

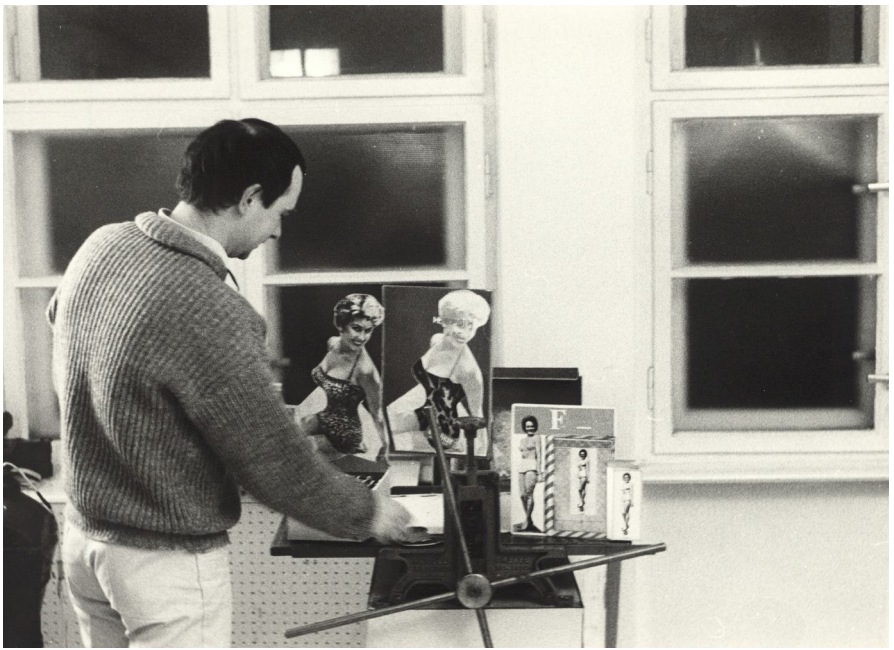
«Superficial touch-ups won't improve our situation!»  
Note by KP Brehmer, around 10 February 1971, estate<sup>1</sup>

From the early 1960s, during the Economic Miracle, artists in the fledgling Federal Republic of Germany were pondering how to respond to commercial pressures and pop culture.<sup>2</sup> The Capitalist Realists, a group to which KP Brehmer belonged, were known for their critique of mass media imagery. Artists in darkened studios projected material from magazines and books onto walls and transferred the motifs manually to canvases, or assembled their own archives in order to analyse those inter-media flows of the *Kulturindustrie* so lambasted by Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno. They worked with popular images of the everyday: photographs, prints, television footage, films. As the Cold War raged and propaganda oozed from both the Eastern and Western blocs, they addressed the relations of production that generated these images and experimented with artistic strategies for appropriating, dissecting, remixing and synthesising them, in short, for critical post-production.<sup>3</sup>

It is from this post-pop-polit perspective that I shall consider the work of KP Brehmer. Born in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin in 1938, the artist investigated the social conditions in which images had been produced. A materialist view was key to his approach. To make this point, in 1960 he had referenced the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), banned in West Germany from 1956 until 1968, by replacing his forenames Klaus Peter with the simple acronym KP – although he never became a party member.<sup>4</sup> So how, in a divided Germany, did Brehmer use his means of production, and how, to echo Walter Benjamin, does his work stand *within* them, what functions are exercised by his artworks?<sup>5</sup>

### Means of (Post-)Production: The Printing Press

Brehmer had close ties with the field of commercial prints that he was investigating. Before beginning his studies at the art academy in Düsseldorf, he had completed an apprenticeship as cliché etcher and reproduction technician in Berlin and had then taken a course in graphic design in Krefeld at the *Werkkunstschule*. This vocational college was founded in 1949 as part of the post-war reconstruction effort in West Germany, where there was a strong focus on boosting industrial production.<sup>6</sup> In his artistic practice, however, Brehmer did not choose to work in a factory, although there was considerable interest in such options at the time. In East Germany, this path was followed by proponents of the Bitterfelder Weg and in West Germany



1 KP Brehmer in his studio, Weserstrasse, Berlin 1967, photo by Manfred Leve

it was for instance explored by Richard Serra and Clara Weyergraf in their film *Steelmill / Stahlwerk* (1979).<sup>7</sup> Instead Brehmer, who returned in 1964 to his native city, recently divided by the Wall, set up his own workshop and devoted himself to a version of hand-painted pop.<sup>8</sup> His favourite instrument of production was, as in so many counterculture projects, a hand press, which he had installed in his flat in Berlin in 1963 (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> Only for longer runs, art editions and silkscreen prints did he collaborate with commercial printshops, although the decisive component, the cliché or cast form, was always provided by the artist himself.<sup>10</sup>

At that time, the West German art scene saw revolutionary potential in printed matter. Many hoped that paper-based works, being cheap to make, would achieve mass circulation and that this low-threshold access to information would provide a democratic alternative both to state media in East and West as well as to the exclusive status symbols traded in the high-priced art market.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, adverts, posters and leaflets enjoyed an everyday life on the streets; wall newspapers and the silkscreen images reproduced by the Atelier Populaire had played a key role in mobilising the Paris protests in May 1968.<sup>12</sup> In this spirit, Brehmer applied himself between 1966 and 1972 not only to «light graphics» (*Trivialgrafik*) and «cliché prints» (*Klischeedrucke*) but also to «symbolic values» (*Symbolwerte*), particularly postage stamps.<sup>13</sup> This series of about fifty works, mostly editions, builds on one of the smallest printed formats of all.<sup>14</sup> Postage stamps are, at first sight, unassuming objects, but they are also products of officialdom, and until 1975 they were regarded in both Germanys as authorised documents commissioned by a government ministry, or in other words a state-owned postal monopoly, and issued as «substitute money», their forgery a criminal offence.<sup>15</sup> There is plenty of dynamite to be found here, because postage stamps symbolise how a state likes to define itself.<sup>16</sup> Brehmer launched his campaign in 1966, in response to the rise of the far-right National Democratic Party (NPD) and



2 KP Brehmer, *Hommage à Dürer*, 1966, cliché print, 50 × 32 cm, edition: 20

an incipient wave of Nazi nostalgia, with a bright red *Hitler*.<sup>17</sup> The 12-pfennig stamp issued in 1941 bearing the face of the dictator has been greatly enlarged,<sup>18</sup> the motif itself was prohibited by law. The artist followed this up with more postage stamps to chart the politics of his own day. In addition to specimens from West Germany, the United States, China and Vietnam, he included countries of the Eastern bloc. The artist describes his printing activities in an undated typed script, at the same time alluding to the slogan «Steal me!», which had been adopted as a motto by the «extra-parliamentary opposition» (*Außerparlamentarische Opposition*):<sup>19</sup>

«We must intervene in bourgeois culture by resorting, as it were, to ideological kleptomania, diminishing the value of the personal property inherent in artistic creation. We can do this; by quoting we can refuse to «create». / The corruption consists in boiling down the «artistic language» to the evident fact of theft and by taking over collective signs.»<sup>20</sup>

Brehmer turned to production rather than to the cult of creation, but the «conscious choice of motif was not restricted solely to taking over existing postage stamps. Some motifs were simplified, made clearer, others were substantially altered by montage». <sup>21</sup> This approach, which has forerunners in works by John Heartfield and Andy Warhol (that is politicised Dada and Pop) and in the epic theatre of Bertolt Brecht and Erwin Piscator, can be observed in *Hommage à Dürer* of 1966.<sup>22</sup> This *cliché print* in an edition of twenty is linked by its title to the piece *Hommage à Berlin* (1965) and to *Hommage à Lidice* (1967–1968), works and an exhibition that explore German history, fascism and genocide as well as the reverberations of these events of this not so distant past in society at the time (fig. 2). We see an image measuring 50 by 32 cm that combines two different stamps: firstly, the *Portrait of a Young Man* based on Albrecht Dürer's portrait in oil of the merchant *Bernhard von Reesen* of Danzig (1521) designed by Erich Gruner on commission from the East German Ministry of Post and Telecommunications and Deutsche Post, which was printed on 15 December 1955 at the state-owned print combine VEB Graphische Werkstätten Leipzig in a run of 4 million.<sup>23</sup> This stamp was one of a series celebrating the return of art looted by the Soviet Union to the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. Secondly, the text at the top alludes to another stamp, since Gruner's motif was quoted in 1964 to mark the National Exhibition of Postage Stamps in East Berlin in another specimen designed by Axel Bengs, of which 1,200,000 were printed (fig. 3).<sup>24</sup> So Brehmer's source material consists of two East German documents; the items onto which these stamps were stuck for dispatch were subjected to systematic surveillance.<sup>25</sup> At the peak of the Cold War, when an «East-West postal war» was waged around contentious motifs, and printers belonging to various anti-communist groups in West Berlin circulated fake East German stamps for propaganda purposes, Brehmer's multi-layered appropriation paid tribute to two colleagues in the workers' and farmers' state.<sup>26</sup>

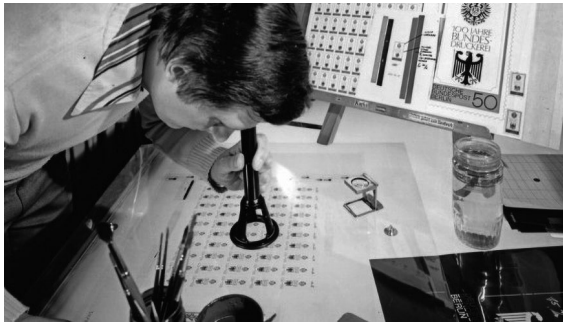
In *Hommage à Dürer* Brehmer uses what he calls montage to comment on power relations in society. His owner-operated enterprise literally turns the spotlight on

the postage stamp and the production apparatus surrounding it and – in Benjamin's spirit – converts utility value into exhibition value.<sup>27</sup> Step by step, he transformed the red-brown motif of 1955, which had been mass-produced by industrial-scale halftone gravure. Instead of a tiny stamp, his starting-point was a large-scale template that only looks as though it has been printed with the aid of a screen. On closer scrutiny one realises that, rather like Sigmar Polke in his experiments, Brehmer made this initial stage of *Hommage à Dürer* by hand. The red dots were probably added with a felt pen, the principal motif in lilac grey with a brush. The scale of the matrix is not consistent as it would be in a market product but self-defined, like the perforations, with every dot individually placed. Here and there the irregular elements link into chains or merge into monochrome patches; the red dabs along the upper edge escape their zone and dribble onto the young man. This hand-made motif was then etched into a metal cliché pad using a photomechanical technique requiring a darkroom. This served the artist as a basis for his prints on fine art paper, produced on a hand press.<sup>28</sup> While the motif suggests a dot matrix of the kind used in commercial printing, no such device was involved here; the ink is blotchy, the intensity uneven. The making of *Hommage à Dürer* is itself a comment on the standard process for producing and distributing postage stamps: the structure of the artwork demonstrates that state printing operations and the items of symbolic value which they turn out are open to interventions. The carelessly applied dots are not functional. Rather, they fragment the image and the gaps between them expose the white paper underneath. As viewers we witness the «flicker of the instruments» and the materiality of communication.<sup>29</sup> What may seem to be stable official representation is revealed as process-driven and ephemeral. It starts to shimmer and blur, opening the image up to associations.<sup>30</sup>

Postage stamp manufacture is subject to governmental quality controls performed, among other things, with magnifying glasses (fig. 4). Brehmer's artwork rebuffs such close scrutiny – the motif in *Hommage à Dürer* is at best discernible from a distance, the image is diffused into space, and viewers and their perceptions themselves come into focus. Unlike in Benjamin's text *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility* there is no perceptible opposition between painting and technical equipment, between detachment and operational interference in the fabric of the means of production.<sup>31</sup> This art stems not from clear messaging, but from working on and with images. Like in a *détournement* by the Situationist Internationale, artworks are turned against themselves and can be experienced as bearing multiple meanings. Dürer, for example, is a fixed star in the history of prints, but there have been huge fluctuations in the way he has been interpreted in art history. The National Socialists claimed this son of Nuremberg for themselves as a «German» artist and «leader».<sup>32</sup> Around the quincentenary of his birth in 1971, this reading was redefined, when the West German Communist Party (DKP) presented



3 Nationale Briefmarkenausstellung 1964, GDR-stamp designed by Axel Bengs, edition: 1.200.000



4 Governmental quality control of postage stamp production, Bundesdruckerei, 1975, photograph

the printmaker as a supporter of the early bourgeois revolution and the Peasant Wars, an interpretation that had been particularly widespread in the GDR.<sup>33</sup> Brehmer therefore refuses to situate Dürer in an unambiguous political context and insists that images in mass communication are always open to multiple meanings, as it is uncertain how an audience will distil the information provided into a message.<sup>34</sup>

### Post-Production: Multiple Interventions

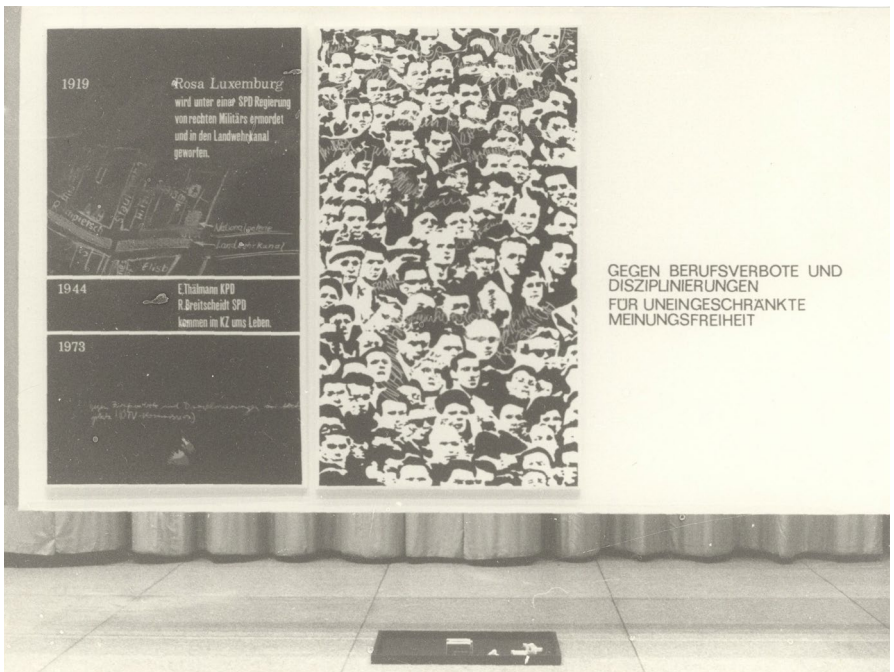
By shifting the focus in this manner, Brehmer in the postmodern era came close to a position that the artist Hito Steyerl has described for our contemporary digital age:

«Under these conditions, production morphs into post-production, meaning the world can be understood but also altered by its tools. The tools of postproduction: editing, color correction, filtering, cutting, and so on are not aimed at achieving representation. They have become means of creation, not only of images but also of the world in their wake.»<sup>35</sup>

The artist appropriated means of production from the printing trade in order to intervene by manual as well as mechanical means in the flow of «collective signs» generated by mass media and ideologies appearing in them.<sup>36</sup> This political practice is not sited within the phase of reproduction, however, but primarily within post-production. From today's perspective, Brehmer was a «semionaut», a processor who redefined creation as production and translated it into kleptomania.<sup>37</sup> His artworks function, to follow Nicholas Bourriaud, «as the temporary terminal of a network of interconnected elements, like a narrative that extends and reinterprets preceding narratives».<sup>38</sup> The aim is to trigger a process of critical reflection in the audience, an insight that can be extended to the visual strategies behind election posters or commercial advertisements.<sup>39</sup> This art, equally critical of ideologies in the FRG and the GDR, is by no means about agitprop or proletkult.<sup>40</sup> Although Brehmer had clearly read Benjamin's work, he was not an «operative author» in the sense of Sergei Mikhailovich Tretyakov.<sup>41</sup> He never worked for an East German Publicly Owned Enterprise (*Volkseigener Betrieb*), was never a member of an East German workers' brigade, never a participant in a Soviet kolkhoz, and never did he take a job incognito, like the investigative journalist Günter Wallraff, at a West German factory. Instead, his radius of action – from the perspective of the FRG and in the spirit of Marshall McLuhan's dictum «the medium is the message» – was confined to the paper realm of his art and to a bourgeois world of galleries and museums.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, Brehmer wanted to engage in social processes with his art production.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, my last example is *Rosa Luxemburg*, dating from 1973; the only photograph from this installation available to date shows it in West Berlin's Neue Nationalgalerie, probably in 1975 (fig. 5).<sup>44</sup> Numerous works by Brehmer in the 1960s





5 KP Brehmer, *Rosa Luxemburg*, 1973, acrylic, chalk on plastic sheeting, 200 × 116 cm each, installation shot probably Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin 1975

reproduce pin-ups as sexist commodities. This diptych is different. Again, printed matter was transferred by hand using paint, but this time the subject is a prominent female leader of the European labour movement known for her resolute energy and action.<sup>45</sup> And this historical figure, who is only alluded to by the artwork's title and the name written in the left panel, again permits a multiplicity of layers, because as Jewish co-founder of the Communist Party of Germany she had, for example, opposed Lenin's centralist Party Rules of 1904 and later objected to the Bolshevik dictatorship. Despite this, her name was weaponised by the GDR's ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) for the purpose of shoring up centralist state power, because East Berliners were required to join the annual marches commemorating her death. And yet the chemist and dissident Robert Havemann, who had been expelled from the SED in 1964 on account of his critical views, cited Rosa Luxemburg in 1968 when he made his call for democratic socialism in the GDR, and his stance was echoed by left-wingers in West Germany.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the marxist socialist Luxemburg was so popular at the time that in 1974 20,000,000 million portraits of her were circulated on a West German postage stamp. In this political climate Brehmer's artwork turned the exhibition venue into a forum for public discussion about this complex melange. Over the frames the artist stretched sheets of industrial soft PVC, a chemically resistant material which does not develop a patina and therefore still looks as good as new today. Additionally, he replaced the traditional portrait found on postage stamps with text and the picture of a schematic, anonymous crowd. Three dated boxes commence the narrative in 1919, the year when right-wing paramilitaries assassinated Rosa Luxemburg and threw her body into the Landwehrkanal in Berlin, a place not far from the Neue Nationalgalerie, which had opened its doors in 1968.

1944 follows, the year when the Communist Ernst Thälmann and the Social Democrat Rudolf Breitscheidt were murdered in Buchenwald concentration camp. The work then asks about the situation in 1973, the year of its making. Visitors were invited to pick up the chalk and add their own comments to the panels, which resembled blackboards, and thus the work was tested and updated every time it was exhibited until it was retired on grounds of conservation.

Depictions of people as a crowd, mass or ornament are a political topos, the aesthetic constitution of many as a singular (and often political) whole: in this instance, West German spectators at a football stadium after the Second World War.<sup>47</sup> By the 1970s, artists had also taken the protest motto «Steal me!» to heart, and the motif chosen by Brehmer had already been applied to patterned fabric with enamel paint by Sigmar Polke in 1972 for his *Menschkin*. The same stencilled figures were reproduced that same year in Polke's *Mao* canvas and they cover the surface of the large-scale gouache *Human Snake* created in 1972–1976 for the cycle *We Petty Bourgeois! Comrades and Contemporaries*.<sup>48</sup> While psychedelic hues break up and transform the crowd in Polke's *Human Snake* in order to open up unknown realms, Brehmer's stolen image is interconnected with Rosa Luxemburg, a person who stands not only for revolution but also for a revised approach to education. Alongside her political activities, she had worked as a teacher at the Social Democrats' party school in Berlin, encouraging her students to take action and defining political struggle, like Brehmer, as a learning process. Her focus was on helping people to help themselves.<sup>49</sup> In this sense, Brehmer's diptych can also be seen in another context: the crisis of the museum, a much-debated topic at the time. As part of a second wave of re-education, the institution was to be defined anew as an «educational establishment» and a «place of learning».<sup>50</sup> For its installation at West Berlin's Neue Nationalgalerie, the work acquired a third component, for the text on the wall says: «Against occupation bans and disciplining. For unrestricted freedom of opinion.» This slogan, added to the right on a level with the statement about the Nazi regime, relates to current politics at the time when the work was made. 1950 saw the adoption of the «Adenauer Decree», which resulted in the banning of the Communist Party in West Germany (KPD). In 1968, after emergency legislation was enacted, the party re-formed and re-arranged its name to become the DKP. Then in 1972, under the Social Democratic government led by Willy Brandt, the West German parliament adopted its «Decree on Radicals» (*Radikalenerlass*). Anyone working in a public service who was declared «an enemy of the Constitution» was dismissed.<sup>51</sup> Although this measure, according to official claims, was designed to exclude both left- and right-wing extremists, most of those affected were actually on the left of the spectrum, while a number of former Nazis remained in public office. This *mise-en-scène* of *Rosa Luxemburg*, which can be seen as part of the protests against the decree that were taking place all over West Germany, was an act of solidarity by Brehmer with public servants who were losing their jobs and with the protesters.<sup>52</sup> Museum visitors, however, did not always agree. The anonymous comments on the panel could hardly be more varied. Among the examples we find «fight communist scaremongering», «here begins the next dictatorship», a bored «so what?» and a (today unprintable) racist call to kick foreigners out of Germany.

To sum up: Brehmer's artistic production, which combines manual and mechanical operations, cannot be isolated from its simultaneous post-production.<sup>53</sup> His practice reflects the process adopted by the official mass media. Here too, images

are cleaned up, retouched, adjusted for colour, corrected and revised prior to publication. Brehmer's practice, however, gives viewers the chance to reflect on the manufacture of images and to question their authority and effectiveness. There are instructions for them to intervene personally with the aid of simple means of production and to present their own alternatives for discussion. Brehmer's owner-operated enterprise called out fascism and right-wing tendencies and formulated a non-conformist «artful socialism» which, despite his sympathies and solidarity with left-wing movements, owed no allegiance to any party.<sup>54</sup> The artist did not organise in factories or on the streets, nor did he reflect at all on how his materials, such as paper, ink, metal or chemicals, had been produced. Instead, Brehmer chose the long march through the institutions, replacing the visual controls carried out in state-owned printing works, the *Sichtkontrolle*, with what he called «visual agitation» (*Sichtagitation*).<sup>55</sup> The idea was to facilitate emancipation from prevailing norms by seizing upon the art institution as a temporary forum for public counter-debate. As Umberto Eco aptly put it in 1978: «The threat that «the medium is the message» could then become, for both medium and message, the return to individual responsibility.»<sup>56</sup> However, Brehmer's attempt to activate his audience was of limited impact and it only functioned within a clearly defined institutional enclosure where the artist maintained aesthetic control. And so, from the late 1970s, Brehmer switched to a different institution and made his amended post-production apparatus available to others:<sup>57</sup> after accepting a teaching post at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste in Hamburg, he turned his attention to politicised education and ran the art college's print workshop.<sup>58</sup>

## Notes

- 1 As quoted in Björn Egging: *Von Pop zu Politik. Studien zur Entwicklung der politisch engagierten Kunst KP Brehmers*, Dissertation Universität Hamburg 2003, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:gbv:18-22365>, last accessed 3 May 2024, p. 116.
- 2 See *Leben mit Pop. Eine Reproduktion des Kapitalistischen Realismus*, exh. cat., Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, Cologne 2013; Dietmar Rübeler: «Do anything that you want to do, but uh-uh...». German Pop und das Ende des Dingzeugs, in: *German Pop*, exh. cat., Frankfurt am Main, Schirn Kunsthalle, Cologne 2014, pp. 72–81; Sighard Neckel (ed.): *Kapitalistischer Realismus. Von der Kunstaktion zur Gesellschaftskritik*, Frankfurt am Main 2010.
- 3 See *Singular/Plural. Collaborations in the Post-Pop-Polit-Arena, 1969–1980*, exh. cat., Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, Cologne 2017.
- 4 See Hubertus Butin: «Werft Eure Paletten auf den Misthaufen.» KP Brehmers frühe Druckgrafik im Kontext ihrer Zeit, in: KP Brehmer. *Alle Künstler lügen*, exh. cat., Kassel, Museum Fridericianum 1998, pp. 10–23, here p. 10.
- 5 Walter Benjamin: *The Author as Producer* (1934), in: idem: *Understanding Brecht*, translated by Anna Bostock, introduction by Stanley Mitchell, London, New York 1983, pp. 85–103, here p. 87.
- 6 Egging 2003 (as note 1), pp. 24–25.
- 7 See generally Friederike Sigler: *Arbeit sichtbar machen. Strategien und Ziele in der Kunst seit 1970*, Munich 2021.
- 8 *Hand-Painted Pop. American Art in Transition, 1955–62*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, The Museum of Contemporary Art 1992–1993.
- 9 Egging 2003 (as note 1), p. 31.
- 10 Petra Roettig: *Aktionsgrafik. Grafik als politischer Prozess bei KP Brehmer*, in: KP Brehmer. *Kunst ≠ Propaganda*, exh. cat., Nuremberg, Neues Museum, London 2018, pp. 74–80, here p. 77; see also Doreen Mende/Alex Sainsbury: *Conversation with René Block*, in: KP Brehmer. *Real Capital-Production*, exh. cat., London, Raven Row, London 2017, pp. 9–18, here p. 9.
- 11 The artist tried to undermine commercial structures with unlimited or wrongly declared editions, proofs and special issues, Roettig 2018 (as note 10), p. 76.
- 12 Petra Lange-Berndt: *Protestkulturen aus Papier. Atelier Populaire, Paris 1968*, in: idem/Isabelle Lindermann (eds.): *13 Beiträge zu 1968. Von künstlerischen Praktiken und vertrackten Utopien*, Bielefeld 2022, pp. 106–142.
- 13 Most prints date from 1966–1969, see René Block: *KP Brehmer. Verzeichnis der Druckgrafik*



- 1960–1971, in: idem: *Grafik des Kapitalistischen Realismus* [...], Berlin 1971, pp. 61–117.
- 14** KP Brehmer: Briefmarken, Arbeitsreihe (1966 bis 1968), in: *Grafische Techniken*, exh. cat., Berlin, Neuer Berliner Kunstverein, Berlin 1973, p. 27; see generally Dirk Naguschewski/Detlev Schöttker (eds.): *Philatelie als Kulturwissenschaft. Weltaneignung im Miniaturformat*, Berlin 2019.
- 15** See Silke Weipert: *Die Rechtsnatur der Briefmarke. Wandel, Diskussionsgeschichte, Praxisrelevanz*, Kiel 1996, p. 40; Egging 2003 (as note 1), p. 65.
- 16** The West German Stationery Office (Bundesdruckerei), for example, offered art prints for sale, see Dürer für Jedermann. Hauptwerke des Meisters in Faksimile-Handkupferdrucken der Bundesdruckerei, exh. cat., Hamburg, Clubheim der BP Benzin und Petroleum Aktiengesellschaft, Hamburg 1971, pp. 7–11.
- 17** Tobias Becker: Er war nie weg. «Hitler-Welle» und «Nazi-Nostalgie» in der Bundesrepublik der 1970er Jahre, in: *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 18, 2021, pp. 44–72.
- 18** The number 12 is a reference to the true duration of the «Thousand-Year Reich», Egging 2003 (as note 1), pp. 64, 67; Block 1971 (as note 13), p. 90; see also Dirk Naguschewski: «Schönheit des Gewöhnlichen». Briefmarken und moderne Kunst, in: idem/Schöttker 2019 (as note 14), pp. 164–193, here pp. 174–178; Michael Glasmeier: *Sichtagitation Briefmarke. KP Brehmer – Aby Warburg*, Hamburg 2020, pp. 9–12.
- 19** Rainer Langhans/Fritz Teufel: *Klau mich. StPO der Kommune I*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin 1968.
- 20** KP Brehmer as quoted in exh. cat. KP Brehmer 2018 (as note 10), p. 100.
- 21** KP Brehmer as quoted in Brehmer 1973 (as note 14), p. 27.
- 22** Egging 2003 (as note 1), pp. 76–77, 81; Glasmeier 2020 (as note 18), pp. 18–19.
- 23** Michel Briefmarken Katalog Deutschland 1971, Munich 1970, 218; Peter Fischer/Frithjof Skupin/Wolfgang Gudenschwager (eds.): *DDR-Universal-katalog*, Berlin 1986.
- 24** See Karl Heinz Schreyll/Helmut Thiel: *Werke Dürers auf Briefmarken der Welt*, Nuremberg 1978, pp. 74–75.
- 25** Roland Wiedmann: *Zu jeder Zeit und an jedem Ort. Zur Geschichte der Abteilung M (Postkontrolle) des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR*, in: *Ein offenes Geheimnis. Post- und Telefonkontrolle in der DDR*, exh. cat., Berlin, Museum für Kommunikation, Heidelberg 2002, pp. 74–89.
- 26** Hans-Jürgen Köppel: *Politik auf Briefmarken. 130 Jahre Propaganda auf Postwertzeichen*, Düsseldorf 1971, pp. 62, 99–100, 119–128.
- 27** Walter Benjamin: *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility. Second Version*, in: idem: *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. by Michael W. Jennings et al., Cambridge, Mass., London 2008, pp. 19–55, here pp. 25–26.
- 28** See Block 1971 (as note 13), p. 62. I am grateful to Thomas Bechinger for advice about the printing process.
- 29** Peter Geimer: *Blow up*, in: Wolfgang Schäffner/Sigrid Weigel/Thomas Macho (eds.): «Der liebe Gott steckt im Detail». Mikrostrukturen des Wissens, Munich 2003, pp. 187–202, here p. 201.
- 30** Glasmeier 2020 (as note 18), pp. 60–61.
- 31** Benjamin 2008 (as note 27), p. 35.
- 32** See Julius Langbehn: *Dürer als Führer. Vom Rembrandtdeutschen und seinem Gehilfen*, Munich 1928.
- 33** See *Kunst als Waffe. Die «ASSO» und die revolutionäre bildende Kunst der 20er Jahre*, exh. cat. Nuremberg, Am Kornmarkt 5, Nuremberg 1971; *Realistische Graphik von Dürer bis zur sozialistischen Gegenwart, Dürer-Ehrung der DDR*, exh. cat., Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig 1971.
- 34** See Umberto Eco: *Towards a Semiological Guerilla Warfare* (1967), in: idem: *Travels in Hyperreality*, San Diego/New York/London 1990, pp. 117–124, here p. 129 (quoted from the ProQuest Ebook version).
- 35** Hito Steyerl: *Duty Free Art. Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War*, London/New York 2017, p. 123 (quoted from the ebook version).
- 36** Nicolas Bourriaud: *Postproduction. Culture as Screenplay: How Art Reprograms the World* (2002), New York 2010, p. 18.
- 37** *Ibid.*
- 38** *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 39** Egging 2003 (as note 1), p. 49.
- 40** See Kerstin Stakemeier: *KP Brehmer's Kleptomania: A Productivism of Expropriation*, in: exh. cat. KP Brehmer 2017 (as note 10), pp. 57–65; see also Mende/Sainsbury/Block 2017 (as note 10), p. 10.
- 41** Benjamin 1983 (as note 5), pp. 88–89.
- 42** Marshall McLuhan: *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, New York 1964, p. 23.
- 43** See exh. cat. KP Brehmer 2018 (as note 10), p. 100.
- 44** E-mail from Sebastian Brehmer, 16 May 2019.
- 45** See generally Lutz Brangsch/Miriam Pieschke (eds.): *Sich nicht regieren lassen. Rosa Luxemburg zu Demokratie und linker Organisation. Ein Lesebuch*, Berlin 2023.
- 46** Robert Havemann: *Sozialismus und Demokratie* (1968), in: idem: *Rückantworten an die Hauptverwaltung «Ewige Wahrheiten»*, ed. by Hartmut Jäckel, Munich 1971, pp. 89–93, here 91.
- 47** Ute Holl: *Human Snake – Polke as Pop Processor*, in: Petra Lange-Berndt/Dietmar Rübél (eds.): *Sigmar Polke. We Petty Bourgeois! – Comrades and Contemporaries*, Cologne 2009, pp. 110–119, here p. 111.
- 48** *Ibid.*
- 49** Sebastian Engelmann: *Rosa Luxemburg und die Pädagogik der gemeinsamen Tat. Interpretationen und Anschlüsse*, in: Frank Jacob/Albert Scharenberg/Jörn Schütrumpf (eds.): *Rosa Luxemburg*, 2 vols.,

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**50** Petra Lange-Berndt/Dietmar Rübél: Der Zyklus *Kunst um 1800*. Eine europäische Ausstellungsgeschichte komplexer Gefüge, in: idem (eds.): *Kunst um 1800. Kuratieren als wissenschaftliche Praxis. Die Hamburger Kunsthalle in den 1970er Jahren*, Berlin 2024, pp. 20–119, here p. 64.

**51** Sigrid Dauks/Eva Schöck-Quinteros/Anna Stock-Mamzer (eds.): *Staatsschutz – Treuepflicht – Berufsverbot. (K)ein vergessenes Kapitel der westdeutschen Geschichte*, Bremen 2021, pp. 19–30.

**52** *Ibid.*, p. 22.

**53** Gregory H. Williams: Ambivalente Meisterschaft. KP Brehmers frühe technische Experimente, in: exh. cat. KP Brehmer 2018 (as note 10), pp. 50–55, here p. 54.

**54** See Doreen Mende: KP Brehmer: Art's Foreign Agent, in: exh. cat. KP Brehmer 2017 (as note 10), pp. 79–86, here p. 84; Egging 2003 (as note 1), pp. 120, 135, 150.

**55** Werner Rhode: Interview mit KP Brehmer, in: KP Brehmer Produktion 1962–1971, exh. cat., Hamburg, Kunstverein, Hamburg 1971, unpaginated.

**56** Eco 1990 (as note 34), p. 124.

**57** Benjamin 1983 (as note 5), pp. 93, 102–103.

**58** Egging 2003 (as note 1), p. 115; e-mail from Sebastian Brehmer, 15 May 2024.

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**3** <https://www.philaseiten.de/cgi-bin/index.pl?PR=277441>, last accessed on 21 July 2024

**4** <https://www.bundesdruckerei.de/de/konzern/historie>, last accessed on 21. July 2024

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