

Exhibition catalogue with drawing of Adam Kuckhoff by Ullrich Bewersdorff.
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THE PERSONAL AND THE POLITICAL: REMEMBERING ADAM
KUCKHOFF, REMEMBERING RESISTANCE

Advocates of the cultural turn within historiography of the GDR have stressed the importance of the painstaking and laborious reconstruction of the mosaic which comprised the cultural history of antifascism¹. At the heart of such approaches is a focus on the complexities and competing trajectories of the doctrine which was the cornerstone of ideology in the GDR. The present significance of these past negotiations is to be found in the contentious and controversial theoretical conceptualisations of the socialist state and the material influence these have on the politics of remembering in a unified Germany². The relevance of individual case studies within a context of debates on antifascism which tend towards abstraction and a retrospective 'flattening out' of history must not be underestimated. The following article therefore takes as its subject an exhibition which had understandings of antifascism at its centre. It was an exhibition commemorating the twenty fifth anniversary of the execution of Adam Kuckhoff in Plötzensee on 5.8.1943.

Adam Kuckhoff had been a member of an anti-Nazi resistance group called « Die Rote Kapelle » [The Red Orchestra]. Greta Kuckhoff, his wife, was also part of the group and was arrested along with her husband and sentenced to death. Adam Kuckhoff and many other members of the group were executed but Greta Kuckhoff's sentence was commuted to ten years imprisonment. She was freed by the Red Army in 1945 and subsequently became a member of the SED and a well-known figure in the GDR. Until her death in 1981 she worked to commemorate the lives and ideals of the resistance group to which she belonged. Her memories were conveyed through her writings, educational activities, and, in 1968, an exhibition celebrating her husband's work. Relying on unpublished letters from Kuckhoff's « Nachlass³ », the catalogue published by exhibition organiser Gerald Wiemers⁴, and responses to the exhibition, this article argues that the space for the memories of resistance created in 1968 challenged, and still chal-

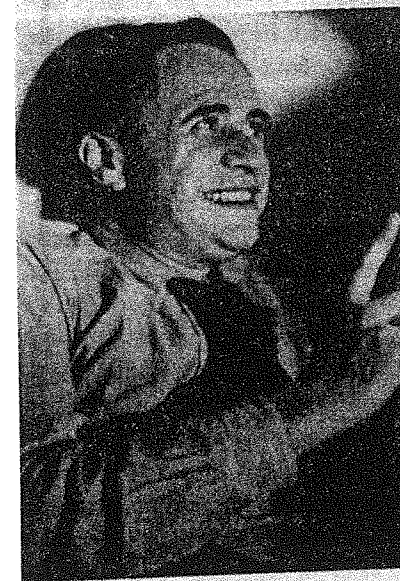
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lenges, dominant monolithic conceptions of antifascism. It investigates the ways different media of memory aimed to make the resisters and their actions accessible, how the women of the resistance group were accorded prominence, and how (auto)biographical memories were an intrinsic part of Kuckhoff's understandings of antifascism. I read these sources as residual traces of a historical event. Using Raymond Williams's conceptualisation of how history is part of contemporary society, I argue that such competing understandings of antifascism are still present in cultural discourse in unified Germany and can form the basis of opposition which challenges dominant interpretations of the GDR past⁵.

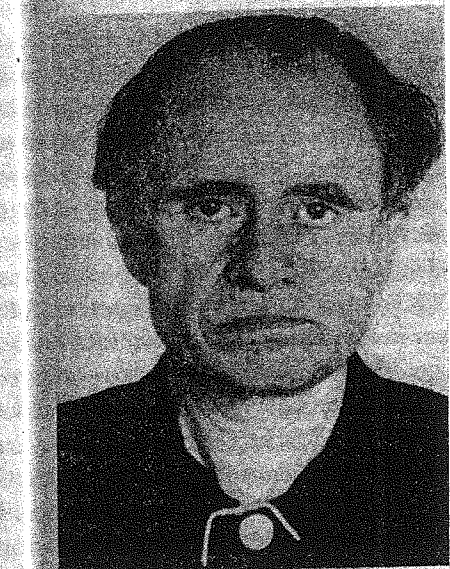
Remembrance of the « Rote Kapelle » resistance group was contentious. The diversity of the members' backgrounds and the many different political and moral reasons for resisting meant that, despite the Nazi nomenclature pointing to a red (Communist) connection, the group was not easy to categorise. The variety of their acts of resistance – from disseminating antifascist texts, to practical help for those persecuted by the regime, to their limited and rather unsuccessful attempts to transmit Germany's military plans to the Soviet Union – meant that it was not so easy to simply incorporate the group within the context of remembering resistance in West and East Germany in the first two decades after the war. In East Germany a focus on the Communist-led resistance, as defined by the exile experiences of those in power in the GDR, became prominent in hierarchies of remembering⁶. While there had been a number of texts written about the group and published in the GDR by 1968, knowledge about them was still marginalised⁷. In contrast, in West Germany the group was well-known but for negative reasons. The right wing press in the FRG published inflammatory accounts of the resisters' 'betrayal' of Germany due to their contacts with the Soviet Union. Accounts written from the perspective of their former oppressors, including judge Manfred Roeder who sentenced the group to death, as well as a reliance on the Gestapo sources relating to the group, led to a repetition of the Nazi accusations of treason⁸. Concurrently with preparations for the Adam Kuckhoff exhibition, a series of articles by Gilles Perrault was published in *Der Spiegel*⁹. These articles were more measured in tone than some of the earlier attacks but still focussed on the relationship of the group to the Soviet Union. There had been other accounts published in West Germany which attempted to offer a more differentiated picture but they were in the minority¹⁰. In her letters Greta Kuckhoff expresses frustration at the attention gained by the most negative reports and insists that it is time for the GDR to recognise the resisters « as our own¹¹ ». While noting the more positive texts, she however continues: « We shouldn't just leave the attacks or indeed the honours to the West¹². »

FRAMING THE EXHIBITION

The exhibition was opened on 16.9.1968 in the AdK (*Akademie der Künste*) in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin and ran until November¹³. From there, the exhibition moved to Warsaw and then to Krakow. There were also plans to show it in Paris and Moscow, but they did not materialise¹⁴. The catalogue for the exhibition contains the main texts used in it, as well as additional documents which further frame what the visitor was looking at¹⁵. It includes: a preface by the President of the AdK; photographs of the resisters before and after their arrests; essays written by the resisters during Nazism and afterwards by those who survived; reproductions of last letters, poems and translations written by the resisters before their execution; a photograph of the execution site at Plötzensee; a biography of Adam Kuckhoff; and a bibliography of works by him. As this list demonstrates, although the exhibition was dedicated to Adam Kuckhoff, its scope was in fact far wider and commemorated the resistance group as a whole. In addition, while there are elements which clearly support the dominant interpretation of the Nazi past promoted by the SED, the sources thematise a notable diversity of people, places, and politics. In what follows, various elements of the exhibition will be examined in order to suggest the ways in which they depict these different understandings of antifascism.



Adam Kuckhoff 1934



Adam Kuckhoff 1942 in der Haft

Photographs of Adam Kuckhoff taken in 1934 and after his arrest in 1942.

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On entering the exhibition the visitor was confronted with a photograph of Adam Kuckhoff. Taken in 1934, the image is reproduced in the catalogue and shows him smiling and relaxed, engaged in discussion, his index finger raised as if emphasising a point. In the catalogue this image is followed by a photograph taken by the Gestapo after his arrest in 1942, which shows a drawn, severe face staring directly at the camera. The powerful juxtaposition of these images implies the stresses of the intervening eight years but prevents the viewer from focussing on the later picture and thereby assuming the positionality of the Gestapo photographer¹⁶. The catalogue contains ten other photographs of resisters, in addition to three taken after the arrest of Arvid Harnack, Mildred Harnack-Fish, and Wilhelm Schürmann-Horster. The latter visibly shows traces of injury, referred to in the simple anchorage: « After torture by the Gestapo¹⁷. » It is clear from correspondence and the exhibition inventory that many more photographs were included, with fifty-five images conveying only a proportion of those involved in this group¹⁸. Twenty-four of the images are of women, several show the male resisters with their young children, others depict the resisters as couples. These poignant expressions of happiness succeed in conveying a vibrancy about these people, not merely representing them as a « cult of the dead », while still reminding the viewers of what the resisters sacrificed in their confrontation with the Nazi regime¹⁹. As such, these photographs were vital to the individualisation and humanisation of the resistance story.

Both transcripts and facsimiles of last letters written by the resisters were on display and are included in the catalogue. There has been a tradition of using these last letters in histories of resistance since the end of the war²⁰. There is undoubtedly an emotional power emanating from the authenticity of these documents addressed to mothers, fathers, wives and children. At the same time, they are significant as political texts with genre conventions and publication histories which can be traced diachronically through the memory politics of the GDR. The last letters of this exhibition do not, however, simply stand as part of a letter-biography-photograph triptych but are instead part of a mosaic of memories²¹. While Adam Kuckhoff's last letters are followed by a photograph of the execution site in Plötzensee and a facsimile of his death certificate, the texts resist a monolithic focus on the deaths of those executed, repeatedly bringing the viewer back to their lives. Letters written between Arvid and Mildred Harnack, and Hans and Hilde Coppi during their imprisonment are accompanied by photographs of the resisters together. A letter describing the court case of Oda Schottmüller, which she managed to smuggle out of prison, is interspersed with a picture of her dancing. While the letters reflect on their past actions they also affirm life in the present and hope for the future of Germany. In doing so, these documents are presented in such a way as to emphasise the work of the resisters for the present, and not their past deaths.

Temporal shifts thus frame the depiction of antifascism. This is particularly visible in relation to the site of execution: while the image of Plötzensee in the catalogue shows the empty gallows, an additional picture in the exhibition showed Greta Kuckhoff and the former prison chaplain, Harald Poelchau, at the site during a commemoration service²². Sources suggest not only the personal importance for Kuckhoff of her annual trips to this place of memory in West Berlin but also her belief of their wider contemporary political significance. For her, lessons from antifascism of the past, in particular the way that the « representatives of different world views » learnt to work together, could provide common German ground in the present²³. This continued sense of collaboration was reflected in her insistence that invitees to the exhibition should include West German relatives of surviving resisters as well as those interested in preserving their memory (for example Falk Harnack, Ingeborg Drewitz and Joy Weisenborn). Thus, their visibility at both Plötzensee memorial site and at the exhibition emphasised a material link from the past to the present.

RESISTANT NARRATIVES

In the catalogue several essays frame and interpret the exhibits. It is my contention that, on the one hand, these essays encapsulate the main themes and issues of the captions in the exhibition. On the other hand, the relationship between these essays and captions is emblematic of the tensions pervading remembrance of anti-fascist resistance in the GDR. The preface by Konrad Wolf conforms to the dominant political rhetoric of the SED and emphasises Kuckhoff's « worldview of revolutionary Marxism » [kämpferischen Marxismus]. Wolf concludes: « In the GDR his [Adam Kuckhoff's] legacy has been fulfilled²⁴. » While Greta Kuckhoff was rather critical of this preface²⁵, it does however pick up on one notable theme which she also emphasises in the essay which follows, that is, that the resistance began in Germany in 1933. A tendency to accelerate the resistance narrative to the start of the war or to link the opposition simply to the decisions made by the KPD leadership is something that Kuckhoff repeatedly challenged. Firstly, such a restricted temporal focus downplayed the many years of educational work the group were involved in, and secondly, it tended to be accompanied by an emphasis on the contact some of the group had with the Soviet Union²⁶. Nevertheless, two of the captions are indicative of a continued emphasis within dominant SED discourse: one stresses that « [u]nder the leadership of the Central Committee the party organisations of the KPD rigorously continued their antifascist resistance fight »; and another attributes the work of the resisters to the decisions made at the Brussels and Bern party conferences of the KPD²⁷. Even after the opening of the exhibition Kuckhoff was still unhappy that this impression could persist. In referring to the one of the exhibition cases entitled « Against war and genocide »

she says that it can cause the mistaken assumption « that it was the war that initiated the resistance and made us into spies, whereas in fact we had already been fighting for a long time against an impending war²⁸. »

Both the preface and Kuckhoff's essay raise the issue of nomenclature. As « Rote Kapelle » was the Gestapo name for the group many surviving members preferred to avoid it, instead making reference to two of the key players in the group, Arvid Harnack and Harro Schulze-Boysen²⁹. However, this was not unproblematic for Kuckhoff because she thought it focussed too specifically on these individuals and did not reflect the structure of the group and the numbers involved³⁰. She was obviously unsuccessful with these objections; the term « Rote Kapelle » only appeared a couple of times in relation to schools and other sites named after the group³¹. At the same time, the exhibition does, however, attempt to stress the number and diversity of those who resisted in terms of professions and political or religious affiliations. One of the captions reads: « The resistance organisation SCHULZE-BOYSEN/HARNACK included: workers, academics, artists, writers, doctors, journalists, students, diplomats, officers and soldiers; Christians, Communists, Social Democrats, Trade Unionists, foreign workers³². »

A further element of this emphasis on diversity is mirrored in two essays in the catalogue which focus on the executed female resisters. As the wives of the often referred to protagonists, Mildred Harnack-Fish and Libertas Schulze-Boysen were somewhat overshadowed by the remembrance of their husbands. That Kuckhoff was already wary of this, due to their previous marginalisation in practices of remembering, is encapsulated in her letter to historian Karl-Heinz Biernat about a memorial site in Friedrichsfelde:

Incidentally, as far as I can tell from the photographs, all the women are missing: Mildred Harnack, Libertas Schulze-Boysen, Ingeborg Kummerow. [...] The three missing women were particularly important for the resistance work. We talk about equality, and I am of the opinion that it was really shown here, at least during the resistance. It should also be shown in the commemoration³³.

The materiality of these hierarchies of remembering is thus linked by Kuckhoff to the contemporary claims of the GDR state. In the exhibition, prominence is also accorded to the women in the form of a caption entitled « Women in the resistance »: « There was a very high number of women (45 %) in the various trials against the accused members of the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack resistance organisation. 17 of them were executed on the scaffold in Plözensee. Hilde Coppi and Liane Berkowitz gave birth in prison before they were murdered³⁴. » The participation of this number of women in a resistance group was unusual. In the context of the politics of remembering in the GDR, it is notable that such antifas-

cist memories therefore do not simply conform to the masculinised narrative of resistance dominant at that time. In her essay, Kuckhoff explicitly draws attention both to the role these women played in the resistance work and to their different backgrounds.

ANTIFASCIST UNDERSTANDINGS

Responses from people who visited the exhibition suggest that the approach which combined individual and collective stories is one which worked: « The Adam-Kuckhoff exhibition pleased but also deeply moved me. [...] It demonstrates the personality of a great German spirit of literature, of theatre in the service of humanist progress, and of socialism, in image and in writing. [...] What naturally impressed me was the collective spirit of this exhibition, Kuckhoff regardless of his own personality, as a comrade in a large community of struggle³⁵. » The exhibition was advertised in the *Berliner Zeitung* and *Neues Deutschland*. It was subsequently reviewed in the *Neue Zeit* and the *Mitteilungen* of the AdK. One reviewer begins by praising the use of sources contemporary to the resistance:

It was [...] no coincidence that it was the documentary material about the resistance that attracted the largest interest from the public at this exhibition. Attentive West German visitors will have noted with interest that the German AdK also showed the positive testimonies about the struggle of this group from West Germany and West Berlin, for example the works by Günther Weisenborn and the text which has recently come out on Kuckhoff by West Berliner I. Drewitz³⁶.

While the author here is eager to retrospectively lay claim to the exhibition's reach across the border, archival evidence suggests that institutional support was rather less than forthcoming in this respect. A letter to the KAW, in which Kuckhoff details the plans for commemoration in December 1968, expresses uncertainty about whether the organisation is interested or willing to be involved in remembering this group and to collaborate with organisations in West Berlin³⁷. Issues of finance pervaded discussions between Wiemers, Kuckhoff and the AdK to the extent that the costs of the original exhibition were still a matter of discussion fifteen months after it ended. In response to a complaint that the exhibition was one of the most expensive the AdK had shown, Kuckhoff responds: « I can't help but reply that my husband gave the most precious thing that one can give – his life – so we could continue our work. You know that the exhibition has expanded into an exhibition about the resistance organisation³⁸. »

Kuckhoff wrote two reports on the exhibition as it travelled to Warsaw and Krakow. She remarked unhappily in a letter to Joy Weisenborn that in Warsaw

the exhibition was better attended than in Berlin³⁹. She emphasises that in Warsaw it was significant for raising consciousness: « The scope and significance of the German resistance was to a large extent unknown, and as such the exhibition could on several occasions be seen as achieving recognition about the breadth of the struggle⁴⁰. » Similarly, in the report about the exhibition's time in Krakow, Kuckhoff argues that she was repeatedly told: « that in Poland very little is known about concrete resistance work, at best via old party functionaries, whose portrayal is nevertheless mechanical and particularly unenthralling for young people⁴¹. » Those involved in organising such events must, she argues, « proceed in a more concrete and varied way⁴². » In an echo of her comments from the immediate post-war period, Kuckhoff maintains that it is « not words but deeds » which can lead to more positive re-evaluations of resistance⁴³. In the Krakow report Kuckhoff insists that an antifascist agenda cannot simply be transferred from one context to the next, but that « the exhibits must be allowed to vary so that in each country, indeed in every city in question (and this must be studied), links can be made to traditions, connections and prejudices⁴⁴. » This very much echoes her comments from an interview with Paul Scholz (KAW) before the exhibition in Berlin when she reiterated the need to approach resistance on the basis of detail and specificity: « It is the particular characteristics which are especially interesting for young people and for the circles we need to win over in Western countries which must be brought out, not those which recur in all resistance stories as if by rote⁴⁵. »

Kuckhoff reminds the addressee of the Krakow report that as those involved in the exhibition hoped for « results above and beyond » it, they should draw on the experiences of the surviving resisters, both in terms of their past opposition to Nazism and their contemporary roles in the East German socialist state (for example her work as leader of the GDR state bank and as a member of the *Liga für Völkerfreundschaft*)⁴⁶. She also stresses the relevance of such personal political capital for the wider political context at that time:

I ascertained in meetings that goodwill towards the SPD government is strong and that great expectations of better relationships between West Germany and Poland are cherished. Often the opinion was expressed that we, the GDR, pursue a policy of « all or nothing » and do not understand the situation of other socialist countries, who not only want a normalisation of the relationship with the Federal Republic but also urgently need it⁴⁷.

While Kuckhoff was unequivocal in her determination to fight Nazism, her understanding of what could, and should, comprise antifascism was far more differentiated. This analysis of the exhibition shows that for her antifascism was

an ideal that constantly had to be worked at, must not be allowed to atrophy, and could not be monolithically imposed regardless of geographical or generational context. Its potential power in the present was signified by past collaboration of people with different political affiliations: it was neither exclusive in terms of gender, background, nor belief. While she was well aware that antifascist resistance did not topple Nazism, this did not, for her, negate its political potential.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

In the same way that an understanding of resistance based on the memories of the « Rote Kapelle » challenged state-supported discourses of antifascism in 1968, these memories can also problematise current monolithic approaches to antifascism. As the Popular Memory Group reminds us, it is simplistic to understand history in terms of evolutionism because in any one society competing cultural forms are always present⁴⁸. In order to understand the past, it is necessary to combine theoretical models with concrete histories of these different cultural forms. In doing so, it is possible to understand history in relation to Raymond Williams's typology of the « dominant, residual and emergent⁴⁹. » In this model, the residual comprises « certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, [but] are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue – cultural as well as social – of some previous social and cultural institution or formation⁵⁰. » Such a residue « may have an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant culture⁵¹. » This oppositional residue must be differentiated from the « active manifestation of the residual [...] which has been wholly or largely incorporated into the dominant culture⁵². » Williams continues:

A residual cultural element is usually at some distance from the effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it – and especially if the residue is from some major area of the past – will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make sense in these areas. Moreover, at certain points, the dominant culture cannot allow too much residual experience and practice outside itself, at least without risk. It is in the incorporation of the actively residual – by reinterpretation, dilution, projection, discriminating inclusion and exclusion – that the work of selective tradition is especially evident⁵³.

It is my contention that memories based on autobiographical antifascist experience, such as Kuckhoff's, are the basis of the oppositional residual in contemporary Germany. Detailed cultural histories of antifascism highlight the competing trajectories that were, and still are, present in discussions about the

state-supported doctrine. Approaches which aim to marginalise the cultural participate in a reinterpretation of antifascism so that it is stripped of any political possibility and harmlessly incorporated into a dominant narrative about the failure of the doctrine. I advocate an examination of the detail of past and present anti-fascist discourse in order to highlight heterogeneity, inherent power relationships, and intersections with other elements of society and culture. Such an examination prevents Williams's model being understood as simplifying or suggesting a homogenising utopia⁵⁴, and points instead to its « conjunctural » function⁵⁵. Drawing on Stuart Hall, Lawrence Grossberg reminds us that « a conjuncture is a description of a social formation as fractured and conflictual, along multiple axes, planes and scales, constantly in search of temporary balances or structural stabilities through a variety of practices and process of struggle and negotiation⁵⁶. » The concept of conjuncture, if understood as « the complex historically specific terrain of a crisis which affects – but in uneven ways – a specific national-social formation as a whole », can be usefully applied to Germany's current battles over antifascism⁵⁷. The cultural turn within these current battles responds to the fact that « culture [...] ha[s] emerged as a crucial domain in which history [is] being made, and resistance [is] being, at least possibly organized⁵⁸. » Like Kuckhoff, I am uneasy about the tendency in current discussions about antifascism to accept « all or nothing ». This case study is the beginning of a project which can hopefully become part of a more differentiated picture.

NOTES

¹ Simone Barck, *Antifa-Geschichte(n): Eine literarische Spurensuche in der DDR der 1950er und 1960er Jahre*, Köln, Böhlau, 2003, p. 19.

² Martin Sabrow et al. (eds.), *Wohin treibt die DDR-Erinnerung?: Dokumentation einer Debatte*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007.

³ Thanks to staff, particularly Ulf Rathje, at the Bundesarchiv (BA), Lichtenfelde West, Berlin. Kuckhoff's Nachlass has the archival number N2506.

⁴ Gerald Wiemers (ed.), *Adam Kuckhoff: Ein Stück Wirklichkeit mehr. Zum 25. Jahrestag der Ermordung von Adam Kuckhoff*, Berlin, Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin, 1968. Many thanks to Professor Wiemers for allowing the reprinting of the photographs in this article.

⁵ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 122.

⁶ Jürgen Danyel, « Die Opfer- und Verfolgtenperspektive als Gründungskonsens? Zum Umgang mit der Widerstandstradition und der Schuldfrage in der DDR », in Jürgen Danyel (ed.), *Die geteilte Vergangenheit: Zum Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Widerstand in beiden deutschen Staaten*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1995, p. 31-46 (p. 32).

⁷ BA N2506/15 Letter Greta Kuckhoff (GK) to Georg Spielmann (Secretary of KAW, Komitee der Antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer) 20.8.1963, p. 6, in which she asks whether a decision has been made not to commemorate the group.

⁸ Manfred Roeder, *Die Rote Kapelle. Europäische Spionage*, Hamburg, Siep, 1952.

⁹ Gilles Perrault, « -, ptx ruft moskau. -. », *Der Spiegel*, no. 21 and 22, 1968.

¹⁰ Harald Poelchau, *Die letzten Stunden: Erinnerungen eines Gefängnispfarrers, aufgezeichnet von Graf Alexander Stenbock-Fermor*, Berlin, Volk und Welt, 1949; Günther Weisenborn, *Der lautlose Aufstand: Bericht über die Widerstandsbewegung des deutschen Volkes [1953]*, Frankfurt am Main, Röderberg, 1981; Ingeborg Drewitz, *Leben und Werk von Adam Kuckhoff. Deutscher Schriftsteller und Widerstandskämpfer hingerichtet durch den Strang in Berlin-Plötzensee am 5. August 1943*, Berlin, Friedenauer Presse, 1968.

¹¹ BA N2506/49 Letter GK to Ernst [Alexander Abusch], 17. 7.1968, p. 154. All translations are my own.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Plans to open on the actual anniversary were changed due to the fear that visitor numbers would be low in the summer. BA N2506/49 Letter AdK to GK 7.9.1967 and Letter GK to Ernst, 17.7.1968, p. 154.

¹⁴ BA N2506/52 Letters GK to Hossinger (AdK) on 1.1.1969 and 10.6.1970, p. 17, 23; BA N2506/49 Letter GK to Hossinger, 3.9.1970, p. 124; Letter GK to Franz Dahlem, 10.9.1970, p. 123.

¹⁵ Although the catalogue is clearly not synonymous with the exhibition, the two were closely conceptually linked. BA N2506/49 Letter AdK to GK 7.9.1967, p. 183.

¹⁶ Kuckhoff insisted that not just the Gestapo photographs were used as was the tendency of West German journalism at the time. BA N2506/49 Letter from GK to Gerald Wiemers, 20.6.1968, p. 155.

¹⁷ Gerald Wiemers (ed.), *Adam Kuckhoff: Ein Stück Wirklichkeit mehr*, op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁸ BA N2506/53 Ausstellungsmaterial (Negative), p. 186-187; BA N2506/49 Letter Gerald Wiemers to GK, 25.9.1968, p. 142-143.

¹⁹ Heine Müller cited in Simone Barck, *Antifa-Geschichte(n)*, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁰ Helmut Peitsch, « The Last Letter Günther Weisenborn's Editing ». Conference paper, « Recalling the Past – Collective and Individual Memory of World War II in Russia and Germany », University of Tampere, December 2006.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²² BA N2506/53 Ausstellungsmaterial (Negative), pp. 186-187.

²³ BA N2506/11 GK auf Forum in Frankfurt/Main 2.7.1966, p. 146-151 (p. 146).

²⁴ Gerald Wiemers (ed.), *Adam Kuckhoff. Ein Stück Wirklichkeit mehr*, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁵ BA N2506/49 Letter Wiemers to GK 26.4.1968, p. 161.

²⁶ In a letter to Soviet historian Lew Besymenski, Kuckhoff is explicit about this: « I also think that it is wrong to link the work of the group with the Party in such a way as happens, for example, in the

Museum of German History [...] There, in one of the display cases, the Harnacks, the Schulze-Boysens and the Kuckhoffs are shown together and supposedly being 'taught by a party representative'. Actually, this emissary only arrived via Gomel at the beginning of August 1943 and the arrests began at the end of August. Before that, the work had been going on for at least nine years. [...] It also seems important to me that, unlike in Sorge's report, spying not be stressed. One should portray, as part of a coherent whole, the educational work within the German population and the work to defeat fascism within the Anti-Hitler coalition [...] ». N2506/28 Letter 12.12.1965, p. 36.

²⁷ Gerald Wiemers (ed.), *Adam Kuckhoff. Ein Stück Wirklichkeit mehr*, op. cit., p. 124.

²⁸ BA N2506/49 Letter GK to Wiemers 20.9.1968, p. 144.

²⁹ Kuckhoff writes: « The name Schulze-Boysen/Harnack is an invention by Weisenborn in his book 'Lautloser Aufstand' ». BA N2506/37 Letter GK to Helmut Marquast, 13.1.1970, p. 75.

³⁰ BA N2506/49 Letter GK to Wiemers 5.4.1968, p. 163.

³¹ BA N2506/49 Letter Wiemers to GK 25.9.1968, p. 142-143 (p. 142).

³² Gerald Wiemers (ed.), *Adam Kuckhoff. Ein Stück Wirklichkeit mehr*, op. cit., p. 125.

³³ BA N2506/52 Letter GK to Biernat 29.4.1968, p. 102.

³⁴ Gerald Wiemers (ed.), *Adam Kuckhoff. Ein Stück Wirklichkeit mehr*, op. cit., p. 127.

³⁵ BA N2506/52 Letter Max Burghardt to GK, 23.10.68, p. 104.

³⁶ BA N2506/49 Journal title illegible, Heft 16, 1968, p. 18.

³⁷ BA N2506/15 Letter GK to KAW 26.2.1968, p. 56.

³⁸ BA N2506/49 Letter GK to H. Kahler (AdK) 10.2.1970, p. 95.

³⁹ BA N2506/42 Letter GK to Joy Weisenborn 4.12.1969, p. 261.

⁴⁰ BA N2506/49 Persönliche Bemerkungen Betr. Adam Kuckhoff Ausstellung, eröffnet in Warschau am 24.XI.69, p. 77-78 (p. 77).

⁴¹ BA N2506/49 Bericht über die Ausstellungseröffnung der Adam-Kuckhoff-Gedächtnis-Ausstellung in Krakau am 25. Mai 70 (-8. Juni), p. 109-111 (p. 109).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴³ BA N2506/49 Persönliche Bemerkungen, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴⁴ BA N2506/49 Bericht über die Ausstellungseröffnung, op. cit., p. 110.

⁴⁵ BA N2506/15 Besprechung mit dem Kameraden Paul Scholz über einige Probleme der 'RK', 3.4.1968, p. 140-141 (p. 141).

⁴⁶ BA N2506/49 Bericht über die Ausstellungseröffnung, op. cit., p. 111.

⁴⁷ BA N2506/49 Persönliche Bemerkungen, op. cit., p. 78.

⁴⁸ Popular Memory Group, « Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method », in Richard Johnson and al. (eds.), *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics* [1982], London, Routledge, 2007, p. 205-252.

⁴⁹ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, op. cit., p. 121-127.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵⁴ Steven Connor, « Raymond Williams's Time », *Keywords: A Journal of Cultural Materialism*, no. 1, 1998, 12-27 (p. 27).

⁵⁵ Lawrence Grossberg, « Does Cultural Studies Have Futures? Should It? (or What's the Matter with New York?: Cultural Studies, Contexts and Conjunctures », *Cultural Studies*, 20 th year, no. 1, 2006, 1-32 (p. 3).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Stuart Hall cited in Grossberg, *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Grossberg argues that culture is « not where change is being organized and experienced » in relation to the current North American context. My alterations to his quotation signal that I do believe this to be the case in Germany. *Ibid.*, p. 7.