


**Berlin, a “Hollow Shell”:
The City as a “Laboratory Study” -
A Report on the Ford Foundation’s
Cultural and Artistic Projects in
Post-war Berlin**

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Berlin, a “Hollow Shell”: The City as a “Laboratory Study” - A Report on the Ford Foundation’s Cultural and Artistic Projects in Post-war Berlin ¹

Without that, we would be protecting a hollow shell.

--Lucius D. Clay

Now that the train connects/
One desolation with another.

--Michael Hamburger

Throughout the Cold War, American philanthropic organisations founded new institutions and supported already established institutions in West Berlin. They became essential players in the cultural life of the Western part of the former German capital. After a disastrous war and the dismemberment of Germany, the ex-capital Berlin, however, continued to exist – to employ a term of a British diplomat – as a “city on leave.” Partly destroyed, disconnected from the “economic miracle” (“Wirtschaftswunder”) of West Germany, and dependent for its survival on material assistance from the Federal Republic, the city nevertheless gained symbolic importance in the ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and the West. On a military level, the city was, as the French political scientist Raymond Aron put it, just a “glacis” in the Cold War’s confrontations. But as a cultural outpost of Western democratic countries, the city obtained importance as a showcase for new artistic movements and cultural tendencies.

The Ford Foundation, in particular, promoted West Berlin’s cultural life with, by contemporary standards, an impressive budget of two million dollars. In the 1960s, Ford co-founded institutions like the Literary Colloquium Berlin (LCB) and the Berlin Artist-in-Residence Program that later became part of the German Academic Exchange Program (DAAD). These programs brought highly

esteemed novelists and poets, like Witold Gombrowicz, Ingeborg Bachmann, Michel Butor, and W.H. Auden to the isolated city. But with the influx of new literary life, unexpected problems arose. It was not only the confrontation with a city that suffered, due to its isolation, from a particular form of provincialism; it was also the place's terrifying past that, in many respects, was still unresolved and that caused painful experiences to some of the aforementioned guests. For some artists, this confrontation led to traumatic reencounters.

I.

Imagine having to sustain a city of 2.5 million people surrounded by a hostile occupation power, a city that was not so much of economic, but rather of symbolic importance for the Cold War. Imagining these circumstances will provide a certain understanding of the situation West Berlin was in during the period from the end of World War II till the fall of the Berlin Wall. For these decades, Berlin became – to quote the first West German President Theodor Heuss – a “world problem.” It became a place that constantly challenged the contemporaries’ “political imagination.”² Berlin represented, in French historian Etienne François’s formulation, *the* “emblematic place” of the twentieth century.³ The city was widely regarded as an emblem for the division of Europe as a consequence of the last war, which had been initiated exactly from that place. Subsequently, the city also became the symbol of the Cold War division of Europe, and of Germany, in particular. But it figured not only as “a symbol,” as the French philosopher Maurice Blanchot objected; it was still “a real city in which human dramas unknown to other big cities are performed.”⁴

Lucius D. Clay, retired US general in occupied Germany and, later, personal representative of President John F. Kennedy in Berlin, gave an apt description of the ongoing crisis, especially after the construction of the Wall. In an oral history, archived in the Oral History Collection at Columbia University in New York, he explained the political situation that became the starting point for a number of cultural “revitalisation programs” in West Berlin. These programs included the Ford Foundation’s Artist-in-Residence Program. (Its papers are

now housed in the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC)). In his oral history, Clay explained the initial problem of these projects. He noted, “There was a real loss in morale in Berlin at the time. People were leaving, and it could have turned into a disaster.”⁵ Therefore, he concluded, they were urged to do something for the city as a “symbol of resistance and determination” against the Soviet power that was positioned just across the border at Potsdam Square or Brandenburg Gate. The United States was nevertheless committed to uphold West Berlin and protect it against a take-over by Soviet forces having around half a million, armed soldiers in their territory. Another difficulty, however, was keeping Berlin residents in town. They not only endured economic misery, a city that did not share in the sudden prosperity of the Federal Republic, but also constantly had to face the threat of new crises. As Clay pointed out, the challenge was “to keep it alive as a city meant you had to infuse it with sufficient economic energy and life to keep alive.” But to “keep it alive” meant, first of all, stopping the migration out of Berlin to the prospering regions in West Germany. Otherwise, he warned, you would have “a dying city on your hands.” After the collapse of the Third Reich and the city’s division, to quote the British Philip Windsor again, Berlin was a “City on Leave” in a fragile geopolitical position.⁶ Therefore, the crucial question for the American representatives was, following Clay, to create “morale building effects” to stabilise the Berliners’ situation: “So the vital part in Berlin was to restore the morale of the people, to give them confidence that West Berlin was going to endure and to continue. Without that, we would be protecting a hollow shell.”⁷

II.

Thus, the crucial point to keep the isolated city alive was to find not only military, but also cultural forms of support. Efforts focused, in fact, on finding ways to keep its organism alive and to integrate the city into the cultural exchange system of the Western world. This attempt required new strategies. West Berlin was on the one hand, as Raymond Aron coined it, a “glacis,” an outpost within the NATO defence system. But on the other hand, it was a city that lost its leading position among the capitals in Central Europe. Berlin had

to re-create its own identity as a “place of culture.”⁸ The European correspondent of the *New Yorker* magazine, Joseph Wechsberg, a Jewish-Czech émigré and journalist of the former German-speaking *Prager Tagblatt*, accurately described the situation, when he wrote in one of his widely-read series of report, “Letters from Berlin”: “Geopolitically, West Berlin has become a suburb of New York City.”⁹ Wechsberg’s diagnosis, though, implied several unsolved problems on a cultural level. Decisive here were the American philanthropic missions of the 1950s and 1960s, especially those of the Rockefeller Foundation and later the Ford Foundation, both operating within the framework of American Cold War cultural politics. Both foundations became key players in financing cultural and artistic projects that tried to strengthen the weak geopolitical position of West Berlin on the level of “soft power.”¹⁰

The Ford Foundation started, like the Rockefeller Foundation did years earlier, with projects in the sector of higher education, for instance, financing new degrees, including American Studies, at the Free University based in Berlin’s southwest corner. The Ford Foundation subsequently developed a broader agenda, and initiated programs targeting a wider support for the city’s cultural life.¹¹ Both foundations inherited the approach of “cultural influencing” from earlier, military dominated institutions, notably from the Allied High Commission for Occupied Germany (HICOG), as the German-American historian Volker R. Berghahn has shown in his pioneering work *America and the Intellectual Cold War in Europe* (2002).¹² But Berghahn, as a historian, barely looked closely at cultural productions, e.g. US-funded magazines like *Der Monat* (*The Month*, 1948-1987), edited by the American journalist Melvin Lasky. Another example is projects of a “democratic” – or bureaucratic – attempt of institution-building in the cultural sector, like the Literarisches Colloquium Berlin (Berlin Literary Colloquium), an institution founded in 1962/63 by Walter Höllerer, former professor of German at the Technical University in West Berlin.



Höllerer (center) during a discussion at the Literary Colloquium:
Picture taken at the Cramerstrasse in West Berlin, 1964.¹³

This literary institution was probably one of Ford's biggest successes during the foundation's Berlin engagement, and it still exists today at Wannsee, on the banks of the city's biggest lake. Höllerer, the co-founder of the Literary Colloquium Berlin (LCB), was at the time already a well-known powerbroker in the intellectual scene of the divided city. Years before, he had established a successful lecture series called *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter* (Language in the Technical Age). For this series, he won the participation of famous authors, including the Americans John Dos Passos and Henry Miller as well as the "inventor" of the French nouveau roman Alain Robbe-Grillet. All lectures were broadcasted by the local radio and television stations.¹⁴ Höllerer was also the person at the Technical University with the most prestigious connections to other leading universities, like Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, ties he cultivated during his year as a visiting professor in the US.¹⁵ He subsequently became engaged in establishing new teaching and writing techniques, like creative writing practices, that were previously unknown in the German-speaking world,

except in East Germany, where officials had established in 1955 a Deutsches Literaturinstitut (German Institute for Literature), following Moscow's model. Nevertheless, pre-war German academia had no tradition of teaching writing at universities or research institutes. They only knew "discussion circles" within the old Academy of Arts, and had remained sceptical about any attempts to "teach" poetry on a professional level.¹⁶

Höllerer, however, as an intellectual "transatlantist," tried to adopt the model already implemented by American institutions. His contacts in the US, including his correspondence with the Ford Foundation, are well documented. His papers are part of his personal literary archive in Bavaria.¹⁷ Through these documents, one can reconstruct how Höllerer became a key figure in Ford's West Berlin network which was mainly built up by the American historian, journalist, and diplomat Shepard Stone. Stone and Höllerer together spearheaded the idea of a new institution to revitalise the city's literary life. What they tried to establish was not only a "show-place of democracy," as a Ford Foundation representative wrote enthusiastically in a report, but at the same time a "showcase" for new "artistic tendencies."¹⁸ In that respect, the Höllerer collection in Bavaria holds significant additional material for research about Ford's program. For example, the memorandum from 1962 documenting the project's beginning announces: "We discussed with Mr. Shepard Stone, the European representative of the Ford Foundation, a project to strengthen Berlin as a 'literary centre.' The Ford Foundation will include this project within the budget of their Berlin mission."¹⁹

III.

This document was, in a certain way, the "memorandum of association" for an astonishing German-American network that became highly influential in the 1960s and beyond. Stone's role in this network is of symbolic significance for the entire mission. Married to a Berlin-born German-Jewish woman, he knew the country and the capital already from the interwar period, during which the young couple lived in the city. Stone, in fact, earned a Ph.D. in History from the

former Friedrich Wilhelm University (today's Humboldt University); his research topic proved his political instinct: He graduated with a work on the German-Polish issue about the Free City of Danzig and the Polish Corridor.²⁰ In 1933, when the Nazi regime took over, the family fled from Germany to the US. But Stone returned several times after the war. His first return was immediately after the surrender, as part of the American Information Control Division. Later, he came back as the European key administrator of the Ford Foundation and as chairman of the anti-communist Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), and later – after the CCF's CIA-scandal – as head of the Aspen Institute, an American non-profit intellectual think tank.²¹

The Shepard Stone papers are today part of the manuscript collection at Dartmouth College and represent, together with the Höllerer papers, an essential addition to the collection housed by the Rockefeller Archive Center. His papers may help future researchers to achieve a more profound understanding of personal motives behind rather anonymous enterprises like the Ford Foundation's. Through his personal letters and in-house memoranda, one may better understand the personal relationships and friendships behind the cultural missions in the post-war era. These missions often had an initial impulse that can be traced back to the experiences and crises of the interwar years in Europe.²² Putting these perspectives together, one realises, for instance, that Stone's brother-in-law, Walter Hasenclever, a Berlin-born journalist and philosopher, played an eminent role in bringing the German and American key figures together to the table. This intellectual networking is brought to light by a letter Hasenclever wrote to Höllerer in 1962. Here, he sketches out the premise of the Ford Foundation, and of his brother-in-law Stone in particular: "It is our [the Ford Foundation's] aim to discover new possibilities that distinguishes Berlin culturally from other cities. I have reported them [to Ford's representatives] about the project of establishing a School of Creative Writing that we have already discussed [...]. Therefore, my brother-in-law will try to get in touch with you."²³

In August 1962, a year after the construction of the Wall, the Ford Foundation launched its own memorandum. Alongside Höllerer's, this paper lays out the scheme of their "Berlin project":

The Foundation's decision to intensify a Berlin program is a welcome one. Its belief in the importance of Berlin's status – as a symbol of Western solidarity – has, of course, already been demonstrated by its consequential assistance to a number of worthy projects. The proposals hereunder are offered as a facet of an increased program, restricted to the exchanges of people and materials (and hence of ideas) in the creative, the performing arts, and the humanities.²⁴

This paper picks up an idea Stone has developed some years earlier, as he highlighted the role of the city as a laboratory study of its time, and its conflicts: "The city of Berlin in itself," Stone concluded in 1951, "is a laboratory study of the major social tensions of our age. Its political forum straddles the line between East and West. Its economic problems are unparalleled in the modern world."²⁵ It was Ford's political analyst – a refugee from Germany – Albert D. Kappel who endorsed in his key essay Stone's position and put forward the strategic importance of Berlin as a "Four Power City." Berlin, Kappel explained, located "in the middle of the Russian occupation zone, was to be run jointly by four powers, with each one taking its turn as the governing head of the city. This was to be the great experiment and the laboratory for a cooperative effort in peace – a utopian concept which was soon to lead to disaster."²⁶

Out of this disaster—the Russian attempts to undermine the Allied Four Power Status of Berlin—the Americans realised the necessity to start their own "laboratory experiment" in their remained half of West Berlin. They understood that they had to reassert their engagement in order maintain US-influence over West Berlin. For a certain period of time, the threat of protecting just a hollow shell, ready for Soviet Union's take over, was to some extent a real threat. Therefore, the 1962 memorandum, with the Cuban Missile Crisis as backdrop, tried to define new ways of cultural support for a city that represented a problem, as Windsor put it, of being "capable of starting a world war."²⁷ Despite or because of these circumstances, the Foundation followed an almost idealistic approach to tackle the Cold War crises in the city: "Artists and humanists,

forming a small percentage of a total community, nevertheless influence to a remarkable degree the society in which they live and flourish (if they flourish). They have a dominant role in establishing thought patterns of generations which follow them.”²⁸ For this approach, Berlin could serve as a test case to contribute to the Western world’s cultural viability. Newly created institutions would, then, represent a laboratory model for a new “urban life,” as Ford Foundation’s chief of the Arts Program, Mateo Luttnich, wrote in an almost utopian vein.

This vision went hand in hand with the proposals advanced by the mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, notably the concept of a “Kulturstadt” or “cultural city,” as compensation for the loss of its status as Germany’s capital. This initial idea of a Kulturstadt gained currency, in particular, as reaction to the construction of the Wall. The aim was to convince mostly young people of the Federal Republic to move to the isolated town to re-vitalize and repopulate it. The Ford Foundation played their part in this strategy. All along these lines, the 1962 memorandum concluded: “All these exchanges, as complement to a larger and more comprehensive program in Berlin, could have a great morale-building effect on the city (as a secondary result) and an enormous intellectual influence on the future (the most important result).”²⁹ The reality, contrary to these lofty hopes, was a city with a growing atmosphere of unreality. There was a widespread feeling of an “eternal uncertainty” in town. The people of West Berlin felt like living on a “loses Blatt”, a “loose leaf” in the wind, living on a small island in an ongoing turmoil.³⁰ Even the Western diplomats had “occasional nightmares,” to quote Kappel again, that one day there could be “sudden orientation” of all of Berlin towards Moscow.

IV.

The Ford Foundation started its cultural commitment not only through the financial support of an institution. Höllerer’s and Stone’s project of a Literary Colloquium also tried to combine the creative writing school approach, for mostly young West German scholars, with an international Artist-in-Residence

Program that sought to provide a reorientation of the city towards the Western art scene. The program started though, as the author of Ford's "Artist in Residence" report, Peter Nestler, wrote, at a "psychological nadir." This impression of a "nadir" made it even more difficult to bring in a fresh "fluctuation of artists and ideas" to a place that had but thirty years ago, during the booming years of the interwar period, not needed such support.³¹ Yet, one hope behind this project was to bring back the lost cosmopolitan ambiance to the city. Therefore, Ford Foundation's representatives tried to attract internationally acknowledged poets and novelists. They included the exiled Polish Witold Gombrowicz coming from Argentina to West Berlin, the Austrian Ingeborg Bachmann, the French Michel Butor, the British W.H. Auden, and also musicians like the Greek-French composer Iannis Xenakis, or painters like the Italian Emilio Vedova who contributed to the program with his still known *Absurd Berlin Diary* (1964), a cycle of paintings in the representative style of post-war abstract expressionism.

In another memorandum, the poet W.H. Auden described the complete transformation and absurd situation in the city. The situation was seen through the eyes of a witness of old Berlin's heyday. Auden argued that the city was, compared with its former vitality, at a "low mark" of its potential. The city's social life, well-known to him from Weimar times, existed only on a greatly reduced scale:

W.H. Auden, who had not been in Berlin since the twenties, explained the problem of absorption as he saw it in the sixties: "Berlin has become more provincial and is no longer as "Berlinish" as it once was. Proof of this that foreigners no longer can be assimilated whereas years ago foreigners were not noticed because they became Berliners at once. Today they stick out."³²

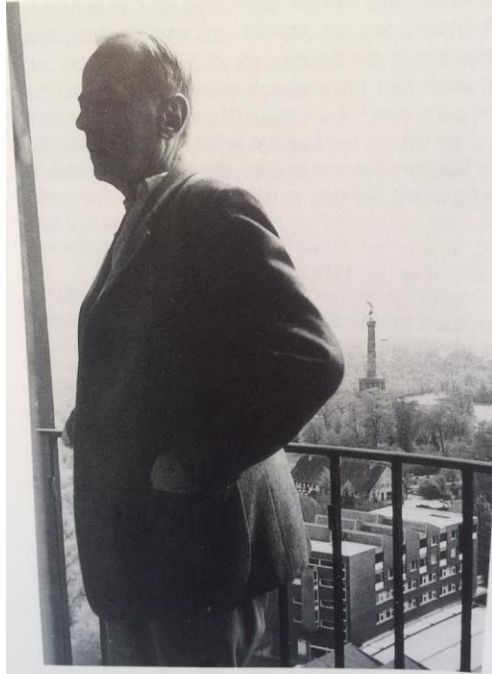
The problem Auden discovered – beyond the official rhetoric of an "internationalization" of West Berlin – was a subtle turn towards provincialism.³³ For Auden, therefore, the entire idea, in the words of the critic Robert Manning formulated, to "inject into the atmosphere of gloom and tension that followed the building of the Wall a sense of creative ferment, of

literary activity” was not convincing. It could not persuade him because it ignored the “home grown problems” every poet must face, if he is truly attached to his city. For Auden, the prototypes of a “city’s poet” were still the modern classics such as Charles Baudelaire, and T.S. Eliot for his own time.³⁴ But the ruined Berlin lacked the conditions of London and Paris in past decades, or indeed Berlin itself during the Weimar years. This lack of a cultural centre was not only detected by an experienced poet like Auden, but also by the Ford Foundation’s visiting scouts. What they missed was a “cultural agora,” a Saint-Germain-de-Prés, like in Paris: “Berlin has no ‘village’, no artist’s clubs, and general artists here (...) feel little need for sociable contact with their colleagues.”³⁵ Writers like the poet Bachmann or the novelist and essayist Gombrowicz had a similarly frustrating experience of an almost hidden cultural scene. Berlin was home to a scene that was quite sceptical, even hostile to any kind of attempts of “managed” cultural politics. They had already had bad experiences with all kinds of 20th-century ideologies. All of them, fascists, communists etc., had tried to harness literary life in the city and enforced their narrow ideas of aesthetics.

The aphorisms of the Berlin-based novelist and essayist Martin Kessel may serve as an example of the common mistrust. He was already a promising talent around 1930, when he wrote his novel *Herrn Brechers Fiasko* (*Mr. Brecher’s Fiasco*, 1932), a Laurence Sternean satirical masterpiece about the urban heart of Weimar’s cultural industry: about the former newspaper district of the Friedrichstraße. Since that publication, he remained a critical outsider throughout his life. Kessel was part of the “inner emigration” during the Nazi period, when he refused to collaborate with the regime. He wrote, at the peak of the Ford Foundation’s investment in West Berlin’s literary life, a series of remarkable polemic aphorisms about the “Kulturbetrieb,” the “cultural sector.” These were laconic, witty pieces in a Nietzschean tradition, like the following: “Kultur kann man nicht veranstalten, man muß sie haben.”³⁶ (“You cannot organise culture, you must have it.”) Or his aphorism that criticizes the corruptibility and the self-preserving system of the city’s subsidised cultural sector: “Alles Institutionelle ist ein Moloch, der gefüttert sein will.”³⁷ (“Every Institutional is a moloch that wants to be fed.”) In that respect, Kessel continued

a tradition of cultural critic that can be traced back to poets like Friedrich Hölderlin who already made similar statements: “The crowd likes best what sells in the marketplace.”³⁸ So Kessel was part of an older generation that remained sceptical about any popular attempts to “promote” new – often American – literary tendencies, or novelists like Dos Passos and Miller, in post-war Berlin. For writers like him, these so-called new tendencies often looked like new wine in old bottles, like revenants from Berlin’s decade of “New Objectivity” from the interwar years.³⁹

Polish émigré Gombrowicz, familiar with the old European style of the pre-war coffeehouse literature, nevertheless tried to establish something in Berlin he knew from Warsaw and the central European capitals. In a moving letter to the German writer Günter Grass (parts of Grass’s correspondence are now in the archive of Berlin’s Academy of Arts), Gombrowicz suggests his idea of an informal literary meeting place. It was an idea that couldn’t find a fruitful environment in the city’s intellectual climate during these years: “Je suis en train d’organiser,” Gombrowicz wrote in 1963, “un café artistique.” It should be a place, he proposed, comparable to the Viennese coffeehouses: a place with no lectures or organised discussions, just a venue for playful sociability. It should be something “without any obligation”: “C’est un café et il n’y a aucune obligation... mais il se peut que vous serez de mon avis que c’est une chose qui manque à Berlin.”⁴⁰ Gombrowicz rightly underlined the fact that, due to the “centerlessness” of post-war Berlin, such a place was “missing.” It was a town, he later analysed in his *Berliner Notizen* (*Berlin Journal*), published by the German publishing house Neske in 1965, like a “fata morgana”: a virtually “liquidated capital.”⁴¹



Gombrowicz in West Berlin in May 1964:
View from his apartment in the Tiergarten district.⁴²

With respect to Gombrowicz's apt description of the city's situation – its post-war “centerlessness” – his own idea of introducing an informal literary meeting place was obviously condemned to fail. Even worse, Gombrowicz became involuntarily involved in what he called the Cold War's “Flitterkram der Demagogie” (its “glitter of demagogy”).⁴³ He became a victim of an organised campaign, set off by Socialist Poland's demagogic machine. It launched a reprehensible defamation campaign against him as a “traitor” and “renegade.” The communist regime accused him, as a short-term resident in West Berlin, of being a “collaborator” with capitalist West Germany, which is to say, with the former aggressor.⁴⁴ In November 1963, Gombrowicz wrote a letter to Shepard Stone, in which he expressed his deep disappointment: “My presence here in Berlin is considered provocative; and it is interpreted as a collaboration by me with ‘the revanchist spirit’ of West Germany against Poland.”⁴⁵ As a consequence, the communist press tried to destroy his “influence among the intellectuals” in Poland, even though his writings had never any other “meaning,” Gombrowicz confessed, than a “European” one. Sadly, one may conclude that he ended up in Berlin in an ideological no man's land, caught

between enemy lines. Berlin was, in fact, as Gombrowicz's case shows, a melting pot of all kinds of Cold War warriors.

We can see from this anecdote and several others among the Ford Foundation records that the city was, to a certain degree, a place of an ongoing "aftermath," that is the trauma of Europe's recent catastrophe.⁴⁶ Berlin was still a place of suffering and a place with omnipresent shadows of the past: a "Shadow Land," to draw on an expression of the East Berlin poet Johannes Bobrowski.⁴⁷ It was a place where recent history could be discovered and revisited at almost every turn. Berlin was a city that confronted the survivors of these catastrophes, of the Shoah in particular, with their own painful "intermittent memoir," as the British Berlin-born poet and émigré Michael Hamburger once said. In a similar way, the French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann compared the devastated city landscape with a landscape of our own collective memory. It represented for him a "trou de mémoire," a "memory gap," a "trou au cœur," a "hole in our heart," but also a gap in the sense of an urban threshold space that confronts us with otherwise repressed traces of the past.⁴⁸ Even in this respect, Clay was right in comparing post-war Berlin with a "hollow shell." But he would have been surprised, if someone had told him that some decades ago a German philosopher, Walter Benjamin, used exactly the same metaphor to describe his relation to the city: "Like a mollusc in its shell," he described his involvement with the place in the autobiographical sketch *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert* (*Berlin Childhood around 1900, 1938/50*). But already in the 1930s, this world began to disappear: The shadow of the Third Reich had lain over the city's image. "Old Berlin" had now lain "hollow" before him, the writer formulated later in his French exile, "like an empty shell."⁴⁹

Hamburger picked up Benjamin's image of the "empty shell" on the occasion of one of his returns to his hometown, while walking through the city's "empty spaces."⁵⁰ But a survivor like Hamburger could still find "some traces of my childhood even among the ruins of Berlin." He found traces that went deeper than any form of "conscious memory."⁵¹ Hence, as a Berlin insider, he knew that the current loss of a cultural centre did not derive merely from the Cold War's current conflict. Just someone like him could remember the beginnings of the

vacuum, of the dispersion of cultural life, and he saw all this rooted in the decline of the late Weimar Republic. For him, Weimar represented the era of political extremisms that gave the prelude to what he called the “fragmentation of the centre” in German culture.⁵² This was his controversial contribution to the intellectual debates in post-war Berlin and to the reflections on recent history. No coincidentally, Hamburger was also a guest of Höllerer’s initiatives. Höllerer invited him, at the same time as the Ford Foundation’s program, to a conference on “Literature and Politics.” Even though Hamburger was not officially part of the Artist-in-Residence Program, he was nonetheless an important figure of Höllerer’s effort to reconnect West Berlin with the intellectual world.⁵³

Hamburger would later return to the city. In the 1970s, he himself received a stipend from the DAAD-program that followed Ford’s earlier exchange engagement.⁵⁴ However, for survivors like him, Berlin remained, as Wechsberg wrote, a place with an “eerie atmosphere.”⁵⁵ It was a place, to speak with the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, where “all these contradictions” of recent history and all “horrible ghosts” of the past were present.⁵⁶ At the same time, it was a place with the power to destroy our self-protective attitude towards a “foreshortening of history,” to tackle our unwillingness to confront the past.⁵⁷ Here, different sediments of time overlapped with each other: Remnants of the Wilhelminian period were just next to ones of the Weimar Republic, alongside the ruins of a National Socialist megalomania. All this was surrounded by fields of rubble that only slowly had been removed and replaced by new forms of modernist and socialist architecture.⁵⁸ It was a place, as Hamburger put it in his poem *S-Bahn* (1965), in which the urban railway connects – in an allegorical way – “one desolation with another, / Punctual as ever, moves through the rubble / Of Kaiser, President, Führer.”⁵⁹

V.

The Ford Foundation's evaluation of its own program was, in the end, a rather dark, gloomy summary that nevertheless tells a lot about the deeper problems of the post-war situation. One can sense it in a critical article about the project:

Most of the guests invited by the Foundation do not feel at home in Berlin; they complain that they are isolated and do not find contact – and the reaction of the resident artists of Berlin varies from aloofness to envy. (...) Gombrowicz started last year a group in the Zuntz Café at the Kurfürstendamm where anyone interested could meet. But when Gombrowicz had to go to the hospital for several months, it was the end of the group.⁶⁰

Gombrowicz suffered in Berlin from a heart condition, the typical émigré's disease; he finally had to stay in a private hospital for months. The Ford Foundation representatives, therefore, worried about the writer's health and assumed in an in-house letter that something "has affected his heart" during his stay.⁶¹ The émigré, as Hamburger often put it, became once more the man with the "naked thinking heart."⁶² In a final report on the Artist-in-Residence Program, which already ended in 1966, Nestler became almost melancholic, when he summed up: "Presumably it was not realised clearly what physical and of psychical stresses were involved in a temporary migration to Berlin (...). In more than one case the sojourn in Berlin became a stay in hospital for those of excessive age or chronic ill health."⁶³ In the report, one can further read:

The noble gesture" to invite former émigrés from Germany and all over Europe was now considered a "mistake", or at least an unforeseen challenge that had been underestimated by the administrators in charge: The encounter of former Germans, most of them of Jewish faith, with a completely changed country, with people unknown to them, but above all with different eyes of their own, produced regrettable disappointment.

The phenomenon they tried to grasp here was accompanied by a form of "retraumatization," an unconscious reminder of a past trauma that resulted in a painful re-experiencing period.⁶⁴ But these traumatic "confrontations" could

also turn into acts of creativity that led to some of the most remarkable literary attempts to deal with the post-war setting in Berlin.⁶⁵ There was no direct way to address this, but many ways of circumscribing variations. There were many ways to circle around this “traumatic kernel” that remained present in the city’s “eerie atmosphere.”⁶⁶ Texts like Gombrowicz’ *Berliner Notizen* or Hamburger’s essays, such as *Niemandsland-Variationen* (1966) – the *No Man’s Land Variations* – invented new modes of artistic expression to deal with city’s uncanny “condition of silence.”⁶⁷ It showed again that literature and poetry are, in a way, indispensable to the expression of trauma. Thus, the real contribution to art in Berlin did not come so much through institutional projects, like the creative writing seminars, but rather through forms of personal affliction and intervention. Writers like Gombrowicz and Hamburger introduced unforeseeable and surprisingly different forms of expression that bridged the “hiatus, deathly distance,” as Hamburger wrote, between the past and the present of the city by the “breath of poetry.”⁶⁸ They were struck by Berlin as a place that renewed their awareness of the “wound of exile.”

Particularly these authors, involved with the “spirit of the place” brought to light the city’s complex history, and embarked on the search for new forms of expression. These re-encounters brought forth works of artistic “self-expression,” based on the vibrations of their own souls.⁶⁹ These writers were capable of embodying the old insight that poetry tells one, “what one is and has been and will be, where one has come from and where one is going.”⁷⁰ It is this eye-opening perspective – with the “eyes” of the visiting émigrés – that turns the Ford Foundation records into documents that reveal an almost forgotten chapter of post-war history. These documents may help us to develop a deeper sensibility for the underlying conflicts of the era in the “aftermath” of 20th century’s catastrophes. In many respects, this research is still in its nascent stage. It could be one, as Hamburger formulated it once, that may enrich us with yet undiscovered “act(s) of a bearing witness.”⁷¹

¹ The following report is the result of a four-week research trip to New York City and the Rockefeller Archive Center in Sleepy Hollow, generously supported by a research stipend of the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC). With the help of Rockefeller's archivists, notably the late senior archivist Tom Rosenbaum, I found additional material in the Oral History Collection at the Columbia University and in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. Combined with my earlier research at the Dartmouth College in Hanover, NH at the Special Collection in the University of Chicago, as well as in Berlin and Bavaria, I hope to be able to present some insights about the cultural projects of American philanthropic organisations, like the Ford Foundation, in the former divided city of Berlin. The author is indebted to Joel B. Lande's (Princeton) editorial assistance and to Camille Farnoux (Berlin) for her support throughout the entire research project.

² Cf.: Theodor Heuss. Berlin. 1960 Munich, p. 9.

³ Cf.: Etienne François. Berlin: Emblème du XXième siècle, in: *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui*. 2017/3, pp. 57-65.

⁴ Maurice Blanchot. Berlin, in: MLN. Apr. 1994. Vol. 109. No. 3, pp. 345-335, 346.

⁵ Lucius D. Clay. Reminiscences of Lucius DuBignon Clay, p. 64. 1975. Coll/Proj: Continental Group Project. Call Number: NXCP87-A394. Oral History Collection. Columbia University. Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

⁶ For the metaphor see: Philip Windsor. *City on Leave. A History of Berlin 1945-1962*. London 1963.

⁷ Reminiscences of Lucius DuBignon Clay, p. 87. Coll/Proj: Continental Group Project. Call Number: NXCP87-A394. Oral History Collection. Columbia University. Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

⁸ See: Raymond Aron. De Berlin à Nankin (1948), in: *ibid. Les Articles du Figaro. La Guerre Froide (Juin 1947 à mai 1955). Tome Premier. Présentation et notes par Georges-Henri Souou*. Paris 1990, pp. 153-156, 155.

⁹ Joseph Wechsberg. Letter from Berlin. Killed 12/27/63. Box 1488, p. 5. The New York Public Library. Rare Books and Manuscripts Division. *The New Yorker* Records. Manuscripts: Fact: Run & Killed, 1959-1966. I located Wechsberg's materials with the generous help of RAC archivist Tom Rosenbaum.

¹⁰ The Rockefeller Foundation was mostly engaged in the sector of higher education, in supporting new Area Studies like "Osteuropastudien" ("East European Studies") as part of the humanities at the Free University: Rockefeller Foundation records, projects, RG 1.2 (FA387). 717 Germany Free University of Berlin. 1951. Series 717: Germany. Box 1. Folder 7. In addition, the Rockefeller Foundation had a program to support individual "Press Personnel" in post-war Germany and West Berlin. Well-known journalists, intellectuals, and press managers, like Eugen Kogon, Dolf Sternberger and Christian Kracht, Sr., benefited from these programs once initiated by Rockefeller. For more see: Rockefeller Foundation, Projects, RG 1.2. (FA387). 717R: Germany. Press Personnel 1947-1955. Series VI. Box 11, Folder 114-116.

¹¹ For the Ford Foundation's projects at the Free University: Ford Foundation records. Grants S-Thel (FA732G). The Free University of Berlin (05800260); Series: Ford Foundation Grants – S to Thel. Date: 1958 June 23 – 1963 June 22. Reel 2419.

¹² See: Volker R. Berghahn. *America and the Intellectual Cold War in Europe*. Princeton 2002.

¹³ The photo by Renate von Mangoldt (Berlin) is also part of the RAC's collection, cf.: Ford Foundation records. Photographs (FA738). Artists in Residence - Germany; Series

3: General, Program, and Project. Photographs; Subseries 3_5: Humanities and the Arts. Box 84. Folder 1388. With thanks to Renate von Mangoldt.

¹⁴ About Höllerer as a “project maker” in the divided city of Berlin cf.: Jutta Müller-Tamm. Das geteilte Berlin als Katalysator der Internationalisierung des Literaturbetriebs. Ringvorlesung “berliner weltliteraturen”, December 3, 2020. Online at: <https://www.temporal-communities.de/explore/listen-read-watch/lectures/berliner-weltliteraturen/videos-weltliteraturen/mueller-tamm-das-geteilte-berlin/index.html> (last visit: May 6, 2021). About Höllerer also: Helmut Böttiger. *Elefantenrunden. Walter Höllerer und die Erfindung des Literaturbetriebs. Berlin 2005.*

¹⁵ About Höllerer’s relations to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) cf.: Walter Höllerer, December 8, 1959. Memorandum zur Gründung eines Instituts “Sprache im technischen Zeitalter”. Walter Höllerer Archiv, Sulzbach-Rosenberg (Bavaria, Germany).

¹⁶ For the attempt of establishing a “Dichterakademie“, a Poet’s Academy in the Weimar years, see the writer and former secretary of the Academy of Arts in Berlin Oskar Loerke. Loerke was however convinced that „talent is not “teachable”: Oskar Loerke. Die Aufgaben der Dichterakademie (1928), in: *ibid. Reden und kleinere Aufsätze.* Edited by Hermann Kasack, in: *Abhandlungen der Klasse Literatur.* 1956, No. 5. Published by Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, pp. 40-43.

¹⁷ For Höllerer’s interest in American creative writing techniques, see his correspondence with: Fred Fehling, State University of Iowa, December 26, 1961. Walter Höllerer Archiv, Sulzbach-Rosenberg (Bavaria, Germany).

¹⁸ For the “show-place”-metaphor see: James B. Conant. A Report to the President and Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation. (Report on Two Years in Berlin, June 1965), in: Ford Foundation records, Reports 1 -3254 (FA739A). Unpublished reports 000430. Catalogued Reports. Box 24. Folder 423. For the “showcase” metaphor, see also: John O. Carpenter. Berlin, in: *Sociological Focus.* Vol. 1, No. 4. 1968, pp. 48-58, esp. 55.

¹⁹ Walter Höllerer. Stiftung zur Förderung der Neueren Literatur in Berlin. November 27, 1962 (in German). Walter Höllerer Archiv, Sulzbach-Rosenberg (Bavaria, Germany).

²⁰ See: Shepard Stone. Dissertation “Deutschland, Danzig und Polen 1918-1932.” University of Berlin, pp. 200, 1932. Series 1, Pre-War, 1928-1940. Box 1. Folder 36. Shepard Stone Papers, Dartmouth College.

²¹ For a better understanding of the ties between the cultural projects in Berlin and the intellectual network of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, see, for instance, the correspondence with Höllerer: University of Chicago Library. Special Collections Research Center. International Association for Cultural Freedom, Records. Box 145. Germany 1962-1963. Folder 6. About the activities of the Information Control Division in replacing the Nazi ideology in occupied West Germany cf. Edward C. Breitenkamp. The U.S. Information Control Division and Its Effect on German Publishers and Writers 1945 to 1949. Grand Forks, N.D. 1953. For Stone’s involvement in the CCF’s CIA-scandal cf.: Harm Langenkamp. ““A Most Interesting and Complex Involvement”: Cold War Alignments between the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and the Central Intelligence Agency,” in: Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports, May 2021, esp. 12.

²² See also the key role of Stone’s brother-in-law Walter Hasenclever in building up the Literary Colloquium in cooperation with Höllerer: Walter Hasenclever. Gedanken über

die finanzielle Unterstützung der Teilnehmer am Colloquium, 28.11.1963: Walter Höllerer Archiv, Sulzbach-Rosenberg (Bavaria, Germany).

²³ Letter from Walter Hasenclever to Walter Höllerer, April 20 1962 (in German). Walter Höllerer Archiv, Sulzbach-Rosenberg (Bavaria, Germany). See also the early correspondence Stone-Hasenclever in: Charlotte Stone: Letters from Walter Hasenclever, 1943-1945, undated. Series 2, WWII, 1941-1945. Box 3. Folder 67. Shepard Stone Papers, Dartmouth College.

²⁴ Mateo Luttnich, Chief, Arts Program to Joseph E. Slater, August 13 1962, p. 1. Ford Foundation records, International Affairs, Office Files of Joseph E. Slater (FA619). Europe/Atlantic Berlin Jan 1962 Dec. 1965. Series II: Geographic Files; Subseries 2: Europe/Atlantic; Subseries: Countries. Box 17 Folder 160.

²⁵ Shepard Stone and John McCloy: Memorandum on the Free University Berlin, p. 2. Ford Foundation records. Grants S-Thel (FA732G). The Free University of Berlin (05100041); The Ellen and John McCloy Fund (05100045). Date: 1951. Reel 0489.

²⁶ Albert D. Kappel. Berlin-Dossier, p. 5. Ford Foundation records, International Affairs, Office Files of Joseph E. Slater (FA619). Europe/Atlantic Berlin Jan 1962 Dec 1965. Series II: Geographic Files; Subseries 2: Europe/Atlantic; Subseries: Countries. Box 17 Folder 160.

²⁷ Cf.: Windsor. *City on Leave*, 9.

²⁸ Mateo Luttnich, Chief Arts Program, to Joseph E. Slater, August 13, 1962, p. 1. Ford Foundation records, International Affairs, Office Files of Joseph E. Slater (FA619). Europe/Atlantic Berlin Jan 1962 Dec 1965. Series II: Geographic Files; Subseries 2: Europe/Atlantic; Subseries: Countries. Box 17 Folder 160.

²⁹ Mateo Luttnich, Chief Arts Program, to Joseph E. Slater, August 13, 1962, p. 3. Ford Foundation records, International Affairs, Office Files of Joseph E. Slater (FA619). Europe/Atlantic Berlin Jan 1962 Dec 1965. Series II: Geographic Files; Subseries 2: Europe/Atlantic; Subseries: Countries. Box 17 Folder 160.

³⁰ Cf.: Kappel. Berlin-Dossier, p. 21. Ford Foundation records, International Affairs, Office Files of Joseph E. Slater (FA619). Europe/Atlantic Berlin Jan 1962, Dec 1965. Series II: Geographic Files; Subseries 2: Europe/Atlantic; Subseries: Countries. Box 17 Folder 160. For the metaphor of Berlin as a “loose leaf” see: Kurt Ihlenfeld. *Loses Blatt Berlin. Dichterische Erkundung der geteilten Stadt*. Witten and Berlin 1968, p. 8.

³¹ The Berlin Cultural Program “Artists in Residence” 1963-1966. A report on experience gained by Peter Nestler, p.2. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732C). German Academic Exchange Service (0630351). Series: Ford Foundation Grants –E to G. Date: 1963 May 29 - 1966 July 23. Reel 3075.

³² Inter-Office Memorandum “Artists-in-Residence” Program in Berlin. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732C). German Academic Exchange Service (0630351). Series: Ford Foundation Grants – E to G. Date: 1963 May 29 - 1966 July 23. Reel 3075.

³³ Auden made a similar observation as the London-based German critic Karl Heinz Bohrer, who once mocked about the ‘green city’ of Berlin: “Das Grün ist eine Metapher der Enturbanisierung”: Karl Heinz Bohrer. *Provinzialismus. Ein physiognomisches Panorama*. München 2000, p. 86.

³⁴ Robert Manning: *The Literarisches Colloquium Berlin (1965)*, p. 2. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732E). *Literary Colloquium Berlin (06300355)*. Series: Ford Foundation Grants – L to N. Date: 1963 June 05 - 1966 June 04. Reel 0681. For the tradition from Baudelaire to Eliot of a metamorphosis of “urban material” into poetry,

cf.: Michael Hamburger. *Wahrheit und Poesie. Spannungen in der modernen Lyrik von Baudelaire bis zur Gegenwart*. Frankfurt/Main 1985, p. 348.

³⁵ Ford Foundation. The Berlin Cultural Program “Artists in Residence” 1963-1966. A report on experience gained by Peter Nestler, p. 9. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732C). German Academic Exchange Service (0630351). Series: Ford Foundation Grants –E to G. Date: 1963 May 29 -1966 July 23. Reel 3075.

³⁶ Martin Kessel. *Gegengabe. Aphoristisches Kompendium für hellere Köpfe*. Darmstadt Berlin-Spandau Neuwied am Rhein 1960, p. 12.

³⁷ Kessel. *Gegengabe*, p. 13.

³⁸ I quote from Michael Hamburger’s translation: Friedrich Hölderlin. Human Applause, in: *ibid. Poems and Fragments*. Translated by Michael Hamburger. Bi-Lingual Edition with a Preface, Introduction and Notes. London 1966, p 47.

³⁹ Kessel’s friend, the writer and critic Hermann Kesten, made a similar comment during his New York years in exile: “Berolina rediviva in New York.“ Hermann Kesten. *Die gevierteilte Literatur* (1952), in: *ibid. Der Geist der Unruhe. Literarische Streifzüge*. Köln-Berlin 1959, 116-134, esp. 128.

⁴⁰ Letter from Witold Gombrowicz to Günter Grass, August 23 1963. Günter Grass Archiv 6510. Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin. See also for Gombrowicz’ attempt to adjust to Berlin’s literary life: Karl Haas to Joseph E. Slater and Shepard Stone, December 19, 1963. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732C). German Academic Exchange Service (0630351). Series: Ford Foundation Grants –E to G. Date: 1963 May 29 -1966 July 23. Reel 3075.

⁴¹ Cf.: Witold Gombrowicz. *Berliner Notizen*. Pfullingen 1965, p. 73+105.

⁴² The photo by Susanna Fels (Berlin) is taken from: Rita Gombrowicz. *Gombrowicz en Europe. Témoignages et documents 1963-1969*. Paris 1988, pp. 104-105. With thanks to Rita Gombrowicz.

⁴³ Cf.: Gombrowicz. *Berliner Notizen*, 104.

⁴⁴ For more about the “Anti-Gombrowicz Campaign“ see also Gombrowicz’s letter to Shepard Stone from ca. 1963/64 in: Rita Gombrowicz. *Gombrowicz en Europe*, p 222.

⁴⁵ Witold Gombrowicz to Shepard Stone, November 15, 1963. Witold Gombrowicz papers. Berliner Künstlerprogramm Archiv, DAAD (Berlin, Germany). With thanks to Sabine Blödorn.

⁴⁶ For the idea of an European “aftermath“-experience see: Cécile Wajsbrot. Echos eines Spaziergangs in der Künstlerkolonie, in: *Sinn und Form* 2/2015, pp. 253-265, esp. 255.

⁴⁷ “Ungestorben aber / die finstere Zeit, umher“. Johannes Bobrowski. Gertrud Kolmar (1961), in: *ibid. Die Gedichte. Erster Band*. Stuttgart 1987, p.116.

⁴⁸ Cf.: Claude Lanzmann. Trou de mémoire, in: *Les Temps Modernes*. Nov. 2003 (625), pp. 3-16, 4. See also: Andreas Huyssen. The Voids of Berlin, in: *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1997), No. 1, pp. 57-81.

⁴⁹ “Ich hauste so wie ein Weichtier in der Muschel haust im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, das nun hohl wie eine leere Muschel vor mir liegt.“ Walter Benjamin. *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert*, in: *ibid. Gesammelte Schriften IV-1*. Edited by Tillmann Rexroth. Frankfurt/Main 1991, 235-304, 261.

⁵⁰ Cf.: Michael Hamburger. *A Mug’s Game, Intermittent Memoirs*. Cheadle 1975, p. 146. For Hamburger’s reference to Benjamin’s *Berlin Childhood* see: Michael Hamburger. *Berliner Variationen*, in: *ibid. Zwischen den Sprachen. Essays und Gedichte*. Frankfurt/Main 1966, pp. 9-25, 13.

⁵¹ Cf.: Hamburger. *A mug’s game*, p. 15.

⁵² Cf.: Michael Hamburger. *Proliferation of Prophets. Essays on German Writers from Nietzsche to Brecht*. Manchester 1983, p. 290.

⁵³ Cf.: Hamburger. *Berliner Variationen*, p. 21. See also the correspondence between Hamburger and Höllerer in the Michael Hamburger collection at the British Library (London, UK).

⁵⁴ The DAAD funded a bilingual edition of his poems, published by the Literary Colloquium: Michael. Hamburger. *Gedichte. Englisch und Deutsch. Mit einem Nachwort von Hans Mayer*. Berlin (West) 1976. For Hamburger papers related to his time in Berlin see: Michael Hamburger papers. Berliner Künstlerprogramm Archiv, DAAD (Berlin, Germany).

⁵⁵ Cf.: Joseph Wechsberg. *Journey through the land of eloquent silence. Killed in galley 12/24/64*. Box 1489, p. 140. The New York Public Library. Rare Books and Manuscripts Division. *The New Yorker Records*. Manuscripts: Fact: Run & Killed, 1938-58. The itinerary was published as a book in English and German, but in different versions: Joseph Wechsberg. *Journey through the land of eloquent silence*. Boston-Toronto, 1964. And: Joseph Wechsberg. *Land mit zwei Gesichtern. Kreuz und quer durch die Zone*. Berlin (West) 1965.

⁵⁶ For the original version, see: Hans-Georg Gadamer. *Wer bin Ich und wer bist Du?. Kommentar zu Celans Gedichtfolge "Atemkristall" (1986)*, in: *ibid. Gesammelte Werke* 9. *Ästhetik und Poetik II* Tübingen 1993, pp. 383-451, esp. 439.

⁵⁷ The term of a "foreshortening of history," of a shortened memory in post-war Europe and especially in Germany derives from: Michael Hamburger. *After the Second Flood. Essays in Modern German Literature*. Manchester 1986, 30. See also the expression "oubli de fuite", "escapist oblivion", in Europe after the war: Paul Ricœur. *Das Rätsel der Vergangenheit*. Göttingen 2002, p. 139.

⁵⁸ For the concept "sediments of time" see: Reinhart Koselleck. *Zeitschichten. Studien zur Historik. Mit einem Beitrag von Hans-Georg Gadamer*. Frankfurt/Main 2000. About Berlin's ambivalence as a political topography, cf.: Wolfgang Schivelbusch. *Vor dem Vorhang. Das geistige Berlin 1945-1948*. München 1995, p. 43.

⁵⁹ Michael Hamburger. *S-Bahn*, in: *ibid. Collected Poems 1941-1983*. Manchester 1984, p. 154.

⁶⁰ Cornelia Jacobsen. *Half-Time at the Ford Foundation*, p. 2. Ford Foundation records, International Affairs, Office Files of Joseph E. Slater (FA619). Europe/Atlantic Berlin Jan 1962 - Dec 1965. Series II: Geographic Files; Subseries 2: Europe/Atlantic; Subseries: Countries. Box 17 Folder 160.

⁶¹ Cf.: Letter from Hans Karl and Joseph Slater to Shepard Stone, March 11, 1964. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732C). German Academic Exchange Service (0630351). Series: Ford Foundation Grants –E to G. Date: 1963 May 29 - 1966 July 23. Reel 3075.

⁶² For the metaphor of the "naked thinking heart," see: Hamburger. "Hölderlin in England," in: *ibid. Zwischen den Sprachen*, pp. 63-101, 76.

⁶³ Ford Foundation. *The Berlin Cultural Program "Artists in Residence" 1963-1966*. A report on experience gained by Peter Nestler, p. 6. Ford Foundation records. Grants E-G (FA732C). German Academic Exchange Service (0630351). Series: Ford Foundation Grants –E to G. Date: 1963 May 29 - 1966 July 23. Reel 3075.

⁶⁴ About the shock of a 'repeated trauma' see: Sandor Ferenczi. *Ohne Sympathie keine Heilung. Das klinische Tagebuch von 1932*. Edited by Judith Dupont. Frankfurt/Main 1988, p. 244.

⁶⁵ *Berlin confrontation* (1965) was the title of a Ford funded Berlin-anthology: Ford Foundation records. Berlin Confrontation. Künstler in Berlin. Artists in Berlin. Artists à Berlin (709.43 BER). Berlin (West). Date: 1965.

⁶⁶ For the concept of a traumatic or injured kernel of the self, cf.: Nicolas Abraham / Maria Torok. *L'écorce et le noyau*, Paris 1987, p. 268.

⁶⁷ Concerning the problem of a "condition of silence" in Post War aesthetics, see: Michael Hamburger. "A Writer on His Work," in: *ibid. Testimonies. Selected Shorter Prose 1950-1987*. Manchester 1989, pp. 225-228, 227.

⁶⁸ Hamburger refers with this verse to Bobrowski, who became his friend till his early death in 1965: Hamburger. "Friends," in: *ibid. Collected Poems*, p. 149.

⁶⁹ For the concept of artistic "self-realisation" through "self-expression," also in confrontation with the 'genius of the place', see: Ludwig Binswanger. *Henrik Ibsen und das Problem der Selbstrealisation in der Kunst*. Heidelberg 1949, p. 28.

⁷⁰ Hamburger. "A Writer on His Work," in: *ibid. Testimonies*, p. 226.

⁷¹ Cf.: Hamburger. *After the Second Flood*, p. 81.