

Boundaries of Freedom:
An American History of the Berlin Wall

by

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“Most of my heroes were Berliners at one time or another.”
—*Mike Davis*

*For my parents,
Ruth and Barry Farber,
the professor and the poet,
my greatest sources of intellect and inspiration*

*and for my nephew Sam Farber,
a budding thinker who reminds me to ponder walls and build bridges*

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Abstract

“Boundaries of Freedom: An American History of the Berlin Wall” is an interdisciplinary study of representations of the Berlin Wall across American literature, art, and popular culture from 1961 to the present. The Berlin Wall is recalled prominently as the central symbol of the Cold War, and as the structural manifestation of the iron curtain division between West and East Germany, as well as the United States and the Soviet Union. I contend that the Berlin Wall emerged as an integral part of the transnational cultural imagination in the United States during the Cold War. For many Americans, the Berlin Wall reflected significant histories of social division – in particular, transnational, transhistorical, and intersectional accounts of the civil rights movement and the Cold War. This has been the case from the first days of the wall’s construction in 1961 through its dismantling in 1989, and carries on through its current afterlife as a dispersed monumental ruin and digitally rendered artifact. The Berlin Wall continues to be an important structure through which Americans critically engage their own evolving and interlinked notions of freedom and repression.

“Boundaries of Freedom” emphasizes the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class in a U.S.-focused history of the Berlin Wall, by studying the impact of creative non-state actors on political knowledge and archival knowledge of the Cold War period and beyond. I approach an American history of the Berlin Wall to consider the hundreds of cultural representations of the wall directed to U.S. audiences as points of entry to access the liminal spaces and fault lines of the nation. I highlight cultural works as historical and expressive sources, and employ transnational American studies methodologies from cognate fields (including cultural history, literary studies, visual culture, and performance studies). I look collectively at cultural productions that represent and frame the history of the wall through narratives of transnational struggle and division in the United States. Ultimately, I aim to unseat the ease with which American culture currently treats the Berlin Wall.

I explore these narratives in an introduction, four chapters, a concluding chapter and a coda. Each chapter revolves around a specific cultural production and the artist or writer who created it following an experience at the Berlin Wall. I focus on figures whose repeated travels to Germany shaped career-long projects or significant modes of inquiry: Leonard Freed’s photography book *Black in White America* (1968), Angela Davis’s *An Autobiography* (1974), Audre Lorde’s collection of poems *Our Dead Behind Us* (1986), and John Cameron Mitchell’s and Stew’s respective rock musicals *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001) and *Passing Strange* (2010). I animate these cultural works through archival research and relate them to those by other American visitors to Berlin such as Martin Luther King Jr., Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, Joyce Carol Oates, Nan Goldin, Keith Haring, Michael Jackson, Paul Beatty, and Jeffrey Eugenides. In the concluding chapter, I ponder the afterlife of the Berlin Wall in American culture, including dozens of concrete pieces of the former border on display in U.S. public spaces such as the Capitol Rotunda and near Ground Zero in Lower Manhattan. The presence of actual material remnants of the wall are paced by renderings of the historic border featured in virtual spaces such as video games and internet memorials, and uncanny structures including the U.S.-Mexico border wall. These evocations push Cold War memory into the emergent present as Americans confront and remap boundaries of freedom and repression in contemporary geopolitics. The Berlin Wall proves to have a profound, paradoxical, and continued resonance in American culture.

Chapter 1
Introduction
Border Culture



Figure 1.1: “Build ‘Berlin Wall’ in Selma, Ala.,” *Chicago Defender*, 16 March 1965 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers)

“Every cultural act lives essentially on the boundaries: in this is its seriousness and significance”
—Mikhail Bakhtin, *“The Problem of Content, Material, and Form in Verbal Art”*

“Hit the wall/free at last.”
—Stew, *Passing Strange*

I. Our Walls

On March 11, 1965, protesters gathered in Selma, Alabama, to demand that black citizens be granted the unrestricted right to register to vote. Just a year after the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into federal law, potentially eligible voters of color were still regularly

being turned away from registration by compounding local, state, and vigilante authorities. The assembled demonstrators in Selma, who had been on the ground for weeks up through that day in March, were comprised of local citizens as well as students, activists, artists, and black and white clergy from around the country. They convened close to the Brown Chapel on Sylvan Street with acts of nonviolent civil disobedience but received considerable pushback. Weeks earlier, on February 18, Jimmie Lee Jackson, a young African American protester, was beaten and fatally shot by several Alabama state troopers while leaving a broken-up demonstration. On March 7, hundreds of others were brutally battered also by state troopers at the base of the Edmund Pettus Bridge in one of a series of attempts to march toward the state Capitol in Montgomery, a date ignominiously deemed “Bloody Sunday” after televised footage of the attacks was shown on the evening news. On March 9, Reverend James Reeb, a white pastor from Boston, was attacked after an evening prayer meeting by white supremacists wielding clubs. Reverend Reeb’s skull was cracked in the assault and he died from his head trauma two days later. In addition to facing violence, protesters were also impeded by recent court rulings restricting public marches and discussions about voting rights. Despite these obstacles, the protesters continued to hold their ground.¹

After repeatedly thwarting the marchers from approaching the courthouse, Selma’s public safety director, Wilson Baker, tried a new tactic. On the morning of March 11, Baker tied a clothesline across Sylvan Street, cutting off the most direct path from the Brown Chapel to the Dallas County Courthouse, which was located only several blocks away from the scene. The string was erected at chest level, tethered across the street from a telephone pole to a metal stanchion. Baker later claimed he took this action to bring calm and forge a buffer between the police and protesters.² But for those fighting to protect the constitutional right to vote and the

ability to publicly mourn Reverend Reeb, the makeshift barricade was a gesture rife with symbolism.

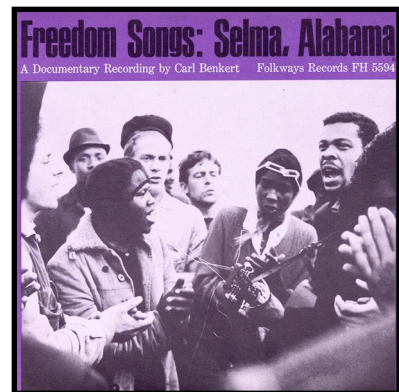
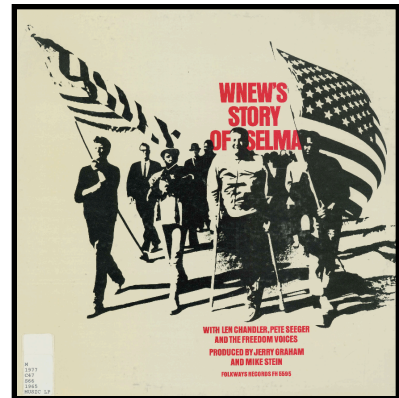
Soon after the string went up, people on the scene began calling the barrier the “Berlin Wall” or the “Selma Wall.” They improvised verses to the tune of the popular spiritual, “Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho,” and crafted a related sonic response: “We’ve got a rope that’s a Berlin Wall, a Berlin Wall, a Berlin Wall . . . in Selma, Alabama.” The crowd sang and clapped out a rhythm to guide their improvised chants. “Hate is the thing that built that wall . . . we’re gonna stay here ’til it falls.”³ The song’s additional verses called out other aspects of the Selma-Berlin Wall – Governor George Wallace as one of its builders, and love as a force that could bring it, and segregation, down.⁴ By the time of the Selma protests, the Berlin Wall had already begun occupying the American political imagination. This dated back to August 13, 1961, when Soviet-influenced East Germany began the construction of a fortified border surrounding West Berlin. In addition to weighing the routine violence and perilous escapes of the early days of the Berlin crisis, the internal city border had immediately entered public consciousness as regular fodder for American cultural productions, as well as critiques of Cold War policy, given the role of the United States in militarizing and rebuilding West Berlin after World War II. The consolidation and naming of the physical border around West Berlin as the “Berlin Wall” also sparked serious reflection on the nature of city walls, including physical and social divisions found in American cities.

The rope barrier in Selma recalled the status quo of racial division that already been structured by Jim Crow laws delimiting public spaces in the United States. The crowd outside Brown Chapel stood vigil for hours – through the night, drenched by rain, yet enlivened by this menacing, flimsy line of division. After a day and night’s worth of singing and demonstrations at

the Selma-Berlin Wall, Baker conceded that this attempt to create a buffer to disperse the crowd had failed. On March 12, Baker came back to the scene with a pocketknife and cut down the rope. Pieces of the Selma Wall were scattered through the crowd and kept as souvenirs.⁵

The gathered protesters were further inspired by the gesture and the symbolic link to Cold War Berlin that they were able to leverage. Days later, with the rope down, the protesters linked their previous achievement to their hopes for new approaches to marching, carrying signs spelling out “Selma Wall” as they walked up to a new set of police barricades. Soon after these clashes in Selma, judicial and federal support protected the group’s right to march (which they did en masse to Montgomery from March 16 to 25, 1965) and eventually to register to vote. Later that year, in 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a new Voting Rights Act into federal law. The struggle for fully realized freedom and citizenship did not cease with these protests or with the passage of another federal act; but the nation was, in part, compelled through critical cultural action to pursue the open paths and actual conditions necessary for democracy to flourish.

The Selma-Berlin Wall protest songs reverberated beyond the immediate scene of the protests because of the persuasive power of public expression and the connections forged through a process of cultural reproduction. One month later, on April 18, 1965, the Selma protest songs, including “We’ve Got a Rope That’s a Berlin Wall,” were broadcast on radio station WNEW in New York City through a broadcast of *Story of Selma*, a recollection of the march through reenactments



Figures 1.2–3: Covers of *WNEW’s Story of Selma*, 1965 and *Freedom Songs: Selma, Alabama*, 1965 (Smithsonian Folkways)

of the event (Figure 1.2). Folk singers Len Chandler, Pete Seeger, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's Freedom Singers performed songs they had encountered while participating as listeners and singers in Alabama. The *Story of Selma* was available to an even wider public when Folkways Records later released the documentary on vinyl, along with original recordings of the songs made during the marches as *Freedom Songs: Selma* (Figure 1.3). In one spoken interlude between the songs, Seeger articulates how individuals use cultural expression for the purpose of claiming local and/or national belonging:

Sometimes you just walk along, talking to your neighbor or lookin' at the scenery. And the songs weren't organized in any way. There just might be some person that felt like singing and they'd heist a tune. That's the old country way of starting a hymn. Like a sailor heisting a sail or heisting a flag up in the breeze.⁶

Seeger and his collaborators demonstrated a vision of collectivity through cultural improvisation and exchange. Their dissent was powered by creativity and their will to work across lines of difference. They did so through the recollection and pursuit of shared cultural sites. In the case of the folk musicians' distributed recording of "We've Got a Rope That's a Berlin Wall," they reinforced the idea put forth by the song's original anonymous heister or hoister, an unresolved transcription from the liner notes that nonetheless draws close the acts of civic duty and radical expressive action. In this song, the heroic Joshua, who tumbles the walls of biblical Jericho with sounds from his trumpet, is aligned with the collective "we" of the gathered protesters as they merge Jericho, Berlin, and Selma into a shared frame. The allusion to the Berlin Wall, the world's then-most-notorious political line of division, also facilitated several interrelated connections: between singer and listener; the on-site participant and those far from the scene; the individual citizen and the body politic; the moment of the protest song and of access to its memory; and, most directly, the Berlin Wall and other physical and/or symbolic lines of division. Across every step of this process, participants employed the mechanisms of interlinked American cultural

expression, production, and circulation as potential tools of critical thought and coalition building in order to imagine tearing down repressive boundaries.⁷

Incorporating tropes of identification and estrangement, the song conjures the Berlin Wall as an “audiotopia,” which, according to Josh Kun, is “the space within and produced by a musical element that offers the listener and/or the musician new maps for re-imagining the present social world.” Kun’s notion of music can be further applied to other cultural forms as well, in which modes of expression establish “identifactory ‘contact zones’ . . . where disparate identity-formations, cultures, *and* geographies historically kept mapped and separately are allowed to interact with each other as well as enter into relationships whose consequences for cultural identification are never predetermined.”⁸ Berlin and Selma are not to be imagined as merely worlds apart. Instead, a walled Berlin is made available and analogous to stratified urban spaces in the United States. Cultural imagination and its ripples of production become the grounds for democratic creativity and revision, a form of what Salamishah Tillet calls “critical patriotism,” a way to engage a site of freedom and repression that “neither encourages idolatry to the nation’s past nor blind loyalty to the state,” but through “dissidence and dissent . . . re-engages the meta-discourse of American democracy.”⁹

The marchers in Selma were not alone in linking the crises of democracy in post-World War II America to Cold War conflict and policy. Citizens fighting continued racial subjugation or other forms of discrimination during the 1960s and onward grappled with the Berlin Wall as a part of ongoing strategic efforts during the period of “Cold War civil rights,” as Mary Dudziak suggests, “to ask whether the expansion of U.S. influence and power in the world reflected on American politics and culture at home.”¹⁰ Scholars such as Dudziak, Penny Von Eschen, Thomas Bortelsmann, and Nikhil Pal Singh have demonstrated how, in the years following a shared

victory with Western allies and the U.S.S.R over Nazi fascism, the U.S. government attempted to be guarantors of freedom globally, but domestically faced the question of whether to bring about full racial integration among its own citizens. Since August 1961, within days of East Germany's sealing off of the border in Berlin, advocates of the civil rights movement had begun invoking the Berlin boundary as a metaphor for racial barriers across America, repeatedly drawing comparisons to emphasize the Berlin Wall's uncanny and long-entrenched presence in the architecture of U.S. segregation. Over time, political rhetoric and popular culture would together share and reverberate links between American society and the Berlin Wall, founded on the same media archives and in the collective popular imaginary. Cultural productions provided many Americans with images of the border and fueled a desire to see it, to be witnesses to the wall. Americans would be offered and would create a range of other sources for bringing themselves closer to the Berlin Wall, either through on-site reporting or fictional treatment in American culture. But for some, to envision the Berlin Wall was also to see connections to the dilemmas of division back in the United States. For the duration of a walled Berlin, a wide range of political and cultural actors would make similar rhetorical gestures to bring critical attention to lines of division and crises of democracy in American society.

This dissertation, "Boundaries of Freedom: An American History of the Berlin Wall," an interdisciplinary study of representations of the Berlin Wall across American literature, art, and popular culture from 1961 to the present. The Berlin Wall is recalled prominently as the central symbol of the Cold War, and as the structural manifestation of the iron curtain division between West and East Germany, as well as the United States and the Soviet Union. I contend that the Berlin Wall emerged as an integral part of the transnational cultural imagination in the United States during the Cold War. For many Americans, the Berlin Wall reflected significant histories of

social division – in particular, transnational, transhistorical, and intersectional accounts of the civil rights movement and the Cold War. This has been the case from the first days of the wall’s construction in 1961 through its dismantling in 1989, and carries on through its current afterlife as a dispersed monumental ruin and digitally rendered artifact. The Berlin Wall continues to be an important structure through which Americans critically engage their own evolving and interlinked notions of freedom and repression.

This project emphasizes the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class in a U.S.-focused history of the Berlin Wall, by studying the impact of creative non-state actors on political knowledge and archival knowledge of the Cold War period and beyond. I approach an American history of the Berlin Wall to consider the hundreds of cultural representations of the wall directed to U.S. audiences as points of entry to access the liminal spaces and fault lines of the nation. I highlight cultural works as historical and expressive sources, and employ transnational American studies methodologies from cognate fields (including cultural history, literary studies, visual culture, and performance studies). I explore our national culture through representations of the Berlin Wall, and look collectively at cultural productions that represent and frame the history of the wall through narratives of transnational struggle and division in the United States. Ultimately, I aim to unseat the ease with which American culture currently treats the Berlin Wall. Creators of such work trouble the confined narratives of twentieth- and twenty-first century U.S. history and geography, seeking the moments where potentially discrete categories such as “history” and “memory,” “domestic” and “foreign,” and “freedom” and “repression” coexist and converge.¹¹ This dissertation is a study of the profound, paradoxical, and continued resonance of the Berlin Wall in American culture.

Now, more than two decades since the Berlin Wall's initial dismantling, the American attachment to the Cold War border continues to evolve. In addition to cultural productions that continue to ponder the structures of division in Berlin, the ongoing and regular presence of the Berlin Wall persists in contemporary political discourse. Such a presence is paced by actual material remnants of the German border system displaced into dozens of U.S. public sites of memory, renderings of the wall featured in virtual spaces such as video games and internet memorials, and uncanny structures including the U.S.-Mexico border wall pushing Cold War memory into the emergent present. Americans continue to draw on the historic Berlin Wall to confront and remap boundaries of freedom and repression in contemporary geopolitics. This expansive troping and engagement with the physical remains of the Berlin Wall highlights the participatory nature of cultural production in sparking collective identifications and social movement formations. Overall, this illuminates the established tradition in the United States of telling national stories that signify on the Berlin Wall.

II. American Berliners

During the Cold War, Berlin occupied a special place in American politics, which was fostered by a Berlin-fueled cultural imaginary of both freedom and repression. The United States confirmed a relationship with post-World War II Germany in the wake of the allied defeat of Nazi Germany, headquartered in Berlin. Following the halt of Hitler's imperial and genocidal conquests in 1945, Germany was divided into four zones of Allied influence – governed by the United States, France, Britain, and the Soviet Union, respectively – designed to both punish the country and guarantee its peaceful reconstruction. This division also fueled the period that would become known as the “Cold War,” which emerged between the Western NATO allies and the

Warsaw Pact countries of the Eastern bloc. Such a bipolar framing of the conflict nonetheless points to the entanglement of other countries in “hotspots” around the world as sites of proxy standoff, including the western Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the eastern German Democratic Republic (GDR). Divided Berlin was a major focal point of Cold War political confrontation, military occupation, and cultural connection.

The American public’s fascination with the city’s walled border was connected to Berlin’s defense and eventually to the spectacle of the Berlin Wall itself. As such, from the division of Germany in 1945 through the Berlin airlift in 1958–59 and the Berlin crisis of 1960–61, American politicians and citizens demonstrated a deep investment in the fate of Berlin. The construction of a fortified border in Berlin by East Germany not only bisected the city, but ran within footsteps of its occupied American sector and symbolically, if not politically, U.S. soil. This further deepened a U.S. connection with Cold War Berlin. Just a month before the Berlin border was closed, 85 percent of U.S. citizens wanted troops in West Berlin; a month after the border system materialized 70 percent would have supported going to war to secure access to city.¹² The structure was a tangible barrier in a conflict of Cold War ideologies in a city that evoked deep American identifications and attachments.

The Berlin Wall separated East and West Berlin with a dangerous militarized border through a significant period of Germany’s Cold War division, from August 1961 to November 1989. Built by East Germany in August 1961 and adapted through multiple architectural evolutions, the wall’s components encircled the allied sectors of the city, which were geographically situated 110 miles away from the West German border and otherwise surrounded by East Germany. The Berlin Wall comprised more than 97 miles of controlled border area, and included extensive fortifications, including alarmed fencing, hinterland walls, guard dogs,

searchlights, watchtowers, and a no-man's land known as the "death strip." There were several crossing points along the wall, including the junction that Western allies had nicknamed "Checkpoint Charlie." But all together, any cross-border movement was highly regulated and surveilled. Even as violent clashes and escape attempts of its early days dwindled during a period of relative *détente* coexistence between the two Germanys, the border remained a volatile site throughout its history.¹³

The Berlin Wall's physical presence always signified on its symbolic power. Historians such as Frederick Taylor and Brian Ladd, among others, powerfully remind us that the name Berlin Wall never referred to a single wall but rather to a broader system of border fortifications limiting access to the formerly "free city of Berlin" that was heavily policed and regulated. The wall always operated on both physical and symbolic terms and, as Ladd notes, "came to signify all the consequences of the division of Berlin and all of Europe."¹⁴ The terms of American occupation and involvement with West Germany's governance and East Germany's status as an enemy state demanded a complicated understanding of America's geopolitical stance during the Cold War. Both sides of Berlin were key sites for assessing the U.S. attempt to be guarantors of global democracy and freedom following the defeat of Nazi fascism. Andreas Daum suggests that the shift from "Hitler's Berlin" to "America's Berlin" occurred as the divided city was experiencing both a re-militarization and an expansion of its "transatlantic culture of memory" through media productions and public political events.¹⁵ The Berlin Wall marked no simple way to affirm or disprove this transition, but instead the cultural communication surrounding its construction demonstrated the flurry of ideological, historical, and transnational perspectives necessary to understand its complex, evolving notions of physical and symbolic blockade.

On each side of the wall and in the United States, culture became a platform to contend with perspectives on the significance of the border with respect to recent German history. Berlin was a central site of Jewish trauma and emerged as a space for remembrance following the Holocaust. Thus the division of Germany and its respective ruling powers affected the processes of national reparation and memorialization. For American Cold Warriors and their allies, the Western side of the city embodied the transformations necessary to move the nation from fascism to democracy. For this group, the wall was further characteristic of both Soviet desperation and the recent German history of militarized repression.¹⁶ The borders' Eastern builders, however, saw and spoke of no "Berlin Wall" but instead in official nomenclature of "an antifascist protective rampart." Such a structure and its nefariously expansive regimes of "border control" not only kept its citizens from fleeing in droves, as they had increasingly done through the period of nonenforced division of the city, but also was meant to shield those kept there from a Western value system of supercapitalism and profit-driven economics that the German Democratic Republic viewed as responsible for the rise of Nazism. Even by the 1970s, as the two Germanys settled into the Western-led policy of *Ostpolitik*, which stabilized diplomatic relations, the border remained a potential war zone for its entire existence. The effect was profound for those living in its shadow on both sides. For example, in his 1982 novel, *Wall Jumper*, West German writer Peter Schneider popularized the term *Mauer im Kopf* (wall in the head) prior to the border's dismantling, harkening to the deep psychological costs of internal division on both sides, made visible in concrete.¹⁷ Berlin Wall-related cultural productions, either consciously or implicitly, no matter whether German-authored or constructed by global visitors, bore the burden and embodied the transformative potential of this weighty, multiperspectival history of World War II and the Cold War.

For my own study, I am indebted to two landmark interdisciplinary projects that deal with the United States' and Germany's transnational cultural crossings during the Cold War: Andreas Daum's *Kennedy in Berlin* and Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke's *A Breath of Freedom*. In *Kennedy in Berlin*, Daum demonstrates America's postwar strategic relationship with Berlin by locating "America's Berlin" as a "political and symbolic place" both in *and* out of the United States "that incorporated Berlin into the history of the United States and linked the often dramatic events in the German capital . . . to America's own cultural memory."¹⁸ Such a relationship was possible due to America and Germany's particular relationship – West Germany as a subsidized ally and East Germany as Cold War foe. Berlin's islandlike geographic locale made such relationships more dramatic. In addition and most important, Daum traces the history of cross-cultural exchange of symbolic gifts and rhetoric between American and West German officials in the emerging years of the Cold War that peaked in the years following the wall's construction in 1963 at the time of President Kennedy's brief but historic visit to West Berlin. Kennedy's invocation of symbolic citizenship, "Ich bin ein Berliner" [I am a Berliner], was buttressed by the repeated phrase "Let them come to Berlin," a call to metaphorically visit the city based on his own physical placement there. Daum suggests that American politicians encouraged the public at large to identify with Cold War Berlin through the practice of "mental mapping" – the act of converging political and imaginative geographies – as a strategy that began before and continued after the historical period of the Berlin Wall. The relative inclusion or exclusion of East Germany in this imaginative official geography would rest on comparisons to the West and selective attempts to see the socialist capital from Western observation decks, plotted infiltrations, or depictions in cultural productions that staged infiltrations across the border through spy activity

or escape.¹⁹ Kennedy's Berlin, as Daum suggests, combined physical and metaphorical connections that depended on relating aspects of each of the city's sides.

In addition to presidential visits to the Berlin Wall and military-political relations, Höhn and Klimke trace the German-American Cold War nexus through the nations' "entanglements" and "shared destinies" in *A Breath of Freedom*. They read this transnational history through encounters of black GIs and prominent civil rights leaders with Germans on both sides of the Berlin Wall. According to their study, nearly three million African American soldiers served in Germany during the Cold War years. One of the aims of their work is to trace "how America's struggle for racial justice reverberated across the globe," by placing the experiences of these soldiers into the foreground of histories of post-World War II reconciliation and critical engagement – in the United States and in West and East Germany.²⁰ These scholars, like Daum, drew from a range of transnational archives. The understudied subject of black GIs reveals one fissure in the mainstream narrative of Western democratic progress and creates a framework to approach others through a transnational lens. For example, this study also suggests internal divisions in the two Germanys, particularly the circumstances of Afro-German and Afro-Turkish communities, and further trajectories of post-Cold War entanglements and alliances.

Together, these studies demonstrate how culture continued to be a mode of transfer between the two nations, linking the actions of state and nonstate actors, and indicate a way to map the complex political histories of the post-World War II and Cold War periods. These scholars link popular conceptions of history with the mechanisms behind their inclusion in or exclusion from mainstream narratives. In other words, these stories of transnational involvement stage and attempt to work productively with the complicated relationship between history and memory. Ultimately, they also persuasively suggest that relations between America and the

multiple national iterations of Germany are connected to both traveling Americans who gain knowledge from their experience being in a divided Germany and projected cultural representations of the city.

I aim to build upon these previous studies, and explore America's Berlin through its "entanglements" and "shared destinies." To do so, I will focus on cultural productions created by artists and writers who visited a divided Berlin and transported their stories back to America to ponder division and identity in their home country, or instances in which the Berlin Wall marks a point of entry to cultural politics of the period. An American history of the Berlin Wall is a case study for approaching interlinked modes of cultural expression, production, and circulation, in which culture functions as a transnational platform for entertainment, critical thought, ideological intervention, and/or coalition building.

III. Mapping Transnational American Cold War Studies

This dissertation builds upon aforementioned and other formulations in the field of transnational American studies that seek to explore the United States from within and across borders as a "crossroads of cultures," as Shelly Fishkin suggests, so "that we pay . . . attention to the ways in which ideas, people, culture, and capital have circulated and continue to circulate physically, and virtually, throughout the world, both in ways we might expect, and unpredictably." As one important such crossroads, the Berlin Wall marks a key instructive site of transnational exchange and scholarship.²¹

Though in the midst of a "transnational turn," the field of American studies has throughout its history looked to the cumulative and complicated geographical arrangements of the nation as a source for broader understandings and crisscrossings of national culture. To know

where America begins and ends is to trace movements along the internal and external boundaries of the nation, including sites of empire and exchange abroad. To calibrate these borders, scholars look to cultural encounters of the figures whose ideas and imaginations help sketch the national cartography. An encounter may be thought of as a site-specific meeting between historical actors, or involve intertextual interactions between figures and plots from cultural texts and performances. Following James Clifford's notion that location "is an itinerary rather than a bounded site – a series of encounters and translations," I approach the encounter as a mode and metaphor for moments when national boundaries and systems of meaning are redrawn, when individuals impact and shape hierarchies of power and open themselves and their transnational contexts to critical interventions and explorations.²²

The field of American studies was shaped in a Cold War context. Early practitioners of American studies put forth "the myth and symbol" or "fact and symbol" method for scholarship, which traced particular tropes in the expressive and political realms as a means to anchor studies of national culture.²³ At their best, the early practitioners of the myth-and-symbol school assembled disparate cultural productions toward highlighting elements of national trends and transformations; at their worst, they did so while reinforcing an American exceptionalism that excused or failed to recognize U.S. empire, prized the work of select elite individuals, and put forth a narrative of national coherence that excluded voices of dissent and sources from marginalized communities.²⁴

As scholars in the field have worked to expand on this founding model, they have presented new approaches to see the United States as a transnational actor in constant modes of consolidation and change. The most poignant examples of American studies work still operate from the notion that the U.S. domestic and global "borderlands" have always been in flux. Gloria

Anzaldúa's germinal *Borderlands/La Frontera* replaces the line of the border with the site of the borderlands, and denotes the space as "the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country – a border culture." By utilizing the borderlands as a tool and conceptual space of transnational American studies, scholars may consider figures that occupy acknowledged and/or unrecognized border spaces to yield insights into key challenges of America's post-World War II democratic project. By looking to both the outer edges and internal divisions, scholars may map the United States through a range of competing stories about U.S. power and struggle.²⁵

Emerging with the transnational turn in American studies, readings of Cold War culture, in particular, have become platforms for mapping America's edges and divisions in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries. Recently, American studies scholars of the Cold War have attended to the ways in which culture functions as what Matthew Frye Jacobsen and Gaspar Gonzalez refer to as a "built" force of the transnational dynamics of the period.²⁶ These scholars and others do so to write against the notion of a merely Manichean, bipolar Cold War and in favor of the complex cultural crossings and entanglements of the time. They approach the deep tropes of the period – particularly the dialectic of containment and liberation – through the ambivalent and unstable outcomes of cultural discourse because of the profound structural paradoxes of the period. They consider America's role in the Cold War through a litany of the country's own contradictory imperatives and thus complicate maps of Cold War conflicts and outcomes: confronting and practicing nuclear proliferation; containing communism while voicing support for the liberation of the decolonizing world, as long as the regimes in question are pro-Western; aggressively suppressing "subversive" behavior domestically while practicing counterinsurgency abroad; celebrating affluence and homegrown production of a national economy while extracting commodities through militarized force from the Global South and Middle East;

deploying normative tropes of gender and sexuality abroad while heavily policing nonnormative facets of private civic life; and fighting at the behest of democracy while undermining several anti-Western, democratically elected governments, all to wildly inconsistent results. That *the* singular-framed Cold War assumes a prolonged, centralized bipolar conflict or diplomatic standoff with a clear ending, rather than a myriad of classified policy moves, covert operations, proxy wars, military coups, cultural strategies, and subsequent aftereffects in the years following the period makes writing a definitive history of the Cold War a complex endeavor. Scholars also weigh the emergence of the “war on terror,” following the attacks of September 11, 2001, in relation to the previous antagonisms or allegiances that the Cold War extended in order to signal to the complications of historical accountability and continuity. Scholars who wish to periodize or thematize the Cold War run into difficulties, not just in debating its definitive beginning or end, but also in mapping its constitutive subplots.

Further compounding these challenges of Cold War historiography is that the collection of historical sources themselves from this time remains under scrutiny. Cultural historians and critics have utilized alternative means to locate narratives, including the use of partially-declassified governmental archives alongside cultural texts and productions. Though the McCarthy era of the early 1950s brought out repressive tactics within the entertainment industries, and relationships to capital complicate cultural expression more generally, scholars are able to approach studies of the Cold War through cultural work of varying formats and ideological bents. This creative pairing treats the archive as both epistemological and porous, and seeks cultural connections that may revise mainstream narratives about the Cold War around ideas of consensus and its clear division of domestic and foreign policy. Critical approaches to history – including interdisciplinary methods, juxtapositions of political and cultural texts, and

explorations of the dynamic interplay between history and memory – effectively work to locate and utilize Cold War sites of memory. If the Cold War itself marks not just a prolonged jockeying for global power but also a struggle over meaning and cultural contestation, then viewing history and memory as “entangled” and history as a produced narrative through literature, art, and cultural productions offers guidance in approaching the study of this period.

I follow scholars who have reimagined the post-1945 era from these perspectives and who look to cultural productions and the figures who shaped them as points of access to study the period and consider its challenging historical underpinnings. In doing so, these scholars reflexively relate their methodologies and their archives. Among them, Penny Von Eschen writes of transnational cultural exchange as “open-ended and unpredictable” and as “an alternative approach to the arena of politics, and specifically to international diplomacy.” Her method, which she deems “slipping in the breaks,” builds on that formulation from Ralph Ellison’s novel *Invisible Man*. Von Eschen’s study of jazz musicians traveling for the U.S. State Department allows for “a way of slipping between multiple sets of official archives and areas of study.” Exploring these particular cultural figures yields insight into how they “slipped into the breaks and looked around, intervening in official narratives and playing their own changes on Cold War perspectives.”²⁷ Similarly, scholars Jacobsen and Gonzalez also contend, “The circuitry of ideas and ideologies from the cultural realm to the political and back again *matters*.” Their study of the textual and filmic versions of *The Manchurian Candidate* model an integrative and transhistorical approach to American Cold War studies. They warn of a “culture of contradiction” that permeates studies of the Cold War and that both reveals and revels in themes of the period.²⁸ In addition, Jon Wiener probes the “official memory of the Cold War” through the discourses of

alleged Western victory. He posits official and mainstream accounts of a stated rhetorical triumphalism alongside the failure of a viable public monumentality about the Cold War. Wiener visits American Cold War memory sites, constructing an archive of texts, media, and tourist attractions to make sense of the unwieldy post–Cold War narrative.²⁹ Collectively, these Cold War culture scholars use methods and turn to sites that spark the dialectic of memory and history toward refining our approaches to contemporary, and at times ambiguous, post–Cold War moment.

IV. Where is the Berlin Wall (Archive)

When I began my graduate career as a doctoral student in American Culture, I set out to trace shifts surrounding race, gender, sexuality, and class in transnational urban contexts following 1945, especially in physical sites and/or virtual spaces. This led to my interest in the Berlin Wall and its broad displacement within American cultural rituals and discourses. I began this project during a two-year residency at the Center for World Performance Studies at the University of Michigan, which afforded me the opportunity to take two initial research trips to Berlin in 2008 and 2009. While in Germany, I encountered many stories of American artists and writers who had interacted with the traumatized and reformed urban landscape of Berlin. This included those who experienced Germany’s division from both its Eastern and Western geopolitical points of view and across the historical divide of 1989. Over time, I found the divided city had been both a Cold War frontline and a cultural meeting place. From this prompt, I began taking note of the material traces or memorialized paths of the Berlin Wall throughout the city – at sanctioned historical destinations and others that had been improvised. From the official memorial on Bernauerstrasse to the abstract design of nearby *Mauerpark* (Wall park), what these sites had in common is that each was a

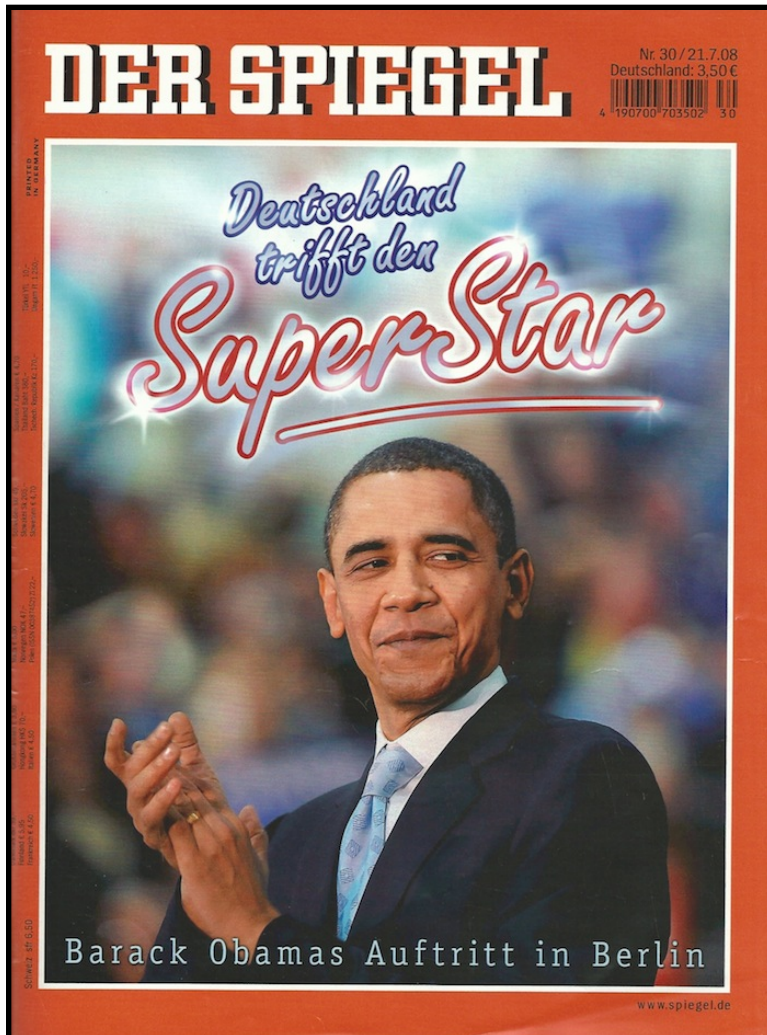


Figure 1.4: Cover of *Der Spiegel*, 21 July 2008

fully germinated. The man who owned the kiosk near my flat in Prenzlauer Berg called the atmosphere “Obamamania.” In the buildup to the event I had purchased a copy of *Der Spiegel* with an image of Obama on the cover, smiling and clapping, framed with an “American Idol”-style typeface proclaiming him a “SuperStar” (Figure 1.4). This magazine was displayed amidst an array of other periodicals and newspapers documenting the coverage. Obama’s speech conjured the legacy of America’s relationship to Berlin, as he sampled Cold War cultural memory in an effort to affirm U.S. transnational power and militarism during the “war on terror.” In Berlin, candidate Obama powerfully stated to the enormous crowd, “History reminds us that walls can be

form of storytelling, rather than a pure history, promoting a certain perspective through which to view the history and memory of the wall; an invitation not simply to look backward or remember but to be present with the Berlin Wall as artifact, absence, or aftermemory.

But it was not until July 2008, when I stood with two hundred thousand Berliners on Strasse des 17 Juni to hear a speech by then-presidential-hopeful Barack Obama, that my idea for a project

torn down.” Berlin once again became a platform for an American to explore ideas about freedom and repression, to acknowledge history and attempt to overcome it, by visiting and conjuring the Berlin Wall. By mentioning and approaching the wall, Obama envisioned Berlin as a site of American memory and a platform for measuring the worthiness of his own nation’s post–Cold War global reach.³⁰

One year later, back in Berlin during the twentieth anniversary of the dismantling of the wall, I set out to document and explore the hundreds of cultural activities, both officially sponsored and grassroots, marking the commemoration. I wondered what my time would have been like had I stayed in the United States for cultural celebrations honoring the anniversary in cities such as Ann Arbor, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and dozens of others where they honored the date with ceremonies involving actual or ersatz pieces of the wall. But while in Berlin, I encountered a number of American cultural figures making sense of their own Berlin pasts and this moment of national commemoration. I heard Bon Jovi perform while standing in freezing rain by the Brandenburg Gate. I viewed a video screen from the edge of the Tiergarten, while Bon Jovi played the official city celebration. The band premiered a new song, “We Weren’t Born to Follow,” that was supposedly inspired by the events of 1989 and featured clips of Berlin. Lead singer Jon Bon Jovi recalled in press interviews around the time of his appearance the piece of the wall he had personally chipped away decades before while visiting the reunified city.³¹ Bill Van Parys, an author and former *Rolling Stone* and *Details* editor, toured me through his old haunts in Kreuzberg, where he had lived in the early 1980s, just steps from the wall, as he conceptualized a forthcoming book and performance project about Berlin’s queer and punk scenes.³²



Figure 1.5: Sean Gallup, U2, and Jay-Z perform in Berlin for the 2009 European Music Video Awards, 5 November 2009 (Getty Images)

One morning on my trip, I visited the Kennedys Museum, at that time located on Pariser Platz. My timing happened to overlap with the sound check for an outdoor concert for later that evening by U2. The group, which had recorded their classic 1991 “Achtung Baby” mostly in newly reunified Berlin, was returning for the anniversary of the Mauerfall (Fall of the Berlin Wall) and a special performance for audiences of the MTV European Music Video Awards. I stood outside the museum with one of the curators, who was galvanized by this unexpected early morning show. She hoisted a life-size cardboard cutout of Barack Obama, used to advertise an exhibition there, way above her head in order, as she said, to get lead singer Bono’s attention, waving the figure and angling it toward the band across the plaza. As we stood outside, listening to some of the band’s familiar strains, I heard someone from the stage singing and then another person rapping. But the words during the sound check were mumbled, and I couldn’t tell if it was

the band or one of their handlers testing the microphones. When I tuned in later that evening I realized the voice I heard was that of American rapper Jay-Z, who was lending an impromptu, Berlin Wall–focused verse to a remix of U2’s “Bloody Sunday”(Figure 1.5). In the verse, which has yet to appear in America on any commercial platform or recording other than an amateur video on YouTube, Jay-Z places Berlin’s legacies of walls and grassroots action into a context of several international sites of struggle – public housing projects in the United States, Iran, and Rwanda. As he had done in other songs, the rapper who modeled the “corporate takeover” also rhymed his own ambivalent statements about U.S. empire and his own diasporic identifications. In this piece, he evokes the metaphor of the radio as a means to call for political engagement and action by joining geographies in the space of the song. He raps, “Turn on your radio, out in Berlin / walls are falling, revolution is calling. . . . turn on your radio, let’s all harmonize / to the people in power, hear the army cries.”³³ If Jay-Z’s message of revolution and collectivity was to be realized through the metaphor of the radio and on a stage backed by the Brandenburg Gate, the performance was also a befuddling example of open democratic expression. For the evening event, concert organizers had given away only a limited number of tickets and had barricaded the performance area with shaded fencing to block visibility to those remaining without entry. Further, its broadcasters limited official access to online viewing for international audiences outside of Europe. The concert stands as a twenty-first-century example of cultural possibility and intrigue, again staged along the path of the former Berlin Wall: How can culture be used to engage or create publics through meaningful improvisation, even as it can be wielded as an instrument of power? How do transnational appeals or performances of American culture embody such a dilemma?

The focus of this dissertation considers the panoramic approach across historical periods to consider how memory and an entangled history mark an approach to these questions. From Seeger's radio reenactment of the Selma-Berlin Wall to Jay-Z's elusive Berlin radio, the symbol of the wall reminds us of the utter instability and explosive power of cultural expression in regard to America's engagement with Cold War division. Rather than looking for answers from culture, such performances remind us of the ways in which culture stages approaches to major geopolitical questions and unresolved historical concerns.

From 1961 through 1989 and onward, cultural representations of the Berlin Wall emerged as a significant venue to deal with multiple perspectives of the Cold War. Whether the locality of the representation was based physically close to or far away from the border, many opened up transnational connected meanings to be drawn from the dramatic walling of the city. Scholars such as those, among an impressive group published in the 1996 collection *Berlin Wall: Representations and Perspectives*, edited by Ernst Schürer, Manfred Keune, and Philip Jenkins (and inspired by the 1991 Pennsylvania State University conference "The Wall: Reality and Symbol"), take on a sweeping array of topics and cultural genres, many of which deal closely with both East and West German authored texts. I build on work in this collection and also recent studies by Joshua Clover, Katharina Gerstenberger, Sunil Manghani, and Claudia Mesch, among others, that have considered critical cultures (including literature, visual art, and music) associated with the Berlin Wall.³⁴ No scholarly account to date, however, has taken on the deep, transhistorical American attachment to the Berlin Wall, nor the broad expressive tradition of incorporating the Berlin Wall into critical works about history and identity in America.

Even as more imaginative works visiting the Berlin Wall for critical reflection about U.S. society are produced, they are often considered in light of an emphatic public history of the wall.

The story of America's relationship and identification with the Berlin Wall has been told through decades of public political discourse that fails to fully weigh critical cultural productions and nonstate actors as sources of transnational knowledge. For example, a large and still-growing body of historical literature and cultural works exists on America's political relationship to Cold War Berlin.³⁵ Supplemented by the fields of documentary film and television, museum and library exhibits, and online encyclopedias or wikis, the public history of the Berlin Wall often recounts the history of America's relationship to the Berlin Wall told through presidential visits and military operations, treating culture as necessary only for soundtracks and illustrations, or as endearing oddity (e.g., see David Hasselhoff). Highlight-style films of history – as seen in commercials, often during key sporting events such as the Super Bowl or World Cup – splice footage of the Berlin Wall's dismantling to illustrate a self-apparent concept of "history." Rather than unpacking the politics before or after 1989, such representations seem to be stuck in a feedback loop that favors elation rather than historical reflection. My dissertation does not aim to offer a corrective social history of the Berlin Wall; however, I do fear that triumphalist tales risk the erasure of struggle and the fallout of Cold War division and conflict, and downplay the role of culture as an unstable and powerful building force of the period.

Not all, but a sizable portion of American Berlin Wall discourse has relied on binaries to understand Berlin: *here* and *there*, East and West, truth and propaganda, and the complicated formulation of good side and bad side, without room for nuance or a middleground. I contend that a fuller American history should include the scores of cultural identifications with Berlin's connected freedoms and repressions that suggest the complex American relations and border crisscrossings with Berlin, especially those still occurring today.



Figure 1.6: The Wall Project, Los Angeles, 2012 (author)

Currently, one can look to a stunning array of dozens of large pieces of the former Berlin Wall that are on display – in government buildings, presidential libraries, museums, parks, a food court in Seattle, a public transit station in Chicago and a casino men’s room in Las Vegas – as powerful examples of the traces of the Cold War in American culture. I find it meaningful that the material remnants of a divided Berlin have been *displaced* from Germany and *re-placed* as monumental national artifacts in the United States. In many cases, the sponsors of these displays are transnational corporations who hoist these remnants in popular parlance as “pieces of history,” a concrete form of Cold War booty; in other cases, the pieces are meant to stimulate ongoing debate and reflection about freedom and repression. For example, a memorial set up by The Wende Museum on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles (Figure 1.6), a group of ten Berlin Wall segments with newly painted murals, have become a site for immigration protests by Latin American and Asian American immigrant groups. Another piece was recently installed outside

the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati. When we place these stories and sites in a collective frame, we understand that representations of the Berlin Wall remind us that the meaning of the Cold War remains in flux.

The Berlin Wall is connected to histories of the United States, but how the wall exactly fits into the story of America remains an important point of these continued efforts to re-place or re-imagine the remains of the physical border. Some displays relate particularities or complexities of German politics alongside America's own vested interest in the Berlin question in ways that animate historical accounts. Others leverage the wall's revolutionary legacy into a cool aesthetic, without the burden of accuracy or complexity, reducing and relocating the story entirely. Consider a Pepsi television commercial, titled "Pass," that aired in early 2009, coinciding with the first presidential inauguration of Barack Obama and with the Super Bowl. The buildup of the narrative is composed with sequential, restaged iconic moments from American history in which Pepsi bottles or cans are present. Historical references include the Jazz era and V-J Day at the end of World War II, combined with a cover of The Who's song *My Generation*, which serves as the soundtrack playing throughout the ad. The commercial utilizes an imaginative geography of American progress as one scene runs into the next across space. Toward the commercial's close, a single figure emerges as a Pepsi drinker who agitates the status quo by streaking across a flowery, 1960s-style protest crowd and nabbing a Pepsi bottle. He is chased by police, holding his Pepsi throughout, continues on to a 1970s-era disco party, then to a graffiti-splashed storefront with a break-dancer outside to evoke the rise of hip-hop culture, and finally to the Berlin Wall as it is being torn down, where he ultimately evades the authorities by busting through the wall (Figures 1.7–10). The Pepsi holder finds a hammered-out opening in the wall and on the other side discovers a new scene, where he greets a packed room on a stage. He launches from the stage and



Figures 1.7–10: Screenshots from “Pass,” Pepsi, 2009 (YouTube/TBWA\CHIAT\DAY)

crowd-surfs as the commercial ends with a fadeout to black and the final message, “Every generation refreshes the world.³⁶” Not only does this commercial fail to imagine East Berlin on the “other side” of the Berlin Wall or anything of historical import in American culture after 1989, its geography make its own great leap to incorporate this scene into that of the United States. Such a motif has been used in other commercials and cultural works, in which the Berlin Wall joins other sampled moments of American history, wrenched from contexts of struggle and smoothed out to highlight or punctuate American progress. The Wall gets reduced to a static moment, akin to a sound bite or video loop. Why among iconic moments and sites in American culture, do we find such an easy passage to and through the Berlin Wall?

This phenomenon involving actual or staged pieces of the wall affirms a larger and long-standing cultural fascination: since its beginnings, many Americans see themselves and their own history reflected in the Berlin Wall. Now, more than twenty years after it was first dismantled, the

desire to be present with the wall, or to ponder its physicality, has not subsided. Such a longing reminds us that the story is far from conclusive, coherent, or transparent. This also attests to the complicated entanglements of the Cold War rather than offering simple narratives of resolution or triumph. What is the symbolic or actual value of making historical claims or narratives using pieces of the wall? Who gets to leverage these histories and own them or have access to making meaning from them?

My project proposes an American Berlin Wall archive that accounts for its sweeping range, through an integrative approach. I am inspired by the archival methodologies in the aforementioned field of Cold War history/memory, as well as by several literary scholars working in American studies, such as Michael Awkward, Lauren Berlant, Amy Sara Carroll, and Salamishah Tillet, who assemble and juxtapose interdisciplinary works of artists and writers through a collective formation of “images, narratives, monuments, and sites.”³⁷ This archival approach allows scholars to critically engage what Berlant terms the “national symbolic,” the cluster of discursive modes of meaning and belonging, and carry out the work of “radical recontextualization” – in which “hegemonic national” stories and “the narratives that maintain the political culture they operate in” are rendered “unfamiliar and inevitable, while also shifting the ways mass politics, critical practice, identity, embodiment and intimate political feelings can be imagined and mobilized.”³⁸ To carry out this project, I have compiled an extensive archive of cultural materials created in proximity or in reference to the Berlin Wall by figures whose work circulates within the American cultural sphere but is rarely grouped together. Like pieces of the wall itself, now floating in and out of context around the world, the archive of Berlin Wall materials is unwieldy and widespread, but when viewed in a shared frame is further imbued with potential for critical national and historical reflection.

The boundaries of my archive encompass materials from traditional library collections, national holdings, oral histories and published works; the archive also includes cultural productions and ephemera such as music videos and commercials exclusively archived on YouTube, popular film, television episodes, video games, blog entries, social media memes, sartorial products, kitsch souvenirs, and stories from personal encounters and observational research at cultural happenings in Berlin. There can be no totality to this archive, despite the suggestion of its broad, elusive footprint. But accounted for collectively, it offers a wide swath of cultural forms to better understand the broader circuits, limits, and possibilities of Berlin Wall culture for multiple sites of expressive action.

Such an archive combines a diverse array of expressive products and forms, assembled for the purpose of comparative consideration: literature, photography, popular music, theater productions, television programs, visual art, advertisements, editorial cartoons, fashion items, and memorial or museum displays. Together these works offer a panoramic view of postwar American culture by organizing them around the orientation point of the Berlin Wall. The producers of such works craft performances in many genres and across a cultural spectrum of literary, fine art, popular, activist, avant-garde, and remixed platforms. This includes Academy Award- and Tony Award-winning productions, best-selling novels, influential artworks, Top-40 music, prime-time television episodes, and well-trafficked tourist sites. It also includes material that is underground and experimental. Respectively, works in this archive range widely in their tone and identification with broader American and German historical themes, and move in and out of particular time periods, as well as the performed location of Berlin. Many pieces attempt to capture the gravitas of the militarized Berlin border while also spotlighting the potential for exploration or exchange along the wall's path. Likewise, this archive incorporates work that

acknowledges the particularity of America's political relationship with Berlin. It significantly traces the struggle for American civil rights over several geopolitical contexts and historical periods. The reflective potential of this collective archive lies in its ability to connect Berlin's boundaries of freedom and repression with those in the United States.

I reference works from this archive throughout the dissertation, conducting readings of several key works/figures within it, and place others into working relationship but outside the immediate frame of the project.³⁹ My chapters are organized around close readings of publicly circulated works, and animated by archival research of the figures that create them. I position my own work here at the intersection of cultural history and literary/cultural criticism. The imperative here is to map as many of the necessary connections made between archival materials and their productive contexts as possible. Though each chapter deals primarily with a central formal approach to representing the Berlin Wall – photography, autobiography, poetry, musicals and tourist sites, respectively – I seek to highlight the hybrid and mixed expressive contours of each work and interanimate each of these formal discussions with contemporary works. For example, the photo-text, the historic poem, or the music video should not be reduced to one artistic approach, nor should the products of remixing or sampling be seen as merely a sum of their parts.

In the framing of my project, I consider “boundaries of freedom” as sites where liberation and repression are jointly imagined and constituted. Boundaries such as physical walls, national borders, political formations, and lines between public and private identities are not only Janus faced but also crisscrossed terrains. Freedom, like culture, must be imagined not as a fixed principle but as being in process. Mikhail Bakhtin writes of boundaries and culture: “Every cultural act lives essentially on the boundaries: in this is its seriousness and significance;

abstracted from boundaries it loses its soil, it comes empty, arrogant, it degenerates and dies.”⁴⁰ In her recent work *Another Freedom*, Svetlana Boym builds on Bakhtin and seeks cultural dialogue and exchange to fathom “the possibility of freedom and deliberate its boundaries.” She is wary of definitions and so-called transparent expressions of freedom and contends, “Freedom is only possible under the conditions of human finitude with certain boundaries.” She summons a critical exploration of boundaries in which “the arts of freedom produce an imaginary architecture of the border zone space, not a walled boundary.”⁴¹ I adopt an approach to boundaries of both freedom and culture to mark the productive spaces of its finite edges and in the hope of imagining each as a site of critical transformation. As Kun suggests of music and sound, I contend we may extend to other forms of representation, especially forms of physical and/or social boundaries, as “almost-places of cultural encounter” for participants who not only consume such works but also may see them “as a space that [they] can enter into, encounter, move around in, inhabit, be safe in, learn from.”⁴² My research question – Where is the Berlin Wall in American culture? – through disjuncture and juxtaposition, creates a frame in which to gather many stories together and find new signposts to tell an alternate history of post-World War II America; to consider where else these other stories are routed and to what other walls or boundaries they lead.

As such, I am invested in exploring the many other places and historical struggles implicated and connected to Berlin – including global Cold War hotspots, U.S. borderlands, architectures of segregation, the prison industrial complex, and monumental memorial landscapes. I attempt to enact or interact with the very models of critical distance pursued by the subjects of this study. In doing so, I aim to unseat the ease with which American culture currently treats the Berlin Wall, to probe our elaborate relationship to the wall and, more broadly, the

nation's relationship with our history and geography. Cultural productions compose this project's landmarks, its contours, and its resonance with lived political realities, as I pay attention to their stages of creation, circulation, and ongoing evolution. To follow the cultural figures behind such productions is to move through the history of the Berlin Wall and America's other Cold War divisions.

The Berlin Wall was never a structure with a clear telos. Its complicated living history and afterlife are still being explored and contested today. In 1989 and for years later, reunified Berliners and curious travelers dismantled physical elements of the former Berlin Wall system. In turn the concrete fragments of the border walls were disbanded around the world: the Berlin Wall became a fetishized collectible and commodity, an ironic afterlife to a concrete structure built to insulate communist East Berlin. As small pieces of the wall were transported to American mantels (and cluttered basement storage bins), and larger ones auctioned off by a company in New Jersey (and sold to corporations and Presidential libraries for historical displays), the wall became a central monumental structure in debates around cultural memory that emerged in the United States in the 1980s. To understand its lure as a "piece of history" one must think about the role of the wall in the U.S. cultural imagination, before and after its so-called "fall," and make sense of the range of historical remnants that bespeak its continued complexity. I consider the protagonists of my dissertation and their travel imperatives and itineraries in order to fully unpack the attraction to Berlin currently as a place where history happened/happens, and to experience Berlin from their personal histories and cultural productions. I locate representations of the Berlin Wall within actual and imagined spaces of the American nation.

The conceptual mapping strategy I propose attempts to reconcile the many themes and competing narratives about the Berlin Wall in American culture – found in widely circulating

political and military histories as well as in hundreds of cultural sources of literature, popular media, public art, digital projects of memory, and actual pieces of the former wall on display. Just as visual artists who assemble maps from found materials or from pages torn out of printed atlases, or others who shape them through prose or camera angles or palimpsestic inscriptions, my dissertation is a map of the American history of the Berlin Wall built with stories, sounds, images, projections, artifacts, and traces. As such, I am invested in exploring the many other places and historical struggles implicated and connected to Berlin, to mirror the models of critical distance pursued by the subjects of this study.

V. Encountering Berlin

I pursue an American history of the Berlin Wall through transnational modes of cultural encounter and exchange. I do so to gather a cultural focused history of the wall, and to map analogous sites of division and displacement in America. I ponder the ways the continued presence of the wall in public discourse and spaces suggest an ongoing and deeper crisis around cultural meaning, memory, and democracy in American culture. In my approach, I highlight cultural works as my historical and expressive sources, and employ transnational American studies approaches from a number of cognate fields (including cultural history, literary studies, performance studies, and visual culture) in dealing with them. I purpose cultural sources as key sites of knowledge and contradiction for studies of the Berlin Wall. I also look to the cultural productions on which I focus for guidance on prevailing historical concerns. In that way, I see culture as both parallel and integral to politics, and cultural practitioners as creating models of thought and inquiry.

My dissertation ponders America's relationship with the world through Cold War Berlin and by way of cultural actors involved with the city. I engage modes of transnational cultural exchange to write against the notion of a Manichean, bipolar Cold War. I seek out the borderlands of U.S. empire in this period and beyond to sketch a national cartography that is accurately porous and flexible. Such a mapping is based on the cultural encounters of artists and writers whose travel itineraries track both global Cold War hotspots and sites of imaginative political collectivity. Cultural productions compose this map's landmarks, its attachments to lived political realities, as I pay attention to their stages of creation and circulation.

These stories and dozens of other representations of travel forge a collective choreography: each figure visits a divided Berlin and encounters the wall or other facets of a divided Germany; creates part or all of their work there, and/or sets their work in the city; and captures their experiences within a production directed at American audiences. This suggests that the city and the wall are crucial geographic sites of contact for garnering historical perspectives on urbanity, nationality, and creativity.

Critical cultural works produced in such a choreography include Leonard Freed's photo-text *Black in White America* (1968), Angela Davis's *An Autobiography* (1974), Audre Lorde's collection of poems *Our Dead Behind Us* (1986), and John Cameron Mitchell's and Stew's respective rock musicals *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001) and *Passing Strange* (2010), and as such are major focal points of this dissertation. Collectively and along with dozens of other fellow cultural figures, these artists epitomize a critical tradition of incorporating the wall into projects about civil rights and minority cultures in American society, and contribute to the American cultural imaginary of divided Berlin.

By routing their cultural productions through the geopolitical crossroads of Berlin, these individuals end up wrestling with the complex histories of the city and Germany (especially the history and memory of fascism), particularly around issues of post-Holocaust Jewish trauma, German student-movement politics, Afro-German identity formation, and eventually German reunification. The figures on which I focus returned to Germany dozens of times, including while the wall was still up, and thus their travels end up shaping career-long projects or significant modes of inquiry. Berlin's layered history creates a context for reflection and becomes a cultural meeting place. By embedding themselves and their work in Berlin, however, they also shed light on matters of social and spatial division in America, especially around race, gender, sexuality, class and other modes of difference. The Berlin Wall served as a point of entry to access the liminal spaces and fault lines of each nation. Such cultural figures occupy what Homi Bhabha and others refer to as the liminal space of the nation. They aspire to achieve across time "moment[s] of aesthetic distance" in both the production and circulation of their cultural works at the borderline of national culture. These figures create what Bhabha sees as "a bridge, where 'presencing' begins because it captures something of the estranging sense of the home and the world."⁴³ In the tradition of both errand and exile narratives, the experience of this sort of American cultural figure inhabits the German-American borderlands of Berlin.

Following this introduction, each chapter explores American cultural productions that were routed historically and conceptually through a divided Berlin. Out of the archive of American-directed Berlin Wall works, these productions constitute a critical constellation of work made by Americans whose encounters in a walled Berlin led to material directed at American audiences about identity and division. I read these works of popular circulation and consideration, and

interanimate their critical reception with reflections gleaned from archives concerning their production.

In Chapter Two, “Segregated Sectors,” I begin to chart the study of American cultural responses to the Berlin Wall, conditioned from the days and weeks following the border’s initial construction. I explore photographer Leonard Freed’s *Black in White America*, which opens with a single shot of an unnamed black GI guarding a weeks-old Berlin Wall. I situate Freed’s intersecting photographic projects in postwar Germany and of the civil rights movement in the United States as a way to draw out early connections drawn from the Berlin Wall to structures of segregation in the United States. I contend that Freed’s representation of the early days of the Berlin Wall in each respective work is complementary, as he assesses the postwar-U.S. democratic project as itself an incomplete construction in America’s liminal abroad and Germany’s postwar landscape.

In Chapter Three, “Walls Turned Sideways Are Bridges,” I consider struggles over the definition of citizenship and subversion in the years of post-civil rights racial discourse and Cold War détente. I critically read Angela Davis’s *An Autobiography* and the literary symbol of walls in this text as a way to understand her rendering of a political autobiography in which she renders her own life and at the same time the larger world. Davis never uses the phrase “Berlin Wall,” but instead places her recollection of the time she spent crossing the border between East and West Berlin in scare quotes as “the wall.” I contend Davis’s exclusion is a strategic displacement of the Berlin Wall in order to call such citizenship divisions in American culture into relief, but through which she fails to acknowledge in a comparative frame the shared repressive tactics used by both East and West. Ultimately, Davis’s narrative marks the nexus and negotiation of several transgressive Cold War cultural figures: the dissident citizen, the fugitive of the law, and the pop-

culture phenom of the spy – all of whom are imagined as Cold War Berliners and border crossers, testing the boundaries and possibilities of citizenship in American culture.

In Chapter Four, “I Cross Her Borders at Midnight,” I look to the period of the re-acceleration of the Cold War in the early 1980s through diasporic poetry by Audre Lorde. Following a guest professorship at Berlin’s Free University and her leadership in the emergent Afro-German women’s writer’s movement, the imprint of Lorde’s trips to Berlin would become immediately legible to readers of her book *Our Dead Behind Us*, most clearly in the poem “Berlin Is Hard on Colored Girls.” The Berlin Wall entered Lorde’s poetic language as a complex symbol of history and memory through which she addressed issues of division and difference, and solidarity and survival. Through her poetry, Lorde engages the wall, to ponder its historic relevance and its symbolic weight, to mark the variety of divisions and connections she encountered in West and East Berlin – and to see them as opportunities to work across difference.

Chapter Five, “Midnight Radio,” straddles the moments of the last days of the Berlin Wall and its immediate afterlife as seen in the rock musicals *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* and *Passing Strange*, which continue to draw productively from the period of Germany’s division but in the moment of the Berlin Wall’s afterlife. Performers/writers John Cameron Mitchell and Stew comprise the focus, as I trace their experiences in West Berlin in the mid-1980s, which they integrate into genre-defying performances after the period of the wall, in the early 2000s. Each work marks the juxtaposition of several styles/songs/contexts, drawn together from song fragments perfected and through experimental performance to yield critically acclaimed works, and cite their cultural forbearers in and out of Berlin. But most powerfully, each performer uses music to work out the limits of music as an expression of non-normative American identity – for the musician, the American, the Berliner. These works have inspired new productions, new recordings, and

cinematic releases to cement their legacies, which are powerful reminders of the power of democratic creativity. The dismantling of the Berlin Wall is staged as a place to rethink and remix history.

The concluding Chapter 6, “Piecing History,” explores the phenomenon of pieces of the former Berlin Wall on display in American public spaces such as the Capitol Rotunda and near Ground Zero in Lower Manhattan. The presence of actual material remnants of the wall are paced by renderings of the historic border featured in virtual spaces such as video games and internet memorials, and uncanny structures including the U.S.-Mexico border wall. Such displays point out the unresolved matters of post-Cold War politics and historical memory. As so-called pieces of history, they shape the contours of understanding our past and current moment through a longing to be *historical* and function as elements of place making in city spaces. Such longings reminds us that the story of the wall, whether in Germany or America, is far from coherent, and such a practice attests to the complicated entanglements of the Cold War rather than offering simple narratives of resolution or triumph. These evocations push Cold War memory into the emergent present as Americans confront and remap boundaries of freedom and repression in contemporary geopolitics.

To close the dissertation, I offer a short coda, “A Wall and a Bridge,” in which I reflect on a 2012 research trip I took to the original site of the 1965 Selma-Berlin Wall, in Selma, Alabama, to consider the site of memory explored in this dissertation’s opening pages. In Selma, civil rights-era legends and new groups of protesters jointly gathered to mark the infamous anniversary of Bloody Sunday, to retell the stories of the past and to create venues for urgent matters of civic discourse. The commemorative engagement with historical memory of the earlier Selma protests nurtured processes of social healing and offered platforms for democratic

dissent. At this scene, the historical remains of the Selma-Berlin Wall remained elusive, memorialized into a “Freedom Wall,” however the notion of collective struggle was brought forward. Understood across these historical eras and brought to the contemporary moment, cultural productions and reverberations of the Berlin Wall stand as fertile ground for imaginative political projects in the United States and abroad. The historical memory of the Berlin Wall continues to power the transformative visions of a border culture.

¹ For more on Selma, see David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978); *Ibid.*, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: W. Morrow, 1986); and Susan Y. Ashmore, *Carry It on: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1964–1972* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

² “Erect ‘Berlin Wall’ Block To Ease Tensions In Selma” in *Chicago Daily Defender*, 15 Mar 1965, 1.

³ Richard D. Leonard, *Call to Selma: Eighteen Days of Witness* (Boston: Skinner House Books, 2002) 28.

⁴ The “Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho” spiritual had been previously adapted for the purpose of civil rights-era cultural expression. For other civil rights covers of “Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho” by Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, see Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004) 77 and 121.

⁵ The late artist John F. Phillips photographed the scene in Selma, including one image of a young boy with a handled, frayed piece of the rope. <http://www.baldwinstreetgallery.com/SELMAenlargedHTML/00012_Child_with_Rope.html>.

⁶ Pete Seeger and Len Chandler, *Story of Selma: Songs of the Selma–Montgomery March*. Folkways Records FH 5595, 1965. Folkways also made available recordings that were produced on-site in Selma by Carl Benkert. During the writing of this dissertation, the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan was in discussions to purchase the original recordings and other materials owned by Benkert.

⁷ Pete Seeger is partially responsible for adapting another significant song of the civil rights era, “We Shall Overcome,” with its own transnational history of production and circulation. Seeger performed the song on a trip to East Berlin in 1967, to the dismay of GDR authorities. The genealogy of the song in Germany spiraled outward – many reports from the 1989 Leipzig / East German reform protests of 1989 also reference reports of “We Shall Overcome” being sung by protesters. See David K. Dunaway, *How Can I Keep from Singing? The Ballad of Pete Seeger* (New York: Villard Books, 2008) 319-320; Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

⁸ Joshua Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 23.

⁹ Salamishah Tillet, *Sites of Slavery: Citizenship and Racial Democracy in the Post–Civil Rights Imagination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012) 11.

¹⁰ Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) 17. See also Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; and Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

¹¹ Thomas Bender implores scholars to make “American history strange again.” Thomas Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 19.

¹² Andreas W. Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute; Cambridge University Press, 2008) 36–37.

¹³ According to the city’s official count, “at least 136 people were killed or died in other ways directly connected to the GDR border regime, including 98 people who were shot, accidentally killed, or killed themselves when they were caught trying to make it over the Wall; 30 people from both East and West who were not trying to flee but were shot or died in an accident; 8 GDR border guards who were killed while on duty by deserters, fellow border guards, fugitives, or a West Berlin police officer.” Berliner Mauer 1961–1989, “Facts and Figures” <http://www.berlin.de/mauer/zahlen_fakten/index.en.html>.

¹⁴ Brian Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (University of Chicago Press, 2011) 4.

¹⁵ Daum, 39–41.

¹⁶ At first the Federal Republic and its Western allies did not know how to respond to the provocative act of border fortification and were criticized for inaction. Eventually they parlayed the wall into a *Schandmauer*, a term proclaiming it a shameful structure.

¹⁷ Peter Schneider, *Wall Jumper: A Novel* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

¹⁸ Daum, 51. He adds that this “demonstrate[s] that politics, culture and ideology have been heavily intertwined.”

¹⁹ The common motifs in representing East Berlin in cultural productions is covered later in this dissertation.

²⁰ Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 6.

²¹ Shelly Fishkin, “Crossroads of Cultures: The Transnational Turn in American Studies – Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, November 12, 2004.” *American Quarterly*, Volume 57, Number 1, March 2005, 17–57. See also the introduction to *Re-framing the Transnational Turn in American Studies*, for academic gatherings in the U.S. and Germany during the mid-2000s. Winfried Fluck, Donald E. Pease, and John C. Rowe (eds.), *Re-framing the Transnational Turn in American Studies* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2011).

²² James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) 11.

²³ The Myth and Symbol school, as once imagined, took as its burden the power of the story and how it helped draw our maps. This has included studies of spatial formulations such as the “Frontier,” “The Color Line” and boundaries of “American Empire.” Such studies have resulted in a variety of outcomes, some of which (particularly many early canonical works) reify myths of American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny through deterministic readings of geography. Others depart from that blind spot to highlight the ways in which the U.S. borders have always been in flux. As such, borders cannot merely function as burgeoning frontiers but as sites of exchange and conflict. Our encounters at the edge at once affirm the center and determine the reach of the outer limit. The internal divisions, however, offer more for our maps and stories. One nation, in process, *divisible*.

²⁴ For a critique of particular canonical forms of American Studies, see Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease (eds.), *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

²⁵ Other recent American studies interventions confront transnational and transhistorical approaches. Amy Kaplan’s essay, “Where in the World is Guantanamo” employs a method that seeks to map U.S. power as exercises on the margins of a discrete U.S. geography, as a way to trouble the notion of foreign and domestic distinctions through its liminal spaces. Nikhil Pal Singh traces the “afterlife of fascism” in American politics since World War II through zones of internal exclusion and sites of expansion. Singh writes, “Thus while democratic liberalism continually reimagines fascism as its monstrous Other, fascism might be better understood as its doppelgänger or double – an exclusionary will to power that has regularly reemerged, manifesting itself; (1) those zones of internal exclusion *within* liberal-democratic societies (plantations, reservations, ghettos, and prisons); and (2) those sites where liberalism’s expansionist impulse and universalizing force has been able to evade its own ‘constitutional restraints’ (the frontier, the colony, the state of emergency, the occupation, and the counterinsurgency).” Amy Kaplan, “Where Is Guantanamo?” *American Quarterly*. 57.3 (2005): 831–58; and Nikhil Pal Singh, “The Afterlife of Fascism,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*. 105.1 (2006): 71–94.

²⁶ Matthew Frye Jacobsen and Gaspar Gonzalez, *What Have They Built You to Do? The Manchurian Candidate and Cold War America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006) x.

²⁷ Von Eschen, 25.

²⁸ Jacobsen and Gonzalez, 30–33.

²⁹ Jon Wiener, *How We Forgot the Cold War: A Historical Journey Across America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) 1.

³⁰ For more on Obama’s visit to Berlin from Americans and Germans around notions of citizenship and race, see Damani J. Partridge, “Citizenship and the Obama Moment in Berlin,” *Journal of the International Institute*, Volume 16, Issue 1, Fall 2008 <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jii/4750978.0016.102?rgn=main;view=fulltext>>.

³¹ Gary Graff, “Bon Jovi To Play Berlin Wall Celebration, Add Dates To Meadowlands Run,” on *Billboard.com*, 2 November 2009 <<http://www.billboard.com/news/bon-jovi-to-play-berlin-wall-celebration-1004032500.story#/news/bon-jovi-to-play-berlin-wall-celebration-1004032500.story>>.

³² Bill Van Parys, Interview by author (Berlin, November 2009).

³³ “U2 and Jay-Z play show at Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate: Acts team up to mark 20th anniversary of German reunification” on *NME.com*, 5 November 2009 <<http://www.nme.com/news/u2/48243>>; Bono, “Five Scenes, One Theme: A True if Unlikely Story” in *New York Times*, 15 November 2009, WK11 and <<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/15/opinion/15bono.html?pagewanted=all>>.

³⁴ For studies of Berlin Wall culture, see Ernst Schürer, Manfred Keune, and Philip Jenkins, *Berlin Wall: Representations and Perspectives* (New York: P. Lang, 1996); Joshua Clover, *1989: Bob Dylan Didn’t Have This to Sing About* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Katharina Gerstenberger, *Writing the New Berlin: The German Capital in Post-Wall Literature* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2008); Sunil Manghani, *Image Critique & the Fall of the Berlin Wall* (Bristol, UK: Intellect, 2008); and Claudia Mesch, *Modern Art at the Berlin Wall: Demarcating Culture in the Cold War Germanys* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008). See also Paul Cooke and Andrew Plowman, *German Writers and the Politics of Culture: Dealing with the Stasi* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Christopher Hauck, *(de)construction: Wall Art: Defining a Post Berlin Wall Culture* (Tucker, GA: C. Hauck, 2006); Donald Backman and Aida Sakalauskaite, *Ossi Wëssi* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008); and Nick Hodgkin and Caroline Pearce, *The GDR Remembered: Representations of the East German State Since 1989* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011).

³⁵ A list of recent, popular U.S. books on the Berlin Wall includes: Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin* (2008); W. R. Smyser, *Kennedy and the Berlin Wall: A Hell of a Lot Better Than a War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009); Romesh Ratnesar, *Tear Down This Wall: A City, a President, and the Speech that Ended the Cold War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009); and Frederick Kempe, *Berlin 1961: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Most Dangerous Place on Earth* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2011).

³⁶ Pepsi, “Pass,” (YouTube, TBWA/CHIAT/DAY, 2009).

³⁷ Lauren Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life* (University of Chicago Press, 1991) 5. See also Michael Awkward, *Philly Freedoms* (Forthcoming); Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Amy Sara Carroll, *ReMex: Toward an Art History of the NAFTA Era* (Forthcoming); and Tillet, *Sites of Slavery* (2012).

³⁸ Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City*, 14.

³⁹ My goal is to prepare an open online archive and exhibition in conjunction with the preparation of a manuscript derived from this project.

⁴⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin as cited in Gary S. Morson and Caryl Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990) 51. For more on critical approaches to freedom and boundaries, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Walled Sovereignty* (New York: Zone Books, 2010); Farah J. Griffin, “Who Set You Flowin’?” *The African-American Migration Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Clifford, *Routes*; Peter Marcuse, “Walls of Fear and Walls of Support” in Nan Ellin and Edward J. Blakely, *Architecture of Fear* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997); Dwight Conquergood, “Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research” in *TDR / The Drama Review*. 46.2 (2002): 145–56; and Richard Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴¹ Svetlana Boym, *Another Freedom: The Alternative History of an Idea* (University of Chicago Press, 2010) 2–4, 41.

⁴² Kun, 2.

⁴³ Bhabha, 13.