

1 "Autonomous Youth Centre" (AJZ). On 30 October 1970 the Zurich city council opens the "Lindenhof Bunker" in an air-raided shelter. It is to function as an autonomous youth centre. The "bunker" is subsequently much frequented. Already by the end of December 1970, the "Autonome Republik Bunker", now occupied by squatters, is cleared by the police. Not much later it is turned into the underground car park Urania.

2 From the Federal Police files of 9/10/1980.

3 CN = Phenacyl chloride (class-1-toxin).

4 Franz Meier in: WOZ, no. 27, 6 July 2000.

5 On the Globus riot cf. https://www.uzh.ch/cosmov/edition/ssl-dir/V4/XML-Files/Chronologie/chronologie_152.html (29/11/2013).

6 Zurich's Volkshaus was founded in 1910 as Switzerland's first alcohol-free people's house by the unions and the Social Democratic Party (SP). Cf. Urs Kälin, Stefan Keller, Rebekka Wyler, *Hundert Jahre Volkshaus Zürich. Bewegung, Ort, Geschichte*, Zürich 2010.

7 Video of anthropology students about the demonstration of 30 May 1980 in front of the opera house. A few days after the manifestation the tape was shown at a general assembly at the Volkshaus and thereafter banned by Zurich's then education councillor Alfred Gigen, which subsequently created some turmoil at the university. Excerpts were used in the film *Züri bränt* ("Zurich is burning"), Videoladen Zürich, 1981) and in a number of other productions.

8 Report by Zurich Police Department of 25/6/1980.

9 Social Democratic Party of Zurich, *Eine Stadt in Bewegung*, Zürich 1980, p. 52 et seq.

10 Cf. Manfred Züfle, Jürgmeier, *Paranoia City oder Zürich ist überall*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1982, p. 14 et seq.

11 Thomas Stähel in: Ebd., *Wo-wo-Wonigel Stadt- und wohnpolitische Bewegungen in Zürich nach 1968*, Zürich 2006.

12 The Kanzlei centre provided space for: music rooms, theatre groups, a women's floor, a discotheque in the gymnasium, the cinema Xenix, sports events, a café, a kindergarten in the shed, a library, galleries, studios, unemployment counselling, conference rooms, a documentation centre, an info shop, the video cinema Sichtbar, a video workshop, a public university, a bicycle repair shop, and a flea market. The centre was initially operated by Pro Juventute on behalf of the city, which assigned the management to a site group which constituted itself.

13 From the flyer *Frieden den Hütten, Krieg den Palästen*, March 1989.

KLAUS RÓZSA – "VERY KEEN PHOTOGRAPHER"

They try to control us—that means we're important. (Photojournalist Patrick Chauvel, in: „Bilderkrieger“)¹ ... *I love trying to uncover people's personalities with my photos.* (Photojournalist Andrea Bruce, in: „Bilderkrieger“)²

I (THE YOUNG REBEL)

Susan Sontag stated: "The ultimate wisdom of the photographic image is to say: 'There is the surface. Now think—or rather feel, intuit—what is beyond it, what the reality must be like if it looks this way.'"³

And Friedrich Nietzsche wrote over a hundred years prior to the events under consideration here: "... the destruction of an illusion does not produce truth, but only one more piece of *ignorance*, an extension of our 'empty space,' an increase of our 'desert'—."⁴

I found this quotation again when Klaus Rózsa's photographs moved me to go over my own diary entries in search for traces of the time around 1980. Pictures have the effect of making onlookers feel as though they are seeing themselves in a mirror, their look returned to themselves, in order to fill the gap between the represented and one's own life, similar to the reading of a novel.

In the youth centre "Bunker", as the documents show, Rózsa in 1970, then at the age of 16, was on the editorial staff of the *Bunkerzeitung*. I still remember how I, only one year older, with creases on my grey trousers and wearing a pale blue sweater, and only just beginning to think independently, how shyly I looked around in this bunker—which today is the parking garage across from the police station Urania. On 1 January 1971 a young generation had founded the "Autonomous Republic Bunker" in order to prevent its imminent closure.

A police report notes that Rózsa, not yet 17 years old, was seen with the red bunker flag during the 1st May procession in 1971 and that he also participated in the unauthorised follow-up demonstration passing by several politically heavily burdened consulates: until 1973 the US would remain involved in the Vietnam war, Spain's transition to a democracy would only take place after Franco's death in 1975, and in Greece there was since 1967—and would continue to be until 1973—a military dictatorship. The demonstrators also stopped in front of the house of the Swiss Homeowners Association—the fight against the speculative demolition of cheap housing and the construction of office buildings had already begun. Due to "violence and threats against authorities and officials" at this demonstration, and as a teenager, Rózsa was put in "confinement" for six days.

Rózsa actively took part when the "bunker youth" organised a large demonstration on 21 March 1971 at the reform school Uitikon, and in September 1971 under spectacular conditions freed a number of its boarding pupils. After all, didn't state repression threaten all of them—who offered resistance? This action led to a criminal complaint against Rózsa, and he ended up in investigative custody from 1–12 October 1971.

Rózsa joins the editorial board of the protest journal *focus*, staying there until the end of 1972. I began subscribing to the journal at the time, and it shaped my views. Much later, I myself would write for it too. Then, however, it already had the controversial title *Tell* and soon merged into the *Wochezeitung*.

A subpoena, meant to threaten and deter, was issued on the morning of 20 December 1972 at 8am and forced Klaus Rózsa to be more careful. The Zurich police wanted to deprive him of his refugee status. Only the Federal Parliament's police department did not consider that a feasible procedure, "because Hungary would probably not take him back". Rózsa was saved by the Cold War: in 1956 after Soviet troops crushed the Hungarian uprising, he had come to Switzerland with his parents at the age of two, and was considered stateless. The persecution his father had been exposed to during the Second World War is revealed in a film Erich Schmid is making about Klaus Rózsa. Having been informed that "in the future he was to refrain from getting involved in any political activity in Switzerland", Klaus Rózsa defends himself effectively: he demands the right to "passively" participate in authorised demonstrations. Asked about the reason for his participation in an anti-Vietnam-War demonstration in Berne, he explains: "because it is my opinion that wars are irresponsible and should not take place".

At the age of 18 he was working as a freelance journalist—"now with a press pass!", as a surprised investigator notes on 9 August 1972—and published articles in *Tat*, *Tages-Anzeiger*, *National Zeitung* [Basel], *Luzerner Nachrichten*, *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*. So it was, that his photo camera, provided him with a professional reason for participating in protests. Such as on 1 August 1973, when the xenophobic organisations of the extreme right in proximity to James Schwarzenbach, who already in the 1930s had been close to the Swiss pro-Nazi "Fronts", gathered on the Forch pass near Zurich, and a flyer called for resistance under the motto "Racist Schwarzenbach must not speak."

We first 'hooked up' without knowing each other, to work on a police file about an event regarding the soldiers committee at the Volkshaus on 14 January 1975. Rózsa is listed therein as a "very keen photographer"—nothing dishonourable, quite on the contrary. My presence was noted by the Zurich police due to my scooter's licence number. The speech which I held on the stage—about my case as an army recruit speaking out for democratic rights in the army and having been prematurely dismissed—went without any mention by the reporting police observer. Simply participating in this event was reason enough to be registered.

II (THE PICTURES AND THE FILES)

Roland Barthes claimed in his famous formulation that he was interested in photography only for 'sentimental' reasons: "I see, I feel, hence I notice, I observe, and I think."⁵

"There is no truth that is not tied to the moment," Barthes declared in a 1978 lecture.⁶ On various

occasions he spoke of "moments of truth" ("moments de vérité"), which occur when we are powerfully moved, for instance, by a passage in a novel.⁷ In a later lecture, in 1979, one year before his death, he defined this as: "Connection of an overwhelming emotion (to the point of tears, to the point of an emotional turmoil) with a clarity imprinted by our inner certainty that what we read is the truth (has been the truth)."⁸

Barthes was a thinker who repeatedly had photography in mind, and in a more general phrasing he circumscribed the "moment of truth" as: "Moment of truth = when the matter is touched by AFFECT ... : there is nothing to interpret; one cannot go further or back ..."⁹ He wanted to emphasise that the "moment of truth" was "not just a 'subjective, arbitrary impression'" but stood "in relation with what one might call *incisive forms*". Barthes even believed that works were "measured by the *force* of such moments—or such a moment".¹⁰

In his well-known book *Camera Lucida* Barthes takes the same view when he speaks of pictures which strike and *wound* us,¹¹ making us unable to "avert" our gaze: when photography refers beyond itself, suspending itself as *medium*. And Barthes observes that it is the "detail" which triggers in him "a tiny shock", in so far as it is "not or at least not necessarily intended"¹²: "I passed beyond the unreality of the thing represented, I entered crazily into the spectacle, into the image ..."¹³

Momentary images of this kind can be found in Klaus Rózsa's work. But what is special is the consideration that they don't appear in isolation, but are, just as in a storyboard to a screenplay, 'edited into' his files.

The police files, which in the wake of the "secret files scandal" were, upon request, sent to those concerned, contained numerous parts which had been blackened or scored through for reasons of data protection and secrecy. The two editors of this work, Christoph Oeschger and Christof Nüssli, take a completely different approach: where *they* hide something, they open picture windows—with photographs by Klaus Rózsa. (There are very few police photos, such as that of the "white mouse" Volkswagen Beetle from the Dietikon police station which was damaged during the action involving the release of pupils at Uitikon.) Through the juxtaposition of pictures and files, the book already on a purely formal level enters into a debate about the relationship between *text* and *image*.

One thing in particular stands out: with the exception of the interrogation led by the Zurich Cantonal Police on behalf of the Federal Police, Klaus Rózsa never is a subject. The files positively deny any individuality. What this may have been in the political sense, can only be suspected from the files: it needs to be removed from its integration into the police's narrative, removed from the would-be rigour of the presented evidence, which comes from a preconceived stereotypical image, a phantasmagoria: "longtime rioter and leader in the left scene, active as an independent photographer" (as reported on 23 March 1984).

The police's counterinsurgency tactic, also sanctioned at the time by Zurich's city council, deliberately intended to eliminate opposing opinion makers—in a most overt manner—when the city council decided on 20 June 1980 to take six people described “as manipulators and agitators” into preventive detention. This was unlawful, as the Swiss Supreme Court ruled in February 1983. The newspaper *Volksrecht* subsequently, on 28 March 1983, published a description of Rózsa's arrest: “Without identifying themselves and without an arrest warrant ... two plainclothes policemen forcibly entered into the apartment of the photographer K. R. ... When R. wanted to contact a lawyer, the officials knocked the telephone receiver out of his hands.”

Quite independently from whatever personal or political motivation may have led Klaus Rózsa to take the pictures which the files here ‘illustrate’: something appears in these photos, which could also be read as being against the original intent to which the police at the time imputed to *him* and his pictures. “Any photograph has multiple meanings”, as Susan Sontag writes in *On Photography*.¹⁴

Many of those, who photographically documented the rallies, were obstructed by the police in their work in the 1970s, 1980s, and beyond. Olivia Heussler, whose illustrated volume Zürich, Sommer 1980 (Edition Patrick Frey, 2010) also captured a whole series of street fighting, told me: “I was several times the victim of assaults by the police. A rubber bullet hit me in the abdomen. They often turned violent, and they repeatedly called me a whore.” A SWAT officer in the Nüscherstrasse used the camera she was carrying to strangle her with its strap at the front, until another police officer intervened: “Leave her alone.” She filed a criminal complaint, but lost.

In this fight for images, which was always also a struggle for the visual interpretive dominance over the new social conflict in Zurich, no one was treated as harshly as Klaus Rózsa. Three police officers who in the night of 18 March 1982 “had severely maltreated him during an identity check” (as reported in the *NZZ*, 26 March 1985), were three years later sentenced to a conditional prison sentence of 14 days each. Because he heard the police had occupied the “Autonomous Youth Centre”, he went to see it for himself. When he drove off again, he was being followed by a police car. After he stopped at a traffic light, the *NZZ* wrote, “according to the complaint, he was forcibly removed from his vehicle and mauled with an ‘indefinite number of blows and punches’. Then the third policeman ... apparently forced him onto the ground, thereby twisting his arm on his back and beating his head several times against the pavement.” But according to the policemen, Klaus Rózsa let himself “fall to the ground”...

It was as if the police through their systematic and concerted action against the photographers had wanted to create a front-line, a *non-space* in which everything that happens at the same time vanishes from our consciousness and only persists

as pain. The experience of helplessness is all the more paralysing the more it is deprived from being reviewed later on.

The *New York Times* in an article of 8 February 1981 entitled “The Swiss Malaise” quoted, in reference to the educational method of the hard hand, a very telling *NZZ* editorial: “Nothing is more wrong than yielding to a child who tries to get what he wants by stamping on the ground, shrieking and violent behavior.” That neatly sums up the prevailing Zurich ‘pedagogy’ of the time. Beatings are only effective when they have become unconscious (and, should they be addressed later on, can also be denied).

Without mentioning Rózsa's name, the publication *Volksrecht* in a summarising report on 20 March 1986 wrote that the city and cantonal police of Zurich had launched a “kind of revenge campaign” against a “Zurich photographer”: “He was consistently able to capture police officials on film who during the youth disturbances had made extremely liberal use of their batons.”

In 1989 the Green Party declared (cf. *NZZ*, 12 July 1989: “Housing problems and riots”): “That the officials in charge also tolerated a general prying upon journalists and press photographers, which is unforgivable in a democracy.”

To make it very clear: this politics of image-prevention at the time would not stand a chance in today's digital revolution, and even in the limited timespan of its actual implementation it remained without success, due to undeterred observers such as Gertrud Vogler (latest publication: Zurich's ‘Needle Park’, with Peter J. Grob, 2nd ed., Zurich 2012), Olivia Heussler and, among many others, last but not least, Klaus Rózsa.

III (PHOTOGRAPHY AS A REFLECTION OF POLICE OBSERVATION)

A close-up of an open visor—perhaps the most powerful picture in this book: the policeman's face reflects surprise, incomprehension, horror and anxiety. The camera's flash creates luminous points in his eyes. The officer on the right with a rain-speckled visor looks skeptical, the one to his left sneers pityingly. Another picture reveals the context: a peaceful sit-in youth protest.

Or: the camera's direction sees through the perspex visor: finely lined facial features. Raindrops on the helmet's neck protection and the coat. 1984.

Or: about fifteen helmeted policemen on the roof terrace of a house cleared of squatters on the corner of Sihlbrücke/Stauffacher. Also 1984.

Or: a black papier mâché mask with a pointed beak worn by a demonstrator, observed by a uniformed man marking his territory with legs apart and arms crossed. Or: a physical eviction in a house entrance.

Or: policemen at the Schiffände fountain having a break (“Some rounds of rubber bullets and a few gas pellets were fired after a warning had been ignored”; 10 September 1983). On the occasion of this action, the police report notes about Klaus Rózsa: “once again on his way to take provocative

portrait photos of police officials”, together with an unnamed second photographer—“bent on taking pictures of civilians suspected to be observers”.

29 March 1983 (“Campaign day against the US intervention in Central America”), about Klaus Rózsa: “he was agitating against the police”.

15 March 1983: A squatter chains himself to the windowsill on the first floor. There is a note on Klaus Rózsa: “Upon the arrival of the police he photographed the officials in a provocative manner.”

List of arrests, 12 July 1980: Klaus Rózsa, “offense”: “Obstruction of police work.” Another document (police report “Youth Centre riot, Saturday/Sunday, 12–13 July 1980 of September 1980”, p. 25) however contradictorily states, with obvious arbitrarily accumulating accusations: arrested due to “violence and threats against officials, breach of the peace, etc.”. To give an idea of the dimension of all this: on that day of disturbances he is number 67 of a total of 97 arrested persons ...

Why taking pictures was considered “obstructive”, the report of the Cantonal Police Zurich, entitled “Names and notes in connection with the youth unrests of 1980”, is plainly declared. The police reports are very frank. On page 4 one can read about Klaus Rózsa:

“Was seen at many general meetings and demonstrations. During these operations he wears an official press armband of the police. Tries to pick out the plain-clothes policemen and to photograph them. Takes pictures of faces of individual police officers. He documents police violations in detail and thereby obstructs police work. Participates in setting up barricades. Works in a photo store on Kasernenstrasse. Has been observed photographing people on the street from an upper floor. Is a Hungarian refugee and was almost naturalised. Propagates violence against property and advocates the destruction of the State.”

The same officials, however, themselves in turn, film and photograph demonstrators, as may be gleaned from this book (on page 102 of the extremely voluminous report “Youth centre riot”, p. 25): “Zurich Police Department's film service recorded on film the first police operations at the Autonomous Youth Centre at Limmatstrasse. ... Particularly the operations in district 5 (Kreis 5) and the excesses carried out there are photographically documented.” Hopefully in the future these picture archives will be accessible to researchers!

One of Klaus Rózsa's photos depicts the police cameraman—with his left eye shut, the visor of his white helmet raised. He is in a good position. The boots of a colleague and the bumper of a police vehicle provide him with flank protection and rear cover. The tram tracks and the zebra cut the image and lend it a dynamism, which stands in the utmost contrast to the apparent calmness with which the man carries the camera on his right shoulder.

On the other hand, a “film crew” working on behalf of the youth, positioned itself on the “roof terrace” of the parking garage Sihlquai right next to the Alternative Youth Centre (“Youth Centre riot”, p. 81). Under the direction of Heinz Nigg, the

Anthropology Department of the University of Zurich shot a video film about the youth movement.

Here are the pictures Klaus Rózsa was reproached with—in dialogue so to speak with the complaints of the observing officials. In these files and photos Klaus Rózsa as a real person is *both present and simultaneously absent*, because he stands behind the camera, while there is talk about *him*. He is the phantom—wearing a press armband. Who he really was during all this time is only shown by the very few inserted pictures. The clue of this book is that the files produced by the police turn into the speech bubbles of those present in his photos. What is created thereby is virtually a photo-novel. In the files the officials themselves talk about the “latent aggressivity” of the “team” in relation to the distributed “press armbands” (21 November 1980).

Hostlike is the picture of Klaus Rózsa with a beard and board slung around his neck. What he and his family once fled from seems to catch up with him in visual terms. What is said in a report of 9 June 1980 about the “Action group Red Factory” and about Rózsa as one of the speakers—in an endless variation of the same—, would have been in the persecutory 20th century a life-threatening denunciation in other parts of Europe: “Very dangerous demagogue and agitator, absolute representative of violence. Specialist in detecting plainclothes policemen and photographer.”

Images in the heads of the police were produced each time Rózsa—a red rag to them—showed up with his camera, especially coloured by a report by the Cantonal Police in September 1973 about a demonstration in Geneva: Klaus Rózsa, “who, similar to his appearance in all other rallies in Zurich, did not capture the events as such but, quite clearly, the actions of the police and of individual officials”, obviously raised fears of a special sort. Might they even have believed him to be a spy? In the worldview of the Cold War: wasn't the huge imagined invasion army not already in cahoots with the *enemy inside*? The report mentioned suggests this: “I am convinced that this Hungarian without papers [underlined in the original] has provided his organisation, or for whom else they may be destined for, an already substantial collection of pictures of police officials and members of the authorities.”

The police, however, should have known that Rózsa's allegiance was neither to Moscow nor Peking, but, if at all, then to Paris, as a sympathiser of the ‘Trotskyist’ RML—the Revolutionary Marxist League. In their Zurich offices, the Veritas publishing house, Rózsa promptly fell prey to telephone surveillance, as the files accurately record.

A photo taken in 1977 depicts a policeman staring at him through gas mask goggles from a distance of perhaps three metres. It is a half-length portrait. The arms are cut off at the elbows. In the background there is the white sky of Gösigen and a pylon. If Klaus Rózsa were a painter, he would have painted the same picture over and over: a face with a trunklike extension—the teargas filter in place of nose and chin. Ears: none. Instead of hair an extended brightly polished cranium on which

the letter “P” reveals everything about the thinking hidden behind it. The only human element of these facial features are the eyes, grotesquely enlarged by the lenses screwed into the mask. It is as if Rózsa had to push the camera trigger over and over only to exorcise this nightmarish image and the fear it raises. The phalanx of these creatures which more closely resemble extraterrestrial invaders in B Films on nighttime television than the adult males the youths were confronted with in real life, guarding the nuclear power plant. They formed the perfect scenery for the street theatre in which figures dressed in white, sitting buried under long paper trails, who with wooden crosses symbolise the envisioned future victims of nuclear technology.

To photograph people, as Susan Sontag wrote in her famous essay “On Photography” (quoted above), was to see them in a way in which they never see themselves (p. 14). To take a photo as “a narrow excerpt of space as much as time” (p. 23) is an “event”, and one with “rights to interfere with, to invade, or to ignore whatever is going on” (p. 11). As a “record”, photographs are not only “evidence” of “what’s there” but also of what an individual sees—in the sense of “an evaluation of the world” (p. 87). A camera changes the ways of seeing (p. 93), but photographs do not explain, they acknowledge (p. 111). According to Sontag, photographs freeze a moment in time, “which the normal flow of time immediately replaces”, and are therefore *open* to the scrutinising look. Hence photography provides a unique system of disclosures: that it shows us reality as we had not seen it before” (p. 118).

Such were also the pictures that Klaus Rózsa captured—to save them from the passing of time was his *offense*. As a press photographer on the street he claimed the right to report. For which we are grateful. His pictures take us behind the battle lines where blindness rules, opening in the mist of battle a visual space which would otherwise remain closed, as it is almost solely accessible to the camera-eye for fractions of a second. By capturing this moment, he installed it as a *thinking space*: *Where does this violence come from? Is there no other option?* (My mother, who at the time was a boutique assistant in a fashion shop on Bahnhofstrasse, had to remove glass splinters from the broken shop window after a demonstration ...). By raising consciousness he laboured against the threatening regression, the slide into an archaic state of *do unto others* as you would have them do to you caused by teargas fumes. (An eye for an eye, also quite literally—someone I knew got his shot out ...).

Klaus Rózsa was a war photographer on the inner front of the non-declared war of “structural violence”, to use the term of the longtime director of the Peace Research Institute Oslo, Johan Galtung. At the time very much in use, the concept has lost none of its topicality.

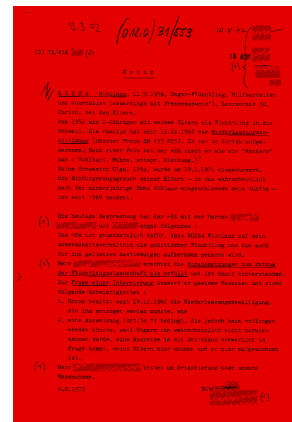
Photography allows for a second, different look—*Where could I have stood? And in which face do I suddenly, quite against my will, recognise something that I could be, too?*—And there is a third, constantly new way of looking, the future will see something

else yet again in these pictures that we ourselves haven’t fathomed yet.

The history of the years documented here have been observed by the world press. In 1980 the events still perplexed. This was a mysterious kind of revolt. How come ‘clean Zurich’ on and off felt like a civil war zone? But with the disclosures about the banking scandals—for instance in the *New York Times* (“In a Clean Land, Even Dirty Money Gets Washed”, dated 4 April 1989)—the perspective began to change, strangely at the very moment when the Cold War came to an end and Switzerland lost its special status and hence protection. What the youth movement in 1980 denounced about Zurich as a financial centre and that hardly anybody wanted to hear at the time: has it now not become common, global knowledge? Despite thirty lost years, it is never too late for possible insight.

Peter Kamber

- 1 Michael Kamber, *Bilderkrieger. Von jenen, die ausziehen, uns die Augen zu öffnen. Kriegsfotografen erzählen*, Hollenstedt, Ankerherz Verlag, 2013, p. 88.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 3 Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, 3rd ed., New York, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1978 (1973), p. 23.
- 4 Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale. Ed. by Walter Kaufmann. New York, Vintage Books, 1968, p. 327.
- 5 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*. London, Vintage, 1993, p. 21.
- 6 Roland Barthes, *Le Neutre. Cours au Collège de France (1977–1978)*, Paris, Editions du Seuil/IMEC, 2002, p. 39.
- 7 In a text from the same year 1978 he writes about Proust: “Longtemps, je me suis couché de bonne heure” (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 5, p. 468). He called this emotion “un arrachement émotif” and declared: “Le ‘moment de vérité’, à supposer qu’on accepte d’en faire une notion analytique, impliquerait une reconnaissance du pathos, au sens simple, non péjoratif, du terme [...]” (*Ibid.*).
- 8 Roland Barthes, *Die Vorbereitung des Romans*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008, p. 174.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 179–180.
- 11 *Camera Lucida*, chapter 10.
- 12 *Ibid.*, chapters 19–21.
- 13 *Ibid.*, chapter 47. – “A travers chacune d’elles, infailliblement, je passais outre l’irréalité de la chose représentée, j’entraîs follement dans le spectacle, dans l’image [...]” (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 5, p. 883).
- 14 *On photography*, p. 23.



9/8/72 (018.0) 31/553
10/8/72
18 August
(1)
(0) 31/416

Memo

ROZSA Nikolaus, 11/9/1954, Hungarian refugee, labourer and journalist (recently with press pass!), Loorenrank 30, Zurich, staying with his parents, came to Switzerland in 1952 at the age of two as a refugee with his parents. His family has permanent residency since 19/12/1962 (dossier Frepo [Alien’s Police] ZH 433 855). He grew up in Zurich. (On one of the photos at the +PA he resembles a “biker”): full beard, long hair, corresponding clothes.)

His sister Olga, 1950, was naturalised on 19/1/1971. His parents’ application for naturalisation—which probably also includes their underage son Niklaus—has been pending since 1969.

The meeting today at the +PA with Messrs (1) and yielded the following:

The +PA in principle agrees that ROZSA Nikolaus should be made aware of his residential status as a political refugee and the applicable regulations.

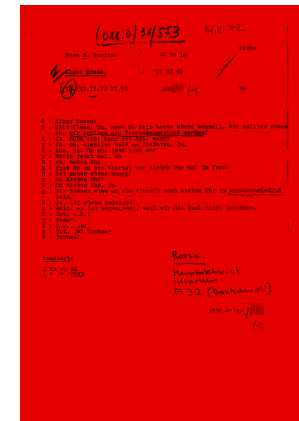
(1) Mr. considers the conditions for revoking his refugee status as given and is in agreement. As to the question of interment he has certain reservations and sees the following difficulties:

1. Rozsa has permanent residency since 19/12/1962, which would have to be revoked, which

2. would require expulsion (§ 70 ?), which could hardly be executed, because Hungary would probably not take him back, a departure to a third country is really not feasible, his parents live here and he has grown up here.

(1) Mr. requests being briefed about our measures.

9/8/1972
Federal Police (1)



(018.D/31/553) 14 Nov. 72

Mr X. Veritas / 44 90 10 /10050

Z Klaus Rozsa, / 53 93 61

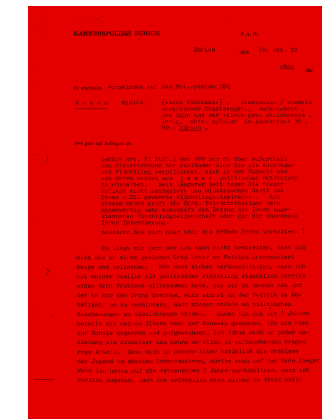
14/13 Nov. '72 5.53 pm. ZH/ BA [Federal Public Prosecutor]

- R: Klaus Rozsa!
X: Hi Klaus! Hey, do you have time this evening, real quick. We should, er, we should do a press release?
R: Yes, I do! When exactly, when?
X: Well, er, as soon as possible, really.
R: Alright! At, er, now it’s...
X: Wait a moment, er...
R: Er, six o’clock.
X: Will you be there at a quarter to seven? At the Veri?
R: That’s a bit tight!
X: At seven?
R: At seven, yes.
X: At about quarter past seven we have to be at the Drahtschmiedli.
R: Yes, has something happened?
X: No, it’s just because, well, because we can’t get the hall.

- R: Good, okay!
X: Agreed?
R: Okay, yes!
X: Good, yes! Bye!
R: Bye!

Forwarded:
2 copies to the BA [Federal Public Prosecutor]
1 copy to the NDKP [Intelligence Service, Cantonal Police]

Rozsa:
Main activist re AJZ [Autonomous Youth Centre] (Drahtschmidli)
14 Nov. 72 / (1)



CANTONAL POLICE OF ZURICH
Zurich, 20 Dec. 72, 8 am

The subpoenaed listed below appears at pol. station KEH ROZSA Miklos, (-aka Nikolaus-), stateless/formerly Hungarian citizen, working student, of Egon and Livia née Jurinkowitz, single, lives w. father Am Loorenrank 30, 8053 Zurich, and declares upon questioning:

According to Art. 21 paragraph 3 of the Executive Statute of the Federal Law on the residence and permanent residence of foreigners you as a foreigner and refugee are compelled to abstain from any political activity in Switzerland and from within its territory. For some time you have not lived up to this requirement and thereby abuse the refugee and asylum rights temporarily granted to you. For this reason the Federal