

WEST GERMANY AND THE GLOBAL SIXTIES

The antiauthoritarian revolt of the 1960s and 1970s was a watershed in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. The rebellion of the so-called "68ers" – against cultural conformity and the ideological imperatives of the Cold War; against the American war in Vietnam; in favor of a more open accounting for the crimes of the Nazi era – helped to inspire a dialogue on democratization with profound effects on German society. Timothy Scott Brown examines the unique synthesis of globalizing influences on West Germany to reveal how the presence of Third World students, imported pop culture from America and England, and the influence of new political doctrines worldwide all helped to precipitate the revolt. The book explains how the events in West Germany grew out of a new interplay of radical politics and popular culture, even as they drew on principles of direct democracy, self-organization, and self-determination, all still highly relevant in the present day.

TIMOTHY SCOTT BROWN is Associate Professor of History at Northeastern University. He is the author of Weimar Radicals: Nazis and Communists between Authenticity and Performance (2009) and co-editor of Between the Avant-garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe, 1957 to the Present (with Lorena Anton, 2011).



NEW STUDIES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Edited by

PETER BALDWIN, University of California, Los Angeles
CHRISTOPHER CLARK, University of Cambridge
JAMES B. COLLINS, Georgetown University
MIA RODRÍGUEZ-SALGADO, London School of Economics
and Political Science
LYNDAL ROPER, University of Oxford
TIMOTHY SNYDER, Yale University

The aim of this series in early modern and modern European history is to publish outstanding works of research, addressed to important themes across a wide geographical range, from southern and central Europe, to Scandinavia and Russia, from the time of the Renaissance to the present. As it develops, the series will comprise focused works of wide contextual range and intellectual ambition.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/newstudiesineuropeanhistory



WEST GERMANY AND THE GLOBAL SIXTIES

The Antiauthoritarian Revolt, 1962–1978

TIMOTHY SCOTT BROWN





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107022553

© Timothy Scott Brown 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Brown, Timothy Scott.

West Germany and the global sixties: the antiauthoritarian revolt,

1962–1978 / Timothy Scott Brown.

pages cm. – (New studies in European history)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02255-3 (hardback)

Germany (West)-Politics and government.
 Protest movements-Germany
 Opposition (Political science)-Germany (West)
 Authoritarianism-Germany
 (West)-History.
 Counterculture-Germany (West)-History.

6. Popular culture–Germany (West)–History. 7. Student movements–Germany (West)–History. 8. New Left–Germany (West)–History. 9. Nineteen sixties.

10. Nineteen seventies. I. Title. II. Title: Antiauthoritarian revolt, 1962–1978.

DD260.4.B78 2013

943.087′6-dc23 2013020829

ISBN 978-1-107-02255-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

| List of illustrations Acknowledgments | | <i>page</i> vi | |
|--|---------------------|----------------|--|
| | | viii | |
| Li | st of abbreviations | ix | |
| | Introduction | I | |
| Ι | Space | 21 | |
| 2 | Time | 79 | |
| 3 | Word | 116 | |
| 4 | Sound | 155 | |
| 5 | Vision | 193 | |
| 6 | Power | 234 | |
| 7 | Sex | 286 | |
| 8 | Death | 330 | |
| | Conclusion | 366 | |
| Se | lect bibliography | 372 | |
| | dex | 394 | |



Illustrations

| I.I | Moïse Tshombe at the Berlin Wall, December 18, 1964. | page 22 |
|--------------|--|---------|
| 1.2 | International Student Revolt. | 27 |
| 1.3 | Anti-Vietnam War demonstration, Tauentzienstraße, | |
| | Berlin-Schöneberg, October 21, 1967. | 31 |
| I.4 | Protest against visit of Moïse Tshombe to West Berlin, | |
| | December 18, 1964. | 40 |
| 1.5 | Photograph from the cover of <i>International Times</i> , no. 4, | |
| | November 28–December 11, 1966. | 66 |
| 1.6 | June 2, 1967. The placard in the background reads "Murder!" | 71 |
| 1.7 | Shah masks in action, June 2, 1967. | 75 |
| 2 . I | "State of Emergency 1848, 1933, 1968." Demonstration | |
| | against the Emergency Laws, Berlin Wedding, May 1968. | 82 |
| 2.2 | Ostermarsch, March 26, 1967. Note the legend "Sonny & | |
| | Cher" on the back of the young woman's parka. | 89 |
| 2.3 | Anti-Vietnam War demonstration, Wittenbergplatz, | |
| | October 21, 1967. | IO2 |
| 2.4 | Anti-Vietnam demonstration, Kurfürstendamm, February | |
| | 18, 1968. | 107 |
| 2.5 | The Kronstadt Uprising in Agit 883. | II2 |
| 3.I | Rainer Langhans of the Kommune I at the printing press. | 117 |
| 3.2 | Cover of the June/July 1968 issue of the Berlin underground | |
| | newspaper Charlie Kaputt. | 129 |
| 3.3 | Rolf Dieter Brinkmann in Cologne with Super 8 camera. | 137 |
| 4. I | Uschi Obermaier performs with Amon Düül at the | |
| | Internationale Essener Songtage, September 1968. | 156 |
| 4.2 | Scenes from the Waldbühne, September 15, 1965. | 159 |
| 4.3 | Scenes from the Waldbühne, September 15, 1965. | 159 |
| 4.4 | Scenes from the Waldbühne, September 15, 1965. | 160 |



| | List of illustrations | V11 |
|--------------|---|-----|
| 4.5 | Ton Steine Scherben performing their first single "Macht | |
| 17 | kaputt was euch kaputt macht," 1971. | 171 |
| 4.6 | The Rote Steine, Berlin-Kreuzberg. | 175 |
| • | Floh de Cologne. | 188 |
| | The scene outside the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, | |
| | Berlin Charlottenburg, April 1971. | 194 |
| 5.2 | Joseph Beuys at the Festival of New Art, Aachen Technical | |
| | University, July 20, 1964. | 202 |
| 5.3 | "Free Speech, before it's again too late." <i>Radikalinski</i> , no. 4. | 213 |
| 5.4 | Cover of Rote Garde. | 216 |
| 5.5 | Masthead image from Schwarze Protokolle. | 217 |
| 5.6 | Masthead image from Carlo Sponti. | 217 |
| 5.7 | Cover of <i>Linkeck</i> , no. 4. | 219 |
| | Rainer Langhans and Uschi Obermaier as poster children | |
| | of the counterculture in <i>Stern</i> . | 223 |
| 5.9 | APO style. Outside the International Vietnam Congress, | |
| | February 1968. | 225 |
| .IO | "Greet the Revolution – in a Brilliant Jacket." Pardon, no. 8, | |
| | August 1968. | 227 |
| 6.I | "Stop Dutschke Now!" National Zeitung. | 235 |
| | "Berlin stands for peace and freedom." Counterdemonstration | |
| | in front of the Rathaus Schöneberg, John-FKennedy-Platz, | |
| | Berlin-Schöneberg, February 21, 1968. | 237 |
| 6.3 | Dutschke "Public Enemy Nr. 1." Counterdemonstration | , |
| - | before the Rathaus Schöneberg, February 21, 1968. | 237 |
| 6.4 | "Who has betrayed us? School bureaucrats." Demonstration | |
| | of school pupils in the Hohenstaufenstraße, Berlin- | |
| | Schöneberg, March 1970. | 245 |
| 7 . I | "Penistagon: We can get no Satisfaction" [sic]. Anti-Vietnam | |
| | War demonstration, West Berlin, October 20, 1967. | 287 |
| 7.2 | Cover of konkret, no. 3, March 1968. | 312 |
| | "Time for a little more revolution!" <i>Pardon</i> , no. 1, 1968. | 316 |
| | Demonstration of Homosexual Action West Berlin against | - |
| | the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, November 3, 1973. | 324 |
| 8.1 | Crime scene: Rudi Dutschke's shoes, Kurfürstendamm, | |
| | April 11, 1968. | 331 |
| 8.2 | TUNIX demonstration. Note the banner of the Spanish | |
| | anarcho-syndicalist organizations FAI–CNT. | 358 |



Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to the Fulbright Foundation, the American Council on Germany, Pomona College, and Northeastern University for their generous support for this project. I also wish to offer heartfelt thanks to my friend, colleague, and research assistant extraordinaire Alexander Holmig. Thanks are also due to a number of scholars for their help and/ or inspiration: Martin Klimke, Joachim Scharloth, Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Detlef Siegfried, Uta Poiger, Robert Moeller, Geoff Eley, Jeremy Prestholdt, Mark Overmyer-Velazquez Diethelm Prowe, Jonathan Petropoulos, John Connelly, Ingo Cornils, Margaret Anderson, Gerald Feldman, Martin Jay, Jonathan Zatlin, Devin Pendas, Julian Bourg, James Cronin, Laura Frader, Tom Havens, Wilfried Mausbach, Philipp Gassert, Peter Fritzsche, Andrew Lison, Carla MacDougall, Mia Lee, and Nick Wolfinger. My sincere gratitude goes out to a group of very kind German archivists and interlocutors: Reinhart Schwarz of the Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung; Siegward Lönnendonker of the Archiv "APO und soziale Bewegungen" at the Freie Universität Berlin; Peter Hein of the Archiv Peter Hein in Berlin; Heinz Korderer of the APO-Archiv München; Uwe Husslein of the Poparchiv Uwe Husslein in Cologne; Gert Möbius of the Rio-Reiser-Archiv in Berlin; Rainer Langhans and Christa Ritter, Michael Baumann, Florian Havemann, K. D. Wolff, and Antje Krüger. I am also grateful to the staff of the Papiertiger Archiv in Berlin, the Kreuzberg Museum in Berlin, the Landesarchiv Berlin, the Bundesarchiv in Berlin and Koblenz, and the Staatsarchiv München, as well as that of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, the Hoover Institution, and the Green and Widener Libraries. I further wish to thank my students Samantha Christiansen, Zachary Scarlett, Burleigh Hendrickson, Andrew Jarboe, Sana Tannoury-Karam, Akin Sefer, Mikhail Rekun, Daniel Quaresma, Samuel Severson, and Christopher Hils. Thanks, finally, are due to my wife Donna McKean, who now knows far more about the 1960s in West Germany than she ever meant to.

viii



Abbreviations

AAO Action-Analytical Organization **AFN** Armed Forces Network **AGSS** Action Association of Spandau School Pupils General Homosexual Working Group AHAExtraparliamentary Opposition APO Action School Pupil Self Help ASH Action Center for Independent and Socialist School Pupils **AUSS** British Forces Broadcasting Service **BFBS** Federal Republic of Germany BRD Christian Democratic Union **CDU** Christian Social Union CSU DAAD German Academic Exchange Service German Democratic Republic **DDR** German Film and Television Academy Berlin **DFFB** Confederation of German Trade Unions **DGB** DKP German Communist Party Free German Youth **FDJ** Free Democratic Party **FDP** Homosexual Action West Berlin HAW HIB Homosexual Initiative Berlin International Essen Song Days **IEST** InfoBUG Info Berlin Undogmatic Groups Communist League West Germany **KBW** Campaign for Disarmament KfA Communist Party of Germany **KPD** Liberal German Student League LSD **MSB** Marxist Student League Spartakus North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO National Democratic Party of Germany **NPD** National Socialist German Workers Party **NSDAP**



| X | List of abbreviations |
|------|--|
| OAS | Secret Armed Organization |
| RAF | Red Army Faction |
| SDAJ | Socialist German Worker Youth |
| SDS | Socialist German Student League |
| SED | Socialist Unity Party of Germany |
| SEW | Socialist Unity Party West Berlin |
| SFB | Socialist Women's League West Berlin |
| SPD | Social Democratic Party of Germany |
| SRP | Socialist Reich Party |
| SSK | Socialist Self-Help Cologne |
| USG | Independent School Pupils' Association |