



Ideology and literature: A study of society and literary criticism with special reference to the reception of Heinrich Böll during the 1970's.

Thesis presented by Erika Martens for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Adelaide.

Erika Martens
B.A. Hons, (Adelaide, 1977)

Adelaide, July, 1988

Statement

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published by another person, except where reference is made in the text of this study.

SYNOPSIS:

Ideology and literature: A study of society and literary criticism with special reference to the reception of Heinrich Böll during the 1970's.

This thesis is an attempt to analyse the role the practice of literary criticism plays in the political processes. After an analysis of the social history of German literary criticism from the Enlightenment to the 1970's, I analyse the reception of three major works by Heinrich Böll published during the 1970's. In my analysis I pay particular attention to the manner in which literary criticism, both as media-based and as academy-based practice, functions politically. From the reception analysis I have distilled certain typical forms of criticism which I describe as being characterized by subjectivity hidden under a layer of mechanisms giving the impression of objectivity. This subjectivity enables the institutions in which criticism functions (i.e. the media and academy-based literary criticism) an unproblematic access to continuity of concepts and practices. It also allows for a continuing monopoly on the definition of these concepts and practices by the way the institutions select and approach the texts.

The evidence indicates that the practice of literary criticism in newspapers and academic journals selects certain texts and approaches to texts and disempowers others. This is achieved simultaneously by: first, the

monopoly on the defining of the category 'literature' which literary criticism is able to maintain, second, by the processes of reproduction of the institution literary criticism and third, by the 'signifying' effects of the selection of texts and approaches to texts. All this helps to prove that literary criticism is ideological in nature. This ideological nature of literary criticism as practiced in the FRG during the 1970's on Heinrich Böll's novels is finally demonstrated more firmly in my concluding chapters. Here, I reiterate the positions which the novels are allocated by the critical reception (i.e. the critical classifications they receive) and assess these in terms of the meanings they tend to mobilize and the significance these meanings have to the prevailing political power structure. The need for the institution to reproduce itself drives it to assign values to these literary works which strip them of their capacity for, and purpose to, change social values and political structures. My conclusion, therefore, is that the reception of Böll's work during the 1970's can be described as being constrained by the ideological nature of the reception. The evidence leads to the conclusion that the practice of literary criticism mobilizes 'meanings' which aid the continued asymmetrical distribution of power.

IDEOLOGY AND LITERATURE:

A STUDY OF SOCIETY AND LITERARY CRITICISM WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RECEPTION OF HEINRICH BÖLL
DURING THE 1970'S.

I. INTRODUCTION

- CHAPTER ONE: Approach and definitions of terms 5
- CHAPTER TWO: Historical and political background 35

II.A. SOCIETY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

- CHAPTER THREE: Analysis of the history and social base of literary criticism in the FRG 57

II.B. RECEPTION ANALYSIS

- CHAPTER FOUR: *Gruppenbild mit Dame* 122
- CHAPTER FIVE: *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* 170
- CHAPTER SIX: *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* 214

III. IDEOLOGY AND CRITICISM

- CHAPTER SEVEN: Characteristic forms of criticism 255
- CHAPTER EIGHT: Society, ideology and literary criticism 290

Bibliography

295

PREFACE

Not having lived in the FRG since 1970, I have been able to acquire a different perspective on cultural and political developments there. As a foreigner, I noticed my contradictory feelings about Germany being mirrored by an equivalent reaction of my surroundings to my nationality. During my studies, I often tried to search for answers to the many questions which I and my generation have about the recent history of Germany. The answers which were available from political evaluations such as studies of the politics, history or economics of Germany were never sufficient, nor were those which concentrated on the cultural aspects. Whenever the opportunity presented itself to devote my time to academic work, I chose projects which combined two disciplines and inquired into the connections between the cultural and political fields of experience.

Heinrich Böll, in my view, had expressed the reluctance of parts of the German population to accept the silence under which the volatile questions of responsibility and guilt had been buried after the war. His quiet insistence, that forgetting was impossible and that Germany had squandered the chance to construct a different political and social system after the war, corresponded to my own wishes for a new and open assessment of the German past with a view to social

change. When I found that Böll's reception in Germany had been contradictory, I became very interested to find out why this was so. This interest led me not only to study reception patterns but also the connections between the areas of literary criticism and other fields more often accommodated in the disciplines of politics. I found that the whole gamut of political positions active in the FRG during the 1970's were represented in the reactions to Böll's novels. However, this was not a democratic or open communication, where all points of view had equal weight. The complete dominance, in terms of numbers and status, of those positions which dismissed and marginalized the social relevance of Böll's novels raised questions about the structural, political and social reasons for this imbalance. My project therefore became an analysis of the relationship between ideology and literature, power and literary criticism.

INTRODUCTION

This is an investigation into ^{the} process of critical reception of three novels of Heinrich Böll, *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* and *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* in the 1970's. This is not a study of Heinrich Böll as such and could have been written about any contemporary author. It makes no assumptions about the quality of Heinrich Böll's work and is neutral about the quality of literary evaluation. I chose Heinrich Böll because his work effectively opens up a field of enquiry into the relationships of criticism and society. His work not only contains multifaceted references to political and historical events of high contemporary relevance, but it also challenges the preconceptions of criticism. Often the boundaries between accepted genres and conventions of style- and language-use are challenged.

Since the inception of a public debate about literature in the 18th century up to the debates during the early nineteen seventies, the relationship between literature and politics has been, explicitly or implicitly, part of the formulation of the concept literature and its role in society. The argument which bases the concept 'literature' on some exclusively non-political premises has, in theory, been ousted during the early seventies. The manner in which literary criticism

continues to function institutionally suggests, however, that this relationship has not been internalized. The discourse has not changed its political implication and significations. This thesis is an attempt at pointing towards these political implications and their social consequences.

This thesis attempts to establish that literary criticism is ideological, in the sense that it helps to mobilize meanings and concepts which support the dominance of those assumptions and expectations which maintain and renew an asymmetrical power structure. I will describe this process by an analysis of the reception of three novels by Heinrich Böll. I intend to establish the political and structural situation in which the reception takes place as 'institutional'. As such it selects and promotes certain practices which reproduce the institution. The potential for a debate about necessary social change which the novels by Böll contain and which is recognized and sometimes emphasized by parts of the reception, is weakened by certain methods and approaches which are characteristic and dominant in the reception. This dominance of a characteristic approach and method is traditional and can be traced back through the social history of literary criticism. The relevant characteristic traits of literary criticism could be called the philosophy of criticism. The analysis of the social history of criticism unveils the philosophical and social roots of the practice in the attempts of ruling

intellectual elites to maintain intellectual dominance and superiority as well as social isolation from the wider mass of the population. Apart from the aims of some of the Enlightenment critics and those of the theories of Benjamin and Brecht, there has not been a philosophy of criticism which was disinterested in the maintenance of the separation between a small group and the much larger ~~populus~~ with the small 'knowledgeable' group defining, fixing and dominating 'meaning'. This process of mobilizing meaning which tends to support the maintenance of the social status quo, is always only partly successful at any one time.

In the actual case of reception in the FRG during the 1970's, one must see the social upheaval and political power shifts as the background in relation to which the reception occurred. The political processes on an international scale, the intended internal political reforms of the SPD and the intense debate on internal security forced on the country by the terrorist threat all left an impression on the reception. Within that dynamic it is all the more important and interesting to analyse the role which literary criticism plays in terms of a maintenance or disruption of those ideological assumptions about key social issues which support asymmetrical power relations. Böll's novels provided ample opportunity for a public discussion of many of these issues. His non-literary activities also challenged traditional conceptions. The study of the reception of

his books [~~reception~~] became, then, a guide to the methods and approaches by which ideology was active in literary criticism in the FRG during the 1970's.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to analyse what is commonly referred to as 'literary reception'. I want to argue that literary reception is a cultural practice with political implications which can be understood if it is examined using the analytical devices set out by recent developments in the theory of language and the theory of ideology.

This introduction sets out the relevant aspects of these theoretical developments. After a brief outline of the wider social theory within which my study is situated, the concept 'ideology' will be defined and its relevance for this study established.

This chapter will then (1) consider the social production of what we know as 'reality' and 'meaning' in our society, (2) explore the relationship between ideology, language and literature, (3) discuss the relationship between power and language as this is relevant to literature and its reception. I argue that literature and its reception are a fruitful area for an examination of the ideological role cultural practices play in maintaining or undermining of a given social power structure. The core of this study is a detailed consideration of the reception, exemplified in

contemporary FRG literary criticism, of three novels by Heinrich Böll in the 1970's.

The bulk of material for this study was collected during a research trip to the FRG during 1985. I was able to use the considerable collection of newspaper clippings in the Böll-Archive in Cologne with the kind permission and encouragement of Victor Böll, its curator. I also benefited from the resources of libraries in Cologne, Bonn, Marbach, Frankfurt and Bielefeld. Various trips to the FRG during 1983 to interview publishers and to observe the processes of the book-market during the Frankfurt Book Fair gave me some background knowledge of the economics of publishing.

1. Social theory

My approach has been informed by the theories and concepts of Marxism. Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95) visualized history as a process rooted in human material needs. The essential characteristics of historical evolution are seen as a product of the modes and relationships of production which in the last analysis determine the nature of each historical epoch. The Marxist approach centres on the notion that the divisions between classes, nations, races or sexes are based on social relations, which enable one class to extract surplus labour (value) from the labour of

another. Marx wrote in the preface to: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*:

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their¹ social being that determines their consciousness.

In capitalism this relationship is expressed in the wage contract or in similar arrangements between those who own the means of production and those who have to sell their labour power. The characteristic condition for the non-owners of the means of production is that they have no acceptable alternative but to enter into this contract if they wish to subsist.

¹ In der gesellschaftlichen Produktion ihres Lebens gehen die Menschen bestimmte, notwendige, von ihrem Willen unabhängige Verhältnisse ein, Produktionsverhältnisse, die einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe ihrer materiellen Produktivkräfte entsprechen. Die Gesamtheit dieser Produktionsverhältnisse bildet die ökonomische Struktur der Gesellschaft, die reale Basis, worauf sich ein juristischer und politischer Überbau erhebt, und welchen bestimmte gesellschaftliche Bewusstseinsformen entsprechen. Die Produktionsweise des materiellen Lebens bedingt den sozialen, politischen und geistigen Lebensprozess überhaupt. Es ist nicht das Bewusstsein der Menschen, das ihr Sein, sondern umgekehrt ihr gesellschaftliches Sein, das ihr Bewusstsein bestimmt. Marx, K.: 'Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie' Vorwort, in: Marx, K. & Engels, F.: *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Bd. 1, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951, p.335-6. Translation quoted from English Edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p.181

The domination of one group or class by another must, however, be seen as constituted by more than just economic factors. The stress on the determination of consciousness by the 'social being' has led to the notion of an economic determinism which was, however, rejected by both Marx and Engels. In a letter to Franz Mehring, Engels writes that he feels both he and Marx had neglected to clarify the complexities of the relationship between the economic and ideological processes:

Otherwise, there is only one point lacking which, however, Marx and I always failed to stress enough in our writings and in regard to which we are all equally guilty. That is to say, we all laid, and were bound to lay, the main emphasis, in the first place, on the derivation of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But in so doing we neglected the formal side - the ways and means by which these notions, etc., come about - for the sake of the content. This has given our adversaries a welcome opportunity for misunderstandings and distortions.²

In connection with this is the fatuous notion of the ideologist that, because we deny an independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a part in history, we also deny them any *effect upon history*. The basis of this is the common undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, the total disregarding of interaction. These gentlemen often (almost deliberately) forget that once a historic element has been brought into the world by other, ultimately economic causes, it reacts, can react on its environment and even on the causes that have given rise to it.³

They saw literature, as part of the superstructure, playing an important social role, and therefore pleaded

² Engels, F.: Letter to Franz Mehring, quoted from: Baxandell, L. and Morawski, S.: *Marx and Engels on Literature and Art*, Tebs Press, St. Louis/Milwaukee, 1973, p.99.

³ *ibid.* p.101

for a truly 'tendentious' literature, which was aware of its historical role. Stefan Morawski describes their contribution to a new understanding of the priorities among the values embodied by art:

They found a new solution to the old dilemma which saw art at once dying out and providing hope and comfort to a presently suffering humanity. The achievement of *homo aestheticus* could be anticipated, Marx thought, but a radical socio-political change in the situation of the species would be required. In this particular sense, the artist had to make a choice. Would he bemuse himself in an ivory tower, or participate in revolutionary progress by accepting its vicissitudes? Tendentiousness acquires a new meaning in Marx and Engels, not found among their forerunners. *Tendenz* is recast in the context of the Marxian world view, and historical reality itself is described as 'tendentious'.

Ideology here comes to be considered a component of artistic choice and discrimination. The nature of a profound and true tendentiousness is to further refine and shape the artistic-cognitive values united within the aesthetic entity. Or again, the genesis of aesthetic sensibility is newly interpreted by reference to dialectical and historical materialism. And the transformation of *homo faber* into *homo ludens* is seen as a profoundly social phenomenon, so much so that even the process of art's⁴ autonomization has to be seen historically.

The areas Marx and Engels refer to as 'superstructure' and 'social consciousness' have increasingly become the object of many studies. The manner in which these areas help to sustain or break through the relations of power and the degree to which they can be seen as independent of or determined by the economic structures can be seen as central questions. Antonio Gramsci was one of the first Marxists to argue against the assumption of an unproblematic dominance of

⁴ *ibid.* p.46

the economic base over the superstructure. Criticizing the manner in which the use of the term 'ideology' had become vague and negative, he wrote...

The process leading up to this error can be easily reconstructed:

1. ideology is identified as distinct from structure, and it is asserted that it is not ideology that changes the structures but vice versa;
2. it is asserted that a given political solution is "ideology" - i.e. that it is not sufficient to change the structure, although it thinks that it can do so; it is asserted that it is useless, stupid etc.
3. one then passes to the assertion that every ideology is "pure" appearance, useless, stupid. etc. One must therefore distinguish between historically organic ideologies, those, that is, which are necessary to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, or "willed".⁵

Gramsci rejects the notion that ideology is a mere epiphenomenon of a structure of economic domination and that the development of 'structure' is not influenced by ideological factors. He conceives of ideology as more than just appearance. It is something real and material and quite vital in the constitution of society:

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological". They "organize" human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.⁶

He sees, then, what Althusser later spelt out in a different approach: that consciousness is not independent of the social context but must be seen as in part

⁵ Gramsci, A.: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, p.376-7, See also pp.407-9

⁶ *ibid* p.377

constituted, in part conditioned by social relations, as such always partially pre-given and acquired by the subject through ideology. In this, he followed Marx and Engels who had, however, never treated this point in detail.

His concept of ideology covers both "historically necessary" ideology and "arbitrary" ideology. For him, ideology is a battlefield where various groups struggle for hegemony. Hegemony, the central concept in Gramsci's work, must be understood as the domination of one social group in a given society, not just economically but also politically, intellectually and morally to such an extent that it has saturated every aspect of society. This domination is so encompassing that it is accepted as 'common sense' and part of the natural order even by those who might in fact be subordinated to it. For Gramsci, then, a revolution means not merely a transference of economic and political power to the masses, but the creation of an alternative hegemony through new forms of experience and consciousness. There are, however, two possible ways in which hegemony can be achieved or maintained. One Gramsci sees as positive and as the legitimate aim of the socialist movement, that of *expansive hegemony*. This concept has been described as a "creation of an active, direct consensus resulting from the genuine adoption of the interests of the popular classes by the hegemonic class, which would give rise to

the creation of a genuine 'national-popular will'".⁷ The negative manner of exercising hegemony is by 'transformism'. This is described as a "gradual but continuous absorption .. of the active elements produced by allied groups. In this sense political leadership becomes ... merely an aspect of domination".⁸ This produces a "passive consensus" and excludes large sectors of the popular classes. It lacks the vitality of true expansive hegemony and maintains the undemocratic, even oppressive, characteristics of the hegemony which it replaced.

Two aspects of these Gramscian concepts are particularly relevant here:

1. the central importance of what Gramsci calls 'ideology' in the constitution of society and its central position in relation to hegemony.

2. the critically described maintenance of hegemony through 'transformism' by the absorption and neutralization of the interests of groups not in a dominant position.

As I intend to assess the political role of a social practice usually categorized as 'non-economic' or 'cultural', the theoretical position of this practice in relation to the constitution of society with all its characteristics is vitally important. The manner in which the maintenance of the relations of domination is served

7 Mouffe, C.: 'Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci', in: Bennett, T. et al (eds): *Culture, Ideology and the Social Process*, Open University Press, 1981, p.223

8 Gramsci, A.: op.cit. p.59

by non-economic social practices becomes the key area of analysis if these relations of domination are to be abolished. Raymond Williams honours Gramsci's contribution to Marxism for those reasons:

It is Gramsci's great contribution to have emphasized hegemony, and also to have understood it at a depth which I think is rare. For hegemony supposes the existence of something which is truly total, which is not merely secondary or superstructural, like the weak sense of ideology, but which is lived at such a depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, and which, as Gramsci put it, even constitutes the substance and limit of common sense for most people under its sway, that it corresponds to the reality of social experience very much more clearly than any notion derived from the formula of base and superstructure. For if ideology were merely some abstract, imposed set of notions, if our social and political and cultural ideas and assumptions and habits were merely the result of specific manipulation, of a kind of overt training which might be simply ended or withdrawn, then the society would be much easier to move and to change than in practice it has ever been or is. This notion of hegemony as deeply saturating the consciousness of a society seems to me to be fundamental. And hegemony has the advantage over general notions of totality, that it at the same time emphasizes the facts of domination.

Before discussing the details of my definition of the concept of 'ideology', let me restate the essence of the social theory relevant to this thesis: taking the Marxist notion of the extraction of surplus labour by one class from the labour of another as characterizing the very basic relations of capitalist society, my approach emphasizes the importance of certain non-economic processes and practices in the maintenance or undermining of these relations. Even though I agree with the Marxist

⁹ Williams, R.: *Problems in Materialism*, Verso, London, 1980 p.37

notion that "the mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general", I nevertheless accept Gramsci's description of hegemony, as a body of practices and expectations whose domination is truly total. I conceive, then, of 'ideology' as having very basic effects in our society which play a decisive role in shaping action and consciousness.

2. Ideology

A definition of the concept of 'ideology' is essential for the following analysis. A definition which understands ideology as being part of the material social processes by which society is produced and reproduced seems necessary, as it opens up the question of the social relevance of cultural practices. Williams mentions three possible general definitions for ideology: (1) a system of beliefs of one class or group, (2) a system of illusory beliefs, (3) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas.¹⁰ Combinations and variations of all three are possible. Bakhtin and Medvedev see the concept as having much wider relevance:

Social man is surrounded by ideological phenomena, by object signs of various types and categories: by words in the multifarious forms of their realization (sounds, writing, and others), by scientific statements, religious symbols and beliefs, works of art, and so on. All of these things in their totality comprise the ideological environment, which forms a solid ring round man. And man's

¹⁰ *ibid.* p.55

consciousness, lives and develops in this environment.¹¹

This is a very wide and general concept which posits ideology as an area where certain processes happen. It is as such value-free and does not include any notion of interest or power. It is necessary to include a notion of interest in the definition of ideology, as my concerns are with the unequal distribution of power in our society. In whose interest does ideology function? If we use Williams' first general definition, this question can be implied, but requires further definition, namely one that specifies the concept 'class' or 'group'. For the purpose of this study 'class' will be understood to refer to the position in relation to the ownership and control of the means of production which one group in a society holds. Ideology must be seen as neither homogeneous nor static. Ideological patterns have, differing consequences for the different classes in any one society. From this it follows that certain ideological practices will become more dominant than others as they support or oppose the social positions of classes. Depending on how the concept 'ideology' is conceived, the notion of interest will force a division of the term into various sub-groups. There can then co-exist in one society a dominant ideology corresponding to the dominant economic practice, together with various

¹¹ Bakhtin, M.M. and Medvedev, P.N.: 'The Formal Method and the Sociological Method', in: Volosinov, V.N.: *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, Seminar Press, New York, 1973, p.14

other ideologies which may be classified, in Williams' terminology, as either emergent or residual, as incorporated or not, and as oppositional or alternative to the dominant ideology.

Used in this fashion, the concept 'ideology' covers both those practices which support the continuation of the dominant power structure and those which do not. In this manner 'ideology' becomes a neutral, value-free term which cannot function as a tool for a critique of one particular social practice unless it is specifically related to its class base. John E. Thompson suggests a very interesting manner in which the concept can regain its original critical edge. In his view, it has always remained a negatively charged term, having been mostly used to describe the views of the 'other'.¹²

In contrast to Williams, who attributes to ideology a stabilizing influence on the social structure, and to Eagleton who suggests ideology could be seen as indicating "the link or nexus between discourse and power", Thompson argues that our societies do not gain their social stability through a set of commonly held values and beliefs (i.e. a general ideology), but that it is through the absence of such commonly held values and the concomitant inability of social groups to agree on aims and political action that our social system ensures

¹² Thompson, J. E.: *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1984, p.1; Eagleton, T.: *Literary Theory*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983, p.211

the continuation of its basic social characteristics.¹³ Ideology, in Thompson's view, does not produce these binding and commonly shared values and beliefs which are often seen as lying at the base of the reproduction of the social system. He reserves the term only for those practices which mobilize a form of meaning which serves to sustain asymmetrical relations of power.¹⁴ Thompson recommends the study of the manner in which the mobilization of meaning serves the continued domination of one group by another in any social practice as an effective study of ideology. Defined like this, ideology is not merely a distortion of reality or the body of values and beliefs of a particular group. It becomes a specific analytical tool used for the purposes of a critique of a particular practice. It is this more specialized usage of the concept 'ideology' that I will be using throughout my thesis.

3. Reality and meaning

The mobilization of meaning in our society really refers to a change of meaning because meaning as such is always already present in language. Language has developed at the same time as society and thus pre-exists the socialisation of the individual.¹⁵ It is, however, impossible to reach a total understanding of the reasons

13 Eagleton, T.: *Literary Theory*, op.cit. p.210

14 Thompson, J. E.: *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*, op.cit. p.4, 130, 131

15 Belsey, C.: *Critical Practice*, Methuen, London, 1980, p.42, 44

for the existence of 'change' in our society. The fact that change is the most basic characteristic of life does not need elaborating. It is then perhaps more important to study the patterns of change and their consequences for real people rather than trying to pin-point a beginning. As change must be understood as a never ceasing process, any analysis will necessarily be outdated by the time it is completed. In order for an examination to take place, certain sections of the process must be 'frozen' for identification.

Concepts such as 'meaning', 'reality' and 'common sense' can no longer be taken as unchanging and independent. Since Saussure's concepts of *signifier* and *signified* were introduced, our understanding of language has changed dramatically. The arbitrariness of the relationship between the signifier and the signified opened up the definitions of these terms to the influence of social structures, specifically the historical situation in which they were found, used and interpreted.

As Bakhtin wrote in "The Formal Method":

There is no meaning outside the social communication of understanding, i.e. outside the united and mutually co-ordinated reactions of people to a given sign. Social intercourse is the medium in which the ideological phenomenon first acquires its specific existence, its ideological meaning, its semiotic nature. All ideological things are objects of special intercourse, not objects of individual use, contemplation, emotional experience, or hedonistic pleasure.¹⁶

¹⁶ Bakhtin, M.M. & Medvedev, P.N.: 'The Formal Method and the Sociological Method', op. cit. p.8

The influence that the signifier itself has on our thinking was emphasized by some post-structuralist thinkers. Eagleton describes it like this:

The implication of all this is that language is a much less stable affair than the classical structuralists had considered. Instead of being a well defined, clearly demarcated structure containing symmetrical units of signifiers and signifieds, it now begins to look much more like a sprawling limitless web where there is a constant interchange and circulation of elements, where none of the elements are absolutely definable and everything is caught up and traced through by everything else.¹⁷

This leads, in the hands of some writers, to a position of total non-commitment. They felt that, given that meaning was nothing but a passing, changeable product, taking a position based on some truth or other was impossible as everything was 'relative'. The concepts of language, meaning, and reality were no longer useful to the production of knowledge, as this knowledge itself was again open to the continuous undermining of its meanings by the 'play of signifiers'.

Aiming his biting criticism at the Yale school of deconstruction Eagleton describes this position as follows:

One advantage of the dogma that we are the prisoners of our own discourse, unable to advance reasonably certain truth-claims because such claims are merely relative to our language, is that it allows you to drive a coach and horse through everybody else's beliefs while not saddling you with the

¹⁷ Eagleton, T.: *Literary Theory*, op.cit. p.129

inconvenience of having to adopt any yourself. It is, in effect, an invulnerable position, and the fact that it is also purely empty is simply the price one has to pay for this. The view that the most significant aspect of any piece of language is that it does not know what it is talking about smacks of a jaded resignation to the impossibility of truth which is by no means unrelated to post-1968 historical disillusion.¹⁸

The Yale school position is unacceptable to me, because it has lost sight of some of the fundamental emphases, namely those of intention and domination. This reminds us of the fact that we are speaking not of an abstract system but of a concrete process which affects real people in historically definable situations and which is acted out by individuals with various particular interests. The so called 'free-play of signifiers' is in a concrete situation not so very free. A selection takes place, through the favouring of certain meanings over others. Williams calls this process "the selective tradition". He sees it as part of the process of incorporation, which is a characteristic feature of hegemony.

Moreover, at the philosophical level, at the true level of theory and at the level of the history of various practices, there is a process which I call the *selective tradition*: that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as 'the tradition', 'the significant past'.

But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Even more crucially, some of these meanings and practices are reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least

18 *ibid.* p.144/5

do not contradict other¹⁹ elements within the effective dominant culture.

This process is fundamental to the understanding of the political nature of the study of culture. With this consideration the relationship between power and language is touched upon.

I have already mentioned two elements of the Saussurean theory: language is made up of differences and not of a system of names for concepts which exist independently of their names. The other element is that language is a social fact, dependent on a social group for its functionality. The combination of these two factors often creates the impression that language is referring to the real world because convention has proved the seeming inseparability of signifier and signified in one community. Catherine Belsey makes the point in *Critical Practice*, that because language develops together with a society, it is often overlooked as a separate element and is assumed to be constructing differences which "seem to be natural, universal and unalterable".²⁰ Ideology is inscribed in language.

This becomes very important in the case of different class interests inside what Volosinov calls a 'common sign community' i.e. one language.

¹⁹ Williams, R.: op. cit. p.39

²⁰ Belsey, C.: op. cit. p.42

As a result, differently oriented accents intersect in every ideological sign. Sign becomes an arena of the class struggle.²¹

Volosinov sees the vitality of the sign preserved by this participation in the class struggle, but at the same time this gives it the capacity to distort, it has Janus-like characteristics. The sign itself is the battlefield:

The ruling class strives to impart a supraclass, eternal character to the ideological sign, to extinguish or drive inward, the struggle between social value judgments, which occurs in it, to make the sign uniaccental.²²

This describes some of the effects of hegemonic domination, namely the acceptance as natural, eternal, fundamental of words and concepts describing an experientially and socially very limited 'reality'. This reality is conceived of from the point of view of the dominant class, but leaves no room for the expression or even experience of a different reality which might contradict the dominant conception. The close relationship between language and thought effectively curtails the theoretically limitless creativity and productivity of language. We learn the thought patterns with the language and as language pre-exists our individuality, we are necessarily socialized by the dominant structures of language and thought. The dominant culture has therefore two powerful supports: the close relationship between language and thought and the

²¹ Volosinov, V.N.: op. cit. p.23

²³ Volosinov, V.N.: *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, Seminar Press, New York/London, 1973, p.23

limiting effect of convention on the creativity of language. What role literature plays in this constellation will need to be discussed next.

4. Literature, language, ideology

From the 18th century on, the term 'literature' started to refer to more than just the ability to read. It "became an apparently objective category of printed works of a certain quality".²³ The term 'literature' and the related term 'literary criticism' have since their earliest extended use suffered from a certain vagueness and concomitant elitism.²⁴ Williams makes this point:

'Literature', (...) was a category of use and condition rather than of production. It was a particular specialization of what had hitherto been seen as an activity or practice, and a specialization, in the circumstances, which was inevitably made in terms of social class. In its first extended sense, beyond the bare sense of 'literacy', it was a definition of 'polite' or 'humane' learning, and thus specified a particular social distinction.²⁵

The general meaning of the term is 'that which is written' referring in our Western society, to texts, mostly in book form, having an imaginative subject matter.²⁶ 'Literature' can be defined as referring to the range of writing which for some reasons has attracted the label 'literature'. It does not exist as an actual group

²³ Williams, R.: *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, op.cit. p.48

²⁴ Williams, R.: Op. cit. p.49

²⁵ *ibid.* p.47

²⁶ Williams, R.: *Keywords*, Fontana/Croom Helm, Glasgow, 1976, p.154

of texts but is an abstracted notion used as a measure for evaluation and criticism. When looking at the wide diversity of writing which has been called literature, it quickly becomes apparent that the works and their characteristics have in common only one thing: they are considered worthy by somebody to be called literature. This classification is, however, not permanent, as a text which is considered to deserve the label can be judged no longer worthy of it in the course of its history or a text which has existed 'unnoticed' and unacclaimed for decades can suddenly be 'discovered' anew and henceforth be included. This process was studied by the Russian Formalists, who attempted to find those attributes in texts which constituted 'literariness'.²⁷ They found that there were no intrinsic traits which could be isolated in any given text or series of texts in order to establish its 'literariness'. This phenomenon was found to be the result of a relationship between the text and its properties and other cultural and ideological forms.²⁸

Through the process of convention which is basic to all terms and without which there could be no language as such, the category 'literature' has developed into a concept which people feel they understand in everyday usage to mean simply 'fine writing'. The exact characteristics of this category might be decided by considerations of 'taste', 'the aesthetic' or 'truth'. In

²⁷ Bennett, T.: *Formalism and Marxism*, Methuen, London, 1979, p.34-35, Eagleton, T.: *Literary Theory*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983, p.5

²⁸ Bennett, T.: *op.cit.* p.50

the discourse of literary criticism the term 'literature' is at the centre of many heated debates between different factions, fighting for and against the right of texts to be described by it.

The process which attaches the label 'literature' to a text is indefinable except by its outcome.²⁹ Texts have been termed 'literature' for their subject matter, for their language, for their effect, for their origin, for their history and no doubt for their covers and price tags. 'Literature' then is an empty category which is filled with meaning only in the context of social and material reality. One of the central aims of this thesis is to establish what it means for a text to be termed 'literature' or not, and what this means for the discourse about literature. For the purposes of this thesis, then, 'literature' is an historically variable notion based not on actual material texts but on judgments made on such texts which classify them hierarchically. The process of and functioning of this classification will be a central theme of this thesis.

From the discussion so far it is obvious that the term 'literature' is heavily loaded with value judgments. The common division between so called 'high-brow' and 'middle-brow' literature, the exclusion of so called 'entertainment genres' such as the detective story, adventure tale etc. from the category, imply that a

²⁹ Wolff, J.: *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1983, p.14

certain value is seen to be present in the works called 'literature'. What this value consists of is, as we have already seen from the diversity of the texts described as literature, very hard to define. The fact, however, that a value is seen to be attached to the term, carries an important consequence: the work which has been described as 'literature' in the context of other texts which fail to attract this label, has a much higher esteem and thus its characteristics can play an influential role in the formation of concepts, values and definitions.

One could assume that the sorting of texts into groups called 'literature' and 'non-literature' is a process which happens independent of people's intentions. The contrary is the case. People make concrete decisions and these decisions have intentions and consequences in the constant formation and changing of our culture.

This is the area where the discussion concerning the definition of literature becomes decisive in relation to society at large. The application of value judgments which single out one group of writing is in itself not elitist, but it may become so when this group of writing is then favoured in the formation and application of concepts which are then given general validity. The high prestige which a text called literature has, is achieved through the workings of what could be termed the 'literary institution'. An institution in this context is understood to be a set of social practices which is

widespread, has long standing rules and traditions and is able to generate and maintain resources.³⁰ The specifically literary institution can be described as those practices which relate to literature: the processes which select the literary canon, the literary teaching institutions, literary book markets, book clubs, literary societies, literary pages and programmes in the media, prizes and many more. The fact that a relatively small percentage of the book trade is taken up by so-called 'high-brow' literature may give the impression that the study of its selection processes is irrelevant. The statistics of Fohrbeck and Wiesand are interesting:

The *share of fiction in book production*, frequently assessed as an index of the literary climate of a country, is in no position to correct pessimistic estimates: 17.5% of the titles published at present fall into this category; after removing detective stories, translations, story periodicals and so on, the share of those which can be described as "highbrow" German literature would still be about 5%.³¹

In 1971 it was established that only 4% of leisure used in *enjoyment of the media* was covered by the reading of books and more recent enquires have actually concluded that book reading in leisure time is decreasing (in contrast to theatre-going which has clearly been gaining in attractiveness in recent times). The trend observable also in relation to library use, according to which books are increasingly becoming a medium important to people's *occupation, study, and education*, that is for fields outside leisure.³²

Only about 10% of the public buy books regularly, and these belong almost entirely to the

30 Thompson, John, E.: 'The theory of structuration', *Studies in the theory of ideology*, Polity Press, Cambridge 1984, p.154

31 Wiesand, A.J and Fohrbeck, K.: *Literature and the Public in the FRG*, Hanser, Munich, 1976, p.63

32 Wiesand and Fohrbeck, op. cit. p.66,67

higher education and higher income groups. People of this class may subscribe to a local daily, but their cultural and literary standards are formed by the big national dailies and weeklies and/or by technical and specialized journals.³³

These statistics say nothing about the influence the selected texts and the fact that these and not other texts were selected, have on the wider social field.³⁴ The share in the book market and the time spent on actual reading of highbrow literature are the only quantitatively measurable practices relating to literature. This fact should, however, not lead to an overemphasizing of their importance.³⁵ 'Literature' is part of a wide system of communication and signification which is characteristic of our society. Although participated in by only a small percentage of people, literature affects the whole of society through the institution which has grown around it. Literary criticism, literary studies and 'reading' as such are activities which, by the labeling of texts, result in the forming of concepts, trends, expectations and attitudes which are central to the understanding and functioning of our society. The fact that these activities are more characteristic of the educated middle class is, in this context, only an indication of their restricted origin, not of their restricted effect. All classes are affected by the value-setting effect of

33 *ibid.* p.81

34 This question has so far stayed outside the inquiries into the mechanisms of literary criticism. See: Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmen der Literaturkritik', in: Fischer, L. (Hrsg.): *Literatur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, dtv, München, 1986, p.626

35 Michaelis, T.: *ibid.*

literature and its institution. In that respect literature can be described as powerful.

I would like to argue that the literary institution, owing to its intimate connection with language and with the formation of attitudes and concepts, has a key position amongst other cultural practices in our society. The mobilization of meaning is a very complex process. Here I would merely like to stress that texts classified as 'literature' have, because of the power residing in the literary institution, a higher degree of access to the mobilization of meaning than other texts. This is what makes the study of literary practices so important.³⁶

Helmut Kreuzer makes this point:

Even though today (book) 'literature' in the normative (and traditional) meaning and literary acceptance are surely less important in the cultural system of the FRG than say around the turn of the century, today's authors and publishers can nevertheless not be indifferent to the 'literary success' of a work; and the institutionalized selection of 'accepted literature' still has considerable consequences for society today: they manifest themselves for example in the political influence of famous authors (for example Günther Grass), in the performance programmes of state subsidized theatres, the cultural programmes of TV-stations, the topics covered in the literary pages, the acquisitions of public libraries, the seminar texts at universities and last but not least in the curricula and text books of schools (and with that in the intellectual³⁷ "programming" of whole generations of pupils).

33 Eagleton, I.: *Literary Theory*, op.cit. p.210

37 'Obwohl die (Buch-) 'Literatur' im normativen (und traditionellen) Begriffssinn und die literarische Anerkennung heute, im kulturellen System der BRD, sicherlich von geringerer Bedeutung sind als etwa um die Jahrhundertwende, so kann doch auch heutigen Autoren wie Verlegern der 'literarische Erfolg' eines Werkes nicht

5. Power and language

Literature is in a key position to break through conventionality. In fact, however, its function is mainly one of support:

Yet most writing, in any period, including our own, is a form of contribution to the effective dominant culture. Indeed many of the specific qualities of literature, its capacity to embody and enact and perform certain meanings and values, or to create in single particular ways what would be otherwise merely general truths - enable it to fulfill this function with great power.³⁸

Literary production is only finalized once the text has been consumed. Literary reception in the form of literary criticism plays a significant role in the manner a literary work can become effective. Indeed there is room to argue that literary works do not exist in object form but are always in need of being 're-produced'. Williams uses the term 'notation' for the unreceived state of literary or other art work.³⁹

gleichgültig sein, und die institutionalisierte Auswahl von 'anerkannter Literatur' hat für die Gesellschaft im Ganzen nach wie vor noch beträchtliche Konsequenzen: Sie manifestieren sich z.B. im politischen Einfluss bekannter Autoren (ein Beispiel Günter Grass), in den Spielplänen der subventionierten Theater, den Kulturprogrammen des Fernsehens, den Themen der Feuilletonspalten, den Anschaffungen der öffentlichen Bibliotheken, den Seminartexten der Universitäten, nicht zuletzt in den Lehrplänen und Lesebüchern der Schulen (und damit in der geistigen 'Programmierung' ganzer Schülergenerationen).'
 Kreuzer, H.: *Veränderungen des Literaturbegriffs*,
 Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1975 p.67

38 Williams, R.: *Problems in Materialism and Culture*,
 op.cit. p.45

39 *ibid.* p.47

Literary criticism has developed in order that the 'reading' and thus the reception of literary works be taught. In Germany it was originally limited to the interpretation of the scriptures, and became a non-clerical discipline with the arrival of the acceptance of the national language for church and court dealings. In modern society it has developed into a powerful institution.

Literary criticism selects, processes, corrects and rewrites texts in accordance with certain institutionalized norms of the 'literary' - norms which are at any given time arguable, and always historically variable.⁴⁰

Eagleton goes on to remind us that this discipline has no determinate subject because it has proved impossible to define 'literature'. It does, however, have strict rules in the area of method and content:

Its apparent generosity at the level of the signified is matched only by its⁴¹ sectarian intolerance at the level of the signifier.

The exact exercise of power is described so succinctly here that it seems best to quote at length:

The power of critical discourse moves on several levels. It is the power of 'policing' language of determining that certain statements must be excluded because they do not conform to what is acceptably sayable. It is the power of policing writing itself, classifying it into the 'literary' and 'non-literary', the enduringly great and ephemerally popular. It is the power of authority *vis-a-vis*

40 Eagleton, T.: *Literary Theory*, op.cit. p.203

41 *ibid.* p.203

others - the power-relations between those who define and reserve the discourse, and those who are selectively admitted to it. It is the power of the certificating or non-certificating those who have been judged to speak the discourse better or worse. Finally, it is a question of the power relations between the literary-academic institution, where all of this occurs, and the ruling power-interests of society at large, whose ideological needs will be served and whose personnel will be reproduced by the preservation and controlled extension of the discourse in question.⁴²

The social functioning of both 'literature' and its institution, literary criticism, is very fundamentally tied to the hegemonic control over the socially produced conceptions of what is regarded as 'normal', 'natural', 'real' in our society. The manner in which meaning is encapsulated in ideological processes and practices lies at the base of my concerns.

Everything ideological possesses meaning: it represents, depicts, or stands for something lying outside itself. In other words, it is a sign. Without signs, there is no ideology.⁴³

This process of 'signification' is central to any social study as it provides the conceptual link between the areas of theory and those of material practice, as Williams points out:

... some form of this emphasis on signification as a central social process is necessary .. For the practical links between 'ideas' and 'theories' and the 'production of real life' are in this material social process of signification itself.⁴⁴

42 *ibid.* p.203

43 Volosinov, V.N.: *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, op.cit. p.9

44 Williams, R.: *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, op.cit. p.70

The basis on which this thesis has been conceived is that a critical inquiry into the practices of literary criticism could bring forth some measure of clarity about the manner in which cultural practices relate to the maintenance or disruption of the social relations of domination in our society. It is not a piece of literary criticism or a political analysis of the literary means of production, but a study of the political functioning of the reception of some contemporary German Federal Republican novels.

Within the wider social theory of Marxism, I conceive of ideology as having very basic effects in our society which play a decisive role in shaping action and consciousness. Ideology can be conceived of as the manner in which meanings are mobilized to support the asymmetrical distribution of power in a given society. The hold which the dominant class has on the defining and fixing of 'reality' is supported by the closeness of language to thought, and the limiting effects of convention on the creativity of language. Literature, though potentially able to break through the restraints of convention, is often contained by the activities of the literary institution which selects from the available texts and potential 'readings' of these texts those which will form the 'significant tradition'. The forms of this significant tradition will be reproduced through the

activities of the literary institution and will thus continue to dominate. The social functioning of literature and the literary institution is fundamentally tied to the mobilization of significant levels of meaning in our society. The intimate connection between the level of 'signification' and the 'production of real life' makes a study of the social functioning of cultural processes necessary.

Before the analysis of cultural processes, as illustrated by the history of literary criticism and the reception patterns of contemporary novels in the FRG can be started, the social, political and cultural structures and their dynamic during the 1970's must be described.



CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION
IN THE FRG IN THE 70'S

As established in chapter one, the political functioning of cultural practises can be established if certain approaches to the study of language, ideology and culture are used. The following chapter will give an account of the political, social and cultural situation of the FRG at the time relevant to the reception of the three novels I wish to analyse.

The reception of *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* and *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* cannot be analysed without detailed consideration of the time in which they were written and received, as both the social/political as well as the specifically journalistic and literary/academic situations in which a book is produced and received are influential in shaping the history of its reception. After these three areas have been analysed for the time of publication of *Gruppenbild mit Dame* (1971), *Die Verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* (1974) and *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* (1979), the history of literary criticism in Germany and finally the reception patterns themselves can be looked at. In the following, I will not be referring to Heinrich Böll and his public appearances or his political activities. He was naturally part of these developments, but as I wished to establish

a generally valid background for my later analysis I excluded Heinrich Böll's activities at this stage. The reception analysis, Chapters Four, Five and Six, is introduced by sections describing Heinrich Böll's position as a public figure as reported by the news media of these years because it is relevant in that specific context to establish Böll's role in the public arena.

The social-political situation of the FRG in the early seventies was characterized internationally by the efforts of the new Social/Liberal coalition to normalize relations with the Eastern powers, and, nationally, by its attempt to introduce a higher level of democracy into the social, legal and educational institutions. In the field of media politics, it tried to stem the growing trend towards the concentration of press ownership in fewer and fewer hands.¹

The treaties with the USSR and Poland, the talks between the two German heads of state in Erfurt and Kassel in 1970 and the treaty between the FRG and the GDR in 1972/3 and the CSSR, Rumania and Bulgaria in 1973 are clear indications of the international aims of the coalition. The internal political pressure these policies put on the already small, parliamentary base was considerable. Erich Mende, the leader of the FDP, switched over to the CDU in protest against the 'East-

¹ Wiesand, A.J. and Fohrbeck, K.: *Literature and the Public in the FRG*, Hanser, Munich, 1976, p.80; Wilharm, I. (Hrsg.): *Deutsche Geschichte, 1962-1983*, Bd.2, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1985 p.25,36

Treaties' in 1970.² During the next two years the erosion of the parliamentary majority by the changing of allegiance of FDP and SPD members led to the crisis of March 1972 when the opposition tried to move a vote of no confidence in the Chancellor and suggested Dr. Rainer Barzel of the CDU as a candidate for the Chancellorship. The move failed because two or three CDU members refused to support Barzel. Spontaneous strikes and demonstrations supported Brandt.³ The discussions laid open the deep divisions between the government's intentions and the reservations of the opposition in relation to the question of the eastern borders and the acceptance of the existence of two separate German states. The scandals surrounding the failed vote of no confidence demonstrated that the opposition itself was very divided. At the time of the ratification of the treaties, the opposition - which voted against the treaties or abstained - and the government issued a common statement which defined some of the terms referred to in the treaties.⁴ It stated that only the FRG was party to the treaties, not the whole of a possible future Germany and that the rights and obligations of the four allied nations still continued in force.⁵ This limited the interpretation of the treaties

² Hillgruber, A.: *Deutsche Geschichte 1945-1975*, Ullstein, Frankfurt, 1974, p.136-137

³ Hillgruber, A.: op.cit. p.137

⁴ Fülberth, G.: *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik in Quellen und Dokumenten*, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1982/3, p.322;

Hillgruber, A.: op.cit. p.139

⁵ 'Entschliessungsantrag der Fraktionen der CDU/CSU, SPD und FDP zur 2. Beratung und Schlussabstimmung der Verträge der Bundesrepublik Deutschland mit der UdSSR und der VR Polen' printed in: Bundesministerium für innerdeutsche Beziehungen (ED), *Texte Zur Deutschlandpolitik*, Deutscher Bundesverlag, Bonn, 1972,

to a certain extent. A very similar limitation was effected after the signing of the treaty between the two German states in 1973, when the Bavarian Government tried to have the treaty declared unconstitutional by the Federal High Court.⁶ Although the court found the treaty constitutional, it issued a declaration which said that the borders between the two German states were comparable to the borders between the German "Länder", and that every West German government had to aim for a reunification.⁷ These actions by the opposition and their consequences show how very powerful the right wing forces still were in the FRG, even though they were not in government. This might have had the effect of limiting the already considerably watered-down internal political changes that the SPD was planning. Even though the election in late 1972, which had to be called because the coalition government had lost its majority by September, brought a decisive victory for the SPD - which had gained for the first and so far only time the largest number of seats in parliament - the policies of the SPD show considerable contradictions.⁸ Although the election result seemed to indicate popular support for the Brandt/Scheel foreign policies, the government might have felt obliged to introduce some domestic political measures to counteract the constant accusations of being

Vol 10(1972) p.427-429; Fülberth, G.(Ed): *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Quellen und Dokumenten*, op.cit. p.321

6 *Bundesverfassungsgericht*; Hillgruber, A.: op.cit. p.144

7 *Neue Juristische Wochenzeitschrift*, 1973, p.1539-1545; Hillgruber, A.: op.cit. p.144-146

8 Hillgruber, A.: op.cit. p.141,147

pro-communist and endangering internal stability and security.⁹

The internal political changes brought about by the Brandt government were not as socially innovative as many supporters had perhaps expected.¹⁰ Changes in the conditions of work (annual leave and sick leave arrangements) improved the position of manual workers vis-a-vis white-collar workers, but left the basic structure intact. The FDP suggested a slight increase in the representation of employees on the decision-making bodies of industry [*Mitbestimmung*], but stopped short of numerically equivalent representation.¹¹ National service was cut from 18 to 15 months. In the area of education various changes were introduced which had partly been prepared during the time of the coalition between CDU/SPD under pressure from the heavy criticism from the APO [*Ausser-Parlamentarische Opposition*] Extra-Parliamentary Opposition, and the student movement. The very radical left fringe-group calling themselves the Red Army Faction led by Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader had been active in the late sixties and early seventies.¹² They saw themselves as revolutionaries wanting to smash the state by bringing its inherent contradictions to a

⁹ Hillgruber, A.: p.119-120; Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.94

¹⁰ Hillgruber, A.:p.136; Jäger, W.: 'Die Innenpolitik der Sozial-liberation Koalition in: Bracher, K.D.: *Geschichte der BRD in 5 Bänden*, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Wiesbaden, 1981-1987, Bd 5/1, p.127

¹¹ Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.128

¹² Bracher, K.D.: 'Politik und Zeitgeist, Tendenzen der siebziger Jahre' in: Bracher, K.D.: *Geschichte der BRD*, op.cit, p.339-342

climax, in order to then build a better society.¹³ Already in 1972 the Chancellor and the heads of government of the *Länder* issued a decree which proclaimed that members of extreme organizations would from now on be barred from taking any employment as public servants and that public servants were forbidden to be members of such organizations.¹⁴ In the same year all the leaders of the Red Army Faction were arrested after the police had hunted them in an unprecedented manner.¹⁵ This hunt for the terrorists, which had entailed car checks by armed police on all major roads in the FRG and West-Berlin and an often biased portrayal of the suspects and their presumed supporters by the media, had helped to bring about an atmosphere of panic and hostility towards the suspects and anybody suspected of being sympathetic to terrorism amongst the population.

In some German states with SPD local governments the education system was reorganized. A new school type, the *Gesamtschule*, was introduced to narrow the gap between

13 Baader, who had been sentenced to prison for arson, was freed by supporters in 1970. The group organized themselves again under the leadership of Meinhof and Baader. Their activities in the two years following Baader's escape included robbing banks, organizing bomb-attacks on strategic targets, and an attack on a judge. Two members of the group were shot during police searches. Petra Schelm was killed 15.6.71 in Hamburg and Thomas Weisbecker 2.3.72. in Augsburg.

14 This was strictly speaking not a new legislation as there had been a decree in 1950/1 which forbade members of communist organizations access to the public service: *Beschluss der Bundesregierung vom 19.9.1950*, printed in Fülberth, G.: op.cit, p.83; *Beschlüsse der Regierungschefs des Bundes und der Länder vom 28. Januar 1972*, printed in Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.96.

15 Lehmann, H.G.: *Chronik der BRD*, C.H. Beck, München, 1983, p.159

those children who, owing to an educated home environment, decided to go to a *Gymnasium* to qualify for university entry and those students from a lower socio-economic background who went to a *Realschule* to be trained as apprentices and skilled workers.¹⁶ The potential democratizing effect was lessened by the actions of the CDU state governments who supported the pressure groups of concerned upper middle-class parents who argued that their children would be disadvantaged by the lowering of standards in the *Gesamtschule* by the attendance of lower class students.¹⁷ The new school type did not replace the old dichotomy but was added as an alternative possibility.¹⁸

By the early 1970's structural changes for the democratizing of the governing, administration and teaching programmes of the universities in the SPD-governed states had been introduced.¹⁹ These changes were the consequences of the concerted efforts of the APO during the late 60's.²⁰ The new regulations led to an integration of the middle level academics into the structure of the universities.²¹ The uncurtailed power of the small groups of professors with permanent chairs was

16 1970 in Berlin, 1979 in Hamburg; Becker, H.: 'Bildungspolitik' in: Benz, W.: *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1983, p.330, 333-4, 348/9

17 Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.137

18 Becker, H.: op.cit. p.334; Lehmann, H.G.: op.cit. p.168-169

19 Bracher, K.D.: op.cit. p.303; Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.129

20 Bracher, K.D.: op.cit. p.301

21 *Vorschaltgesetz für ein Niedersächsisches Gesamthochschulgesetz*, 26.10.71.

briefly broken in a few institutions by the introduction of decision-making processes in which all staff, student representatives and administrators, as well as technical staff, participated on an equal basis.²² This was a very radical and sudden change for which the traditionally authoritarian system was not ready.²³ When the professors of Lower Saxony tried to have the new power-sharing declared unconstitutional the Federal High Court agreed in 1973 and declared that, for decisions pertaining to academic research and teaching, the professors should be given half the votes. In decisions pertaining to the appointment of academic staff they should be given a majority.²⁴ In teaching methods and subject choices a 'reaction' to the new philosophies started to set in by 1974 and a return to the traditional topics can be observed.²⁵

The opposition the government faced was very strong. This can be seen as one of the reasons for the failure of some policies and the watering down of others. Even though the election of 1972 provided the government with a firmer electoral base, this advantage was short lived. The Guillaume crisis, which forced the resignation of Brandt as Chancellor and the election of Scheel as

22 Bracher, K.D.: op.cit. p.304

23 See for instance the discussion concerning the universities in the early 70's: 'Wir sind die Prügelknaben der Nation', *Der Spiegel*, 26/1971. p.34-38

24 Fülberth, G.: *Leitfaden durch die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik*, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1983, p.77-78; Lehmann, H.G.: op.cit. p.172

25 Hohendahl, P.U.: *The Institution of Criticism*, Cornell, New York, 1982 p.41; Bracher, K.D.: op.cit. p.308

President in 1974 spelled the end of the Brandt/Scheel era of international peace making.²⁶ The SPD had, by the middle seventies, attracted a lot of criticism from its erstwhile supporters. Many intellectuals who had worked for the electoral success of the SPD in the last two elections now started to feel disappointed. The contradictory domestic policies were the main target of these criticisms.²⁷ The public debate centered around legislation concerning the treatment of radicals [Radikalenerlass] and terrorists.²⁸

From early 1974 Chancellor Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, now leader of the FDP, dominate the political life for the rest of the seventies with an emphasis on attempting to balance the budget, and maintain and further the economic position of the FRG in Europe and the world.²⁹ The economic crisis of 1973/4 marks the beginning of tougher times for the less fortunate.³⁰ Modernization and rationalization programmes made German export markets competitive but created pressure on the labour market and the social services due to the increasing marginalization of the more traditional trades and skills. Unemployment passed the post-war peak of

26 Günter Guillaume, a personal aid to Brandt had been found to be a GDR spy. He was imprisoned for espionage in for the GDR and released after 7 1/2 years in October 1982. See also: Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.125

27 Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.127

28 This legislation was the topic of many speeches and comments by academics and intellectuals during the mid seventies. See also the anthology *Berufsverbot*, edited by W. Beutin, Th. Metscher and B. Meyer, Fischerhude, 1976

29 Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.125

30 Benz, W.: *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1983, p.315-319

5.5% when it jumped 11% in 1975/6.³¹ Job creation programmes and cuts in public service spending marginally levelled it out. It must be noted, however, that the yearly increase in spending for the military defence budget during these years was maintained.³² Aid to third world nations was cut, which caused the minister for economic cooperation to resign in protest.³³ In spite of the world-wide economic crisis or perhaps because of it, the Federal Republic developed more and more into a powerful economic nation of international standing. Schmidt is celebrated as a statesman of unusually high ability owing to his success in his international negotiations and inside the European Community.³⁴ He strengthened the ties with the Nato powers and agreed to the FRG playing a larger military role. The government agreed with the more aggressive American policies towards the USSR, and participated in the arms race by accepting the positioning of medium range missiles with atomic war-heads on German soil. The political reforms were slowed down, although some reforms which had no bearing on the financial situation were continued. The abortion legislation which had been started under Brandt was

31 Zöllner, D.: 'Sozialpolitik' in: Benz, W.: op.cit. p.317

32 Schweitzer, C-C. et al: *Politics and Government in the Federal Republic of Germany: Basic Documents*, Berg, Leamington Spa, 1984, p.417. Fülberth, G.: *Leitfaden...*, p.88

33 Link, W.: 'Aussen-und Deutschlandpolitik in der Ära Schmidt, 1974-1982' in: Bracher, K.D.: *Geschichte der BRD* op.cit. Bd. 5/II p.397

34 'Wir sind ein erstklassiger Partner' *Der Spiegel*, 1-2/1975, p.30-34.

finalized.³⁵ Reforms of the divorce legislation replaced the guilt principle with that of marital break-down and legislation protecting tenants from unreasonable rent increases were passed in 1977 and 1975 respectively.³⁶ The degree of self-regulation and shared decision-making was further reduced by regulations concerning the governing of universities and industry.³⁷

The terrorist question became more and more pressing in the next years. The arrested RAF group members protested against their isolation and separation from non-political prisoners by starting a hunger strike in 1973. When Jean-Paul Sartre visited Andreas Baader in prison in 1974 he made a statement claiming that the conditions under which the suspects were held were akin to torture.³⁸ The sentences for the tried RAF members

35 Vogel, A.: 'Frauen und Frauenbewegung' in: Benz, W.: op.cit. p.88-89. The legal availability of abortions in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy for social reasons was introduced. Although this was not as liberal as the original legislation which had provided for legal abortions for any reason during the first 12 weeks, it constituted a liberalization if compared with the previous situation. This first version, *Fristenlösung*, had been declared unconstitutional by the Federal High Court in a judgment in 1975, *Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts zum Schwangerschaftsabbruch*, 25.2.75. printed in: Fülberth, G.: *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik in Quellen und Dokumenten*, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1982/83, p.398

36 Vogel, A.: op.cit. p.97; Brunhöber, H.: 'Wohnen' in: Benz, W.: op.cit. p.208; Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.151

37 The new *Hochschulrahmengesetz* of 26.1.76. gave more power to professors than they had been given in 1973. The *Mitbestimmungsgesetz* of 4.5.76. made special concessions to the upper levels of white collar workers.

38 Letter by Jean-Paul Sartre to *Der Spiegel*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 1/1975. Earlier that year one member of the RAF, Holger Meins, had died in prison during a hunger strike and a prominent judge, Günter von Drenkmann, was shot dead in Berlin. Through the kidnapping of the CDU member and leader of the party in Berlin, Peter Lorenz, early in

were very harsh, i.e. three times life imprisonment.³⁹ In order to fight the assumed threat of the terrorist movement to the state system, the government passed various laws, strengthened those institutions concerned with gathering information and decided in 1977 to spend an extra 870 million DM on the fight against terrorism until 1981.⁴⁰ These laws and regulations not only made the work of defence lawyers more difficult. Along with

1975, a number of terrorists were freed and flown to Yemen. Lorenz was set free as agreed. A further attempt to free RAF members in Sweden was unsuccessful. The trial of the four most prominent members of the group started in 1975, but before it ended Ulrike Meinhof was found dead in her cell on the 9.5.75. The official statement states death by hanging. A year later the Federal Director of Prosecutions, Siegfried Buback, who had been named as a target by the RAF, was murdered. See: 'Wir werden in den Durststreich treten' Interview with A. Baader, U. Meinhof, G. Ensslin and J-C Raspe, *Der Spiegel*, 4/1975, p.52-57, particularly p.54

39 In the same year Jürgen Ponto, the Chairman of the Dresdner Bank, was shot, Hans Martin Schleyer, the president of the Federal Associations of German Employer Organizations and German Industries, was kidnapped and a few weeks later a Lufthansa plane was hi-jacked on the way to Frankfurt. See: Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.292. Both terrorist groups demanded the freedom of the sentenced RAF members. The German government rejected the demands. The passengers in the hi-jacked plane were freed by the action of a special commando raid. Several hours later, the imprisoned members of the RAF were found dead or dying in their cells - two had been shot. Suspicions of murder were raised publicly again, as had been done after Ulrike Meinhof's death - especially because the authorities had passed numerous laws to ensure the total isolation of the prisoners which was supposed to prevent any access to news, information or weapons. ^{see also} 'Licht in jede Ritze', *Der Spiegel*, 45/1977, p.30-34. The laws are: *Vierzehntes Strafrechtsänderungsgesetz*, 22.4.76., *Gesetz zur Änderung des Einführungsgesetzes zum Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz*, 30.9.77. The latest of these, called *Kontaktperrgesetz* (contact barrier law), was introduced on 28.9.77. and passed already on 2.10.77. is printed in Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.151-153

40 As mentioned in footnote 19, see also: Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.150. *Bundeskriminalamt* (Federal Criminal Office), *Bundesgrenzschutz* (Federal Border Police), *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution)

the *Radikalenerlass*, they enabled the state to place the activities of any citizen under an unprecedented degree of surveillance. The appearance of public figures accompanied by armed guards brandishing machine guns helped to impress the public with the urgency of the legislation and regulations. In 1979 a law to protect the citizens from unjustified surveillance by the state came into force, but was widely felt to be insufficient.⁴¹

In the area of culture, the change from the more progressive policies of the early seventies to those of the middle and late seventies were felt by many authors, artists, academics and critics. The growing public suspicion towards leftist intellectuals because of their suspected agreement with the aims, if not the means, of the terrorists was one of the social consequences of the implementation of the new legislation.⁴² In the Federal Republic, not only state administrators are public servants but all teaching positions from primary to tertiary level fall under this category. The access to those positions was now restricted by the *Radikalenerlass*. But those already in such positions also had to fear investigation. The academic freedom to choose subjects and methods was now seriously threatened.⁴³ Owing to the highly sophisticated connections between all the Federal data banks and due to the access to this data

41 Jäger, W.: op.cit. p.152

42 'Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort', *Der Spiegel*, 41/1977, p.28-47, continued in the following issues: 42/1977 p.28-57, 43/1977 p.203-226, 45/1977 p.36-52

43 Scrutiny of library borrowing records was included in the investigations.

given to the Federal investigatory bodies in order to fight terrorism, all public servants could consider themselves watched. In addition to this, the new climate brought out a stronger, very critical attitude towards progressive writers and their works.⁴⁴ Here right-wing media critics like Hans Habe and Kurt Ziesel played a leading role. During the seventies various writers, authors, publishers and artists had to go to court in order to defend themselves against accusations of distributing inflammatory or unconstitutional or defaming material. This had become possible under new legislation which gave the state sweeping powers to prosecute people not just for showing and distributing material which called for some illegal action, but also for buying, announcing the appearance of, or praising such material.⁴⁸ The categories 'inflammatory', 'unconstitutional' or 'defaming' were defined very widely.

In the late seventies, then, an atmosphere of neo-anticommunism and a related, general hostility towards intellectuals in domestic politics matched new international policies of the government.⁴⁶ In 1978 the

44 See for instance Jens, W.: 'Wir Extremisten' in: *Die Zeit*, 22.11.74. Feuilleton, p.18; Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.123-124

49 *Vierzehntes Strafrechtsänderungsgesetz*, 22.4.76. printed in Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.128-130

46 Chancellor Schmidt announced in 1976 that Italy would no longer receive economic aid if the new government included the communist party. Fülberth, G.: *Leitfaden...*, p.92

chairman of the German Writers' Organization (VS), Bernt Engelmann, described the situation:

Apart from the persecution of demagogues after the murder of the privy councillor August von Kotzebue in the spring of 1819 and the witch hunt of intellectuals with subsequent book burning, there has in more recent German history not been a campaign against writers comparable to the one against the 'sympathizers with the terror',⁴⁷ which reached its climax in the hot autumn of 1977.

Already in the early seventies literary areas had been given more than the usual attention. This can be explained as being a consequence of the 1968 student movement. Writers and journalists became more aware of their social and political position in a capitalist society and started to organize to change it. After the founding of an association for writers (VS) under Heinrich Böll's motto: "Ende der Bescheidenheit"⁴⁸ in 1969, the titles and spirit of their meetings during the seventies indicate a growing awareness of their social needs and political role in society.⁴⁹ Although the government made a considerable effort to assess the financial situation of writers, their situation remained largely unchanged.⁵⁰ The findings suggested that writers had no financial security or independence, that they had no social security in case of illness or old

47 'Regler und Rente, Arnfried Astel berichtet vom Bundeskongress des VS' *Konkret*, 12/1978, p.38

48 'Lets stop being unassuming!'

49 Verband deutscher Schriftsteller in der IG Druck und Papier: *VS Informationen*, Stuttgart, 4/1978

50 A series of publications such as: K. Fohrbeck and A.J. Wiesand *Autorenreport* Rowohlt Verlag, 1972. *Bibliotheken und Bibliothekstantiemen* Verlag Dokumentation, 1974, were part of an inquiry initiated by the government into the social situation of writers and artists.

age, that they were at the mercy of their publishers and their market orientated decisions, and that most had to supplement their earnings by working in an unsecured contract situation for other media. Only a few very successful authors, who could reach a degree of independence, were exceptions to these findings.

During the discussions between the writers, their organizations and the state authorities, the media played an important role. Predictably the issue of the freedom of the press and what should be understood by that term was often part of the debates. Since the late sixties, when the structure of the press and its tendency to become concentrated in the hands of a few big monopoly-holding publishers had been brought into the public eye by students demonstrating against the Springer consortium, the question of how to ensure a well-balanced net of printed information for the whole of the FRG has not been settled satisfactorily.⁵¹ Furthermore there are still unclear areas in the ways the freedom of the press is defined. The impression can be gained that this freedom is little more than a one-way-street: the media is free to inform, comment and distribute the information, but there is no automatic right for the public to gain access to information or comment, nor any automatic right to reply or reject, if information is regarded as false, misleading or damaging. The practices of the *Bild-Zeitung*, one of the tabloid papers of the

⁵¹ Bracher, K.D.: 'Politik und Zeitgeist' in: Bracher, K.D.: op.cit. (Bd. 5/I) p.296

Springer consortium, has come under heavy criticism in regard to misinformation and inflammatory reporting.⁵²

In order to understand the position of the press and its workers, which is central not only to this part of my analysis but also to later parts, it is necessary to sketch briefly the structure of the press in the FRG.

In 1976, 374 papers and 4704 periodicals were published in the FRG. Of 23,5 million copies 13,3 were delivered to subscribers and 10,2 were bought on the street.⁵³ The types of daily papers available can be divided into those which are read in a local area only and those which are published federally and have no local coverage at all.⁵⁴ There are three dailies which are produced for a Federal readership, namely the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Bild-Zeitung* and *Die Welt*. The *Bild-Zeitung* dominates the market with an edition of 2,859,263, compared to editions ranging between 150,000 and 200,00 for the two other papers. Two papers have a local as well as a Federal readership. These are

52 Jochen Noll points out that the sales of *Bild* plummeted severely during the late sixties and that it lost 900.000 copies in daily sales up to 1971, but that it had caught up by 76 when it sold more than ever before. Noll, J.: *Die deutsche Tagespresse*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/New York, 1977, p.12-13. See also: Alberts, J.: *Massenpresse als Ideologiefabrik am Beispiel 'Bild'* Frankfurt, Athenäum, 1972; Walraff, G.: *Der Aufmacher - der Mann, der bei Bild Hans Esser war* Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1977

53 Thomas, M.W.: (Editor) *Porträts der deutschen Presse* Verlag Volker Spiess, Berlin, 1980, p.7

54 The statistical data referred to here is based on Noll, J.: *Die deutsche Tagespresse* Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, New York, 1977

Frankfurter Rundschau and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* whose Federal editions do, however, not exceed one quarter of the total edition which is for *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 261,743 and for *Frankfurter Rundschau* 145,925 copies. The second criterion for distinguishing the type of paper concerns the place of purchase. So-called "street papers" are dependent on catching the eye of the customer and are therefore more interested in the very latest issues and their more sensationalist sides than the subscriber papers. The "street-papers" produced under 15% of the total turn-over of dailies but constitute 30% of the total numbers of dailies sold. The Springer group, which owns *Bild* and *Die Welt*, dominates the market with 26-28% of copies of all dailies i.e. 5 million copies and 16% of turn-over. The second biggest group is the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, a subscriber paper, located in the most densely populated area of the Federal Republic, the *Ruhrgebiet*, with 1,2 million copies and 8% of the total turn-over. The WAZ developed a monopoly position during the seventies by buying up smaller, less economically viable papers. This is the pattern for the whole of the FRG. In 33% of country and city areas there is only one regional paper available.⁵⁵ A law which forbade further take-overs of small papers by larger papers was passed in 1976 and has largely stopped this development.⁵⁶ Between

55 Flottau, H.: 'Finaziell abhängig - und dennoch frei? Zur wirtschaftlichen und rechtliche Situation der Presse' in: Thomas, M.W. (Editor): *Porträts der deutschen Presse* Verlag Volker Spiess, Berlin, 1980, p.29

56 *Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen erweitert um eine spezielle Pressefusionskontrolle*, Act against Restraints of Competition, English text published in: Schweitzer, C-C. et al: *Politics and Government in the*

1976 and 1978 30 attempts for further take-overs were rejected.⁵⁷ This does not, however, improve the already existing monopoly situations.

A second factor prevents full independence for the press in the FRG. The manner in which papers are connected, interrelated and organized, either by belonging to a large newspaper-group which shares financial and editorial arrangements or by belonging to editorial syndicates which share editorial units. Even though these syndicates enable smaller papers to cover a wide field of information which would normally be beyond their editorial capacities, within these editorial syndicates the edition of only one paper often dominates to such a degree that the other papers cannot be regarded as independent units. There were 12 editorial syndicates in the FRG in 1970, 5 of which were dominated by the contents of only one paper.⁵⁸

The degree of monopolization and syndication of the press in the FRG has severe implications for the real freedom of the press and availability of choice for the reader. Although freedom to publish is granted to every citizen of the country, the practical situation tells a different story.⁵⁹ The fact that profits need to be made, and are of great importance to the editors and owners of

Federal Republic of Germany: Basic Documents, Berg, Leamington Spa, 1984, p.266-268

57 Flottau, H.: op. cit. p.31

58 Ossorio-Cappella, C.: *Der Zeitungsmarkt in der BRD*, Athenäum, Frankfurt, 1972, p.115

59 Article 5 in the *Basic Law*

the papers, seriously curtails the freedom of journalists who have to stay within the parameters set by their editors and their readers' preferences.⁶⁰ The quality of reporting is directly related to the number of press agencies the paper can subscribe to, the number of independent correspondents it can maintain and how widely spaced these are geographically. The expense involved forces smaller papers to rely more and more on the material available from big press syndicates and direct their staff to concentrate on local issues. The number of papers who are able to maintain an independently working reporting staff has shrunk from 225 in 1958 to 117 in 1978.⁶¹ The fact that an ever higher percentage of the production cost has to be covered by advertisements, which are cheaper to produce the greater the number of copies published, favors the economic viability of bigger and bigger papers. The dice seem to be loaded against the existence of smaller papers. Suggested solutions include separating advertising business from reporting, or forcing editors to consider not only their profit margins before they agree to a take-over but the more important issue of the maintenance of choice for the readers.⁶²

60 Although the *Wiesbadener Leitlinien liberaler Medienpolitik* referred to various ways in which a press freedom could be maintained, (they were worked out by the FDP and published in 1973, text published in *Rundfunk und Fernsehen*, 21/1973, pp.435-446) so-called 'internal press freedom' has not been guaranteed by any law. The maintenance of competition between publishing houses is supposedly achieved by Art. 23 of the Act against Restraints of Competition.

61 Flottau, H.: op.cit. p.25

62 Ossorio-Cappella, C.: *Der Zeitungsmarkt in der BRD*, Athenäum, Frankfurt, 1972, p.345, 346

Flottau, H. op.cit. p.36

The 1970's were, then, a period of accelerated change in many areas of the FRG. The challenge which the election of the SPD government constituted for the new oppositional forces was very pronounced. The power base of the conservatives proved, even when they were out of government, very strong. The stress under which the SPD government had to operate increasingly during the first half of the decade is some measure of this. This was, combined with the economic crisis, one strong reason for the re-shaping of the government and its policies in the second half of the 70's. The constellations of the political parties had their correlations in the resulting policies and laws. The manner in which these laws were justified, publicized and popularized makes the study of the media of this period an interesting task. The media itself was, however, under increasing stress. The public's need for balanced information was increasingly expected to be met by one publication as competing smaller papers were taken over by larger organizations.

My study of the reception of some of Heinrich Böll's novels has taken this wider field of media and politics into consideration because literary criticism as practised in the FRG during the 1970's participates in the dynamics of media and politics. The manner in which literary criticism, as a cultural practice, can become politically functional is at the centre of my analysis.

Before the reception patterns of the three novels mentioned above are analysed, the social history of literary criticism as practised in Germany from the Enlightenment up to the 1970's needs to be described. This history will provide the necessary theoretical background for the reception analysis in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

PART II

A: POWER AND LITERARY CRITICISM

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The fact that very few German histories of literary criticism have been written so far and that the few accounts, which relate the history of the discourse to its political and social uses and effects only appeared after 1967, is an indication of how entrenched the tradition of a silent selectivity is.¹ The literary traditions and canons have through many centuries appeared as 'self-selecting', 'organically growing', 'naturally enduring' to the casual observer. That an intricate net of selective processes is continuously favouring certain texts and not others and how this net is constituted and what relationships there might be between the selections and other areas of society has

1 Wellek, R.: *A History of modern Criticism*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1955 treats German criticism in detail
Mayer, H.: *Deutsche Literaturkritik*, 4 Vols, Frankfurt, 1978
Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik* Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985. Lämmert, E., Killy, W., Conrady, K.O. and Polenz, P.v.: *Germanistik - eine deutsche Wissenschaft*, Suhrkamp, first appeared 1967. In the following I shall often refer to Hohendahl's writing as he is a scholar who has worked on a history of literary criticism from a point of view which is relevant to my approach.

until recently been outside the mainstream of academic inquiry.²

It is then all the more fascinating to find that from the inception of literary criticism in Germany, one of its dominant characteristics has been a selective literary tradition based on the application of subjective value judgments more or less obviously clad with a layer of mechanisms professing objectivity. Literary criticism, from its beginnings taking on institutionalized form, maintained a tradition of support of the philosophical and political underpinnings of the dominating political powers which were, through the centuries, often not on the side of truly democratic concerns.³ This does not mean that there has never been a criticism which had the interest of the underprivileged at its center. There were many thinkers through the centuries who developed valiant efforts to change criticism into a tool for a more liberal, democratic, socially fair society. The manner in which they saw themselves using this tool and how much participation from the 'audience', 'public', or 'reader' they planned

² One can therefore be all the more pleased about the arrival of books like Monika Dimpfl's *Literarische Kommunikation and Gebrauchswert*, Bouvier, Bonn, 1981, which is a very careful theoretical analysis of the social uses of literary communications.

³ 'Von ihrem Ursprung her ist Literaturkritik eine Institution der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit.' Gebhardt, P.: 'Literarische kritik', in: Harth, D., Gebhardt, P.: *Erkenntnis und Literatur*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1982, p.82; see also Duncan, H.D. 'Literature as a social institution', in: *Language and Literature in Society*, Chicago, 1952, p.58-74, Graff, G.: *Professing Literature, An institutional History*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, 1987

for in their proposals is often an indication of how effective their projects would be. At other times, the authoritarian interference of political state powers in the form of censorship, publication prohibition, anti-minority legislation and later, after 1815, the monopolization of the book-trade and newsmedia prevented some more radical structural changes from becoming established. At all times, the fact that criticism functioned as an institution imposed its own limitations.

It will be the task of this chapter to give a more detailed analysis of these claims. The following, necessarily brief discussion will roughly follow a temporal order, even though the thinkers described cannot be seen as strictly following one another in such an order.

1. Social origins of criticism

As noted in chapter 1. the term 'literary criticism' in German refers to two different activities: to the production of book reviews for the literary pages of newspapers and periodicals called *Literaturkritik* and to criticism in the English sense, in Germany now mostly university-based, referred to as *Literaturwissenschaft*.⁴ The split between more popular and academic literary

⁴ Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmen der Literaturkritik', in: Fischer, L.: *Literatur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, dtv, München, 1986, p.611

criticism means that the history of both as well as their relationship to each other needs to be examined.

The dichotomization of literature and its criticism in Germany can be traced to various beginnings. One starting point is the reaction of established writers and literary theoreticians to the expanding popular book-market in the later 18th and early 19th century.⁵ Another is the manner in which the literary discipline was established as an academic discipline at the German universities in the middle of the 19th century and how the discipline was closely tied to the concept of the national spirit.⁶ In both situations the discourse reacted to certain social challenges. The manner in which these challenges were overcome or accommodated has had certain consequences for the discipline which can still be felt today.

In Germany, the end of the 18th century can be pinpointed as the beginning of literary criticism as we

⁵ Gebhardt, P.: op.cit. p.98, Bürger, C.: *Zur Dichotomisierung von hoher und niederer Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt 1982 p.18; Hohendahl, P.U.: *Der europäische Roman der Empfindsamkeit*, Athenaeon Studentexte, Wiesbaden, 1977, p.66; Hauser, A.: *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*, Bd.2, München 1952, p.374, 313; Schücking, L.L.: *Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung*, München, Bern 1961, p.31-34; Berghahn, K.L.: 'Von der klassizistischen zur klassischen Literaturkritik 1730-1806' in: Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985 p.18

⁶ Lämmert, E., Killy, W., Conrady, K.O. and Polenz, P.v.: *Germanistik - eine deutsche Wissenschaft*, Suhrkamp, 1971, p.10-14

understand it now, namely as public communication about literature.⁷

To describe the enormous social, political, philosophical and technological changes which brought about its development is impossible within the boundaries of this project. In much abbreviated form the following points must be seen as decisive. The enormous changes in all areas of society which the French Revolution had on Europe are surely the most important.⁸ The political changes following the new bourgeois economic production patterns, the philosophies of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution, the spread of literacy, the development of the iron printing press, and the developing book market are all areas which must be mentioned. Some of these factors need further elaboration.

The political changes which permitted the development of a 'public' were closely tied to the changes in production and the opening up of commercial markets and trade centres, organized by state laws and organizations.⁹ As Habermas has described, the gradual

7 Gebhardt, P.: op.cit. p. 98; Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985, Introduction p.2; Berghahn, K.L.: 'Von der klassizistischen zur klassischen Literaturkritik 1730-1806' in: Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985, p.10

8 Fink, G.-L.: 'Die Revolution als Herausforderung in Literatur und Publizistik', in: Glaser, H.A. (Hrsg.) *Deutsche Literatur, Eine Sozialgeschichte, Bd.5, 1786-1815*, Rowohlt, Hamburg, 1980

9 Kiesel, H., Münch, P.: *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Beck, München, 1977, 31-41

restructuring of production through private enterprise and the growing state apparatus first gave rise to the concept of 'private' as publicly relevant from the end of the 17th century.¹⁰ The development of the press runs parallel to this change, as a wide net of communication became a necessity for a smoothly running trade and manufacturing system.

The spread of literacy had started in the beginning of the 18th century with the passing of legislation to promote wider generalized public schooling in some German states, even though this legislation became well established and adhered to only in the early 19th century.¹¹ A market for books was developing gradually from the 18th century onwards with Leipzig as its centre.¹²

2. The Enlightenment

a) Immanuel Kant

The beginning of a discourse relating to public communication about literature in Germany can be seen as starting with the philosophies of the Enlightenment.

10 Habermas, J.: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Luchterhand, Darmstadt, 1962 (1984) pp.28-34, Kiesel, H., Münch, P.: op.cit. p.18-30

11 Möller, H.: 'Vom Aufgeklärten Absolutismus zu den Reformen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: Glaser, op.cit. p. 45; Kiesel, H, Münch, P.: op. cit. p.67-76

12 See: Kiesel, H., Münch, P.: *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Beck, München, 1977; Wittmann, R.: *Buchmarkt und Lektüre im 18. and 19. Jahrhundert*, Max Niemeyer, Tübingen, 1982, p.XI, 73

Although developing later than in France and England, in Germany these philosophies promoted the public application of reason in all areas. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) proclaimed in 1781 that this was the 'age of criticism'. He distinguished between the public and the private use of reason.¹³ The private use was seen as narrowed by the demands for obedience from the absolutist state authorities, the public, however, was considered free.¹⁴ Remembering that the concept of 'private' is at this time referring mostly to those areas which are now beginning to be understood as relevant to a larger, more autonomous group of people, distinct from the state or church authorities, it is easier to understand its use by Kant.

Through this strange dualism, which is typical of absolutism, Kant ensures freedom of thought for critical reason and thus turns it into a public authority with a tendency to expand its authority to the areas of religion and state.¹⁵

It was however, strictly forbidden to publicly criticize or even discuss the state administration, so that the public and 'free' debate about art, literature and drama can be seen as taking on the role of a political substitute.

13 Kant, I.: *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Hamburg, Philosophische Bibliothek, 1956, p.7

14 Gebhardt. P.: op.cit. p.99

15 'Durch diesen eigentümlichen Dualismus, der für den Absolutismus typisch ist, sichert Kant der kritischen Vernunft Gedankenfreiheit und macht sie zu einer öffentlichen Instanz, die tendenziell ihren Herrschaftsanspruch auch auf Bereiche wie Religion und Staat ausdehnen möchte.' Berghahn, K.L.: op.cit. p.13

In this manner the security of the state authority was ensured whilst enlightened debate was possible as well. Protection by a state authority is still seen as necessary by Kant for smooth social progress.¹⁶ In his *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Kant attempts to overcome the contradiction between the apparent arbitrariness of individual tastes and a generally valid norm of criticism. He acknowledges that beauty is always tied to a subjective reaction and is never objectively present.¹⁷ Beauty - as distinct from mere useful or pleasant phenomena, which are connected to desires of possession in the beholder - is not tied to any subjective interests or desires.¹⁸ Its contemplation provides a higher pleasure which does not strive towards satisfaction. In the articulation of the value judgment of beauty, the subjective reaction becomes generally validated. These judgments of taste can thus be described as having a 'subjective general validity'.¹⁹ In the articulation of this judgment the speaker/critic becomes a representative of all others and thus a general validity of aesthetic value is ensured. The idea of a generally valid aesthetic notion of criticism is then inherent in each critical act which claims to invite agreement from all participants, readers etc.²⁰ Kant therefore demands that critics think

16 Schulte-Sasse, J.: Einleitung in: Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1980 p.15, 16

17 Kant, I.: *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Philosophische Bibliothek, Hamburg, 1961, p.9, 34

18 Kant, I.: op.cit. p.48

19 *ibid.* p.49

20 Berghahn, K.L.: op.cit. p.37

independently, representatively for others and true to themselves.²¹

Kant's theories integrate the growing demand for public accountability with notions of absolutist authority and a general validity which effectively ensures only a gradual social change under the guidance of both the state and an educated elite which is seen as representing the interests of the 'public'.²²

b) Johann Christoph Gottsched and the debate about the audience

Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), a professor of 'World-wisdom and Rhetoric' tried to formulate a scientific theory of literary production and criticism. His major work, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, tried to give advice to poets, writers and critics. He based his theories on the application of reason which will unfailingly produce the correct solution to all problems. "The rules are merely expressions of healthy reason about that which is suitable in art or not."²³

21 Kant, I.: op.cit. p.145

22 Grimminger, R.: 'Die Utopie der vernünftigen Lust' in: Bürger, C.: *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, op.cit. p.129-30

23 'Die Regeln sind ja nur Aussprüche einer gesunden Vernunft von dem, was sich in Kunstwerken schicket, oder nicht.' Gottsched, J.C.: 'Beyträge zur kritischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit', VIll, p.155

This appeal to reason constituted a step away from the previously dominant aesthetic theories which were based on the authority of the antique classic. It provided no convincing solution to the problem of 'bad' taste, which was later found to be prevalent in a growing number of readers. This was, at the beginning of the Enlightenment, not conceived as a pressing problem. Gottsched and his contemporaries saw themselves as leading the way to a new rationally organized publicly legitimized way of life.²⁴

The public debate concerning matters of literature was participated in by a new group consisting of well educated public servants, doctors, parsons, officers, professors and other teachers. The critics saw themselves as both representing and educating the 'public'. The public sphere was, however, not constituted by a majority or even a representative social group.²⁵

The ability to read, however much for any person a natural prerequisite of any participation in the public sphere, did not suffice by far.

In order to be able to participate in the literary life one had to be educated enough to understand the cultural products as reader or listener and to follow the debates; and one had to be rich enough to be able to afford the purchase of books and visits to the theatre. The largest parts of the city and

24 Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Das Konzept bürgerlich-literarischer Öffentlichkeit und die historischen Gründe seines Zerfalls', in: Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, op.cit. p.95

25 Habermas, J.: *Strukturwandel, der Öffentlichkeit*, Luchterhand, Darmstadt, 1962 (1984) p.37

country population which formed a second diffused public towards the end of the century, however, was lacking both education and prosperity. This (public) was more interested in entertainment and distraction than in critical discussion about literature. Publishers with a keen business sense soon fitted in with its taste.²⁶

On the one hand, the spectacular increase in the sales of printed matter, newspapers, magazines and more and more novels satisfied the growing need for reading material in the new literate masses, on the other it constituted a challenge to the enlightened philosophies.²⁷ Many of the critics and thinkers considered the material which was consumed in growing quantities by the common people as lacking the quality and content which they themselves found desirable. According to the literary principles of the times, which were from now on pronounced more and more often, the lack of quality led to an undesirable effect on the readers namely a release of sentimentality without the obligatory moral and educational lesson. There were others, however, who saw the situation in

26 'Um am literarischen Leben teilnehmen zu können, musste man gebildet genug sein, um als Leser oder Zuschauer die Kulturprodukte verstehen und die Diskussion verfolgen zu können; und man musste reich genug sein, um sich Bücherkäufe und Theaterbesuche leisten zu können. An Bildung und Besitz jedoch mangelte es dem grössten Teil der städtischen und ländlichen Bevölkerung, die gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts sich zu einem zweiten diffusen Publikum formierte. Dieses interessierte sich mehr für Unterhaltung und Zerstreuung als für kritische Diskussionen über Literatur. Seinem Geschmack entsprachen bald geschäftstüchtige Verleger.' Berghahn, K.L.: op.cit. p.18

27 For a description of the composition of the reading public in the 18th century see: Kiesel, H., Münch, P.: *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Beck, München, 1977, p.154-179; Berghahn, K.L.: op.cit. p.19; Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik an der Trivilliteratur seit der Aufklärung*, Wilhelm Fink, München, 1971, p.45

reverse. They lamented the existence of an educated elite who continued to write for itself and refused to take the needs of the wider public into consideration.

This educated little band of learners and learned which comprises some 20,000 people despises the other 20 million people who also speak German so heartily that it does not bother to write for them.²⁸

Suggestions for poets concentrated on the manner in which a moral effect on the audience could be achieved. This was thought to be possible only by a balance between intellect and emotion. In art, the illusion of reality was to be portrayed so convincingly that the audience could fully empathize and have a truly felt emotional/moral response. Even though the writer/poet had to stay very rational about the manner in which this effect was planned and achieved, the audience could and should react subjectively and even irrationally.²⁹ The audience is seen as in need of guidance which the publicly operating 'art-judge', as the literary critic is called during this time, provides. The audience is, in principle, able to come to the same conclusion about a literary piece as the critic, its literary tastes have, however, no bearing on the critics. Critics have been

28 'Dieses gelehrte Völkchen von Lehrenden und Lernenden, das etwa 20 000 Menschen stark ist, verachtet die übrigen 20 Millionen Menschen, die ausser ihnen deutsch reden, so herzlich, dass es sich nicht die Mühe nimmt, für sie zu schreiben.' Nicolai, F.: quoted from Berghahn, K.L.: op.cit. p.17.

29 Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Das Konzept bürgerlich-literarischer Öffentlichkeit und die historischen Gründe seines Zerfalls', in: Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit* op.cit. p.95,96,97)

trained and are in the possession of the philosophical rules applicable to art, which they use according to rigorous rational principles in order to build up general norms and principles. While in France and England a sensual theory of taste was promoted by Joseph Addison and Jean Baptiste Dubos who tried to include the emotional reactions of an untrained audience in the critical evaluation, Gottsched and even his critics, the Swiss Johann Jakob Bodmer (1696-1783) and his close friend Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701-1776) agreed that the so-called 'sixth sense' of an untrained reader was much too unreliable to be acceptable as a judgment of literary value. Only the learned specialist could assess the value of art.³⁰ The Enlightenment critics, then, recommended the use of literature for the ennobling and morally uplifting effect it would have on the readers. They wanted to expand and shape the public sphere through literature and their critical efforts.³¹

The institution of criticism as it is constituted in the Enlightenment, mediates between work and public in such a way that the critic speaks for the audience which comes together as a literary public through the permanent discussions, in order to inform itself about itself and a reasonable way of living. This literary argumentation is always secretly political and aims at the constitution of a bourgeois public sphere.³²

30 Berghahn, K.L.: op. cit. p.28

31 Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Einleitung' in: Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung..* op.cit. p.18, 19

32 'Die Institution der Kritik, wie sie sich in der Aufklärung konstituiert, vermittelt zwischen Werk und Publikum, und zwar so, dass der Kritiker für das Publikum spricht, das sich durch die permanente Diskussion zur literarischen Öffentlichkeit zusammenschliesst, um sich über sich selbst und eine vernünftige Lebenspraxis zu verständigen. Dieses literarische Raisonement ist, ..., immer verdeckt politisch und zielt auf die Herstellung

They were not prepared for the effects the commercial exploitation of the growing interest in reading would have on their ideals. Their concept of the 'public' or audience was naive, in that it excluded to a large extent any non-educated person, they therefore expected the expanding book trade to achieve their goals without any difficulties. No provision was made for a gradual development of the 'correct' attitudes, or an enlargement of that social group which could function as a truly representative public. The emotional initial response, to which they had restricted the reaction of the untrained audience, backfired as it was exactly this unchecked emotionality which the market exploited.³³ The following aesthetic theories tried to account for some difference in the correct and incorrect manner in which art should be defined, how it should be produced, and more importantly, how much note the writer should take of the audiences' tastes and what the correct manner of enjoyment of art was. All of these rules had hitherto been unchallenged and had remained 'practicable' and functioning for centuries.³⁴ An important reason for the changes must be seen in the position which some contemporary writers took up against the new sentimental

einer bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit.' Berghahn, K.L.:
op.cit. p.16

33 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik an der Trivilliteratur*
op.cit. p. 31,35; Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Das Konzept..' in:
Bürger, C.: *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*,
op.cit. p.97

34 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik and der*
Trivilliteratur, op.cit. p.66

literature.³⁵ Various critics had differing theories about who was to blame for the break-down of the old values. Johann George Sulzer (1720-1779) blamed the new breed of writers, who wrote emotionally charged novels for a growing book-market.³⁶ Johann Christoph Friedrich Bährens blamed the new readers and their desires to have only their emotion catered for.³⁷ When it became apparent that the new readers were consciously seeking out this new type of light literature, and that it was consciously produced by writers for this purpose, the theories for its existence changed. Johann Gottfried Hoche (1763-1836) saw it as a parallel but opposite system to genuine art and formulated theories which accommodate a dual literature with different aims.³⁸ The concentration on emotional empathy which was so central to the aesthetic theories of the effects of literature during the enlightenment, was now beginning to be rejected in favour of reason.³⁹ Karl Phillip Moritz (1756-1793) and Marcus Herz (1747-1803) developed this theme further and saw the manner in which art could be produced and enjoyed as dominated either by egoistic, self-centered greed for pleasure or a detached, unconscious contemplation of the art which led to a

35 Möller, H.: op.cit. p.46

36 *ibid.* pp.52-54, Sulzer, J.G.: *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in 4 Bänden*, Leipzig, 1773-1775

37 Bährens, J.C.F.: *Über den Werth der Empfindsamkeit, besonders in Rücksicht auf die Romane*, Halle, 1786

38 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik and der Trivialliteratur* op.cit. pp. 57-8, Hoche, J.G.: *Vertraute Briefe über die jetzige abentheuerliche Lesesucht und über den Einfluss derselben auf die Verminderung des häuslichen und öffentlichen Glücks*, Hannover, 1794

39 Johann August Eberhard in Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik an der Trivialliteratur*, op.cit. p.60

higher form of pleasure.⁴⁰ This is related to Friedrich Schiller's later transference of the ethical concepts of spirit and sensuality into aesthetics.

c) Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Friedrich Nicolai

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) was one of the best known professional critics of his time. He rejected the dryly rationalistic theories of Gottsched and conceived of the critic as a mediator between the educated lay-reader and the aesthetic and philosophical principles of literature. He saw his task as representation and education of the literary interested public. In order to inspire independent thinking he provided a lively polemical criticism which was engaging the public in the debate of literary values. He saw criticism as providing an opportunity for the intellect to be active, and feuded publicly with many of his contemporary writers and critics, often coming close to being openly political. His polemical style has been described as the reaction of a frustrated political activist to the limitations of censorship.

The polemic tone of Lessing's critiques isn't only a style, but can be explained from the political-social situation of the German Enlightenment. The separation between state-political and private-moral sphere under absolutism led to a restriction of criticism to seemingly unpolitical areas such as

40 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik and der Trivilliteratur*, op.cit. pp.64, 66, 67-72; Moritz, K.P.: *Schriften zur Ästhetisk und Poetik* (Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, N.F. Bd.7, Tübingen, 1962; Herz, M.: *Versuch über den Geschmack und die Ursachen seiner Verschiedenheit*, Leipzig, 1776, Berlin, 1791

philosophy, art and literature. ... As the relations of power could not be criticized let alone be changed, only the substitute action of the intellect remained, which therefore explains the polemical edge of the critiques.⁴¹

Strict censorship and authoritarian state systems gave the enlightened critics only a short lead.⁴² Some were at times refused permission to publish.⁴³

During Lessing's life-time the debate about 'taste' in connection with what was derisively referred to as the 'reading rage' or the 'reign of books' became ever more pressing as artists and critics of the Enlightenment saw their attempts to improve the public taste thwarted by a successful, commercially inspired book trade which increasingly learned to exploit genuine but unfulfilled needs for the sake of profit. Lessing, like those of his contemporaries who were mentioned above, became ever more furious and frustrated at the public's low intellectual, moral and cultural standards. Friedrich Nicolai (1733-1811) is an exception. He devoted his life, in the true

41 'Der polemische Ton von Lessings Kritiken ist daher nicht nur ein Stilzug, ..., er erklärt sich vielmehr, ..., aus der politisch-gesellschaftlichen Situation der deutschen Aufklärung. Die unter dem Absolutismus erzwungene Trennung zwischen staatlich-politischer und privat-moralischer Sphäre führte dazu, dass Kritik sich auf die scheinbar unpolitischen Gebiete wie Philosophie, Kunst und Literatur beschränkte. ... Da sich die Herrschaftsverhältnisse nicht kritisieren geschweige denn verändern liessen, blieb es bei den Ersatzhandlungen des Geistes, was eben auch die polemische Schärfe der Kritiken erklärt.' Berghahn, K.L.: op. cit. p.44

42 Möller, H.: op.cit. p.57, for a detailed description of censorship during the 18th century see: Kiesel, H., Münch, P.: *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Beck, München, 1977, p.104-122

43 *ibid.* Friedrich Nicolai in March 1762

Enlightened manner, to the spreading of information about literature. He edited the enormous *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, a review magazine, from 1765 to 1806, refusing for years, when the sheer number of books in need of reviews became more and more unmanageable, to make any kind of selection. He, in contrast to most of his colleagues, maintained a conviction of the need for literature to be socially relevant and aware, and for its discourse to be generally comprehensible. About this he feuded with both Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), who in his eyes displayed a lamentable lack of interest in the needs of the common people.⁴⁴ In this he foreshadowed to a certain extent the very short-lived *Sturm und Drang* movement with its keen interest in folklore and its radical turning to a wider audience.⁴⁵

During the Enlightenment, criticism was conceived of in a typically paedagogic manner. It had to come to terms almost immediately, however, with the contradictions of its own philosophy. The book and its potential for influencing people turned against instructive intentions as did the attitude of sentimental appreciation of art.

44 He wrote a parody of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* called *Die Freuden des jungen Werther*, criticizing the moral and social dangers he saw in Goethe's piece. He also reviewed Schiller's literary magazine *Horen* unfavourably, calling it esoteric and elitist.

45 It is interesting that Nicolai was ridiculed by the Early Romantics and was from then on mostly forgotten. Wellek's history of literary criticism only mentions him in passing and does not attempt to clarify Nicolai's position within his epoch. Wellek, R.: op.cit. vol 1. p.148

The characteristic traits of this situation for criticism were: an idealized notion of paedagogic, moral effects of literature on the public, based on the concept of passive sentimentality which was a prerequisite to any response to literature. This was counterbalanced partly by an elitist notion of a generalizing public reason, growing out of a philosophical split between public and private application of reason. Public reason was, however, linked to the ideal public sphere which never actually existed. These contradictions have shaped parts of literary critical discourse until today.

3. The Weimar Classic

Criticism of the Weimar Classic, dominated by Schiller and Goethe, moved more and more away from the wider audience. Art began to become autonomous, independent from any wider social phenomena. The two great writers did not care much for the lowly tastes of their more common contemporaries and turned to rigorously high aesthetic ideals, fully conscious of their ensuing isolation. They developed the idea of a classic, timeless national literature which they envisaged they were preparing. When they realized, however, that the social and intellectual situation in Germany was not capable of producing such a literature without major social and political upheaval similar to that of the French Revolution, they preferred to postpone their project.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ 'Wir wollen die Umwälzungen nicht wünschen. die in Deutschland klassische Werke vorbereiten könnten.'

They proclaimed a writer's need to withdraw from all worldly concerns. Criticism under their influence developed more into an exchange between a small learned elite. Their magazines, Schiller's *Horen* and Goethe's *Propyläen*, tried to establish an enclave of unchanging, classical values and artistic excellence, through which freedom was seen to be achieved eventually. The aesthetic rules which served Goethe and Schiller are further removed from social reality than ever before, even though they still have a proclaimed social relevance.⁴⁷ The actual audience is a small, highly selected group. As they saw art as autonomous, these thinkers no longer needed the legitimation of their theories by a functioning public.⁴⁸

Schiller, like many of his contemporaries, underwent a development extending from an enthusiastic appraisal of the sentimental and entertaining in literature to its complete rejection.⁴⁹ The legitimacy of a need for entertainment which the bourgeoisie expressed with their

Goethe, J.W.von: 'Literarischer Sansculottismus', quoted from Mayer, H.: *Meisterwerke deutscher Literaturkritik*, Rütten and Loening, Berlin, 1954, Vol.1, p.388. Goethe's and Schiller's correspondence concerning Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* gives ample evidence of their views, see for instance: Goethe, J.W. von: *Briefe*, (Auswahl von Rudolf Bach), Carl Hanser Verlag, München, 1958, letters from the years 1794-1796, p.292-348 see also: Borchmeyer, D.: 'Weimar im Zeitalter der Revolution und der Napoleonischen Kriege. Aspekte bürgerlicher Klassik', in: Zmegac, V. (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Athneäum, Königstein/Ts., 1979, p.1-55

47 Mayer, H.: *Meisterwerke deutscher Literaturkritik*, Rütten and Loening, Berlin, 1954, Vol.1, Einleitung, p.XXX,XXXI

48 Gebhardt, P. op.cit. p.89

49 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik.. op.cit., p.75*

preference for light literature was rejected by these thinkers, who began to think of low- and middle-brow literature as 'Unkunst'.⁵⁰ Empathy which had in Classicism and the Enlightenment still been a prerequisite for any true relationship to art was now frowned upon as a lack of nobility.⁵¹

After the French Revolution, and no doubt in reaction to it, Schiller and Goethe and some members of the group of Early Romantic critics criticized any form of production and reception of literature which, in their eyes, brought forth an unmediated direct response. Reacting to the continually increasing volume and success of the modern mass literature they tried to emphasize the spirituality and detachment of what they understood as the proper reception.⁵² This led to a purely academic and spiritual treatment of literature and prevented it from being consciously and openly put to social use as Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) had still suggested when he proposed to use the study of German language as a strengthening bond for the German nation.⁵³ High-brow literature is then fixed in its relationship to 'the

50 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik..* op.cit., p.76-77 and Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Literaturkritik im Zeitalter der Massenkommunikation' in: *Literaturkritik und Öffentlichkeit*, Piper, 1974, p.136ff; see also Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik an der Trivialliteratur* op.cit., pp.15, 29, 37, 57-58, 114-116

51 Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik..* op. cit. p.81-2

52 *ibid*, p.118-122

53 Frels, O.: 'Literatur und Öffentlichkeit bei Herder' in: Bürger, C. et al: *Zur Dichotomisierung von hoher und niederer Literatur* edition Suhrkamp 1089, Frankfurt, 1982, p.209-231

Spirit' and low-brow literature in its relationship to uncritical sensuality.⁵⁴

4. Romanticism

The Romantic period in German literature is a very complex phenomenon. The influences of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the rising of new technologies and developing capitalism make this a many faceted period. Literary and philosophical analyses of the period are often plagued by the many contradictions which it contains.⁵⁵ These contradictions, however, can be seen as a mere indication of the complexities which are still in need of analysis. In the following, I had to oversimplify, as the scope of this thesis does not allow for detailed treatment.

In the debate surrounding criticism during the Romantic period, one can detect an attempt to 'save' criticism from the demands put on it by political/material interests. Sadly the project was doomed to failure. The Early Romantics, reacting to the mechanistic and rationalist social changes imposed on them by the increasingly aggressive commercial domination of life, developed a philosophy which aimed at finding a different centre for existence. The increasing control over daily life which the spreading movement towards more

⁵⁴ Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik* .. op.cit. p.74

⁵⁵ Mayer, H.: 'Fragen der Romantikforschung' in: *Zur Deutschen Klassik und Romantik*, Neske, Pfullingen, 1963

efficient commercial production imposed, was registered with horror by this group.⁵⁶ The bourgeois concepts of profit and efficiency seemed to threaten all traditional spiritual values. They rejected any functionality of art, trying to sever it from any one-dimensional social use. The enjoyment of art for the sake of entertainment and relief was interpreted as its exploitation.⁵⁷ Art was seen as a kind of opposite to usefulness.⁵⁸ A total commitment to art was the only proper attitude which would foster the kind of changes in a person which were necessary for the development of a new society with truly moral values. This was not a practical political aim addressed to a real or imagined public, but a more idealistic attitude which was meant to build an ideal society by its anarchistic rejection of the dominating social and intellectual values of organizing rules and economic efficacy.

56 The poet Friedrich von Hardenberg using the pseudonym Novalis, who invented the symbol of the blue flower, has been called the truest representative of the first Romantic school. His historical essay *Die Christenheit oder Europa*, is said to have influenced the historic and religious thinking of the early Romantics. The Schlegel brothers, Ludwig Tieck and his friend J.J. Wackenroder, Caroline Schelling, J.G. Fichte were all associated with the group in Jena. There were related groups in Heidelberg and Berlin.

57 Fichte, J.G.: *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* in: *Sämtliche Werke*, Berlin, 1846, Bd.7, p.87

58 'Vielmehr liegt es im Wesen der Schönen Künste, nicht nützlich sein zu wollen. Das Schöne ist auf gewisse Weise der Gegensatz des Nützlichen: es ist dasjenige, dem das Nützlichsein erlassen ist.' Schlegel, A.W.: Einleitung zu: *Vorlesungen über schöne Literatur*, in: Mayer, H. (Hrsg.): *Meisterwerke deutscher Literaturkritik*, Bd.1: *Aufklärung, Klassik, Romantik*, Rütten and Loening, Berlin, 1956, p.607

In this context, communication about art could be seen as the only worthwhile activity because it was free of the objectification which seemed to be imposed by most others. Criticism therefore developed a tendency to become self-sufficient.⁵⁹ There was no real or imagined public functioning as an audience or as a provider of generalized reasonability. True reason, as distinct from the mechanistic and objectifying rationality the Early Romantics despised, was now seen as in need of total freedom, only being accessible through an idealized idea of 'general human reason'. The critics worked for and on themselves, on their sensibilities, their individuality. The act of criticism was potentially eternal and aimed at producing not a narrow value judgment, an interpretation, or information for a future reader, but an attitude to life in the critics themselves.⁶⁰

The idealistic anthropology of the Early Romantics allows them to imagine the liberation of humanity from the restricting social totality by means of an anarchistic imagination in such a way that a productive and dynamic building of new identities might be possible in the trance of a liberated consciousness.⁶¹

59 Möller, H.: op.cit.p.95

60 Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Der Begriff der Literaturkritik in der Romantik' in: Hohendahl, P.U.(Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985, p.112, 113

61 'Die idealistische Anthropologie der Frühromantiker erlaubt es diesen, die Befreiung des Menschen von den Einschreibungen gesellschaftlicher Totalität mithilfe anarchistischer Phantasie sich so vorzustellen, als ob im Schwebezustand eines befreiten Bewusstseins ein produktiver und selbststätiger Aufbau neuer Identitäten möglich sei.' Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Der Begriff der Literaturkritik in der Romantik' in: Hohendahl, P.U.(Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, op.cit. p.117

They developed a notion of criticism as the poetry of poetry.⁶² Art is only completed in the process of criticism. In order to interpret correctly, the critic of the work had to command a sensibility similar to or even greater than the artist in order to capture the essence or 'Spirit' which the Romantics saw expressing itself in all great intellectual and artistic creation.⁶³ Thus criticism of literature became more and more an elite occupation, the literary needs of the masses were not included.

The Romantic idealizing of art and its reception must be seen as a genuine attempt to escape the misuse of art as compensation for a mechanistic and regulated lifestyle which was increasingly imposed on society during these times. The success of the capitalist book market seemed to be demonstrating the threat of this new philosophy and the Early Romantics saw life in its totality dangerously dominated by this movement towards rationalistic functionality. They were right, of course. However, their philosophies and theories about criticism as well as their critical activities themselves remained severely restricted, impractical. The attitude of egocentric trance-like communication with art, which was the ideal source of a liberating new identity, could only be experienced by the smallest elite and was in itself based on a lack of immediate social contacts. As such,

62 Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Der Begriff der Literaturkritik in der Romantik', in: Hohendahl, P.U.: *Die Geschichte ...*
op.cit. p.121

63 Gebhardt. P.: op.cit. p.90

their truly felt and justified yearning was condemned at the outset to remain socially ineffective.

The later Romantics concentrated more and more on the idealized past. They felt that the German nation had long been lacking the spiritual unification out of which true folklore could grow organically. Their searching for the original unified ancient folk poetry, which was supposedly able to unify the modern, sadly atomized people, became a device for authorizing and validating one particular version of the many local varieties of folklore stories and poems which existed in the oral peasant and crafts traditions.⁶⁴

The discourse and practice of literary criticism was from its inception dominated by the social limitations of its participants. Although the Enlightenment philosophies have a democratic impetus, this was severely curtailed by the lack of realistic, practical application. Even though the groups of Romantic and Weimar Classicism artists and critics tried to save art and literature from the demeaning functionality to which the encroaching capitalist practices began to subject it, their protests remained ineffective, even counterproductive, because they were based on a thoroughly elitist and exclusive concept of literature. The basic definitions of highbrow literature and middle- and lowbrow literature as distinct

64 Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Der Begriff der Literaturkritik in der Romantik', in: Hohendahl, P.U.: *Die Geschichte ...* op.cit. p.127

from each other was deeply entrenched in the discourse when German studies became a discipline at German universities in the 1850's and were therefore institutionalized firmly. Before this, the language had been studied in the discipline of philology. Many of the philological terms were incorporated into the new field. In the philological theories of the time, the anthropological and political concepts which were later narrowed considerably by Fascism can be found. One such concept is that of the People, *Volk*, which Jacob Grimm had defined as a group of people speaking one language at the first conference of 'Germanisten' in 1846.⁶⁵ In the 1840's his definition could in part be interpreted as a progressive concept as it coincided with some of the concepts used by a democratic movement trying to unify the German states.⁶⁶ Grimm could back his statement with a tradition of language-based definitions of nationhood. Herder had already in 1787 suggested the founding of a "First Patriotic Institute for the National German Spirit" in order to unify the nation by establishing a standardized version of the German language.⁶⁷ Schiller had seen German honour embedded in language and literature and trusted that the German language would survive and keep German honour intact - no matter what

⁶⁵ The term *Volk* also has a correspondence to the term nation.

⁶⁶ Rosenberg, R.: 'Zur Bedeutung von Jacob Grimms Konzeption der philologischen Germanistik für die Entwicklung der Literaturwissenschaft, *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, 1, 1986, p.28, 35

⁶⁷ Herder, J.G.: 'Idee zum ersten patriotischen Institut für den Allgemeingeist Deutschlands', *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. B. Suphan, Vol.16, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1887, pp.600-616

political upheavals the nation might have to endure.⁶⁸ As the German language had never co-incided with one political border, the definition of the term 'people' by Grimm, at the time an highly acclaimed linguist, had very controversial academic as well as political implications. His suggestion for the scope of German Studies, *Germanistik*, similar to the field of inquiry suggested by Herder, was supposed to include not just philology and literature but also law, history, religion and cultural studies. This conception was very influential in shaping the discipline and has remained so until the present day. Grimm had specifically excluded the study of politics from the inquiry and emphasized the study of ancient texts as representing the Germanic remnants of the prehistoric, unified language of which the German language was in his view the purest descendent.⁶⁹ This emphasis caused the discipline to favor medieval and classical texts and ignore modern texts, whose criticism was left to journalists or writers from other disciplines.⁷⁰

68 'Abgesondert von dem Politischen hat der Deutsche sich einen eigenen Wert gegründet, und wenn auch das Imperium unterginge, so bliebe die deutsche Würde unangefochten. Sie (...) wohnt in der Kultur und im Charakter der Nation, die von ihren politischen Schicksalen unabhängig ist. (...) indem das politische Reich wankt, hat sich das geistige immer fester und vollkommener gebildet.'

Schiller, F.: *Sämtliche Werke*, ed G. Fricke and H.G. Göpfert, 3rd Edition, Vol.1, München, 1962, p.473

69 Lämmert, E., Killy, W., Conrady, K.O. and Polenz, P.v.: *Germanistik - eine deutsche Wissenschaft*, Suhrkamp, 1971, p.12, 28,

70 Rosenberg, R.: 'Zur Bedeutung von Jacob Grimms Konzeption der philologischen Germanistik für die Entwicklung der Literaturwissenschaft', op.cit. p.34

The writing of histories had, as a consequence of the growing national awareness in the wake of the French Revolution, become an important activity. Since Romanticism, the writing of literary histories had become more central to the discourse.⁷¹ During the pre-revolutionary decades some liberal critics, such as Georg Gottfried Gervinus (1805-1871), had written histories of German literature which had related the development of literature to that of politics and philosophy.⁷² They had also argued for a more consciously political public life.⁷³ The failure of the revolutions in 1848, however, meant that this relationship between politics and literature was not maintained.⁷⁴

4. Dilthey, positivism and hermeneutics

71 Möller, H.: op.cit. p.35

72 Georg Gottfried Gervinus can be seen as the pioneer in the study of the history of literature. He felt that literature and political considerations were closely interrelated. See his *Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen*, Leipzig, 1842, 'Einleitung' printed in Mayer, H.: *Meisterwerke Deutscher Literaturkritik*, op.cit. Vol 2., p.265-282 and his *Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1853

73 Prutz, R.: *Kleine Schriften. Zur Politik und Literatur*, Merseburg, 1847

74 Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Literaturkritik in der Epoche des Liberalismus 1820-1870', in: Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte*, op.cit. p.156; Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Von der politischen Kritik zur Legitimationswissenschaft', in: Bürger, P. (Hrsg): *Zum Funktionswandel der Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1983, p.199, 200, Prutz, R.: *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1859. The contradictory position of Prutz is interesting here in relation to the development of literary criticism during this period. See: Hüppauf, B.: 'Einleitung' in: Prutz, R.E.: *Schriften zur Literatur und Politik*, edited by Hüppauf, B.: Niemeyer, Tübingen, 1973, p.VII-XXXVI; Hohendahl, P.U.: *Literarische Kultur im Zeitalter des Liberalismus 1830-1870*, Beck, München, 1985, p.121-158, 234-235, 343-346

Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) led the growing movement towards an overt separation of literature and politics by the establishment of a permanent literary tradition.⁷⁵ His approach contrasted that of Gervinus in that he started not from the concerns of the present but from a firmly established tradition of the past. Dilthey's approach, changing throughout his life and harbouring many contradictions, can be characterized as a combination of Schleiermacher's hermeneutics with Scherer's positivism.⁷⁶ Hermeneutics was based on the assumption of the primeval unity and uniformity of 'the Spirit' (*Geist*). The method starts with an initial intuitive leap by the critic. He is capable of such a leap because of his affinity with the artist and the spirituality of the work. From here on the hermeneutic circle is completed to make the work accessible to understanding.

If the Spirit, following its insatiable creative urge, externalizes itself in its own creations, and so hides its universality behind a multitude of its own particular incarnations, the hermeneutician unravels the concealed spiritual content of the Spirit's works, and thereby restores the totality lost in the particular.⁷⁷

75 Hohendahl, P.U.: *Literarische Kultur im Zeitalter des Liberalismus 1830-1870*, Beck, München, 1985, p.165,175,178, 186-192.

76 Hüppauf, B.: 'Einführung', in: Hauff, J., Heller, A., Hüppauf, B., Köhn, L. and Philippi, K.-P.: *Methodendiskussion*, Athenäum, Frankfurt, 1971 (1987), p.7, Köhn, L.: 'Der positivistische Ansatz' in: Hauff, J. et al, op.cit. p.44,45; Hohendahl, P.U.: *Literarische Kultur im Zeitalter des Liberalismus 1830-1870*, Beck, München, 1985, p. 261-262

77 Baumann, Z.: *Hermeneutics and Social Science*, Hutchison, London, 1978, p.28

ms
 The hermeneutic method claimed scientific objectivity and the attainment of truth. As this objectivity could only be achieved by looking at a text from an 'outside' position, the recent, university-based criticism had to exclude criticism of any contemporary literature from its concerns. The fact that the majority of people were not interested in, or affected by their results did not perturb the academics and only some writers suggested ways of including the more popular tastes in literature.⁷⁸

The interpretation of works through the hermeneutic method was followed by an integration of the text into the history of ideas. The history of literature was seen to be completely work-immanent. Understanding and interpreting was co-incidental. References to actual historical or political conditions were seen as non-objective and were thus avoided. Since Dilthey, who was enormously influential, the position of criticism in relation to the selection of a canon of texts was less and less visible. The history of literature seemed to move independently from other social processes, and could thus be fitted into any scenario.

A decisive achievement of literary history is the fixing of the canon of the important past authors. This function,..., is now fulfilled mostly by literary history, which thereby gains a key position inside the institution literature. It has to fulfill the task of completing and legitimizing the present

78 Bürger, C.: 'Das menschliche Elend oder Der Himmel auf Erden? Der Roman zwischen Aufklärung und Kunstautonomie', in: Bürger, C. et al: *Zur Dichotomisierung von hoher und niederer Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1982, p.190-191

systems of norms and functions by reconstructing the past literature (national traditions)⁷⁹

In contrast to earlier literary historians, notably Gervinus, Dilthey saw literature representing an alternative ideal for the politically atomized and culturally uncentered nation. The democratic potential which had been part of Grimm's theories during the 1848 unification movements did not develop but was buried under the authoritarian unification by Bismarck later in the century.⁸⁰ The relationship between the national spirit, as expressed in literature and furthered by literary criticism, and history and state, which before 1848 was still marked by the hope that the state would support and aid the spirit, was now turned upside down; the state had to be served by the national spirit in order to be strengthened.⁸¹ Part of this task of strengthening the state was expected from the literary institution, now a university discipline called *Germanistik*. The conceptual link between the national

79 'Eine entscheidende Leistung der Literaturgeschichte ist die Feststellung des Kanons der bedeutenden vergangenen Autoren. Diese Funktion, . . . , geht . . . weitgehend and die Literaturgeschichte über, die damit eine Schlüsselstellung innerhalb der Institution Literatur erhält. Ihr wird die Aufgabe zugewiesen, durch die Rekonstruktion der vergangenen Literatur (Nationale Tradition) das gegenwärtige System von Normen und Funktionsbestimmungen zu ergänzen und auch zu legitimieren.' Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Von der politischen Kritik zur Legitimationswissenschaft' in: Bürger, P. (Hrsg): *Zum Funktionswandel der Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1983, p.197

80 Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Literaturkritik in der Epoche des Liberalismus 1820-1870' in: Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte..*, op.cit.

81 Lämmert, E. et al: op.cit. p.28 and footnote 40a; Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Von der politischen Kritik zur Legitimationswissenschaft' op.cit. p.211

spirit and the study of German was seen in the mythical existence of a primeval language of which German was thought to be the purest descendent. Wilhelm Scherer (1841-1886), with Dilthey the most influential critic and literary historian of the time, wrote in his *History of the German Language*:

(Science today)... draws conclusions from the relationship between languages about the relationship between peoples, to primeval nations which spread and branched out through migration and,.. it concludes from the relatedness of the mythologies and poetic motives to the existence of a primeval mythology and primeval poetics and tries to delimit the nations we know now from this dark but rich background. ... The Teutons, a small tribe, once belonged to a big nation which is sometimes called the Indogermans which we may, however, call a name, which they probably gave to themselves, namely Aryans.⁸²

It followed that the study of the original German texts could be expected to bring forth natural and purely German characteristics.⁸³ This produced a heroic image of the poet (*Dichter*) who was able to express these truths, as well as a romantic, glorified concept of the nation which was believed to have deep roots in the old Germanic language and whose will to remain unadulterated was seen

82 '(Die heutige Wissenschaft)... schliesst aus der Verwandtschaft der Sprachen auf die Verwandtschaft der Völker, auf Urnationen, die sich durch Wanderungen ausbreiten und verzweigen... sie schliesst aus der Verwandtschaft der Mythologien und poetischen Motive auf eine Urmythologie und Urpoesie und sucht die einzelnen uns geschichtlich bekannten Nationen gegen diesen dunklen, aber reichen Hintergrund abzugrenzen... Die Germanen gehörten einst als kleiner Stamm zu einer grossen Nation, die man zuweilen Indogermanen nennt, die wir aber mit einem Namen, den sie sich vermutlich selber gaben, als Arier bezeichnen dürfen." Scherer, Wilhelm: *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, 5th Edition, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1889, p.5

83 Scherer, W.: op.cit. p 12-17

in the 'purity' of the German language.⁸⁴ These ideas had become institutionalized in Germany by the 1850's through the establishment of German studies as an academic discipline.

5. The *Feuilleton* versus academic criticism before the rise of Fascism

From 1850 onwards, the division into academic criticism and journalistic criticism paralleled that of the high-brow and middle-brow literary genres and was widely accepted. This situation did not change when the expanding mass media in the 1870's established the literary pages, i.e the '*Feuilleton*', and has remained largely the same to the present day. Journalists writing for newspapers found themselves increasingly separated from the established, institutionalized literary traditions and began to base their evaluation on their own tastes.

A number of more prominent journalists need to be mentioned here. Karl Frenze (1827-1914) described literature without establishing links to any historical continuity. Paul Lindau (1839-1919) cultivated the chatty and totally subjective style which became so characteristic of *Feuilleton* criticism.⁸⁵ Theodor Fontane (1819-1898) tried to introduce a wider relevance and awareness into criticism even though he was fully

⁸⁴ Lämmert, E. et al: op.cit. p.23

⁸⁵ Berman, R.A.: 'Literaturkritik zwischen Reichsgründung und 1933', in: Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte..*, op.cit. p.207-208

conscious of the restrictions which the wage contract had imposed on all journalists. He tried to develop a witty but intelligent style which enabled reference to political issues as he had seen in England in the *Times*. He rejected the academic canon and tried to open the market for modern writers whom he saw as totally unprotected from frivolous market demands. The decade following unification (1871) saw a greater involvement of the state in the press. Laws against socialists and Jews were indications of a new conservatism which put pressure on the seemingly free subjective *Feuilleton*. A new breed of journalists insisted on a more educational criticism in tune with the new nation-building philosophies of the times. Heinrich (1855-1906) and Julius Hart (1859-1930) were representatives of this movement. They co-operated in various ventures. In their *Kritische Waffengänge*, (1882-4), a series of critical brochures, they attacked the *Feuilleton*-type criticism of the 1870's and demanded a more rigorously organized approach which would educate the people towards the new literature. A more liberal, and historically aware group in Berlin founded the club *Durch*. It was a focus point for a group of artists and critics who felt that they stood on the verge of a new age. There was a lively debate amongst these critics, who were mostly also creative writers and thus interested in promoting an acceptance of the modern style. Their approaches, although differing in their concept of the audience, remained polemical, non-critical and became, under the

growing influence of positivism, pseudo-scientific and -objective.⁸⁶ This only became more pronounced after 1918.⁸⁷

Round the turn of the century and up to the revolution of 1918/19 several strands of criticism co-existed. One promoted a non-democratic adherence to nationalistic, educational, folk-art ideals; another stressed the right of intellectuals, writers and critics to influence politics, as well as a Marxist approach which, with the spreading of Marxist ideas amongst the working classes and their leaders, attempted to search actively for a relevance of literature for the underprivileged. Here Franz Mehring (1846-1919) (1846-1916), Georg Lukacs (1885-1971) and Otto Getsche must be mentioned. Their approaches are quite different from each other and their influence was negligible in comparison to that of the bourgeois press, even though Getsche developed an approach which inquired from actual workers about their thoughts on modern literature.

Alfred Kerr (1867-1948) was a representative of liberal bourgeois intellectuals who tried to maintain some public say in political matters through an aestheticized criticism. The critic was put on a par with the artist/writer, criticism with literature. In this way, the word of the critic had a special

86 Berman, R.A.: 'Literaturkritik zwischen Reichsgründung und 1933' op.cit. p.225/6

87 Lämmert, E. et al: op.cit. p.14

significance. Kerr is the first representative of a 'Grosskritiker'. His personal fame and subjective approach changed criticism into an entertainment for the well-educated readers who could flatter themselves if they understood all his innuendos. He saw himself as holding a socially superior position vis-a-vis the chaos of normal daily life - including politics - and felt called upon to create a sense of order through his criticism, which was often an open, if very personal, political comment.⁸⁸

After the first World War, the ideas which claimed that the nation's true nature was to be found in its literature, and, more importantly, in the heroic and great literary traditions which had the force of unifying the people, were taken up again and transferred from an academic or popular, cultural ideal to a real political aim. This notion was, often innocently, supported by academic critics of the time who, in the face of the obvious lack of any political victory, searched enthusiastically among the literary achievements of the German nation for a substitute nationalistic triumph.⁸⁹ A new periodical, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Bildung*, was at the centre of this movement.

In the 1920's Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) and Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) started to formulate their critique of contemporary criticism, both academic and

⁸⁸ Berman, R.A.: op.cit. p.252

⁸⁹ Lämmert, E. et al: op.cit. p.14,15

media-based. Their ideas were developed from concepts which Brecht later formulated in relation to the 'epic theatre'. The critic should inform the audience about works which could help in defining and achieving its aims in the class struggle. They wanted to start a magazine called *Crisis and Criticism*, which was supposed to aim at analysing the social and economic base of literary production and literary criticism.⁹⁰ Parallel to the contemporary theatre which Brecht had labelled 'culinary' they described *Feuilleton* criticism as 'culinary' in style.⁹¹ With this they meant that it merely provided material to be devoured and then forgotten.

In order to get criticism out of its gormandising, I propose again and again that criticism instead of taking an aesthetic, culinary stand, should take the sociological, scientific stand. It simply has to examine complete areas of imagination from the viewpoint: To whose advantage is it?⁹²

Brecht and Benjamin wanted to establish a new type of criticism based on analysing form and structure in terms of their social and political function.

Most of our literary people live in a misconception about their position in society (which they see as a whole) which they find very satisfying: they see themselves as independent (...) They believe themselves to be the avantgarde, the leaders (at

90 Witte, B.: *Der Intellektuelle als Kritiker*, Stuttgart, 1976, p:168-177

91 Berman, R.A.: op.cit. p.260

92 'Um die Kritik aus ihrem Schlemmertum herauszubringen, habe ich immer wieder den prinzipiellen Vorschlag zu machen, Kritik solle statt des ästhetischen, kulinarischen den soziologischen, wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt einnehmen. Sie muss einfach ganze Vorstellungskomplexe bei den Künstlern von dem Gesichtspunkt aus untersuchen: Wem nützt es?' Brecht, B.: 'Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst 1' *Gesammelte Werke*, volume 18, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1967 p.106

least spiritually), believe in their influence and most of all in their ability to gain information. This is because they do not know what their function is as intellectual workers ('headworkers') who do not own their means of production. (...) They believe their product differs from the screw which is produced by the manual worker through the addition of a something which goes further than its planned usage, an uncontrollable powerful something which constitutes its actual value without which it might perhaps not be marketable and so on. Dialectical criticism can clarify this error very quickly and completely by asking the decisive question: For whom is it advantageous? as well as some other scientific statements, and if it cannot change reality through this it can at least show it and stop the money making activity of these people from giving the impression that it serves the common good.

Brecht tried to develop a criticism where the audience was itself actively involved. In conjunction with developing the concept of an 'epic drama', where the audience was continually made aware of the fact that it was participating in a theatrical performance by various 'alienation effects', Brecht tried to replace the critic

93 'Die meisten unserer Literaten befinden sich in einem sie sehr befriedigenden Irrtum über ihre Stellung zur Gesellschaft (die sie als ein Ganzes ansehen): Sie halten sich für unabhängig, ... Sie halten sich für die Avantgarde, für (wenigsten geistig) Herrschende, glauben an ihren Einfluss und vor allem: an die Möglichkeit, sich Informationen zu verschaffen. Das kommt, weil sie nicht wissen, was ihre Funktion als Kopfarbeiter ist, die keine Produktionsmittel haben. ... Sie glauben, ihr Fabrikat unterscheide sich von der Schraube, die der Handarbeiter herstellt, dadurch, dass diesem ein über seine geplante Verwendung hinausgehendes Etwas, ein Unkontrollierbares, Mächtiges beigegeben sei, das seinen eigentlichen Wert ausmache, ohne ihn womöglich gar nicht verkäuflich sei und so fort. Die dialektische Kritik kann diesen Irrtum sehr schnell und gründlich aufklären durch die gruppenbildende Frage: Wem nützt es? sowie einige andere wissenschaftliche Feststellungen, und wenn sie dadurch die Wirklichkeit nicht ändern kann, so kann sie doch wenigstens sie zeigen und verhindern, dass der gewinnbringenden Tätigkeit dieser Leute auch noch der Schein einer Tätigkeit im allgemeinen Interesse beigelegt bleibt.' Brecht, B.: 'Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst 1' op.cit.p.115

with the collective praxis of an audience. This active criticism was to lead not to a heightened literary awareness, but to a practical participation in a revolutionary change of society.

Benjamin demanded an academic criticism which took the social dynamic of literature into consideration, not just its aesthetic components.⁹⁴ Their project faced enormous difficulties which relate to the concept of *Germanistik* as mentioned earlier, as well as to the deteriorating political situation in Germany.

The popular critics were by now because of their method and owing to the rise of organized capitalism in the media, forced into a more commercial and very subjective approach to literature. The subjective description of a critic's experience while reading a text replaced the attempt at an objective interpretation. Alfred Kerr was most influential in that move.⁹⁵ The acidity of the polemics between Brecht and Kerr are an indication of the distance between their positions.⁹⁶ Brecht's and Benjamin's theories and plans, strongly opposed by conservative critics, were cut short by the rise of Fascism.⁹⁷

94 Gebhardt. P.: op.cit. p.97

95 Hohendahl, P.U.: *The institution of criticism*, Cornell University Press, London, 1982, p.18-19

96 Brecht, B.: 'Der Fall des Herrn Kerr', in: *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol 18, 'Schriften zur Literatur', p. 99-102

97 Kerr, being Jewish also had to leave Germany. His brand of criticism was, however, revived after the war.

6. Literary situation before the Second World War

The history of the division of literary criticism into an academic and a journalistic branch is well documented. The methodologies and theoretical underpinnings of the academic side can be deduced from the discourse about literature and its criticism. The history of journalistic criticism, its methods and objective are much harder to describe because it has not been accepted as an independent topic for inquiry until the late sixties.⁹⁸ This must be seen as a parallel development to that of the study of so-called *Trivialliteratur*, middle- and low-brow literature.

The traditional literary criticism (*Literaturtheorie*) has no criteria to adequately analyse "trivial literature". Research into trivial literature has made the mistake of orientating itself along the values and guidelines of canon literature and their ideological implications. The chance to develop an independent theory of trivial literature in conjunction with a critical theory of society with the help of sociological⁹⁹ and scientific communication criteria was not taken.

98 Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Vorüberlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Literaturkritik', in: Drews, J. (Hrsg): *Literaturkritik - Medienkritik*, Quelle U. Meyer, Heidelberg, 1977

99 'Die traditionelle Literaturtheorie hat keine Kriterien, um die "Trivialliterature" adäquat zu analysieren. Die Trivialliteraturforschung hat ihre Wertsetzungen und Massstäbe irrigerweise an der Kanon-Literatur und deren ideologischen Implikationen orientiert. Die Chance, mit Hilfe soziologischer und kommunikationswissenschaftlicher Kriterien eine eigene Trivialtheorie im Zusammenhang mit einer kritischen Gesellschaftstheorie zu entwickeln, wurde nicht wahrgenommen.' Schenda, R.: *Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute*, Beck, München, 1976, p.125

Until the rise of Fascism and its fully fledged attacks on the freedom of the press for propaganda purposes, the characteristic subjective, entertaining style of the *Feuilleton* dominated, even though it received many blows from many intelligent, articulate, notable critics such as Franz Mehring, Karl Kraus (1877-1936), Walter Benjamin and Bertolt Brecht. The *Feuilleton* critics continued to see themselves as free floating intellectuals, able to judge intuitively, and thus they remained more or less immune to the accusations of corruption and ideological compliance which were levelled against them during the decades. More and more specialized periodicals and papers catered for a more and more atomized relationship of criticism towards author and reader. The method tried to profess objectivity by claiming personal integrity for its professionals and membership of an educated elite - but remained subjective. It concerned itself with that literature which was aimed at the educated minority and thus sometimes rivalled the university-based literary criticism. No attempt was made to include in their approach the reading material of the majority, nor were the methods and styles of critics ever adjusted to include self-defined social needs and interests of the less educated majority. Even Marxist critics such as Lukacs maintained their intellectual superiority vis-a-vis the masses.

Before continuing with the account of the developments after the Second World War, it might be instructive to summarize the consequences of the history described so far for the discipline of literary criticism in the FGR.

The discipline was given an overtly apolitical character by the combination of various factors: the inability of the critics of the Enlightenment, Weimar Classic and Early Romanticism to take into consideration the social consequences of their critical theories when faced with the crisis of the success of popular, market produced literature; this must also be seen in connection with a fear of the consequences of the French Revolution; the rejection of politics as an area to be included in the very wide field of inquiry set out for the new field of *Germanistik*; the dominance of the academic methodology of Dilthey's and Scherer's hermeneutics and positivism. The preoccupation with the interpretations of the expressions of 'the Spirit' seemed to lack any relevance to the practical concerns facing the lesser educated majority. However, the relationship between this concept of 'the Spirit' and the concept of the nation, right from its inception, is an indication of how very saturated with political significations the usage of the concept 'Spirit' was, and is, in Germany. There is some evidence that the practitioners of those times were aware of this connection. This contradiction between the overtly unpolitical but underlying strong

ideological connotations has been a characteristic of the discipline which was finally brought out into the open during the 1960's.

Flowing from the denial of any overt political connections in the discipline are certain attitudes found in the critics and their approach to their task. The activity of a critic has traditionally been understood as one of interpreting but also that of ascertaining value.¹⁰⁰ The criteria of value judgments were also traditionally controversial, with various camps defending the validity of different schemes. Uncertainty in this area has not prevented critics from developing the belief that they are independent free agents who are judging literature according to the value system of great literature and its spirit. The contradiction between the overtly unpolitical but undeniably ideological nature of the activity was pointed out by various left-wing critics during the early part of the 20th century, but was only accepted by the established critics as a problem in the early 1960's. Until then, the approaches of literary criticism did not exclude a certain confusion between ideology and literary value. They also did not permit the problematisation of the political significations of criticism itself. If the Fascist interference with literary criticism from 1936 on seems to the outsider to constitute an extreme, unjustified

100 Nemeč, F.: 'Literaturkritik in der Literaturwissenschaft: Das Problem der literarischen Wertung' in: Drews, J.: op.cit. p.49-67



abuse of criticism for propaganda purposes, to the critics of the time it must have seemed like sacrilege.¹⁰¹ Because the discipline had not been able to legitimize its social relevance, because it functioned as an institution, it was badly prepared when the Third Reich collapsed and new social and political conditions were imposed by the victors.¹⁰²

7. Criticism after the Second World War

The discussion surrounding criticism after the Second World War is dominated by the tension between the demand for a 'free' criticism on the one hand and the accusation of an anarchy of subjective opinions on the other.¹⁰³ Could the contradiction be solved? The search for a criticism which used the unavoidable presence of subjectivity in a positive, non-ideological way seemed to smack of interventionist, Fascist propaganda and was thus dismissed by the established literary critics. Where this search was maintained, it inspired very valuable work which remains sadly on the margins of the discipline. Rudolf Schenda's work is one such example. In his book

101 Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmen der Literaturkritik', op. cit. p.611, Nemeč, F.: 'Tendenzen der Literaturkritik seit 1945', in: *Kindlers Literaturgeschichte der Gegenwart*, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt, 1980, vol. 10, p.250

102 My account of the history of literary criticism will not go into details about criticism under the Fascist regime, due to the complicated political constellations, which I cannot refer to in sufficient detail here.

103 Blöcker, G.: 'Freiheit in der Literaturkritik', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1.12.62.

Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute, [The reading materials of the ordinary people], he demands:

....literary criticism is called on to design a model for the object of its inquiry whose main principle is not allowed to be the conscious or unconscious improvement of the dominant market- and power-relations but the dissolution of the blocks, high culture - mass culture. This principle contains the demand for far-reaching changes of the existing cultural-political structure and specifically those contradictory educational conditions based on the social levels with the utopian aim of a "communication free of domination and fear for all people in a world without want" ...¹⁰⁴

After a more detailed description of the social base of criticism after the Second World War, I will come back to this point.

In the years following the political and economic restructuring of the German states the discipline of *Germanistik* was re-established as well, along with its divisions.¹⁰⁵ The split between mostly news-media-based

104 'Vielmehr ist die Literaturkritik aufgerufen, ein Funktionsmodell für den Gegenstand ihrer Forschungen zu entwerfen, dessen Hauptprinzip nicht die bewusste oder unbewusste Verbesserung der herrschenden Markt- und Machtverhältnisse sein darf, sondern die Auflösung der Blöcke Hochkultur - Infrakultur. Dieses Prinzip beinhaltet die Forderung nach umfassenden Veränderungen der jetzigen kulturpolitischen Struktur und speziell der auf den Schichtungsverhältnissen aufbauenden gegensätzlichen Bildungsverhältnisse mit dem utopischen Ziel... einer "herrschafts- und angstfreien Kommunikation aller Menschen in einer Welt ohne Mangel ...". Schenda, R.: *Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute*, Beck, München 1976, p.137

105 Albrecht, R.: 'Literatursoziologie, Rezeptionsästhetik und Literaturdidaktik' in: Landwehr, J., Mitzschke, M. (hrsg.): *Ästhetik und Didaktik*, Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1980, p132-136; Peitsch, H.: 'Politisierung der Literatur oder "geistige Freiheit"?' in: Hermand, J.: et.al. *Nachkriegsliteratur*, Argument Sonderband 83, Berlin, 1982, p165-207

criticism of modern texts referred to as *Literaturkritik* and academic, university-based criticism, referred to as *Literaturwissenschaft*, was continued. The term *Germanistik* was maintained but referred mainly to the study of the classic texts. The theories initiated by Brecht and Benjamin were not taken up by the main-stream of the discipline. Instead, criticism, both academic and media-based, merely emphasized the pre-fascist traditional approaches without any rigorous soul-searching or change in the definition or methodology in order to rid the discipline of its links to the philosophies of Fascism.¹⁰⁶ This must in one way be seen as an attempt to ensure independence after the interference of the Fascist period.¹⁰⁷ The two influential periodicals of the discipline *Das Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* and *Das Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts* show a surprising continuation between the pre- and post-war topics of discussion, methodology and theoretical assumptions. While the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* slowly develops a more open attitude towards new theories and wider ranging topics other than Schiller during the later sixties and seventies, the *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts* remains closely bound to the interpretation of Goethe, his contemporaries and their

106 Lämmert, E. et al: op.cit., Hohendahl, P.U.: *The institution of criticism*, Cornell University Press, 1978, p.28; Hüppauf, B.: 'Einführung', in: Hauff, J., Heller, A., Hüppauf, B., Köhn, L. and Philippi, K.-P.: *Methodendiskussion*, Athenäum, Frankfurt, 1971 (1987), p.1

107 Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmen der Literaturkritik' op.cit. p.612

worlds. Both periodicals remain stable during the early seventies and are still today considered the central organs of the Germanistik discipline.

The leading critics of the immediate post-war time were Max Rychner (1897-), Ernst Robert Curtius (1886-1956), Günter Blöcker (1913-) and Friedrich Sieburg (1893-).¹⁰⁸ They proposed a socially independent critical attitude which was supposedly responsible to the work of art itself. They celebrated the classics and saw themselves as responsible only to them and their own subjective reactions to the works of art. Literature was seen to be totally independent:

Each criticism which does not accept its object as an absolute world with its own god and law is subjected to common laws of relativity.

wrote Rychner.¹⁰⁹ They felt empowered to grant access to the canon by virtue of their positions and were sometimes very egocentric: "criticism is for me basically nothing else but an opportunity to express myself " wrote Günter Blöcker.¹¹⁰ They defined literary criticism as part of literature because it had the same characteristics and

108 Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmn der Literaturkritik', op.cit. p.612-615

109 Boehlich, W.: 'Kritik als Beruf', *Merkur*, 4, 1950 p.349

110 'Im Grunde .. ist die Kritik für mich nichts anderes als eine Möglichkeit mich auszudrücken.' Cited from Nöhbauer, H.F.: 'Die Situation der Buchkritik' in: 'Tendenzen der deutschen Literatur seit 1945', Edited by Thomas Koebner, Kröner, Stuttgart, 1971; see also: Nemeč, F.: 'Tendenzen der Literaturkritik seit 1945', in *Kindlers Literaturgeschichte der Gegenwart*, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt, 1980, vol 10, p.255

was considered just as creative. Ernst Robert Curtius wrote in his famous essay *Goethe as a critic*:

Criticism is that part of literature whose object is literature.¹¹¹

The growing subjectivity in criticism was the topic of Walter Höllerer's lecture during a conference on *Literatur im technischen Zeitalter*, [Literature in the technical age] in 1961. He stated that criticism in Germany was in a cul-de-sac and proceeded to characterize the five dominant types of critics and their methods in a mildly ironic manner.¹¹² His conclusions, however, merely called for a more rigorous and controlled application of the same method. The activities of the *Gruppe 47*, a group of writers and critics, who founded a literary association in 1947, must be seen as influential for the development of criticism from the early fifties.¹¹³ The critics of the *Gruppe 47* took Höllerer's point further and demanded a more direct political relevance for

111 Curtius, E.R.: *Kritische Essays zur europäischen Literatur*, 3rd edition, Bern/München 1963 p.33

112 Höllerer, W.: 'Zur literarischen Kritik in Deutschland', *Sprache Im Technischen Zeitalter*, 1/1961, p.153-164

113 The *Gruppe 47* was founded under the leadership of H.W. Richter and A. Andersch, after the journal *Der Ruf*, in which both writers had participated had been forbidden by censorship enforcements of the American Military Government in 1947. Once each year until 1967 the group held meetings and awarded prizes to writers. Even though the group had no political programme, it encouraged a politically aware criticism of literature and a critical attitude towards political conditions. Heinrich Böll was given the prize of the group in 1951. See also: Kröll, F.: *Die "Gruppe 47"*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1977; Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmen der Literaturkritik', op.cit. p.615-618

critical activity. They were, however, attacked by liberal critics such as Peter Demetz and Günter Blöcker. Marcel Reich-Ranicki, sympathizing with the demands of the group, maintained that the critic had a public responsibility, for his readers had endowed him with the task of "public truth-finding". Reich-Ranicki saw no reason, in 1965, to doubt the presence of this participating public audience.¹¹⁴

The rediscovery of some of Benjamin's and Brecht's ideas has been seen as the reason for the dramatic upheaval which the disciplines of *Literaturwissenschaft* and *Literaturkritik* underwent in the 1960's.¹¹⁵ In 1980 Jost Hermand summarized the atmosphere:

All German literary critics* who were not totally integrated into the system in the FRG and West Berlin were made to feel noticeably insecure in the middle of the sixties in both their scientific-theoretical as well as in their social and political consciousness. In the wake of the increasing demands for relevance which reached their first climax in the outbreak of the student movement, they found themselves with idle hands. Other academics had it easier then: doctors healed, lawyers defended, engineers constructed, architects built - were active (at least partially) for the common good. But what did German literary critics actually do? Their social legitimation was much harder to establish. O.k. they interpreted. But what? Didn't they largely teach a literature which, in spite of universal intentions, only interested 4.76 % of the population? And could that be described as a scientific activity in 'the service of the common good'? Or wasn't that pure nepotism, hunting for privileges or strengthening the status quo? No

114 Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Ein bisschen Amtsarzt ein bisschen Moses' in: *Literarisches Leben in Deutschland*, Piper, München, 1965, p.273-277, see also Michaelis, T.: 'Paradigmen der Literaturkritik', op.cit. p.617

115 Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Politisierung der Kunstindustrie: Zur ästhetischen Diskussion nach 1965', in Drews, J.: op.cit. p.282-283

wonder the high priests of this discipline especially were attacked as particularly removed from reality, reactionary or even narrow-minded - and that everywhere the slogan "Schlagt die Germanistik tot/färbt die blaue Blume rot" ("Kill German Studies/color the blue flower red") was painted on the walls of the relevant institute buildings.¹¹⁶

* (*Germanist*, the term still used for an university-based literary critic)

The academic critics came under heavy attack for their lack of political awareness and for what was conceived of as a quiet acceptance of the social status quo by having maintained the separation of the social and the aesthetic aspects of literature and literary criticism in their teaching and theories. By implication the media-based critics were also under attack because they had not developed an independent methodology and therefore shared most of the assumptions under scrutiny. Although they had

116 'Alle nicht total systemintegrierten Germanisten der BRD und Westberlins wurden Mitte der sechziger Jahre sowohl in ihrem wissenschaftlichen als auch in ihrem gesellschaftlichen und politischen Bewusstsein merklich verunsichert. Im Zuge steigender Relevanzforderungen, die im Ausbruch der Studentenbewegung ihren ersten Höhepunkt erlebten, standen sie plötzlich mit leeren Händen da. Andere Akademiker hatten es damals leichter: Ärzte heilten, Anwälte verteidigten, Ingenieure konstruierten, Architekten bauten - machten sich (wenigstens teilweise) für das Allgemeinwohl nützlich. Doch was taten eigentlich Germanisten? Ihre gesellschaftliche Legitimation war wesentlich schwerer zu bestimmen. Gut: sie interpretierten. Aber was? Lehrten sie nicht weitgehend eine Literatur, die trotz ihrer universalen Absichten lediglich die oberen 4,76 Prozent der Bevölkerung interessierte? Und liess sich das als ein wissenschaftliches Tun im 'Dienste des Allgemeinwohls' hinstellen? Oder war das nicht reinste Vetternwirtschaft, Privilegiertenhascherei oder Stärkung des Status quo? Kein Wunder, dass man gerade die Hohenpriester dieser Disziplin als besonders weltfremd, reaktionär oder gar fachidiotisch attackierte - und allerorten den Spruch "Schlagt die Germanisten Tot/Färbt die blaue Blume rot" an die Wände der betreffenden Institutsgebäude malte.' Hermand, J.: 'Jetzt wohin? These zur gegenwärtigen Situation der Germanistik', *Das Argument*, 121, 1980

a much more realistic idea of the role of the market in the the literary scene, they mostly assumed and often publicly claimed their political independence.¹¹⁷ The political left had at this time already become very disenchanted with the party-political development which seemed to leave no functioning opposition as the SPD aligned itself with the government and the loosely aligned non-party political groups combined to form the APO, (*Ausserparlamentarische Opposition*). The dominance of Theodor Adorno's teaching, which married literary criticism to social criticism in the area of aesthetics, over the literary intelligence of the period has been made responsible for the belated reaction.¹¹⁸

The discussion concerning the 1955 edition of Benjamin's collected writings by Adorno between the Frankfurt Institute and the periodical *Alternative* in 1967/68 reiterated some of the discussions between Benjamin, Adorno, Brecht and Lukacs during the 1930's concerning the relevance of art in society. This debate and its belated reception in the FRG started a discussion of the political legitimacy of literature and its criticism. Adorno's writing was privileged over those of the three others perhaps because he worked at the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research which was the

117 Kaiser, J.: 'Kritik als spontaner Impuls', in: Hamm, P.(ed): *Kritik/von wem/für wen/wie?*, Reihe Hanser 12, München 1970, p.15-19

118 Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Das Ende einer Institution?' in: *Literaturkritik und Öffentlichkeit*, Piper, München, 1974, p.174; Zimmermann, B.: 'Entwicklung der deutschen Literaturkritik von 1933 bis zur Gegenwart', in Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte*, op.cit. p.312

only institution which permitted Marxist research during the Adenauer period.¹¹⁹ Together with Horkheimer, Adorno had developed a Marxist perspective which differed from that of Lukacs and Brecht in many respects. No longer believing in the ability of the proletariat to bring about a social revolution, Adorno and Horkheimer saw analysis as the limit of social intervention by the intellectual.¹²⁰ This meant that Adorno understood the work of art not as a locus of social action, as Brecht claimed, nor as a reflection of the social structure as Lukacs, and later Goldmann argued. He saw it as an expression of "historical subjectivity" giving a "permanent testament of human history", for him "it embodies(d) the hopes and the sufferings, the expectations and the contradictions of the human race".¹²¹ He saw the constantly changing ideological gaps of society expressed in the formal tension of art. This gave his concept of art its social dimension.¹²² His concept of art and its historicity is not limited to the reflection in art of one particular historical situation or class. Authentic art for Adorno must be more than that, it must transcend its own historical grounding; only then can it have a claim to truth. The artistic

119 *Aesthetics and Politics*, New Left Review Editions, Verso, London 1980 p. 142

120 Hohendahl, P.U.: *The institution of criticism*, op.cit. p.33

121 Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Looking back at Adorno's *Ästhetische Theorie*', in: *The German Quarterly*, Vol 54, 1981, p.138-139

122 Adorno, T.: *Ästhetische Theorie, Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 7, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt 1970 p.16

creativity which can reach such a level of innovation of form is equal to historical consciousness.

...the uttermost consistency in the pursuit of the technical laws of autonomous art changes this art and instead of rendering it into taboo or fetish, brings it close to the state of freedom, of something that can be consciously produced and made.¹²³

Adorno was a close friend of Benjamin's and they shared many ideas. Adorno's compilation of Benjamin's work for posthumous publication made most of his writing accessible for the first time. There were areas of disagreement between them which are at the very centre of the discussions concerning the politics of culture in West-Germany during the 1960's. In his famous essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, Benjamin describes the transformation the concept of art had undergone since the technology existed to reproduce a work of art many times and thus to remove "the unique phenomenon of a distance" or aura, which had characterized authentic art so far.¹²⁴ From this he concludes:

The instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice - politics.¹²⁵

123 Adorno, T.: Letter to Walter Benjamin, dated 18.March 1936, in: *Aesthetics and Politics*, p. 122

124 Benjamin, W.: 'The work of Art in the age of its mechanical reproduction' in: *Illuminations*, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, 1977, p.224

125 *ibid.*, p.226

He saw the position of the intellectual as that of a producer, e.g. a writer who is able to write from within the production relations of his time, who is skilled in 'functional transformation' - a term Benjamin acquired from Brecht - "to describe the transformation of forms and instruments of production".¹²⁶ He suggested a creative approach to the new technological possibilities which were open now. In *The Author as Producer* he saw possibilities for writers to become active in the press on behalf of the proletariat, once they had understood the need to change the production apparatus:

... technical progress is, for the author as producer, the basis of his political progress. In other words, intellectual production cannot become politically useful until the separate spheres of competence to which, according to the bourgeois view, the process of intellectual production owes its order, have been surmounted...

In his essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* he conceived a similarly positive, potentially revolutionary side to post-audistic art:

Mechanical reproduction of art changes the reaction of the masses toward art. The reactionary attitude toward a Picasso painting changes into the progressive reaction toward a Chaplin movie. The progressive reaction is characterized by the direct, intimate fusion of visual and emotional enjoyment with the orientation of the expert With regard to the screen, the critical and the receptive attitudes of the public coincide.¹²⁸

126 Benjamin, W.: 'The author as producer', in: *Understanding Brecht*, New Left Books, London, 1977, p.93

127 *ibid.*, p.95

128 Benjamin, W.: *Illuminations*, op.cit. p.236

Adorno and his colleagues from the Frankfurt School disagreed with these consequences of the loss of the aura and Benjamin's proposal for practical political activity in changing the productive forces by changing their function. Adorno saw these ideas of Benjamin's as an indication of the influence Brecht had on Benjamin and believed that he should counteract this.

Indeed I feel that our theoretical disagreement is not really a discord between us but rather, that it is my task to hold your arm steady until the sun of Brecht has once more sunk into exotic waters. Please understand my criticisms only in this spirit.¹²⁹

The Frankfurt School rejected most of Brecht's views.

Martin Jay describes the situation:

Especially baleful, they all agreed, was Benjamin's acceptance of Brecht's crude, even vulgar, materialism. Almost as unfortunate, at least in Adorno's eyes, was Benjamin's adoption of his friends overly optimistic attitude towards the revolutionary potential of popular art and technological innovation. Personal distrust of Brecht doubtless contributed to their dislike of his hold over Benjamin. The Frankfurt School, it should be noted, never saw eye to eye with Brecht on political matters, despite their respect for his literary achievements. The sentiment was returned in kind.¹³⁰

The complexities of the various theoretical positions and the developing debate during the thirties cannot be more than touched upon here. For the purposes of this study I can only point to those positions which

¹²⁹ Adorno, T.: Letter to W. Benjamin, dated, 18.March, 1936 printed in *Aesthetics and Politics*, p. 126

¹³⁰ Jay, M.: *The Dialectical Imagination*, Heinemann, London, 1973, p.201

played some role later in the reception of Benjamin and Brecht in the late 1960's. Their suggestions for a sociological criticism were taken up by a diverse movement. University- and media-based critics produced different types of debates: the academics reacted with a theoretical discussion centering around magazines and periodicals such as *alternative*, *Kursbuch*, *Kürbiskern*, *Ästhetik und Kommunikation*, and *Literaturmagazin*, the media-based critics with a series of collections of essays analysing and often justifying their practical activity. The results of the theoretical discussion were directly applied to the analysis of review criticism.¹³¹ The social role of the critic came under scrutiny, as did the lack of communication between critic and reader or audience as well as the social function of criticism in society and inside the cultural system. The most radical wing of the movement declared that existing criticism, i.e. bourgeois dominant criticism, was dead and called for a new type of criticism:¹³²

Can't we have a criticism which throws the shabby art-concept over board and finally conceives of the social function of any literature as the decisive element and acknowledges with that that the artistic function is incidental?

Can't we have a criticism whose false authority is no longer based on the fact that the critic has read more than his reader, is a specialist in reading, has a better feeling, has studied aesthetics?

Can't we have a criticism whose authority is based on the fact that the critic understands the

131 compare: Helms, H.G.: 'Über die gesellschaftliche Funktion der Kritik' and Karsunke, Y.: 'Uralte Binsenwahrheiten' in: Hamm, P. (ed): *Kritik/von wem/für wen/wie?* op.cit. p.134-141 and p.45-48

132 Boehlich, W.M., Enzensberger, H.M.: in: *Kursbuch* 15, 1968

function of literature and that what is said about literature is dependent on this function?

Can't we have a criticism which does not start from the atemporal character of art but from the relevant temporal character, which no longer understands literature as what it supposedly is but as that what it is used for and what happens to it?

This would be living criticism...¹³³

None of these demands are thinkable without the ideas of Brecht and Benjamin, but also not without the deep political crisis which presented itself to the critics in the form of the Great Coalition between CDU, CSU and SPD of 1966 leaving the tiny FDP with the impossible task of parliamentary opposition. The democratic system seemed at an end, not allowing an official voice to those who opposed the government. For the student movement the criticism of the political system and that of the discipline co-incided. The university as an institution was shaken to its roots by a wave of widespread protests against traditional course content, authoritarian systems

133 'Können wir keine Kritik haben, die den fadenscheinig gewordenen Kunstwerk-Begriff über Bord wirft und endlich die gesellschaftliche Funktion jeglicher Literatur als das Entscheidende versteht und damit die künstlerische Funktion als eine beiläufige erkennt?

Können wir keine Kritik haben, deren Scheinautorität sich nicht länger darauf gründet, dass der Kritiker mehr gelesen hat als sein Leser, Fachmann im Lesen ist, ein besseres Gespür hat, seine Ästhetik studiert hat?

Können wir keine Kritik haben, deren Autorität sich darauf gründet, dass der Kritiker sich über die Funktion klar ist, die Literatur hat, und dass von dieser Funktion abhängen muss, was über Literatur gesagt wird?

Können wir keine Kritik haben, die nicht vom überzeitlichen Charakter des Kunstwerke ausgeht, sondern vom jeweils zeitlichen Charakter, die Literatur nicht länger als das begreift, was sie angeblich ist, sondern als das, wozu sie dient und was mit ihr geschieht?

Diese Kritik wäre lebendig ...' Boehlich, W.: 'Autodafé, Kursbogen', *Kursbuch*, 15, 1968, cited from Arnold, H.L.: *Brauchen wir noch die Literatur?*, Bertelsmann, Düsseldorf, 1972, p.35

of teaching and promotion. Structural changes had some very substantial results in reorganising the universities and their promotion principles, in the choice of curricula of school and university teaching. Literary criticism became preoccupied with itself and its social effect.

For some years literary criticism tried in its most prominent representatives without illusions and full of hope to become aware of its position, tried to escape the total suspicion of being ideology, tried to combine the alternative to itself with alternatives to the existing society. It experienced a high just when it was pronounced dead; it was considered so important that conferences and meetings were organized for its selfportrayal and self-criticism...¹³⁴

The long term institutional effects were minor, however. A conservative reaction to the changes saw the reintroduction of the classical literary traditions in curriculum and criticism by 1975. The crisis of legitimation for the discipline, which had supposedly been overcome by the changes introduced in the early 1970's, remained unsolved. The search for a materialist theory of criticism had not been completed. In 1980 Jörg Drews wrote:

134 'Für einige Jahre versuchte die Literaturkritik in ihren prominentesten Vertretern zugleich illusionslos und hoffnungsvoll ihrer Lage gewahrzuwerden, suchte die Literaturkritik sich dem totalen Ideologieverdacht zu entwinden, versuchte, das Denken der Alternative zu ihr selbst zusammenzudenken mit Alternativen zur bestehenden Gesellschaft. Sie erlebte eine Hausse genau zu dem Zeitpunkt, an dem sie todgesagt war; sie wurde so ernst genommen, dass man ihr zur Selbstdarstellung und Selbstkritik sogar Tagungen veranstaltete...' Drews, J.: 'Die Entwicklung der westdeutschen Literatur seit 1965' in: Lützeler, M.P.: *Die Deutsche Literatur in der Bundesrepublik seit 1965* Athenäum, Königstein, 1980, p. 261

.. around 1965 there were - and not just in literary criticism - hopes which had not been fulfilled, but at least hopes, while now these hopes have dissipated. The fertile challenge which the political and cultural changes in the FR represented around 1970 for literary criticism and which it took up, is not just nonexistent at the moment but also forgotten quite thoroughly; the business of reviewing is continuing, pragmatically and lacking a concept, just like the state and society continue uninspired and without perspective, while economic prosperity continues.¹³⁵

Media-based and academic criticism stayed trapped by their inability to change their own positions vis-a-vis the social and economic structures and to propose a socially relevant objective. Various reasons for this failure have been offered:

The present state (of literary criticism) is characterized by a pragmatism without theory, also by a lack of illusion which is partly realistic but partly incapable of any kind of oppositional thinking. The literary critics know that they are virtually only an appendage of the market, but neither do they make use of the chance which would still exist to speak up for the non-market-conforming for the not-already-popular.¹³⁶

135 '... um 1965 gab es - und nicht nur in der Literaturkritik - Hoffnungen, die sich nicht erfüllten, wenigstens Hoffnungen, während diese Hoffnungen jetzt zerstoben sind. Die fruchtbare Herausforderung, welche die politischen und kulturellen Veränderungen in der Bundesrepublik um 1970 für die Literaturkritik darstellten und der sie sich auch gestellt hat, ist nicht nur nicht vorhanden im Moment, sondern auch ziemlich gründlich vergessen; der Rezensionsbetrieb läuft so konzeptionslos und pragmatisch weiter ... wie Staat und Gesellschaft bei bisher fortdauernder ökonomischer Prosperität uninspiriert und perspektivelos weitermachen.' Drews, J.: 'Die Entwicklung der westdeutschen Literatur seit 1965' in: op.cit. p.258

136 'Der gegenwärtige Zustand ist durch eine theorielose Pragmatik gekennzeichnet, auch durch eine Illusionslosigkeit, die teils realitätsgerecht, teils aber zu jeder Art widerständigem Denken unfähig ist. Die Literaturkritiker wissen, dass sie fast nur ein Anhängsel des Marktes sind, nutzen aber auch nicht in nennenswertem Masse die Chance, die immer noch vorhanden wäre, sich für

Hohendahl suggests:

The hope for an immediate change was fed by the domestic political constellation which seemed to promise the change of the social situation. What should replace bourgeois criticism was a question for which no solution was found. The revolt had expected a spontaneous growing of new forms after the dissolution of the useless, corrupt institutions.. The liberation from the formal and organizational mechanisms was not to be gained by anarchistic protest but by a reorganization of the existing means of production. What was missing was, as with the incriminated bourgeois criticism, an exact analysis of the readership and of the media industry.¹³⁷

Hohendahl also points out that the interests of the masses have nowhere been taken into consideration except by implication. It is therefore interesting to note that the accusation of a continued unwillingness to become socially relevant can still be leveled against criticism in all its forms today. To the best of my knowledge, no attempt has been made to study the social consequences for the literary uninformed population of the continued

das nicht-marktkonforme, das Nicht-Ohnehin-Gängige einzusetzen..' Drews, J.: 'Die Entwicklung der westdeutschen Literatur seit 1965' in: op.cit. p.262
 137 'Die Hoffnung auf eine unmittelbare Veränderung wurde 1968 genährt durch eine innenpolitische Konstellation, die die Veränderung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse sogleich in Aussicht zu stellen schien. Ungelöst bleibt freilich das Problem, was an die Stelle der bürgerlichen Kritik treten sollte. Die Revolte rechnete mit der spontanen Entstehung neuer Formen nach der Auflösung der verbrauchten und korrumpierten Institution... Die Befreiung von eingeschliffenen formalen und organisatorischen Mechanismen liess sich nicht durch den anarchistischen Protest, sondern nur durch die Umbesetzung der vorgefundenen Produktionsmittel lösen. Es fehlte nicht anders als bei der inkriminierten bürgerlichen Kritik, an genauen Analysen des Lesepublikums und der Medienindustrie.' Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Ende einer Institution?' *Literatur und Öffentlichkeit*, op. cit. p.184

existence of elitist literary institutions. The assumption is usually that the masses are simply not interested and therefore cannot assist in the restructuring program. What the indirect effects of the existence of the literary institution in the capitalist society are, is a question which can only be asked in a sociological framework. A literary sociology, which inquires into the role of the literary institution in the maintenance of the social order and develops from that analysis a politically relevant self-concept which could replace the former literary criticism, does not exist in the FRG. Schenda's demands are to my knowledge the closest to a programme for such an undertaking:

The demand states that the academic who has so far, hidden in the ivory tower, occupied himself with the sociological problems of indirect communication - ...- should now climb down into the street, the formerly disliked trivium, to make his results clear to those who were the main object of his research, those who are dominated by the dominant reading materials and mass media. This means a breaking open of a part of the *universitas litterarum* to form a *universitas civium*. This doesn't just mean a broadly based dissemination of knowledge and conclusions in an enlightening intention but also an active participation in the direction of the aim to let the dominated reproduce themselves and bring them to a 'self-understanding' conscious expression, as Walter Benjamin already demanded in the thirties.¹³⁸

138 'Die Forderung besagt, dass der Wissenschaftler, der sich, bislang im Elfenbeinturm versteckt, mit den sozialen und soziologischen Problemen der indirekten Kommunikation beschäftigte - ..- nun auf die Strasse, das ehemals missbilligte Trivium, hinabsteigen soll, um seine Forschungsergebnisse denen verständlich zu machen und bei denen zu aktivieren, die das Hauptobjekt seiner Forschungen waren: den von den herrschenden Lesestoffen und anderen Massenmedien Beherrschten. Das bedeutet Aufbrechung eines Teils der *universitas litterarum* zu einer *universitas civium*. Das meint nicht nur breitgestreutes Mitteilen von Kenntnissen und Erkenntnissen in aufklärerischer Absicht, das heisst auch Mitwirken in Richtung auf das Ziel, die Beherrschten sich

Literary criticism has, then, in all its institutionalized forms, fulfilled the function of maintaining the monopoly over the selection of meanings so central to society: the definition of what texts are worthy of being called literature, what texts could enter the canon and who should have access to the participation in this selection. As I have tried to show with this necessarily abbreviated history of literary criticism and its social base, the two dominant characteristics of literary criticism throughout the two centuries of its existence have remained structurally unchallenged even though theoretical initiatives for changing it were produced: the actual subjectivity of a small select group, being falsely understood by society and by themselves as representing unchanging values such as truth and beauty, combines with an accommodating relationship to the prevailing power-structure by that institution which empowers this group. The selective activities of the institution mobilize meanings which continually underpin an uneven distribution of power. The potentials for a more equal power base which were inherent in the Enlightened, the Early Romantic, the Pre-March and Weimar Republican thinkers was each time turned against such a project, not only because the participants were limited by the contradictions inherent in their own theories, but also because, increasingly - once literary

selbst reproduzieren zu lassen und zur selbstverständlichen Selbstäusserung zu bringen, so wie das Walter Benjamin schon in den dreissiger Jahren forderte.' Schenda, Rudolf: op. cit. p.138

criticism was institutionalized - it continued to reproduce itself not only by selecting texts but also by selecting methodologies and personnel which suited itself. Only those thinkers who stood completely outside the institution were able to achieve a truly socially relevant theory of criticism. One such group were some Enlightened critics, before the book market and the state authorities had started to exploit the book for their purposes. Another group is Brecht and Benjamin with their sociological criticism. Their plans entailed a completely changed social basis for criticism as part of a wider programme of social change, for which equal power-sharing was fundamental. The reasons for the failure of these two types of criticism are complex and cannot be analysed here. It must, however, be noted, that the failure of these two groups is qualitatively different from that of others. The theories of the Enlightenment and the sociological criticism of Brecht and Benjamin failed not due to their inherent theoretical limitations, as one could say about the theories of the Early Romantic and Weimar Classic theories.

Literary criticism in the FRG still fulfills the function of the selection of texts by an elite who produces 'opinions' i.e. meanings, through an institutional domination of the communication channels between authors, texts, readers and buyers. Thus, even though active participation in the processes of writing, reading and teaching literary criticism is numerically

very small, literary criticism as an institution retains a powerful position.¹³⁹

Literary criticism in the FRG during the 1970's finds itself to be a battleground of many conflicting opinions in the long standing debate concerning not only the social role of literary criticism itself but also, sometimes using criticism as a substitute, concerning the stability of the social order. The next part of this thesis will use Böll's reception, both literary and non-literary, as a focus for an investigation and resolution of the questions which have been raised about the social role of literary criticism in the previous chapters.

¹³⁹ Dimpfl, M.: *Literarische Kommunikation und Gebrauchswert*, Bouvier, Bonn, 1981, p.106

PART II

B: RECEPTION ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR

This part of the thesis constitutes the major analysis of primary material, collected from the Böll-Archives in Cologne. The next three chapters will analyse the media situation preceding the publication of the three books *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* and *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* based on an extensive collection of newspaper clippings. After Böll's position as a public figure, as reported by the media, has been established, the reviews themselves are analysed. The reviews appearing in dailies and general periodicals are treated as one group; those coming from specifically academic literary periodicals or books form another. The following chapters will establish the descriptive and analytical basis for a characterization of the forms of literary criticism active in the FRG during the 1970's.

1. *Gruppenbild mit Dame*

The reception of *Gruppenbild mit Dame* must be seen in relation to Böll's growing reputation as a moral activist. Most of the reviews concentrate on the author's personality and approach the literary aspects through an assessment of the author. This tends to trivialize and

narrow the debate. Even though there is no agreement on the literary quality of *Gruppenbild*, most reviews treat the novel in a very 'literary' manner, completely ignoring any social relevance it might have.

a) Media situation

The following section briefly analyses articles appearing during the years 1970 - 1971 in a wide cross-section of the media of the Federal Republic, concerning Böll and his non-literary activities. The aim is to establish an impression of Böll's public image as constituted by the media's descriptions of his non-literary activities. The reception of *Gruppenbild* must be seen in the context of this situation.

In 1970 Böll engaged in activities which were characteristic of a socially concerned, increasingly popular writer during that period. One high point was his speech on the occasion of the festivities in relation to the 'Week of Brotherliness' in which he announced that he would no longer make himself available as a prominent speaker for similar such occasions.

The speech is a good summary of his political position. He pointed out that he saw a certain shifting, nationally and internationally, in social and cultural attitudes, and that he interpreted this movement as a general willingness on the part of society to give up the old 'framework' and perhaps to take the first steps towards 'brotherliness'. He then made certain statements

about his own feelings towards this old framework and his wish to step outside it. These statements were said to have shocked some of the assembled dignitaries and public personalities: He mentioned being embarrassed to speak about 'brotherliness' while living in a society which could not ensure the prevention of starvation of whole peoples as in Biafra, while it was obvious that political differences were quickly overcome in order to clinch business deals and while the German army was still maintaining a code of honour which had been tarnished by the death of 60 million during the Second World War. He used a quote from the diary of Che Guevara in which Guevara admits once not having found the courage to shoot at a group of enemies. Böll saw here an illustration of that necessary moment of hesitation before any potentially violent act which made 'brotherliness' possible. He recommended this attitude of hesitation to executioners, bombers and policemen hunting demonstrators.

A large number of articles appeared in early March 1970 which relate to this speech.¹ The furore brought out a range of reactions to Böll's action. While this range remains relatively constant during the 1970's, there is a change in which type of reaction gains dominance.² The

¹ 29 articles, see following notes for individual references.

² Iserlohe, N.: 'Brüderlichkeit nicht nur an den Feiertagen', *Kölnische Rundschau Am Sonntag* 15.3.70.; Dam, H.G. von: 'Böll hat das Recht zur Provokation!', *Westfälische Rundschau* 16.3.70.; RAK: 'Statt Reden mehr Brüderlichkeit', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, Münster,

day after the speech was given, the media seemed merely to report the event, even though they stressed the most controversial angle i.e. Böll's announced refusal to participate in similar 'celebrations' in the future.³ Comments appeared a few days later. The critical positions had various justifications: Hans Habe lamented the confusion which had taken over this (Böll's) noble and powerful spirit.⁴ In some published letters to the editor Böll was accused of not having given suggestions for a solution to the problems he perceived.⁵ In others the state was called upon to prevent such speeches in future.⁶ Böll was asked to reconcile - not merely to provoke and accuse.⁷ Suggestions that the writer must be

11.3.70.; Schaller, G.: 'Böll und die Brüderlichkeit', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung* 20.3.70.

3 'Heinemann: 'Die Gesinnung kann nicht befohlen werden.', (Leitartikel) *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 9.3.70.; 'Brüderlichkeit kann nicht befohlen werden' (H.B. will nicht mehr mitmachen), *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 9.3.70.; 'Eklat zur Woche der Brüderlichkeit', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9.3.70.; ts/dpa 'Verkannt, verfemt, geduldet?', *Hannoversche Allgemeine*, 9.3.70.; Casparek, G.: 'Bölls 'Festrede': Anklage gegen sinnlose Feiern', *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 9.3.70., Fischer, G.: 'Brüderlich', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung* 9.3.70., 'Ehepaar mit Kindern soll Wohnungssuche schildern' u. Königsberger, O.: 'Demaskierung', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 9.3.70.; 'Mahnung an die Brüderlichkeit', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.3.70.; Bischoff: 'Böll will keine Festrede mehr halten', *Abendzeitung 8 Uhr Blatt*, 10.3.70.; 'Plädoyer für Minderheiten', *Die Zeit*, 13.3.70.,

4 Habe, H.: 'Prämie für die Gewaltlosigkeit', *Tagesanzeiger Regensburg*, 24.2.70. also in: *Tageszeitung*, 14.3.80.

5 Segnitz, H.: 'CheGuevara - Starker Tabak', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.3.70.; Eberhardt, M.: 'Fragen an H.B.', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.3.70.; Lehnhardt, K.: 'H.B. & Autor', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.70.; Zeugner, A.: 'Pompöse, nicht böse Bankfassaden', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.70.; Three letters to the editor, *Die Welt*, 31.3.70.

6 Weidlich, U.: 'Schwierigkeiten mit der Brüderlichkeit', *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 18.3.70.

7 Haar, J.: 'Bitte an den Schriftsteller Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17.3.70.

seen as distinct from the citizen and that writers who turn to politics should be regarded with suspicion were also voiced.⁸ Apart from the merely implicit applause from some reports, praise came from those who thought that Böll had the right to provoke and that his action has done much to popularize the issue of 'brotherliness'.⁹ This fairly evenly spread range of reactions facilitated an image of a good natured moralist who could be relied upon to speak out in favor of socially-engaged, politically liberal values which were starting to enjoy a new popularity now that a social/liberal government was in power striving to normalize the relations with the communist nations.¹⁰ In February 1970 Jean Amery wrote about Heinrich Böll:

The agitator, who is happily neither Jew nor Bolshevik, but a German man like any other will have many tasks.

He will achieve them, as we can predict already with solidarity and solidity, as novelist and political polemicist. He has 'his' audience. He is read and heard. For fifteen years Heinrich Böll has been what can be called a national figure - and he looks good in this role.¹¹

8 Hohoff, C.: 'Dieser Bursche ist eine Katastrophe!', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 8.5.70.

9 'Brüderlichkeit ist keine Veranstaltung', *Rheinische Post*, 17.3.70.; 'Kölner Schüler diskutieren über Bölls Rede', *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 19.3.70.; lsw: 'Polizeischüler schreiben an Heinrich Böll', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 17.3.70.; U.S.: 'Brüderliche Besorgnis um Gastarbeiter?', *Telegraf*, Berlin 22.3.70.

10 For instance the separation between the writer and the citizen Böll in: Besser, J.: 'Böllereien' (Leitartikel), *Kölner Stadt Anzeiger*, 16.3.70.

11 'Der Zersetzer, der glücklicherweise weder Jude noch Bolschewik ist, sondern ein deutscher Mann wie nur einer, wird manche Arbeit haben.

Er wird sie leisten, das kann man heute schon voraussagen, mit Solidarität, und Solidität, als Romanschreiber und politischer Polemiker. Er hat 'sein' Publikum. Er wird gelesen und gehört. Seit fünfzehn Jahren ist Heinrich Böll das, was man eine nationale

Before and after the speech Böll continued to speak out critically about various issues.¹²

During 1971 the process of consolidation of an international reputation for Böll continued. He was elected president of the German PEN-Club after he had also been very influential in the German Writers Association, VS. His political activities, particularly those in relation to his presidency of the German PEN, were mostly received positively by the media and can be seen as a step towards a process of institutionalization of Heinrich Böll as a representative German author.¹³ One can understand the next two events as a further step: his election as president of the international PEN-Club in September, and the beginning of rumours in the press about the possibility of the Nobel Prize for Literature for Böll.

Figure nennt - und er macht gute Figure in dieser Rolle.' Amery, J.: 'Solidarität. Warum H.Böll nicht überholt ist' *Nationalzeitung*, Basel, 15.2.70.

12 for instance 'Böll, Baader, der Staat und die 30er Jahre' *Rheinische Post*, 27.3.71. where he is mentioned for the first time as criticizing the sensationalizing reporting of *Bild* in relation to the RAF

13 Neudecker, N.: 'Aus dem Elfenbeinturm gelockt', *Abendzeitung*, 19.4.71.; Bock/Fenn: 'Beginn eines Dialogs', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 19.4.71.; Braem, H.M.: 'Porno, Klassenkampf und Schriftsteller', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 19.4.71.; Kaiser, J: 'PEN-Club und Pornographie', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19.4.71.; W.U.: 'Für die Freiheit der Meinung', *Kölner Stadt Anzeiger*, 19.4.71.; Colberg, K.: 'Vom Parnass herab ins profane Leben', *Heidelberger Tageblatt*, 20.4.71.; U.S.: 'Quo vadis PEN?', *Die Welt*, 20.4.71.; Leonhardt, R.W.: 'PEN und Pornographie', *Die Zeit*, 23.4.71.; Schultze, S.: 'Der PEN-Club, die Politik und die Pornographie', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 24.4.71.

This, then, was the situation when the novel *Gruppenbild mit Dame* appeared. Böll had achieved international acclaim and standing as commentator and writers' representative even before his literary reputation had spread. The reception patterns, as analysed in the next part, are influenced by this growing public image of Böll as an increasingly accepted, internationally respected writer with a flair for critical outspokenness.

b) Analysis of the reviews

1. Introduction

For the analysis, the reviews have been divided into those which appeared in dailies, in periodicals and in books. In my analysis I attempted to isolate and describe the strongest characteristic of the reviews. On the following pages, I will establish that it is the reviews' 'commercial' character and its consequences, namely the commercial exploitation of the concept 'Literature' and the resulting shallowness of the discussion of the themes brought up by the book, which characterize the reception of *Gruppenbild*. It is not my intention to establish that the critical treatment of Böll in the FRG is in any way unusual compared to that of other authors or other countries. In the next three chapters, I merely attempt to provide the material for a description of the characteristic forms of criticism (Chapter Seven), practiced in the FRG during the 1970 and their consequences, using the reception of Böll's novels as an example.

By 'commercial' character I mean those characteristics of the review which tie its relevance to the dynamics of the book market and mass media. Within the demands of the fast changing topics of current affairs, interest trends and sensational revelations, the reviews become irrelevant quickly, out of date in a few

days, when other books or topics have to be dealt with because they are just 'new'. The reviews are largely constituted by the market, i.e. they react to its dynamics and they service it as well, i.e. they promote its products punctually. A review with a justification of existence which is independent from this constellation is very rare indeed.

Reviews compete with each other and with the mass of other information available for the readers' interest. In order to attract attention various strategies are employed: The most flexible and common approach is of course to try to say something new. This is used in very different ways: academic reviews search for a new angle or a new paradigm which explains and interprets the novel; some dailies simply get the content summary out as early as possible. However both kinds of critics are under pressure to produce something new, and often this concern overrides the search for a good, informative review: the *Feuilleton* writer is forced to write hastily and the academic is tempted to dream up connections which are far fetched and without any social or professional relevance.¹⁴ There are numerous reviews which can be seen to fit this pattern.

¹⁴ Some early reviews show signs of haste: Neubert's 'Eine sinnliche Madonna', in *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 1.8.71.; Ulrich's 'Der neue Böll und sein 'Verf.', in *Münchener Merkur*, 7.8.71. as Armbruster's 'Ein Monument für Leni', in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7.8.71. concentrate on content and keep to mainly positive comments which they do not justify.; The essays by Bernath, Grothmann and Myers are examples of the academic far-fetched essays and will be discussed later. Bernath, A.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame - Eine neue Phase im Schaffen Bölls', *Dortmunder Vorträge*,

Another way to attract attention is to connect the review with some theme of notoriety. This is also done in various styles depending on the publishing organ: the regional dailies might simply concentrate on the aspects of sex, crime and religion, while the larger, widely distributed dailies might concentrate on the author's personality and his oppositional attitude to various institutions criticized in the novel.¹⁵ An academic periodical might publish a highly judgmental review which tries to engage in a shadow boxing match with the (not present) author about his apparent literary and moral failings.¹⁶

2. History

After a brief description of the history of the reception of *Gruppenbild*, I shall use examples from each group from different publishing organs in order to give a

Ht 107; Grothmann, W.H.: 'Zur Struktur des Humors in Heinrich Bölls *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *The German Quarterly*, 1/1977; Grothmann, W.: 'Zur Struktur des Humors in Heinrich Bölls *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *The German Quarterly*, March 77; Myers, D.: 'Heinrich Böll's *Gruppenbild*. Aesthetic Play and Ethic Seriousness', *Seminar* 3/1977

15 Herbert Eisenreich's '*Gruppenbild* leider verwackelt', in *Furche*, 13.5.72. and Wendelin Zimmer's '400 Seiten Tratsch über Leni', in *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 13.8.71. capitalize on the most sensational sounding parts of the plot; in larger dailies for example the attitude of the Catholic church vis-a-vis fascism, the introduction of the new currency after the war, the antisocial behaviour of Germans towards their guestworkers in Nolte, J.: 'Das vielfache Nein des Heinrich Böll' *Die Welt*, 5.8.71.

16 Durzak, M.: 'Heinrich Bölls epische Summe? Zur Analyse und Wirkung seines Romans *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *Basis*, 3/1972

more accurate description and analysis of these characteristics and their consequences.

The novel seemed to be cast in the mold of a testpiece for Böll's international standing. The publisher announced confidently that the book was a bestseller within a few days of its publication.¹⁷ The reception of the novel cannot easily be separated from reactions to rumours about and the later announcement of the award of the Nobel Prize for literature to Böll in 1972. The rumours about the Nobel Prize, which had automatic news value, together with the obvious length and complexity, predestined the book for a mostly 'literary' reception. The reception, then, is characterized by the discussion of the 'quality' of the novel and by implication of whether Böll deserved the Nobel Prize. Even though preoccupied with literary value, the discussion of the book's perceived quality in the dailies was rather shallow but gave rise to a more detailed discussion of the literary form in the literary periodicals over the coming years. The dailies used the Nobel-Prize connection either, by celebrating Böll as the honest good German who finally made it to the top or by casting various amounts of doubt upon his ability and thus by implication on the likelihood and later the justice of the prize. The more divided the opinions the better for business. The reception of Böll which had

¹⁷ Jahnen, H.: 'Die Erstauflage ist schon weg', *Badische Zeitung*, 24.7.71.

hitherto been fairly united and predictable now entered a new stage...¹⁸

The first two reviews in dailies appeared on the day of publication (22.7.71.) and concentrated on giving a summary of the content. A day later several notices about the publication party in the garden of the publishing house premises were printed in local dailies as well as some commentary about the fact that the novel was selling well. The first lengthy review appeared a week after the publication in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the paper which bought the right to print the novel as a serial.¹⁹ Not surprisingly the review was a laudatio which unashamedly used the book and its market potential to sell the paper. Heinz Ludwig Arnold has pointed this out.²⁰ Rainer Nägele has analysed this review very well.

Karl Korn, for years a very vocal defender of Böll, wrote yet another laudatio in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. The readers of the paper, some of whom might still have been worried about Böll's statements about the Baader Meinhof-Group witch-hunt, had to be soothed in this regard. The political and socially critical aspects were diffused accordingly. Instead a 'light realism' is stressed with the aim of an association with Storm and Raabe. Particularly anything Marxist had to be eliminated: "The anarchist mood and idealistic social utopia of the people from the city of Cologne are not by accident easier to comprehend with Proudhon, the Frenchman known to be petitbourgeois and trade orientated, rather than with the Rhinish Prussian Karl Marx." The reader of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* is flattered in other ways: the

18 Nägele, R.: *Heinrich Böll, Einführung in das Werk und in die Forschung*, Athenäum Fischer, Frankfurt, 1976, p.173.

19 K.K.: 'Heinrich Bölls Beschreibung einer Epoche', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.7.71.

20 Arnold, H.L.: 'Heinrich Bölls Roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *Text und Kritik*, 33/1972

documentation which could smack of socialism only serves to increase the interest "for the more discerning taste. The criticism becomes an enjoyable satire of the times, which gives clever people the opportunity²¹ to say 'ah, yes' in a knowledgeable manner.....

During the next week most national papers, both dailies and weeklies, ran a review of the book, amongst these are *Die Welt*, *Die Zeit*, *Frankfurter Rundschau* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. This was followed by a week of reviews appearing in the regional papers and in some smaller weeklies. In the following month some German language foreign papers such as the Swiss *Die Weltwoche*, and *Die Tat* and some specialized German papers with small readerships, such as the paper of the SPD, *Vorwärts* ran reviews as did more regional papers. At the beginning of December the book received some more attention. This can be explained as relating to the Christmas book business.

²¹ 'Karl Korn, seit Jahren schon beredter Anwalt Bölls, schrieb auch diesmal ein Loblied in der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen*. Die Leser der Zeitung, von denen wohl manche noch von Bölls Äusserungen zur Hetze gegen die Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe verschreckt waren, mussten zunächst in dieser Hinsicht beruhigt werden. Die politischen und sozialkritischen Aspekte wurden dementsprechend entschärft, statt dessen 'leicht getönter Realismus' hervorgehoben mit Assoziationsziel in Richtung auf Storm und Raabe. Vor allem das Marxistische soll eliminiert werden: 'Die anarchischen Grundstimmungen und schwärmerischen Sozialutopien der Leute aus dem Kölner Stadtvölk sind nicht zufällig eher mit dem als kleinbürgerlich-handwerklich verschrienen Franzosen Proudhon zu begreifen als mit dem rheinischen Preussen Karl Marx.' Auch sonst wird dem Leser der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen* geschmeichelt: die Dokumentation, die doch einen Anruch von Sozialismus haben könnte, dient nur dazu, die Spannung 'für den anspruchvolleren Geschmack' zu steigern. Die Kritik wird zur genussreichen Zeitsatire, bei der kluge Köpfe kenntnisreich 'aha' sagen dürfen.' Nägele, R.: *Heinrich Böll, Einführung in das Werk und in die Forschung*, Athenäum Fischer, Frankfurt, 1976 p.150

33 reviews appeared in periodicals. They come from 16 different general periodicals and weeklies (amongst those are *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*) and 12 academic publications. The reviews from the general periodicals have been included in the analysis of the dailies, as they share a similar approach. The other group consists of 18 reviews from more academic periodicals and 9 chapters of books.²² The distinction was necessary as the critics used different approaches in both groups.

The first academic reviews appeared in *Merkur* (two) in September, 9/71 and in *Frankfurter Hefte* (three) in October, 26/71, followed by a long article in *Basis* in 3/72. Further longish essays appeared in *Neue Deutsche Hefte* in issues 18, 3/71 and 20, 4/72, in *Text Und Kritik* in Jan 72, 33/72. The essay in *Kürbiskern* in 1973 concludes the reviews of *Gruppenbild* in German periodicals. From now on more specialized essays using *Gruppenbild* appear at irregular intervals such as Kaiser's essay in *Wirkendes Wort* in 1978. The novel was, however, taken up by some foreign periodicals: *The German Quarterly* and *University Of Dayton Review* publishing reviews in 1972.

²² Nägele, R.: *Heinrich Böll, Einführung in das Werk und in die Forschung*, op. cit. p.148-159; Hübner, R.: 'Der diffamierte-integrierte 'Anarchismus' in Heinrich Bölls Erfolgsroman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*' in: Arnold, H.L. (Hrsg.): *Deutsche Bestseller - Deutsche Ideologie*, Stuttgart, 1975, p.113-144. There are more than 9 book-chapters on *Gruppenbild* but I only wanted to look at those which actually tried to interpret the book. Hübner and Nägele analyse the reception.

There is a relatively large number of book chapters which concern themselves with *Gruppenbild*. Most of these appeared in the following years, which saw a marked increase in publications on Böll's work. Most typical is the book consisting of essays and reviews, some a mixture of reprints and new works, edited by a well known Böll critic similar to Reich-Ranicki's *In Sachen Böll*.²³ Hanno Beth and Renate Matthaei published such monographs in 1975.²⁴ Reprints of older books on Böll, sometimes with additions referring to the latest book, appeared at the same time as new books concerned with Böll's complete work such as Bernhard's in 1973 and Nägele's in 1975.²⁵ The much increased interest in Böll can also be judged by the numbers of special issues on him appearing from now on: *Text und Kritik* in 1974, using reprints from 1972 and new material, *Queensland Studies* in 1975 and *University Of Dayton Review* in 1973, 1974, 1976/7 and by the number of interviews which were published in the next few years.²⁶

23 Reich-Ranicki, M. (Hrsg.): *In Sachen Böll. Ansichten und Einsichten*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Cologne, 1968.

24 Beth, H. (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Böll. Eine Einführung in das Gesamtwerk in Einzelinterpretationen*, Scriptor, Kronberg, 1975; Matthaei, R. (Hrsg.): *Die Subversive Madonna*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1975

25 Hoffmann 1965, 1973; Schwarz 1967, 1973 and Wirth, 1967, 1974; Nägele, R. op.cit.

26 'Ein Autor der Passion' 1970; 'Gruppenbild mit Dame' 1971; 'Im Gespräch: mit Heinz Ludwig Arnold' 1971; Dostojewskij - heute?' 1971; 'Interview mit Hanjo Kesting zum "Fall Astel"' 1971; 'Panorama-Interview mit Peter Merseburger' 1972; 'Telefon-Interview mit Axel Buchholz' 1972; 'Fernsehgespräch mit Iring Fetscher' 1972; '"Man kann nicht sehr weit gehen..."' 1972; 'Gefühle sind die "Syphilis der Seele"' 1972; 'Zur Verleihung des Nobelpreises' 1972; 6 interviews in 1973, 7 in 1974, 10 in 1975 etc. details in: Balzer, B.: (Hrsg.): *Heinrich*

3. Analysis

The three major themes in the reviews are (a) the author, (b) the form of the new novel and (c) various political assumptions of the critics.

3.a. Author

The author looms very large in the reviews. Either explicitly or by implication the author is at the centre of most discussions. From their assumptions about Böll, stated or unstated, the reviews go on to develop opinions about the other two themes dominating the discussion.

Dailies

There are degrees of author orientation in the dailies. The manner in which the concept of the author functions in the reviews can be demonstrated by examining one group which is not united in its conclusions about the novel.²⁷ These reviews approach the book entirely

Böll Werke, Interviews I and II, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, no year given

27 Johnen, H.: 'Schon 50000mal verkauft: Bölls dicke 'Dame'' *Düsseldorfer Express*, 20.7.71.; Jansen, H.: 'Die wundersame Liebe der Leni G.' *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 11.9.71.; Callsen, M.: 'Verschattetes Gruppenbild deutscher Mentalität' *Berliner Morgenpost*, 23.9.71.; Müller-Bringmann, W.: 'Kommentar zum Kuturgeschehen' *Deutsche Tagespost*, 20.10.71.; Schüler, G.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame' *Göttinger Tagesblatt*, 11.9.71.; Vetter, W.: 'Die Deutschstunde Heinrich Bölls' *Badische Zeitung*, 5.8.71.

through their assessment of the author as a person. They either mount various personal attacks against the author, his themes or his criticisms or give a suitably positive description of Böll and his 'humaneness', his modesty, his social engagement. Here I would like to analyse two very negative and two very positive reviews.

Böll's insistence on not forgetting the war and immediate postwar years is at the centre of Max Callsen's review in *Berliner Morgenpost*:

Mania or mannerism, what is stopping Böll from closing the chapter called war and postwar years? Why does he stay thematically fascinated by the picture of the early years, as he now has risked a decisive though unlucky step away from the success routine...The new novel shows his honourable preoccupation, but also the limits of his ability to develop, more clearly than ever.²⁸

Werner Vetter sets his review up in a very personalized manner. The introductory paragraph about Böll's earlier work which is formulated entirely in impersonal "one"-sentences in the manner of "one could expect..., one was led to hope ... " sets the stage. He states that Böll has, since the publication of *Billiards At Half Past Nine*, displayed a very noticeable fascination with strange mannerisms and a convoluted rather than transparent and forceful symbolism. In *The*

²⁸ 'Manie oder Manier, was hält Böll davon ab, einen Schlussstrich zu ziehen unter die Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit? Warum bleibt er thematisch gebannt vom Bild der frühen Jahre, da er doch jetzt formal einen rigorosen, wenn auch glücklosen Schritt aus der Erfolgs-Routine gewagt hat?' Callsen, M: 'Verschattetes Gruppenbild deutscher Mentalität' *Berliner Morgenpost*, 23.9.71.

End Of A Mission this has stopped being unintentionally funny, as it was in *Billiards*, and turned into a success for the author. After *The End Of A Mission* one could therefore wait calmly for the next Böll, or so one thought... All through the review Vetter constructs a phantom dialogue between the "one" subject of his clauses and Böll:

The title alludes with a high-minded gesture to the fact that Böll intends not to tell the story of a single person but that he wants to achieve more.... According to his own words Böll has not invented the title himself....

All this in a style which carelessly and at the same time stiltedly makes clear that Böll is concerned here only with reporting and nothing else...

Generally Böll's world is all around us here, as is the peculiar atmosphere which characterizes so many of Böll's works, this strange musty smell of petty bourgeoisie mixed with some incense and protest, of sluggishness and gentle anarchy. However what Böll succeeds in doing - and it seems as if this is here not even intended - is the portrayal of that humus in which fascism flourishes so readily...

Böll always only sees the individual... He has not been touched enough by sociology to be able to show how much society plays a role; his, in spite of all the protests, so deeply felt Christian concept of the world does not allow him to show how much his figures are really tied down by constraints. He rather draws figures on the fringe, freaks...

When the "auth." goes to Rome... and there kisses a nun, Böll already believes that he has managed to accomplish something importantly inciting...

He has never been able to be ironic, but has a worthwhile talent for the grotesque. Why does Böll not stick with it?²⁹

29 'Der Titel weist mit einer recht anspruchsvollen Geste darauf hin, dass Böll nicht die Geschichte eines einzelnen zu erzählen gedenkt, sondern dass er auf mehr hinaus will.

Den Titel hat Böll nach seiner eigenen Aussage auch nicht selbst erfunden. Dies alles in einem Stil, der nachlässig

The reader of this review is given a very biased account without that being very obvious. This is achieved by the impersonally constructed sentences. They give an air of general validity to these very personal opinions. The novel and what it might communicate becomes completely secondary to the argument of the critic with the author. The themes, the characters, even the form, the apparent failings as well as the good points are seen solely through the critic's evaluation of the author.

The effect is one of personalizing the discussion. As the author also happens to have an ever-increasing media profile, this personalization is in itself a way to sell the review as well as the book. As the political

und forciert zugleich darauf hinweist, dass es Böll hier um Bericht und nichts als Bericht geht.

Überhaupt ist die Böllsche Welt hier rundherum versammelt, auch die eigentümliche Atmosphäre, die so viele Arbeiten Bölls kennzeichnet, dieser sonderbar muffige Geruch aus Kleinbürgerlichkeit, etwas Weihrauch und Aufbegehren, aus Trägheit und sanfter Anarchie. Was Böll dabei allerdings gelingt - und es scheint, als sei es hier nicht einmal beabsichtigt: Die Darstellung des Humus, auf dem so leicht Faschismus gedeiht.

Überhaupt sieht Böll immer nur einzelne. Böll ist zu wenig von der Soziologie angehaucht, als dass er darzustellen vermöchte, wie sehr die Gesellschaft eine Rolle spielt; sein bei allem Aufmucken so tief christliches Weltbild lässt nicht zu, dass er zeigen könnte, wie tief seine Gestalten in Wirklichkeit verstrickt sind in Unfreiheit. Er zeichnet vielmehr Figuren am Rande, verquere Figuren zum grossen Teil, Käuze

Und wenn der Verf. nach Rom fährt, weil natürlich auch ein Wunder in dem Roman eine Rolle spielt, und dort eine Nonne küsst, so glaubt Böll bereits etwas wichtig Aufrührerisches geleistet zu haben.

Er ist noch nie Ironiker gewesen, er hat aber eine sehenswerte Begabung zur Grotteske. Warum bleibt Böll nicht dabei?' Vetter, W.: 'Die Deutschstunde Heinrich Bölls' *Badische Zeitung*, 5.8.71.

nexus and the form are mostly discussed from the same narrow angle they also become personified, linked to the media personality of the author.

Amongst the sample of over 40 reviews appearing in dailies there are only very few exceptions which don't, to some degree, treat the book from an author-orientated position. The next two reviews I want to examine are not as obvious in the way they marginalize the discussion of more general topics from the book as the first two, however, they treat the novel in a particular manner because of their relationship to the author. They also give the readers more room to make up their minds.

Wolfram Schütte shares a lot of themes with Vetter. He, however, evaluates them all positively:³⁰

Böll has not intended ... to show a typical figure and a representative plot with the character of Boris. Instead, the adventurous humourist trusts his realism by always placing his figures on the fringe in opposition to normality...

The same theme could be imagined in the form of a nihilistic farce, though not by Böll. He is stopped or saved from doing that by what could be termed his heretic catholicism. It has always been the catholicism of the ordinary people, but at the same time strictly against petitbourgeois thinking as the breeding ground for Anti-Semitism and Fascism. Böll's religion has always expressed itself oppositionally, anticlerically, as criticism of the milieu of a Catholic stink. Its centre was concrete humaneness...

Böll, the early critic of the capitalist restoration in the Federal Republic, now sees himself endorsed by the younger generation in his sceptical attitude. Lev ... consciously refuses 'achievement' when it is demanded of him...

³⁰ Schütte, W.: 'Häterische Marienlegende, kräftig abgedunkelt' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7.8.71.

Böll's hope - those who want can reject it for its naivete - remains nevertheless desirable even as a slanted ideal.³¹

Although Schütte is much more indulgent towards the author than either Vetter or Callsen, by for instance granting him the freedom to be naive, this is not the consequence of an impartial assessment of the novel. Schütte takes a definite position. When he mentions the dedication in the front of the book, he muses that it could be meant as a homage and sign of friendship to the USSR, where Böll perhaps has more readers than in the Federal Republic. He goes on:

(This is) surely at first sight a dismaying thought and there are surely people who hold it against Böll and who will talk of opportunism. They have understood nothing, don't want to understand anything - least of all when somebody is trying to win friendship. These are the same people who want

31 'Böll hat mit der Gestalt des Boris und dessen Schicksal - wie durchgängig in diesem und auch seinen anderen Romanen - nicht eine typische Person und ein repräsentatives Geschehen darstellen wollen. Der waghalsige Humorist vertraut vielmehr seinem Realismus, indem er seine Personen immer gegenüber der Normalität an den Rand versetzt.

Denkbar, wenn auch nicht von Böll wäre das gleiche Thema als nihilistische Farce. Daran hindert (oder davor bewahrt) ihn, was man seinen häretischen Katholizismus nennen könnte. Es war schon immer ein Katholizismus der kleinen Leute, zugleich auch strikt gegen Kleinbürgerei als Gärboden von Antisemitismus und Faschismus. Bölls Gläubigkeit äusserte sich seit je oppositionell, antiklerikal, als Kritik am katholischen Mief-Milieu. Ihr Kern war konkrete Menschlichkeit. Böll, der frühe Kritiker der kapitalistischen Restauration in der Bundesrepublik, sieht sich durch die jüngere Generation in seiner ablehnenden Skepsis jetzt bestätigt. Lev, Lenis Sohn, verweigert bewusst 'Leistung', wo sie von ihm verlangt wird.

Bölls Hoffnung - mag sie, weil sie naiv ist, schmähen, wer will, sie bleibt dennoch selbst als schiefes Wunschbild wünschenswert.' Schütte, W.: 'Häterische Marienlegende', op.cit.

to let German fascism and its crimes be forgotten but not their consequences.

The dangerous narrow-mindedness which is opposing the new eastern policies will find its resentments confirmed by Böll's new novel...³²

For Schütte there is no uncertainty about what might have been intended by the novel or the dedication. He blatantly slots Böll into his schema, accusing those who might disagree of narrow-mindedness.

Geno Hartlaub's review in the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt* is very similar to Schütte's.³³ She draws a picture of Böll as marked by the war years, where "humanity was forced to appear under the surface of sorrow and hardship." To call Hartlaub's description idealizing is probably an understatement: She mentions Böll's "materialistic Catholicism", his "great modesty, real pity, justice and goodness". One paragraph might demonstrate the point:

That which young Neo-Marxists talk about in sociological gibberish, Böll makes come true in an unaggressive manner, with great modesty and with real pity for his fellow human beings: he writes so that all can understand him; he forgoes elitist linguistic experiments, of which he would certainly be capable. He is people-orientated and with that he

32 'Gewiss auf den ersten Blick eine konsternierende Überlegung, und es gibt bestimmt Leute, die Böll das verübeln und von Opportunismus reden werden. Die haben nichts begriffen, wollen auch nichts begreifen - am wenigsten, wenn jemand um Freundlichkeit wirbt. Es sind dieselben Leute, die den deutschen Faschismus und seine Verbrechen vergessen sein lassen möchten, nicht aber dessen Konsequenzen. Was sich an gefährlicher Borniertheit der neuen Ostpolitik entgegenstellt, wird sein Ressentiment auch an Bölls neuem Roman bestätigt finden.' Schütte, W.: *ibid.*

33 Hartlaub, G.: 'Leni und das Brot des Lebens' *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 1.8.71.

fulfills one of the basic requirements socialism demands of the writer: to be a kind of privileged people's educator, who can, with his linguistic power of formulation and his maturity make complicated relationships clearer than science can with its specialized vocabulary. This ability will bring him a bestseller success but perhaps also an uncomprehending shrug of the shoulders from the so-called progressives in literary circles.³⁴

Here Böll is described as a semi-religious figure of near superhuman qualities. The novel pales in comparison. What interest it has comes only from the fact that it was written by this hero-figure who can do no wrong.

The articles appearing in general periodicals can be seen as a continuation of the dailies, although much more varied in the author-emphasis, quality, length and degree of overt commercialization of the novel. Greater extremes can be found here: the slickest example of the commercialization of literature and the concurrent marginalization of the themes and concerns potentially arising from the novel can be found in the review printed by the weekly *Die Zeit*, written by Marcel Reich-Ranicki. Reich-Ranicki writes in the tradition of the

34 'Wovon junge Neomarxisten in soziologischem Rotwelsch reden, Böll macht es auf unaggressive Art, in grosser Bescheidenheit und in echtem Mitgefühl mit den Mitmenschen, wahr: er schreibt so, dass ihn alle verstehen können; er verzichtet auf elitäre Sprachexperimente, zu denen er durchaus fähig wäre. Er ist volkstümlich und erfüllt damit eine der Grundforderungen, die der Sozialismus an den Schriftsteller stellt: eine Art höherer Volkserzieher zu sein, der verwickelte Zusammenhänge durch sprachliche Formulierungskraft und seine menschliche Reife anschaulicher machen kann als die Wissenschaft mit ihrem Fachvokabular. Diese Fähigkeit wird ihm einen Bestseller-Erfolg, aber vielleicht auch verständnisloses Achselzucken der sogenannten Progresiven unter den Litaraten einbringen.' *ibid.*

'Grosskritiker' as Alfred Kerr had before the Second World War.³⁵ In the early 1970's, Reich-Ranicki had been editor of *Die Zeit* literary pages for a number of years. He has published several books of his essays and reviews. He has also written very frequently about Böll. He has, like many of Böll's critics, a very complicated relationship with him. Reich-Ranicki's review is more openly an individual opinion than any of the reviews in the dailies and general periodicals.³⁶ He summarizes his views on Böll and his success in the first five paragraphs of the lengthy review. He sees him as a mixture of opposites:

Heinrich Böll, the long accepted loner and universally sanctioned rebel, the representative outsider of West-German society and its accredited prosecutor in Bonn and East-Berlin, in Rome and Moscow, has managed to pull off the unique trick of being a Praeceptor Germaniae and staying a Rhinish clown at the the same time....³⁷

Reich-Ranicki goes on to describe his picture of Böll and his relationship to the public. He compares him with the characters in his books and with other writers in the Federal Republic. He comes to the conclusion that Böll

³⁵ Jens, W.: (Hrsg.): *Literatur und Kritik*, aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstages von Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1980, particularly the contribution by Friedrich Luft.

³⁶ Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nachdenken über Leni G.' *Die Zeit*, 6.8.71.

³⁷ 'Heinrich Böll, der längst arrivierte Einzelgänger und der allseits sanktionierte Rebell, der repräsentative Aussenseiter der bundesrepublikanischen Gesellschaft und ihr in Bonn und Ostberlin, in Rom und Moskau akkreditierter Ankläger, hat das einzigartige Kunststück vollbracht, ein Praeceptor Germaniae zu werden und ein rheinischer Schelm zu bleiben.' Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nachdenken über Leni G.' op.cit.

engenders in his public a certain pity for him which leads to him being loved in contrast to other writers who are, perhaps, merely held in great esteem or admired.

The review then goes on to show the perceived positive and negative aspects of the novel. Many judgments are marked as personal by phrases such as: "I think", "I notice", "in my view" etc. Reich-Ranicki can afford such statements because he has a very powerful position in his paper. His review is very confident and often borders on arrogance and narrow-mindedness. By putting himself into this very judgmental position he creates the impression of being able to tell Böll off like a parent might tell off an adolescent, by using cynicism, blunt criticisms and here and there some grudgingly encouraging asides. This might make good reading for sections of Reich-Ranicki's public. It does nothing for a potential reader seeking information about the book. Some examples must be quoted:

So is it a new masterpiece? Alas, this most comprehensive and actually richest of Böll-books, which is characterized by such grand intentions and dimension seems to me to be also his least ambitious work...

The book consists of such (...) reminiscences and descriptions; they are complemented by some inserted documents and by the report of the first-person narrator, who justifies his labours and whose scrupulous exactitude and fact-dependency is actually supposed to be funny though according to me, is rather inept and tiring.

But what proves in the process of reading more and more to be a collection of small literary pieces, was undoubtedly planned as a novel with a central figure and what is even now, still recognizable as a narrative. For in the centre

there is this Leni, whom I, to say it right away, don't like at all...³⁸

This type of treatment of the novel emphasizes the two personalities i.e. the author's and the critic's, and makes the readers of the review into spectators of a test of elegant, thrilling, literary brilliance. Reviews become a form of entertainment which needs a steady supply of new books to feed on. Reich-Ranicki's review is the most highly developed and polished example of this tradition which all reviews aspire to to a certain degree.

In the four representative reviews from dailies, the final judgment of the novel has, then, no other foundation other than the personal opinion which the critic seems to hold of its author. It seems then that the tradition of subjectivity is still very strong in the practise of literary criticism.

38 'Also ein neues Meisterwerk? Ach, dieses umfassendste und auch tatsächlich reichhaltigste Böll-Buch, das sich durch so grosszügige Intentionen und Dimensionen auszeichnet, scheint mir zugleich sein am wenigsten ehrgeiziges Werk.

Das ganze Buch besteht aus solchen (in direkter Rede wiedergegebenen) Erinnerungen und Schilderungen; sie werden ergänzt von einigen eingeblendeten Dokumenten und von dem Bericht des Ich-Erzählers, der über seine Bemühungen Rechenschaft ablegt und dessen Akribie und Faktengläubigkeit übrigens komisch wirken sollen, jedoch meiner Ansicht nach eher albern und ermüdend sind.

Aber was sich im Laufe der Lektüre immer mehr als eine Sammlung kleiner literarischer Arbeiten erweist, war unzweifelhaft als ein Roman mit einer zentralen Figur und einer auch jetzt noch erkennbaren Fabel geplant. Denn da gibt es ja im Mittelpunkt diese Leni, die mir, um es gleich zu sagen, gar nicht gefällt.' Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nachdenken über Leni G.' op.cit

Academic periodicals and book-chapters.

In the group of academic essays, the majority of critics base their interpretation on a concept of Böll or his work which also often remains undefined. They then proceed to point to inconsistencies, continuations, repetitions in the book. The differences are of length, detail, style and depth not of approach or conception. This is particularly the case in the early reviews, some of which are also quite commercially orientated. Petersen begins his review with an extraordinary statement:

Out of the season, at the height of summer, Böll's publisher presented his author's new book to the public in a big edition and already we can feel in this timing something of the quiet stubbornness of the characters.³⁹

What connection there might be between the characters of the book and the timing of the publication is not explained. We are merely given the impression of the perceived stubbornness of the characters communicating itself via the commercially risky timing of the publication. This creates a vague myth around the figures of the novel as independent real beings.

The review then claims the characters of the novel to be relatives and friends of those whom we know out of

³⁹ 'Ausserhalb der Saison, zu hochsommerlicher Zeit, übergab Bölls Verleger das neue Buch seines Autors in hoher Auflage der Öffentlichkeit, und schon spürt man in solchem Termin etwas von dem stillen Eigensinn der Figuren.' Petersen, J.: 'Heinrich Böll. Gruppenbild mit Dame' *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 3/1971

earlier Böll novels. But Böll's love is said to be reserved for the main character, whose "reactionary antiprofit thinking" he loves. The tendency to use scientific terms is noted as new for Böll, the religious aspects as typical for him, though they are now used in a more mature manner than before. The novel is classified as the sum of Böll's works, which had been suggested by the publisher on the dustjacket.

The three reviews in *Frankfurter Hefte* offer an attempt to give a representative reaction by asking three critics of different age groups to review the book. They have a similar approach although they come to very different conclusions about the book. Geno Hartlaub, who is the representative for the older generation, writes a similar review to the one she published in the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*. Paul Konrad Kurz, representing the middle generation, only draws parallels between *Gruppenbild* and the former works of Böll. He sees the book as a summary, a culmination and an epic sum of Böll. Hans Christian Kosler, the youngest of the three critics, heavily criticizes Böll's former works and their reception, hinting that after the war Böll's audience consisted of those groups who had betrayed the proletariat and were longing for "real culture". Kosler then muses that Böll must have realized this and reacted to this situation; the result is this new novel, which the critic feels has been written "against its own tradition". He feels Böll comes close to writing

socialist realism. Kosler praises the book. Even though Kosler is able to accept the fact that authors may change and that every novel must be looked at independently of the other works - an attitude which is by no means common amongst critics - this approach still ties the opinion about the novel to an assumption about the author which cannot be substantiated.

In the later reviews, essays and book-chapters, the situation is slightly different. As the essays gain in length, complexity and detail, the emphasis shifts from the quick assessment of the shorter reviews in dailies and general periodicals to longer, more interpretative pieces. Here the discussion of the form becomes more detailed, but the interpretation and the assessment of the form are mostly approached via the author. Most of the critics still have a fairly fixed picture of Böll which is based on his early reception. Bernath, Ziolkowski, Grothmann, Carlson, Vogt and Pickar write in that tradition.⁴⁰

40 Bernath, A.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame - Eine neue Phase im Schaffen Bölls', *Dortmunder Vorträge*, Ht 107; Bernath A.: 'Zur Stellung des Romans *Gruppenbild mit Dame* in Bölls Werk' in: Matthaei, R.: op. cit. p.34-57 ; Ziolkowski, T.: 'Typologie und 'Einfache Form' in: Matthaei, R.: op.cit. p.123-140; Grothmann, W.H.: 'Zur Struktur des Humors in Heinrich Bölls *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *The German Quarterly* 1/1977; Grothmann, W.H.: 'Zur Struktur des Humors in Heinrich Bölls *Gruppenbild mit Dame*' *The German Quarterly*, March 1977; Vogt, J.: '... die ganze Last dieser Geschichte' in: *Heinrich Böll*, Beck, München 1978, p.102-117; Pickar, G.B.: 'The impact of narrative perspective on character portrayal in three novels of Heinrich Böll', *University of Dayton Review*, 2/1974

Arpad Bernath's essays 'Zur Stellung des Romans *Gruppenbild mit Dame* in Bölls Werk' and '*Gruppenbild mit Dame*, eine neue Phase im Schaffen Bölls' develop their themes in close connection with statements by the author and the development of these themes throughout Böll's other books.⁴¹ Bernath finds only variations in the new book. The central theme of Böll is 'Love during war', his approach is humanistic and religious, each novel is a further development of the central theme.

Theodore Ziolkowski sets out, with explicit reference to Böll, to examine the form of the novel, emphasizing the religious aspect to such an extent that he sees the entire book as a preparation for a proposed early-Christian canonization ritual of Leni by the 'advocatus Dei', the "auth.". He argues very well and claims that the perceived inconsistencies and contradictions in the novel are immediately resolved by this interpretation. He also insinuates that Böll is aware of this form and has used it consciously although he has not openly said so. Ziolkowski's interpretation is a very personal one, although it is well thought out and brings an array of surprising 'proofs' as backing. Other interpretations are not as well founded or researched. Grothmann's attempt to analyse the structure of humour in the novel is well written and argued but does not really add as much to the understanding of the

41 Bernath A.: 'Zur Stellung des Romans *Gruppenbild mit Dame* in Bölls Werk' op.cit.; Bernath, A.: '*Gruppenbild mit Dame* - Eine neue Phase im Schaffen Bölls', op.cit.; 'Writing for Böll is a process, a continuation'.

book as it could have if the approach had been one which was more independent of the author. Grothmann quotes Böll, saying that he learned much about humour from the writing of the late 18th century writer Jean Paul. Grothmann's analysis then finds many parallels between the humour in *Gruppenbild* and that of Jean Paul. This trend in the longer essays to take hold of some aspect and then make an indepth study of it, without trying to improve the communication between reader and book, but merely to communicate a perhaps very personal interest, has the effect that a socially relevant discussion of the novel is further postponed. Even though the orientation towards the author is not as blatant in the academic review as in the dailies, the scope and even the approach is often restricted by the close attention which the critics pay to the author.

3.b. The form

As mentioned above, *Gruppenbild* received reviews which were mostly concerned with 'literary' questions. Here I want to look at the manner in which the novel is classified. In the dailies the novel is called 'great', 'important' and also 'not a novel'.⁴² Definitions of what constitutes a great novel or why it isn't seen to be a novel are not given.

⁴² Vogt, J.: '...und die ganze Last dieser Geschichte' in: Heinrich Böll Beck, München 1978, p.102ff; Kraus, W.: 'Ruinen überall' *Wetzlarer Neue Zeitung*, 16.10.71.; Kaiser, J.: 'Mitleidiger Naturalismus und mystische Vision' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31.7.71.

Another way of classifying the book is with the help of various comparisons: Faulkner, Dostoevsky, Proudhon, Th. Mann and even Pasolini are used.⁴³

The assessment of the readability of the novel is often used to back a claim about the novel's quality: Müller-Bringmann thinks it is too hard to read and feels it aspires to be important but is not.⁴⁴ Böhl assumes that because it is easy to read it is only entertainment.⁴⁵ Schwab-Felisch confesses he found it hard to read while Barz found it entertaining.⁴⁶ There is then a general lack of agreement in the usage of classifying concepts.

After some confusion about the form in the first reviews, more definite questions are raised about it. The discussion concentrates mainly on the style of fictitious documentation, the character of Leni and the role of the "auth."⁴⁷ The opinions are very varied. In the dailies, the form is most obviously connected to the author: Joachim Kaiser's review is a good example.⁴⁸ His criticism concentrates on the perceived lack of form in

43 Raus, M.: 'Die Beweiskraft der Phantasie'

D'Letzenburger Land, 17.9.71.

44 Müller-Bringmann, W.: 'Kommentar zum Kulturgeschehen' *Deutsche Tagespost*, 20.10.71.

45 Röhl, R.: 'Mutmassungen über die Blechjahre' *Konkret* Nr.17, 1971

46 Schwab-Felisch, H.: 'Wie man dokumentarisch erzählen kann' *Merkur*, 9/1971; Barz, P.: 'Blick auf Bücher' *Westermann*, 10/1971.

47 Towards the end of *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, Böll places the narrator, who in the text refers to himself as "auth.", into the novel's plot, where he actually interacts with the characters about whom he had previously only reported.

48 Kaiser, J.: 'Mitleidiger Naturalismus und mystische Vision' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31.7.71.

the novel. This failing is argued to have been caused by the particular mixture of abilities, interest, moods and memories of Böll. Kaiser claims, for instance, that the distinction between 'fictitious' and 'documentary' must have got on Böll's nerves and that he therefore kept himself as narrator out of *Gruppenbild*. He accuses Böll of not having taken narrative responsibility for the direct speech of the narrator while he is able to portray all manner of different personalities and events brilliantly. Kaiser claims he could tell when Böll simply burdens his narrator with anger, bad temper, mediocre jokes and reproaches. While Kaiser admits that Böll is interested in and capable of constructing epic forms, he feels this is missing in *Gruppenbild*. The reason for this perceived lack is then an apparent 'refusal to achieve' by the author. Kaiser writes:

He (Böll) practices what could be termed epic achievement refusal - which is his catch word for desirable behaviour these days - by merely offering pseudo-documentary "role prose" and that in a simplistic sequence.⁴⁹

To Kaiser's credit in his last sentence he states that this situation has two possible explanations: either Böll couldn't cope with the mass of his memories and they got out of hand, or he, the critic, hasn't understood the form and might live to regret it. This wise readiness to

49 'Er betreibt sozusagen epische Leistungsverweigerung - sein Kennwort für wünschenswertes Verhalten heute -, indem er nur mehr pseudo-dokumentarische 'Rollenprosa' bietet, und zwar in simplem Nacheinander.' Kaiser, J.: 'Mitleidiger Naturalismus und mystische Vision' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31.7.71.

be taught a lesson is not shared by Reich-Ranicki, who categorically rejects any possibility of ever being convinced that any type of form exists in the book. This attitude is in keeping with his chosen role as the chastising parent. His lack of real authority would become apparent if he ever admitted to being wrong.

In the periodicals, long articles are written which concern themselves solely with the form of the novel. Durzak's essays about the book can be seen as the reaction of a traditional, well entrenched academic critic who sees himself as guarding access to the canon. He angrily rejects the book in his first essay. The later essays are much more careful and subtle.⁵⁰ His limitations are, however, aptly demonstrated in the interview with Böll.⁵¹ In order to clarify these points a longer discussion of these essays is needed, as Durzak is also one of the more established academic critics who write regularly on Böll as well as on other modern authors.

In his first essay on the novel, Durzak refers to the author in all manner of ways: he cites interviews, telephone conversations and material sketches which Böll

49 Durzak, M.: 'Heinrich Bölls epische Summe? Zur Analyse und Wirkung seines Romans *Gruppenbild*' *Basis*, 3/1972; 'Leistungsverweigerung als Utopie?' in: Matthaei, R.: op.cit. p. 82-99; 'Entfaltung oder Reduktion des Erzählers? Vom "Verf." des *Gruppenbildes* zum Berichterstatter der *Katharina Blum*' in: *Queensland Studies in German Language and Literature* Bd. V p.31-54

50 'Ich tendiere nur zu dem scheinbar Unpolitischen, Gespräch mit Heinrich Böll' in: Durzak, M.: *Gespräche über den Roman*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1976, p. 129-176

has given him. Many paragraphs in the essays are dominated by the discussion of what the author could have meant with this or that reply. Once Durzak even claims that he has recognized what he calls the "real intention of Böll". The numerous references to Böll and his statements do not, however, answer Durzak's questions about the form and structure of the book. Durzak's search for a justification or solution for the formal discrepancies he perceives in the novel stay very close to the author and develop into a kind of game of 'catch the author out':

After stating that Böll presents the novel in "draftform" (Rohzustand) he writes:

The tone is a casual prattle in combination with *whimsical* addresses to the 'dear reader' as if the problematization of the novel-form were a legend created by art critics and as if the author could under all circumstances rely on having the culinary trust and interest of his readers.... *Gruppenbild* is dominated by the kind of nonchalance of epic chit-chat which would befit a naive narrator. Is it acted naivete of the author Böll? Obviously not. In the *Publik* interview* Böll says: "I believe the whole thing is a whole lot of talk, the talk about the death of the novel as well as the self defence of the novelist. I still don't know what a novel is."

But is that not perhaps also a theoretical charade? For in formal terms Böll's novel obviously has close connections to the current literary situation in Germany. (After Erika Runge, Günter Wallraff and Helmut Heissenbüttel who have all written books in documentary style in 1968 and 1970 ..the novelist Böll was obviously also gripped by doubt about the validity of epic fiction.)⁵²

52 'Da wird so locker dahererzählt, mit launigen Ansprachen an den 'geneigten Leser' (236) verbunden, als sei die Problematisierung der Romanform eine von den Kunstkritikern ins Leben gerufene Legende und als könne der Autor unter allen Umständen mit dem kulinarischen Vertrauen und Interesse seiner Leser rechnen. Bietet sich *Billiard um halbzehn* als sorgfältig komponiertes Geflecht

*Gerd Courts, "Meine Heldin soll kein Image haben"
in *Publik* 13.8.1971

The essay continues in this manner. The author is trapped, accused, belittled and judged, being conveniently pushed into the positions where the critic needs to have him in order to continue his criticisms. The most explicit example of this needs to be quoted in full:

Durzak is dissatisfied with the function of the "auth." in the novel. He feels the indirect indications given by Böll are much clearer, but also more problematic:

In the third chapter we are told of an episode which apparently points towards Böll's "auth." and at the same time towards the real author Böll. At a gathering in the year 1940 in the flat of the friend Margret, the world shaking situation "of a blocked toilet" developed(86). All scientific-technical efforts of the males present to solve the problem failed until Leni fixed the situation in the simplest manner. In Lotte Hoyser's report it is described like this: "She simply put her hand down there.. and she grabbed the apple, threw it into the rubbish bin - the horrible broth gurgled down like

von inneren Monologen dar, die durch die Fülle von Motivverweisen zusammengehalten werden und mitunter durchaus bereits Züge der Künstlichkeit verraten, so scheint *Gruppenbild mit Dame* von einer Nonchalance des epischen Plauderns bestimmt, die einem naiven Erzähler nicht schlecht anstehen würde. Ist es gespielte Naivität des Autors Böll? Offensichtlich nicht. In dem *Publik*-Interview bemerkt Böll dazu: 'Ich glaube, das Ganze ist ein bisschen viel Gerede, sowohl das Gerede vom Tod des Romans wie die Selbstverteidigung des Romanciers. Ich weiss bis heute nicht, was ein Roman ist.'
'Aber ist nicht vielleicht auch das eine theoretische Scharade? Denn offensichtlich ist Bölls Roman in den Formalien eng mit der aktuellen literarischen Situation in Deutschland verbunden. (Wo Erika Runge, Günter Wallraff, Helmut Heissenbüttel... da hat sich augenscheinlich auch des Romanciers Böll der Zweifel der epischen Fiktion bemächtigt.)' Durzak, M.: 'Heinrich Bölls epische Summe?' op.cit.

nothing and Leni washed.. simply rubbed her hands and arms with eau-de-cologne and made a remark, now I remember, a remark which struck me like lightning. 'Our poets have been the most courageous toilet cleaners'".(87)

From the context of this passage there is no indication that the irony is intended.(28) (Böll told me expressly when I asked him about this part in the text that it is meant seriously by him.) Instead this is an involuntary ironic effect, which does not only characterize Leni, but also Böll's "auth.", yes Böll himself. For Böll is obviously describing his own relationship to German history, which he seeks to control in a similarly unconventional but all the more effective manner, just as Leni did in the concrete case of the failed sanitary equipment.... One can take exception not only to the taste of this metaphor but also to the unsubtle 'Weltverbesserungsattitüde' which is linked here to the task of the author.⁵³

53 'So wird im dritten Kapitel eine Episode erzählt, die anscheinend zugleich auf Bölls "Verf." und auf den realen Autor Böll zielt. Bei einer Zusammenkunft im Jahre 1940 in der Wohnung der Freundin Margret kam es plötzlich zu der weltbewegenden Situation, 'dass das Klo verstopft ist'.(86) Alle naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Anstrengungen der männlichen Anwesenden zur Behebung des Malheurs versagten, bis Leni das Problem auf die einfachste Weise löste. In dem Bericht Lotte Hoysers heisst es darüber: "Sie packte einfach mit der Hand rein... und sie packte den Apfel, warf ihn in den Abfalleimer - die ganze entsetzliche Brühe gurgelte wie nichts runter, und Leni, die wusch sich... und rieb sich mit Kölnisch Wasser einfach die Arme und Hände ab, und sie machte - jetzt fällt mirs wieder einne Bemerkung, die mir wie der Blitz einschlug. 'Unsere Dichter sind die mutigsten Kloreiniger gewesen'". (87)

Aus dem Kontext dieser Stelle geht keineswegs hervor, dass die Ironie intendiert ist.* Vielmehr handelt es sich hier um einen unfreiwillig zustande gekommenen ironischen Effekt, der nicht nur Leni charakterisiert, sondern darüber hinaus Bölls "Verf.", ja Böll selbst. Denn offensichtlich beschreibt Böll sein eigenes Verhältnis zur deutschen Geschichte, die er auf ähnlich unkonventionelle, aber um so effektivere Weise zu bewältigen sucht wie Leni im konkreten Fall das Versagen der sanitären Anlage. Bölls "Verf." wandelt sich hier, unfreiwillig komisch, zu einer Art literarischem Herkules, der den Augiasstall der deutschen Geschichte zu reinigen versucht und damit offensichtlich eine Haltung vorführt, mit der sich der reale Autor Böll indentifiziert.

Nicht nur über den Geschmack dieser Metaphorik lässt sich streiten, sondern ebenso über die platte

Durzak's attempt to clarify to what extent the new novel can be seen as a sum of Böll's work as stated on the dust-jacket continues in this vein. The analysis does not move very far from the personality of the author. Durzak ends the article by stating that, having analysed and questioned the novel, the author and the reception, we are not given a very unified picture. Why he expects a unified picture and why the three sources of information are not expanded to include himself as the originator of the perceived inconsistencies, weaknesses and contradictions is not discussed.⁵⁴

In his second essay published in 1975, Durzak continues his analysis of the role of the "auth." for the form of the novel and traces the development of the figure of the narrator in Böll's novels through all his major works.⁵⁵ He sees many connections between the various books and their structures. He argues that the absence of any unified narrative perspective or formal organization on the level of content as in *Absent Without Leave*, threatens to destroy the unity of the novel. The

Weltverbesserungsattitüde, die hier mit der Aufgabe des Dichters verbunden wird.

*Böll hat, von mir danach gefragt, ausdrücklich erklärt, dass diese Stelle von ihm ernst gemeint sei.' *ibid.*

53 see also p.194: 'Sowohl von der Reflexion des Autors Böll als auch von der Analyse seines Romans her ist es daher mehr als schwierig, jene euphorische Ankündigung zu bestätigen, *Gruppenbild mit Dame* sei als sein 'umfassendstes Werk' eine 'Summe seines bisherigen Schaffens.' and p.192, *ibid.*

54 'Entfaltung oder Reduktion des Erzählers? Vom "Verf." des *Gruppenbildes* zum Berichterstatter der *Katharina Blum*', *Queensland Studies In German Language And Literature*, Vol V. 1975.

"auth.", having been placed into the narrative, therefore has the task of binding the various parts together, of formally integrating the novel by embodying the narrative impulse.⁵⁶ Durzak argues that in order for the narrator-figure to fulfill this function satisfactorily, the "auth." has to have a concrete function in the narrative. Durzak feels this condition is not fulfilled and this represents the major shortcoming of the book. His justification for this conclusion in this essay avoids quick highhanded conclusions about Böll's motivations, shortcomings or inconsistencies, although he does allude to the author's possible intentions and then proves that he didn't succeed in putting them into practice. He writes:

If this had actually been Böll's intention it would prove to be contradictory, to say the least that the emotional and intellectual concretization,⁵⁷ of the "auth." is not complemented by a social one.

Later Durzak alludes to an interview during which Böll stated the intention of parodying the non-fiction novel. In Durzak's eyes this turns the "auth." into a simple projection of the real author even though he has already argued that Böll's autobiographical identification in the novel must be sought in another figure.⁵⁸ Durzak is still very author-orientated, although his judgments are

55 *ibid.* p.40

57 'Aber wenn das tatsächlich die Absicht Bölls gewesen wäre, erwiese es sich zumindest als widersprüchlich, dass die emotionale und reflektierende Konkretisierung des "Verf." nicht durch eine soziale ergänzt wird.'

58 As support he alludes to a remark Böll made during a conversation he had with him in 1971.

less emotional and his style is neutral and largely non-polemical in this essay.

The degree of his author-orientation is perhaps best demonstrated in his interview with Böll, which was published in 1976. Now that Durzak has the opportunity to confront the author with his queries and criticisms their conceptual naivete and irrelevance become clear.

When Durzak asks Böll why he placed the narrator into the actual story, which is his central complaint about the novel, Böll simply answers: "I don't know that, you have to find that out."⁵⁹ Later Böll responds, when questioned as to why he didn't give the "auth." a more recognizable social identity: "I haven't really done this so very consciously... I don't feel obliged to make a clear narrative form visible."⁶⁰ These responses may be predictable. However, they aptly demonstrate the limitations of the author-orientated approach for an analysis of a novel. The questions which the literary critic would like to have answered are irrelevant and non-existent for the writer.

59 D.: 'Warum diese Änderung in der Funktion des Erzählers, warum wird er hineingenommen in den Erzählprozess, aber gleichzeitig in den konkreten sinnlichen Umrissen der Person relativ vage und schwer identifizierbar gelassen?

B.: 'Ich weiss das nicht, das müssen Sie herausfinden...' quoted from Durzak, M.: *Gespräche über den Roman*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1976, p.129

60 B.: '...Ich habe das gar nicht so bewusst gemacht... Ich fühle mich nicht verpflichtet, irgendeine klare Erzählfunktion sichtbar zu machen.' quoted from Durzak, M.: *Gespräche.. op.cit.* p.130

The fact that critics feel justified in charging an author with all the inconsistencies and contradictions which their reading of a new text produces is a good indication of the concept they have of their task. They feel free to judge the book according to their relatively subjective reactions but do not grant the right to the same subjectivity to the author. They feel that they are rightfully in charge of the task of controlling access to the canon but the legitimation of this task is based on nothing more than their subjective reactions to a range of texts. Their social responsibility is therefore heavily limited.

In the sample of academic reviews and book-chapters there is a small number of essays which do not capitalize on the author's personality.⁶¹ They will be mentioned in more detail later.

3.d. The political nexus

As already mentioned, the reception of *Gruppenbild* has been dominated by discussions of 'literary' value. Political aspects are mentioned comparatively seldom. Amongst the group of 40 daily reviews only 4 mention that the novel might have a certain social relevance. The

⁶⁰ Kaiser, H.: 'Die botschaft der sprachlosigkeit in Heinrich Bölls roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*' (sic), *Wirkendes Wort*, 4/1978; Neuhaus, V.: 'Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit' *Text und Kritik*, 33/1982; Bernhard, H.J.: 'Es gibt sie nicht und es gibt sie' in: Matthaei, R.: op.cit. p. 58-81

overt political references in the reviews point to the following aspects: the views of the critic, defined or undefined, the implied or described views of Böll and the themes introduced by the novel itself. But, even though the open references to political and social aspects of the novel are very few, the reviews are far from being value-free or unpolitical. They have a very clear political character. This character finds expression in the marginalization of the social and political themes of the novel by linking their analysis to Böll's political views and hopes instead of to the society to which they refer. Mostly they are disregarded altogether. The personality of the author dominates the discussion of the political aspects as it did the debates of the form.

In the dailies and general periodicals there is mostly no mention of any political aspect, the same is true for the academic periodicals and book-chapters. There are, however clear exceptions: A small group of approximately 6 reviews refer briefly to a political content.⁶² Another group of about the same size makes

61 egi: 'Ein verkanntes Genie der Sinnlichkeit' *Mannheimer Morgen*, 10.8.71.: 'gives us cause to think about our consuming- and achievement- orientated society'; Schaar, U.: 'Gesellschaftskritik mit Leni' *Telegraph*, 12.9.1971: 'socially critical account of the present'; Tank, K.L.: 'Gruppenbild mit Böll' *Die Welt Am Sonntag*, 1.8.1971: 'it (the novel) could help to make the world in which we live more hospitable and bearable'; Schultz, U.: 'Radikale Chronik der Nachkriegszeit' *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 20.8.1971 mentions 'socially critical sharpness'. Only Groningen, G.: 'Bölls kritisches Engagment' *Die Wahrheit*, 18.9.71. and Hartmann, H.: 'Nur für eilige Leser nicht empfehlenswert' *Vorwärts*, 2.9.19. integrate the social-political aspects of the novel into their review

fairly open, often blunt, political judgments of Böll and his book. Here the relationship to the author dominates again. Jost Nolte states that Böll has dared to draw his very own conclusions from his own history.⁶³ Gerhard Schüler asks where Böll is situated politically and concludes that he is merely in opposition to a lot of things and is unable to think things through.⁶⁴ The result is a book which is, in form and content, unorganized, mushy and warped. Wolfgang Richter has a very similar approach to Callsen whose author-orientation has already been mentioned.⁶⁵ Richter describes Böll as having a one-sided preference for the 'antagonisms of our social system', which leads him to leave reality behind; his religious beliefs cause him to use various motifs which are 'strange' and 'abortive'.

In the second group, the periodicals and book-chapters, the situation is similar. The majority of essays do not concern themselves with any political aspect and therefore ignore this side of the book. A small number of essays enters into the political discussion, but with very differing results. Kaiser and Bernhard analyse very subtly.⁶⁶ They integrate the

63 Nolte, J.: 'Das vielfache Nein des Heinrich Böll' *Die Welt*, 5.8.71.

64 Schüler, G.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Göttinger Tageblatt*, 11.9.71.

65 Richter, W.: 'Das Protokoll einer Menschwerdung' *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 14.8.71.

66 Kaiser, H.: 'Die botschaft der sprachlosigkeit in Heinrich Bölls roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*' (sic) op.cit.; Bernhard, H.J.: 'Der Clown als "Verf."' in: Arnold, H.L. (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur aus Methoden*, Bd.1, Athenäum, 1973; Bernhard, H.J.: 'Es gibt sie nicht und es gibt sie' in: Matthaei, R.: op.cit. p. 58-81

political into a total approach to the book. They also integrate the author without letting that slide into either hero-worship or political condemnation like Hitzer, Kosler or Just do.⁶⁷ Even though Bernhard does deduce his analysis of form and structure from his view of Böll's political engagement and its limitations, he takes full responsibility for his interpretation. Where he sees weaknesses in the novel, he conceives of them as a consequence of the relationship between the social and historical position of the FRG and the author's artistic and moral engagement. He writes:

Only a simplifying point of view which ignores the complicated conditions under which the process of artistic cognition functions in the FRG, will underestimate this social and moral realization of the humanist and democratic counterforces in an imperialistic society, because it does not yet coincide with an equally precise evaluation of historical constellations and an analysis of the historic and class nature of the counterforces, and may even include⁶⁸ errors and misjudgments on individual points.

67 Hitzer, F.: 'Verweigerte Grösse oder grosse Verweigerung?' *Kürbiskern*, 4/1973; Kosler, H.C.: 'Besinnung auf die Subjekte' *Frankfurter Hefte*, 26/1971; Just, G.: 'Ästhetik des Humanen - oder Humanum ohne Ästhetik?' in: *Queensland Studies in German Language and Literature*, Bd. V. 1975 p. 55-76

68 'Nur eine vereinfachende Sicht, die die komplizierten Bedingungen missachtet, unter denen sich der künstlerische Erkenntnisprozess in der BRD vollzieht, wird diese soziale und moralische Präzisierung der humanistischen und demokratischen Gegenkräfte in der imperialistischen Gesellschaft unterschätzen, weil sie noch nicht mit einer ebenso präzisen Wertung historischer Konstellationen und der Bestimmung des geschichtlichen und klassenmässigen Wesens der Gegenkräfte einhergeht, ja Irrtümer und Fehleinschätzungen im einzelnen nicht ausschliesst. Diese hängen mit den wechselnden Methoden einer jahrzehntelang praktizierten, völligen Unterdrückung und der auch gegenwärtig immer wieder behinderten Wirkungsmöglichkeiten der philosophisch und politisch konsequenten Kräfte und Vertreter der Arbeiterklasse in der BRD zusammen, wodurch dem Künstler die Hinwendung zu ihnen ebenso erschwert wird wie die

Kaiser argues in his essay that the social effectiveness of the novel can only be gauged through its aesthetic quality and not through its content; similarly to Bernhard, he analyses a need for unity of morality and aesthetics in Böll's intention.⁶⁹ He analyses Leni's speechlessness and comes to the following conclusion:

The justification for an aesthetic linguistically-critical interpretation of *Gruppenbild* seems to me to lie in the fact that this instructive reversal of the concepts of humanity and inhumanity, of reality and madness, of fiction and non-fiction can only be realized by the writer as an aesthetic-linguistic "experiment of existence" (382). That Leni's humanism is real but not realized and why it is not, can only be shown from the anti-vantage point of Leni's own linguistic-social refusal to achieve. With that a historical-socially based critique of the dominant language behaviour must necessarily be combined.

The message which the silent example of humanity communicates to us through the writer would then be: think about what it means if the humane (das Humane) cannot speak under the current conditions unless the writer makes it speak? And that he cannot describe it as reality but only as a fiction?⁷⁰

Einschätzung ihrer geschichtlichen Rolle.' Bernhard, H.J.: *Die Romane Heinrich Bölls*, Rütten u. Loening, Berlin, 1973, p.373

⁶⁹ Kaiser, H.: op.cit. p.222

⁷⁰ 'Die berechtigung einer ästhetisch-sprachkritischen interpretation des *Gruppenbild*-romans scheint mir darin zu liegen, dass diese erkenntnisproduzierende umkehr der vorstellungen von menschlichkeit und unmenschlichkeit, von wirklichkeit und wahnsinn, von fiktion und nicht-fiktion sich vom schriftsteller nur als ästhetisch-sprachliches 'Existenzexperiment' (382) vollziehen lässt. Dass der humanismus Lenis real, aber nicht realisiert ist und warum er es nicht ist, dass kann nur aus der antiperspektive der sprachlich-sozialen leistungsverweigerung Lenis selbst dargestellt werden. Damit ist aber dann notwendig eine geschichtlich-gesellschaftlich begründete kritik des herrschenden sprachverhaltens verbunden.

Die botschaft, die uns das stumme vorbild der menschlichkeit durch den dichter vermittelt, hiesse dann: Denkt darüber nach, was es bedeutet, dass das humane unter den bestehenden bedingungen nicht zur sprache kommen kann, wenn nicht der dichter es zur sprache

Just and Hitzer also discuss the political aspects but come to very different conclusions. They perceive Böll as politically limited and link this to the faults they perceive in the novel. Hitzer suspects an overpowering need in Böll to communicate and influence. This need is so obvious that it crosses and negates the aesthetic distance which Böll tried to introduce into the book by using simulated documentation. As a result the novel becomes a purely personal document which reaches the reader unmediated aesthetically, in other words it is 'Kitsch'.⁷¹

Hitzer has a definite political position and reproaches Böll for not having the same. He notes that politics and history have been integrated into the theme of the book and thinks that they should be treated as subtly as the characterizations in the novel. But here he feels the book has failed. He writes:

The starting point for an alternative is present. The alternative is the proletariat. But as long as Heinrich Böll conceives of the 'proletariat' only in moral categories -...- his access to the history of the workers' movement will only be possible through the tragic fates of individuals and will therefore remain blocked.... He who sees communists and socialists merely as the Christians of the 20th century overlooks Marxism and the scientific nature of Socialism.⁷²

bringt? Und dass er es nicht als wirklichkeit, sondern nur als fiktion darstellen kann?' Kaiser: 'Die botschaft der sprachlosigkeit' op.cit. p.231

⁷¹ The essay is full of unfounded assumptions about and unnecessary personal attacks on Böll For an essay appearing in an academic publication this is untypical.

⁷² 'Der Ansatz für die Alternative ist vorhanden. Die Alternative ist das Proletariat. Aber solange Heinrich Böll den 'Proletarier' nur in moralischen Kategorien sieht - das entspricht dem Verständnis von

3.e. Conclusion

The analysis of the reception of *Gruppenbild* can be characterized as follows:

Böll's public image during the early 1970's was one of growing international standing in terms of his non-literary activities. *Gruppenbild* was perceived as providing the material on which this new reputation of Böll could be tested. The reviews, however, mostly assess the author and his personality, particularly the reviews from dailies and general periodicals. The academic reception bases its treatment of the novel on a narrowly-conceived characterization of Böll's previous work and evaluates the new novel by way of comparison. Furthermore I found the range of topics discussed very limited and repetitive. The majority of reviews choose to ignore the social and political themes offered by the novel itself. This lends them an implied unpolitical character. This must be seen in contrast to some openly political reviews, some of which treat the political aspects of the novel by paying attention only to the author's political convictions. Only two essays are able to avoid the limitations mentioned above. Bernhard and Kaiser elaborate their position in relation to the author and

'Profitdenken', dem Arbeitsprozess als 'merkwürdigen Prozess' - wird ihm der Zugang zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung nur durch tragische Einzelschicksale möglich sein - und damit versperrt.

Wer eben Kommunisten und Sozialisten nur als die Christen des 20. Jahrhunderts sieht, übersieht den Marxismus und die Wissenschaftlichkeit des Sozialismus.' Hitzer, F.: 'Verweigerte Grösse oder grosse Verweigerung?' op.cit. p.780

relate him and the novel to the society from which they originate and with which they wish to communicate.

RECEPTION ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FIVE

2. Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum

The reception of *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* took place during a tense time in German politics. Böll's public pronouncements had earned him a controversial image. The novella's topicality and relevance to the political situation is not reflected without distortion in the reviews. Again the author's personality dominates the discussion and the debate of the social and political implications is conspicuous in its absence.

a) Media situation

As I have mentioned when analysing the media situation prior to the publication of *Gruppenbild* in the previous chapter, the international reputation of Böll as an activist and good-natured moralist had been increasing in 1971. His election to the Presidency of the German and, later in the year, of the international PEN-Club, seemed to complete this process. He was referred to reverently as 'the President' and his wisdom and skill in the chair was noted.¹ This development was sharply

¹ 'Unter der Leitung seines neuen Präsidenten Heinrich Böll bekommt das Pen-Zentrum ein neues Gesicht'. W.U. 'Für die Freiheit der Meinung', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 19.4.71.; '..ein leiser, weiser Präsident..' Kaiser, J.: 'Pen-Club und Pornographie', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19.4.71.; 'Vor allem jedoch hat Böll eine Fähigkeit, ..

interrupted in early 1972 when Böll published an article in *Der Spiegel* titled "Does Ulrike ask for pardon or for safe conduct?", accusing certain sections of the press of inflammatory reporting of the terrorist scene and pleading for the opportunity for a fair trial for the terrorists.²

In this article, Böll refers to a headline by the national tabloid *Bild* from 23.12.71. which read: "Baader-Meinhof-Group continues to murder". The article described a bank-robbery which had resulted in the death of one policeman. There had been some indication that the Baader-Meinhof-group might be involved, but at the time of printing there was no evidence that this was more than just a suspicion. Taking exception to this type of reporting, Böll wrote:

This form of demagoguery would not even be justified if the suspicions of the (...) police were to be proven correct. In every kind of legal state-system, each suspect has the right, if a mere suspicion is allowed to be published at all, that it is emphasized, that he is only suspected. - The headline "Baader-Meinhof continues to murder" is an invitation to a lynch-type of justice. Millions, for whom *Bild* is the only source of information, are served with falsified information in this manner. ... The title 'legal state' becomes questionable if the entire public sphere, with its at least uncontrollable instincts is included in the executive power; if one sacrifices the quality of

Er saugt Aggressionen auf wie ein Schwamm und vernichtet sie dann in sich selber.' Leonhardt, R.W.: 'P.E.N. und Pornographie', *Die Zeit*, 23.4.71.; see also: Braem, H.M.: 'Porno, Klassenkampf und Schriftsteller', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 19.4.71.; Bock, H.B., Fenn, W.: 'Beginn eines Dialogs', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 19.4.71.; U.S. 'Quo vadis, PEN?', *Die Welt*, 20.4.71.; Bock, H.B.: 'Pornographie und Klassenkampf', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 21.4.71.

2 *Der Spiegel*, 32/1972

the legal system for the quantity of success and popularity.³

He points out that the Baader-Meinhof group might not be as violent as they have been portrayed, that they are only a very small group, unable to bring real danger to the German people or their state. Trying to point to the psychological similarities between those hunted by the Nazis and those being hunted by a legal state-system and by *Bild*, he asks those who had been persecuted by the Nazis if they had forgotten what it was like to be hunted as a declared enemy of the system. He argues that even though Ulrike Meinhof might not expect any pardon nor even any justice from this society, somebody should offer her 'safe conduct' and a public trial, just as Mr Springer should be publically tried for demagogy.⁴ He

3 'Diese Form der Demagogie wäre nicht einmal gerechtfertigt, wenn sich die Vermutungen der Kaiserslauterner Polizei als zutreffend herausstellen sollten. In jeder Erscheinungsform von Rechtsstaat hat jeder Verdächtige ein Recht, dass, wenn man schon einen blossen Verdacht publizieren darf, betont wird, dass er nur verdächtigt wird. - Die Überschrift 'Baader-Meinhof mordet weiter' ist eine Aufforderung zur Lynchjustiz. Millionen, für die 'Bild' die einzige Informationsquelle ist, werden auf diese Weise mit verfälschten Informationen versorgt... - Die Bezeichnung Rechtsstaat wird fragwürdig, wenn man die gesamte Öffentlichkeit mit ihren zumindest unkontrollierbaren Instinkten in die Exekutive einbezieht; wenn man die Qualität des Rechtes der Quantität von Erfolg und Popularität opfert.' *Der Spiegel*, 32/1972.

4 'Safe conduct' refers to the feudal safe conduct concept for criminals;

'Haben alle, die einmal verfolgt waren, von denen einige im Parlament sitzen, der eine oder andere in der Regierung, haben sie alle vergessen, was es bedeutet, verfolgt und gehetzt zu sein. Wer von ihnen weiss schon, was es bedeutet, in einem Rechtsstaat gehetzt zu werden von 'Bild', das eine weitaus höhere Auflage hat als der 'Stürmer' sie gehabt hat? - Waren nicht auch sie, die ehemals Verfolgten, einmal erklärte Gegner eines Systems, und haben sie vergessen, was sich hinter dem reizenden

describes *Bild* with the words "naked fascism, demagogy, lies, filth".

On the same day as the *Spiegel* article, an interview with Böll appeared on a T.V.-station in the Federal Republic, during which he was asked if he would officially protest against the sentencing of the writer Wladimir Bukowski in the USSR and whether he was aware that he could be accused of being 'blind on the left eye', only protesting against the wrong doings of right-conservative regimes.⁵ Böll denied bias and said there was a committee in PEN which had to decide these actions, he was not able to go ahead by himself and he was sceptical about the effect of private protests. He tried to differentiate between various ways of protesting:

.. in some cases they (the protests) prevent certain things, in other cases they entrench the positions. I suspect that in the case of Bukowski, they entrench the positions and that is because of this simple reason: an author like Solzhenitsyn, who is protected by an oeuvre which has been published here, enjoys a different kind of protection from

Terminus 'auf der Flucht erschossen' verbargt?...Wollen die ehemals Verfolgten die verschiedenen Qualitäten des Verfolgtseins gegeneinander ausspielen und ernsthaft die Termini 'kriminell' und 'politische' in absoluter Reinheit voneinander scheiden, einer Gruppe gegenüber, die ihre Erfahrungen unter Asozialen und Kriminellen gesammelt hat, und auf dem Hintergrund einer Rechtsgeschichte, wo das Stehlen einer Mohrrübe schon als kriminell galt, wenn ein Pole, Russe oder Jude sie stahl? Das wäre weit unter einem Denkniveau, wie es unter verantwortlichen Politikern üblich sein sollte. - Ulrike Meinhof will möglicherweise keine Gnade, wahrscheinlich erwartet sie von dieser Gesellschaft kein Recht. Trotzdem sollte man ihr freies Geleit bieten, einen öffentlichen Prozess, und man sollte auch Herrn Springer öffentlich den Prozess machen, wegen Volksverhetzung.'

5 Interview: Merseburger/Böll: 'Gehört, Gelesen, Zitiert, Heinrich Böll und der Fall Bukowski' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12.1.72.

Bukowski, who is becoming known here merely as a dissident, as a protester ... becoming known in a dangerous manner. I believe we underestimate the hierarchical way of thinking of the Soviets. .. I would rather like to get to a position where I could find a different starting point, that is: to get into a dialogue with responsible functionaries, leaders of writers' associations, representatives, about whether they realize how such a policy in the case of Bukowski damages the Soviet Union, - to tackle the matter pragmatically then - and whether the advantage which they are expecting is equal to this damage.⁶

The combination of these two public statements, the interview seemingly refusing to criticize the USSR, and the article, seemingly pleading for fair treatment of a leftist radical group, developed into a major press affair in which most papers and also the electronic media participated. The debate raged during the rest of January and for two months after that. Commentaries, letters to the editor, open letters to Böll, answers from Böll, summaries, interviews could be found almost daily.⁷ He

6 '... in manchen Fällen verhindern sie einiges, in anderen Fällen versteifen sie, ich vermute, dass sie im Falle Bukowski versteifen, und zwar aus einem ganz simplen Grund: Ein Autor wie Solchenizyn, der gedeckt ist durch ein hier publiziertes Oeuvre..., genießt einen anderen Schutz als ein Autor wie Bukowski, der lediglich als Oppositioneller, als Protestant hier bekannt wird und wahrscheinlich zu bekannt wird. Auf eine gefährliche Weise bekannt. Ich glaube wir unterschätzen das hierarchische Denken der sowjetischen Behörden. ... Ich möchte eher soweit kommen ... einen anderen Einstieg zu finden, und zwar mit verantwortlichen Funktionären, Schriftstellerverbandsleitern, Abgeordneten usw. in ein Gespräch zu kommen über die Tatsache, ob sie sich darüber klar sind, wie eine solche Politik jetzt im Falle Bukowski der Sowjetunion schadet, also die Sache pragmatisch anzufassen, und ob der Nutzen, den sie sich möglicherweise davon versprechen, diesem Schaden entspricht.' cited from Grützbach, Frank (Ed.): *Heinrich Böll. Freies Geleit für Ulrike Meinhof: Ein Artikel und seine Folgen*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1972 pp. 34,35

7 As the list of articles is quite extensive, it appears in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

was, in summary, charged with daring to step outside his 'metier' and using his popularity to make his political views known to a wide public. These political views touched on a very sensitive area during a very tense time and were extremely critical. His opinion that he, as a writer, was well-qualified to criticize certain areas of society even if these might not be described as literary but more properly as political or legal, was dismissed by many commentators. The effect of the media's treatment of the case was a plea~~x~~ for the maintenance of the separation of the areas of politics and literature as well as a discrediting of the critical attitudes Böll represented.

Böll was accused of being inconsistent and, more significantly, pro-communist. So far, he had often pointed to various shortcomings in the Federal-Republican social system, which had been dismissed as morally justified yet politically unimportant. Now the *Spiegel*-article enabled the right-wing papers to celebrate the unmasking of a closet sympathizer with leftist, extremist crimes, who had so far undeservedly been protected by virtue of his enjoying the repute of being some sort of 'conscience of Germany'.⁸

..from Monday this week, with the appearance of *Spiegel* and the latest of Merseburger's *Panorama* programs, Böll has forfeited the role of the political and moral superior authority in the

⁸ *Die Welt, Die Welt am Sonntag, Bild, Rheinische Post, Rheinischer Merkur, Bayern Kurier, Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt; Bilges, H.-E.: 'Heinrich Böll und die "Freiheit der Arroganten' Die Welt, 12.2.72.*

judgment of the current affairs of the Federal Republic which he has often liked to usurp. The Rhinish poet .. has shown himself to be an opportunistic hypocrite. While he argued warmly and cleverly for understanding for Ulrike Meinhof and her gang in Augstein's *Spiegel* and at the same time strongly attacked the "merciless society" of the Federal Republic, the same Böll refused on T.V. as colleague and President of the international PEN-Centre to mention the latest brutal persecution of oppositional writers in the Soviet-Union by way of one word of protest or any demonstration of disgust.⁹

In a different paper he is judged similarly:

What yardstick has Böll for his critique and his silence? He was once held to be a moralist, a preacher of public morals. But obviously now he can only see out of one eye and this eye sees angrily, perhaps because he is furious, perhaps because he is arrogant. Whichever is the case - he is robbing himself of his credibility.¹⁰

In the undifferentiating short-hand of some parts of the media, this step soon led to a sweeping condemnation of

9 'Seit Montag dieser Woche - mit dem Erscheinen des *Spiegel* und der neuesten Sendung von Merseburger's *Panorama* - hat Heinrich Böll die von ihm so oft und gern usurpierte Rolle als politisch-moralische Oberinstanz in der Beurteilung bundesrepublikanischer Zeitläufe verwirkt. Der rheinische Poet, ... hat sich als opportunistischer Heuchler decouvriert. Während er in Augsteins *Spiegel* warmherzig und beredt um Verständnis für Ulrike Meinhof und ihre Bande warb und dabei gleichzeitig die 'gnadenlose Gesellschaft' der Bundesrepublik heftig attackierte, weigerte sich der gleiche Böll auf dem Bildschirm, als Kollege und als Präsident des Internationalen PEN-Zentrums die jüngste brutale Verfolgung oppositioneller Schriftsteller in der Sowjetunion mit einem Wort des Protestes oder auch nur einer Äusserung des Abscheus zu bedenken.' Scharnagl, W.: *Bayern Kurier*, 15.1.72.

10 'Welche Masstäbe hat Böll für seine Kritik und für sein Schweigen? Er galt einmal als Moralist, als Prediger öffentlicher Moral. Doch er sieht offenbar nur noch auf einem Auge, und dieses Auge sieht böse, vielleicht weil er zornig ist, vielleicht weil er arrogant ist. Wie auch immer - er raubt sich selbst die Glaubwürdigkeit.' Bauer, R.: 'Der Schriftsteller untergräbt selbst seine Glaubwürdigkeit' *Rheinische Post*, 13.1.72.

any left wing intellectual position. Hans Habe, writing for *Die Welt*, was the first to put it into words. He had earlier called for Heinrich Böll's resignation from the presidency of PEN as a consequence of the *Panorama* interview. He referred to the persons named by the accused terrorist suspect, Karl-Heinz Ruhland, for their support of the Baader-Meinhof group. Hans Habe called them a "representative group of intellectuals" but denied that any of the members of the Baader-Meinhof group themselves were intellectuals. He writes:

It is already certain, and cannot be doubted since the confessions of the gang-member Ruhland that this gang would already be confined in prison if they couldn't be sure of more than moral support from influential intellectuals. Writers like Heinrich Böll, university professors like Brückner and Seifert, magazines like *Spiegel* and a dozen widely-circulated dailies are trying to divide the German people like the French people during the Dreyfus-affair were fatally divided... For the first time intellectuals, alone convinced of their soul-saving doctrine of salvation, want to force their untamed will with brutal arrogance on citizens, workers, farmers, public servants and the entire intelligentsia, (they are) actual or spiritual allies of shooting and burning criminals... A critical intelligence which does not criticize kidnapping is none. The intellectual¹¹ who speaks up for violence has lost his language...

¹¹ 'Fest steht jetzt schon und ohne Zweifel seit den Geständnissen des Bandenmitgliedes Ruhland, dass diese Bande längst hinter Schoss und Riegel sässe, wenn sie nicht mehr als der bloss moralischen Unterstützung einflussreicher Intellektueller gewiss sein könnte. Schriftsteller wie Heinrich Böll, Universitätsprofessoren wie Brückner und Seifert, Zeitschriften wie *Der Spiegel* und ein Duzend weitverbreitete Tageszeitungen versuchen das deutsche Volk zu spalten, wie das französische in der Epoche der Dreyfus-Affäre fatal gespalten war,... Es geschieht zum erstenmal, dass Intellektuelle, allein von ihrer alleinseligmachenden Heilslehre überzeugt, dem Bürger - Arbeiter, Bauern, Beamten und der gesamten Intelligenz - mit brutalem Hochmut ihren wilden Willen aufzwingen wollen, tatsächliche oder geistige Verbündete schiessender und brennender Verbrecher. ... Eine kritische Intelligenz, die Menschenraub nicht kritisiert,

Two weeks later Gerhard Löwenthal, the presenter of a current affairs T.V. program on one of the national public stations, ZDF, said:

Red Fascism, as the left Frankfurt sociologist Jürgen Habermas has called left-extremism, does not differ in anything from brown Fascism. And the sympathizers with this left-Fascism, those Bölls and Brückners, and all the other so-called leftist intellectuals, are not one iota better than the spiritual pace-setters of the Nazis, who have once already brought so much disaster over our country.¹²

Böll announced that he would take Löwenthal to court or at least demand a public apology whereupon Löwenthal, under pressure, partly withdrew the statement.¹³

Löwenthal's comments are of particular interest because they lead to a new angle in the controversy: the shift from merely condemning a person's political views to accusing them of responsibility for crimes committed by others, who are supposedly of the same political ilk. This shift can be detected in the debate from Löwenthal's

ist keine. Der Intellektuelle, der der Gewalt das Wort redet, hat die Sprache verloren.' Habe, H.: 'Der Verrat der Intellektuellen' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.

12 'Der rote Faschismus, wie der linksstehende Frankfurter Soziologe Jürgen Habermas den Linksradikalismus nannte, unterscheidet sich in nichts von dem braunen Faschismus. Und die Sympathisanten dieses Linksfaschismus, die Bölls und Brückners und all die anderen sogenannten Intellektuellen sind nicht einen Deut besser als die geistigen Schrittmacher der Nazis, die schon einmal soviel Unglück über unser Land gebracht haben.' 26.1.72. in program *ZDF Magazin*

13 'Man kann nicht sehr weit gehen..' *Die Weltwoche*, 9.2.72.; 'Wieder Krach um Löwenthal' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9.2.72.; Roesner, W.: 'Gestörter Betriebsfrieden' *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.2.72.; Auszug aus der Moderation von Herrn Löwenthal im ZDF-Magazin 16.2.72. in Grützbach, Frank: *Freies Geleit für Ulrike Meinhof, Ein Artikel und seine Folgen*, op.cit. p.188

statement onwards. The term "sympathizer" is now used in various forms: "desk-criminals" (Schreibtischtäter), "spiritual co-agents", "helpers". No longer is Böll alone the centre of attention but, more and more, all leftist intellectuals.¹⁴ This emphasis is also related to the trial of Karl-Heinz Ruhland which took place in the early months of 1972. Ruhland had at times been an active member of the Baader-Meinhof group. His statements were detailed and contained some evidence that the group had had some support from various non-members, one of whom was thought to have been Professor Peter Brückner. The introduction of the concept of the 'dangerous sympathizer' led to many statements by public figures who merely voiced their opposition to the Baader-Meinhof group and their aims, in order to clear themselves of any vague suspicion about their allegiance. In this atmosphere of division, no differentiation or real discussion was possible.

The more moderate journalists seemed at first unable to defend Böll's action and either remained silent or pointed out that Böll should perhaps have had some legal advice before going to print.¹⁵ The defence of Böll started relatively late, only when it became apparent that the issue was being used for a wider witch-hunt

¹⁴ as he states himself in an interview in *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 17.2.72.: 'What interests me in the meantime is the political context, the fact that I am apparently becoming a vehicle for the persecution of professors, teachers, lefties, however one may define them in all universities'.

¹⁵ Schwab-Felisch, H.: Studio Düsseldorf 'Kritische Kronik' 11.2.72. Typed script; *Der Spiegel*, 4/1972

against leftist intellectuals. Günter Grass published a call for reason in February in which he also drew some very poignant political connections. A few supporting comments appeared in left wing newspapers.¹⁶ A group of journalists and writers wrote an open letter voicing their concern and defending Böll's action.¹⁷ Papers who had not joined in the attack, published more neutral commentaries or pointed out that Böll, although never intending to start such a furore, was nevertheless partly responsible for what was happening to him.

When in this country someone reaches a threshold of tolerance, he simply calls the adversary a fascist. This mechanism is by now as well rehearsed as the 'idiot-gesture' of a driver... In the middle, amongst the contradicting ideologues, however, sits Heinrich Böll. He has, in the current case which conjures up a media-war, thrown the first stone and triggered an avalanche. His attack, ideologically unsophisticated and conceptually ambiguous though it was, nevertheless should be taken seriously for its moral rage. It was directed against the irresponsible, continually self-contradicting incitement of *Bild*-readers and ended with the tabu-word "fascist".¹⁸

16 Grass, G.: 'Politisches Tagebuch: Wiederholter Versuch', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 6.2.72.; Schütte, W.: 'Böll' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13.1.72.; Hochgürtle, W.: 'Gib nicht auf Ulrike!' *Neue Politik*, 8/1972.; 'Böll gegen SWF' *Neue Presse*, 31.1.72.; Stütz, H.: 'Die Springerhatz auf Heinrich Böll' *Unsere Zeit*, 11.2.72.; Schenke, W.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Rädchen des Überstaates' *Neue Politik*, 12.2.72.

17 'Schriftsteller zu den Angriffen auf Böll' *Neue Politik*, Nr 7/1972.

18 'Wenn in diesem Land die Toleranzgrenze erreicht scheint, dann nennt man den anderen einfach einen Faschisten. Der Mechanismus ist inzwischen so eingespielt wie die Idioten-Geste des Autofahrers... Zwischen den gegensätzlichen Ideologen mittendrin aber sitzt Heinrich Böll. Er hat im aktuellen Fall, der einen Medienkrieg heraufbeschwört, zweifellos den ersten Stein geworfen und eine Lawine ausgelöst. Seine ideologisch ungeschulte, begrifflich verschwommene, im moralischen Ingrimm aber ernst zu nehmende Attacke gegen die verantwortungslose, sich ständig selbst widersprechende Verhetzung der *Bild*-Leser endete im Tabu-Wort "faschistisch". Bohrer, K.-H.:

By the end of February, some well-argued comments were published in more neutral media outlets, which actually took up a position against the growing witch hunt and in favour of Böll's actions.¹⁹ The case against Ruhland, the case between Löwenthal and Böll and the hunt for the other members of the terrorist group helped to keep the issue alive through March and April.²⁰ In June the issue flared up again in connection with the police search of Böll's country house and the arrest of the inner core of the terrorists, but also because the so called 'East-treaties', which had been described as a threat to internal security by the right-wing press, had been ratified.²¹ The coming election also played a part in the

'Faschismus-Vorwurf', *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 28.1.72.

See also the following articles: Hochgürtel, W.: 'Gib nicht auf Ulrike!', *Neue Politik*, 8/1972, 'Kann Protest schaden?', *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 12.1.71., Gehrman, K.: 'Böll: Baader/Meinhof sollen sich stellen', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 28.1.72., Iserlohe, N.: 'Der Einzelkämpfer Böll macht es den Kritikern zu leicht', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 27.1.72., 'Böll gegen SWF', *Neue Presse*, 31.1.72., Schütte, W.: 'Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13.1.72.

19 Schwab-Felisch, H.: 'Kritische Kronik', WDR 11.2.72.; Arnold, H.L.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Folgen', *Norddeutscher Rundfunk Journal* 3, 3.Programm, 23.2.72.

20 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 9.2.72.; 'Böll verklagt Löwenthal', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 9.2.72.; 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.2.72.; Schmitz, H.: 'Sonderrecht für Böll?', *Express Köln* 12.2.72.; 'Rückzieher', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 18.2.72.; 'Löwenthal korrigiert Äusserung über Heinrich Böll', 18.2.72.; dpa: 'Rechtsstreit Böll-Löwenthal vorläufig beendet', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 30.3.72.

21 Rieber, H.: 'Wer liess Heinrich Bölls Haus durchsuchen?', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12.6.72.; 'Zunehmend Hinweise aus der Unterwelt', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 13.6.72.; Hofmann, G.: 'Heinrich Böll fühlt sich angeschossen', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 14.6.72.; 'Was im Hause Böll am 1 Juli geschehen ist', *Schwäbische Zeitung* 14.6.72.; 'Wer Schläge austeilte muss Schläge einstecken - auch Herr Böll', *Bild*, 15.6.72.; 'Genscher begründet Einsatz bei Böll', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 23.6.72.; 'Genscher antwortet Böll', *Frankfurter*

selection of topics. A continuing barrage of insults and accusations, innuendo and suspicions were directed at Böll because he refused to be silenced, but insisted on giving more interviews and writing more comments. He was accused of having participated in creating an intellectual climate which had driven young people into a position of rejecting their social role.²² The history of this climate was traced to the student movement of 1968 and the founding of the APO. From there a development was seen leading directly to the terrorists.

The behaviour of the press was now openly labelled the worst witch-hunt of intellectuals in the FRG since the war, not only by leftist newspapers and associations but also by the foreign press.²³ The connection with the internal political situation was also pointed out, not only by Böll but also by writers' and journalists' associations in an open letter.²⁴ In June and July there were more hints about the possibility of Böll's being awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.²⁵ The issue finally died down at the end of June beginning of July, when Böll published an article thanking all those who had

Allgemeine Zeitung, 23.6.72.; 'Ein klärendes Wort', Berliner Liberale Zeitung, 30.6.72.; 'Genscher H.D.: Wir werden keinen Millimeter Weg des Rechts abweichen', Hamburger Abendblatt, 23.5.72.

22 'Meinhof Ende', Berliner Rundschau, 22.6.72. and Karl, E.J.: 'Heinrich Bölls Krokodilstränen', Bayern Kurier, 24.6.72.

23 Mytze, A.: 'Der Intellektuelle im Kreuzfeuer', Baseler Nachrichten, 29.6.72.

24 'Gegen jede Hexenjagd sich zur Wehr setzen', Die Tat, 24.6.72.

25 dpa: 'Nobelpreis für Böll?', Spandauer Volksblatt, 23.6.72.

not denounced him.²⁶ There were some demonstrations of support by way of a collection of signatures and a public, supportive declaration by his publisher, signed by 156 notable personalities.²⁷

The next months were quieter, although from September on, Böll took part in the election campaign supporting the SPD. These activities didn't receive an unusual amount of attention. The rumours about the Nobel Prize became slightly more frequent, culminating in a long article about his work under the guise of a review of a book by Günther Wirth about Heinrich Böll.²⁸ This article treats him and his work in detail, celebrating his religious and social motives and calls him a literary diplomat. The announcement was made four days later.²⁹ The media-reaction could be described as generally positive, although the extreme right wing and the CSU-supported press criticized the decision strongly after Franz Josef Strauss, the leader of the CSU party, publicly insinuated that the decision to award the prize to a declared SPD party supporter a few weeks before the election was tantamount to interference with the election

26 Heinrich Böll 'Ich danke allen, die mich nicht denunziert haben', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 29.6.72.; see also Klunker, H.: 'Auf der Suche nach der Mitmenschlichkeit', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 15.10.72.

27 '1380 Unterschriften für Böll', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1.7.72.; Aichinger, I. at al: 'Solidarisch mit Böll', *Nationale Zeitung*, 10.7.72.

28 Klunker, H.: 'Auf der Suche nach der Mitmenschlichkeit', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 15.10.72.

29 *Die Tat*, 19.10.72.

campaign of the FRG.³⁰ He overlooked the fact that the decision for the Nobel Prize has always been made on a Thursday in October.³¹ The Springer-owned papers were also mostly negative. Other articles insisted that Böll received the prize more for his moral stance, social engagement and integrity of motive rather than his literary stature.³² Böll's speech in Stockholm five months later received a very mixed appraisal.³³ Not very many papers commented, most limiting their reaction to a summary of the speech. Those who did comment called the speech 'academic', 'formulated on a high level' and described Böll as 'responsible', 'sensible' and 'realistic'.³⁴ The speech seemed to give Marcel Reich-Ranicki the opportunity to write a tirade against what he termed the general hostility to art generated by the so-called left. He claimed that Böll intended to criticize the overzealous lefties, who had jumped on the bandwagon of 'engaged literature' mostly because they were, in his eyes, unable to produce proper art.³⁵ A right-wing newspaper, which had previously criticized the fact that Böll had received the prize, wrote a surprisingly

30 'Nobelpreis für den Mörderfreund Böll', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 27.10.72.; Beckmann, H.: 'Wieso Heinrich Böll?', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 27.10.72.; Grimminger P.: 'Nicht mehr als ein besserwisserischer Nörgler', *Deutsche National-Zeitung*, 22.12.72.; Weber, M.: 'Dafür haben sie Böll prämiert', *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 3.11.72

31 'Strauss: Preis-Missbrauch', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 20.10.72.

32 Mytze, A.W.: 'Ohne Rücksicht auf Verluste' *Berliner Stimme*, 28.10.72.; Schäble, G.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Moral' *Badische Zeitung*, 20.10.72.

33 'Versuch über die Vernunft der Poesie'

34 Engels, G.: 'Böll - wohltemperiert' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 3.5.73.; Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Gegen die linken Eiferer' *Die Zeit*, 11.5.73.

34 Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Gegen die linken Eiferer' op.cit.

positive account of the speech.³⁶ This situation, where praise seemed to come from a very unexpected side, was repeated more spectacularly later in 1973.

When Böll, in his capacity as president of the PEN-Club, received a letter from the physicist Andrej Sacharow pleading for help in the case of the historian Andrej Amalrik, who had not been released after serving his sentence, but instead had to face new charges, he stepped up the protest against the treatment of intellectuals in the Soviet Union.³⁷ The right-wing press was eager to interpret this as a change of heart and praised Böll, pointing out that he had so far refused to criticize the USSR but that he now had changed his position.³⁸ This situation changed quickly after Böll gave an interview on radio where he drew some direct parallels between the persecution of Russian writers and the implementation of the *Radikalenerlass* in the FRG.³⁹ This drew the more familiar criticisms.⁴⁰

36 Thiemer, H.: 'Endstation Büffel' *Rheinischer Merkur*, 4.5.73.; R.Sch.: 'Böll, der Rätselhaftige' *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 18.5.73.

37 *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 29.5.73., *Die Welt*, 30.5.73. So far he had pleaded for the release of all imprisoned writers in East and West 'Im Westen mehr Autoren inhaftiert als im Osten, meint Heinrich Böll' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12.5.73.

38 'Böll zur Ost-West-Kultur' *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, 17.7.73.; Schmidt, E.W.: 'Gefährliches Entgegenkommen' *Der Schlesier* 2.8.73. wf: 'Leisetreterei' *Mittelbayrische Zeitung*, 6.9.73.

39 'Böll zur Lage in der UDSSR' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.9.73.; 'Böll warnt vor Verfolgung der Intellektuellen' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24.9.73.

40 Müller, W.J.: 'Verlust des Massstabes' *Bayern Kurier*, 29.9.73.; R.Sch.: 'Bölls falsche politische Töne' *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 12.10.73.

The development of an image of Böll as an internationally known and well respected writer with a strong moral engagement which had begun in 1970 was, even though there were very radical breaks, not completely interrupted by the furore of 1972. Indeed, on one level it steadily increased. Now, at the end of 1973, after the Nobel Prize and some years of presidency of the PEN-Club, Böll's standing as an internationally renowned author could no longer be negated. Three English universities offered him honorary doctorates, his hometown, Cologne, held an exhibition centered around his works and a public gathering to celebrate its famous citizen.⁴¹ The right-wing press was by now also very keen to count him as a supporter, as the incident following Sacharow's letter to Böll indicates.

This impression is strengthened by the events of the first half of 1974. Böll appeared in court, giving an 'expert opinion' in defence of Erich Fried, who had been accused of insulting the police authority when he called the killing of an unarmed terrorist, Georg von Rauch, "preventative murder" in a letter to the editor of the *Spiegel*-magazine. Böll's statement is described as having been decisive for Fried's acquittal, although there is also evidence that the judge was unusually sensible and

⁴¹ Hill, R.: 'Ein deutscher Graham Greene' *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 12.12.73.; Kaltwasser, U.: 'Heinrich Böll den Diebstahl verziehen' *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 30.12.72.; Bönisch, G.: 'Ein Stückchen Rathaus stibitzt' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 30.12.73.; Schruff, S.: 'Schau mit Werken Bölls' *Leverkusener Anzeiger*, 7.11.73.

unconventional.⁴² Later, when the editor Wagenbach had to face similar charges, Böll publicly supported him and instructed Wagenbach's lawyer, Otto Schily, to ask the prosecution to start proceedings against him as well, as he had also called the killing of Benno Ohnesorg "murder" in a speech.⁴³ In the same month the house of Böll's son was searched by police but neither the two court cases nor the search elicited a great response from the media.⁴⁴ Alexander Solzhenistyn's sensational arrival in the Federal Republic and refuge at Böll's country house was noted with great interest but merely added to Böll's fame and personal integrity.

His new book then is launched into a media climate of relative serenity, albeit with a recent history of sensational animosity by some parts of the media.

42 'Was ist ein 'Vorbeugemord'?' *Volkszeitung*, Klagenfurt, 27.1.74.; Herrmann, R.: 'Die Wörtlichkeit eines Autors' *Die Zeit*, 1.2.74.; Mauz, G.: 'Ein ernster, fürchterlicher Fall' *Der Spiegel*, 5/1974.

43 In a publication of the Wagenbach publishing company the killing of Benno Ohnesorg, Georg von Rauch and Thomas Weissbecker had been called 'murder', 'planned murder', 'legal murder'. This had been seen as an insult by the Berlin Chief of police, who started the proceedings.; J.G.: 'Die Tötungsschwelle' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22.2.74.

44 'Haussuchung bei Bölls Sohn' *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 8.2.74.

b) Analysis of the reviews

1. The sample:

The sample of material concerning *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* differs from that for *Gruppenbild* in origin and time of publication. Of the 77 items collected, 59 were reviews, 11 were commentaries and 6 were letters to the editor. 12 of the reviews appeared in periodicals and 47 in daily newspapers. 53 of all the reviews appeared in 1974. Amongst the group appearing in the dailies there were only 7 which can be classified as pre-publication reviews, appearing in July. 27 out of the 46 reviews from dailies appeared in August, the month following publication. This seems to indicate that the book received a short burst of concentrated attention from the daily media, which was paralleled by publications in periodicals, of which more than half appeared during 1974.

2. Content and approach

The divisions between positive and negative assessment of the novella are more pronounced than in the case of *Gruppenbild*. There are only 6 reviews which do not take up a definite position. Of the rest, 15 come to mostly positive and 26 to negative conclusions. The justifications for these judgments vary enormously, with some characteristics of the book being used by both camps.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Röhl, K.R.: 'Die heilige Katharina und die Bildzeitung' *Das da*, 8/1974 contradicts most criticisms

Another interesting aspect of the reception pattern is that the early periodical reviews are mainly negative, the later ones more often positive. Amongst the positive reviews there is a higher proportion from the periodicals than one might have expected, namely 9 out of 15 positive reviews, which leaves only 6 clearly positive reviews from dailies.

The criticisms most often levelled against the book concern Böll's assumed inability to separate his fury or desire for revenge from his creative concerns. This argument refers to the treatment he had received at the hands of most parts of the press in 1972 after he had published a letter in the *Spiegel*-magazine asking for 'safe conduct' for Ulrike Meinhof. Most reviews mention this connection and use it to pin at least some of their criticisms on. Some even go as far as to suggest that Böll had pulled the trigger in spirit.⁴⁶ The headlines

in that it simply praises everything. The language which is criticized in the majority of the reviews, even those which praise the book in other respects, is analysed very positively in an essay published in 1979 Scheiffele, E.: 'Kritische Sprachanalyse Heinrich Bölls *Gruppenbild*' *Basis*, 9, 1979 pp.160-187. The structure which was found mainly lacking or to be unsuitable by so many reviews is seen as developed with a fine sense of aesthetic purpose in an essay published 1982, Sewell, W.S. 'Konduktion und Niveauunterschiede: The structure of Böll's *Katharina Blum*' *Monatshefte*, vol. 74, no.2, 1982. The novella form is seen as being maintained as well as renewed by the book in an essay published in 1981 (Sinka, M.: 'Heinrich Böll's *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*' *Colloquia Germanica*, Bern, vol.14, no.2, 1981) while the early reviews had often accused the book of mistakes in formal aspects.

⁴⁶ The main protagonist in the novella shoots a newsreporter. See: Ramseger, G.: 'Schrieb Böll für Böll?' *Baseler National-Zeitung*, 24.8.74.; Scheller, W.: 'Die

used for some reviews might suffice to give an impression: "Where rage can lead", "Told in rage - written as if with a fist", "Böll's revenge entertainment", "Rage doesn't always inspire creativity".⁴⁷ The assumed clouding of his ability is seen in the seeming sloppiness of the language and style, the haste with which it seems to have been written, the 'mistakes' in the plot, the uneven attention to detail, weak humour, type-cast, stock characters, lack of form, too much form etc..⁴⁸

The other major accusation is that it is plainly bad literature. This is most often linked to Böll's personal involvement in the issues, and sometimes introduced by the assumption that a piece that is so openly political can, *a priori*, not have any aesthetic qualities, and

verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum' *Generalanzeiger Für Bonn*, 23.8.74. and *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 22.8.74.; Barz, P.: 'Gruppenbild mit Mord' *Westermanns Monatshefte*, Nov. 11/1974

47 Schloz, G.: 'Reine und Schweine. Wohin der Zorn führen kann' *Deutsche Zeitung*, Nr. 32, 9.8.74, S.13; Braem, H.: 'Im Zorn erzählt- und wie mit der Faust geschrieben' *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 17.8.74.; Ramseger, G.: 'Bölls Rache Entertainment' *Darmstätter Tageblatt*, 17/18.8.74.; Sybold: 'Zorn macht nicht immer schöpferisch' *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 21.8.74.

48 Schloz, G.: 'Reine und Schweine, Wohin der Zorn führen kann' op.cit.; Seybold: 'Zorn macht nicht immer schöpferisch' op.cit.; Dreykorn, P.: 'Katharina Blum in den Fängen der Presse' *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 28.9.74.; 'Zu Böll und zu Bernhard' *Schweizer Monatshefte*, 54 Jg. 1974-5 II p.542-544; Zehm, G.: 'Heinrich der Grätige' *Die Welt*, 16.8.74.; Scheller, W.: 'Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum' *Generalanzeiger Für Bonn*, 23.8.74. and *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 22.8.74.; Braem, H.: 'Im Zorn erzählt- und wie mit der Faust geschrieben' op.cit.; Richter, W.: 'Die böse Moritat der kühlen Katharina' *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 7.9.74.; Ramseger, G.: 'Bölls Rache Entertainment' *Darmstätter Tageblatt*, 17/18.8.74.; Kill, R.: 'Bölls zu süffige Wut' *Rheinische Post*, 10.8.74.

indeed does not 'deserve' any attention from a 'literary' point of view.⁴⁹

The positive reviews also often mention the fact that Böll has now reacted to the 1972 press campaign, but they mostly assume this connection does not need to be justified or is simply typical of Böll.⁵⁰ Many of the positive reviews concentrate on the author and his character and base their opinion of the book on that.⁵¹

3. Analysis

The fact that the reviews are so definitely divided between positive and negative and that the justification for the judgments is usually based on the political behaviour and recent experience of the author (i.e. his article in *Spiegel* and the ensuing reaction), must be seen in relation to the content of the book itself, as well as to the internal social and political situation in

49 'Zu Böll und zu Bernhard' *Schweizer Monatshefte*, 54 Jg. 1974-5 II S.542-544

50 Tank, K.L.: 'Bölls Notschrei' *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 11.8.74.; Brender, H.: 'Von der Unzerstörbarkeit der menschlichen Hoffnung' *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 29.8.74.; Linder, C.: 'Und sofort auf ihn geschossen' *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 14.8.74.

51 Tank, K.L.: 'Bölls Notschrei' sees Heinrich Böll as a moral institution; Brender, H.: 'Von der Unzerstörbarkeit der menschlichen Hoffnung' claims Heinrich Böll is led by pity and outrage; Linder, C.: 'Und sofort auf ihn geschossen' op.cit. mentions that Heinrich Böll writes out of a psychological need to free himself of certain emotions; Eggers, H.: 'Gewalt gegen die Zeitung?' *Blickpunkt*, Berlin, NR.239/74 writes: 'the 72 campaign left deep scars on this sensitive man, here now is the result.'

the Federal Republic at the time, as has been described in Chapter Two.

3.a. Depoliticizing techniques:

Even though the reviews are politically explicit, they diffuse the wider political implications raised by the book. This is effected in a number of ways.

One way of achieving that effect is that of concentrating on the author and his personal involvement with the topic. This is the case in almost all the reviews and must be seen in connection with the, by now, very widespread popularity of Böll as a personality. Writing about a book by Böll without writing about him as a person must be like cooking without spice. The author automatically popularizes his own book and the piece to be written about it. In the following analysis of the reviews it was difficult to separate the use of the 'author-concept' from various other issues. The preoccupation with the author is spread across all groups of Böll's reviewers. Because of this, a close analysis of the way the author is used proves to be a very good indication of the reviewers' understanding of literature and its social effects.

In the group of negative reviews the author's closeness to the material is frequently cited. This seems to give an automatic justification for the dismissal of the topics the book opens up. Böll is described as over-

reacting to some minor imbalance in news-reporting. The issues are thus limited, contained and diffused. The most extreme example of this type of approach is Hans Habe's review.⁵² Habe argues that Böll has lost all right to the status of 'writer' because this novella had finally exposed him as a self-centred, irrational person, who cannot be trusted. The connection to the topic of terrorism opens up room for retelling of the press-incident which makes good reading.

A very similar effect can be observed in reviews which state their sympathy with Böll's intentions: The author's personal convictions, now considered praiseworthy, are seen as central to the evaluation of the book. This also has the effect that the book's wider political relevance is curtailed by focussing on this individual experience, or need, which leads to a marginalization of this relevance. These reviews are not only positive, some are very angry with Böll for not having done a 'proper job', for having lost his 'critical intelligence'.⁵³ Reich-Ranicki's review must be mentioned here.⁵⁴ His approach seems to be sympathetic to and positive about the contemporary relevance of the novella. This alleged relevance is then, however, channelled into a discussion of literary values which, although they are

⁵² Habe, H.: 'Requiem auf Böll' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 18.8.74.

⁵³ Richter, W.: 'Die böse Moritat der kühlen Katharina' *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 7.9.74.; Kill, R.: 'Bölls zu süffige Wut' op.cit.

⁵⁴ Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Der deutschen Gegenwart mitten ins Herz' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.8.74.

expressed in general terms, are really his personal preferences. Lamenting a lack of 'art' in the efforts of contemporary writers to portray their world he writes:

So there are ever more clever books about contemporary literature. And no literature - at least no literature in which the echo of that which has occurred in the last years in the FRG could be found.⁵⁵

Böll's achievement is that he is able to include in his works a 'topicality' which is in Reich-Ranicki's eyes absent from most other contemporary West German literature.

Even though Böll's books were highly controversial and questionable literary products - ...- they nevertheless displayed a unique vision, yes an extraordinary feeling for those themes, situations and moods in which the 'topical' becomes apparent automatically. What Böll tells may be better or worse. But it touched and touches the central core of the German present. This is also⁵⁶ the case for *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*.

A discussion of this topicality is not part of Reich-Ranicki's review. Instead he defines Böll's theme as traditional and eternal:

55 'So gibt es immer mehr kluge Bücher über zeitgenössische Literatur. Und keine Literatur - jedenfalls keine, in der sich das Echo dessen wiederfinden liesse, was sich in der Bundesrepublik in den letzten Jahren ereignet hat.' Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Der deutschen Gegenwart mitten ins Herz' op. cit.

56 'Auch wenn Bölls Bücher höchst zwiespältige und fragwürdige literarische Produkte waren -...- so bewiesen sie doch einen einzigartigen Blick, ein schlechthin phänomenales Gespür für jene Motive, Situationen und Stimmungen, in denen 'das Aktuelle' wie von selbst zum Vorschein kommt und anschaulich wird. Was Böll erzählt, mag besser oder schlechter sein. Aber es trifft und trifft die deutsche Gegenwart mitten ins Herz. Das gilt auch für *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*' Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Der deutschen Gegenwart mitten ins Herz' op.cit.

Böll has from the start contrasted injustice, the viciousness and cruelty of the world with the purity or the simple decency of his central figures. ... A very old topic re-establishes itself here.... The confrontation of the suffering individual with the hostile environment and love failing due to this environment - both themes are central also to the novella *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*.⁵⁷

In this framework, the previously emphasized topicality fades into a mere cover under which the eternal themes are presented. This mechanism diffuses and tames any active relationship to the themes touched on by the novella.

A more obvious manner in which the political implications of the novella are marginalized is by simply omitting any discussion of the social-political questions which are raised by the book. I do not wish to claim that this is a deliberate intention of the reviewers. Although some of the reviews state that Böll is making a justified criticism or that he is realistic in his content, there is virtually no discussion of any of the social and political questions raised by the book in any of the reviews. The only discussion of this kind can be found in one essay on language by Scheiffele, which analyses the language used by Böll as mirroring and criticizing the

57 'Böll hat von Anfang an gegen die Ungerechtigkeit, die Bosheit und Grausamkeit der Welt die Unschuld, die Reinheit oder ganz einfach die Anständigkeit seiner zentralen Figuren ausgespielt. ... Ein uralter Topos feierte hier Urständ. ... Die Konfrontation des leidenden Individuums mit der feindlichen Umwelt und die an dieser Umwelt scheiternde Liebe - beide Motive stehen im Mittelpunkt auch der Erzählung von der *Verlorenen Ehre der Katharina Blum*.' *ibid*.

systematic, inherent violence which has developed in West-German culture and which has spread into everyday language. More often than not a discussion of issues such as police interrogation-tactics, gutterpress monopoly, the witch-hunt after leftist radicals, is stifled by remarks such as: Böll 'has no experience of this type of journalism', 'there are more 'realistic' incidents described in any detective story than in Böll's book'.⁵⁸ He is also accused of getting sidetracked into a much too idealized description of his heroine.⁵⁹

3.b. The use of content

The content is often summarized in order to inform the reader quickly. These plot summaries also give interesting hints as to the assumptions underlying the reviews. A comparison is possible here as many of the reviews have plot summaries.

The plot summary is generally used to provide the bulk of material for many reviews and to support its argument. However, this is not done openly but by subtle selection of the most suitable content which then gives the impression that the content 'naturally' supports the judgment of the reviewer. What is selected can then give some hints as to what the reviewer's unproclaimed assumptions are. These assumptions relate not only to

⁵⁸ Janssen, U.: 'Zeitkritik an Pfützen' *Schleswig Holstein Landeszeitung*, 7.9.74.; Günther, J.: 'Heinrich Bölls: *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*' *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 144 Jg.21, Ht. 4, 1974, p.810-812
⁵⁹ Jansen, H.: 'Eine Frau im Räderwerk der Revolverpresse' *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 3.8.74.

topics which are discussed in the reviews such as literature, freedom of the press, sexuality and police investigation methods, but also social acceptability, proper ways of dealing with conflict and the political uses of literature.

In his review entitled "The Pure and the Pigs" Günther Schloz uses selected items of content as well as a summary to emphasize how clumsy, crudely written and absolutely unartistic the book is.⁶⁰ After introducing the book as a tirade, inspired by hatred to such a degree that the "artistic means refuse to function", Schloz summarizes the plot:

Böll's heroine is called Katharina Blum. She is as pure as her Christian name, as natural as her surname and so honorable that she considers her honour lost even though it is other people who have tarnished it. Her honour lost, she considers herself justified in becoming violent. She shoots the reporter Werner Tötges (what a name-finder this Böll is!)* who has dragged her in a scandalous manner through the *PAPER*, has deprived her not only of her honour but also of her mother and who after all that dares to burst into her home with the offer: "How about us having a bang for a start?" And while he "goes for her dress" Katharina's gun goes "bang, two, three or four times."⁶¹

60 Schloz, G.: 'Reine und Schweine. Wohin der Zorn führen kann' op.cit

61 'Katharina Blum heisst Bölls Heldin. Sie is so rein wie ihr Vorname, so natürlich wie ihr Zuname und so ehrbar, dass sie ihre Ehre verlorengibt, auch wenn es andere sind, sie sie ihr abgeschnitten haben. Aus verlorener Ehre versteht sie sich dazu, Gewalt zu verüben. Sie erschießt den Reporter Werner Tötges (welcher Namenerfinder dieser Böll!), der sie in skandalöser Weise durch die *ZEITUNG* gezerrt, ihr mit seinen Sensationsberichten nicht nur die Ehre, sondern auch die Mutter geraubt hat und der sich erdreistet, ihr nach alledem mit dem Angebot ins Haus zu fallen: "... ich schlage vor, dass wir jetzt erst einmal bumsen." Und während er ihr "an die Kledage" geht, macht Katharinas

* Tötges alludes to "töten" = to kill

The emphasis on the character of Katharina is very strong, as in the longer plot summary which follows. She is described ironically to make her look slightly silly:

It was the fate of this competent, good and rather heartily cool Katharina that, at the time of the Carnival in Cologne she should, at a party in the flat of her motherly friend, spontaneously and unavoidably feel tenderly close to an uninvited guest.⁶²

The description of the heroine as being too sensitive to be true, too naive to be convincing, is then taken to be proof of the low quality of the book. The same technique is used to discredit the description of the police:

... after the interrogations (in the manner of : "Did he fuck you then?)" had not brought forth any proof...⁶³

and journalistic practices:

For Böll, it is apparently sufficient to prove how violence can develop and to make understandable what violence can lead to, by showing how (...) the alert reporter with a red Porsche ("a real pig") finally goes after Katharina herself, with the already cited 'bang-happy' advances and the, alas for journalist-pigs, so natural groping for the dress.⁶⁴

Pistole dann "zweimal, dreimal, viermal" tatsächlich "bums".' Schloz, G.: op.cit.

62 'Dieser tüchtigen, gütigen, auf herzliche Weise kühlen Katharina widerfährt es zu Karneval in Köln, bei einem Hausball in der Wohnung ihrer mütterlichen Freundin, dass sie sich spontan und unausweichlich mit einem Zufallsgast zärtlich verbunden fühlt.' Schloz, G.: op.cit.

63 '...nachdem die Verhöre (in der Tonart: "Hat er dich denn gefickt?") keinen Aufschluss ... erbracht hatte.' Schloz, G.: op.cit.

64 'Als bei solchem Stand der Dinge der alerte Reporter mit rotem Porsche ("ein richtiges Schwein") sich

Schloz's assumption that "artistic means" will "refuse to function" if faced with "so much outrage" will need to be analysed elsewhere. Here let us merely note what his plot summary seems to tell us: From the way he describes Katharina's sex-life, he seems to assume that women who are sexually selective are also prudes and therefore unlikely to spend a night with a person whom they have just met. This sexist assumption is then used to discredit the book. Should literature in Schloz's eye confirm, not challenge, the most commonly held preconceptions and prejudices? Having presented the book by means of a distorted plot and characterization, the critic feels no need for any less biased justification before dismissing the entire book as a "minor work", "a piece of sloppy polemic, thrown together impatiently."⁶⁵

Joachim Günther's review in *Neue Deutsche Hefte* concentrates its criticism on the lack of realism and conviction he perceives in the plot and suggests Böll's lack of experience with the 'detective story' genre as the reason.⁶⁶ His own confessed lack of familiarity with

schliesslich an Katharina selber heranmachte, schien für Böll wohl hinlänglich dargetan, wie Gewalt entstehen kann, und es genügte die schon zitierte Bumsfallera-Zudringlichkeit und der ach für das Journalistenpack so selbstverständliche Griff an die Kledage, um begreiflich zu machen wohin sie führen kann, die Gewalt: Bum.' Schloz, G.: op.cit.

65 'ein im Zorn geschludertes, mit Ungeduld zusammengestückltes Nebenwerk'. Schloz, G.: op.cit.

66 Günther, J.: 'Heinrich Böll: Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum, *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 144Jg. 21, 4/1974, p.810-812

the tabloid *Bild-Zeitung* does not disqualify him, however, from assessing Böll's picture of *Bild* as artificial. His plot summary, even though it is much less biased than the previous example, is very interesting:

... a young woman, who is built up as a just, cool-clever creature of virtue, although from a tainted family (brother in jail, father dead, corrupt, mother sick, leaning slightly towards alcoholism), has worked herself up to the level of "certified housekeeper" from poor circumstances, with the help of a lawyer-couple who appreciate her worth, to modest prosperity with a freehold-flat and a car. At a party at Carneval she gets to know a young man. Love at first sight. But the lover, who is the first to understand the difference between being amorous and making advances, is a wanted violent criminal, who is said not only to have committed bank robbery but also murder. The narrator later takes this back; lets his male secondary character, who remains pale anyhow, only be a deserter from the federal army, and a plunderer of a safe containing the salary for two regiments and large sums of financial reserves and, on top of that, a forger. The police search for this man at Katharina's, but he has disappeared mysteriously in the morning. She herself is interrogated at length, gets into the *PAPER* as "Robber's sweetheart" and experiences all the reprisals of society which are heaped upon a suspected person. In that way, furious hatred mounts up inside her (the story wants to demonstrate "how violence develops and to what it can lead"). She seemingly grants an interview to a typically nasty news-reporter and shoots him dead when he starts the interview not with questions concerning the matter at hand, but with a drastic sexual advance.⁶⁷

67 '... eine junge Frau, die als ein rechtes, kühlkluges Tugendgeschöpf aufgebaut wird, obwohl aus belasteter Familie (Bruder im Knast, Vater tot, korrupt, Mutter krank, leicht zu Alkoholismus neigend), hat sich aus ärmlichen Verhältnissen als 'diplomierte Wirtschaftlerin' mit Hilfe eines ihren Wert schätzenden Anwaltpaars zu kleinem Wohlstand mit Auto und Eigentumswohnung emporgearbeitet. Auf einer Party zur Fastnacht lernt sie einen jungen Mann kennen. Grosse Liebe auf den ersten Blick. Aber der Geliebte, der sich als erster auf die Differenz von Zärtlichkeit und Zudringlichkeit versteht, ist ein gesuchter Gewaltverbrecher, dem nicht bloss Bankraub, auch Mord nachgesagt wird. Der Erzähler nimmt das später zurück; lässt seine, ohnehin bloss bleibende männliche Nebenfigur nur Bundeswehrdeserteur und "Plünderer einer Safes mit dem Wehresold für zwei Regimenter und erheblichen Geldreserven", dazu

The imprecision in this account of the content is interesting: the "lawyer-couple" refers to the Blornas - he is a corporation lawyer and she is an architect (the wife's profession is overlooked). They merely enable Katharina to amortize her loan faster than she would otherwise have done and cannot really be said to have helped her "improve herself". The summary is constructed to make the plot seem predictable and shallow.⁶⁸ We can therefore only conclude that the reviewer dislikes the plot precisely because it is very predictable and close to the commonly experienced reality: "There are worse and also more peculiar things in life." One of the criticisms he levels against the plot is, however, that it is not realistic and believable enough. The reviewer also assumes that the person who is in a conflict situation is to blame for this conflict and that is is uninteresting

'Bilanzfälscher' sein. Da die Polizei den Mann bei Katharina Blum sucht, er aber am Morgen auf mysteriöse Weise verschwunden ist, wird sie selbst lange vernommen, kommt als "Räuberliebchen" in die *ZEITUNG* und erfährt alle Repressalien der Umwelt, die sich auf einen Verdächtigen häufen. So sammelt sich ingrimmiger Hass in ihr an (die Erzählung will ja verdeutlichen 'wie Gewalt entstehen und wohin sie führen kann'). Sie gewährt zum Schein einem Ausbund von Zeitungsreporter ein Interview und erschießt ihn, als er das Interview nicht mit Sachfragen, sondern mit einem drastischen Annäherungsversuch beginnt.' Günther, J.: op.cit.

68 This leads the reviewer to judge the book as falling short of Goethe's prescription that a story should not show 'the general in the shape of one in a million cases but that it has to show the general in the single case'. The use of the Goethean pronouncement about what a story should do rests on the assumption that we all know what constitutes 'the general' and a 'single case' as well as on our agreement with this pronouncement. In the review it is not elucidated or analysed beyond the fact that it comes from Goethe, which is presumed to be sufficient recommendation.

to read about this. This leaves no room for a discussion of the conflict itself.

Reinhard Kill confesses in his review titled: "Böll's too tasty anger" to have been painfully disappointed with the book, as the topic was "nearly negligently missed" and because this happened in such a "literarily inadequate, warped, stilted, cramped manner".⁶⁹ He goes on ~~the~~^{to} say that the book is no pamphlet. If Böll had written one, it would have become a duty for every journalist to read it, but as Böll has only wanted "to take his revenge, his means reflect on him." His plot summary uses many very brief quotes from the book without information about who is being quoted:

His (Böll's) invented heroine, who is however afflicted by reality, is called Katharina Blum, is 27 years old and a certificated domestic help. The night before "Weiberfastnacht" 1974 at a party in a "town which is merry according to the season" (therefore Heinrich Böll's Cologne) she gets to know Ludwig Götten who is wanted by the police for robbery and murder. She, the prude, the "nun", who left her husband "because of insuperable aversion", felt immediately "great tenderness for him and he for me", danced with him "exclusively and fervently". She goes with Götten to her apartment for "a night of romance", helps him to escape through a heating duct and finds herself, because of the suspicion of aiding and abetting, in the interrogation machinery of the police and in the headlines of the *PAPER*.

The most talented headline maker of this paper, the reporter Tötges (looks "sordid", drives a Porsche) builds the case up more and more. He shamelessly falsifies statements from Blum's acquaintance, climbs, dressed up as a painter, into the sick room of mother Blum who has just been operated on for cancer and blames the death of the shocked convalescent on her "stubborn killer-

⁶⁹ Kill, R.: 'Bölls zu süffige Wut' *Rheinische Post*, 10.8.74.

sweetheart"-daughter. He pokes around in the past of Katharina's friends and employers, insinuates things, makes the drawing of conclusions likely, etc.

The woman, insulted as a "Kremlin-stooge" and "communist-bitch" in anonymous letters, persecuted by smutty suggestions arranges to meet the person who brought death, Tötges, for an interview in her flat and shoots the "character assassin", who wants "to bang" her "first". After the reconstitution of her lost honour she shows no remorse.

She is "pretty, smartly dressed, friendly, very intelligent, reliable, industrious, neat, faithful, proud, able to plan ahead ingeniously, extremely ready to help, a singularly nice young thing." With so much clear purity it doesn't matter that she is also "cool, prim, without a sense of humour, in sexual matters extremely sensitive. But nevertheless this awkward heavenly wonder-being will spontaneously open up for Götten: "My god he was simply the one who was to come." There the life and love story becomes a holy story. How this passively straight young woman, who reacts linguistically with scruples similar to Böll, who formulates as correctly as the board of editors of the *Duden*, plans and executes a murder, that is, how inside her violence develops and where it leads: this⁷⁰ remains Heinrich Böll's unrevealed literary secret.

70 'Seine erfundene, gleichwohl von der Wirklichkeit heimgesuchte Hauptperson Katharina Blum ist 27 Jahr alt und staatlich geprüfte Hauswirtschafterin. Am Vorabend zur Weiberfastnacht 1974 lernt sie bei einem Hausball in einer 'saisongemäss fröhlichen Stadt' (mithin Heinrich Böll's Köln) den von der Polizei wegen Raub und Mord gesuchten Ludwig Götten kennen. Die, die Prüde, die 'Nonne', die ihren Mann 'wegen unüberwindlicher Abneigung' verliess, empfand direkt 'grosse Zärtlichkeit für ihn und er für mich', hat 'ausschliesslich und innig' mit ihm getanzt. Sie geht mit Göttern (sic) für 'eine Liebesnacht' in ihr Apartment, verhilft ihm durch einen Heizungsschaft zur Flucht und gerät deswegen, wegen des Verdachts der Begünstigung in die Vernehmungsmaschinerie der Polizei und in die Schlagzeilen der ZEITUNG. Deren besonders findiger Reporter Tötges (sieht 'schmierig' aus, fährt Porsche) zwirbelt den Fall immer höher. Schamlos verdreht er Erklärungen und Aussagen von Blum-Bekanntem, klettert als Anstreicher getarnt, ins Krankenzimmer der an Krebs operierten Mutter Blum, schiebt auch den Tod der aufgeschreckten Ruhebedürftigen der 'verstockten Mörderbraut'-Tochter in die Schuhe, schnüffelt im Vorleben von Katharinas Freunden und Arbeitgebern, unterstellt, legt Schlussfolgerungen nahe, etc. Die in anonymen Breifen als 'Kremel-Tante' und Kommunisten-Sau' Beschimpfte, von unanständigen Anträgen

The level of the novella's plot is often referred to as if it were unproblematically one-dimensional or as if it co-incided with the level of reality from which the reviewer operates. Kill is not alone in overlooking the frequent discussions in the book about the difficulties of establishing something as a fact. The incident concerning the reporter's alleged entry into Katharina's mother's sick-room is in the novella accompanied by a lengthy elaboration about whether it can be seen as true or as just a boast by the reporter, about who considered it true and how this affected that person, etc. The issue concerning the fact-status of true or invented incidents which is central to the book, is in Kill's review overlooked completely. This is all the more surprising as the reviewer has stated that he was very interested in a discussion of "whether we are actively or passively part of the information process". This side of the discussion is, however, sidetracked into very shallow considerations

Verfolgte bestellt den 'Todesherbeiführer' Tötges (nomen est omen) am Karnevalssonntag zu einem Interview in ihre Wohnung und bumst ihren 'Rufmörder', der sie 'erst einmal bumsen' will, mit der Pistole zu Tode. Reue zeigt sie nach der Wiederherstellung ihrer verlorenen Ehre nicht. Sie ist 'hübsch, adrett, freundlich, sehr klug, korrekt, fleissig, ordentlich, treu, stolz, fast genial planend, radikal hilfsbereit, ein einmalig nettes Ding'. Bei so viel klarer Reinheit schadet's nicht, dass sie auch 'kühl, zimperlich, humorlos, in sexuellen Dingen äusserst empfindlich' ist. Und doch öffnet sich diese sperrige, himmlische Wunderwesen spontan für Götten: 'Mein Gott, er war es eben, der da kommen soll'. Da wird eine Liebes- zur Heilsgeschichte. Wie diese passiv redliche, sprachlich so skrupulös wie Böll reagierende, so korrekt wie die Duden-Redaktion formulierende junge Frau einen Mord plant und ausführt, wie also in ihr Gewalt entsteht und wohin sie führt: Das bleibt Heinrich Bölls literarisch nicht offenbartes Geheimnis.' Kill, R.: 'Bölls zu süffige Wut' op.cit.

of literary value. As Böll only wants revenge "his means reflect on him". This is similar to the previous review where the literary means are said to "refuse to function"... faced with "so much outrage". The relationship between the effective functioning or mere presence of the 'artistic means' and the perceived involvement of the author with the theme, proven or not, remains unmentioned.

A discussion of the topics which are opened up by the novella and the manner in which these relate to the readers' concerns is neglected in favor of a hurried attempt to judge it. One can see here a turning away from the discussion of certain obvious social/political questions by the use of an admittedly limited literary criticism and evaluation.

This pattern of using the content is fairly common in the reviews published in the dailies. A plot summary serves to make the review interesting as it is a very compressed, and therefore often sensationalized enumeration of the most 'shocking' events in the book. The selection is predictable: The police commissioner's question: "Well, did he fuck you?" is cited often, as if the use of the phrase was accepted as a fact in the novel.⁷¹ The text, however, includes a lengthy discussion of whether these words were actually used and if so, who used them. Katharina's image as 'nun' and her words about

⁷¹ Schloz, G.: 'Reine und Schweine. Wohin der Zorn führen kann' *Deutsche Zeitung*, 9.8.74.

her lover: "He was the one who was to come." are also used frequently. This builds up an image of Katharina parallel to the one built up by the concerted efforts of police and gutter press in the novella: suspicion is heaped on a person's character, even if this person is fictitious, because she happens to fall outside the norm. The norm remains safely undefined. Some of the reviewers here reveal their own prejudices in their judgments.

This analysis of the use of content in reviews poses questions about the reasons for the choices of topics and approaches by the critics. This needs to be seen separately from their general ability to write reviews of any particular standard. The content is misused and exploited to make the review more 'palatable' and to support the critics' often shallow judgment, not only of the novella, but of a number of other topics. For the book under discussion this means a distortion of its themes and approaches. For the reader, the oversimplifications and sensationalizing effects of these summaries promote the expectation of a highly exciting and thrilling book. The use of the content lends a commercial character to the reviews. An imprecise use of content is very easily transformed into an effective advertisement. After all - some of the content is highly controversial, therefore certain to attract attention. The reviews are then aiding the sales of the novella, even if, or perhaps because, they are often very critical.

3.c. The academic reception

In the academic reception, Böll's perceived close involvement with his material is also seen as a reason for concern. Philip Payne goes as far as stating that: "When Katharina takes out the pistol it is not Tötges who stands before her but Springer and it is Böll who fires the shots."⁷² This is so because:

Whenever Böll comes across a situation in which the individual is persecuted by the state or, as here, by the press he reacts with a paroxysm of rage that shakes his whole being.⁷³

Payne sees this as the response of an "incorrigible moralist". Jochen Vogt shares with many of his colleagues from the dailies the assumption that the press-furore around Böll's essay in 1972 must be seen as having left its mark on Böll's creative work.⁷⁴ Hanno Beth, Günther Wirth and Hanjo Kesting write review-essays which give considerable room to the social and political implications of Böll's themes, even though they have different ways of understanding and interpreting the novella.⁷⁵ Both Kesting and Beth come to very positive

⁷² Payne, P.: 'Heinrich Böll versus Axel Springer: Some observations on *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*' in: *New German Studies*, VI, 1/1978, p.45-57

⁷³ *ibid*

⁷⁴ Vogt, J.: *Heinrich Böll*, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, 1978, p.123

⁷⁵ Beth, H.: 'Rufmord und Mord: die publizistische Dimension der Gewalt' in: Beth, H. (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Böll. Eine Einführung in das Gesamtwerk in Einzelinterpretationen*, Scriptor, Kronberg/Ts., 1975. p. 55-81; Wirth, G.: 'Plädoyer für das Erbarmen' in: *Queensland Studies in German Language and Literature*, Bd.V, 1975, p.93-109; Kesting, H.: 'Katharina Blum, eine Romanfigur' *Horen*, vol.25, 4/1985, p.86-97

conclusions about the novella, but to negative conclusions about its general reception, recognizing that for many journalists the relevant questions might have been threatening:

... Böll ... has clearly recognized the structures of public media violence and presented them for public debate. It seems to me to be no co-incidence, however, that the critics of *Katharina Blum* have, being implicated and at the same time dependent, generally avoided this question.⁷⁶

Kesting and Beth criticize the shallowness of the reception, which seems more interested in the author's opinions than in his findings by presenting the book as Böll's private revenge. Kesting's findings of misrepresentation in the plot summaries and shallow polemics in place of any analysis or information are very similar to mine. He mentions Habe's viciousness, Reich-Ranicki's diffusing treatment and Schloz's vehement criticisms. It is interesting to see that within academic criticism there are pockets of very aware and critical writers. As I have mentioned, the existence of these reviews proves that this type of awareness is possible in the institution but also that it has mostly only marginal effect in comparison to the numerically and structurally overwhelming dominance of institutionalized reviewing.

3.d. Conclusion

76 '- die Strukturen publizistischer Gewalt hat er klar erkannt und zur Debatte gestellt. Es scheint kein Zufall zu sein, dass sich die Rezensenten der *Katharina Blum* als Betroffene und zugleich Abhängige durchweg um die Diskussion dieser Fragen gedrückt haben.' Beth, H.: op. cit. p.74

In the context of the media and political situation in the FRG, this kind of reception leads to questions about the political climate of the time. The daily press as well as the more independent weeklies and periodicals had trouble in treating the novella in an open fashion. Were various methods employed to distract from its highly political content? The three characteristic aspects of the reception are: the use of the 'author', open omission of the political implications from the discussion and misuse of the content with the effect of sidetracking and marginalizing any discussion of the challenges to many entrenched social practices which the novella presents. Here the so called independent newspapers are implicated as well as the small regional papers. In the context of the times this reception functions as a muffling, diffusing and watering down of the potentially sharp social conflicts which are touched upon by the novella. The terrorist scene, its roots in recent German history, the role of the press and its unclear connections to the police and intelligence agencies as well as big business interests, the issue of the use of semi-official slander to promote first a social and later a political discrimination against certain groups, as had been successfully practised by Nazi-propaganda against communists and slaves, are all topics which are in need of wider debate in Germany. The opportunity to initiate this debate, to evaluate the historical inheritance critically, is thwarted by this reception.

Appendix: Articles appearing during January, February,
March 1972.

January:

- 'Kann Protest schaden?' *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 12.1.72. Interview: Merseburger/Böll 'Heinrich Böll und der Fall Bukowski' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- Schütte, W.: 'Böll' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13.1.72.
- ob: 'Krämer-Badoni kontra Heinrich Böll' *Giessener Allgemeine*, 13.1.72.
- Bauer, R.: 'Der Schriftsteller untergräbt selbst seine Glaubwürdigkeit' *Rheinische Post*, 13.1.72.
- Scharnagl, W.: 'Demaskierter Böll' *Bayern Kurier*, 15.1.72. Krämer-Badoni, R.: Anarcho-Böll *Darmstädter Echo*, 15.1.72. Habe, H.: 'Treten Sie ab, Herr Böll' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 16.1.72.
- 'Politiker widersprechen Böll' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17.1.72.
- 'Scharfe Kritik an Heinrich Böll' *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.1.72.
- 'Junge Union rügt Böll' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.1.72.
- Martini, W.: 'Literaten als Kriminalpolitiker' *Esslinger Zeitung*, 20.1.72.
- 'Nur sanft geböllert' *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, 21.1.72.
- 'Petit victor' Kommentar zum Kulturgesehen *Deutsche Tagespost*, 21.1.72.
- 8 letters to the editor 'Die Irrwege des Heinrich Böll' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 23.1.72.
- 'Sehr geehrter Herr Böll' *Neue Bildpost*, 23.1.72.
- 'Böll stellt seine Mitarbeit beim Südwestfunk ein' *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 26.1.72.
- G.B.: 'Bölls Meinungsfreiheit' *Tagesanzeiger/Regensburg*, 26.1.72.
- F.R.: 'Böllerei' *Theater Rundschau*, 2/72.
- Lange, M.: 'Kommentar zum Kulturgesehen' *Deutsche Tagespost*, 28.1.72.
- Iserlohe, N.: 'Der Einzelkämpfer Böll macht es den Kritikern zu leicht' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 27.1.72.
- FR: 'Verhärtete Fronten' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27.1.72.
- SWF: 'Südwestfunk weist Behauptung Heinrich Bölls zurück' *Badisches Tageblatt*, 27.1.72.
- Falkenau, P.: 'Heinrich Bölls Meinungsfreiheit' *Offenbach Post*, 27.1.72.
- Frank-Planitz, U.: 'Letzte Parole - verhaftet oder tot' (SWF 24.1.72.) Reprint in *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 28.1.72.
- Bohrer, KH.: 'Faschismus-Vorwurf' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.1.72.
- Gehrmann, K.: 'Böll: Baader/Meinhof sollen sich stellen' *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 28.1.72.
- 'Hans Habe antwortet Böll' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 29.1.72.
- NZ: 'Antrag gegen H.Habe' *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 28.1.72.
- 'Böll wehrt sich gegen Angriffe' *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 29.1.72.
- MP: 'Erneute Vorwürfe Hans Habes' *Main Post*, 29.1.72.

Interview: 'Ich habe einfach meine Konsequenzen gezogen' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 29.2.72.
 hbb: 'Hans Habe hat Existenz-Angst' *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 29.1.72.
 'Wer Faschist ist betimmt Herr Böll' *Bild*, 29.1.72.
 Habe, H.: 'Der Verrat der Intellektuellen' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.
 Zimmermann, H.: 'Wird die Bande bevorzugt behandelt?' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.
 Habe, H.: 'Böll hat sein Pen-Amt missbraucht' *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.
 'Man muss zu weit gehen' *Tagesspiegel*, 30.1.72.
 'Böll gegen SWF' *Neue Presse*, 31.1.72.
 'Wann ist eine Bande eine Bande, Herr Böll?' *Bild*, 31.1.72. dpa: 'Böll: Man muss zu weit gehen' *Rhein Neckar Zeitung*, 31.1.72.
 Interview: Merseburger 'Panorama' 10.1.72. in: *Publikation*, 1/1972
 Hochgürtle, W.: 'Gib nicht auf Ulrike!' *Neue Politik*, 8/1972
 Köpcke, J.: 'Sie können sich winden, wie sie wollen Herr Merseburger: Die Baader Meinhof Bande ist links!' *Aktuelle Woche*, 9/72.

February:

F.R. 'Böllerei' *Theater Rundschau*, 2/1972.
 Ahrens, W.: 'Die Bölls sind gefährlicher als Baader-Meinhof' *Quick*, 6/1972
 Marin, L.: 'Ehrabschneider?' *Vorwärts*, 3.2.72.
 'Sternberger Heinrich Böll und der Staat' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3.2.72.
 Höhler, H.: 'Ein Engel namens Böll' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.2.72.
 Musulin, Janko: 'Trotzdem Böll die Treue bewahren' *Die Presse*, 4.2.72.
 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal' *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 9.2.72. ihl: 'Wieder Krach um Löwenthal' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9.2.72.
 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.2.72.
 'Böll wieder ins Ausland' *Lübecker Nachrichten*, 10.2.72.
 Stütz, H.: 'Die Springerhatz auf Heinrich Böll' *Unsere Zeit*, 11.2.72.
 mls: 'Heidelberg bietet Brückner demonstrativ Gastprofessur an' *Die Welt*, 11.2.72.
 Schwab-Felisch, H.: 'Kritische Kronik' WDR, 11.2.72.
 Schmitz, H.: 'Sonderrecht für Böll?' *Express Köln*, 12.2.72. Tern, J.: 'Heinrich Böll und sein Blössen' *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 12.2.72.
 Mayer, W.J.: 'Böll und die Fraktion der Gewalt' *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 5.2.72.
 Michaelis, Eckhard: 'Heinrich Böll, der Moralist, und der Brandstifter' *Rhein Zeitung*, Koblenz 12.2.72.
 'Namensvettern' *Siegener Zeitung*, 12.2.72.
 Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen' *Tageszeitung*, 12.2.72.

C.J.N.: 'Intellektuelle Clownerie' *Deutsche Einheit*, 12.2.72.
 'Böll gegen ZDF' *Baseler Nachrichten*, 12.2.72.
 Schenke, W.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Rädchen des Überstaates' *Neue Politik*, 12.2.72.
 Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen' *Kölnische Rundschau* 12.2.72.
 2 letters to the editor 'Heinrich Böll und die Baader-Meinhof-Leute' *Kirche Und Leben*, 13.2.72.
 12 letters to the editor *Die Welt*, 16.2.72.
 'Heinrich Böll im Gespräch; zu 2 Publikationen über den Schriftstseller' *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.2.72. Letter to the editor: Bader, I.: 'Eine Lanze für Hans Habe' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.2.72.
 11 letters to the editor *Die Welt*, 16.2.72.
 Krämer-Badoni, R.: 'Warum sagt Böll nicht die Wahrheit?' *Die Welt*, 16.2.72.
 Interview: Fetscher/Böll 'Heinrich Böll und die Springermeute' *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 17.2.72.
 'Ein Teil des öffentlichen Gewissens' *Pforzheimer Zeitung*, 17.2.72.
 Roesner, W.: 'Gestörter Betriebsfrieden' *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.2.72.
 'Ein Artikel und seine Folgen' *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 18.2.72.
 3 letters to the editor *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18.2.72.
 letter to the editor Müller, G.: 'Die Rosstäuscher' *Passauer Neue Presse*, 18.2.72.
 hak: 'Rückzieher' *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 18.2.72.
 3 letters to the editor *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18.2.72.
 Rummel, A.: Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Saarländischer Rundfunk 'Kulturpolitischer Kommentar' 18.2.72.
 Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 19.2.72.
 Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen' *Tageszeitung*, 20.2.72.
 Arnold, H.L.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Folgen' *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*, 'Journal 3', 3tes Programm 23.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: Krämer-Badoni, R. *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 24.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: Weiland, A.: 'Lautstarke Proteste haben keinen Sinn' *Die Welt*, 25.2.72.
 'Linke Buchhandlungen dienen als Treffpunkte' *Die Welt*, 25.2.72.
 G.T.: 'Der politisierende Böll' *Münchner Merkur*, 25.2.72.
 Lth: 'Böll in Moskau' *Darmstädter Tagesblatt*, 25.2.72.
 Kubitzka, W.: 'Böll ist kein Linksextremist' *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 29.2.72.

March:

E.St.: 'Das Spiel der Desporados' *Evangelische Kommentare*, 3/1972
 Fisch, H.: 'Litanei der Ängste' *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 2.3.72.
 Dammers R.(itg): 'Böll II bangt um sein Leben' *National Zeitung (Basel)*, 8.3.72.

2 letters to the editor: Graf: 'Neues Feindbild' Velten:
'Der böse Heinrich' *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 9.3.72.
Borries, A.: 'Einseitig, irreführend, verhetzend'
Vorwärts, 16.3.72.
Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 18.3.72.
Gärtner, W.: Heinrich Böll, *Deutsche Tagespost*, 21.3.72.
Heinemann, F.J.: 'In Sachen Böll gegen Löwenthal' *Kölner
Stadtanzeiger*, 30.3.72.
dpa: 'Rechtsstreit Böll-Löwenthal vorläufig beendet' *Der
Tagesspiegel*, 30.3.72.

RECEPTION ANALYSIS

CHAPTER SIX

3. Fürsorgliche Belagerung

Fürsorgliche Belagerung elicits perhaps the most interesting reception in terms of its internal dynamics (involving the communication channels between text, readers, critics and author) of all the three novels. Arriving on the literary scene during a time of unprecedented tension in domestic politics, the book is initially given a crushingly negative treatment which after Heinrich Böll had commented on the reception in a speech and in two interviews leads to an introspective debate about the social role of criticism.

a) Media situation

Between the publication of *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* in 1974 and of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* in 1979 lies the most dramatic period of domestic political tension in postwar German history. During this period the activities of the *Red Army Faction*, RAF, became more and more desperate and violent, as I have described in the second chapter, while the Federal Republic climbed to the peak of world influence in economic and political matters. The SPD Government had accepted the positioning of medium-range nuclear missiles on German soil and the

development of an extensive network of nuclear reactors, both in the face of widespread popular opposition. The parliamentary opposition was very strong and became more and more dominated by right-wing radical demands during the peak of the terrorist activities. As I have mentioned in chapter two, in the wake of the terrorist threat the government initiated various measures and laws relating to the activities of publication and teaching and to the dealings between accused people and their lawyers, which were felt to curtail basic civil rights.¹

Böll's relationship to the media was subtly changed again during this period. Owing to the extreme political tensions the media climate was stirred up to a high degree and Böll was used by many sides. His reactions were, by the end of this period, relatively predictable, and one could gain the impression that there were situations where his reactions were manipulated. There was a tendency by parts of the media to treat him not as a specific individual, but as an institution and/or to capitalize on his high publicity value. The name "Böll" possessed so much currency now, that every- and anything connected with it made the headlines.²

¹ *Vierzehntes Strafrechtsänderungsgesetz*, 22.4.76., *Gesetz zur Änderung des Einführungsgesetzes zum Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz*, 30.9.77., *Kontaktsperrgesetz* (contact barrier law) introduced 28.9.77. passed 2.10.77. printed in Wilharm, I.: op.cit. p.151-153

² For instance the following headline: 'In brothel only talked about Böll, lover's pay needed to be paid anyway, for the Doctor felt spiritually relaxed', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 20.2.75. or the note in *Aachener Nachrichten*, 2.4.75. 'Die "verlogene" Story des Heinrich Böll' which reports an April fool's joke using Böll's name.

At the beginning of this period of intensified tension Böll was singled out in order to link him to the crimes of the terrorists: On 21.11.74. Otto Freiherr von Sass, who worked under the pseudonym Matthias Walden as the chief commentator of the radio station *Sender Freies Berlin* made the following comment on the late edition of the news on the ARD T.V. station after a report about the state funeral of the murdered president of the supreme court, Drenkmann. Referring to the funeral speeches he said:

It was a proclamation for the law abiding state and a renunciation of that violence which wants to destroy it. ... By this evening at the latest, the time has come for the question of how this freedom and this legally bound state was defended before Günter von Drenkmann became the victim of his assassins.

The seeds of violence had come up long before this murder happened. And whether the seed comes up and how fertile it is depends on the condition of the soil into which it is put. ... The soil of violence was fertilized by the evil spirit of sympathy with violent criminals. For years renowned publishers threw printed products of revolutionary character onto the book-market. Heinrich Böll termed the legal state system against which this violence is directed, a "dungheap" and said that he only saw "leftovers of rotting power" which were "defended with a rat-like fury". He accused this state, of persecuting the terrorists "in a merciless hunt".³

3 'Es war ein Bekenntnis zum Rechtsstaat und eine Absage an die Gewalt, die ihn zerstören will. ... Spätestens am Abend dieses Tages ist es Zeit für die Frage, wie denn diese Freiheit und dieser Rechtsstaat verteidigt wurden, ehe Günter von Drenkmann das Opfer seiner Mörder wurde. Die Saat der Gewalt war aufgegangen lange bevor dieser Mord geschah. Und ob die Saat der Gewalt aufgeht und wie fruchtbar sie ist, hängt von der Beschaffenheit des Bodens ab, in den sie eingebracht wird. ... Der Boden der Gewalt wurde durch den Ungeist der Sympathie mit den Gewalttätern gedüngt. Jahrelang warfen renommierte Verlage revolutionäre Druckerzeugnisse auf den Büchermarkt. Heinrich Böll bezeichnete den Rechtsstaat, gegen den sich die Gewalt richtet, als "Misthaufen" und sagte, er sähe nur "Reste verfaulender Macht, die mit rattenhafter Wut verteidigt" würden. Er beschuldigte

The quotes from Böll were a combination of excerpts from a speech he gave in September 1966 and from the famous letter to the *Spiegel*-magazine written in January 1972.⁴ There were available to Walden many more recent comments by Böll on both the state and the terrorists, even one stating that after the Drenkmann murder anybody still sympathizing with terrorists was beyond help. However, he chose this combination. His comment became the subject of a protracted legal battle between Böll and Walden and his employers.⁵

When Jean-Paul Sartre visited Andreas Baader in prison in December 1974 he described the conditions of the prisoners as 'torture' and called on Böll to serve on a committee for the defence of political prisoners in Germany.⁶ Böll agreed in principle.⁷ Asked if this would

diesen Staat, die Terroristen "in gnadenloser Jagd" zu verfolgen.' Kommentar von Matthias Walden, *Tagesschau*, Spätausgabe, ARD, 21.11.74. quoted from 'Urteil des Bundesgerichtshofes vom 30.Mai 1978', in *Rundfunk und Fernsehen*, 2/1978, pp.189-190

4 'Zweite Wuppertaler Rede zur Einweihung des Wuppertaler Schauspielhauses 'Die Freiheit der Kunst', in: Heinrich Böll, *Aufsätze - Kritiken - Reden*, 2. Aufl. 1967; *Spiegel*, 3/1972

5 'Böll: Ich bin kein Prozesshansel', *Recklinghäuser Zeitung*, 27.2.75.; 'Terror als Vorwand', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 21.11.74.; 'Die verlorene Ehre des Heinrich Böll', *Vorwärts*, 3.4.75.; Böll lost in the first hearing in 1975, won in the second in 1976 and lost again in the third in 1978. Böll felt that his personal honour had been attacked by the comment and demanded DM 100.000 compensation. He was granted DM 40,000 by the second hearing, nothing at the last one. The costs of the third hearing were charged to Walden's party.

6 The prisoners had gone on a hunger strike in order to attract attention to the fact that they were treated very differently from ordinary suspects. Kept in isolation not only from one another but also from other prisoners, they claimed this caused psychological disturbances; 'Sartre

not create the impression that he was being used to defend the terrorists' actions, he replied that he had by now come to the conclusion that the terrorists were the only people in the country who knew that he had never felt any sympathy for their political concepts. This earned him another load of stern accusations of giving moral support to the terrorists as well as insinuations of being simply stupid.⁸ A few days later, when he and the Berlin Professor for Theology, Helmut Gollwitzer, were honoured with the Carl von Ossietzky medal of the League for Human Rights in Berlin, the CDU representatives of Berlin refused to attend the ceremony with the claim that, in their view, Böll and Gollwitzer were amongst those who had "sown and cultivated the seed of violence in our country" and had "been guilty of spiritual complicity".⁹ Böll called this reaction "a narrow-minded, shitty, gutless attitude of denunciation".¹⁰ He took the leader of the Berlin CDU, Heinrich Lummer, to court, but lost the case in the first and second sitting. The justification was that somebody who participated in public discussion had to endure

ruft Böll zur Solidarität auf', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5.12.74.

7 'Böll: Ich würde internationalem Komitee beitreten', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 6.12.74.

8 'Die Moral des Heinrich Böll', *Neue Ruhr-Zeitung*, 6.12.74., 'Was Böll vergass', *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 6.12.74., 'Böll's Eiertanz', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 6.12.74; 'Böll, dessen öffentliche Dummheit immer deutlicher offenbar wird,..', Schelsky, H.: 'Rechststaat aktuell, Was verdanken wir der Baader-Meinhof-Bande?', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 20.12.74.

9 S.W.: 'Mass Und Ziel', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.12.74.; 'Durchsucht', *Vorwärts*, 30.1.75.

10 'kleinkarierte, beschissene, feige Denunzianten-Attitüde', *ibid.*

counterattacks. Böll's habit of turning to the courts in order to clear his name indicates a basic trust in the neutrality and fair mindedness of the legal system.

Klaus Staeck, who in November 1974 participated in a very successful German art exhibition in London with some controversial political collages and placards some of which showed the leader of the CSU Franz Strauss, was at the centre of the next row. The production of the catalogue for this exhibition had been supported by a donation from the Goethe Institute. When this became known to the Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, he protested in a letter to the Goethe Institute in London, saying that he "disapproved" of this action, calling the placards "defaming".¹¹ Böll agreed with Staeck when he said that he felt blacklisted by the foreign minister's comment.¹² Böll described this case as censorship and announced during a T.V. interview that he would in future refuse to represent the FRG abroad.¹³ The Staeck 'case' and the first hearing between Walden and Böll were combined in the media to characterize Böll as 'out of control'.¹⁴

11 He was informed by CSU member of parliament Max Schulze-Vorberg, 'Verdikt gegen Entmannung', *Der Spiegel*, 4/ 1975

12 'Ich will runter von der Liste', *Der Spiegel*, 4/1975

13 For which he got support from Günter Grass

14 'Nobel-Geböll', *neue Bildpost*, 2.2.75.; 'Für wen halten Sie sich eigentlich Herr Böll?', *Deutschland Magazin*, 1/1975; G.A.: 'Die politischen Querelen Bölls/ Dichter wird zum pathologischen Fall', *Südost Tagespost*, 31.1.75.; 'Kunst und Diplomatie', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 16.2.75.

With the freeing of a number of imprisoned terrorists through the abduction of Peter Lorenz, the attempts to link any leftist intellectual activity to the source of this violence became more numerous. But more than that - with the government's seemingly weak decision to let the terrorists go in exchange for Lorenz's life, calls to strengthen the state were linked to reminders of where the sources of the evil could be found.¹⁵

This ... surrender of the state based on the rule of law was no accident: it is the consequence of a softening of the state-concept since 1967 in favour of left revolutionary theorems... At the height of the Meinhof terror, Heinrich Böll drivels of the supposed sixty million who hunted six, and only a few weeks ago Ex-Chancellor Brandt insulted as hysterical scaremongers those CDU/CSU politicians who in the Berlin election debates had made the matter of internal security the main topic.¹⁶

Now the way was free to link leftist intellectuals with the Brandt government and make both responsible for terrorism. Hans Habe put it simply:

... Berliners don't forget that Gustav Heinemann, once Germany's 'First Gentleman' addressed the cutthroat Ulrike Meinhof as 'dear' Mrs Meinhof. They don't forget that Heinrich Böll, Germany's most

15 Weger, P.W.: 'Kapitulation des Rechtsstaats', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 7.3.75.; Habe, H.: 'Die Hauptstadt nach dem Herzinfarkt. Sechs Tage, die keiner vergessen wird', *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 9.3.75., Walden, M.: 'Die Sorgen der Linken', *Die Welt*, 10.3.75.

16 'Diese ... Kapitulation des Rechtsstaates kam nicht von ungefähr: Sie ist die Konsequenz einer seit 1967 erfolgten Aufweichung des Staatsbegriffs zugunsten linker Revoluzzer-Theoreme, ... Auf dem Höhepunkt des Meinhof-Terrors faselte Heinrich Böll gar von den angeblich sechzig Millionen, die sechs jagten, und noch vor wenigen Wochen verhöhnte Exkanzler Brandt die Unionspolitiker, die im Berliner Wahlkampf die innere Sicherheit zum Hauptthema erhoben hatten, als hysterische Angstmacher, ...' Weger, P.W.: 'Kapitulation des Rechtsstaates', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 7.3.75.

unhappy Nobel Prize winner interpreted the motives of the 'political' criminal gang mildly and glorified them in literature. ... They don't forget that their Free University has changed into a school of terror and that Chairman Brandt has judged the demands for energetic measures, against the left-extremists as a 'witch-hunt'...¹⁷

These developments are very important in relation to the reception of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, as this book deals quite specifically with terrorists and their potential victims, as well as with the manner in which these victims are protected. The discrimination against leftist intellectuals increased throughout 1976 and 1977, and although Böll got most of the headlines, other writers, theatre directors, church leaders and media workers also felt the pressure.¹⁸ The proposed legal changes

¹⁷ 'Die Berliner vergessen nicht, dass Gustav Heinemann, einst Deutschlands "First Gentleman", die Mordgesellin Ulrike Meinhof mit "verehrte" Frau Meinhof titulierte. Sie vergessen nicht, dass Heinrich Böll, Deutschlands unglücklichster Nobelpreisträger, die Motive der "politischen" Verbrecherbande mild gedeutet und literarisch glorifiziert hat. ... Sie vergessen nicht, dass sich ihre Freie Universität in eine Hochschule des Terrors verwandelt und dass der Vorsitzende Brandt die Forderungen nach energischen Massnahmen gegen die Linksextremisten als "Hetze" verurteilt...' Habe, H.: 'Die Hauptstadt nach dem Herzinfarkt. Sechs Tage, die keiner vergessen wird', op.cit.

¹⁸ For instance Luise Rinser, (see *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1.10.77.); see also: Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Böll wird diffamiert', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3.10.77., Engelmann, B.: 'Wir Schriftsteller warnen vor dem Rückfall in die Barbarei', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 20.10.77.; Claus Peymann, director of the Stuttgart playhouse was accused of strengthening the terror-scene and misusing a state institution for anti-state activities by allowing a collection of money for dental treatment for Gudrun Ensslin, one of the imprisoned terrorists. (See: Bavendamm, D.: 'Wer oder was ist ein Sympatisant?', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 25.9.77. and Krämer-Badoni, R.: 'Warum gerade Peymann?', *Die Welt*, 21.9.77., Brender, H.: 'Nicht auf jede Provokation antworten!', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 22.9.77.) Bishop Kurt Scharf was mentioned in this context because he visited Ulrike Meinhof in prison in 1974, Pastor

concerning the incitement to violence were often discussed in relation to Böll's last book *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*.¹⁹ Böll was accused of not saying something suitable whenever another kidnapping had occurred.²⁰ When he did make an appeal to the terrorists to release Schleyer, the President of the two most powerful federal employer organizations, this appeal was condemned for still showing signs of sympathy towards the terrorists or was simply criticized because he hadn't actually "turned away from sympathizing".²¹ The climax was reached during the weeks of the Schleyer abduction, where official reactions were kept to a minimum in order to avoid jeopardizing the negotiations, while the right-wing sections of the political parties used the hour to prepare changes which would "dry" out the "swamp" of sympathizers.²² During these weeks, an interview Böll

Heinrich Albertz because he drew a parallel between violence of terrorists and violence of institutions, theology professor H. Gollwitzer because he supposedly belittled the dangers of terrorism for years. One can also mention the cases against Wallraff: (i.e.: Linder, C.: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11.11.76., 'Methoden-Verbot', *Konkret* 1/1977), and the case of Volker Schlöndorff, (i.e.: 'Warum kämpft ihr denn nicht?', *Vorwärts*, 6.10.77.)

19 M.-M. Jr.: 'Verherrlichte und befürwortete Gewalt', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.11.75. Röhl, K.R.: 'Lex Katharina Blum?', *Das da*, 12/1975, Zimmer, D.E.: 'Gewalt durch Gedrucktes', *Die Zeit*, 9.1.76.

20 'CDU: Warum schwieg Böll?', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 1.3.75., F.K.: 'Sie schweigen', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 14.3.75., 'Die harmlosen 6 des Heinrich Böll', *neue Bildpost*, 38/1977; 'Aus revolutionären Phrasen wurde Terror', *Handelsblatt*, 7.9.77.

21 Bauer, R.: 'Nervenzermürend', *Rheinische Post*, 12.9.77., Strelz, A.: 'Freies Geleit für Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 12.9.77., 'Ein Appell an die Terroristen', *Die Welt*, 12.9.77.; Hertz-Eichenrode: 'Die Legende der Sympathisanten', *Die Welt*, 12.9.77.

22 Strelz, A.: 'Freies Geleit für Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 12.9.77., , Loewenstern, E.v.: 'Der vermieste Staat', *Die Welt*, 13.9.77., Walden, M.: 'Die verleugneten

recorded for the Bavarian radio station was dropped 10 minutes before it was supposed to go on air because it was thought to be too one-sided, and his son's flat was searched again.²³ The barrage of insinuations, suspicions and denunciations culminated in the statement made by the Presidential Minister of Rhineland Palatinate during an interview with *Bild* that "a sympathizer can already be somebody who says 'Baader-Meinhof-Group' instead of 'Gang'".²⁴

The term "sympathizer" had by now gained such explosive power that some papers and magazines tried to clarify the term as well as stem the tide of denunciations which the use of this term had set in motion.²⁵

...the concept of a sympathizer has in the meantime taken on the quality of an aggressive political term which by now nearly recalls the "enemy of the people" of times gone by.²⁶

Kinder', *Die Welt*, 16.9.77., 'Aus revolutionären Phrasen wurde Hass', *Handelsblatt*, 7.9.77.; For instance the changes to curriculum and teaching materials proposed by the leaders of the CDU during their annual meeting in early September in Emden. See: Spoo, E.: 'Schuld sind die 'sogenannten Intellektuellen'', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12.9.77.

23 Schütte, Wolfram: 'Wahnsinn mit Methode', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3.10.77. 'Ich fühle mich fremd in dieser Welt', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 6.10.77.; 'Haussuchung bei Böll's Sohn', *Die Welt am Sonntag*, 2.10.77.

24 Klugmann, N.: 'Bild im Test. Wer schützt Heinrich Böll?', *Spontan*, 11/1977

25 The *Spiegel*-Magazin runs a series of articles in order to clarify the term, *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, publishes a long article called 'Who or What is a Sympathizer?', Bavendamm, D.: 'Wer oder was ist ein Sympathisant?', op. cit. as does *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 'Die Sympathisantenszene - eine 'gallertartige Masse'', 19.9.77.

26 '.. hat der Begriff des Sympathisanten inzwischen die Qualität eines politischen Kampfbegriffes angenommen, die

In the new climate of suspicion of terror and search for sympathizers sprout classic traits of McCarthyism: a spirit of persecution and campaigns of defamation on one side, pressure to justify oneself and a mania to apologize on the other. ²⁷

Böll was now also defended by various critics: Reich-Ranicki thought the institution of the free writer was under attack:

A defamation campaign is going on, carried out in some dailies and magazines. It is directed mostly against Heinrich Böll. He, who never in his life has advocated violence or terror with a single word, has been suspected and defamed for weeks in certain papers.

The reading world values Böll, because he knew how to combine in his books what one had expected least from a German writer: Morals, charm, consciousness of responsibility and humour. He has managed the singular feat of becoming a Praeceptor Germaniae and to stay a Rhinish jester... The attacks against Böll are directed less at him personally than at the institution of the free writer, which apparently is a thorn in the eye of many. ²⁸

beinahe schon an den 'Volksfeind' vergangener Zeiten gemahnt.' Bavendamm, D.: 'Wer oder was ist ein Sympathisant?', op. cit.

27 'Im neuen Verdachtsklima von Terror und Sympathisantensuche keimen klassische Züge des McCarthyismus: Verfolgungssucht und Rufmordkampagnen auf der einen Seite, Rechtfertigungszwang und Entschuldigungsmanie auf der anderen' in: 'Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort', *Der Spiegel*, 41/1977

28 'Eine Diffamierungskampagne ist im Gange, die vor allem von einigen Tageszeitungen und Illustrierten geführt wird. Sie richtet sich in erster Linie gegen Heinrich Böll. Er, der nie im Leben auch nur mit einem einzigen Wort Gewalt und Terror befürwortet hat, wird seit Wochen in gewissen Blättern verdächtigt und verleumdet. Die lesende Welt schätzt Böll, weil er in seinen Büchern zu verbinden wusste, was man gerade einem deutschen Schriftsteller am wenigsten zugetraut hatte: Moral und Charm, Verantwortungsbewusstsein und Humor. Er hat das einzigartige Kunststück vollbracht, ein Praeceptor Germaniae zu werden und ein rheinischer Schelm zu bleiben... Die Angriffe gegen Böll meinen weniger ihn persönlich als vor allem die Institution des freien Schriftstellers, die offenbar vielen ein Dorn im Auge

Wolfram Schütte saw matters more dramatically.

Referring to the cancelled interview he wrote:

... it would moreover have been an act of journalistic duty just to let a man speak in his own defence for 8 minutes after he had in the last few weeks constantly been the object of massive reproaches, insinuations and defamations, object of a witch-hunt of hatred. Have we already changed so much that we no longer realize what kind of tragedy is being acted out here? When will the "Reichskristallnacht" for the spirit take place here? The noise of breaking glass can already be heard everywhere. Who except Böll will finally say: "We have had enough." So that courage does ²⁹not remain a foreign word amongst the intellectuals.

The wider implications of the situation for intellectuals and for the integrity of culture in West Germany were perceived by some other commentators. Where Schütte saw a need for Böll to defend himself and was outraged about this opportunity not being given, Brender's comment a month earlier indicated that he thought this attitude is a mistake:

The invitation to distance oneself from the crime is sheer impertinence. The most important thing is to realize that. ... The consequence will be an examination of all progressive powers in our land in

ist.' Reich-Ranicki, M.: in *Titel, Thesen, Temperamente*,
ARD 1. 3.10.77.

29 '.. es... (wäre) .. doch geradezu ein Akt journalistischer Pflicht gewesen, einen Mann zu seiner Verteidigung auch einmal acht Minuten lang sprechen zu lassen, nachdem er ununterbrochen in den letzten Wochen Gegenstand massiver Vorwürfe, Unterstellungen und Verleumdungen, Objekt hasserfüllter Hetze war....Haben wir uns schon so verändert, dass wir gar nicht mehr merken, was für ein Trauerspiel da gegeben wird? Wann findet die "Reichskristallnacht" für den Geist bei uns statt? Es klirrt bereits überall. Wer ausser Böll, sagt endlich: 'Uns langts.' Damit Zivilcourage unter den Intellektuellen kein Fremdwort bleibt.' Schütte, W.: 'Wahnsinn mit Methode', op. cit.

order to either control them or to throw them out. Naturally one knows what Böll wants, one can read it, one will read it in future.³⁰

He believed that the numerous public pronouncements rejecting the deeds of the terrorists or any violent action were an indication of how threatened the progressive forces are.³¹ He argued for a rallying of forces in the face of this attack. Röhl, on the other hand, believed that Böll was very powerful. In his commentary 'How many divisions does Böll have?' he stated:

Are ethics about to take over politics, about to realize their power? Do poets and students change the world? How many divisions does Böll have? Very many - in spite of his Schweiß-like coquetry with powerlessness. The power which doesn't come from the fists but only "from a good face" (Biermann), is larger than assumed. The rigorously ethical would only have to forge an alliance with the political and economic powers who are themselves out of political and economic self interest, striving for a change of conditions.³²

30 'Die Aufforderung, sich von dem Verbrechen zu distanzieren, ist bare Frechheit. Das erste, worauf es ankommt: das zu erkennen. ... Was folgt, ist der Versuch, alle auf den Fortschritt gerichteten Kräfte in unserem Land einer Prüfung zu unterziehen, um sie entweder auszuschalten oder zu unterwerfen. Natürlich weiss man, was Böll will, man kann es nachlesen und wird es in Zukunft nachlesen.' Brender, H.: 'Nicht auf jede Provokation antworten!', op.cit.

31 see Brender H.: op.cit. and 'Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort', *Der Spiegel*, op.cit.

32 'Ist die Moral auf dem Wege, auf die Politik überzugreifen, ihre Macht auszuwerten? Ändern Dichter und Studenten die Welt? Wieviele Divisionen hat Böll? Sehr viele - trotz seiner schweijkschen Koketterie mit der Ohnmacht. Die Macht, die nicht aus den Fäusten, sondern "nur aus dem guten Gesicht" (Biermann) kommt, ist grösser als angenommen. Die rigoros Moralischen müssten nur ein Bündnis mit den politischen und wirtschaftlichen Kräften eingehen, die selber eine Änderung der Verhältnisse anstreben, aus politischem und wirtschaftlichem Eigeninteresse.' Röhl, K.R.: 'Wieviel Divisionen hat Böll?', *Das da*, 11/1975

Böll recognized that both he and the question of the terrorist-sympathizer were being manipulated by many very conflicting interests. On the one hand, those in the SPD, who wanted to move back from the liberalizing policies of the early seventies to something much more authoritarian, had some interest in keeping the issue alive. He felt that this group threatened him in order to impress other less independent people. On the other hand, there were liberal forces in the CDU who were also pressured into a more authoritarian position:

In his calumny Böll recognizes a twin strategy of his opponents: in him they intend to remove the figurehead of critical democrats on the one hand. Böll: "If one shoots down one of these free birds like me, one can also scare those few not yet intimidated, young teachers, young workers who are financially dependent. If I fall, one can swat the others like flies." On the other hand, says Böll are those still liberal Christian Democrats supposed to be sworn to a hard Strauss line through this unscrupulous hunt: "Nobody, not even Strauss, will seriously take me for a terrorist. I only serve him as a vehicle."³³

Böll had for a considerable time rejected the label of 'conscience of Germany' or 'Praeceptor Germaniae', a

33 'In seiner Verketzerung erkennt Böll eine Doppel-Strategie seiner Gegner: Zum einen sollte mit ihm die Gallionsfigur der kritischen Demokraten beseitigt werden. Böll: 'Wenn man einen dieser freien Vögel wie mich abschießt, kann man auch die wenigen noch nicht Eingeschücherteten, junge Lehrer, junge Arbeiter, die zudem finanziell abhängig sind, erschrecken. Falle ich, kann man die anderen wie Fliegen totschiessen.' Zum anderen sollen, so Böll, durch die bedenkenlose Hatz noch liberale Christdemokraten auf die harte Strauss-Linie eingeschworen werden: 'Kein Mensch, auch Strauss nicht, wird mich im Ernst für einen Terroristen halten. Ich diene ihm nur als Vehikel.'" Neumann, N. and Voss, J.: - Stern, 42/1977

label, coined by Reich-Ranicki.³⁴ Böll maintained that the mere fact that he could be interpreted in this light indicated not an abnormal eagerness on his part to play the role of a cardinal or martyr, which the sociologist Helmut Schelsky had assigned to him in the book "*Die Arbeit tun die anderen*", but merely the existence of a vacuum in the public life of the FRG.³⁵ He said in an interview:

What should worry a sociologist of the rank and intelligence of Helmut Schelsky is not me as a person but the fact that this development was possible ... There is ... a certain emptiness. Authority or influence is not executed by others... What worries me along with Mr Schelsky, is that authority has destroyed itself and that relatively unreliable forces like writers, like intellectuals have reached the position of moral authorities at all.³⁶

For Böll the problem of the FRG's failure to deal with an apparently absent moral authority and criticism was illustrated by the cancellation of two of Sartre's plays after he had visited Baader in prison.

34 Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nachdenken über Leni', *Die Zeit*, 6.8.71.

35 Schelsky, H.: *Die Arbeit tun die anderen*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1975, pp.342-363

36 'Was einen Soziologen von der Intelligenz und dem Rang Schelskys beunruhigen müsste, ist nicht meine Person, sondern die Tatsache, dass es zu dieser Entwicklung gekommen ist... Da ist... etwas leer. Da wird Autorität oder Einfluss von anderen nicht ausgeübt.. Das beunruhigt mich mit Helmut Schelsky gemeinsam, dass die Autorität sich selber zerstört hat und dass relativ unzuverlässige Kräfte wie Schriftsteller, wie Intellektuelle überhaupt an die Stelle moralischer Autoritäten gelangt sind.' quoted from Zimmer, D.E.: 'Bundesanstalt für Gewissen?' *Die Zeit*, 8.8.75.

The fact that Böll was aware of his predicament was mostly veiled by the biased media treatment. He continued to be used by the media during the next years. For example, in a series on "Freedom 78", the magazine *Stern* featured a picture of Böll prominently at the beginning of an article which enumerates, in a sensationalized manner, a series of case studies of the consequences of the application of the *Radikalenerlass*, and of various other legal changes in the FRG.³⁷ No wonder then that Böll was found to be as well-known as the leading politicians by an opinion poll conducted in 1978.³⁸

Böll as a public person was struggling to gain access to the media but also to control his utterings and their use. He confronted the media as a single person. Although he was dependent on the media for the publicizing of his books, his criticisms and comments on society, he was also painfully aware of the use to which the media put his work, his statements, his personality and his public standing. In order for his 'message' to be communicated, he tried various methods and strategies. As one of these, one could see his attempts to clear his name in the courts. Another was his refusal to stop commenting, to become too upset or to leave the country for good. His persistent participation gained, over the years, a measure of control over a part of the many media stories about him. This measure of control over his

37 Koch, P. Oltmanns, R.: 'Die Bösen Geister', *Stern*, June 1978

38 'Allensbach Umfrage. Böll und Grass sind ebenso bekannt wie Spitzenpolitiker', *Westfalen-Blatt*, 9.8.78.

media-produced 'image' and the resulting 'fame' itself were aspects of the 'space' he carved out for himself in which to communicate. He continued this strategy during the reception of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*.

b) Analysis of the Reviews

1. The sample

From 31 collected reactions, 3 are interviews, 5 are comments and 23 are reviews. There are 7 pre-publication reviews and one comment, all appearing between 22.7.-4.8.79. which is the date on which the book was available commercially. 6 of these reviews and comments are strongly critical of the book for various reasons. Two reviews are positive and one is too brief to really arrive at an opinion.

The later reaction is different: most reviews which appear later than the middle of August are positive. Two negative reviews appearing in the first half of August seem to complete the first very negative reaction. Many of the later reviewers refer to the surprisingly negative initial reaction and often try to rectify it.

A dialectic interaction between Böll and the media can be traced in the reception of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*. Again Böll's novel is forced to function as a vehicle for many very contradictory intentions. At first glance the confusion about the relationship between author and work, haste, and a disproportionate self-confidence seems to have led the critics into spectacular misjudgments and contradictions. This again prevents the communication of those socially relevant questions which are the major thrust of the book. Between the author and his audience the media acts as a distorting factor. Böll

feels this to such an extent that he is again compelled to give interviews to rectify the situation and to open up the lines of communication blocked by this initial, hostile set of reviews. This improves the situation slightly. But we must remember this is Böll and not some unknown author for whom this would not have been possible. The second wave of reviews is quite different in approach and character. There is a considerable debate amongst the reviewers about their response to the book and their social role and responsibilities. This is an explicit debate rather than the implied debate which is continuously going on in all the reviews. The negative reviews are not only found to be wrong-headed or inadequate but they are analysed and used to make more general points about the Böll reception, about review criticism in general. The pattern of the reception is also seen to illustrate Böll's position in the process of ideological reproduction of society.³⁹

2. Analysis

The reception of the novel can be seen to fall into three groups: 1.) that group which consists of reactions from those who repeat familiar arguments from their previous reviews of Böll's books; 2.) those reviews in which some critics surprise us with their mostly negative response or perhaps simply with the vehemence of their

³⁹ Götze, K.H.: 'Heinrich Böll: Unlust am politisch-theoretischen Denken?', and 'Das kritisierte System bleibt im Mystisch-Halbdunklen', *Die Neue*, 12./13.9.79

criticisms; and 3.) the last group which is characterized by a debate about the role of criticism.

2.a. Predictable reactions

The familiar reaction, both positive and negative, centres on the usual themes: on the positive side there is the argument for Böll's humanism and, on the negative, the argument about Böll's misguided political convictions which is often linked to a proportionate absence of artistic ability. Helmut Gollwitzer praises the book for its inherent humanism which expresses Böll's great love of people.⁴⁰

This book, which comes close to the total social reality in the most immediate and encompassing manner of all Böll's books, is at the same time his most human - this is what one would like to say, if it didn't sound like a lowering of the quality of his earlier books.⁴¹

He also indicates that the book proves that Böll is no terrorist sympathizer:

... he couldn't have expressed more honestly the great distance which stands between him and these disquieting children of our society. All those who have denounced him as a sympathizer may take note of this.⁴²

40 'Sie ist die Widerspiegelung der Menschlichkeit dieses Dichters, seiner grossen Menschenliebe..' Gollwitzer, H.: 'Die Gegenmacht der Menschlichkeit', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 29.7.79.

41 'Dieses am direktesten und umfassendsten in die gesellschaftliche Gesamtwirklichkeit vorstossende Buch Bölls ist zugleich sein menschlichstes - so möchte man sagen, wenn das nicht nach Herabminderung seiner früheren klänge.' Gollwitzer, H.: 'Die Gegenmacht der Menschlichkeit', op.cit.

42 '..er konnte nicht aufrichtiger die grosse Ferne dartun, in der er sich zu diesen beunruhigenden Kinder (die Terroristen) unserer Gesellschaft befindet. Alle,

The negative reviews chastise the book on the basis of unspecified reasons which centre around the perceived political and social convictions of the author. Armin Biergann starts with the title: "the most lacklustre and abstract title which ever existed from Böll" and ends with a condemnation of previous Böll plots. Everything is evenly bad:

...sour bickering, rumbling scolding and sentimental idyll ... a mixture of village idyll, terrorist soap and romantic melodrama.⁴³

The reasons for this "on the whole sentimental, astonishingly limply constructed and artistically merely average book" he sees in Böll's attitude to society:

Whenever Böll tries to subject his characters to his more and more rigid world-view, the most unbelievable distortions and simplifications occur, which one could regard as proof of artistic freedom and even accept if it were not for the fact that behind them stands a negativity filled with hatred which has directed him⁴⁴ for years to repeatedly attack the same things.

die ihn als Sympathisanten verleumdete, mögen das zur Kenntnis nehmen.' Gollwitzer, H.: 'Die Gegenmacht der Menschlichkeit', op. cit.

43 'säuerliche Raunzerei, polterndes Schimpfen und sentimentale Idylle ... eine Mischung aus Dorfidyll, Terroristenschnulze und Liebesmelodrama' Biergann, A.: 'Wie in schlechten Romanen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 23.7.79.

44 'Wenn es Böll darum geht, seine Romanfiguren seinem wohl ständig starrer werdenden Weltbild unterzuordnen, kommt es zu immer unglaublicheren Verzerrungen und Vereinfachungen, die man als Beweis künstlerischer Freiheit hinnehmen und sogar akzeptieren könnte, stünde dahinter nicht eine hasserfüllte Verbiesterung, die ihn seit Jahren immer wieder dasselbe attackieren lässt.' *ibid.*

He furthermore sees Böll as displaying a "limitless fury against everything journalistic". Günter Zehm's review is very similar.⁴⁵ He thinks the book is "a failure in a nearly frightening manner" and sees all its shortcomings as originating in "Böll's inability to register the social reality which surrounds him". He calls the book a "phantasm of most queer dimensions" and "total kitsch", thinks it is "what the enlightened philistine expects from a new Böll" and cynically predicts that it will be a bestseller.

A less simplistically argued review which also criticizes the book was written by Detlef Schneider.⁴⁶ Here other familiar criticisms are voiced, which are often raised by leftist critics, namely Böll's apparent lack of political astuteness and correct political thinking.

The fact that Tolm is both a capitalist and a 'nice guy' is said to make the book unconvincing and constitutes a mistake in the construction, for "how do the fears of a capitalist concern us?" and "the 'nice' Tolm doesn't fit his social role". Schneider takes objection to his impression that every character in the book seems to be depicted as a victim with some sympathetic traits:

So much pure humanism suffocates any attempt to give a really radical critique of the conditions of this country, just because it includes those who are

45 Zehm, Günter: 'Wenn einer allzugut bewacht wird', *Die Welt*, 11.8.79.

46 'Nette Bourgeoisie', *Linkskurve*, 3/1979

responsible for these conditions and doesn't even show its victims. ... violence has been diffused into a vague general threat. One can no longer recognize from this novel that it originates from the bourgeois apparatus of oppression.⁴⁷

Mentioning the end of the novel where Tolm tells his wife that he thinks "a socialism must come, must win ..."
Schneider writes:

Surely not "a" but "the" socialism will come and win. But not because the bourgeoisie will withdraw its own base of existence and destroy itself. ... Socialism will only come through the revolutionary action of the oppressed. About those, however, the true gravediggers⁴⁸ of the bourgeoisie, we don't hear in Böll's novel.

In Schneider's review a reference is made to a review by Hans Meier, at the time Minister for Culture in CSU-dominated Bavaria and editor of the paper in which the review appeared.⁴⁹ Schneider thinks the surprise praise which Böll's book is given by the conservative critic is not deserved. But he concedes that Böll has provided some justification for it. The portrayal of violence as

47 'Soviel reine Menschlichkeit erstickt jeden Ansatz einer wirklich radikalen Kritik an den Verhältnissen in diesem Land, eben deshalb, weil sie die Verantwortlichen für diese Verhältnisse einschliesst und noch nicht einmal ihre Opfer zeigt. ... Gewalt... ist in eine allgemeine und diffuse Bedrohung aufgelöst. Dass sie ihren Ursprung im staatlichen Unterdrückungsapparat der Bourgeoisie hat, lässt sich aus diesem Roman wahrlich nicht mehr herauslesen.' Ibid

48 'Sicher wird, wenn auch nicht ein, sondern **der** Sozialismus kommen und siegen. Aber nicht dadurch, dass sich die Bourgeoisie selbst ihre Existenzgrundlage entzieht und sich vernichtet. ... Der Sozialismus wird einzig kommen durch die revolutionäre Aktion der Unterdrückten. Von ihnen aber, den wahren Totengräbern der Bourgeoisie, ist in Bölls Roman überhaupt nicht die Rede.' *ibid.*

49 Meier, H.: 'Der neue Böll - ein anderer Böll', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 24.8.79.

originating from the whole of society which Schneider criticized is assumed to please Meier, whom he sees as a representative of the bourgeoisie.

2.b. Surprising reviews

Meier's review is indeed positive and this is surprising, as some very denunciatory commentary on Böll had been printed in the same paper. However, Meier's review is not simplistic or narrow, indeed it is probably less limited by its underlying political assumptions than Schneider's. Oversimplifying slightly, Meier interprets the book as being not concerned with capitalism and socialism, or state and terrorism, but with fathers and sons, lost in a disintegrating world without any ability to get out or to find a solution:

Arrogance, fidelity, self-abnegation towards a system - they keep the fabric of the two worlds of fathers and sons together. A murderous mystical logic, faithful until death - and only he who risks self-destruction here, social failure and social expulsion there, can get out. Böll describes the 'scene' nowhere near as simplistically as I have here with a few quotes, rather one should point particularly to the detailed knowledge, the complex portrayal of the separate groups, families, relationships in the novel.⁵⁰

50 'Hochmut, Treue, Selbstentäußerung an ein System - sie halten das Geflecht der zwei Welten der Väter und Söhne zusammen. Eine mörderische mythische Logik, treu bis in den Tod hinein - und aussteigen kann nur, wer sie Selbstvernichtung hier, den gesellschaftlichen Misserfolg, die gesellschaftliche Ächtung dort riskiert. Böll schildert die 'Scene' durchaus nicht so vereinfacht, wie ich es hier mit wenigen Zitaten tue, an dem Roman ist vielmehr die detaillierte Kenntnis, die differenzierte Darstellung der einzelnen Gruppen, Familien, Lebenszusammenhänge hervorzuheben.' *ibid.*

Meier argues that the book gives no panorama of German history or a recipe for social change. Justice is represented as not only being on one side, violence as having many origins. Although he sees 'penny-novel' characteristics in the work, he calls it "more complex than the other books since *Gruppenbild*" and is looking forward to Böll's further development. One may argue about whether Meier's review does justice to the intention of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, or whether he was led by a need to produce a more liberal image for himself.⁵¹ The review is relatively informative and certainly does not entirely obstruct an effective dialogue between reader and novel.⁵²

I find it hard to say the same about the next group of reviews which are surprising both because of their strongly worded criticisms and because they are written by people who had previously supported Böll.⁵³ These

51 'Faced with the election campaign of the Bavarian fire-raiser, the CDU is, as we all know, presenting itself increasingly as liberal and open, in order not to confuse the voters with too much whipcracking. And Meier, who would dearly like to be Minister for Culture in Strauss's cabinet participates, of course.' - 'Wie wir alle wissen, gibt sich die CDU im Zuge des Wahlkampfes des bajovarischen Brandstifters zunehmend liberal und weltoffen, um die Wähler durch Peitschengeknall nicht zu verwirren. Und Meier, der so gerne im Strauss-Kabinett Kultusminister werden würde, macht da natürlich mit.' in: 'Eine glatte fünf für Marcel Reich-Ranicki', *Die Neue*, 4.9.79.

52 Even though it is called 'a touching book ... after the aberration of *Katharina Blum*'. *ibid.*

53 Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nette Kapitalisten und nette Terroristen', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.8.79., Schütte, W.: 'Lauter nette Menschen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 4.8.79., Augstein, R.: 'Gepolter im Beichtstuhl', *Der Spiegel*, 31/1979.; Both Wolfram Schütte and Marcel Reich-Ranicki publicly defended Böll only a year ago, as did Rudolf Augstein.

reviews have in common an impatient disappointment with the book, a dismissive treatment of the plot and a surprising certainty of judgment. This is worth mentioning because the speed with which these reviews had to be written might usually have dictated a degree of caution.⁵⁴

Although Augstein's very ironic review makes it quite obvious that he assigns very low quality to the novel and classes its themes as boring and outdated, the reader is left guessing why this may be so. The only justification, apart from the personal taste of the critic, is Augstein's implied assumption that Böll should have written a realistic depiction of the FRG. He points out a lack of convincing reasons for the surveillance of the Tolm family, as well as the outdated manner in which pornography and the church's attitude towards sex are handled. The language and the plot are equally ridiculed.

A similarly unreflected attitude underlies the review by Reich-Ranicki, except that it is formulated more bluntly:

It is, to say it right away, a weak and questionable, in parts even a simply dreadful book. My God, what have I been through in these days, how I have suffered! Twice I had to read the lot..

No, the German language isn't as inadequate and poor as Böll would like to make us believe. ... This language renders me speechless. And I ask myself: Who in this country ⁵⁵except Böll could afford to write as badly as this?

⁵⁴ They were all written before the book was available.

⁵⁵ 'Es ist, um es gleich zu sagen, ein schwaches und fragwürdiges, streckenweise ein geradezu fatales Buch.

This review is neither an examination of the book nor an attempt to inform the potential reader. It merely plays a game with the reader by presenting bits of the plot in such a manner that it appears common, awkward, outrageous and unworldly:

Sabine has trouble with her husband. The young and successful manager is a dashing man, steeled by sport but with faltering sexual potency and with a leaning towards silly jokes in bed of all places, which makes things even worse for the tender Sabine. A clear case: a substitute must be found.

However, Sabine is, as the daughter.. of Fritz Tolm, strictly watched:.. Böll nevertheless finds a happy solution: Nobody can say that Hubert, one of her constant guards, has troubles with his potency, of which Sabine assures herself several times even though in great haste and only "in passing". He who had "before been so nice, so quiet, so tender and afterwards so serious, and calm" proves to be what a good policeman is supposed to be: a friend and helper.⁵⁶

Mein Gott, was habe ich in diesen Tagen durchgemacht, was habe ich gelitten! Zweimal musste ich das Ganze lesen,... Nein, so dürftig und armselig ist die deutsche Sprache nicht, wie uns dies Böll glauben machen möchte. ... Diese Sprache verschlägt mir meine. Und ich frage mich: Wer ausser Böll könnte es sich hierzulande leisten, so schlecht zu schreiben?' Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nette Kapitalisten und nette Terroristen', op.cit.

56 'Sabine hat Kummer mit ihrem Gatten: Der junge und erfolgreiche Unternehmer ist ein fescher, ein "sportgestählter" Mann, aber mit seiner Potenz ist es nicht weit her, und er neigt gerade im Bett, was für die zarte Sabine noch schlimmer sein soll, zu dummen Witzen. Ein klarer Fall: Ersatz ist dringend von Nöten. Indes wird Sabine als Tochter ... des Fritz Tolm streng bewacht: ... Trotzdem findet Böll eine glückliche Lösung: Hubert, einem ihrer ständigen Bewacher, kann man Potenzschwierigkeiten nicht nachsagen, wovon sich Sabine mehrfach, wenn auch in grosser Eile und nur "zwischen Tür und Angel" überzeugt. Er, der "vorher so nett, so still, so zärtlich war und nachher so ernst und ruhig", bewährt sich hier, wie ein guter Polizist es sollte: als Freund und Helfer.' *ibid.*

Even though Reich-Ranicki had started the review with the sensationalizing 'confession' that nothing, not even this book, could shake his respect for Böll, he ends by stating that although Böll has the right to high credit, he has overdrawn his account this time. This review only touches the surface of the novel, but comes nevertheless to a clear verdict which encourages a very strong bias against the book. The complaints about the language and the plot are highly personal value judgments which are not backed by any kind of analysis. Reich-Ranicki has written similar reviews about Böll's books before, but this review is surprising by its vehemence and draws its media success from this.

Wolfram Schütte's review lacks the arrogant narrow-mindedness of Reich-Ranicki's even though they agree in many ways about the novel. He relates his criticism to some of Böll's remarks about dishonest criticism:

... I only know that it's a fraud if an author is praised for his good views, and is forgiven the form in which he presents them.

There is too much analysis of content done here. The content of some prose is a gift and you shouldn't look a gift horse in the mouth.⁵⁷

Schütte had expected something quite specific from Böll:

A writer, particularly an epic writer, who has had close experience of what could be termed the lingering diseases of the Republic and who has already reacted to it categorically and in a masterly way with the novella *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, from such a writer the most

⁵⁷ Böll, H. quoted from: Schütte, W.: 'Lauter nette Menschen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 4.8.79.

intensive, encompassing 'realistic' novelistic depiction, or panorama of these times was to be expected..⁵⁸

In the next paragraph the impression is created that Böll's intention was to fulfill this expectation:

I believe that the 415 page novel was planned and intended by Böll, who has worked on it a fair time,⁵⁹ as such an epic panorama of the times and society.

The proof for this assumption he sees in the length of the novel, its characters and the many faceted connections of the subjects and themes as well as the form. From all these Böll is said to have expected to achieve an "epic totality". Having constructed the criteria for criticism from a range of Böll's assumed intentions, Schütte now goes about proving where and why Böll failed to satisfy these. The relatedness of themes and characters to those of earlier books is the first point of criticism:

Böll stays too close to himself, takes virtually no risks in imagination, experience, with new characters and different problems. .. In these numerous references back to his own work .. this tea-party-principle, I see a premature capitulation in the face of the great intention writing the novel

58 'Ein Schriftsteller, vor allem ein Epiker, der das am eigenen Leib erfahren hat, was man die schleichenden Krankheiten der Republik nennen könnte und der schon mit der Erzählung *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* sowohl entschieden wie souverän darauf literarisch reagiert hatte: - von ihm war das intensivste, umfassendste, "realistischste" Roman-Bild oder Panorama dieser Zeit zu erwarten.' *ibid.*

59 'Ich glaube, dass der 415 Seiten starke Roman *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* von Böll, der an ihm geraume Zeit gearbeitet hat, als ein solches episches Panorama der Zeit und Gesellschaft geplant und gedacht war.' *ibid.*

of our times, and society which has important consequences.⁶⁰

Schütte feels the "peculiarities which make your hair stand on end and oddities which make you shake your head" are the "expression of a deep injury to his (Böll's) sensibility, which made him literally speechless." The inadequate, dull and stereotyped language is said to correspond to stereotypical situations and both seem again to originate from Böll's destroyed psyche:

If one stops a moment and looks around this battlefield of wrong words, one notices, one knows, one senses: it was Catholicism with its prudery which has caused this in a moralist.⁶¹

He describes Böll as being preoccupied with sex and love and fighting a losing battle against "pornofilth", indeed as having lost this fight in a "saddeningly, spooky and deeply depressing manner". After a long enumeration of all the different expressions and references to sex in the novel, Schütte complains that the characters in the book are "uptight and screwed-up, not free, open and warm" and comes to his conclusion:

He (Böll) has given up and surrendered more than merely a language ... more than we - his comrades

60 'Böll bleibt sich zu nahe, wagt so gut wie nichts an Phantasie und Erfahrung mit neuem Personal und anderen Problemen.... in den mannigfachen Rückgriffen ins eigene Werk, ... in diesem Kränzchen-Prinzip sehe ich eine folgenreiche Vorwegkapitulation angesichts des grossen Vorhabens, den Roman dieser Zeit und Gesellschaft zu schreiben.' *ibid.*

61 'Und wenn man dann innehält und sich auf dem Schlachtfeld der falschen Worte umsieht, da merkt man, da weiss man, da spürt man: das hat mit seiner Prüderie der Katholizismus einem Moralisten angetan.' *ibid.*

and friends in Christ and Marx - can welcome: he has given up the heretic energy of the anarchistic Leni Pfeiffer and has surrendered the oppositional courage of Katharina Blum. ... the wish for a general reconciliation has left reality behind and the pulpit is finally set up for the sermon.⁶²

Even though Schütte starts the review with a quote from Böll to the effect that the form is mostly overlooked by the critics in favour of the 'views', and promises to take this to heart, he nevertheless proves Böll right because he has not analysed the novel's form in relation to its possible meaning. He merely stays at the level of the plot. The book is a 'disastrous failure' a 'catastrophic mishap' because it dares not fulfill Schütte's expectations, which he thinks are congruent with the author's. What then is the book actually charged with? It seems to be charged with having been written by the wrong author. The critique is as lengthy and as fervently and polemically written as it is, because Schütte is really upset, upset that Böll dared to perform in an uncontrolled manner, in an unexpected way. Instead of approaching the book from an inquiring and constructive angle, Schütte assesses it on the basis of a comparison with an artificial non-existent ideal. Realizing that Böll has not managed to portray the reality which Schütte wanted to be described, he charges

62 'Er (Böll) hat .. mehr auf-& preisgegeben als bloss eine Sprache... mehr als uns - seinen Freunden und Genossen in Christo und Marx - lieb sein kann: aufgegeben hat er den häretischen Elan der anarchistischen Leni Pfeiffer, und preisgegeben hat er den Widerstands-Mut der Katharina Blum....der Wunsch zur allseitigen Versöhnung (hat) die Wirklichkeit hinter sich gelassen, und die Kanzel ist endgültig zur Predigt gerichtet.' *ibid.*

him with being too weak, old, scared or simply too screwed-up to be able to do so. Schütte's expectations are not questioned or justified. Böll is simply blamed because as quoted above, "... since *Gruppenbild mit Dame* the most intensive, encompassing 'realistic' epic depiction or panorama of these times was to be expected.." and because his entire work is deemed to be a "running commentary of the history of postwar Germany, of the Federal Republic and especially of its Rhinish-Catholic provinces".

2.c. Introspective reviews

All the reviews mentioned so far except Schneider's and Meier's appeared before or at the time of the publication of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*. The later reception is much more positive.⁶³ The launching party at which Böll gave the ironic speech "Nett ist rosa", in which he joked about the "suffering critic" could have something to do with the changed opinions.⁶⁴ His

63 Blatter, S.: 'Böll zwischen Husum und Basel', *Baseler Zeitung*, 29.9.79.; Brender, H.: 'Wohlstabilisierte Schizophrenie', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 11.10.79.; Götze, K.H.: 'Das kritisierte System bleibt im Mystisch-Halbdunklen', *Die Neue*, 13.10.79. Fried, E.: 'Eine Lanze für Böll', *Das da*, 1/1979; Vormweg, H.: 'Entlarvende Belagerung', *Merkur*, 1/1980; Fritz, A.: 'Heinrich Böll's neuer Roman *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*', *Moderna Sprak*, 2/1980; Heissenbüttel, H.: 'Erzählung von einem sentimentalen Wirrkopf und Trottel?', Heinrich Bölls *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* und die Kritik', *Freibeuter*, 4/1980; Balzer, B.: 'Ausfall in die Sorglosigkeit?', *Materialien für die Interpretation Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1981, pp.37-95; Marianelli, M.: 'Fürsorgliche Belagerung. Heinrich Bölls 'himmlische Bitterkeit'', in: dell'Agli, A.M.: *Zu Heinrich Böll*, Klett, Stuttgart, 1983, pp.107-116

64 Böll, H.: 'Hübsche, rosa Würste', *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 17.8.79. Also as: 'Über die Verwandtschaft von

interviews with Dieter Zilligen on T.V. and Robert Stauffer on radio certainly provided new ways of approaching the work.⁶⁵ Böll mentions that he considered the transitions between the concepts of watching/protection and watching/surveillance the most important and topical phenomenon of the times.⁶⁶ He therefore intended the main theme of the book to be a consideration of whether those who are guarded or those who are policed are worst off.⁶⁷ Böll also openly admits that he had set traps for the critics.

.. you are quite right, some things I fit in quite consciously, I also quite consciously fit in, when it doesn't happen naturally some so-called sloppiness, because I hate perfectionism. ... Furthermore ... - this is really a joke which I allow myself - I would like to give more support to the critics' cliché of about my sloppiness and slovenliness, which by now is well publicized. Like I throw a bone to a dog, I throw in a few sloppy mistakes. ... What has surprised me is that some critics - have taken the bait and have swallowed it without humour.⁶⁸

"nett und "rosa"', in: *Materialien für die Interpretation Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, op.cit. pp.9-11

65 Zilligen, D.: 'Interview mit Heinrich Böll', ARD, 23.9.79. printed as 'Über Fürsorgliche Belagerung' in: *Materialien für die Interpretation Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, op.cit. pp.13-22; 'Sicherheitsgeschädigt', Deutsche Welle, 7.11.79. printed in: *Materialien für die Interpretation Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, op.cit. pp.23-35

66 'Ich wollte .., die Übergänge zwischen überwacht und bewacht darstellen, weil ich das wirklich für eines der wichtigsten, aktuellsten Phänomene und Probleme unserer Gegenwart halte, nicht nur in der Bundesrepublik, sondern international.' *ibid.*

67 .., Aber das Thema, wer ist schlimmer dran, die Bewachten oder die Überwachten, ist das Grundthema des Romans.' *ibid.*

68 ' .. Sie haben ganz recht, manches baue ich bewusst ein, ich baue auch bewusst, wenn sie nicht von Natur aus drin sind, bestimmte sogenannte Schlampereien ein, weil ich Perfektionismus hasse. ... Und im übrigen muss ich auch, das ist wirklich ein Spass, den ich mir erlaube, dem inzwischen verbreiteten Kritikerklischee von meiner Schluderigkeit und Schlampigkeit möchte ich Futter geben, so wie ich einem Hund einen Knochen hinwerfe, werfe ich

Of the later reviews, Balzer's is by far the most detailed and best argued, which is to be expected, as he is a specialist on Böll and the editor of his *Works*. But Heissenbüttel and Vormweg, who wrote earlier than Balzer, already pointed to the negative early reception of the work and come to very interesting conclusions. Vormweg, for instance writes

... the provocation for which Böll's novel has been taken has upset the literary critics so effectively that revealing insights into their rather dubious metier which is torn between commercialism and highest literary demands have been possible for the first time for a long time. ... The confusion into which the conceptions of literature have strayed at the end of the seventies, is reflected in the reception of the new novel by Heinrich Böll⁶⁹ in virtually exemplary ways, and embarrassingly so.

He points to the strange 'bedfellows' i.e. to the agreement between hitherto very opposed critics in the case of this book and defines the basic error he sees in most criticism as follows:

Where they don't talk simply arbitrarily, at random, yes even foolishly, all the damning reviews are based on the fiction of a positively conceptualized man of straw: a still living but already

ein paar Schluderigkeiten hin.... Was mich überrascht hat, ist, dass wirklich einige Kritiker - den Köder geschnappt haben, humorlos verschluckt haben.' *ibid.*
69 '... die Provokation, als die Bölls Roman aufgenommen wurde, (hat) die Literaturkritiker so effektiv aufgestört, dass erstmals seit längerer Zeit gewisse geradezu entlarvende Einblicke in ihr eher dubioses, zwischen schlichtem Kommerz und höchsten literarischen Ansprüchen hin- und hergerissenes Metier möglich geworden sind. ... Die Verwirrung, in die gegen Ende der siebziger Jahre die Vorstellungen von Literatur geraten sind, spiegelt sich in den Rezensionen des neuen Romans von Heinrich Böll geradezu exemplarisch. Und peinlich.'
Vormweg, H.: op.cit.

transfigured classic whom the real Heinrich Böll isn't fit to hold a candle to any longer.⁷⁰

He deems the reproach about 'language-erosion' unfounded, even though he concedes that closer editorial supervision might have been beneficial. He sees the language, which he describes as searching, experimental and fragmentary, as adequately expressing and describing the very complex and difficult problems which are faced by the characters in the novel and which are brought to the surface through it. Vormweg also rejects the attack on Böll's apparent preoccupation with and defeat by the sexual, angle as Schütte had so eloquently described. He writes:

Böll is interested in how people manage with all their always insufficiently overcome ideological dependencies in a reality which is made up of a conglomerate of such dependencies and with which they do not always cope very well. ... Even though they would like to live their lives in a very enlightened way, mostly they are not able to. ... people are mostly screwed up, and without that being their fault.⁷¹

He feels that the discussion about *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* has hardly begun and that it can only be

70 'Wo sie nicht einfach beliebig, willkürlich, ja läppisch daherreden, beruhen die Verrisse sämtlich auf der Fiktion eines diesmal positiv gesetzten Pappkameraden: eines schon zu Lebzeiten sozusagen verklärten Klassikers, dem der reale Böll nicht mehr das Wasser reichen kann. *ibid.*

71 'Böll interessiert sich dafür, wie die Leute mit all ihren durchweg nur halb zusammengebrochenen ideologischen Abhängigkeiten in einer Wirklichkeit zurechtkommen, die sich aus einem Wirrwarr solcher Abhängigkeiten zusammensetzt und der sie keineswegs selbstverständlich gewachsen sind. ... Auch wenn sie durchaus so richtig aufgeklärt dahinleben möchten, die Leute: fähig sind sie dazu durchweg nicht. .. Die Menschen sind nun mal meist verkorkst. Und ohne dass sie es sich selbst eingebrockt hätten. *ibid.*

carried out in a debate about those conditions which Böll has again made clearer and more conscious than before. This review is a proposal for an active participation of the readers in the 'production' of the novel, even though it suggests a certain degree of agreement with the concept of the novel as a realistic depiction of our time and does not go very far into a debate of 'those conditions', presumably social conditions, which Böll has made clear and more conscious.

Helmut Heissenbüttel agrees with large parts of Vormweg's interpretation, yet takes it further. He doesn't feel that any editorial negligence can be assumed, he feels the style of the narration must be left as it is found. He has harsh criticism for both Reich-Ranicki and Rudolf Augstein and goes as far as saying that critics now no longer read in order to understand but in order to issue directions about what is allowed.

The critic, seen like this, no longer reads to understand and communicate understanding, but he reads for evidence and suspicious circumstances. Like a protector of the constitution he takes evidence out, portrays it as representative of the circumstances and then proceeds to analyse the total situation with the help of this evidence. The method seems familiar. And I say this very firmly because just such a method seems to me to constitute one evil of criticism in the Federal Republic of Germany. Now what we are talking about is no longer the establishment of an order of rank, never mind according to whichever superseded criteria, what we are talking about is that the critics presume to say what is allowed and what isn't.⁷²

72 'Der Kritiker, so gesehen, liest also nicht, um zu verstehen und dann Verständnis zu vermitteln, sondern er liest auf Indizien und Verdachtsmomente hin wie ein Verfassungsschützer, löst Indizien heraus, stellt sie für den Zusammenhang als stellvertretend hin und analysiert

Balzer's essay, by far the longest piece on *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, completes the impression of a resounding blow to the standard criticism of Böll up to now. He details Böll's attempts to avoid the misrepresentations of his work as 'realism' which are also at the base of some of the misunderstanding about *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*.⁷³ He also corrects the shallow misconceptions of Böll's language as dry, common and inept by way of a lengthy analysis of Böll's conception of language and his intention to 'de-automatize' it.⁷⁴ He agrees with Heissenbüttel that no editor should have 'corrected' the language. His interpretation of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* is very tightly argued and comes to a very positive conclusion.

Balzer defines the theme as 'love-relationships' in all their variations - more specifically triangle situations and their inherent impossibilities.⁷⁵ The material is the situation of the FRG at the end of the 1970's. The approach which is used to start the discussion of the theme is encapsulated in the contradiction expressed in the title. One can translate *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* as

nun mit ihrer Hilfe das Ganze. Das Verfahren erscheint nicht unbekannt. Und ich sage das hier in aller Bestimmtheit, weil mir gerade in einer solchen Verfahrensweise ein Übel der bundesdeutschen Kritik zu bestehen scheint. Es geht dabei nicht mehr darum, Rangordnungen herzustellen, nach welchen überholten ästhetischen Kriterien auch immer, er geht darum, dass Literaturkritiker sich anmassen zu sagen, was erlaubt ist und was nicht.' Heissenbüttel, H.: op.cit.

73 Balzer, B.: op.cit. pp.37-54

74 Balzer, B.: op.cit. pp.54-63

75 Balzer, B.: op.cit. pp.71-74

'considerate siege'. Here Balzer sees the "structuring linguistic nucleus for the relationship between theme and material".⁷⁶ The notion of security is worked through in the gamut of interpretations which the different combinations of the various meanings of the two words 'fürsorglich' and 'Belagerung' produce, all of which are illustrated by different relationships in the novel. The word *sicherheitsgeschädigt*, 'damaged by security' is another contradictory concept in the novel which enables the discussion of the effects of the security measures and the capacity of anybody to be or make anybody else 'secure'.

The concept 'damaged-by-security', so important for Böll, has found its material in the security measures of 'Germany in autumn', whereby the novel through a process of necessary construction, was able to combine the challenges of the theme contained by this word⁷⁷ with those which grew from the choice of material.

Balzer sees the outrage about the apparent lack of linguistic ability as a good sign, because it at least finally recognizes the importance of the language. According to Balzer there is a parallel relationship between language and object and fiction and reality. For Böll's work, what is important is not so much what the author has intended, i.e. what he might be hiding behind

76 '..der strukturierende sprachliche Kristallisationskern für die Verbindung zwischen Thema und Stoff' Balzer, B.: op.cit. p.66

77 'Das für Böll so wichtige Wort "sicherheitsgeschädigt" hat sich mit den Sicherheitsmassnahmen von "Deutschland im Herbst" einen Stoff gesucht, wobei der Roman durch "notwendige Konstruktion" die Anforderungen des in diesem Wort enthaltenen Themas mit denen, die aus der Stoffwahl kommen, zu verbinden vermag.' *ibid.*

the actual meaning of the words, but the manner in which he 'hides' words in his texts thus creating certain reactions and causing recognition.⁷⁸ The ending of the novel is consciously vague and open; for Balzer it is the "adequate expression of the central conflicts of the plot, which the morality of the language follows into the speechlessness of laughter."⁷⁹

One can see here the outcome of a development not only in Böll, who wrote consciously to bring forth such a reaction, but also in those critics who damned him in such an exaggerated manner and in those who could then see, in the overreaction of their colleagues, characteristics of what they felt was wrong with their discipline.⁸⁰ The debate between Vormweg, Heissenbüttel, Balzer and the rest of the critics seemed to bring important issues to the surface which had hitherto not been mentioned since the 60's and early 70's. Not only did some critics realize that this was a special point of development. But Böll became aware that, for the time being at least, he had won a reprieve. He stated in an interview.

I am not at all the kind of author who fulfills certain expectations, I have said once before, many years ago, that an author who 'functions' is no longer an author, and this function which you have just described I did of course partly fulfill, against my will, to be so-to-speak the moral

78 Balzer, B.: op.cit. pp.56-57

79 '... aber der adäquate Ausdruck der zentralen Konflikte der Handlung, denen die Moral der Sprache in die Wortlosigkeit des Lachens folgt.' *ibid.*

80 as he makes clear in his interviews with Zilligen and Stauffer.

institution. ... and this function I will fulfill no longer. This is my experience after this period of hounding which I think has gone further than the literary areas. ... The three, four gentlemen who approached it so vigorously, have naturally to be seen to be right and they repeat that. But you have analysed this correctly I don't 'work' anymore.

Now the pressure which has sometimes pushed me into this role, it was really a forced situation, too, the pressure is gone. And that is why this 'shooting practice' ... has had something liberating for me.⁸¹

2.c. Conclusion

In summary the reception of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* has the following characteristics: even though the novel arrived on the scene during a period of extreme domestic-political tension, its reception is not as overtly divided as that of *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*. It is a startlingly crushing reception which meets the novel on publication. The justifications and reasons given for this negative assessment are not consistent, many critics reacting as if they had expected something different from what Böll delivered, others continuing

81 'Ich bin überhaupt nicht der Autor, der bestimmte Erwartungen erfüllt, ich habe vor sehr langen Jahren schon einmal gesagt, dass ein Autor, der funktioniert, kein Autor mehr ist, und die Funktion, die Sie eben beschrieben haben, habe ich natürlich zum Teil gehabt, wider Willen, sozusagen der Moralist vom Dienst. ... und diese Funktion werde ich nicht mehr erfüllen. Das ist die Erfahrung nach dieser, wie ich finde, übers Literarische hinausgehende Abschussperiode.... Die drei, vier Herren, die da so flott rangegangen sind, müssen natürlich recht behalten und repetieren das. Aber Sie haben das schon richtig analysiert, ich funktioniere nicht mehr. Jetzt ist auch der Druck, der mich manchmal in diese Funktion gezwungen hat, es war wirklich auch eine Zwangssituation, der Druck ist weg. Und deshalb haben diese Schiessübungen, die ja weit übers Literarische hinausgegangen sind, etwas Befreiendes gehabt für mich.'
 Böll, H.: 'Über *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*', Interview mit Dieter Zilligen, in: *Materialien für die Interpretation Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, op.cit. p.14-15

their mostly critical treatment of Böll's work. In this group of reviews there are good examples of a highly developed technique of defeating the man of straw. Many critics build up a distorted picture of Böll, in order to find it wanting, without any attempt to reflect on their own part in this process. After Böll's intervention in the form of interviews and speeches, which may or may not have had an effect on the course the later reception of the work took, the reviews become much more introspective - indeed an explicit debate touching on the social use of criticism can be observed.

PART III
IDEOLOGY AND CRITICISM

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHARACTERISTIC FORMS OF CRITICISM

Most of the criticism I have analysed is entirely subjective but goes to varying lengths to obscure this fact. With 'subjective' I would like to describe a range of attitudes and approaches to texts which are central to literary criticism. As I have described in the previous chapters, the failure to problematize the criteria by which the text is to be judged, is very widespread amongst all levels of criticism. However, as I have analysed in Chapter Three, the tradition of criticism supports an illusion of objectivity. Many critics are unaware of this contradiction. The pressures of the institutional situation on critics are mostly not conducive to a realization of the social limitations of criticism. Nevertheless there is concern amongst critics about the relationship of art to society and the social role of literary criticism. The contradiction of the subjective approach and the traditions of illusory objectivity is, according to my evidence, the single most characteristic feature of literary criticism. It makes possible the presentation of arbitrary, capricious opinions in a manner which suggests that they are the result of a substantial researched argument. It gives the

discipline of literary criticism a kind of code of honour, which entails that members accept literary conventions, knowing that nobody believes in them. The characteristic forms of criticism which I formulate in the following chapter trace the mechanisms which constitute this contradiction between actual subjectivity and illusory objectivity.

Objectivity is a pose which the critics assume by means of various techniques. Closer analysis uncovers that the roots of their arguments are a very subjective view of the texts. This subjectivity, leaves the review open to the selecting mechanisms of the two institutions of which they are part, namely those of the media and of the 'literary institution'. These mechanisms classify the novels, assign certain labels to them. This classification creates certain positions for the novels within the range of positions available for literary texts. These positions, resulting from the public debate about the novels, predestine the novel's later standing within the processes of the institutions. Not so much their success in the book-market, but more importantly their assessment for selection for the literary canon, the school and university curricula, the relevant literary and cultural traditions is decided by this process. These positions can be described by an interpretation of the reception of each book. The three books are all allocated positions which are made to look controversial and therefore seem to require further

attention from both the media and literary criticism. The terms in which the controversy is expressed derive from the institutions of commercial media and literary criticism.

The type of positions the novels are allotted have a signifying effect on the continuity of the institutions who have created these positions. I have found that the literary institution is able to not only reproduce its own characteristic categories and methods but also its monopoly on the definition of these categories.

Considering that the three novels are quite different in content, form, style, and historical reference and were received by a media preoccupied with different social and political issues, it is astounding how similar and consistent the reception of the three works is.

Apart from some notable exceptions, which I will describe at the end of this chapter, the reception of the three novels by Boll published in the seventies have many common characteristics which might usefully be described under 4 headings, even though they overlap and combine in various ways:

1. Themes and selection
2. Presentation and approach
3. Legitimization

4. "Quality control"

1. Themes and selection

The majority of the reviews choose a very similar range of themes. A discussion of the author's person, his intentions or ability is characteristic of the reviews of all three books. This is not done in such a manner that it can shed more light on the themes of the novel. Rather the reverse is the case. The author is evaluated from a subjective point of view which tends to obscure the debate of other themes. The most common theme used, then, is that of an individual opinion about Böll, his political views, his psychological flaws, his religious convictions.¹ In the eyes of the critics these traits range from being positive, commendable and endearing to infuriating, dangerous and even bordering on the psychopathic. The frequent discussion of his person rather than his art, of his tastes and loves rather than his choice of themes, of his more controversial actions rather than his literary relevance for the culture of the FRG diverts the focus of the reception.

The content of the novels is the second most common theme. From the available material the development of the story-line, is used most often. Some reviews, particularly in small papers, give a plot summary only and let that speak for itself. But more characteristic is

¹ see: Chapter 4, section b) 3.a., Chapter 5, section b) 3.a., Chapter 6, section b) 2. a. and b.

the use of content to liven up the review, so as to give it conviction and persuasiveness as well as giving the reader a small reading sample. In dailies, citing directly from the text is less common than a plot summary which many reviews use in order to refer to the content during their debate of the novels' aesthetic value. The academic reviews quote more extensively as they take their task more seriously and have more room available. The selection is repetitive and narrow. From all books the most 'shocking' parts of the plot are referred to most frequently while specific historical and social/political references are conspicuous only in their widespread absence.

Another topic which frequently appears in the reviews is the aesthetic value of the novels. With only very few exceptions, all reviews arrive at some sort of judgment of the novel. This judgment may vary from a short sentence appended to a plot summary, to a lengthy discussion under various aspects such as style and form. Most reviews present themselves as required to bring forth this judgment and create the impression that they argue to support it.

The most striking aspect about the themes discussed by the reviews is their repetitiveness. Certain areas are predominantly discussed under one narrow aspect, other areas are hardly selected at all and thus are

characteristic for the reviews only due to their obvious absence.

2. Presentation and approach

The narrow range and repetitive selection of themes facilitate a certain approach. The presentation of the materials serves the reviewers' aims and not necessarily the readers' wish to be informed. The personal opinions about the author individualize the discussion. However, perhaps more importantly, they result in a tendency towards misrepresentation of materials, as became obvious in the use of the content in Chapter Five.

The treatment of the socio/political aspect, which all of the novels contain, can be cited as another example. Here the pattern most prevalent is the individualizing of the debate. The social/political themes of the novels are presented as consequences of an idiosyncratic tendency of the author.² A wider approach which treats these issues simply as generally relevant to the understanding of the novel and to the readers' consciousness of their social and political position is rare indeed. The individualized debate of wider issues creates an impression of timelessness, and blandness. If the individual personality traits of the author are said to bring forth the themes and problems of the novel, then the assessment of the relevance of these themes and of

² See: for example Chapter 4, section b) 3.d.

the novel can easily be achieved in terms ^{of} these personality traits. Yet a large part of the interest and appeal in the reviews is derived from this approach as it lends itself to the creation of an aura around the author. It leads to the formation of a small range of stock characters by means of which Boll is stereotyped: the well-intentioned humanist, the muddle-minded idealist, the dangerous intellectual. The impression of irrelevance and triviality of the wider social issues is balanced by the appeal of the sensationalizing preoccupation with the media personality.

Other instances of misrepresentation of material can be found in the references to the plot.³ The reconstruction of the plot to back up the critics' opinion has been described in the case of *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*. It is also common amongst reviews referring to the other books.⁴

Another very interesting characteristic of the reviews is their approach to the various levels of action and interaction to which they need to refer: the level of communication between critic and reader, the levels of reality in the novel, i.e. the content, with all its multilayered relationships, the level of the process of production of both review and novel, and within that, the

3 See: Chapter 5, section b) 3.b.

4 See: Hitzer, F.: 'Verweigerte Gr{o}sse oder grosse Verweigerung?', *K(u)rbiskern*, 4/1973, Beckmann, H.: 'Leni und der Sowjetmensch', *Kultur Theologie Politik*, 42/1971, Eisenreich, H.: 'Gruppenbild, leider verwackelt', *Die Furche*, 13.5.72.

relationship of the critic and the author have to their product, namely the review and the novel. A confusion of these different layers is not uncommon. The levels of comment and content are mixed up in various ways: The novel is frequently evaluated in terms of its own content, either by presenting a certain selection of the content in order to give one specific impression, or by taking one character's comment about another and quoting that, as if it were a 'neutral' description thus ignoring the possibility of ambiguities and contradictions.⁵ Another incident of confusion of the various layers is the presentation of the content as B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll's personal conviction or plan.⁶ The fictionality is ignored by the critic when the content is seen as a straight forward description of reality and is criticized for not coinciding with the critic's perception.⁷ This is related to the very common evaluation of B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll's fiction as 'realism'.⁸ The relationship between the author and his created characters as well as the relationship between the critic and his views are often unclear. Some reviews argue that the characters of the novels have a 'life of their own', that they can or cannot be controlled by the

5 Beckmann, H.: op.cit. Braem, H.M.: 'Antigesellschaft in Gestalt einer Leni', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 21.8.71.

6 For example Motekat, H.: 'Heinrich B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll's Gruppenbild', *Beiträge zu den Sommerkursen*, Goethe Institut, 1972, argues that B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll wants us all to live like Leni, Müller-Bringmann, W.: 'Die Liebe des Heinrich B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll', op.cit. argues that B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll still hasn't forgotten the war.

7 Linder, C.: 'Und sofort auf ihn geschossen..', op.cit. argues that B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll has a psychological need to write the type of stories he does.

8 Ross, W.: 'Zeit der netten Ungeheuer', *Neue Rundschau*, 4/1979 sees *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* as realism and as B~~x~~ö~~y~~ll's personal statement.

author and so on.⁹ The fact that everything in the novel must be seen as 'intended' by the author is by no means taken as self-evident. Many reviews contain remarks about which aspect B{ö}ll might not have intended, or might have overlooked or where he lost his patience or became tired of it all.¹⁰ This results in a setting up of false distinctions between B{ö}ll as he has been defined and B{ö}ll as he insists on presenting himself, i.e. full of contradictions. Indeed, some essays are entirely devoted to assessing the continuity of B{ö}ll's 'characteristics' in a new novel, totally ignoring the fact that during the creative process the author brings forth all traits and aspects of each novel.¹¹ To ask then, which are characteristic of him seems to separate the novel from the author in an illogical manner, as the characteristics used for the evaluation are those given to the critic by the author in his previous novels. To ask, so to speak, "How much of the new B{ö}ll is like B{ö}ll?" merely establishes the potential continuity of certain of the critics' rather than the author's patterns. So what is presented as an elaboration of B{ö}ll and his ability to 'do it again' is actually a manifestation of the critics' wish to project their previous perception of B{ö}ll's fiction onto the new novel. To make this possible, there

9 Braem, H.M.: 'Antigesellschaft in Gestalt einer Leni', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 21.8.71.

10 Joachim Kaiser describes B{ö}ll's moods in two reviews. 'Mitleidiger Naturalismus und mythische Vision', *S{ü}ddeutsche Zeitung*, 31.7.71. and 'Heinrich B{ö}lls Innen und Aussenwelt', *S{ü}ddeutsche Zeitung*, 25.8.79.

11 Bernath, A.: 'Zur Stellung des Romans Gruppenbild in B{ö}ll's Werk', op.cit. & 'Gruppenbild mit Dame: Eine neue Phase im Schaffen B{ö}lls', op.cit.

is an inversion of the writer/critic position in relation to the novel. The critics propret to know the 'essence' of the work and therefore claim a sort of ownership over it. The author is evaluated from that position for his ability to fulfill the criteria of the critic. The author here is made to function as a device of separation between the critics and their subjectivity.¹²

An analysis of the approaches and ways of presentation in the reviews gives an impression of a general subjectivity disguised by various devices creating an impression of objectivity.

3. Legitimization

The ways in which the reviews legitimate their approach and evaluations of the novels is another aspect which they have in common. The fact that most of the reviews seem to arrive at a firm judgment, even though they arrive at radically different ones, begs the question of how they derive the justification for this judgment.

The criteria which are employed in the construction of the argument which culminates in the assessment of the aesthetic value have to be analysed, as well as the approach within which they function. The internal logic working in the reviews can thus be described.

¹² Durzak is a representative of this type of argumentation, the best example from a daily is probably: Heizler, R.: 'Heinrich Böll in seiner Eigenschaft als Pressekritiker', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 13.8.74

The choice of criteria relevant for the establishment of value includes the decision not to use certain criteria which might seem relevant to the reader and also the choice not to mention the criteria which are employed. Both tactics have certain consequences for the logic of the review.

Generally, the criteria can be described as being applied seemingly unselfconsciously. Most reviews argue from a position of implicit legitimacy. The mere fact that the review is printed seems to be enough to induce the assurance in the reviewer that what they write is safely 'sayable'. They do not seem to fear ridicule, criticism, or outrage from their readers or dismissal from their superiors, never mind how imprecise, unfounded or contradictory their arguments and assessments may be.

Other reviews argue from the position of a belief in the common values of the readers which the reviewers see themselves representing and 'defending'.¹³ These common values, though sometimes vaguely referred to, are never defined, tested or inquired into. Even though many reviews can be described as very preoccupied with the business of criticism, there is no tradition of problematizing the theory of reviewing. A self-critical or even self-reflexive stance is therefore highly

¹³ All of Reich-Ranicki's reviews are example for this type of legitimation. Within literary criticism this phenomenon is referred to a *Vorverständnis*.

unusual.¹⁴ Similarly, the criteria with which many of the academic reviews operate remain vague and unreflected, which again does not curtail the confidence of the reviewers.¹⁵

When the criteria are stated, they are persistently defined very narrowly. The personality of the author, far from being only an interesting background feature, totally dominates the justifications for any value judgment, be it negative or positive. As I have shown for *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, the same conceptions of the author's personality can be used to support very positive as well as very negative conclusions. The same situation exists in other groups of reviews.¹⁶ Other criteria in the form of concepts such as 'the novel', 'the artistic means', 'the form', which are assumed to be familiar to the reader are used as norms against which the novels can be assessed. These comparisons are, however, mostly inconsequential because the concepts, notorious for their vagueness, are not defined by the critics. As I have shown for *Gruppenbild*, the way in which the novel's claim to be a 'novel' was handled by the different reviews indicates how utterly relative this criterion becomes if used without a clear definition.¹⁷

14 Examples of this type of review ^{are} ~~is~~ analysed at the end of this chapter.

15 Glüxner, J.: 'Heinrich Böll: Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 4/1974

16 This has also been pointed out by some critics, see: Arnold, H.L.: 'Fiktive Berichterstattung II, Heinrich Bölls Roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame* und einige Marginalien zu seinen Kritikern', in: *Brauchen wir noch die Literatur?* Bertelsmann, Düsseldorf, 1972

17 Chapter 4 section c. 2.b.

Another approach is the construction of criteria, which are then used as a yardstick for assessment. I have found instances where the critic constructs a criterion for the assessment of the novel from some of the author's utterances, supposedly indicating his aim or intention for the novel. This construction of criteria, often imprecise is nevertheless used to judge the novel. The criteria supposedly coming from the author himself are thus deemed to be 'fair' and 'impartial'. The fact that it is the critics' construction, is not stated and often remains well hidden while the impression that the author is judged by his own criteria is emphasized.¹⁸ This tactic creates the impression of being open and objective and does give the reader some knowledge of the approach used. However, it is often taken as a justification for irrelevant and highly idiosyncratic views of the novel. The critics' view seems vindicated as long as the 'approach' has been referred to. Why this approach has been chosen becomes irrelevant. Even though the logic seems to be explained, the criteria employed are often external to the novel or the readers' interests. David Myers sets out to refute an accusation by Michaelis about *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*.¹⁹ But instead of arguing for a different perception of *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* he writes about *Gruppenbild* and proves predictably that Michaelis' accusation cannot be upheld.

18 Schüttte, W.: 'Lauter nette Menschen', *Frankfurter Rundschau* 4.8.79.

19 Myers, D.: 'Heinrich Böll's *Gruppenbild*. Aesthetic Play and Ethic Seriousness', *Seminar XIII*, 3/1977

The justification of this approach is a perceived similarity between certain aspects of the two books. Even though his essay is interesting, its justification is illogically placed. Similarly narrow and therefore self-fulfilling are the aims of many academic reviews. Another good example is Grothmann's review in *The German Quarterly*.²⁰ Grothmann sets out to analyse the structure of humour in *Gruppenbild* from the point of view of Jean Paul's concept of humour because B[ö]ll has stated to have been influenced by his humour. He finds that the humour in *Gruppenbild* is indeed related to that of Jean Paul, which was not in doubt. The list of examples could be continued at will. The open discussion of the criteria used in the logic of the review does, then, not necessarily constitute a clearer or fairer approach to the novels as it is not applied rigorously and self-critically enough to improve the communication between reader and novel. This technique serves only to give an impression of objectivity. The subjectivity of the reviews does not receive a solid legitimization through their approach, methodology or logic.

4. "Quality control"

The issue of what value is to be bestowed on the novels and how this classification is to be achieved is closely related to the issue of legitimization. As

²⁰ Grothmann, W.: 'Zur Struktur des Humors in Heinrich B[ö]ll's *Gruppenbild*', *The German Quarterly*, March 1977

described in the previous section, nearly all reviews produce a value judgment, indeed this is characteristically presented as their entire purpose. Even though the criteria and methods utilized in the generation of this value judgment serve only to obscure a very subjective reaction to the texts, most reviews present themselves as the place of origin of any value and their methods as the proper way to establish this value.

One technique which enables the critics to maintain the illusion that they are in charge of quality due to their objectivity is the use of abstract concepts such as 'literature', 'the novel', 'form and content relationship', 'artistic means', etc. The manner in which the frequent lack of definitions prevents a proper legitimization of the use of these concepts for an evaluation has been mentioned before. A continuation of this approach is the setting up of a tension between 'subjectivity' and 'art' and 'politics' and 'art/literature'. In the reviews, both subjectivity and politics are often argued to enter art only under the threat of a loss of quality. This point is made *ad nauseum* in relation to *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* where both Böll's perceived personal involvement and political opinions are seen to have caused a loss in ability and thus quality. In other reviews, however, a lack of precise, practical political instruction is lamented and Böll's personal traits are seen as

constitutive of his art.²¹ The separation of literature and politics is also assumed when it is argued that *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* as a political pamphlet cannot be assessed from a literary point of view.²² This false dichotomy is then not used consistently nor effectively and can therefore only temporarily distract from the underlying subjectivity of the critic.

I have already mentioned the necessary inversion of the positions of critic and author which ensures an impression of objectivity. A similar mechanism functions in relation to the establishment of the value judgment with the position of critics and readers/buyers. The critics argue from an assumed monopoly position in relation to value and are consequently threatened if value seems to be established by another source. In the case of the two first novels this occurs when they appear on the market as confident bestsellers. This popularity is a frequent reference point for the reviews. The sales figures are mentioned, not as an indication that this book must be important, but as an indication of something

21 Geno Hartlaub argues that Böll's personal integrity is at the centre of his artistic ability while Brender, H.: 'Von der Unzerstörbarkeit der menschlichen Hoffnung', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 29.8.74., Frey, J.: 'Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Sounds*, 1/1975 and Schüller, G.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Göttinger Tageblatt*, 11.9.71. and many other reviews argue that Böll didn't give enough detailed suggestion for political action.

22 This argument is used positively in H.L.: 'Heinrich Böll's neues Buch', *neues hochland*, IV/1974 and negatively in 'Zu Böll und zu Bernhard', *Schweizer Monatshefte*, II/1974/75

going wrong in the business of criticism and reception.²³ Two types of argument follow. If the critic feels Böll's book is very good he cannot at the same time praise all those people who have bought it, because this would make his task of informing the public about valuable literary texts superfluous, as they seem to be doing fine without his help. The way out is to argue that Böll is really too good and his audience will most probably miss most of the really relevant messages.²⁴

Groupportrait is surely the most important novel of this season. But because of its artistic qualities it is possibly not going to reach Böll's traditional audience which needs this enlightenment most of all.²⁵

The other possible argument is simply to criticize Böll together with his uneducated audience who seem to deserve each other.²⁶ In both arguments the assumptions about the type of person buying a novel by Böll are negative as are the many references to those in the publishing and bookselling business who help Böll achieve bestseller status. These incidents can be seen as an indication of an unwillingness on the part of the

23 Esderts, H.: 'Frau ohne Eigenschaften', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 28.8.71. or 'Ein guter Mensch erzählt von einem guten Menschen', *Nordsee Zeitung*, 17.11.71.

24 Hartmann, H.: 'Nur für eilige Leser nicht empfehlenswert', *Vorwärts*, 2.9.71.

25 'Gruppenbild mit Dame ist mit Sicherheit der wichtigste Roman dieser Saison. Nur erreicht er infolge seiner artistischen Qualitäten möglicherweise Bölls traditionelles Publikum nicht mehr, das dieser Aufklärung am ehesten bedürfte' Wolff, D.: 'Wer ist Leni Pfeiffer?', *Weser Kurier*, 24.8.71.

26 Müller-Bringmann, W.: 'Die Liebe des Heinrich Böll', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 20.10.71. and *Frankisches Volksblatt*, 23.11.71. & Zehm, G.: 'Wenn einer zu allzugut bewacht wird', *Die Welt*, 11.8.79.

critics to understand themselves and their methods as secondary or in certain cases perhaps even superfluous to the process of valuation. As some kind of value is established by high sales figures, and as these often seem to be achieved either before or in spite of the media reception, the critics face a contradiction concerning their reason for existence. The obvious conclusion is to discredit those who cause the success. In their methodology the critics try to set up a dichotomy of sales versus value, popularity versus quality and media-orchestrated versus academically certified success.²⁷ A type of "quality control" is executed, however, by a much wider-reaching mechanism, namely that of the processes of institutionalized reproduction, which is mostly out of the conscious control of the critics even though they help to create it.

When critics seemed to have had an effect on sales and thus seemed to have exercised their desired role as monitors of quality as expressed in sales, the effect was very short-lived and ended in embarrassment for the critics. Some pre-ordered copies of *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* had to be returned to the publishers, probably because of the fairly united negative prepublication reception. Sales did, however, later establish themselves as the reception moved around to correct its hasty damnation of the novel. This happened after and no doubt

²⁷ Schultze, S.: 'Schreiblust, die zur Schreibwut wurde', *Rhein Neckar Zeitung*, 14.8.71.

partly as a result of a public speech and two very relaxed interviews. Böll's impromptu speech at the launching party for *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* ironically points to the shades of meaning which the word *nett* (nice) can assume and also plays with the distinction between *druckreif* and *druckfertig*, meaning 'ready to be printed' and 'good enough to be printed'. With this remark he alluded to those critics who had argued that the novel had not been proof-read properly and had blamed the editor for the perceived 'sloppiness' of the language. The critics' very unsubtle approach and short sighted conclusions were thereby aptly disclosed. In the interviews Böll talks quite freely and in a relaxed manner about the novel and about what he felt was missed by the critics. Even though the interviewers illustrated the limitations of criticism with their assumptions and undefined expectations, Böll remained very patient and managed to use often inept questions for some useful debate about the novel.

In these communications the author not only re-established some power over his text, but he also broke through the critics' monopoly of communication with the readers. This incident, laying bare not only the critics' lack of a sense of humour, but more importantly the obvious lack of an objective approach, caused a moment of self-critical evaluation amongst the critics as described in Chapter Six.

The forms of criticism function as a blocking and distorting effect which does not facilitate the communication between the novels and their potential readers. The selection of themes, approaches, material presentation and justifications for the conclusions give an impression of the type of attitude towards the novels they recommend. They also indicate the function this form of criticism has in a wider social field. It is this process and its effects on the novels which I earlier described as the allocation of 'positions' for the novels. These 'positions' can now be defined more closely by way of a discription of their characteristics.

I have shown that the selection of themes in the reviews is relatively consistent and almost always excludes a wider or more detailed discussion of historical/political themes with which the novels deal. This effectively discourages contemplation of the German historical/political situation as part of the reception of the novels.

The approaches used, centering either on an evaluation of the person of the author, or on an idiosyncratic interest of the critic, constrain any reflection of the novels in terms of a wider social relevance and tie the readers' interest either to their curiosity about the life of a famous personality or to an interesting but marginal aspect of the novel.

The available material is misrepresented to a high degree. This is, in the dailies, not done haphazardly but in order to tie the readers' attention to sensational details and preoccupy them, even overwhelm them with these, so that the review becomes more like a slick commercial advertisement. So many exciting, interesting, irrelevant but catchy, unrelated details are combined that the effect is instant but very short-lived. In the academic reviews the narrowly selected aspect or approach often dominates the review to such an extent that it creates an imbalanced picture.

The justification in the reviews, of the way they legitimize their existence and judgments is mostly not expressed in words but is inherent in their language and mode of presentation. They present themselves as objective and 'natural', as a necessary part of the system that they help to construct and therefore not requiring any explicit justification.

The subjectivity of the reviews, hidden under a layer of mechanisms creating the impression of objectivity, organizes certain publicly condoned positions or meanings for the novels and their 'messages'. This range of meanings or positions is established not by the conscious efforts of the critics, but by the mechanisms of the media and of literary criticism.

Criticism and Ideology

Both the media and the 'literary institution' of which literary criticism is part, can, in Western capitalist societies, be defined as institutions. As such they have certain characteristics: one is their existential link with a process of reproduction. The activity of an institution automatically ensures its own continued existence. As such, an institution will, from the available range of activities or meanings, favour those which promote its own continuity. Another characteristic is institutional inertia. Within institutions there exists a very high tolerance level for oppositional and challenging practices. These oppositional, critical practices do not start to affect the institution until they become translated into a systematic restructuring. This however, is mostly not achieved without a redistribution of power within the institution. A redistribution of power within the literary institution would involve a redefinition of the commonly employed categories and methodologies. Texts, author and reader would have to be given free access to each other, the critic assuming a non-authoritarian, mediating role. Because literary criticism functions as an institution this becomes doubly difficult to achieve.

The reproductive mechanisms of the two institutions, media and literary criticism, effect a certain selection from the available positions of meaning for the novels.

As mentioned above, the criteria for this selection is different in each institution. The printed media, privatized and mostly monopolized, needs material which promotes sales and therefore, the choice is not for excellent quality and high information value, but for notoriety and slick, elegant shallowness except for those papers which specifically base their place in the market on a notion of 'quality' as for instance *Die Zeit* does. The literary pages are affected to a varying degree by this policy. The criteria applied by the reproducing mechanism of the literary institution centre on an avoidance of a confrontation with the basic contradiction of the discipline, i.e. its inability to serve the social and political needs of the majority. The strict separation of literary from political concerns must therefore be seen to be maintained. As I have mentioned in previous chapters, this implied apolitical pose of criticism is expressed in the emphasis on objective evaluation of literary products and thus an independent monitoring of values in our society as the purpose of the literary institution. Even though certain methodologies allow for greater discussion of political aspects in relation to literary criticism than others, the common characteristic is maintained, namely a definition of quality and objectivity which largely excludes the problematization of the political aspect in these concepts. An inclusion would bring institutionalized literary criticism into crisis.

Ideology in literary criticism must then be seen as a by-product of the two institutions 'media' and 'literary institution' reproducing themselves. The direct effect is that of the selection of a certain range of meanings for the novels. A second layer of ideology can be seen in the signifying effect which this selection has on the institutions themselves. Within each institution the critics have a certain independence and awareness. Untypical reviews can be accommodated easily within the overwhelming affirmative pattern. The reviews are mostly unable to reflect upon their part in the reproductive mechanisms of the two institutions. Individual reviews become ideological not only because their necessary subjectivity enables the institution to select a narrow range of meanings for the novels, but also because it prevents an awareness of the signifying uses to which the meanings they are generating are put.

Allocating positions to the novels

The media and literary institutions assign particular positions to the novels. The result of the combined selection process is always a position which seems contradictory, controversial in terms of the division of disciplines.

Gruppenbild mit Dame was met by a reception which emphasized the question of its literary quality. For the media, the connection to the Nobel Prize was the aspect

which could be exploited in order to attract attention. For the literary institution, the evaluation of the quality of the novel in terms of the required standards for the prize seemed justified. *Gruppenbild* then was assigned the 'controversial' position of "Is it high literature?", "Is it good enough for a Nobel Prize?" This position functions like an image which accompanies the novel and predetermines future approaches to it.

Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum was immediately assigned the position of a personal interest story by the media by defining it as Böll's revenge. Literary criticism had difficulties here in establishing a need for an evaluation, because of the obvious political relevance and intention. There are only very few balanced academic reviews of this novella, two of them written by non-German critics.²⁸ Those critics who treat it as literary have to disprove the claim that it is 'only' the product of revenge or purely political. The controversy established by the combined positioning of the institutions is: "Is it revenge?", "Is it literature?"

With *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, the media had no obvious criteria which could serve the purpose of notoriety. They concentrated therefore merely on the vehemence of the critical response and the scandal which could be constructed from a Nobel Prize winner being

28 Sinka, M.M.: 'Heinrich Bölls *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* as novelle', *Colloquia Germanica*, 2/1981; Sewell, W.S.: 'Konduktion und Niveauunterschiede: The structure of Böll's *Katharina Blum*', *Monatshefte*, 2/1982

accused of producing kitsch. The kitsch/culture dichotomy required a literary critical assessment, even though a careful one. The reviews are more self-conscious than the others, there is also a lack of academic treatments of the novel. The controversial position of this novel is the question: "Is it kitsch?", "Is it literature?"

The continuing reception of the three novels is predetermined to a certain degree by the positions which they are forced to occupy within the hierarchical system of literary judgment. These are decisive for the manner in which the books are approached by later reviewers. The positions can get adjusted slightly as we have seen with *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*. What needs to be emphasized is how narrow, shallow and undynamic these positions are. During the process of selection, the institutions prevent an active participation by the readers by not presenting a wide variety of open approaches and logically argued, socially relevant interpretations. The socially dynamic potential of the texts is buried under the gloss of the repetitive scandal or the haze of the abstract and generalized literary assessment.

From the treatment the three novels receive, one can deduce that the media managed to satisfy their criteria best in the first two novels which contain aspects easily usable for sales purposes. The third novel, lacking an obvious angle, led the media into a trap. Literary criticism had least difficulties in justifying its

activities when the supposed controversy was one of varying levels of literary quality as with *Gruppenbild* and not a question of areas which are taboo, namely politics and the absence of conventional literary value as with *Katharina Blum* and *Flüchtersorgliche Belagerung*.

The second layer of ideology is the signifying effect the selected positions for the novels have on the institutions themselves. As mentioned above, all novels are assigned a seemingly controversial position. The questions of whether a sufficient level of quality was achieved for a Nobel Prize, whether personal feelings have led an author to write a particular piece and, if this is the case, if this then automatically excludes the work from the literary genre, or if kitsch has a place in literary criticism, are questions which can only be treated and answered within the area of literary criticism and have little or no relevance to the social needs of the majority or the aesthetic or social relevance of the novels. The media, being daily in need of new controversies, sometimes capitalize on the reception at the end of the first wave of reviews.²⁹ However, literary criticism reaps more fruits from the existence of these artificial controversies. The history of the reception of the three books illustrates that: *Gruppenbild* is the subject of no less than 15 academic

29 Maus, S.: 'Das Wunder von nebenan', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 4.12.71.; 'Buchsclamassel und F(ä)uleton', *Die Tageszeitung*, 11.10.79.; 'Katastrophal missgl(ü)ckt', *Der Spiegel*, 33/1979; Torberg, F.: 'Katharina Blum. Jetzt b(ö)llert's', *Der Spiegel*, 35/1972.

essays written after the year it was published. The two other novels receive very little literary attention after the the initial reception. Owing to their relationship to the taboos of politics and lack of conventional value, their perceived lack of esteem within the hierarchical classifications of literary criticism is confirmed. The literary institution has, then, maintained its own continuity by extending the debate on the non-threatening subjects and dropping the debate on the subjects which might lead to a confrontation with the foundations of its discipline.

That a type of criticism which has a self-critical attitude, openly admits its limitations and wishes to inform the readers is possible, must briefly be demonstrated by describing the four or five exceptional reviews in my sample.

These are longer academic essays and have several things in common: a clearly defined approach and method, a use of Björlin's thoughts as a guide for their own investigations, for which they take full responsibility. Two of the critics emphasize the incompleteness of their work.

Herbert Kaiser's essay on *Gruppenbild* argues simply for a careful separation of the various levels of reality i.e. aesthetic reality in the novel and non-aesthetic reality, and for a method of assessment which is adequate

to a piece of literature, namely one which ascertains its aesthetic quality first and then measures its social/moral potential as expressed and manifested in this aesthetic achievement.³⁰ As I have described, many critics mix up these different levels of reality when they see in the novels' plots suggestions for real social actions and positions. Kaiser's essay is based on the premise of interpreting the fictitious actions in their aesthetic narrative mediation and assessing the social potential of the novel in terms of its aesthetic quality and not in terms of its content.³¹ He does suggest by this separation and its logical and rigorous maintenance, an approach which assesses the unity of the aesthetic and the moral which Böll has proclaimed as binding in his *Frankfurter Vorlesungen*.

His interpretation is based on two hypotheses which aim at a critique of bourgeois language and its use:

1. Speaking and acting are in reality widely apart; language aids the ideological disguise of this fact, as the garbage collectors have recognized.
2. According to Böll, the writer has the task of portraying the social manifestations of decay and refuse which have been caused substantially by this corrupt language and this corrupting language use

30 Kaiser, H.: 'Die botschaft der sprachlosigkeit in Heinrich Bölls roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *Wirkendes Wort*, 4/1978

31 He criticizes both Durzack and Bernhard who partly or wholly assess the quality of the novel by way of their political reactions to the practicability of the ending of the novel.

and thus³² to contribute to their removal from society.

This approach is rare in its self-awareness, its logic and its widely set parameters. A social potential is assumed as part of the assessment of the novel, accessible only, however, through a careful interpretation of the novel. This assessment must take B{ö}ll's very basic approach into consideration. The author is referred to briefly in an informative and non-antagonistic fashion. The approach is non-manipulative and clearly set out. The position of the critic is also signalled to some extent by the use of German without the usual capital letters for nouns in which the article is written. This approach, developed by a group of linguistically and socially progressive German academics and teachers during the early seventies, indicates a rejection of the overemphasizing of the ability to spell and its concomitant authoritarianism.³³

Another review of *Gruppenbild* is interesting for its exceptional self-awareness. Paul Barz, writing a brief impression of the novel, recommends the book because it

32 'Sprechen und handeln klaffen auseinander; die sprache dient der ideologischen verschleierung dieser tatsache, wie die m{ü}llarbeiter erkannt haben.

2. Der schriftsteller hat nach B{o}ll die aufgabe, die durch diese korrupte sprache und dieses korrumpierende sprachverhalten wesentlich mitverursachten gesellschaftlichen abfall- und verfallerscheinungen darzustellen und so zur 'reinigung' der gesellschaft von ihnen beizutragen.' Kaiser, H.: op.cit.

33 See: 'Kleinschreibung in der Grundschule', *Wirkendes Wort*, 6/1972, p.426-427 and 'An unsere leser' and Bruderer, H.: 'Gross oder klein?', in: *Wirkendes Wort*, 1/1974

gives new possibilities not only to the author but also to the readers.³⁴ He describes the form of the book as giving the readers the freedom to decide if they wish to follow the guiding of the author or not, without having to stop identifying with the characters. He also mentions in passing that in principle some critics have something against authors who can be readily understood by their audience. This positive attitude towards the perceived openness of the book and awareness of the readers' diversity and participation is rare amongst the critics.

Another exceptional academic approach is found in the essay on *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* by Eberhard Scheiffele.³⁵ Even though the essay, appearing in 1979, has the advantage of hindsight in regard to the great popularity of the novella in the mid seventies, its academic theme has a carefully defined social relevance: Scheiffele intends to examine the question as to whether B(o)ll's novella can be seen as laying bare the total moral and political system, as Marcuse had demanded from a truly critical linguistic approach. His essay, examining the linguistic behaviour described and used in the novella, comes to the conclusion that B(o)ll's critique of language is indeed systematic and does lay bare the total moral and political system and that he is in this sense in the tradition of Karl Kraus, who has been described by Marcuse as linguistically critical.

34 Barz, P.: 'Blick auf B(ü)cher', *Westermann*, 10/1971

35 Scheiffele, E.: 'Kritische Sprachanalyse in Heinrich B(ö)lls *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*', *Basis* 9/1979

Scheiffele also includes the participation of the reader in the process of the critique, thus granting the book a natural social effectiveness.

Stephen Smith's essay on *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*, appearing in a re-edition of a monograph on Böll in 1980, has a very interesting approach.³⁶ He takes Böll's refusal to 'function', in the sense of working in with the expectations of the establishment, as a guide. He accepts Böll's position as binding for critics as well, whose critical faculties he deems equally threatened by the pressure to 'function'. His method will be that of the experiment. Here he also follows Böll, who has described all of his work as experiments, in the sense that he claims not to have a clear expectation of the end product when he starts.

Smith's essay is searching and carefully written. It tries out various leads which present themselves to him. Certain formal principles are found and loosely combined to a very interesting interpretation which is then declared incomplete and temporary. This is done several times and makes for a multilayered, non-authoritarian approach to the novel. Even though Smith does refer to Böll many times throughout his essay, he neither sets him up nor slavishly follows his lead, but simply gets ideas, impressions and directions.

36 Smith, S.: 'Schizos Vernissage und die Treue der Liebe', in: Beth, H. (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Böll* (second edition) Scriptor, Königstein, 1980, p.97-128

Conclusion

I have tried to show in this chapter that the forms of criticism can be characterized by subjectivity hidden under a layer of mechanisms giving the impression of objectivity. This subjectivity offers those institutions, in which criticism functions, 1. an unproblematic access to a continuity of concepts and practices, 2. a continuing monopoly in the definition of these concepts and practices by indirectly selecting certain texts and approaches through the operations of the institutions. This process has the effect of assigning certain values or hierarchical positions to literary texts. Once these positions are established, they tend ~~to~~ - owing to the fact that they were created by institutions - ^{to} restrict the potential social effectiveness of the novels.

The fact that literary criticism, as practiced in newspapers and academic journals, is able to 1. maintain its monopoly on the defining of the category 'literature' by selecting texts by means of its own reproduction and 2. to automatically disempower certain other texts and approaches to texts through the signifying effects of this selection of texts, helps to prove that it is ideological in nature. This is more firmly established by proving that the positions to which the novels are restricted, mobilize meanings, attitudes and concepts which aid the continuing asymmetrical distribution of power by trivializing or marginalizing the debates of

those issues which would challenge the status quo. I have already alluded to the inability of literary criticism to serve the interests of the majority if it continues to exclude the political and subjective aspects from its methods and concepts. The social analysis of literary criticism in Germany and its history in Chapter Three has established that the history and significant traditions of literary criticism are not characterized by a democratic sharing of access to the mobilization of meaning. These traditions are more adequately described as manifestations of the continuous striving for the maintenance of a hegemonic monopoly on the defining of central terms and themes for debate in society by a small but not representative group. The need for the institution literary criticism to reproduce itself drives it to assign values, interpretations and positions to literary works which in turn have a tendency to strip them of their capacity for, and purpose to change social values and political structures. The evidence leads to the conclusion that the practice of literary criticism mobilizes 'meanings' which aid the continued asymmetrical distribution of power. My conclusion, therefore, is that the reception of Böll's work during the 1970's, which served as an example to illustrate my analysis, can be described as being severely constrained by the ideological nature of literary criticism.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Power, Ideology and Literary Criticism

My efforts throughout this thesis have concentrated on establishing that there is a subtle connection between power, ideology and literary criticism. Using the reception of three of Heinrich Böll's novels as examples, I have attempted to characterize literary criticism, as practiced in the FRG during the 1970's. The reception of Heinrich Böll's novels provides excellent material for a study of this kind because every conceivable trait of literary criticism is represented here. The 1970's, as a period of high political tension and great social changes in the FRG, must be seen as closely influencing the manner in which the three novels were understood and classified.

The traditions of literary criticism can be traced through its history to ~~its~~^{their} beginnings, which, as public communication about literature, has in Germany been pinpointed to the end of the 18th century. In the two hundred years of debate and development, many highly sophisticated, philosophical arguments have been put forward concerning the purpose, social function and philosophical basis of criticism. Many times the

contradictions of one particular school of thought caused a loss of rigour in the application of the theory and then gave rise to new paradigms. Certain characteristics have, however, been maintained until today. The discipline has been institutionalized since its establishment as a discipline at German universities. As an institution it has maintained a monopoly on the chains of communication between authors, texts, readers and buyers and through its activity as an institution it selects and favours those texts and approaches to texts which ensure its own continued existence.

My analysis of the reception of *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, and *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* has found evidence which led to the conclusion that literary criticism as practised in the FRG during the 1970's is:

a) a subjective activity which is, however, disguised by a well entrenched, traditional image of objectivity,

b) an institutionalized activity with the support of tradition and considerable resources, which had the tendency to reproduce itself automatically

c) an influential activity because it works on and with the central operating system of communication i.e. language, and because it is empowered, owing to its institutional position, to introduce a hierarchy into the multifarious literary processes in society and thus takes

a significant part in the shaping of such central categories as 'reality', 'beauty' and 'truth'.

The process of selection is a practice which is executed by a small, but not representative group of highly and narrowly skilled people. Owing to the central position of the literary institution in our society, the social effects of their activity are much more far-reaching than the small number of participants suggests.

The social role of the literary institution is

a) the selecting, valuing and institutionalizing of certain texts, concepts and practices

b) the playing of a not central but significant part in the process of the definition of concepts. This can be achieved by the shaping of subtle new shades of meaning, by the mobilization of meaning in favor of one side of a double meaning, the smoothing over of sharp contradictions by means of ambiguity in relation to certain texts.

This significant part which the literary institution plays in the process of shaping of meaning and institutionalizing of texts and practices, becomes more significant when one considers that it is based on a practice which has been found to be subjective and does as such not express the multilayered experiences of many different groups of society but merely that of the small

group which dominates the practice. The significance of the social role of the literary institution grows further, if one considers that this socially narrow, experiential base on which the practice rests, is further restricted by the self-re-producing selection processes of the institution itself. These selection processes favor those texts and practices which ensure a continuation of the institution. In the case of literary criticism in the FRG, the characteristic forms of media-based criticism are dominated by a highly subjective, entertaining and politically and socially non-challenging type of criticism which serves the book-market and the economic viability of the paper in which it is printed. University-based criticism favors methodologies which are based on a professed conceptual segregation of social/political and literary/aesthetic considerations, which have, however, clear political implications, excluding or redefining those areas which would disrupt the traditional social isolation of the practice.

As my description of the reception has shown, these characteristic forms of criticism largely avoid problematizing or challenging their institutional and subjective character because this would mean a legitimation crisis. The tradition of a veiled subjectivity is well entrenched as is the usefulness of an appearance of political neutrality through the professed segregation of political from aesthetic concerns.

The combined effects of the narrow subjective base and the institutionalized selections result in a type of literary criticism, whose social role is, in summary, one of support for those preconceptions and social patterns which maintain the continued asymmetrical power distribution in the FRG. My analysis of the reception of three novels by Böll has shown that literary criticism, as practiced in the FRG during the 1970's, can be described as being ideological in that it helps to mobilize meaning which aids the continued existence of asymmetrical power relations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. WORKS BY BÖLL

1. BOOKS:

Gruppenbild mit Dame, serialized in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29.7-30.11.71.
 Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1971.
Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum oder: Wie Gewalt entstehen und wohin sie führen kann, serialized in: *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 31-34, 29.7-19.8.74.
 Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1974.
Fürsorgliche Belagerung, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1979.

2. ARTICLES:

'Man muss zu weit gehen' (Böll präzisiert seine Haltung im Fall Bukowski u. Baader-Meinhof). In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Nr. 23, 29/30.1.72.
 'Verfolgt war nicht nur Paulus' Heinrich Böll zum Böll-Kommentar Diether Possers. In: *Der Spiegel*, 6/1972
 'Will Ulrike Gnade oder freies Geleit?', Schriftsteller Heinrich Böll über die Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe und *Bild* in: *Der Spiegel*, 26, Nr.3, 10.1.1972, p.4, 54-57.

B: WORKS ABOUT BÖLL

1. BOOKS:

Bernath, A.: *Gruppenbild mit Dame. Eine neue Phase im Schaffen Bölls*. Dortmunder Vorträge, H.17, Kulturamt der Stadt, 1973.
 Bernhard, H. J.: *Die Romane Heinrich Bölls*. Rütten & Loening, Berlin, 1973.
 Beth, H. (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Böll. Eine Einführung in das Gesamtwerk in Einzelinterpretationen*. Scriptor, Kronberg, 1975.
 Bruhn, P.: *Heinrich Böll in der Sowjetunion*. E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1977.
 Burns, R. A.: *The theme of non-conformism in the work of Heinrich Böll*. University of Warwick, Coventry, 1973.
 Conard, R. C.: *Heinrich Böll. His life and works*. Twayne, Boston, 1978.
 Grützbach, F. (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Böll: Freies Geleit für Ulrike Meinhof*. Ein Artikel (23.12.1971) und seine Folgen (10.1-23.2.1972) Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1972.
 Hoffmann, C. G.: *Heinrich Böll*. Dressler, Hamburg, 1977.
 Hoffmann, L.: *Heinrich Böll. Einführung in Leben und Werk*, Edi-Centre, Luxemburg, 1973.
 Ley, R. (Ed.): *Böll für Zeitgenossen*. Harper & Row, New York, 1970.
 Macpherson, E.: *A student's guide to Böll*. Heinemann, London, 1972.
 Martin, W. (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Böll. Eine Bibliographie seiner Werke*. Olms, Hildesheim, 1975.

- Matthaei, R. (Hrsg.): *Die subversive Madonna*. Ein Schlüssel zum Werk Heinrich Bölls. Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1975.
- Nägele, R.: *Heinrich Böll*. Einführung in das Werk und die Forschung. Athenäum Fischer Taschenbuch Verl. Frankfurt, 1976.
- Reich-Ranicki, M. (Hrsg.): *In Sachen Böll*. Ansichten und Einsichten, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1970.
- Reid, J. H.: *Heinrich Böll*. Oswald Wolff, London, 1973.
- Schwarz, W. J.: *Der Erzähler Heinrich Böll*. Francke, München 1973.
- Stresau, H.: *Heinrich Böll*. Colloquium, Berlin, 1974.
- Wintzen, R.: *Heinrich Böll*. Edition du Seuil, 1977/78.
- Wirth, G.: *Heinrich Böll*. Pahl-Rugenstein, Köln, 1969.
- Ziltener, W.: *Die Literaturtheorie Heinrich Bölls*, Lang, Hamburg, 1980

2. BOOK CHAPTERS:

- Arnold, H. L.: 'Über die Vergangenheit der alten und die Notwendigkeit einer neuen Buchkritik. in: *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur aus Methoden*. Bd. 1 Athenäum Fischer Taschenbuch, Frankfurt, 1972, p.X-XXXII, XIII-XIX.
- Arnold, H. L.: 'Heinrich Bölls Versuch, der Massenhysterie zu wehren, und seine Folgen' in: *Brauchen wir noch die Literatur?* Bertelsmann, Düsseldorf, 1972, p.114-121.
- Baumgart, R.: 'Der blinde Realismus' in: *Die verdrängte Phantasie*. Luchterhand, Neuwied, 1973.
- Demetz, P.: 'Porträt Heinrich Böll' in: *Die süsse Anarchie*. Propyläen, Berlin, 1970, p.220-235.
- Durzak, M.: 'Kritik und Affirmation. Die Romane Heinrich Bölls' in: *Der deutsche Roman der Gegenwart*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1971, p.19-107, 362-369.
- Hübner, R.: 'Der diffamiert-integrierte "Anarchismus"' in: Arnold, H.L.: *Deutsche Bestseller - deutsche Ideologie*. Klett, Stuttgart, 1975, p.113-144.
- Jeziorkowski, K.: 'Heinrich Böll' in: Wagener, Hans: *Zeitkritische Romane des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Reclam, Stuttgart, 1975, p.301-317.
- Kopelev, L.: 'Heinrich Böll und wir' in: *Verwandt und verfremdet*. Fischer, Frankfurt, 1976, p.63-91.
- Kurz, P. K.: 'Heinrich Böll nicht versöhnt' in: *Über moderne Literatur*. Knecht, Frankfurt, 1971, p.11-48.
- Lange, V.: 'Erzählen als moralisches Geschäft' in: Matthaei, R.: op.cit.
- Lämmert, E.: 'Über die öffentliche Verantwortung der Schriftsteller' in: Kutteneuler, Wolfgang (Hrsg.): *Poesie und Politik*. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1972, p.62-68.
- Mayer, H.: 'Heinrich Böll' in: *Vereinzelte Niederschläge*. Neske, Pfullingen, 1973, p.61-65.
- Plard, H.: 'Mut und Bescheidenheit' in: Arnold, Heinz Ludwig (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur aus Methoden*. Bd. 1 Athenäum Fischer Taschenbuch, Frankfurt, 1972, p.251-271.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Böll, der Moralist', in: *Deutsche Literatur in West und Ost*, Piper, München 1963 p.120-142.

Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Bölls antihumanistische Buchstaben' in: *Literarisches Leben in Deutschland*, Piper, München, 1965, p.177-180.

Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Heinrich Böll' in: Wiese, Benno von (Hrsg.): *Deutsche Dichter der Gegenwart*. Erich Schmidt, Berlin, 1973, p.326-340.

Thomas, R. H., & van der Will, W.: 'Heinrich Böll' in: *Der deutsche Roman und die Wohlstandsgesellschaft*. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1977, p.57-79.

SPECIAL EDITIONS OF PERIODICALS

University of Dayton Review, vol.10. 1973 no. 2., p.1-46

University of Dayton Review, vol.11. 1974 no. 2., p.3-64

University of Dayton Review, vol.12. 1976 no. 2., p.3-56

University of Dayton Review, vol.13. 1976/7 no.1. p. 1-80

Queensland studies in German language and literature, 5, 1975

Text und Kritik, Ht. 33, 1974

3. ARTICLES:

As so many articles are used in this thesis, it seemed appropriate to order the material into certain categories. The date of publication provides a rough order. Within that framework the material is grouped according to the various topics with which the articles are concerned, whenever appropriate. In the years in which the three novels with which this thesis is concerned are published, all reviews are listed first and are followed by non-review material of that year. Within each category the order is alphabetical. The unsigned articles are listed at the beginning in alphabetical order of headline.

1970:

'Böll geißelt Athens Folter' *Kölnische Rundschau*, Köln, 12.1.70.

'Böll legt Verfassungsbeschwerde gegen Kirchensteuerbescheid ein' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22.12.70.

'Böll mit Beat' *Rhein-Sieg-Anzeiger*, *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 2.3.70.

'Böll war der prominenteste Gast' *Bergische Landzeitung*, 17.3.70.

'Heinrich Böll in Aachen' *Aachener Nachrichten*, 4.7.70.

'Netter Bursche' *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 28. 2.70.

'Unbeliebte Kirchensteuer' *Düsseldorfer Express*, 28.12.70.

Amery, J.: 'Solidarität' Warum H.Böll nicht überholt ist, *Nationalzeitung*, Basel, 15.2.70.

- Bauer, A.: 'Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Mainz, 22.9.70. Also in: *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 1.10.70.
- Becker, C.: 'Die Welt war nicht mehr ganz so weit entfernt', *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 20.10.70.
- Bishoff, M.: 'Judenvernichtung hat Deutschland arm gemacht', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 11.11.70.
- Borcke, P. von: 'Schlag nach bei Lenin', *Die Welt*, 11.3.70.
- Dam, H.G. von: 'Böll hat das Recht zur Provokation!', *Westfälische Rundschau*, 16.3.70.
- Denter, E.: 'Böll flieht den Rummel', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 16.12.70.
- Denter, E.: 'Ich will keine Repräsentationsfigur sein', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 19.12.70.
- Desalm, B.: 'Ein Streitgespräch, das keins war', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 16.3.70.
- Domay, E.: 'Literatur', *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt*, 7/1970.
- Durzak, M.: 'Metier der Romanschreiber', *Die Welt*, 30.4.70.
- Ebert, W.: 'Schweigen bei der Opposition', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, Berlin, 12.2.70.
- Fabian, A. M.: 'Amnesty Internatinal', *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, 2/1970.
- Graf, H.: 'Übelste Schmähung der Kirche', *Neue Bildpost*, 31.5.70.
- Gresse, H.W.: 'Man muss Böll danken', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 23.12.70.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Tageszeitung*, München, 28.11.70.
- Habe, H.: 'Prämie für die Gewaltlosigkeit', *Tagesanzeiger Regensburg*, 24.2.70. Also in *Tageszeitung*, München 14.3.70.
- Hai: 'Auch Heinrich Böll liess schön grüssen', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 19.5.70.
- Halstenberg, A.: 'Gerüchte Geschäfte und Sturm auf Bücher', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 30.9.70.
- HCB: 'Moderne deutsche Literatur', *Dill Zeitung*, Dillenburg, 16.9.70.
- Hohoff, C.: 'Dieser Bursche ist eine Katastrophe!', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 8.5.70.
- Hohoff, C.: 'Thomas Mann und 'Bruder Hitler'', *Rheinische Post*, 11.7.70. Also in: *Bonner Rundschau*, 6.10.70.
- Hübner, P.: 'Christlich gleich 'kriminell'?', *Rheinische Post*, 17.3.70.
- Interview: 'Ende einer Dienstfahrt', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 23.10.70.
- Interview: Stürmer, N.: 'Unsinnige Prozedur', *Konkret*, 14/1970.
- J.W. 'Heinrich Böll', *Mindener Tageblatt*, 10.3.70.
- Jansen, H.: 'Tod eines Priesters', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 9.5.70.
- Krüger, H.: 'Frostiger Frühling', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 19.4.70.
- Larisch, K.: 'Querfeldein durch Literatur', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 12.2.70.
- Leier, M.: 'Verkannter Böll', *Die Welt*, 8.1.70.

- Letter to the editor: Hofstetten, H.B.: 'Bravo Böll', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, Düsseldorf, 20.2.70.
- Lindmann, R.: 'Unerwartet leicht und lässig', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 10.10.70.
- Manfred L.: 'Die Taufpaten schweigen', *Die Welt*, 21.5.70.
- Moscher, M.: 'Heilige begehen Selbstmord', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 6.5.70.
- Pawek, K.: 'Mensch Mayer', *Publik*, Frankfurt 20.2.70.
- Prochnik, P.: 'Aufsätze, Kritiken, Reden', *German Life and Letters*, 24/1970.
- Rieger J.: 'Nachtgebet', *Berliner Sonntagsblatt*, Die Kirche Berlin, 8.2.70.
- Scheuch, K.: 'Ablasshandel mit der Tugend', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 13.11.70.
- Schuchardt, B.: 'Mehr Taten als Worte', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 21.3.70.
- Schultze, S.: 'In Sachen Böll', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 21.12.70.
- Schumacher, G.: 'Autor und Staatsbürger Böll', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 28.3.70.
- Schönfeld H.M.: 'In Sachen Böll', *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, 29.6.70.
- Stewens, H.: 'Die Initiatoren sollen also die Kosten tragen', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 12.9.70.
- Stiler, H.: 'Tun sich Christen schwer mit dem Lesen?', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 16.3.70.
- Sturm, V.: 'Die Nachtwache im Kölner Dom', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21.12.70.
- Thebrath, J.: 'Böll forderte Prüfung für Wehrpflichtige', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 15.5.70.
- Unger, W.: 'Weihbischof in Quarantäne', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 10.10.70.
- Vormweg, H.: 'Metaphysische Infektion', *Die Zeit*, 16.10.70.
- Zimmermann H.: 'Kleine Konkurrenz für grossen Bruder', *Frankische Tagespost*, 4.7.70.

THE WRITER'S ORGANISATIONS

- 'Böll neuer Präsident', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 19.4.70.
- 'Ganz massive Aktionen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19.1.70.
- 'In die 'insel' zieht eine neue Jury ein', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, Recklinghausen, 27.2.70.
- 'PEN-Nöte', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 24.4.70.
- 'Vorstand Passionspiel', *Die Welt*, 25.5.70.
- Albers, H.: 'Bessere Bedingungen für dichtende Arbeitnehmer', *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 19.1.70.
- Anderle, P.: 'Auf dem Weg zu einer IG Kultur?', *Publik*, 27.11.70.
- Bauer, A.: 'Kollektive sind auf Wandel aus', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 8.1.70. *Westfälische Rundschau*, 8.1.70. *Fuldaer Zeitung*, 15.1.70.
- Bauer, W.A.: 'Bürger mit Prestige', *Publikationen*, 5/70.
- Berndt, H.: 'Wenn Autoren nach ihrem Recht fragen', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 20.1.70.

- Bingel, H.: 'PEN-Club - Opas Verein?', *Publik*, 29.5.70.
- Bischoff, M.: 'Poeten flirteten mit Gewerkschaft', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 15.1.70.
- Braem, H. M.: 'Ringeln um Selbstverständnis', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 20.4.70.
- Chotjewitz, P.O.: 'Der Penclub soll nicht länger pennen', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 1.5.70.
- Drews, J.: 'Mal sehen was möglich ist', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24.11.70.
- Ernst, J.: 'Der 'links-ideologisierte' PEN-Club', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, and *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 12.6.70.
- Fuchs, G.: 'Lobby oder Kampforganisation?', *Konkret*, 25/1970.
- Gröhler, H.: 'Was Schriftstellern zu Buche schlägt', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 9.9.70.
- H.Ch.M.: 'Massive Aktion der Schriftsteller', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 6.2.70. Also in: *der literat* 3/1970.
- Hartlaub, G.: 'Frühling beim PEN', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 26.4.70.
- Hartwig H.: 'PEN wählt Böll/ Böll auf dem Präsidentenstuhl', *Die Rheinpfalz*, 20.4.70.
- Hill, W.: 'Schriftsteller als Arbeitnehmer', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 25.1.70.
- hjs: 'Schriftsteller im Lohnkampf', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 23.11.70.
- Härlin, C.: 'Geld oder Lorbeer?', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 27.11.70.
- Kiessmann, E.: 'Das Ende der Bescheidenheit ist da', *Die Welt*, 13.4.70.
- Kill, R.: 'Alles oder nichts', *Rheinische Post*, 23.11.70.
- Kirchmann, H.: 'Die Autoren wollen nur ihr Recht', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 20.1.70.
- Lange, R.: 'Schriftsteller als Partner des Politikers', *Hannoversche Allgemeine*, 23.11.70.
- Lattmann, D.: 'Schriftsteller in der Arbeitswelt', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 18.9.70.
- Leo: 'Präsident Böll', *Die Zeit*, 24.4.70.
- Loh: 'Nicht nach Seoul', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 17.7.70.
- Nolte, J.: 'Absage an den Pragmatismus?', *Die Welt*, 23.11.70.
- o: 'Böll will ein anderes PEN-Grundgesetz', *Münchener Merkur*, 22.9.70.
- RAK: 'Schriftsteller Verband zieht nach München', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, Münster, 18.2.70.
- Richter, T.: 'Die Idylle von 1921', *Publik*, 24.4.70.
- S.-F. 'DGB unterstützt VS', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6.2.70.
- Scheffel, H.: 'Autoren proben Solidarität', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.11.70.
- Scheffel, H.: 'Für die Einigkeit der Einzelgänger', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23.11.70.
- Schloz, G.: 'Nach der Bescheidenheit', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 27.11.70.
- Schultz, U.: 'Der Pen-Club - nur nobel oder auch nachlässig?', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 22.4.70.
- Schultz, U.: 'Die zwiespältige Situation des PEN', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20.4.70.

Schwerbrock, W.: 'Autoren bald unabhängig?', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 14.4.70.
 Schütte, W.: 'Existentielles Verhältnis zu Druck und Papier', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 23.11.70.
 Szekely, A. von: 'Lauter Fragezeichen', *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 27.11.70.
 Ulrici, S.: 'M. Walser spricht von IG Kultur', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 23.11.70.
 Urlich, J.: 'Der erste deutsche Schriftstellerkongress ist beendet', *Münchener Merkur*, 24.11.70.
 WoS: 'Erfolg', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11.6.70.
 Zimmer, D.E.: 'Die Schriftsteller wachen auf', *Die Zeit*, 17.4.70.

SPEECH DURING THE WEEK OF BROTHERLINESS

Text of speech *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 9.3.70.; *Saarbrücker Zeitung* 9.3.70. *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 9.3.70.
 'Brüderlichkeit ist keine Veranstaltung' *Rheinische Post*, 17.3.70.
 'Brüderlichkeit kann nicht befohlen werden' (H.B. will nicht mehr mitmachen) *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 9.3.70.
 'Brüderlichkeit und Demokratie' *Telegraph*, Berlin, 10.3.70.
 'Böll diskutiert nicht mit Polizisten' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 5.5.70.
 'Böll sprach in Köln das rechte Wort zur rechten Stunde' *Hannoversche Presse*, 10.3.70.
 'Das Zitat' *Die Welt*, 10.3.70.
 'Drittes Fernsehen: Die armen Brüder' *Rheinische Post*, 17.3.70.
 'Ehepaar mit Kindern soll Wohnungssuche schildern' u. Königsberger, O.: 'Demaskierung' *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 9.3.70.
 'Eklat zur Woche der Brüderlichkeit' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9.3.70.
 'Gemeldet aus Absurdistan', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 3.4.70.
 'Heinemann: Die Gesinnung kann nicht befohlen werden.' (Leitartikel) *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 9.3.70.
 'Heinrich Böll fragt nach den Namenlosen' Brüderlichkeit kann man nicht befehlen' *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 9.3.70.
 'Kölner Schüler diskutieren über Bölls Rede' *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 19.3.70.
 'Mahnung an die Brüderlichkeit', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.3.70.
 'Plädoyer für Minderheiten' *Die Zeit*, 13.3.70.
 Besser, J.: 'Böllereien' *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 16.3.70.
 Bischoff: 'Böll will keine Festreden mehr halten', *Abendzeitung 8 Uhr Blatt*, 10.3.70.
 Casparek, G.: 'Bölls 'Festrede': Anklage gegen sinnlose Feiern', *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 9.3.70.
 D.B.: 'Heinemann ruft zu Verantwortung auf', *Die Welt*, 9.3.70.
 Dam, H.G. von.: 'Böll hat das Recht zur Provokation!', *Westfälische Rundschau*, 16.3.70.
 Debus, E.: 'Das schlechte Gewissen lässt hoffen', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26.3.70.

- E.B.: 'Offener Brief an Heinrich Böll', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 15.5.70.
- Eberhardt, M.: 'Fragen an Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.3.70.
- Exner, R.: 'Paukenschläger Böll', *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 17.7.70.
- Fischer, G.: 'Brüderlich', *Neue Ruhr-Zeitung* 9.3.70.
- H-W.H.: 'Polizisten luden Böll zu einem Besuch ein', *Westfälische Rundschau*, 2.5.70.
- Haar, J.: 'Bitte an den Schriftsteller Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17.3.70.
- Hemmerle, J.: 'Guter Wille und Fingerspitzengefühl', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 16.3.70.
- hnj: 'Ansichten eines Clowns?', *Evangelische Kommentare*, Stuttgart, Nr. 4.70.
- Iserlohe, N.: 'Brüderlichkeit nicht nur an den Feiertagen', *Kölnische Rundschau Am Sonntag*, 15.3.70.
- Keisch, H.: 'Heinrich Bölls Fluchversuch', *Die Weltbühne*, 16/1970.
- Knorr, L.: 'Bölls Kritik einseitig?', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 21.3.70.
- Lehnhardt, K.: 'Heinrich Böll & Autor', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.70.
- Letter to the editor (3) *Die Welt*, 31.3.70.
- Letter to the editor: Adler, Hermann: 'Heinrich Böll und die Brüderlichkeit', *National Zeitung*, Basel 15.4.70.
- Letter to the editor: Balfanz, D.: 'Für die entrahmte Brüderlichkeit', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20.3.70.
- Letter to the editor: Beyl, L.: 'Grösste Anerkennung', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.70.
- Letter to the editor: Kining, A.J.: 'Böll und die Brüderlichkeit', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 24.4.70.
- Letter to the editor: Nitsche, P.Dr.: 'Die 'Absage' Heinrich Bölls', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 22.5.70.
- Letter to the editor: Scherer, Josef: 'Spitter und Balken', *Publik*, 27.3.70.
- lsw: 'Polizeischüler schreiben an Heinrich Böll', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 17.3.70.
- mr: 'Randbemerkungen', *D'Letzenburger Land*, 24.4.70.
- RAK: 'Statt Reden mehr Brüderlichkeit', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, Münster, 11.3.70.
- Ruppert, A.: 'Integration der Minderheiten', *Publik*, 3.4.70.
- s.-h.f.: 'Brüderlichkeit und Sympathie', *Telegraph*, 10.3.70.
- Schaller, G.: 'Böll und die Brüderlichkeit', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 20.3.70.
- Schmidt, H.: 'Bölls Vortrag', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 4.4.70.
- Segnitz, H.: 'CheGuevara - Starker Tabak', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.3.70.
- Sternberger, D.: 'Böll bleibt im Rahmen', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18.3.70.
- ts/dpa 'Verkannt, verfemt, geduldet?', *Hannoversche Allgemeine*, 9.3.70.
- U.S.: 'Brüderliche Besorgnis um Gastarbeiter?', *Telegraf*, Berlin 22.3.70.

Weidlich, U.: 'Schwierigkeiten mit der Brüderlichkeit', *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 18.3.70.
 Witte, F.: 'Zweimal Kritik', *Berliner Stimme*, 21.3.70.
 Zeugner, A.: 'Pompöse, nicht böse Bankfassaden', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.70.

1971

Gruppenbild mit Dame

'Bölls gebündelte Schicksale', *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 10.9.71.
 'Bücher im Gespräch', *Rhein Zeitung*, 30.10.71.
 'Gruppenbild', *Düsseldorfer Wochenspiegel*, 23/1971.
 'Heinrich Böll: Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Die Bücherkommentare*, 4/1971.
 'Instinctively satirical', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 8.10.71.
 'Literarisches Sightseeing', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15.12.71.
 Armbruster, S.: 'Ein Monument für Leni', *Allgemeine Zeitung Mainzer Allgemeine*, 7.8.71.
 Arnold, H. L.: 'Heinrich Böll Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Die Tat*, Zürich, 21.8.71.
 Barz, P.: 'Blick auf Bücher', *Westermann*, 10/1971.
 Beckert, M.: 'Deutsche Umwege zum Glück', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 3.9.71.
 Beckmann, H.: 'Leni und der Sowjetmensch', *Kultur Theologie Politik*, 42/1971.
 Beckmann, H.: 'Schade um die Kranzbinderei', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 30.7.71.
 Bock, H.B.: 'Sinnbilder der Isolation', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 24.7.71.
 Callsen, M.: 'Verschattetes Gruppenbild deutscher Mentalität', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 23.9.71.
 CH.M.: 'Rückblick in Bölls deutschen Sittenspiegel', *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 15.12.71.
 chr: 'Fiktion und fremdartiges Dokument', *Neue Presse*, 2.10.71.
 Dreykorn, P.: 'Ein Böll, der Vergnügen macht', *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 21.8.71.
 egi: 'in verkanntes Genie der Sinnlichkeit', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 10.8.71.
 Engel, W.: 'Episoden aus vier Jahrzehnten', *Kieler Nachrichten*, 3.9.71.
 Esderts, H.: 'Frau ohne Eigenschaften', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 28.8.71.
 Fuchs, P.: 'Bölls Leni - ein Einzelfall?', *Buch und Bibliothek*, 9/1971.
 Förster, M.: 'Ein neuer Böll ist auch ein guter Böll', *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, 22.7.71.
 Groningen, G.: 'Bölls kritisches Engagment', *Die Wahrheit*, 18.9.71.
 Grothmann, W.: 'Die Rolle der Religion im Menschenbild Heinrich Bölls', *The German Quarterly*, 454/1971.

- H.E.: 'Ein guter Mensch erzählt von einem guten Menschen', *Nordsee Zeitung*, 17.11.71.
- Hartlaub, G.: 'Leni und das Brot des Lebens', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 1.8.71.
- Hartlaub, G.: 'Leni und die Ihren leben noch mitten unter uns' *Die Presse*, 14.8.71.
- Hartmann, H.: 'Nur für eilige Leser nicht empfehlenswert', *Vorwärts*, 2.9.71. Also in: *Welt der Arbeit* 10.9.71.
- hb.: 'Leni - Bildnis aus einem halben Jahrhundert Zeugnissen', *Offenburger Tageblatt*, 7.11.71.
- Heuer, R.: 'Drei Deutsche dichten drei Bestseller', *Stern*, 30/1971.
- Hübner, P.: 'Verkanntes Genie der Sinnlichkeit', *Rheinische Post*, 31.7.71.
- Jansen, H.: 'Die wundersame Liebe der Leni G.', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 11.9.71.
- Johnen, H.: 'Heinrich schwärmt für rheinische Mädchen', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 6.8.71.
- K.F.: 'Ein mutiger Kloreiniger', *Marbacher Zeitung*, 17.8.71.
- K.K.: 'Heinrich Bölls Beschreibung einer Epoche', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.7.71.
- Kaiser, J.: 'Mitleidiger Naturalismus und mystische Vision', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31.7.71.
- Karsch, W.: 'Der liebevolle Ironiker Böll', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 29.8.71.
- Kraus, W.: 'Ruinen überall', *Wetzlarer Neue Zeitung*, 16.10.71.
- ksr: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame und überhaupt mit Deutschen', *Reutlinger Generalanzeiger*, 22.10.71.
- Kurz, P.K.: 'Der 'gute Mensch' als Provokation', *Die Bücherkommentare*, 4/1971.
- Kurz, P.K.: 'Besprechungen' *Stimmen der Zeit*, 11/1971.
- Königsberger, O.: 'Liebesgesang im Feuerofen', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 14.8.71.
- Maus, S.: 'Das Wunder von nebenan', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 4.12.71.
- Mayer, H.: 'Die Legende der unheiligen Leni Gruyten', *Die Weltwoche*, Zürich, 10.9.71.
- Meissner, T.: 'Es riecht nach Beton', *Abendzeitung 8Uhr Blatt*, 6.8.71.
- Moschner, M.: 'Zwischen Köln und Kleve' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 22.7.71.
- Müller-Bringmann, W.: 'Die Liebe des Heinrich Böll', *Fränkisches Volksblatt*, 23.11.71.
- Müller-Bringmann, W.: 'Kommentar zum Kuturgeschehen', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 20.10.71.
- Müller-Gögler, M.: '"Verf." mit literarischen Clownerien', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 2.10.71.
- Neubert, K.: 'Eine sinnliche Madonna', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 1.8.71.
- Nolte, J.: 'Das vielfache Nein des Heinrich Böll', *Die Welt*, 5.8.71.
- Orzechowski, L.: 'Die Stunde der Tasse Kaffee', *Hessische Allgemeine*, 14.8.71.
- P.H.: 'Das Na-Ja-Mädchen Leni', *Rheinische Post*, 22.7.71.

- Petersen, J.: 'Heinrich Böll. Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 3/1971.
- Rath, H.: 'Der "reine Tor" als Alternative?', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 14.10.71.
- Raus, M.: 'Die Beweiskraft der Phantasie', *D'Letzenburger Land*, 17.9.71.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nachdenken über Leni G.', *Die Zeit*, 6.8.71.
- Richter, W.: 'Das Protokoll einer Menschwerdung', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 14.8.71.
- Rohde, H.: 'Die zeitkritisch verpackte Leni-Legende', *Die Bücherkommentare*, 4/1971.
- Ross, W.: 'Köln- mehr von oben gesehen', *Publik*, 13.8.71.
- rw: 'Leni - ein deutsches Märchen', *Junge Stimme*, 7.8.71.
- Röhl, R.: 'Mutmassungen über die Blechjahre' *Konkret*, 17/1971.
- Sager, P.: 'Gruppenbild mit Rauchern', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 24.12.71.
- Schaar, U.: 'Gesellschaftskritik mit Leni', *Telegraph*, 12.9.71.
- Scheller, W.: 'Heinrich Bölls harte Nuss', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 23.8.71. Also in: *Trierischer Volksfreund*, 24.8.71. Also in: *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 9.9.71.
- Schmitt-Rost, H.: 'Böll, der Rheinländer', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 1.12.71.
- Schreiber, M.: 'Kaltblütige Herzlichkeit einer rheinischen Madonna', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 22.7.71.
- Schultz, U.: 'Radikale Chronik der Nachkriegszeit', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 20.8.71.
- Schultze, S.: 'Schreiblust, die zur Schreibwut wurde', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 14.8.71.
- Schwab-Felisch, H.: 'Wie man dokumentarisch erzählen kann', *Merkur*, 9/1971.
- Schäfer, J.: 'Lebensläufe', *Der Abend*, 21.9.71.
- Schüler, G.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Göttinger Tageblatt*, 11.9.71.
- Sinhuber, B.: 'Böll-Klatsch', *Tageszeitung*, 17.8.71.
- Tank, K.L.: 'Gruppenbild mit Böll', *Welt am Sonntag*, 1.8.71.
- Ulrich, J.: 'Der neue Böll und sein "Verf."', *Münchner Merkur*, 7.8.71.
- Vetter, W.: 'Die Deutschstunde Heinrich Bölls', *Badische Zeitung*, 5.8.71.
- Wolff, D.: 'Wer ist Leni Pfeiffer?', *Weser Kurier*, 24.8.71.
- Zimmer, W.: '400 Seiten Tratsch über Leni', *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 13.8.71.

Later reviews:

- 'Eine Tasse Kaffee - politisch', *Berliner Sonntagsblatt Die Kirche*, 9.4.72.
- Arnold, H. L.: 'Fiktive Berichterstattung II, Heinrich Bölls Roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame* und einige Marginalien zu seinen Kritikern', in: Arnold, H.L.: *Brauchen wir noch die Literatur?* Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, Düsseldorf, 1972.

- Bernath A.: 'Zur Stellung des Romans' *Gruppenbild mit Dame* in Bölls Werk', in: Matthaei, R. (Hrsg.): *Die Subversive Madonna*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1975.
- Bernath, A.: 'Gruppenbild mit Dame - Eine neue Phase im Schaffen Bölls', *Dortmunder Vorträge*, Ht 107,
- Bernhard, H. J.: 'Der Clown als "Verf."', in: Arnold, H.L. (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur aus Methoden*, Bd.1, Athenäum, 1973.
- Bernhard, H. J.: 'Es gibt sie nicht und es gibt sie', in: Matthaei, R. op.cit. p.58-81.
- Carlson, I.L.: 'Heinrich Bölls *Gruppenbild mit Dame* als frohe Botschaft der Weltverbrüderung', *University of Dayton Review*, 11.2.1972.
- del: 'Bölls facettenreiche Bilanz', *Main Post*, 25.7.72.
- Durzak, M.: 'Entfaltung oder Reduktion des Erzählers? Vom "Verf." des Gruppenbildes zum Berichterstatte der Katharina Blum', in: *Queensland Studies in German Language and Literature* Bd. V., 1975
- Durzak, M.: 'Leistungsverweigerung als Utopie?' in: Matthaei, R. op.cit.
- Durzak, M.: Interview with Böll: 'Ich tendiere nur zu dem scheinbar unpolitischen', in: Durzak, M.: *Gespräche über den Roman*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1976, p.129-176.
- Just, G.: 'Ästhetik des Humanen - oder Humanum ohne Ästhetik?' in: *Queensland Studies in German Language and Literature*, Bd. V., 1975.
- Kaiser, H.: 'Die Botschaft der Sprachlosigkeit in Heinrich Bölls Roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *Wirkendes Wort*, 4/1978.
- Kraus, W.: 'Ruinen überall', *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, 24.2.72.
- Kurz, Paul, Konrad: 'Gruppenbild', in: *Über moderne Literatur* 4/1973.
- Pickar, G.: 'The impact of narrative perspective on character portrayal in three novels of Heinrich Böll', *University of Dayton Review*, 2/1974.
- Rieck, W.: 'Heinrich Böll in der Rolle des Rechercheurs - Gedanken zur Erzählweise im Roman *Gruppenbild mit Dame*', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Pädagogische Hochschule KARL LIEBKNECHT* Potsdam, 2/1974.
- Schmidt, D.: 'Ein Gruppenbild als Fleckerlteppich', *Neue Musikzeitung*, 4.5.72.
- Vogt, J.: '.. die ganze Last dieser Geschichte', in: *Heinrich Böll*, Beck, München, 1978, p.102-117.
- Ziolkowski, T. 'Typologie und 'Einfache Form'', in: Matthaei, R. op.cit. p.123-140.

Verein Deutscher Schriftsteller

- 'Böll, Baader, der Staat und die 30er Jahre', *Rheinische Post*, 27.3.71.
- 'Keine Kirchensteuer und trotzdem in der Kirche', *Der Aufstieg*, Wiesbaden, Nr. 4, 1971.
- Alt, J.: 'Besuch bei unseren Dichtern', *Die Zeit*, 4.4.71.
- Bauer, A.: 'Köpfe, Wege und Ziele', *Fränkische Landeszeitung*, 3.4.71.

- Bock, H.B.: 'Pornographie und Klassenkampf', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 21.4.71.
- Bock/Fenn: 'Beginn eines Dialogs', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 19.4.71.
- Braem, H.M.: 'Porno, Klassenkampf und Schriftsteller', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 19.4.71.
- Colberg, K.: 'Vom Parnass herab ins profane Leben', *Tageblatt, Heidelberger Tageblatt*, 20.4.71.
- Drewitz, I.: 'PEN, Pornographie und Dürer', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 2.4.71.
- Eisenführ, A.: 'Die Pornographie liess auch die Dichter und Denker nicht ruhen', *Abendpost*, 20.4.71.
- Eisenführ, A.: 'Pornographie heute', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 20.4.71.
- Fischer, G.: 'Bringt 'Porno' Freiheit oder Zwang zum Konsum?', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 19.4.71.
- FR/dpa: 'Nichts Neues zum Thema', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 20.4.71.
- G.S.: 'Heinrich Böll Fürsprecher der Politikriminellen', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 9.4.71.
- Kaiser, J.: 'PEN-Club und Pornographie', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19.4.71.
- Lattmann, D.: 'Schwierig, ein Gesetz zu ändern', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20.2.71.
- Leonhardt, R.W.: 'PEN und Pornographie', *Die Zeit*, 23.4.71.
- Schultz, U.: 'Aufräumarbeiten im deutschen PEN', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 23.4.71.
- Schultze, S.: 'Der PEN-Club, die Politik und die Pornographie', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 24.4.71.
- Schwinn, R.: 'Böll: 'Der Dialog hat erst begonnen'', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 29.4.71.
- U.S.: 'Quo vadis PEN?', *Die Welt*, 20.4.71.
- upi/dpa: 'Apostel Paulus und de Sade trafen in Nürnberg aufeinander', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 20.4.71.
- W.U.: 'Für die Freiheit der Meinung', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 19.4.71.

1971 other articles

- 'BÖLL Auflagen', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 10.8.71.
- 'Ist Böll höher gestiegen?', *Rheinische Abendpost*, 17.9.71.
- 'Krimi-Kinderbuch von Böll', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 29.7.71.
- 'Kritik-Kritik', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 17.2.71.
- 'Man mag es kaum glauben', *Buchreport*, 14/1971.
- 'Moskau lobt Heinrich Böll', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 19.11.71.
- 'Neu in Reihen', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 26.2.71.
- B.M.: 'In Sachen Böll', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 4.3.71.
- Br.: 'Böll - mit leichter Hand', *Rheinische Post*, 16.3.71.
- Damm, C.: 'Phantasie als Beweismittel', *Das Deutsche Wort*, 6/1971.

- del: 'Bölls facettenreiche Bilanz', *Main Post*, 25.7.72.
- Doppler, D.: 'Gewerkschaft Minne und Pergament', *Die Zeit*, 18.6.71.
- Fromm, E.-U.: 'Gruppenbild nicht in Moskau', *Die Welt*, 12.11.71.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Tageszeitung*, 31.7.71.
- Harmssen, H.: 'Nach Lenz nun Heinrich Böll', *Nordsee Zeitung*, 2.2.71.
- Interview: Courts, G.: 'Meine Heldin soll kein Image haben', *Publik*, 13.8.71.
- Interview: FR: 'Manche Sachbücher sind erfundener als mancher Roman', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.7.71.
- Interview: Schreiber, M.: 'Liebe ist sein Lieblingsthema', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 22.7.71.
- Jahnen, H.: 'Die Erstauflage ist schon weg', *Badische Zeitung*, 24.7.71.
- Johnen, H.: 'Schon 50000mal verkauft: Bölls dicke 'Dame'', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 20.7.71.
- kar: 'Sagt, was faul an diesem Staate ist!', *Junge Stimme*, 16.1.71.
- Kurz, K. P.: 'Böll nicht versöhnt', *Stimmen der Zeit*, 2/1971.
- Letter to the editor: Hain, M.: 'Ein Gruppenbild aus eigenwilliger Sicht', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.12.71.
- Letter to the editor: Ravenstein, E. von: 'Böll - antikatholisch?', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.12.71.
- Letter to the editor: Weigand, G.: 'Recht auf ein wenig Musse', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 16.6.71.
- Neubert, K.: 'Besteller-partys sind nichts für Heinrich Böll', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 23.7.71.
- Neubert, K.: 'Bestseller Party für Böll', *Rheinzeitung*, 26.7.71.
- P.W.W.: 'Ohrfeigen und Rosen', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 8.10.71.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Bölls grosser Wurf', *Wuppertaler Stadtanzeiger*, 2.12.71.

1972

- 'Böll gegen SWF', *Neue Presse*, 31.1.72.
- 'Böll gegen ZDF', *Baseler Nachrichten*, 12.2.72.
- 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.2.72.
- 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 9.2.72.
- 'Böll stellt seine Mitarbeit beim Südwestfunk ein', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 26.1.72.
- 'Böll wehrt sich gegen Angriffe', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 29.1.72.
- 'Böll wieder ins Ausland', *Lübecker Nachrichten*, 10.2.72.
- 'Ein Artikel und seine Folgen', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 18.2.72.
- 'Ein Teil des öffentlichen Gewissens', *Pforzheimer Zeitung*, 17.2.72.
- 'Hans Habe antwortet Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 29.1.72.

- 'Junge Union rügt Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.1.72.
- 'Kann Protest schaden?', *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- 'Linke Buchhandlungen dienen als Treffpunkte', *Die Welt*, 25.2.72.
- 'Man muss zu weit gehen', *Tagesspiegel*, 30.1.72.
- 'Namensvettern', *Siegener Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- 'Nur sanft geböllert', *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, 21.1.72.
- 'Petit victor', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 21.1.72.
- 'Politiker widersprechen Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17.1.72.
- 'Scharfe Kritik an Heinrich Böll', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.1.72.
- 'Sehr geehrter Herr Böll', *Neue Bildpost*, 23.1.72.
- 'Sternberger Heinrich Böll und der Staat', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3.2.72.
- 'Wann ist eine Bande eine Bande, Herr Böll?' *Bild*, 31.1.72.
- 'Wer Faschist ist bestimmt Herr Böll', *Bild*, 29.1.72.
- '1380 Unterschriften für Böll', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1.7.72.
- 'Böll gegen', *SWF Neue Presse*, 31.1.72.
- 'Böll kauft ein Stück Insel', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 30.10.72.
- 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.2.72.
- 'Böll klagt gegen Löwenthal', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 9.2.72.
- 'Böll wehrt sich gegen Angriffe', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 29.1.72.
- 'Böll-Nobelpreisträger?', *Deutsche Nationalzeitung*, 18.8.72.
- 'Böll: Ich kann in diesem Land nicht arbeiten' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 14.6.72.
- 'Böllereien', *Welt Der Arbeit*, 15.12.72.
- 'Bölls Klage', *Schleswiger Nachrichten*, 21.6.72.
- 'Bölls politische Position', *Neue Zeit*, 25.10.72.
- 'Ein klärendes Wort', *Berliner Liberale Zeitung*, 30.6.72.
- 'Endlich brach er sein Schweigen', *Neue Bildpost*, 5.12.72.
- 'Gegen jede Hexenjagd sich zur Wehr setzen', *Die Tat*, 24.6.72.
- 'Genscher antwortet Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23.6.72.
- 'Genscher begründete Einsatz bei Böll', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 23.6.72.
- 'Hans Habe antwortet Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 29.1.72.
- 'Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11.1.72.
- 'Heinrich Böll: Hans Habe hat Existenz-Angst', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 29.1.72.
- 'Ich habe einfach meine Konsequenzen gezogen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 29.2.72.
- 'In Sachen Heinrich Böll', *Welt am Sonntag*, 6.2.72.
- 'Int/Mersebuger', *Publikation 1/72 Reprint of Int Panorama*, 10.1.72.
- 'Junge Union rügt Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.1.72.

'Kann Protest schaden?' *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
 'Links sein ist nicht genug', *Die Welt*, 24.1.72.
 'Man muss zu weit gehen', *Tagesspiegel*, 30.1.72.
 'Nobelpreis für den Mörderfreund Böll', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 27.10.72.
 'Politiker widersprechen Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17.1.72.
 'Scharfe Kritik an Heinrich Böll', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.1.72.
 'Schwarze Schafe', *Schleswiger Nachrichten*, 20.6.72.
 'Sehr geehrter Herr Böll', *Neue Bildpost*, 23.1.72.
 'Sternberger Heinrich Böll und der Staat', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3.2.72.
 'Stolz auf Ehrung', *Offenbach Post*, 11.11.72.
 'Ulrike Meinhof bombt weiter', *Deutsche National Zeitung*, 16.6.72.
 'Vulgarität der Sprache', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 25.11.72.
 'Wann ist eine Bande eine Bande, Herr Böll?' *Bild*, 31.1.72.
 'Was im Hause Böll am 1 Juli geschehen ist', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 14.6.72.
 'Wer Faschist ist betimmt Herr Böll', *Bild*, 29.1.72.
 'Wer Schläge austeilt muss Schläge einstecken - auch Herr Böll', *Bild*, 15.6.72.
 'Wählerinitiative', *Einheit*, 20.72.
 'Zunehmend Hinweise aus der Unterwelt', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 13.6.72.
 'Zur Solidarität mit Heinrich Böll aufgerufen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20.6.72.

Ahrens, W.: 'Die Bölls sind gefährlicher als Baader-Meinhof', *Quick*, 6/1972
 Aichinger, I. et al.: 'Solidarisch mit Böll', *Nationale Zeitung*, 10.7.72.
 Amery, C.: 'Himmlisches Gutachten über einen christlichen Dichter', *Die Zeit*, 4.2.72.
 Andersch A, et al.: 'Schriftsteller an den Bundestag', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.6.72.
 Andersch, A. et al.: 'Autoren solidarisieren sich mit Böll', *Aachener Nachrichten*, 15.6.72.
 Arnold, H. L.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Folgen', *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*, 'Journal 3', 3tes Programm, 23.2.72.
 ASD.: 'Finanzamt pfändete Bölls Kirchensteuer', *Die Welt*, 6.10.72.

Bader, I.: 'Eine Lanze für Hans Habe', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.2.72.
 Bartholy, G.: 'Zum Beispiel Böll', *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 24.6.72.
 Bauer, A.: 'Pluralistischer Club', *Rheinische Post*, 10.4.72.
 Bauer, R.: 'Der Schriftsteller untergräbt selbst seine Glaubwürdigkeit', *Rheinische Post*, 13.1.72.
 Becker, C.: 'Rheinischer Frohsinn wich grosser Empörung', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 5.4.72.

- Beckmann, H.: 'Wieso Heinrich Böll?' *Rheinischer Merkur*, 27.10.72.
- Bernhard, H-J.: 'Der Clown als 'Verf'', *Neue Deutsche Hefte* 20.4.1972. Also in: Arnold, H-L.: *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur aus Methoden* BD.1, 1973.
- Besser, J.: 'Selten so geheuchelt', *Vorwärts*, 15.6.72.
- Bock, P.: 'Gruppenbid einer Buchgemeinschaft', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 28/9.11.72.
- Bodewig H: 'Böll wieter in der Schusslinie', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 4.7.72.
- Bohrer, K.H.: 'Faschismus-Vorwurf', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.1.72.
- Bohrer, K.H.: 'Staatsräson und Moral', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.2.72.
- Bollmann, W.: 'Ein Privileg für Heinrich Böll', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 23.6.72.
- Borries, A.: 'Einseitig, irreführend, verhetzend', *Vorwärts*, 16.3.72.
- Bär, W.: 'Ein Rebell gegen Sattheit und Lüge', *Die Tat*, 21.11.72.
- Bönisch, G.: 'Ein Stückchen Rathaus stibitzt', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 30.12.72.
- C.J.N.: 'Intellektuelle Clownerie', *Deutsche Einheit*, 12.2.72.
- Carlson, I.L.: 'Heinrich Bölls Gruppenbild mit Dame als frohe Botschaft der Weltverbrüderung', *University of Dayton Review*, 2/1972.
- Dammers R.(itg): 'Böll II bangt um sein Leben', *National Zeitung*, (Basel) 8.3.72.
- dpa: 'Böll: Man muss zu weit gehen', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 31.1.72.
- dpa: 'Rechtsstreit Böll-Löwenthal vorläufig beendet', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 30.3.72.
- Durzak, M.: 'Heinrich Bölls epische Summe? Zur Analyse und Wirkung seines Romans *Gruppenbild*.' *Basis* 3/1972.
- E.St.: 'Das Spiel der Desporados', *Evangelische Kommentare*, 3/1972
- D.H.: 'Grass und Böll auf Wahlreisen', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.10.72.
- deh.: 'Schriftsteller Böll Es ist Alarmstufe 1', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 30.9.72.
- df: 'Böll: Die Gewalt liegt auf der Bank', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 16.10.72.
- dpa.: 'Alarmstufe eins', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 4.10.72.
- dpa.: 'Böll will sich weiter von der Kirche pfänden lassen', *Der Tagespiegel*, 8.10.72.
- dpa: 'Nobelpreis für Böll?' *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 23.6.72.
- F.R. 'Böllerei', *Theater Rundschau*, 2.72.
- Falconi, S.: 'Der Verfolgte Heinrich Böll', *Die Welt* 30.6.72.
- Falk, N.: 'PPS', *Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.

- Falkenau, P.: 'Heinrich Bölls Meinungsfreiheit', *Offenbach Post*, 27.1.72.
- Fetscher/Böll: 'Heinrich Böll und die Springer-Meute', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 17.2.72.
- Fisch, H.: 'Litanei der Ängste', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 2.3.72.
- FR.: 'Verhärtete Fronten', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27.1.72.
- Frank-Planitz, U.: 'Letzte Parole - verhaftet oder tot' (SüdWestFunk 24.1.72.). Reprint in *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 28.1.72.
- G.B.: 'Bölls Meinungsfreiheit', *Tagesanzeiger/Regensburg*, 26.1.72.
- G.T.: 'Der politisierende Böll', *Münchener Merkur*, 25.2.72. Lth: 'Böll in Moskau', *Darmstädter Tagesblatt*, 25.2.72.
- Gehrmann, K.: 'Böll: Baader/Meinhof sollen sich stellen', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 28.1.72.
- Genscher, H.D.: 'Wir werden keinen Millimeter Weg des Rechts abweichen', *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 23.5.72.
- Grass, G.: 'Wiederholter Versuch', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5-6.2.72.
- Grimminger, P.: 'Nicht mehr als ein besserwisserischer Nörgler', *Deutsche National Zeitung*, 22.12.72.
- Gärtner, W.: 'Heinrich Böll', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 21.3.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Böll hat sein Pen-Amt missbraucht', *Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Der Verrat der Intellektuellen', *Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 12.2.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 18.3.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 19.2.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 16.6.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Tageszeitung*, 12.2.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Tageszeitung*, 20.2.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Namensvettern', *Siegener Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Treten Sie ab, Herr Böll,' *Welt am Sonntag*, 16.1.72.
- Habe, H.: 'Ein Rückzug in Richtung Piedestal', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5-6.2.72.
- hak: 'Rückzieher', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 18.2.72.
- Halbe, T.: 'Freiheit der Intellektuellen ein Freibrief?', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21.6.72.
- Hantel, H.M.: 'Herr Böll scheint in Verlegenheit', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 21.6.72.
- Hartlaub, G.: 'Die Naivität des Guten', *Deutsches Allgemeines Adenblatt*, 25.6.72.
- hbb: 'Hans Habe hat Existenz-Angst', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 29.1.72.
- hdk: 'Böll-Klitterei', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 13.10.72.
- Heinemann, F.J.: 'In Sachen Böll gegen Löwenthal', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 30.3.72.
- hesch: 'Nobelpreisträger Böll', *Mannheimer Morger*, 25.11.72.

- Hochgürtle, W.: 'Gib nicht auf Ulrike!', *Neue Politik*, 8.1972.
- Hofmann, G.: 'Heinrich Böll fühlt sich angeschossen', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 14.6.72.
- Höhler, H.: 'Ein Engel namens Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.2.72.
- ihl: 'Wieder Krach um Löwenthal', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9.2.72.
- Interview: 'Heinrich Böll im Gespräch; zu 2 Publikationen über den Schriftsteller', *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.2.72.
- Interview: 'Ich habe einfach meine Konsequenzen gezogen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 29.2.72.
- Interview: Fetscher/Böll 'Heinrich Böll und die Springer-Meute', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 17.2.72.
- Interview: Merseburger 'Panorama' in: *Publikation*, 10.1.72.
- Interview: Merseburger/Böll 'Heinrich Böll und der Fall Bukowski', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- Iserlohe, N.: 'Der Einzelkämpfer Böll macht es den Kritikern zu leicht', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 27.1.72.
- J.K.: 'Vom Umgang mit Gegnern', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21.4.72.
- jo.: 'Strauss: Preis Missbrauch', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 20.10.72.
- Kaiser, J.: 'Neue Lage im westdeutschen Pen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10.4.72.
- Kaiser, J.: 'Ein unfeierlicher wird gefeiert', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20.10.72.
- Kaltwasser, U.: 'Heinrich Böll den Diebstahl verziehen', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 30.12.72.
- Karl, E.J.: 'Heinrich Bölls Krokodilstränen', *Bayern Kurier*, 24.6.72.
- Karsch, W.: 'In neuer Entwicklungsphase?', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 11.4.72.
- Karsch, W.: 'Themen mit einiger Brisanz', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 12.4.72.
- Kern, E.: 'Schluss mit den roten Schreibtischtätern', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 9.6.72.
- Klunker, H.: 'Auf der Suche nach der Mitmenschlichkeit', *Deutsche Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 15.10.72.
- Korte, R.: 'Zwischen Polizei und Politik', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 2.10.72.
- Krechel, U.: 'Die Schnecke will das Tanzen lernen', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 15.11.72.
- Kremp, H.: 'Der Hässliche und der heilige Sozialismus', *Die Welt*, 16.10.72.
- Kremp, H.: 'Der Krieg von sechs gegen sechzig Millionen', *Die Welt*, 3.6.72.
- Krämer-Badoni, R.: 'Anarcho-Böll', *Darmstädter Echo*, 15.1.72.
- Krämer-Badoni, R.: 'Warum sagt Böll nicht die Wahrheit?', *Die Welt*, 16.2.72.
- Kubitza, W.: 'Böll ist kein Linksextremist', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 29.2.72.

- Kurylo, F.: 'Tünnes und Böll', *Die Zeit*, 14.4.72.
 Kölsch.: 'Lieber Herr Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 15.6.72.
 Köpcke, J.: 'Sie können sich winden, wie sie wollen Herr Merseburger: Die Baader Meinhof Bande ist links!' *Aktuelle Woche*, 9.72.
- Lange, M.: 'Kommentar zum Kulturgesehen', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 28.1.72.
 Letter to the editor (2) *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 24.6.72.
 Letter to the editor (2): *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5-6.2.72.
 Letter to the editor (2) Graf: 'Neues Feindbild' Velten: 'Der böse Heinrich', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 9.3.72.
 Letter to the editor (3) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7.2.72.
 Letter to the editor (3) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18.2.72.
 Letter to the editor (4) *Neue Ruhe Zeitung*, 27.10.72.
 Letter to the editor (5): *Kölnische Rundschau*, 21.6.72.
 Letter to the editor (6) *Kölnische Rundschau*, 30.6.72.
 Letter to the editor (8) 'Dank und Kritik an Böll', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 30.6.72.
 Letter to the editor: (8) 'Die Irrwege des Heinrich Böll', *Welt am Sonntag*, 23.1.72.
 Letter to the editor: (11) *Die Welt*, 16.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: (12) *Die Welt*, 16.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: (2) 'Heinrich Böll und die Baader-Meinhof-Leute', *Kirche Und Leben*, 13.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: Bader, I.: 'Eine Lanze für Hans Habe', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: Krämer-Badoni, R. *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 24.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: Müller, G.: 'Die Rosstäuscher', *Passauer Neue Presse*, 18.2.72.
 Letter to the editor: Weiland, A.: 'Lautstarke Proteste haben keinen Sinn', *Die Welt*, 25.2.72.
 Lange, M.: 'Kommentar zum Kulturgesehen', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 28.1.72.
 Lindenberg, R.: 'Unversöhnt nach Hornberger Schiessen', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 1.4.72.
 Lehmann, S.: 'Heinrich Böll', *Rheinische Post*, 20.6.72.
 Lenz, S.: 'Böll, oder die Kunst, Anstoss zu nehmen', *Westfälische*, 31.12.72.
 Lerchbacher, H.: 'Bunderpräsident stellt sich vor Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17.11.72.
 Linder, C.: 'Ein neues Klima der Lynchjustiz bahnt sich an', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 29.4.72.
 Lutz, E.: 'Dank an Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 21.6.72.
- Maier, W.: 'Kampfansage und Ironie', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.11.72.
 Marin, L.: 'Ehrabschneider?', *Vorwärts*, 3.2.72.
 Martini, W.: 'Literaten als Kriminalpolitiker', *Esslinger Zeitung*, 20.1.72.
 Mayer, W.J.: 'Böll und die Fraktion der Gewalt', *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 5.2.72.

- mdr.: 'Böll, Bild und Baader-Meinhof', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- Merseburger Böll: 'Heinrich Böll und der Fall Bukowski', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12.1.72.
- Michaelis, E.: 'Betroffenheit und Überdruß', *Rhein Zeitung*, 15.7.72.
- Michaelis, E.: 'Heinrich Böll, der Moralist, und der Brandstifter', *Rhein Zeitung*, 12.2.72.
- mls: 'Heidelberg bietet Brückner demonstrativ Gastprofessur an', *Die Welt*, 11.2.72.
- Morgenstern, K.: 'Max von der Grün wittert Manipulation', *Aachener Nachrichten*, 11.4.72.
- Morgenstern, K.: 'Neuwahlen beim Pen-Zentrum', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7.4.72.
- MP.: 'Erneute Vorwürfe Hans Habes', *Main Post*, 29.1.72.
- Musulini, J.: 'Trotzdem Böll die Treue bewahren', *Die Presse*, 4.2.72.
- Mytze, A.W.: 'Böll als Beispiel', *Berliner Liberale Zeitung*, 20.5.72. Also in: *Baseler Nachrichten*, 4.5.72.
- Mytze, A.W.: 'Der Intellektuelle im Kreuzfeuer', *Baseler Nachrichten*, 29.6.72.
- Mytze, A.W.: 'Ohne Rücksicht auf Verluste', *Berliner Stimme*, 28.10.72.
- Müller-Gögler M: 'Heinrich Böll sucht nach der Gegenkultur', *Lindauer Zeitung*, 14.4.72.
- Müller-Reinig, H.: 'Anwalt einer besseren Welt', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 5.10.72.
- Müller-Reinig, H.: 'Böll: Leise und unkonventionell..', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 5.10.72.
- Münch, I.: 'Landtag des Lächelns', *Die Zeit*, 14.7.72.
- NZ: 'Antrag gegen H. Habe', *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 28.1.72.
- Noack, H.J.: 'Mann für Mann wurde der harte Kern ausgeliefert', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19.6.72.
- ob: 'Krämer-Badoni kontra Heinrich Böll', *Giessener Allgemeine*, 13.1.72.
- Ohff, H.: 'Heinrich Böll und wir', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 6.2.72.
- p.p. 'Wenn Böll differenziert', *Münchner Merkur*, 4.10.72.
- P.W.: 'Böll findet Brandts Vorwurf der Korruption sehr 'unglücklich'', *Die Welt*, 5.10.72.
- Paul, W.: 'Die linke Fraktion trumpfte auf in Dortmund', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 10.4.72.
- Paul, W.: 'Scharfe Debatten um Politik und Personen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 8.4.72.
- Pickel, K-H.: 'Von Stund an', *Rhein Zeitung*, 27.10.72.
- Poweleit, K.: 'Man wird an schlimmste Zeiten erinnert', *Die Wahrheit*, 5.7.72.
- ptn.: 'Konflikt auf der Buchmesse', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.10.72.
- R.W.: 'Ansichten eines Politclowns', *Deutsche National Zeitung*, 7.4.72.
- Reitze, P.F.: 'Heinrich Böll oder der Verlust des Augenmasses', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 20.10.72.

- Rieber, H.: 'Wer liess Heinrich Bölls Haus durchsuchen?' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12.6.72.
- Roesner, W.: 'Gestörter Betriebsfrieden', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.2.72.
- Rummel, A.: 'Kulturpolitischer Kommentar', *Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Saarländischer Rundfunk*, 18.2.72.
- Scharnagl, W.: 'Demaskierter Böll', *Bayern Kurier*, 15.1.72.
- Scharnagl, W.: 'Mitleid mit Böll', *Bayern Kurier*, 5.2.72.
- Scharsach, H.: 'Ringwald lud Böll ein', *Offenbach Post*, 11.8.72.
- Schenke, W.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Mädchen des Überstaates', *Neue Politik*, 12.2.72.
- Schloz, G.: 'Der gute Mensch von Köln', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 27.10.72.
- Schloz, G.: 'Wenn Böll nun schweigt', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 4.2.72.
- Schmitz, H.: 'Sonderrecht für Böll?', *Express Köln*, 12.2.72.
- Schoeck, H.: 'Wenn ausgerechnet Böll vom Hetz-Klima spricht', *Welt am Sonntag*, 18.6.72.
- Schon, K.G.: 'Der Bumerang des Heinrich Böll', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 15.6.72.
- Schoppe, F.: 'Böll und seine Folgen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 15.4.72.
- Schreiber, M.: 'Ich brauche den Gegner nicht', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 25.11.72.
- Schreiber, M.: 'Im geliehenen Frack zur grossen Ehrung', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 11.12.72.
- Schruff, S.: 'Für die Kirche kein Geld übrig', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 7.10.72.
- Schröter, H.: 'An ein Streitgespräch war bei 13 Diskutanten nicht zu denken', *Westfälische Rundschau*, 10.4.72.
- Schröter, H.: 'Pen-club kennt keine trennenden Grenzen', *Westfälische Rundschau*, 7.4.72.
- Schwab-Felisch, H.: 'Im Zeichen kritischer Toleranz', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.4.72.
- Schwab-Felisch, H.: 'Kritische Kronik' WDR, 11.2.72.
- Schäble, G.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Moral', *Badische Zeitung*, 20.10.72.
- Schön, W.: 'Der gehetzte Böll', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 23.6.72.
- Schütt, P.: 'Gibt es in der BRD eine Zensur?' *Unsere Zeitung*, 14.4.72.
- Schütte, W.: 'Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13.1.72.
- sga.: 'Filbinger rügt Bölls pol Äusserungen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5.10.72.
- sno.: 'Krieg ist kein harmloses Wort', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 1.2.72.
- Sternberger, D.: 'Böll der Staat und die Gnade', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.2.72.
- Stütz, H.: 'Die Springerhatz auf Heinrich Böll', *Unsere Zeit*, 11.2.72.
- Suhrbier, H.: 'Böll: Ich will Sie nicht angreifen, ich will Ihnen das erklären', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5.10.72.

SWF: 'Südwestfunk weist Behauptung Heinrich Bölls zurück', *Badisches Tageblatt*, 27.1.72.

Taudien, R.: 'Terror gegen 'die Bölls'', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 17.2.72.

Tern, J.: 'Heinrich Böll und sein Blössen', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 12.2.72.

UFP.: 'Heinrich Böll und die CSU', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 13.10.72.

Vormweg, H.: 'Ein Club wird zum Forum', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10.4.72.

Weber, M.: 'Dafür haben sie Böll prämiert', *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 3.11.72.

Wegener, H.: 'Der Fall Böll und das Gruppenbild', *Weser Kurier*, 5.2.72.

Wg.: 'Literatur und Politik', *Täglicher Anzeiger*, 15.7.72.

Wüllenweber, H.: 'Am liebsten spricht Böll von Anhängern der Union', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 6.10.72.

Wüllenweber, H.: 'SPD-Lokomotive ohne Parteibuch', *Tageblatt Ausg. Stadt Heidelberger Tageblatt*, 6.10.72.

Zehm, G.: 'Die verspätete Wehleidigkeit', *Die Welt* 14.6.72.

Zimmermann, H.: 'Wird die Bande bevorzugt behandelt?' *Welt am Sonntag*, 30.1.72.

1973

'Alleingang führt in die Sackgasse', *Welt Der Arbeit*, 7.9.73.

'Anschlag gegen die Freiheit', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 29.5.73.

'Autorenbuchhandlung fängt an', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7.11.73.

'Böll als Gesellschaftskritiker', *Münchner Merkur*, 16.1.73.

'Böll bei Brandt', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13.9.73.

'Böll spricht von "Hexenjagd" über Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe', *Kleine Zeitung Klagenfurt*, 6.4.73.

'Böll warnt vor Verfolgung der Intellektuellen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24.9.73.

'Böll wird nicht mehr kandidieren' *Kieler Nachrichten* 7.11.73.

'Böll zur Lage in der UDSSR', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.9.73.

'Böll zur Ost-West-Kultur', *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, 17.7.73.

'Böll-Buch Jahresbestseller', *Volkszeitung Klagenfurt*, 16.2.73.

'Bölls Klage', *Deutsche Gemeinschaft und Freie Nation*, 24.73.

- 'CDU-Anbiederung an Grass und Böll', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 11.4.73.
- 'Die Heuchler sind unter uns', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 11.4.73.
- 'Die Vernunft der Poesie', *Süd-Ost Tagespost Graz*, 5.5.73.
- 'Fauler Böll', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 26.1.73.
- 'Fünf vor zwölf (satire auf Böll)', *Münchener Merkur*, 1.4.73.
- 'Heinrich Böll bleibt am Ball', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 7.11.73.
- 'Heinrich Böll irrt', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 13.9.73.
- 'Heinrich Böll: Ein Dank an die russische Literatur', *Tv-Hören und Sehen*, 17.73.
- 'Maximow an Heinrich Böll', *Die Welt*, 4.9.73. Also in: *Berliner Morgenpost*, 23.8.73, *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, 25.8.73.
- 'Plädoyer für die Poesie', *Neue Hannoversche*, 3.5.73.
- 'Politische Attacken des 'guten Heinrich'', *Fränkisches Volksblatt*, 8.8.73.
- 'Schau mit Werken Bölls', *Leverkusener Anzeiger*, 7.11.73.
- 'Unbeliebte Kirchensteuer', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 28.12.70.
- 'Wieviel verdiente Heinrich Böll an Gruppenbild?' *Der Literat*, 9/1973.
- 'Bartschmuck', *Nordsee Zeitung*, 3.2.73.
- 'Für die Politiker nützliche Idioten', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 16.2.73.
- A.H.: 'Böll mit Bart', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 3.2.73.
- AP.: 'Böll fordert Freizügigkeit für Dissidenten', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 24.9.73.
- Beoczy, S.: 'Aufklärung für die Parlamentarier', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 17.2.73.
- Br.: 'Die richtige Adresse', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.5.73.
- Braem, H.: 'Bölls "Klein Dorit"', *Neue Zeitung*, Basel, 14.7.73.
- CvB.: 'Heinrich Böll weiss alles', *Sudentendeutsche Zeitung*, 25.5.73.
- D.W.: 'Böll soll Amalrik helfen', *Die Welt*, 30.5.73.
- Deckers, W.: 'Ich will schreiben', *Bonner Rundschau*, 19.2.73.
- öpa.: 'Im Westen mehr Autoren als im Osten inhaftiert, meint Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12.5.73.
- Dumm H.H.: 'Hufschlag des Pegasus', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 23.2.73.
- Döpp-Vorwald: 'Offener Brief an Heinrich Böll', *Neue Politik* 8/1973.
- en: 'Demokratisierung in Ost und West', *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 21.9.73.
- Engels, G.: 'Böll - wohltemperiert', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 3.5.73.
- F.R.: 'Poesie als Lunte', *Der Abend*, 3.5.73.
- Fassbinder, K.M.: 'Griff Böll zu Ausflüchten?', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 27.12.73.
- Fen, Dr.: 'Böll und Vietnam', *Deutsche National Zeitung*, 26.1.73.
- gaz.: 'Sacharows Bitte an Böll', *Die Welt*, 30.5.73.

- gaz.: 'Heinrich Bölls Vergleiche', *Die Welt*, 25.9.73.
- Götz, C.H.: 'Die Intellektuellen und die Staatsmacht', *Welt Der Arbeit*, 21.9.73.
- Habe, H.: 'Das Hamburger Requiem', *Welt am Sonntag*, 20.1.73.
- Habe, H.: 'Die Dichter und die DKP', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 27.4.73.
- Haegert, W.: 'Heinrich Böll unter Beschuss der Kommunisten', *Die Welt*, 20.8.73.
- Halem, F.: 'Politische Klugheit in der Sowjetunion', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 18.8.73.
- Heinemann, F.: 'Und wenn das Geld vom Teufel wär..', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 2.8.73.
- Henscheid, E.: 'Autoren eröffnen ihre erste Buchhandlung', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6.11.73.
- Herbrich, Dr. O.: 'Der Bumerang', *Volkszeitung Klagenfurt*, 29.1.73.
- Hertfelder, K.: 'Die Vorwürfe gegen Heinrich Böll', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 8.9.73.
- Hill, R.: 'Ein deutscher Graham Greene', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 12.12.73.
- K.G.: 'Böll in Gold', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 9.2.73.
- Karl, E.: 'Neue Schmähchrift aus bekanntem Hause', *Bayern Kurier*, 10.2.73.
- ko.: 'Heinrich Böll nennt Konzept der Nichteinmischung "heuchlerisch"', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13.3.73.
- Kolthoff, U.: 'Böll nennt Dinge beim Namen', *Bremer Nachrichten*, 29.9.73.
- Krau, A.: 'Bölls Methode Politik zu machen', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 29.9.73.
- Kulcziky, D.: 'Grass und Böll sind inkonsequent', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 15.3.73.
- Lehmann-Brauns, E.: 'Bölls Nobelvorleseung', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3.5.73.
- Letter to the editor: (2): *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 2.10.73.
- Letter to the editor: (6) 'Teils gegen Böll, teils gegen Kogon', *Die Zeit*, 9.2.73.
- Letter to the editor: (3) 'Irrationales', *Der Spiegel*, 18/1973.
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Böll und die "Zeitung"', *Rheinische Post*, 30.7.74. (repeated in many other dailies.)
- Locke, R.: 'Group Portrait with Lady', *The New York Times Book Review*, 6.5.73.
- M: 'Da gibt es kaum noch Worte für..', *Münchener Merkur*, 9.8.73.
- Madlener, T.: 'Böll mit Witz', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 30.10.73.
- Müller, W.J.: 'Verlust des Masstabes', *Bayern Kurier*, 29.9.73.
- Nitsche, M.: 'Kritik an Böll', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 12.5.73.
- Oechsle, G.: 'Es geht um die Namensgebung für das Gymnasium', *Schwarzwälder Bote*, 25.7.73.
- P.W.W.: 'Aus Bölls Küche', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 28.9.73.
- P.W.W.: 'Böll und Brandt', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 2.3.73.
- Peter, A.: 'Die richtige und die falsche Seite', *Bayern Kurier*, 15.9.73.

- Petersen, J.: 'Böll und die Bilderstürmer', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 4.5.73.
- Pucher, P.: 'Unglücklich verliebte Dichturfürsten', *Münchener Merkur*, 15.2.73.
- Pöschel, A.: 'Wie Allende Chile belog und betrog', *Deutsche National Zeitung*, 19.10.73.
- R.: 'Bölls nobel Rede', *Rheinische Post*, 3.5.73.
- R.Sch.: 'Böll, der rätsel hafte', *Deutsche Nachrichten*, 18.5.73.
- R.Sch.: 'Bölls falsche politische Töne', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 12.10.73.
- Reding, J.: 'Erboster Moralist', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 12.4.73.
- Salzer, M.: 'Die Rolle der Poeten heute', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 1.5.73.
- Schmidt, E.W.: 'Gefährliches Entgegenkommen', *Der Schlesier*, 2.8.73.
- Schoene, H.: 'Bölls einfache Welt', *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 18.1.73.
- Schulze, S.: 'Kategorie: Kampfschrift', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* 10-11.8.74.
- Seefeld, M.: 'Der Fetisch einer neuen Gesellschaft', *Die Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 28.1.73.
- Stein, G.: 'Böll contra Intoleranz', *Vorwärts*, 17.5.73.
- Stöss, K.: 'Böll und Grass sind Grenzen gestetzt', *Neue Westfälische/Bielefelder Tageblatt*, 29.9.73.
- Thiemer, H.: 'Endstation Büffel', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 4.5.73.
- Ulrich, J.: 'Die Buchsaison beginnt schon im August', *Münchener Merkur*, 2.8.73.
- W.A.Z.: 'Böll: Autoren in Gefahr', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 10.3.73.
- W.I.: 'Der Präsident geht', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 8.11.73.
- Wallmann, J.P.: 'Unruhestifter aus Sorge um die Menschlichkeit', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 6.4.73.
- wf.: 'Leisetreterei', *Mittelbayrische Zeitung*, 6.9.73.
- Wien, W.: 'Bölls Zeit-Begleittexte', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 4.1.74. Also in: *Bremer Nachrichten*, 28.7.73.
- Wochele, R.: 'Böll plädiert für die drei Daimler Betriebsräte', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 22.9.73.

1974

Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum

- 'Abrechnung mit dem Boulevard', *Neue Tiroler Zeitung*,
'Bölls Abrechnung mit der Sensationspresse', *Niederelbe Zeitung*, 1.8.74.
- 'Böll bastelt an neuem Gruppenbild', *Österreichische Nachrichten*, 3.5.74.
- 'Böll Roman um Karneval und Pressewesen', *Abendzeitung*, 9.5.74.
- 'Bölls Rache am Boulevard', *Tageblatt*, 31.7.74.
- 'Bölls Rache', *Kleine Zeitung*, 30.7.74.
- 'Grosse Erzählkunst auf knappem Raum' *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 15.8.74.

- 'Ein neuer Böll', *Die Zeit*, 10.5.74.
- 'Heinrich Böll Katharina Blum an erster Stelle', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 6.9.74.
- 'In angeheizter Stimmung', *Main Post*, 27.10.77.
- 'Wie Gewalt entstehen und wohin sie führen kann', *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 6.3.75.
- 'Zu Böll und zu Bernhard', *Schweizer Monatshefte*, II/1974-5.
- Alten, W.: 'Pläoyer für das schwache Individuum', *Hannoversche Allgemeine Presse*, 21.8.74.
- Barz, P.: 'Gruppenbild mit Mord', *Westermanns Monatshefte*, 11/1974.
- Beckmann, H.: 'Diesmal schießt Bölls Dame', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 16.8.74.
- Braem, H.: 'Im Zorn erzählt-und wie mit der Faust geschrieben', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 17.8.74.
- Brender, H.: 'Von der Unzerstörbarkeit der menschlichen Hoffnung', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 29.8.74.
- Denter, E.: 'Heinrich Böll: Kein Wort über Katharinas Ende', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 9.5.74.
- Denter, E.: 'Wieder ein Gruppenbild mit Dame', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 9.5.74.
- Deuter, E.: 'Schweigen über Bölls Neuling', *Die Rheinpfalz*, 13.7.74.
- Dreykorn, P.: 'Katharina Blum in den Fängen der Presse', *Nürnberger Zeitung*, 28.9.74.
- Ebert, H.: 'Identifikation und Ablehnung', *Doitsu Bungaku*, 54/1974.
- Eggers, H.: 'Gewalt gegen die Zeitung?', *Blickpunkt*, Berlin 239/1974.
- Eichberger, W.: 'Es begann mit einem illustrierten Märchen', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 20.9.74.
- Engels, G.: 'Mit 100.000 am Start', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 1.8.74.
- F.A.Z.: 'Böll-Raubdruck', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9.9.74.
- Fensterer, W.: 'Abrechnung mit der Gesellschaft', *Die Rheinpalz*, 27.11.74.
- Frey, J.: 'Die verloren Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Sounds*, 1/1975.
- Fröhlich, H.: 'Was man mit Journalismus anrichten kann', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 14.9.74.
- G.S.: 'Katharina Blum - ein mieses Trivialstück', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 11.6.76.
- Geesen, K.: 'Skandalbild mit Dame', *Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 4.10.74.
- General, R.: 'Ein exemplarischer Fall', *Sonntag*, (Berlin Ost) 9.5.76.
- Gruenagel, H.H.: 'Beifall für Böll?', *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt*, 20/1975.
- Gunther, J.: 'H. Böll: Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 4/1974.
- H.L.: 'Heinrich Bölls neues Buch', *Neues Hochland*, 66/1974.
- Hartung, R. H.: 'Böll und sein Parodist', *Neue Rundschau*, IV/1974.
- Hollmann, R.: 'Der Revolverschuss ist ein blosser Knalleffekt', *Neue Hannoversche Presse*, 18.8.74.

- Hornung, P.: 'Böll als Meister des Polit-Kitsches', *Fränkisches Volksblatt*, 23.11.74.
- Jansen, H.: 'Eine Frau im Räderwerk der Revolverpresse', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 3.8.74.
- Janssen, U.: 'Zeitkritik an Pfützen', *Schleswig Holstein Landeszeitung*, 7.9.74.
- Kill, R.: 'Bölls zu süffige Wut', *Rheinische Post*, 10.8.74.
- Kurz, P.K.: 'Die verloren Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Die Bücherkommentare*, 4/1974.
- Lattmann, D.: 'Böll und sein Buch des Anstosses', *Vorwärts*, 15.8.74.
- Letter to the editor: (3): *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 26.9.74
- Letter to the editor: (4): *Der Spiegel*, 36/1974.
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Böll und die "Zeitung"', *Rheinische Post*, 30.7.74. (The same article appears in five other regional dailies)
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Bölls neue Erzählung: Gewalt', *Stuttgart Nachrichten*, 30.7.74.
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Die 'verlorene Ehre' des Heinrich Böll', *Westfalen Blatt*, 31.7.74.
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Heinrich Bölls Abrechnung mit Sensationsjournalismus', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 30.7.74.
- Ludwig, Martin, H.: 'Wie Rufmord entsteht' *Gemeinsame Zeitung*, 12/1974.
- Moroni, R.: 'Böll und die Raubtiere', *Bayern Kurier*, 7.9.74.
- Raab, H.: 'Die herbeigeschriebene Gewalt', *Die Woche*, 16.8.74.
- Ramseger, G.: 'Bölls Rache Entertainment', *Darmstädter Tageblatt*, 17./18.8.74.
- Ramseger, G.: 'Schrieb Böll für Böll?', *Baseler National-Zeitung*, 24.8.74.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Der deutschen Gegenwart mitten ins Herz', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24.8.74.
- Reinmöller, K.: 'Heinrich Böll und Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 31.8.74.
- Richter, W.: 'Die böse Moritat der kühlen Katharina', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 7.9.74.
- Röhl, K.R.: 'Die heilige Katharina und die Bildzeitung', *Das Da*, 8/1974.
- Schafroth, H.F.: 'Eine schale Satire', *Baseler National Zeitung*, 5.10.74.
- Schaller, G.: 'Heinrich Böll demaskiert sich selbst', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 30.6.78.
- Scheller, W.: 'Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 23.8.74. *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 22.8.74.
- Schloz, G.: 'Reine und Schweine, Wohin der Zorn führen kann', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 9.8.74.
- Schultz, U.: 'Ein hochsensibles Menetekel der Macht', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 16.8.74.
- Schulze, S.: 'Kategorie: Kampfschrift', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 10./11.8.74.
- Sewell, W. S.: 'Konduktion und Niveauunterschiede': The Structure of Böll's 'Katharina Blum', *Monatshefte*, 2/1982.

- Seybold: 'Zorn macht nicht immer schöpferisch',
Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21.8.74.
- Sinka, M.: 'Heinrich Böll, Die verlorenen Ehre der
Katharina Blum as Novelle, or How a Genre concept
develops and where it can lead', *Colloquia Germanica*,
Bern, 2/1981.
- Tank, K. L.: 'Bölls Notschrei', *Deutsche Allgemeines
Sonntagsblatt*, 11.8.74.
- Torberg, F.: 'Katharina Blum. Jetzt böllert's', *Spiegel*,
35, 1974.
- Wallmann, J.P.: 'Der 'Racheakt' des Schriftstellers',
Mannheimer Morgen, 30.7.74.
- Wallmann, J.P.: 'Kalte Abrechnung mit einer
Hetzkampagne', *Badische Zeitung*, 10./11.8.74.
- Wallmann, J.P.: 'Der Schuss der auf den
Revolvierjournalisten', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 4.8.74. Also
in: *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 6.8.74.
- Wammes, M.: 'Bölls Rache', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.8.74.
- Weber, G.: 'Mit H.Böll über Gott und die Welt gesprochen',
Der Literat, 10.10.74.
- Wildner, K.: 'Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum'
Wetzlarer Zeitung, 5.9.74.
- Zehm, G.: 'Heinrich der Grätige', *Die Welt*, 16.8.74.

LATER REVIEWS:

- Loewenstern, E.: 'Die liebste Heldin Heinrich Bölls', *Die
Welt*, 29.5.78.
- ms: 'Fortsetzung folgt im Mai', *Main Post*, 25.10.77.
- Sinka, M.: 'Heinrich Böll Die verlorene Ehre der
Katharina Blum as Novelle, or How a Genre concept
develops and where it can lead', *Colloquia Germanica*,
2/1981.

OTHER ARTICLES 1974:

- 'Autor stellte Ulrike Meinhof seine Wohnung zur
Verfügung', *Frankenpost*, 5.2.74.
- 'Bölls Rache am Boulevard', *Tagblatt*, 31.7.74.
- 'Bravo Sowjetunion', *Die Wahrheit*, 14.2.74.
- 'Böll konnte Böll nicht lesen', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*,
10.1.74.
- 'Böll portaitiert Kölner Hausfrau fürs Fernsehen',
Kölnische Rundschau, 18.4.74.
- 'Böll rächt sich', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 30.7.74.
- 'Böll verteidigt E Fried in Beleidigungsprozess', *Der
Tagesspiegel*, 26.1.74.
- 'Böll: Der Kanzler wurde fertiggemacht', *Die Welt*,
9.5.74.
- 'Böll: ich würde internationalem Komitee beitreten',
Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6.12.74.
- 'Bölls Geisterbrief', *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 27.8.74.
- 'Bücherherbst wirft seine Titel voraus', *Tagblatt*,
21.6.74.

- 'C. v. Ossietzky Medaille 1974 an Heinrich Böll', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 7.8.74.
- 'Da hat Böll recht', *Deutsche Gemeinschaft Freie Nation*, 26, 1974.
- 'Die Hochschule für Kreativität scheint zu scheitern', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.12.74.
- 'Drei Schriftsteller vor der SPD-Fraktion', 9.3.74.
- 'Freispruch in...', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26.1.74.
- 'Haussuchung bei Bölls Sohn', *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 8.2.74.
- 'Heinrich Böll jammert', *Praline Aktuelle Woche*, 50/1974.
- 'Ist Vorbeugemord eine Beleidigung?', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 26.1.74.
- 'Klamann K. & Völker, H.E.: 'Böll spendete für den SSK'', *Express Köln*, 26.4.74.
- 'Kreml schob S. nach Bonn ab', *Tageszeitung*, 14.2.74.
- 'Mass und Ziel', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.12.74.
- 'Ohne vorz. Hochachtung', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21.12.74.
- 'Ossietzky Medaille für Böll und Gollwitzer', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9.12.74.
- 'Radikale im öffentlichen Dienst', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 23.7.74.
- 'Reich-Ranicki: In letzter Minute kam der Ruf nach Literatur', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15.6.74.
- 'Sartre ruft Böll zur Solidarität auf', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5.12.74.
- 'Schmidt dankt Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.5.74.
- 'Sowjets gehen wieder gegen Dissidenten vor', *Die Welt*, 6.5.74.
- 'Verleger Mit Zuckerbrot und Peitsche', *Buchmarkt*, 8/1974
- 'Vom Reviergoethe zum Mitteldichter', *Nürberger Nachrichten*, 26.11.74.
- 'War Schriftsteller Wohnung Baader-Meinhof-Versteck?' *Main Echo*, 4.2.74.
- 'Was ist Vorbeugemord?' *Vollkszeitung*, 22.1.74.
- 'Wie es zur Gewalt kommt', *Der Spiegel*, 20.74.
- Alexander, E.: '30 Silberlinge sind kein Preis', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11.5.74.
- Alten, W.: 'Pläoyer für das schwache Individuum', *Hannoversche Allgemeine Presse*, 21.8.74.
- ASD: 'Böll verurteilt Schikanen gegen Sowjet-Professor', *Die Welt*, 6.5.74.
- Augstein, R.: 'Liebe Spiegelleser', *Spiegel*, 31, 1974.
- AZ: 'Dichter und DKP-Hausfrau', *Abendzeitung*, 7.6.74.
- B.S.: 'Feier mit Böll und Bläck Föös', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 23.9.74.
- Bauer, A.: 'Durfte Böll schweigen?', *Nürberger Nachrichten*, 3.1.74.
- Bechert, M.: 'Heinrich Bölls Rache', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 2.8.74.
- Boroffa, P.: 'Offener Brief' *Berliner Rundschau*, 19.12.74.
- Delling, M.: 'Portrait einer Kölnerin', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 7.7.74.
- Diekert, W.: 'Kölnerin und Kommunistin', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 4.7.74.

- Dübber, U.: 'Der bekannte Graben', *Berliner Stimme*, 16.3.74.
- EB: '300 Anrufe beim WDR zum Böll Interview', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 29.6.74.
- Eisenbach, U.: 'Brief an Böll', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 28.2.74.
- Fe: 'Interviewer Böll', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 29.6.74.
- Feddetsen, J.: 'Die Moral des Heinrich Böll', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 6.12.74.
- Garmann, W.: 'Der Katholik Böll', *Deutsche Tagespost*, 30.1.74.
- Greiner, U.: 'Bölls Portait einer Hausfrau', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29.6.74.
- Göde, S.: 'Böll ist kein Christ', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 31.12.74.
- h: 'Fett für Böll', *Mittelbayrische Zeitung*, 5.2.74.
- Habe, H.: 'Requiem auf Heinrich Böll', *Welt am Sonntag*, 18.8.74.
- Hantel, H.M.: 'Gretchenfrage and Böll', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 26.7.74.
- Heinemann, F.: 'Gemeinsames Erinnern', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27.6.74. Auch in: *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 27.6.74. länger
- Heizler, R.: 'Heinrich Böll in seiner Eigenschaft als Presskritiker', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 13.8.74.
- Hennecke, G.: '40 Jahre harter Alltag', *Neue Rhein Zeitung*, 7.6.74.
- Hess, I.: 'Über ihr Leben berichtet kein Geschichtesbuch', *Abendzeitung*, 22.6.74.
- Hilgers, J.: 'Noch keine so blamable Sendung erschienen', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 4.7.74.
- J.G.: 'Die Tötungschwelle', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22.2.74.
- J: 'Undank - der Welt Lohn', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 5.7.74.
- Jappe, G.: 'Gruppenbild mit Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26.2.74.
- Jung, W.: 'Terror als Vorwand', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 21.11.74.
- Jurreit M.L.: 'Böll und die Frau aus dem Widerstand', *Stern*, 26, 1974.
- Jurreit, M.: 'Freiwild für Ideologen?' *Vorwärts*, 11.7.74.
- k.w.: 'Freispruch für Erich Fried', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26.1.74.
- Kaiser-Blüth, K.: 'Selbstmord in der Emigration aus Heimweh?' *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.3.74.
- Klassen, P.: 'Erstaunliche Blindheit', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12.12.74.
- ko: 'Böll: Radikalenerlass..', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20.6.74.
- Kuntz, E.: 'Das kommunistische Heimchen', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 29.6.74.
- Kölmel, D.: 'Portrait einer Kölnerin', *Stuttgart Nachrichten*, 29.6.74.
- L.Z.: 'Sinnumkehrend?' *Rheinischer Merkur*, 20.12.74.

- Lattmann, D.: 'Die SPD Wahlhelfer', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 22.3.74.
- Letter to the editor (1): *Deutscher Anzeiger*, 29.4.74.
- Letter to the editor (2): *Kölnische Rundschau*, 23.3.74
- Letter to the editor (2): *Neue Bildpost*, 5.5.74.
- Letter to the editor (4): *Der Spiegel*, 35, 1974.
- Letter to the editor (4): *Welt am Sonntag*, 25.8.74.
- Letter to the editor (5): *Der Spiegel*, 33, 1974.
- Letter to the editor: (3) *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 26.9.74
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Heinrich Böll als Filmemacher', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 7.6.74.
- Linder, C.: 'Die Geschichte von Herrn Pen und andere Grotesken', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 15.6.74.
- Lohmann, C.W.: 'Opportunismus..', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19.2.74.
- mes: 'Schriftstseller mit der SPD unzufrieden', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 15.3.74.
- Meyer, T.H.: ''Dichterlesung' vor der SPD-Fraktion', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15.3.74.
- Muthmann, W.F.: 'Portät einer Kölnerin', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27.6.74.
- Nelken, D.: 'Böll und die Blum', *Berliner Extradienst*, 68, S.74
- Nichols, B.: 'Ermutigung demokratischen Potentials', *Kleine Zeitung*, 26.2.74.
- Plim, K.: 'Bölls Eiertanz', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 6.12.74.
- Pörtner, R.: 'Bölls Zorn', *Neue Westfälische*, 27.8.74.
- Pörzgen, H.: 'Es gab keine Alternative', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18.2.74.
- Richter, W.: 'Böll und die Freiheit des Wortes', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 26.1.74.
- Sager, P.: 'Eine ideale Akademie', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 1.3.74.
- Schneider, W.: 'Drei ratlose Männer', *Die Welt*, 15.3.74.
- Schütz, H.L.: 'Bölls Portrait..', *Welt am Sonntag*, 30.6.74.
- Sementowsky-Kurilo, N.: 'Offener Brief an Heinrich Böll', *Der Literat*, 7, 1974.
- Stibitz, R.: 'Was Böll vergass', *Ausburger Allgemeine*, 6.12.74.
- Stone, M.: 'Auf dem Fensehschirm', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 29.6.74.
- Stone, M.: 'Ungeheizte Welt', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 24.8.74.
- Uhlemann, G.: 'Erstes Klassenziel wurde erreicht', *Rheinische Post*, 23.4.74.
- Wahl, J.: 'Die Hamacher und Böll', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 5.7.74.
- Werder, I.: 'Heinrich Böll in der Arbeitswelt', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 21.3.74.
- Wien, W.: 'Bölls Zeit-Begleittexte', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 4.1.74.
- WoS: 'Die Wichtig-Tuer', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 24.8.74.

- 'Berufsverbots-praxis führt zur Isolierung', *Die Wahrheit*, 4.9.75.
- 'Beschreiben, was man sieht', *Die Welt*, 24.7.75.
- 'Brüder Böll in Aktion', *Express Köln*, 27.2.75.
- 'Böll brachte Manuskripte von Solschenizyn in den Westen', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 12.4.75.
- 'Böll und Grass planen eine neue Zeitschrift', *Die Welt*, 23.9.75.
- 'Böll will kein Prozessahnsel sein', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 27.2.75.
- 'Böll: Ich bin kein Prozesshansel', *Recklinghauser Zeitung*, 27.2.75.
- 'Böll: Union will Radikalen-Erlass nach Europa exportieren'. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13.9.75.
- 'durchsucht ..' *Vorwärts*, 30.1.75.
- 'Ein neues Buch bringt Böses von Böll', *Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainzer Anzeiger*, 27.8.75.
- 'Entspannung mit Böll', *Playboy*, 8, 1975.
- 'Für wen halten Sie sich denn eigentlich, Herr Böll?', *Deutschland Magazin*, 1, 1975.
- 'Heinrich Böll wartet vergeblich', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 6.2.75.
- 'Kunst und Diplomatie', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 16.2.75.
- 'Küsschen vom Rotmolch', *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 5.9.75.
- 'Personalien', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 11.2.75.
- 'Politisierende Dichter', *Frankfurter Neue Presse, Stadt*, 29.8.75.
- 'Schelsky über Böll', *Rheinische Merkur*, 1.3.75.
- 'Steuermittel für Bölls Hetz-Pamphlet', *Deutschland Magazin*, 2, 1975.
- 'Werke von Böll und Zeller diskutiert', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 3.2.75.
- Ba: 'Dreimal Böll', *Film-Echo Filmwoche Filmblätter*, 1.75.
- Balsen, W.: 'Die verlorene Ehre des Heinrich Böll', *Vorwärts*, 3.4.75.
- Berichte, M.S.: 'Böll über den Geheimdienst', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 22.7.75.
- Bönisch, G.: 'Heinrich Böll fügt sich', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 6.2.75.
- CDU: 'Warum schwieg Böll?' *Berliner Morgenpost*, 7.3.75.
- Dallontano, E.R.: 'Welcher Böll?' *Rheinischer Merkur*, 5.9.75.
- Didzoleit, W.: 'Die Kunst der künstlerischen Selbstdarstellung..', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19.3.75.
- Durzak, M.: 'Leistungsverweigerung als Utopie? Mathaei, R. *Die Subversive Madonna*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln, 1975
- Frey, J.: 'Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum', *Sounds*, 1.75.
- G.A.: 'Die politischen Querelen Bölls..', *Südst Tagespost*, 31.1.75.
- Giese, G.: 'Nobel-Geböll', *Neue Bildpost*, 2.2.75.
- Gruenagel, H.H.: 'Beifall für Böll?' *Deutsches Pfarrenblatt*, Nr. 20, 1975.
- Gz.: 'Die verlogene Story des Heinrich Böll', *Aachener Nachrichten*, 2.4.75.

- Habe, H.: 'Die Hauptstadt nach dem Herzinfarkt', *Welt am Sonntag*, 9.3.75.
- Habe, H.: 'Gift', *Deutschland Magazin*, 5, 1975.
- Hefendehl, R.&M.: 'Bedenklich', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 1.3.75.
- Heinrich, B.: 'Kulturschande', *Stuttgart Nachrichten*, 2.8.75.
- Hinz, K.M.: 'Leistungsverweigerung als Utopie', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 9.10.75.
- Hoepfner, E.: 'In die falsche Richtung geböllert', *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 29.8.75.
- Honert, W.: 'Böll wollte sich vor Gericht wehren', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 6.2.75.
- Häussermann, B.: 'Heinrich Böll jagt Gimpel und Molche', *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30.8.75.
- Im Bordell nur über Böll geredet', *Düsseldorfer Express*, 20.2.75.
- Kepplinger, H.M.: 'Realkultur und Medienkultur Kohnke M: Der Konflikt macht den Erfolg', *Die Welt*, 6.9.75.
- Kesting, G.: 'Böll als Retter?' *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 13.7.75.
- Klugmann, N.: 'Wer schützt Heinrich Böll?' *Spontan*, 11.77.
- kp: 'Der Zeigefinger', *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 27.2.75.
- Kranz, H.: 'Hans Habe', *Bonner Rundschau*, 14.2.75.
- Krämer-Badono R.: 'Manes Sperber: Die Schläfer aufwecken', *Die Welt*, 20.10.75.
- Kurz, P. K.: 'Provozierend', *Zeitwende*, 46.JG, S.118-9, 1975.
- Lathe, H.: 'Böll in Moskau', *Münchener Merkur*, 18.2.75.
Also in: *Kölnische Rundschau*, 15.2.75.
- Lattmann, D.: 'Dichter und die Gewalt', *Deutsche Zeitung Christ und Welt*, 28.11.75.
- Lichtenstein, J.: 'Palästinenser nicht erwähnt', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14.1.75.
- Lindenberg & Weber: 'Die verlorene Ehre des Heinrich Böll', *Generalanzeiger für Bonn*, 27.2.75.
- Lindenberg, R.: 'Agentengroteske von Böll', *Schwäbische Zeitung*, 27.8.75.
- Lölhöffel, H.: 'Es wird immer gefährlicher zu schreiben', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19.3.75.
- Lücker, T.: 'Böll als angepasster...', *Die Welt*, 20.2.75.
- M.-M.jr.: 'Verherrlichte und befürwortete Gewalt', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.11.75.
- M.W.: 'Neuer Menschenraub bald zu erwarten', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 14.3.75.
- M.W.: 'Unschuld a la Böll', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 18.4.75.
- Mark, H.: 'Böll hat keine Zeit', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 27.2.75.
- Nahrendorf, R.: 'Neue Klassenherrschaft der Intellektuellen?', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 21.3.75/
Opitz, A.: 'Intellektuelle Nostalgie?', *Börsenblatt Für Den Deutschen Buchhandel*, 75, 1976.
- Orzechowski, L.: 'Böll - auf der Flucht vor dem falschen Image', *Hersfelder Zeitung*, 16.8.75.
- P.W.W.: 'Böll mit Sacharow', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 28.2.75.

- Päffgen, B.: 'Da wird es einem übel', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 2.1.75.
- Pörzgen, H.: 'Besuch bei Dissidenten und Literaturfunktionären', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.2.75.
- Reich-Ranicki: 'Vom armen Heinrich Böll', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20.9.75.
- Röhl, K.R.: 'Lex Katharina Blum?' *Das Da*, 12, 1975.
- Röhl, K.R.: 'Wieviele Divisionen hat Böll?' *Das Da*, 11, 1975.
- Rüsse, D.: 'Über Radikalität', *Das Da*, 3, 1975.
- Schallück, P.: 'Die Beharrlichkeit Bölls', *Welt Der Arbeit*, 28.2.75.
- Schallück, P.: 'Lauter Zufälle?' *Welt Der Arbeit*, 18.7.75.
- Scheller, W.: 'Von Rolladenschnüfflern und Schlüssellochguckern', *Esslinger Zeitung*, 18.10.75.
- Schmidt, S.: 'Wie politisch darf Kunst sein?' *Kölnische Rundschau*, 19.3.75.
- Schmitt, S.: 'Jadgszenen aus Köln', *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 3.4.75.
- Schreiber, M.: 'Heinrich Böll-Novitäten', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 5.9.75.
- Skasa-Weiss, R.: 'Ein Literatur-Betriebsunfall', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 5.9.75.
- Tenbruck, H.: 'Heinrich Böll und der Staat', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.3.75.
- Ullrich, M.: 'Frage an Böll', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 13.5.75.
- Unger, W.: 'Krach im Klub der Freunde', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 7.4.75.
- Walden, F.K.: 'Misthaufen oder Mist?' *Rheinischer Merkur*, 7.3.75.
- Walden, M.: 'Die Sorgen der Linken', *Die Welt*, 10.3.75.
- Wallmann, J.P.: 'Böll und die Geheimdienste', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 7.9.75.
- Weers, E.: 'Eine Sache, die mal passiert', *Auslandskurier*, 1.75.
- Wenger, P.W.: 'Kapitulation des Rechtsstaates', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 7.3.75.
- Willenweber, H.: 'Exakte Schmähung', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 27.2.75.
- Zehm, G.: 'Hans Habe', *Die Welt*, 18.2.75.
- Zimmer, D.E.: 'Bundesanstalt für Gewissen', *Die Zeit*, 8.8.75.

1976

- 'Bücher von Böll und Brecht bei der Polizei abgeben', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31.1.76.
- 'Die SPD West will Heinrich Böll zum Wahlkampf holen', *Aachener Nachrichten*, 15.4.76.
- 'Grandseigneur der Zeitungsschreiber .', *Lippische Rundschau*, 13.10.76.
- 'Scarfe Kritik Bölls an der Kirche im Fall Herrmann', *Süddeutsche*, 8.1.76.
- 'Schaum vorm Grossmaul', *Vorwärts*, 15.4.76.

- 'Schreiben als tötender Vorgang', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5.11.76.
- 'W. Biermanns neuer Alptraum', *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 20.11.76.
- Arnold, L.: 'Lorbeer für neue Blätter', *Deutsches Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt*, 3.10.76.
- Beckelmann, J.: 'Die Zeit muss einem Buch günstig sein', *Weserkurier*, 18.8.76.
- Beckelmann, J.: 'Heinrich Böll und die Massen', *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 22.7.76.
- Bresser, K.: 'Er wurde auf die schäbigste Weise hereingelegt', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 19.11.76.
- Bruck, W.: 'Wider die argen Vereinfacher', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 23.9.76.
- Buch, H.C.: 'Plädoyer für ein historisches Gedächtnis', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13.11.76.
- Durzak, M.: Ich tendiere nur zu dem scheinbar unpolitischen', *Gespräche Über Den Roman*, 1976.
- en: 'Böllereien', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 12.11.76.
- G.S.: 'Katharina Blum - ein mieses Trivialstück', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 11.6.76.
- Günther: 'Ästhetik und Gesellschaft, Erzählstruktur und Gesellschaftskritik im Werke Heinrich Bölls', *Doitsu Bungaku*, 57, 1976.
- Habe, H.: 'Drei Glossen', *Westfalen-Blatt*, 16.10.76.
- Jeziorkowski, K.: 'Böll und Staack', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23.10.76.
- K.B.: 'Schlecht gebellt Herr Böll!', *Esprit*, 5.76.
- Kornetzki, J.: 'Heinrich Böll attackiert die Amtskirche', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7.1.76.
- Kurz, P.K.: 'Autoren im Grabenkampf', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 15.10.76.
- Linder, C.: 'Ein neues Forum', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 3.9.76. Also in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14.9.76.
- Opitz, A.: 'Intellektuelle Nostalgie?' *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, 75, 1976.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Müde über den Radikalnebeschluss', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.3.76.
- Riese, H.P.: 'Doppelgleisig dem Vorbild nach', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3.9.76.
- Stachelhaus, H.: 'Die Bosse gaben Millionen für Kunst', *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, 16.10.76.
- Steinbach, P.: 'Mit Böll zum Sieg', *Abendpost*, 12.11.76.
- Stock, W.J.: 'Autorenbuchhandlung', *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 14.11.76.
- Suhrbier, H.: '..wie eine Schmeißfliege an meiner Wunde', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20.11.76.
- Tochtermann, E.: 'Verherrlichung von Gewalt oder Zeitdokument', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 15.10.76.
- Weis, O.J.: 'Gelegentlich einen prüfenden Blick in Ihres Nachbarn Bücherschrank werfen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22.9.76.
- Winther, M.: 'Kleine Sprachkunde in Sachen Frau', *Schwarzwälder Bote*, 4.9.76.
- Wth: 'L76', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22.5.76.
- Zimmer, D.E.: 'Gewalt durch Gedrucktes', *Die Zeit*, 9.1.76.
- Zsch: 'Heinrich Böll bekam recht', *Metall*, 11/1976.

1977

- 'Aus revolutionären Phrasen wurde Terror', *Handelsblatt Industriekurier*, 7.9.77.
- 'Berufsverbote machen Grundrechte zur Farce', *Die Wahrheit*, 22.12.77.
- 'Die harmlosen 6 des Heinrich Böll', *Neue Bildpost*, 38.77.
- 'Ein Appell an die Terroristen', *Die Welt*, 12.9.77.
- 'Haussuchung bei Bölls Sohn', *Welt am Sonntag*, 2.10.77.
- 'Hertz-Eichenrode Die Legende der Sympathisanten', *Die Welt*, 12.9.77.
- 'Ich fühle mich fremd in dieser Welt', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 6.10.77.
- 'In angeheizter Stimmung', *Main Post*, 27.10.77.
- 'Lattmann, Beuys, Staeck über Böll', *Vorwärts*, 22.12.77.
- 'Methoden-Verbot', *Konkret*, 1/1977
- 'Zum Gespräch bereit', *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 30.9.77.
- Bajohr, W.: 'Sie leben nicht im Naturschutzpark', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 4.11.77.
- Bauer, A.: 'Die Terroristen sind nicht die Kinder Hitlers' Dialog', *Annali*, (Napoli) Studi tedeschi XX, 3, 1977.
- Bauer, A.: 'Täuschung, die im Traum von alten Zeiten liegt', *Mindener Tageblatt*, 14.12.77.
- Bauer, R.: 'Nervenzermürend', *Rheinische Post*, 12.9.77.
- Bavendamm, D.: 'Wer oder was ist ein Sympathisant?' *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 28.9.77.
- Benseler, F.: 'Geburtstagsgruss an Heinrich Böll', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 22.12.77.
- Brender, H.: 'Nicht auf jede Provokation antworten', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 22.9.77.
- Buschbeck, M.: 'Die Utopie heisst Status quo', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.10.77.
- Bönisch G: 'Bölls Querschüsse trafen ein Gericht', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 7.7.77.
- Cysarz, H.: 'Der deutsche Terrorismus', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 14.1.77.
- Dellin, G.: 'Auf dem Weg zum Schweigefunk?' *Vorwärts*, 20.10.77.
- Demetz, P.: 'Allzuoft nur Himmel und Hölle', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.6.77.
- Deschner, G.: 'Berichte zur Gesinnungslage von Heinrich Böll', *Die Welt*, 9.5.77.
- DW: 'Böll und seine Version der deutschen Einheit', *Die Welt*, 14.1.77.
- Eichholz, A.: 'Literaturnobelpreisträger ..' *Münchener Merkur*, 20.12.77.
- Endres, E.: 'Ein Stück Zeitgeschichte', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 1.12.77.
- Engelhard, G.: 'Heinrich, das Herz erbricht', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 23.12.77.
- Engelmann, B.: 'Wir Schriftsteller warnen vor dem Rückfall in die Barbarei', *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 20.10.77.

- G.J.: 'Rote Böllerei gegen Oberst Rudel', *Deutsche National Zeitung*, 18.2.77.
- Gervink, B.: 'Heinrich Böll - ein Dichter und Moralist', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 17.12.77.
- Griesser, H.A.: 'Polit-Mixtur von Böll', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 15.4.77.
- Grothmann, W.H.: 'Zur Struktur des Humors in Heinrich Bölls Gruppenbild mit Dame', *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 1, Nr. 1, Jan. 1977.
- Habe, H.: 'Der unterschlagene Bellow', *Welt am Sonntag*, 9.1.77.
- Habe, H.: 'Singet nur, meine Söhne!', *Welt am Sonntag*, 5.6.77.
- Heinen, H.: 'Heinrich Böll 60 Jahre alt', *Rundschau*, 21.12.77.
- Interview: Heidenreich: Diese Art von Stimmungsmache ist lebensgefährlich', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1.10.77.
- Klugmann, N.: 'Wer schützt Heinrich Böll?' *Spontan*, 11/1977.
- Kohring, F.: 'Brief an Heinrich Böll', *Rote Blätter*, 12/1977.
- Krall, G.: 'Der zornige Alte aus Köln', *Die Rheinpalz*, 26.7.77.
- Krebs, H.: 'Ein Stück Denkmal für Heinrich Böll', *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 21.12.77.
- Krusche, L.: 'Böll prangert Schmidts Arroganz an', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14.1.77.
- Krämer-Badoni, R.: 'Warum gerade Peymann?', *Die Welt*, 21.9.77.
- Kulpok, A.: 'Ein grosser Deutscher der Nachkriegszeit', *Berliner Stimme*, 4.12.77.
- Kurz, P.K.: 'Der verletzte Aufklärer', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 15.4.77.
- Loewenstern, E.V.: 'Der vermieste Staat', *Die Welt*, 13.9.77.
- Mietsch, F.: 'Linke Einsichten in die verlorenen Zeit', *Berliner Stimme*, 15.10.77.
- ms: 'Fortsetzung folgt im Mai', *Main Post*, 25.10.77.
- Nenning, G.: 'H. Böll: Gespräch', *Neues Forum*, (Wien), März, 1977.
- Neubeck, H.: 'Böll-Büchern droht Verbannung', *Südwest-Presse*, 8.2.77.
- Niemeyer, K.: 'Prophet mit dem entblössten Herzen', *Abendzeitung*, 16.12.77.
- Noack, H.J.: 'Die Sympathisantenszene - eine gallertartige Masse', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19.9.77.
- Nonnenmacher, P.: 'Portarait eines Mitdenkers', *Badische Zeitung*, 21.12.77.
- Nägele, R.: 'Heinrich Böll. Die grosse Ordnung und die kleine Anarchie, in Wagener, Hans, M.: *Gegenwartsliteratur und drittes Reich*, Reclam Stuttgart, 1977.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'ARD Titel Thesen Temperamente', 7.10.77.
- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Böll wird defamiert', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3.10.77.
- Reiser, H.: 'Anschlag auf den Rechtsstaat', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9.4.77.

- Rinke, H.E.: 'Die Angst der Deutschen von innen',
Vorwärts, 11.8.77.
- rä: 'Kein Autor hat sich häufiger engagiert', *Neue Westfälische Bielefelder Tageblatt*, 21.12.77.
- Schachtsieg, N.: 'Heinrich Böll, der geborene Einmischer', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 13.4.77.
- Schachtsieg-Freitag, N.: 'Ein Moralist mischt sich ein', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6.8.77.
- Schaller, G.: 'Böll mischt sich ein', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 29.4.77.
- Schaller, G.: 'Die Intellektuellen und die Politik', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 21.10.77.
- Scheller, W.: 'Verletzend und verletzbar', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, 21.5.77.
- Schloz, G.: 'Die neueste Linke trägt konservativ', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 14.10.77.
- Schmidt-Dumont, S.: 'Böllerschüsse aus Köln', *Aufbau*, 23.12.77.
- Schultze, S.: 'Ein Mann geht seinen Weg', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 6.8.77.
- Schuster, H.: 'Recht gegen Gewalt', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 18.9.77.
- Schöndorff: 'Warum kämpft ihr denn nicht?' *Vorwärts*, 6.10.77.
- Seeliger, R.: 'Was will man eigentlich von mir?' *Tageszeitung*, 17.12.77.
- Steinhausen, U.: 'Ein Verleger im Ozean der Literatur', *Rheinische Post*, 4.6.77.
Stern, 42/1977
- Sterzl, A.: 'Freies Geleit für Böll', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 12.9.77.
- Thieringer, T.: 'Pardon! Es ist alles in Ordnung!', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21.12.77.
- Ullrich, G.: 'Denkmal unter Beschuss', *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 21.12.77.
- Walden, M.: 'Die verleugneten Kinder', *Die Welt*, 16.9.77.
- Wallmann, J.: 'Der Autor als Zeitgenosse', *Rheinische Post*, 21.5.77.
- Wallmann, J.: 'Dichtung u. politisches Denken aus der selben Wurzel', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 21.12.77.
- Wallraff, G.: 'Dichtenthron als Plattform', *Westfälische Rundschau*, 17.12.77.
- Wiggershaus, R. & R.: 'Literatur des Verdrängten', 2.77.
- WoS: 'Wahsinn mit Methode', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3.10.77.
- Wüllenweber, H.: 'Böll will dem Rhein ein Denkmal setzten', *Frankenpost*, 6.12.77.
- Zehm, G.: 'Das Opfer bin ich', *Die Welt*, 3.10.77.
- Zehm, G.: 'Heinrich, wie bist du doch bescheiden!', *Die Welt*, 21.12.77.

1978

- 'Böll und Grass sind ebenso bekannt wie Spitzenpolitiker', *Westfalen Blatt*, 9.8.78.
- "Böll: Behörde baut 'irrsinnige' Strasse", *Express*, 15.8.78.

- 'Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Böll eingestellt', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 10.1.78.
- 'Vietnams Gulag, Heinrich Bölls gesammeltes Schweigen' *neue bildpost*, 5.3.78.
- c.h.m.: 'Der Krach im "Stern"', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9.1.78.
- Bahnsen, U.: '700 Autoren protestieren gegen "Stern"-Chefredakteur Nannen', *Die Welt*, 5.1.78.
- Börm, R.: 'Der Feind Steht links!', *Deutscher Anzeiger*, 10.3.78.
- Engels, G.: 'Kafkas Alpträume, die Wirklichkeit wurden', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 23.8.78.
- Engels, G.: 'Spitzenpoeten und Spitzenpolitiker', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 9.8.78.
- Grosser, A.: 'Die Rolle des politischen Schriftstellers', *Frankfurter Hefte*, 5/1978
- Henscheid, E.: 'Das deutsche Dreiecks-Verhältnis', *Playboy*, 10.78.
- Korthaase, W.: 'Ist unser Konzept richtig?' *Berliner Stimme*, 28.10.78.
- Loewenstern, E.: 'Die liebste Heldin Heinrich Bölls', *Die Welt*, 29.5.78.
- Quack, J.: 'Was ist von 1968 geblieben?' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22.7.78.
- Rommel, M.: 'Lächerlich, Böll und andere Literaten für den Terrorismus verantwortlich zu machen', *Lui*, 5.78.
- Schaller, G.: 'Heinrich Böll demaskiert sich selbst', *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, 30.6.78.

1979

OTHER ARTICLES:

- 'Böll hilft den Grünen', *Tageszeitung*, 15.5.79.
- 'Grass B. und Lenz verschmähten Orden', *Express*, 23.5.79.
- 'Heinrich Böll: Kirchenaustritt', *Express*, 30.11.79.
- 'Vietnam-Schiff braucht Geld', *Berliner Stimme*, 21.4.79.
- Bauer, A.: 'Die Dehnbarkeit der Gesetze bis zum Äussersten strapazieren', *Badisches Tagblatt*, 16.6.79.
- Brender, H.: 'Wohlstabilisierte Schizophrenie', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 11.10.79.
- Burger, H.: 'Ein deutliches Wort in Sachen Böll', *Weltwoche*, 15.8.79.
- dpa/Tsp: 'Null contra Heym und Seypple', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 23.5.79.
- Eggebrecht, A. (HG): *Die Zornigen Alten Männer*, Gedanken um Deutschland seit 1945, rowohlt, Hamburg, 1979,
- Fringli, D.: 'Böll und die Heuchler', *Basler Zeitung*, 29.9.79.
- Gervin, B.: 'Ein unheilvoller Riss soll gekittet werden', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 28.3.79.

Reitze, P.F.: 'Wider im Gespräch', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 23.4.79.

Schachtsiek, N.: 'Böll und Aron taten sich beim Streitgespräch nicht eben weh", *Kölnische Rundschau*, 3.2.79.

Fürsorgliche Belagerung

Biergann, A.: 'Wie in schlechten Romanen'. *Kölnische Rundschau*, 23.7.79.

Blatter, S.: 'Böll zwischen Husum und Basel', *Basler Zeitung*, 29.9.79.

EKA.: 'Buchsclamassel und Fäuletong', *Tageszeitung*, 11.10.79.

Fried, E.: 'Eine Lanze für Böll', *Das da Magazin*, 1.79.

Fritz, A.: 'Heinrich Bölls neuer Roman, *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*', *Moderna Sprak*, 2/1980. Gollwitzer, H.: 'Die Gegenmacht der Menschlichkeit', *Deutsche Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 29.7.79.

Götze, K.H.: 'Das kritisierte System bleibt im Mystisch-Halbdunklen', *Die Neue*, 13.10.79.

Haug, W.F.: 'Wie kann man nützlich denken und zugleich überleben?', *Die Neue*, 31.7.79.

Heinemann, F.: 'Nett ist rosa - oder die Grammatik des Kinderpopos', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 18.8.79.

Heinemann, F.J.: 'Das verflucht langsame Ende der Bescheidenheit', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 16.6.79.

Heissenbüttel, H.: 'Erzählung von einem sentimentalene Wirrkopf und Trottel? Heinrich Bölls *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* und die Kritik', *Freibeuter*, 1980.

Kaiser, J.: 'Heinrich Bölls heikle Innen- und Aussenwelt', *Süddeutsche*, 25.8.79.

Krämer-Prein, G.: 'Mit Böll und Wallraff in den Herbst', *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, 36.79.

Maier, H.: 'Der neue Böll - ein anderer Böll', *Rheinischer Merkur*, 24.10.79.

Marianelli, M.: 'Fürsorgliche Belagerung. Heinrich Bölls himmlische Bitterkeit', in: dell'Agli, A.M. *Zu Heinrich Böll*, details to be added

Raddatz, F.: 'Vom Überwachungsstaat', *Die Zeit*, 3.8.79.

Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Nette Kapitalisten und nette Terroristen', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4.8.79.

Schneider, D.: 'Nette Bourgeoisie', *Linkskurve*, 3/1979

Schwenger, H.: 'Zurück in die Isolation?', *Vorwärts*, 7.6.79.

Schyle, J.: 'Fürsorgliches Verlegerhaus', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 17.8.79.

Schötte, W.: 'Lauter nette Menschen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 4.8.79.

Vormweg, H.: 'Entlarvende Belagerung', *Merkur*, 1, 1980.

Wallmann, J.: 'Die Sicherheitsgeschädigten', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 22.7.79.

Zehm, G.: 'Wenn einer allzugut bewacht wird', *Die Welt*, 11.8.79.

Zilligen, D.: 'Heuchelei und Häme', *Stern*, 28/79

C. WORKS NOT CONCERNED WITH BÖLL

1. BOOKS:

- Adorno, T.: *Ästhetische Theorie, Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 7, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1970.
Aesthetics and Politics, New Left Review Editions, Verso, London, 1980.
- Alberts, J.: *Massenpresse als Ideologiefabrik am Beispiel 'Bild'* Frankfurt, Athenäum, Frankfurt, 1972
- Baumann, Z.: *Hermeneutics and Social Science*, Hutchison, London, p.28, 1978.
- Baxandell, L and Morawsk, S.: *Marx and Engels on Literature and Art* Tebs Press, St. Louis/Milwaukee, p.99, 1973.
- Belsey, C.: *Critical Practice*, Methuen, London, 1980.
- Benz, W.: *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1983.
- Brecht, B.: 'Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst 1', *Gesammelte Werke*, volume 18, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1967.
- Bundesministerium für innerdeutsche Beziehungen (ED), *Texte Zur Deutschlandpolitik*, Deutscher Bundesverlag, Bonn, Vol. 10, 1972.
- Bährens, J.C.F.: *Über den Werth der Empfindsamkeit, besonders in Rücksicht auf die Romane*, Halle, 1786.
- Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1980.
- Bürger, C.: *Zur Dichotomisierung von hoher und niederer Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt 1982.
- Curtius, E.R.: *Kritische Essays zur europäischen Literatur*, 3rd edition, Bern/München, 1963.
- Dimpfl, M.: *Literarische Kommunikation and Gebrauchswert*, Bouvier, Bonn, 1981.
- Eagleton, T.: *Literary Theory*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.
- Fülberth, G.: *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik in Quellen und Dokumenten*, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1982/3.
- Fülberth, G.: *Leitfaden durch die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik*, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1983.
- Goethe, J. W. von: *Briefe*, (Auswahl von Rudolf Bach), Carl Hanser Verlag, München, 1958.
- Gramsci, A.: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971.
- Habermas, J.: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Luchterhand, Darmstadt, 1962 (1984).
- Hauser, A.: *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*, Bd.2, München, 1952.
- Herder, J. G.: 'Idee zum ersten patriotischen Institut für den Allgemeingeist Deutschlands', *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. B. Suphan, Vol 16, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1887.
- Hillgruber, A.: *Deutsche Geschichte 1945-1975*, Ullstein, Frankfurt, 1974.
- Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik* Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.
- Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.

- Hohendahl, P.U.: *Der europäische Roman der Empfindsamkeit*, Athenaion Studententexte, Wiesbaden, 1977.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: *The Institution of Criticism*, Cornell, New York, 1982.
- Jay, M.: *The Dialectical Imagination*, Heinemann, London, 1973.
- Kant, I.: *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Hamburg, Philosophische Bibliothek, 1956.
- Kreuzer, H.: *Veränderungen des Literaturbegriffs*, Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1975.
- Lehmann, H. G.: *Chronik der BRD*, C.H. Beck, München, 1983.
- Lämmert, E., Killy, W., Conrady, K.O. and Polenz P.V.: *Germanistik - eine deutsche Wissenschaft*, Suhrkamp, 1971.
- Marx, K. & Engels, F.: *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Bd. 1, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951.
- Mayer, H.: *Deutsche Literaturkritik*, 4 Vols, Frankfurt, 1978.
- Noll, J.: *Die deutsche Tagespresse*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/New York, 1977.
- Ossorio-Cappella, C.: *Der Zeitungsmarkt in der BRD*, Athenäum, Frankfurt, 1972.
- Schenda, R.: *Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute*, Beck, München, 1976.
- Scherer, W.: *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, 5th Edition, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1889.
- Schiller, F.: *Sämtliche Werke*, ed G. Fricke and H.G. Göpfert, 3rd Edition, Vol. 1. München, 1962.
- Schulte-Sasse, J.: *Die Kritik an der Trivialliteratur seit der Aufklärung*, Wilhelm Fink, München, 1971.
- Schweitzer, C-C. et al: *Politics and Government in the Federal Republic of Germany: Basic Documents*, Berg, Leamington Spa, 1984.
- Schücking, L.L.: *Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung*, München, Bern 1961.
- Sulzer, J.G.: *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in 4 Bänden*, Leipzig, 1773-1775.
- Thomas, M. (Editor): *Porträts der deutschen Presse*, Verlag Volker Spiess, Berlin, 1980.
- Thompson, J. E.: *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1984.
- Volosinov, V.N.: *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, Seminar Press, New York/London, 1973.
- Walraff, G.: *Der Aufmacher - der Mann, der bei Bild Hans Esser war Kiepenheuer und Witsch*, Köln, 1977
- Wellek, R.: *A History of modern Criticism*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1955.
- Wiesand, A.J and Fohrbeck, K.: *Literature and the Public in FRG*, Hanser, Munich, 1976.
- Wilharm, I. (Hrsg.): *Deutsche Geschichte, 1962-1983*, Bd.2, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1985.
- Williams, R.: *Keywords*, Fontana/Croom Helm, Glasgow, 1976.
- Williams, R.: *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, Verso, London, 1980.
- Witte, B.: *Der Intellektuelle als Kritiker*, Stuttgart, 1976.

Wolff, J.: *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1983.

Wolff, J.: *The social production of art*, Macmillan, London, 1981

2. ARTICLES:

Fink, G.-L.: 'Die Revolution als Herausforderung in Literatur und Publizistik', in: Glaser, H.A. (Hrsg.) *Deutsche Literatur, Eine Sozialgeschichte, Bd.5, 1786-1815*, Rowohlt, Hamburg, 1980

Möller, H.: 'Vom Aufgeklärten Absolutismus zu den Reformen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: Glaser, op.cit.

Gebhardt, P.: 'Literarische kritik', in: Harth, D.,

Gebhardt, P.: *Erkenntnis und Literatur*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1982

Duncan, H.D. 'Literature as a social institution', in: *Language and Literature in Society*, Chicago, 1952

Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1980

Borchmeyer, D.: 'Weimar im Zeitalter der Revolution und der Napoleonischen Kriege. Aspekte bürgerlicher Klassik', in: Zmegac, V. (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Athneäum, Königstein/Ts., 1979

Albrecht, R.: 'Literatursoziologie, Rezeptionsästhetik und Literaturdidaktik' in: Landwehr, J., Mitzschke, M. (hrsg.): *Ästhetik und Didaktik*, Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1980, pl32-136; Peitsch, H.: 'Politisierung der Literatur oder "geistige freiheit"?' in: Hermand, J.: et.al. *Nachkriegsliteratur*, Argument Sonderband 83, Berlin, 1982, pl65-207

Bakhtin, M.M. and Medvedev, P.N.: 'The Formal Method and the Sociological Method' in Volosinov, V.N.: *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (Seminar Press, New York).

Becker, H.: 'Bildungspolitik' in: Benz, Wolfgang, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1983.

Benjamin, W.: 'The author as producer', in: *Understanding Brecht*, New Left Books, London, 1977.

Benjamin, W.: 'The work of Art in the age of its mechanical reproduction' in: *Illuminations*, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, 1977.

Berghahn, K.L.: 'Von der klassizistischen zur klassischen Literaturkritik 1730-1806' in: Hohendahl, P.U. (Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.

Berman, R.A.: 'Literaturkritik zwischen Reichsgründung und 1933', in: Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.

Blöcker, G.: 'Freiheit in der Literaturkritik', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1.12.62.

Boehlich, W.: 'Autodafé, Kursbogen', *Kursbuch*, 15, 1968.

Boehlich, W.: 'Kritik als Beruf', *Merkur*, 4, 1950.

Bracher, K.D.: 'Politik und Zeitgeist, Tendenzen der siebziger Jahre' in: Bracher, K.D.: *Geschichte der BRD*, op.cit.

Brunhöber, H.: 'Wohnen' in: Benz, Wolfgang: *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1983.

- Bürger, C.: 'Das menschliche Elend oder Der Himmel auf Erden? Der Roman zwischen Aufklärung und Kunstautonomie', in: Bürger, C. et al: *Zur Dichotomisierung von hoher und niederer Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1982.
- Drews, J.: 'Die Entwicklung der westdeutschen Literatur seit 1965' in: Lützel, M.P.: *Die Deutsche Literatur in der Bundesrepublik seit 1965* Athenäum, Königstein, 1980.
- Flottau, H.: 'Finanziell abhängig - und dennoch frei? Zur wirtschaftlichen und rechtliche Situation der Presse' in Thomas, Michael Wolf, (Editor) *Porträts der deutschen Presse* Verlag Volker Spiess, Berlin, 1980.
- Frels, O.: 'Literatur und Öffentlichkeit bei Herder' in: Bürger, C. et al: *Zur Dichotomisierung von hoher und niederer Literatur* edition Suhrkamp 1089, Frankfurt p.209-231, 1982.
- Grimminger, R.: 'Die Utopie der vernünftigen Lust' in: Bürger, C.: *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1980.
- Helms, H.G.: 'Über die gesellschaftliche Funktion der Kritik' and Karsunke, Y.: 'Uralte Binsenwahrheiten' in: Hamm, P. (ed): *Kritik/von wem/für wen/wie?* Reihe Hanser 12, (To be checked)
- Hermund, J.: 'Jetzt wohin? These zur gegenwärtigen Situation der Germanistik', *Das Argument*, 121, 1980.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Das Ende einer Institution?' in: *Literaturkritik und Öffentlichkeit*, Piper, München, 1974.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Literaturkritik im Zeitalter der Massenkommunikation' in: *Literaturkritik und Öffentlichkeit*, Piper, 1974.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Looking back at Adorno's *Ästhetische Theorie*', in: *The German Quarterly*, Vol 54, 1981.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Politisierung der Kunstindustrie: Zur ästhetischen Diskussion nach 1965', in: Drews, J. (Hrsg): *Literaturkritik - Medienkritik*, Quelle U. Meyer, Heidelberg, 1977.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Von der politischen Kritik zur Legitimationswissenschaft' in Bürger, P. (Hrsg): *Zum Funktionswandel der Literatur*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1983.
- Hohendahl, P.U.: 'Vorüberlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Literaturkritik', in: Drews, J. (Hrsg): *Literaturkritik - Medienkritik*, Quelle U. Meyer, Heidelberg, 1977.
- Höllner, W.: 'Zur literarischen Kritik in Deutschland', *Sprache Im Technischen Zeitalter*, 1/1961.
- Jäger, W.: 'Die Innenpolitik der Sozial-liberation Koalition' in: Bracher, K. D.: *Geschichte der BRD in 5 Bänden*, Bd 5/1
- Kaiser, J.: 'Kritik als spontaner Impuls', in: Hamm, P. (ed): *Kritik/von wem/für wen/wie?*, Reihe Hanser 12, p.15-19.
- Link, W.: 'Aussen-und Deutschlandpolitik in der Ära Schmidt, 1974-1982' in: Bracher, K.D. *Geschichte der BRD in 5 Bänden*, Bd. 5/II (To be checked)
- Mouffe, C.: 'Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci', Bennett, T. et al (eds): *Culture, Ideology and the Social Process*, in: Open University Press, p. 223, 1981.
- Nemec, F.: 'Tendenzen der Literaturkritik seit 1945', in: *Kindlers Literaturgeschichte der Gegenwart*, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt, Vol. 10, 1980.

- Reich-Ranicki, M.: 'Ein bisschen Amtsarzt ein bisschen Moses' in: *Literarisches Leben in Deutschland*, Piper, München, 1965.
- Rosenberg, R.: 'Zur Bedeutung von Jacob Grimms Konzeption der philologischen Germanistik für die Entwicklung der Literaturwissenschaft', *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, 1, 1986.
- Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Das Konzept bürgerlich-literarischer Öffentlichkeit und die historischen Gründe seines Zerfalls', in: Bürger, C. (Hrsg): *Aufklärung und literarische Öffentlichkeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1980
- Schulte-Sasse, J.: 'Der Begriff der Literaturkritik in der Romantik' in: Hohendahl, P.U.(Hrsg): *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.
- Thompson, J. E.: 'The theory of structuration', *Studies in the theory of ideology*, Polity Press, Cambridge 1984.
- Vogel, A.: 'Frauen und Frauenbewegung' in: Benz, W.: *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Fischer, Frankfurt, 1983.
- Zimmermann, B.: 'Entwicklung der deutschen Literaturkritik von 1933 bis zur Gegenwart', in Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.
- Zimmermann, B.: 'Entwicklung der deutschen Literaturkritik von 1933 bis zur Gegenwart', in Hohendahl, P.U.: *Geschichte der deutschen Literaturkritik*, Metzler, Stuttgart, 1985.
- Zöllner, D.: 'Sozialpolitik' in: Benz, W. op.cit.