensure that there would be no sympathisizers when the topic came around again in 1997 for the twentieth-year anniversary of German Autumn. To make his argument, Elsaesser claims that Breloer's construction of new perspectives was intended to counter the sympathy for the first generation of the RAF and switch it to Schleyer and Schmidt, thus rewriting history.

Elsaesser's argument can be backed up with Breloer's approach to media images

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[275] Thomas Elsaesser, *Terror und Trauma: Zur Gewalt des Vergangenen in der BRD*, (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos), 54-6.

as well and *Todesspiel* can be understood as an attempt to rewrite the most well known photographs in an attempt to tell the story behind them that garners sympathies for the state and its representatives. With regard to Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the most famous images are the crime scene, Schleyer in custody, and Schleyer's funeral. In each instance, Breloer constructs an elaborate mise-en-scene that leads to the moment of recognition – the photograph – and creates the illusion of truth and revelation. The first ten minutes of *Todesspiel* is devoted to the kidnapping of Schleyer and introduces the viewer to Schleyer, his capturers, and BKA chief Horst Herold. The viewer first sees Schleyer disembark from a small plane and get into his Mercedes car and be escorted away. At four minutes and twenty seconds into the film, Schleyer's car is stopped, the terrorists shoot all his escorts, and he is kidnapped. The archival footage of the scene then begins four minutes later at eight minutes and forty-two seconds. The film is constructed to simulate an event for the viewer to experience that will then merge the viewer's testimony with the voice of the state.

Most viewers were familiar with the medial representation of Schleyer's kidnapping and death and knew the story already. In the film, the terrorists leave Schleyer in the trunk of a car at gunpoint and retreat to an apartment where they meet up with another terrorist who had been waiting for them. There is no music – only the ambient noises and static. She asks "Und was ist?" and they tell her that he is in the car and that they will get him when things have calmed down a bit. She asks, "Wie war es denn" and is met with silence. Megaphone sounds then fade in and the film cuts to archival news footage at the crime scene with a news interview with a police officer who describes the scene, the crime, their car, and how they have started the search. It

then cuts to BKA chief Horst Herold, who is also listening to a radio report, and tells his driver to turn around. It then cuts to the terrorists who are listening to the report on the radio as well and then returns to the archival footage of the bodies being carried away from the crime scene that then fades to black.

The first ten minutes of the film demonstrates Elsaesser's argument and provides an opportunity for the voices of the state, the police and the viewer to unite. On the one hand, the film quite literally silences the voice of the terrorist by replacing the answer to the question "Wie war es denn?" with the voice of the media and the interview with the police officer. The first shot of the terrorists shows them packing grenades into their pockets and loading guns into baby carriages, an image that, according to Rembert Hüser and Ulrich Kriest, evokes sympathy for Schleyer's humanity and reinforces the fear associated with women terrorists as mothers who would abandon and sacrifice their children.[276] On the other hand, the film reconstructs scenes that allow the viewer to experience what happened and become a witness to the event, sympathize with Schleyer and his escorts, and feel united in the common experience with the images and voices projected – those of the police and the media. By beginning with the Schleyer kidnapping and depicting it in this manner, the film demonstrates the significance of the visual representation in the history of the RAF and reanimates the sympathies associated with them that were overshadowed by images of the dead RAF terrorists in Stammheim, images that are completely omitted from *Todesspiel*.

The end of the film also reinforces this argument in its evocation of sympathy

[276] Rembert Hüser and Ulrich Kriest, "Rechtzeitig," (see note 269), 51.

for Helmut Schmidt and omission of the funerals of the Stammheim prisoners. During the end sequence of the last two minutes of the film, Schleyer is released, looks at the German forest, falls to his knees, and is then shot point blank in the back of the head. The shot of the gun announces an abrupt cut to archival footage of the first row of seats at Schleyer's funeral with a voiceover from Schmidt that leads to footage of an interview with him where he talks about how difficult it was for him to sit next to Waltrude Schleyer (Hanns-Martin Schleyer's wife) because he felt complicit in the death of Schleyer. His confession is then countered with a cut to an interview with Waltrude Schleyer where she recounts when he shook her hand at the funeral and says that she could sense how deeply affected he was even though he did not do anything to stop Schleyer's death. The film then finally ends with an image of Schmidt and Waltrude Schleyer presumably shaking hands.

Rembert Hüser and Ulrich Kriest condemn Breloer for his internalization of conservative public views, *Todesspiel* for its shoddy research and perpetration of mythic military heroism, and the television station and feuilletons for their hypocrisy and celebration of themselves. One of their most prescient examples is their analysis of the end sequence of *Todesspiel*:

> Auch endet *Todesspiel* mit den Bildern vom Staatsakt für Hanns-Martin Schleyer, dem Händedruck. Kein Wort mehr von den Schwierigkeiten, ein Grab für Baaderensslinraspe zu finden, kein Bild mehr für sie. Keine Vorstellung von den Bildern des Staatsaktes, die Kluge in Deutschland im Herbst hat, den Gedenkminuten bei Mercedes Benz. Dafür Bilder wie Schleyers umwerfende

Liquidierung mit Blick auf den deutschen Wald.[277]

The last sequences function to pardon Helmut Schmidt and recast him as a military hero whose special commando force rescued the Landshut and who is forgiven for the sacrifices he made. This last example expresses not only the power of images to reinforce certain power structures but also the omission of images to silence narratives. The deaths of the Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe were documented by depicting a police photographer taking the well-known pictures of them on the ground and hanging with a radio voice-over reporting their deaths and their funerals, which took place two days after Schleyer's funeral, were omitted. Although there is a chronological logic to this, it also corresponds to the argument that Breloer is attempting to subvert the sympathetic tendencies towards that had been reinforced by the treatment of the funerals – both the RAF and Schleyer funerals – in the New German Film *Deutschland im Herbst* from 1997 as well as in the notorious painting cycle by Gerhard Richter, entitled *18. Oktober 1977* that was completed in 1988. With this reception and time sequence in mind, *Todesspiel* can be understood as the 1997 attempt to harness and subvert the power of these images and the sympathies they are capable of evoking.

Another film from 1997, *Raus aus der Haut*, by Andreas Dresen documents the power such photographs have on the imagination. *Raus aus der Haut* follows two teenagers in the German Democratic Republic in Autumn 1977 who, inspired by radio and news reports of the RAF kidnapping of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, kidnap and take their own school headmaster hostage when he finds them with a contraband

[277] Ibid., 56.

photographs of the RAF and threatens not to recommend them for the university where they both hope to study the following year. The timing of the film follows that events of German Autumn as they unfold and thus provides a small scale, East German version of the events that include not just the kidnapping of the headmaster, but the discovery of his own counter-socialist past, his release, and, eventually his death from a heart attack and funeral and their acceptance to the university. In one scene, Anna Maria Schwarz is looking at one of the well-known photographs of Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin in a Parisian café. She and Markus agree that the people in the photograph look harmless and more like lovers than terrorists demonstrating the idea that the photograph reveals a fundamental dissonance in the cultural memory of the first generation of the RAF. There is a distinct moral lesson of risk, questioning ideology, and discovering that people – perpetrators as well as victims – are complex. *Raus aus der Haut* and *Todesspiel* are both examples of films that reinforce the lasting power of the medial photographs and demonstrate the legacy of the New German Cinema on the perception of the RAF.

The next decade and century between 1997 and 2008 ushered in significant changes in the history of terrorism that had a significant impact on the cinematic representation of the RAF. The RAF dissolved on April 20, 1998. The World Trade Centers in New York were attacked and collapsed on September 11, 2001. The Kunst-Werke exhibition *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF* garnered considerable publicity in 2005. Prominent second-generation RAF members Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar were released from imprisonment in 2007 and 2008. The thirty-year anniversary of German Autumn was commemorated and around fifteen films were

made about the RAF. The most prominent of these films include Christian Petzold's *Die innere Sicherheit* (2000), Volker Schlöndorff's *Die Stille nach dem Schuss* (2000), Andreas Veiel's *Black Box BRD* (2001), Gregor Schnitzler's *Was tun wenn's brennt* (2001), Christopher Roth's *Baader* (2002), Gerd Conradt's *Starbuck Holger Meins* (2003), Bruce La Bruce's *The Raspberry Reich* (2004), Hans Weingartner's *Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei* (2004), and Uli Edel's *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* (2008). As a group, these films could be described as something like a New German Cinema of Consensus in that many attempt to invoke the revolutionary spark associated with 1968 but package it in a fast-paced popular film with mass appeal.[278]

The latest contribution to the cinematic reception of the RAF is *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* (2008) by director Uli Edel, a film whose by-line promises to give "The True Story of the RAF." As expected, the film garnered a variety of critique and praise, including that it was nominated for the Academy Award category for Best Foreign Film and can even be understood as the first film about the RAF that was marketed specifically to the United States. Although the RAF was in existence from 1970 to 1998, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* charts the beginning and end of the first generation of the group between 1967 and 1977 and is based on the well-known book by Stephan Aust also entitled *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, which was first published in 1985. Director Uli Edel and producer Bernd Eichinger agreed that their strategy in

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[278] For an analysis of the 89ers and their relationship to film, with special focus on *Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei*, see Chris Homewood, "Have the Best Ideas Stood the Test of Time? Negotiating the Legacy of '1968' in *The Edukators*," in *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 321- 342.

the film would be to let the events during that decade determine the structure of the film instead of a protagonist the audience could relate to. Instead of appealing to the audience through a character, the film appeals to the audience by allowing images – as representations of the events – determine the structure of the film. Original footage, magazine covers, and posters in conjunction with the accompanying music, radio and television sounds of the time demonstrate the motivated approach to use images to capture the Zeitgeist of this generation and the fascination that is associated with it. However, while some of the images and sequences are original, the most iconic photographs have been staged with the actors of the film and some are emphasized with a break in sound and light. The exaggerated click of the shutter and the sound of a flash punctuates the mind of the viewer – to remind those who have seen the images and confirm their memory as well as to re-create this memory in a younger generation.

On the one hand, it makes sense that the directors, who were deeply concerned with the authenticity of the film, used photographs as a guide for the mise-en-scène. They serve a documentary purpose in that they are ethnographic artifacts that show the viewer who was there, what they wore, what types of signs hung on the wall, how people did their hair, and how these people were depicted and sensationalized in the media. On the other hand, the decision to stage the photographs so carefully represents the importance of these iconic photographs in the mind of those who experienced them when they were published. Their use does not necessarily represent the failure to engage with history but rather the testimony that this was their history and shared experience of the event.

One of the most well known critiques of the film is by prominent film critic Michael Althen. Althen writes in an article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* that "es sich beim Baader-Meinhof Komplex um einen Polit-Porno handelt. Er besteht nur aus Höhepunkten – der Rest ist Hummersuppe. Er verhält sich zu einem komplexeren Film wie ein Porno zum Liebesfilm. Wo der eine weiß, wie kompliziert die Dinge liegen, kennt er nur Eskalation." Althen claims that the pornographic tendencies of a film consisting of climaxes do not allow for more complex, nuanced narratives to emerge that could have emerged had the film been a love story. This critique corresponds to a common trend to dismiss the visual narrative of terrorism with regard to the photographic representation of the RAF in which photographs, often understood as inferior cultural artefacts, are often relegated to the shadows of more rigorous studies commonly associated with the 1968 generation and the New German Cinema on the RAF regarding the political and theoretical underpinnings of ideology and violence in the aftermath of the second world war, the history of memory, and questions of law, feminism, the state, the press, and activism. Although his dismissive and reductive attitude towards pornography is decidedly bourgeois, it seems that he has honed in on one of the most important elements of the film – that *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* is precisely a film about visual stimulation – and demonstrated but failed to acknowledge its critical potential.

Stefan Aust is well known in Germany as the former chief editor of the prominent German magazine *Der Spiegel*. Between 1966 and 1969, he was the editor of the left-leaning magazine konkret when Ulrike Meinhof was a journalist and therefore had access to the student movement and met many of the people involved in it. Along

with Gerhard Richter's cycle of paintings, his book is one of the most highly regarded pieces of the RAF reception. One of the most remarkable aspects of the RAF reception that binds these two pieces as well as nearly all of the others is their relationship to photographs of the RAF members and the events that constitute its legend. The use of images to portray these events in *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* was also effective on Stefan Aust, who writes:

> Der Film hat für mich eine große Authentizität. Das geht so weit, das er stellenweise viel von einem Dokumentarfilm hat. Man kennt ja sehr viele Fotos und Fernsehaufnahmen zu diesem Stoff, und einige davon sind Ikonen des historischen Bewusstseins der Republik geworden. Es gibt bestimmte Bilder, wie zum Beispiel bestimmte Momentaufnahmen von der Demonstration am 2. Juni oder die Frau über dem sterbenden Benno Ohnesorg, an die man sofort denkt, wenn man die Zeit rekapituliert. Und was ich wirklich bemerkenswert an diesem Film finde: Erst siehst du ein Bild, das du kennst. Dann siehst du den Ablauf der Ereignisse, gefilmt unglaublich ähnlich, wie es damals ausgesehen hat, und plötzlich, wie ein Schuss, siehst du wieder ein Bild, das du kennst. Der Film eröffnet dir eine neue Dimension zu einer von außen beobachteten bekannten Geschichte. Das finde ich wirklich sehr beeindruckend.[279]

Aust, who is obviously invested in the project as the co-writer and predictably impressed, is nonetheless not unlike many other people of his generation who are fascinated by revisiting and recontextualizing the photographs of the RAF as

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[279] Katja Eichinger, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex: Das Buch zum Film*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 2007), 117.

demonstrated in numerous other collections referenced previously including Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* and painting cycle *18. Oktober 1977*, Hans Peter Feldmanns *Die Toten*, Astrid Proll's *Hans und Grete*, Gerd Conradt's *Starbuck Holger Meins*, and numerous ekphratic texts describing these photographs and their implications, and the well known art exhibit *Zur Vorstellung des Terrors: Die RAF Ausstellung* in 2005– a collection that yielded thousands of images and pages of newsprint, new renditions, projects, and essays. These projects allow that the photographs of the RAF be revisited and contemplated in a new spaces, contexts, and times.

As a film starring some of Germany's most popular actors Moritz Bleibtreu, Martina Gedeck, Stipe Erceg, Bruno Ganz and Johanna Wokalek, Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex offers a desirable visual space that appeals to a contemporary generation. By charting the years between 1967 and 1977, it also contextualizes the RAF in the student movement and therefore grounds the violence in an ideological framework and ends with the death of the first generation in 1977, the generation that is most commonly associated with a certain revolutionary spirit. The film was released in 2008 – a year after the thirtieth anniversary of German Autumn that also saw with it the publication of numerous memoirs and biographies of terrorists and victims.

Although it may seem that the film accomplishes nothing new except to give Aust the blockbuster equivalent of his book, it is instrumental in the historicization of the group – its admittance into the block history of twentieth century German history: WWI, Weimar, WWII, GDR, the Economic Miracle, 1968 and the RAF, and the Wende and reunification. The film was well received in the United States and was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film but failed to win despite its attempt to

historicize the RAF in easily accessible German history blocks that have previously been successful at the United States box office and Academy Awards like *Der Untergang* (2004) – another film produced by Eichinger, directed by Oliver Hirschbiegel and starring Bruno Ganz, and *Das Leben der Anderen* (2006) directed by Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck and starring Martina Gedeck that did receive the Academy Award for Best Foreign Film.

Director Uli Edel is also clearly invested in the construction of post-memory for his sons and in conveying the sentiments of a past generation that hope that change and revolution were possible to a new generation ready to hear this motto. Edel was also personally invested in his goal to teach the younger generation about what happened between the years of 1967 and 1977 in that his intentions were directed towards his two sons. He writes:

> Was uns ganz wichtig war und was bei den Drehbuchbesprechungen immer eine Rolle spielte: Wir wollten die Geschichte der RAF nicht jemandem erzählen, der sie schon kennt –also nicht meinen alten Spartakistenfreunden –, sondern unseren Kindern, die so gut wie nichts darüber wissen. Meine Söhne sind in Amerika aufgewachsen, für die ist Che Guevara nur der Typ auf uncoolen T-Shirts. Denen wollten wir erzählen, was von 1967 bis 1977 in Deutschland passiert ist.[280]

While using images may serve a pedagogical purpose in acquainting a new generation with the cultural artefacts of an older one, it also demonstrates the significance of these photographs and the importance of reliving and reinforcing them – a cultural legacy and

[280] Ibid., 34.

inheritance carried on from father to son. Even after more than forty years, the re-enactment of the photographs through moving pictures seems to be the only option to both relive the experience and to relay the experience to others by recreating it for them as he experienced it.

Edel was not only interested in recreating these events for a younger generation but also in communicating the revolutionary spirit of his generation. He writes:

> Ich habe dauernd an meine beiden Söhne gedacht, als ich mich in diesen Film stürtzte. Sie sind gerade 20 und 21, in Amerika als schwarze Mischlinge aufgewachsen. Ihnen wollte ich diese Geschichte aus jener Zeit erzählen, als ich so alt war, wie sie jetzt sind. Und davon, was wir damals empfanden und wie viel Hoffnung wir zunächst hatten für unsere Zukunft. Und wie es am Ende zu viele Tote gab, Schuldige und Unschuldige, Mörder und Gemordete. Der deutsche Mythos. Der Nibelungen Not. Aber wenn ich ihnen jenen frühen Geist der Revolte vermitteln könnte, jene Euphorie, die wir empfanden, die Überzeugung, dass nichts so sein muss, wie es ist; das alles, was von Menschen gemacht ist, auch von Menschen verändert werden kann—wenn dieser Funke mit dem Film auf meine beiden Kinder überspringen würde, dann hätte ich wirklich etwas erreicht.[281]

The romanticisation of revolution in Edel's testimony above is also apparent in the images chosen to advertise the film in Germany and the United States. The German movie poster is made of reconstructed photographs that mimic the photographs and head positions of the RAF members in the early warrant posters. The poster shows a

[281] Ibid., 38.

patchwork grid of headshots of the main actors in the film that have all been washed with a deep red, bringing black and red to the forefront without evoking the RAF label of the red star and gun. The photographs on the warrant posters evoke emotions in Germany that appeal to a mass audience. They represent traces of a culture of fear of a group that was successful in uprooting West-German society and stifling the student movement as well as revolutionary chic icons – hip, young, good-looking, sexy revolutionary pop stars who wore designer clothes and leather jackets, broke out of jail, had sex, stole Porsches, BMWs (Baader-Meinhof Wagon) and Mercedes and, generally, bucked the system.

Edel and producer Eichinger are both clearly invested in the United States film industry and *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* is also significant in that it is the first film about the RAF to appeal to an American audience. In a post 9/11 climate, it might be difficult to explain to an American audience how a large group of people could feel sympathy for a group of terrorists – how there could be truths other than that they were enemies of the state, and how the person feeling sympathetic might not be a terrorist for feeling this way. With this in mind, Edel and Eichinger were very cautious in the post-film and pre academy-award talks to state that they do not condone terrorism and that it is not their intention to glorify it by allowing these enemies of the state to be played by Germany's sexiest actors. And yet, they were using the Zeitgeist of hope and change connected to the election of Barack Obama to peddle their film, which is demonstrated in the film poster for the US release of *The Baader-Meinhof Complex*, whose visual message had been translated into a context that was readily accessible and understandable in the United States.

The new poster re-crafted in the new visual language of revolutionary chic and was designed by artist Shepard Fairey who is well known for his graphic underground style and the Obey label, whose motto is "Manufacturing Quality Dissent since 1989." On the website, Fairey has released a "Manifesto" from 1990 in which he outlines the famous Obey sticker campaign as an experiment in Heideggerian phenomenology in which the sticker, which has no meaning, "exists only to cause people to react, to contemplate and search for meaning in the sticker." He also writes that the people who usually embrace the sticker are those who "are (or at least want to seem to be) rebellious. Even though they may not know the meaning of the sticker, they enjoy its slightly disruptive underground quality and wish to contribute to the furthering of its humorous and absurd presence which seems to somehow be antiestablishment/societal convention."[282] Fairey's movie poster for *The Baader-Meinhof Complex* depicts a black, spray-painted, stencil-like design of the actors for Baader and Ensslin in sunglasses with a handgun who are layered over still images from the film of students at the Vietnam Conference, in a communal apartment, and at the demonstrations against the Springer press. In 2009, when *The Baader-Meinhof Complex* was released in the United States, Fairey was also in the news for his controversial design of the highly circulated red, white, and blue print of Barack Obama during Obama's election. By having a poster designed by Fairey, Edel and Eichinger peddle their own message for hope and change to a context especially prepared to resonate with a young American audience.

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[282] Shepard Fairey, *Obey Supply & Demand: The Art of Shepard Fairey*, (Corte Madera, CA: Ginko Press, 2006), 1.

The strategies of using photographs of the RAF in *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, *Todesspiel*, and *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex* demonstrate the significance of these photographs in the representation of the group, its historicization, and its cultural memory and how photographs can be used to enforce certain ideologies. This chapter reveals that the history of the Red Army Faction is the history of its representation and that the trend is just beginning in the United States with films such as *United 93*, a film that allows viewers to *see* what they could not have seen on September 11th.

While some collections of essays that have been addressed in this dissertation exist that are devoted to the relationship between the RAF and 9/11, their connection is expressed in other oblique ways. Gerhard Richter's painting cycle *18. Oktober 1977* (1988) is one of the most famous of these examples. In 1989, the fifteen, gray, blurred photo paintings of RAF terrorists Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Holger Meins and Ulrike Meinhof were exhibited in Krefeld, Germany and met considerable resistance.[283] In 1995, the Museum of Modern Art in New York purchased the paintings and they were moved and exhibited from February to May in 2002. By this time, the paintings – as some of the first and most contentious the public had seen, had garnered a considerable amount of attention. This attention was provoked again in 2004 when the New York MoMA sent two hundred of their masterpieces to the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin, among which was Richter's cycle. Although the cycle was still capable of inciting the public, it was also often referred to as Richter's "coming home." Although

[283] Storr, "Introduction: Sudden Recall," in *Gerhard Richter: October 18, 1977*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2001), 27-39.

these paintings were not featured in this dissertation except in reference to Richter's *Atlas* project, they are relevant in that Richter used media photographs, turned them into paintings, and put them in the museum and that they are ambassadors of the aesthetics of terrorism that travel between Germany and the United States.

Other examples of the way 9/11 and the RAF have informed each other aesthetically include their literary references. Much has been written on the 9/11 and the RAF, but two novelists stand out with regard to the connection between the two – American author Don DeLillo, and his short story *Baader-Meinhof* and novel *Falling Man*, and German author Bernhard Schlink and *Das Wochenende*.[284] DeLillo connects the RAF terrorist with 9/11 in numerous ways and links them to Richter as well. In the short story *Baader-Meinhof*, a man and a woman meet each other at the MoMA and have a conversation about Richter's cycle.[285] In *Falling Man*, one of the main characters is an art dealer who was once a member of Kommune I. DeLillo's novel is not only relevant to this project in that he connects 9/11 and the RAF but also in that he deals with the falling people in the towers and compares the RAF warrant posters with the images of the 9/11 terrorists. In Bernhard Schlink's *Das Wochenende,* a former RAF member is released from prison and his sister invites friends to their house for the weekend to catch up. In addition to many other themes questioning violence, the past,

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[284] DeLillo, Don. *Falling Man*. (New York: Scribner, 2007); Bernhard Schlink, *Das Wochenende*, (Zürich: Diogenes, 2008).

[285] A thought-provoking article by Linda Kauffman links DeLillo's texts to the RAF and to 9/11. She also mentions a 'rare' essay entitled "In the Ruins of the Future." Linda S. Kaufman, "The Wake of Terror: Don DeLillo's 'In the Ruins of the Future,' 'Baader-Meinhof,' and *Falling Man*," *Modern Fiction Studies* 54/2 (2008): 353-377.

love, desire, memory, and the future, one of the characters, Ilse, begins to write a novel about one of the former RAF whose funeral had a significant impact on her life. Before she begins to write, she thinks about the images of people falling from the towers and about how they could soar, fly, disappear, and start a new life. These images inspire her to write the biography of her late friend. If I were to write another chapter, it would be on these subjects and I look forward to this as a future project.

When I think of what I hope to have accomplished with this project, I am moved by the words of W.J.T. Mitchell, Howard Zinn, and Manon Slome. In *What do Pictures Want: The Lives and Loves of Images*, W.J.T Mitchell posits that we still approach images with pre-modern attitudes despite our understanding of ourselves as modern and rational people. He writes: "In short, we are stuck with our magical, premodern attitudes towards objects, especially pictures, and our task is not to overcome these attitudes but to understand them, to work through their symtomatology."[286] He pleas to let images resound; he wonders what they want and writes: "What pictures want in the last instance, then, is simply to be asked what they want, with the understanding that the answer may well be, nothing at all."[287]

When asked whether we can learn anything from September 11, Howard Zinn writes:

> We have to think about this awful thing that happened on September 11. We need to feel deeply for the victims and the families. But we also need to learn from it. We have to go beyond grief, anger, and fear to learn something from it.

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[286] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want*, (see note 50), 30.

[287] Ibid., 48.

> One of the things we need to learn is to begin to see what people are enduring, and have endured, in every part of the world. To see that as clearly and vividly and with as much emotional reaction as we had when we saw these pictures on television from the Twin Towers.[288]

As cited in the introduction, Manon Slome also has hopes for her project:

> While the art is not didactic, it does, I believe, engage us in a sense of 'critical citizenship' that encourages a rethinking of the crucial role of images in our media-saturated world. When simultaneity of event and image are coupled with the omnipresent fear of war and terror, the image can be used not only for entertainment and information, but as both a weapon and a shield. It is crucial for us to learn to 'see' the difference and resist the demagogic strategies to which a media driven society can be subject.[289]

I cannot speak as to what it is that images want, but it does seem that they are living or, at least, that they are treated as if they are. This project is a plea for visual literacy, to understand the significance of photographs in our lives – in particular photographs of terrorism – and to listen to them, to *see* them, honestly, for what they are, and to engage their aesthetic scope. I hope that they engage us in a sense of "critical citizenship," as Slome outlines, to learn to *see* demagogic strategies and I also hope, like Zinn, that we are able to *see* what other people in the world are enduring "as clearly and vividly and

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[288] Howard Zinn, *Terrorism and War*, ed. Anthony Arnove, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002), 15.

[289] Manon Slome, "The Aesthetics of Terror," in *The Aesthetics of Terror*, ed. Manon Slome and Joshua Simon, (Milan, Italy: Charta, 2009), 29.

with as much emotional reaction as we had when we saw these pictures on television from the Twin Towers."

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