“Wir streiken!”: Music and Political Activism in Cold War Germany

A Thesis Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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May 2014

Abstract:

Using print media such as band biographies, books, and journals that address youth, popular culture, and music in the German context, this thesis analyzes how music and musicians influenced political protest movements in West Germany during the Cold War and how, in turn, protest movements fostered the career of musicians. The relationship between music and social change in Germany throughout the Cold War is complicated and contains many aspects. This thesis focuses mainly on the effect American and British music had on divided Germany and examines how these influences helped shape the cultural climate in which political protests emerged. It further addresses the question of how we understand the fact that the success of the bands often outlived the political protest movements.

Keywords: Germany, Student movement, protest, popular music, Ton Steine Scherben, The Rolling Stones

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1.Introduction

In his essay "Music, Dissidence, Revolution, and Commerce," Peter Wicke asserts that "the emergence of rock'n'roll during the 1950s had been spectacular, yet its impact had been only short-lived, occurring only in the years 1956/57 and, contrary to popular myths, with only marginal consequences." (2006, 112) Yet others, such as Timothy S. Brown, claim that "not only did rock music both generate and mirror the ideas and slogans of the movement—giving clearer-than-usual expression to the radical *mentalité*—but it mirrored, in its modes of cultural production, larger themes of protest movements that rocked West German society in the sixties and seventies." (2) Wicke seems to be limiting his view of the scope of rock'n'roll to around the time that it started to become its own specific genre; however, one cannot ignore the fact that rock'n'roll, along with other forms of music such as jazz and beat, played a significant role in influencing almost all major forms of modern music since its origins and helped to shape the world to make it what it is today. Research on the topic of what musicians have done—both on stage and off— to influence music and politics is vast,[1] but the relationship between music and protest movements in West Germany during the Cold War is still a much debated topic in German Studies research.[2] In this thesis, I focus on the influence of American and British music on West German protest movements in the 1960s and 1970s. I further trace the careers of a selection of musical groups including Ton Steine Scherben and the Rolling Stones into the 1980s

[1] In the case of rock'n'roll, Glenn C. Altschuler's book *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' roll Changed America* shows how music changed the United States.See *San Francisco Chronicle* writer James Sullivan's article "Like a Rolling Stone: Bands Influenced by Mick and the Boys," for how bands directly influenced modern musicians.

[2] Some research in this field includes Friedel Taube's "Rolling Stones Rocked the Iron Curtain" and Timothy Brown's "Music as a Weapon." In Ingo Cornils' "Successful Failure? The Impact of the German Student Movement on the Federal Republic of Germany," he looks at the successes and failures of the student movements of the 1960s and how the collective memory of the impact of these events has been recast through the years

to examine their continued success beyond their influence on political protest movements. I chose to focus on these two groups due to the great influence the Rolling Stones had as rock'n'roll icons and as a symbol for counterculture. I chose Ton Steine Scherben because of their direct ties to the West German Student Movement and the radical content of their lyrics. After I discuss and compare the influence of these two groups, I briefly analyze a range of other musical groups to illustrate the complexity of the convergence between political activism, music, and social and political change.

One way in which social and political protest movements voice their ideas and raise morale among like-minded others is in the form of some type of protest song or anthem. For the purpose this thesis, I define protest song as a song associated with a movement or group advocating for social or political change. Although this thesis deals mainly with rock'n'roll and some genres that spawned from it, protest songs are not limited to one genre. No genre is off limits as long as the lyrics are politically or socially motivated and are topical; i.e., relevant to current events of the time. The idea of the "protest song" is older than one might expect. Some claim that protest songs in Europe can date back to 14th century England in the form of songs about the rocky relationships between peasants and lords or even ballads about Robin Hood, though these songs may not fit into common definitions. (Seal, 19) Later in the 17th century, we see songs like "The Diggers' Song" from the Diggers' movement which start to come closer to our definition with such lines as "*But the Gentry must come down, and the poor shall wear the crown. Stand up now, Diggers all!"* These songs deal with a great equalization and an end to class disparity. Through the years, protest songs began to take on new roles as they gained more importance in the movements with which they were associated. The French had "La Marseillaise," which was a rally against the aristocracy, the enemy of the people in the French

Revolution. This song became the French National Anthem. The activists who took part in the Boston Tea Party had a song called "Tea Destroyed by Indians" that was a declaration of freedom from the King of England. For the Civil Rights Movement there were songs such as "We Shall Overcome," a song about overcoming inequality and a call for peace which, decades later, finds a place in protests like the Occupy Wall Street movement. In West Germany, the focus of this thesis, the movements of the 1960s and 1970s also had their fair share of ballads similar to "We Shall Overcome" and "Give Peace a Chance" which contained their message and, like other protest movements, served as a rallying cry to others who were dissatisfied with the state of affairs and authorities of Germany and the world during that time. This thesis focuses on those in West Germany during the Cold War era and will use the situation in the United States and East Germany as points of reference because of the comparable anti-Vietnam War sentiment among university students in the US and West Germany as well as the Cold War politics in which East and West Germany held a special position.

Following this brief description of earlier movements in Europe and the United States, the next chapter will explore how new technologies and new forms of mass media rapidly and radically changed the way people began to receive information. From there, I look at American and British musical influences on West Germany in the post-World War II era. In chapter two, I discuss the factors that led to the surge of student activism in West Germany in the 1960s, the action on the part of the students and the reactions of authorities. In the third chapter, I trace how certain parts of the movement became radicalized and I discuss the effect that these new radical groups that arose from sub- and countercultures had the movements and on West Germany. For this work I define a subculture as a smaller part of a nation's culture that is in many ways distinct from the main cultural beliefs and practices and I define counterculture as a group who actively

oppose dominant values of society.[3] In the section following these discussions, I trace and analyze musical and political movements in the "Student Movements and Left-Wing Terrorism in a Divided Germany" chapter. I attempt to show that some bands and musicians were directly active in politics, for example Ton Steine Scherben and John Lennon, and how some were simply icons and affected change indirectly, like The Rolling Stones and David Bowie. I then examine punk music and attempt to show how music and politics interacted and changed as a result of the interaction with one another as well as how they changed independently of one another and what impact that had on East and West Germany. In my concluding chapter, I follow the evolution of the political movements and the bands I used as a focus in this thesis into the present day in order to further gauge their impact and present questions for further research.

Mass Media and a Changing World

With the new technological advancements in media broadcasting in the first half of the twentieth century, musical groups were able to reach a (world)wide audience for the first time in history. German historian Axel Schildt states that "Mass Media influencing norms of consumption and political-cultural norms assumed a magnitude that can hardly be overestimated." (Schildt et al., 22-23) By the 1960s, radio made music and news readily available to almost everyone. Records allowed people to listen to the music they wanted to at their own convenience. However, rock'n'roll or jazz music were not part of everyday life in 1950s and 1960s Germany; such music could only be heard in certain clubs. Authorities in East and West Germany "worried that the 'hot rhythms' of American music or the 'sex appeal' of movie stars like Marlon Brando posed threats-either to West German adolescents or the broader

[3] These definitions are based on Merriam-Webster definitions.

project of West German reconstruction, or both." (Poiger, 1) Other than in clubs, the only other way Germans could hear rock'n'roll "were the American Armed Forces Network (AFN), Radio Luxembourg, and the new jukeboxes, because most of the German public radio stations boycotted the music." (Gassert et al., 447) The boycott by public radio stations led to a sharp rise in the number of pirate stations which "began during the year 1960 with Dutch Radio Veronica, which broadcast in German as of the year 1963, and Radio Nord, that station that was located offshore of the Swedish coastline." (Schildt et al., 23) Through the course of the next decade, pirate radio stations became famous throughout the United Kingdom and Europe for the rock and pop music they provided to eager ears which otherwise would have only had limited contact with certain international acts. (see "When the Pirates Took Over Radio") These stations became so famous and proved to be such a nuisance that the authorities in Great Britain tried to outcompete them in 1967 with the creation of BBC Radio 1 which played music aimed at young audiences and even hired former pirate DJs like Tony Blackburn. Authorities also tried to put an end to pirate radio by passing the Marine, etc., Broadcating (offences) Act that same year, The Act outlawed the provision of the ships from which the stations broadcasted and the broadcast of commercials. Despite the fact that they were officially outlawed, pirate and foreign radio stations remained quite popular in countries where their broadcasts could be received, like for example West Germany. "A 1971 study of young radio listeners in North Rhine-Westphalia…concluded that 90 percent of all questioned had listened to Radio Luxembourg at least once in a while, a much larger share than all other stations could claim. Responding to the question of which station they would choose if they could only receive one, two-thirds responded in favor of Radio Luxembourg." (Schildt et al., 24) From this, it is clear that rock'n'roll radio had captured the young German audience.

In addition to the popularity of radio, another form of media changed the way in which people received their musical entertainment. As early as the late 1920s, television began to bring images and new information into living rooms around the world. Even though Germany lagged a bit behind other European countries like England, there was a large growth of the number of television sets during the Cold War era. "In West Germany, the provision of households with television sets rose from 17.6 percent to 80.3 percent between the years 1960 and 1974." (Schildt et al., 23) Although many young people at the time did not watch television very often, if they tuned in at all, they mainly watched news broadcasts and music shows. One of the results of the spread of television and the influence of music was the creation of the concept of the variety show which gave musicians the chance to sing their songs in front of a much larger audience than any concert hall could afford them and also to voice their opinions through song directly to millions of households. Following the lead of American shows like Dick Clark's *American Bandstand*, Great Britain was the early leader in variety shows in Europe and France followed shortly thereafter. West Germany was just a bit behind the rest, but some of their variety shows like *Beat Club* received better ratings than British shows. (Schildt et al., 23)

Radio stations and shows geared towards youth played an important role in the advent of a new youth culture, but youth magazines also proved to be important. The West German publication *Bravo*, started in 1956, targeted a teenaged audience with articles about music and pop stars. Other magazines like *Konkret* became more and more political because the influence of its writers like Ulrike Meinhof who had direct connections to the *Außerparlamentarische Opposition*. At about the time the German student movement was reaching its peak in 1968, *Sounds*[4] began as a magazine that took a stance on political issues in West Germany. (Schildt et

[4] In this case, *Sounds* refers to the West German monthly music magazine that was published from1966-1983 and not to the British publication of the same name that was published from 1970-1991.

al., 24-25) When considering all of the aforementioned information, one can see not only how music began to find a place in youth culture and mass media, but how media began transforming music in the sense that it legitimized music as political and social expression. Young music fans, it seemed, could not get enough of their favorite types of music, and this began to create a market for such publications. Though there were still types of music that were created and listened to by youth that took no direct political stance, some popular music evolved and changed into something explicitly political in the sense of the message behind the lyrics as well as the artists themselves, the way in which it was presented to the public changed with it. Some music magazines like *Bravo* became just as politically charged as bands like Ton Steine Scherben due to the fact that some were affiliated with student organizations and others went beyond music to become political as the case of *Sounds* illustrates.

Other ways music was proliferated to the masses had to do with making it portable and accessible at the whim of the listener. The rise in home stereo technology affected the way people received their music and set a standard for recording quality. This led to the rise in popularity of cassette tapes, battery-powered radios, and vinyl records which "further promoted mobility and significantly facilitated the independent production and reproduction of pop music." (Schildt et al., 15) Bands were now able to make and reproduce their own music much more easily than in the past and this too led to important changes in the music industry and the music.

With the advent of these new avenues for music distribution, many musicians and actors were able to take an entirely different type of stage: a political one. Instead of activists simply singing commonly known protest songs, some singers, like Rio Reiser and Wolf Biermann in the German context, became activists by writing songs and themselves becoming involved in protest movements. Some like John Lennon used their fame as a gateway towards activism, which

proved to be cyclical in some instances as the bands then used the fame gained from their activism or social commentary to further their music careers. Also, the new means of distribution of music "reinforced the message of an awakening youth faced with an older generation of conservative politicians" and played a major role in the forming of sub-cultures, counter-cultures, and political movements. (Schmidtke, 80)

American and British Musical Influences in Post-War Germany

From jazz to rock'n'roll, from classic 60s rock to punk and art rock, American bands were popular in Germany since their introduction the in the early 20th century. Jazz, one of the first types of music to be truly "American," has played and still plays a large role in music coming out of Germany with a history of German jazz artists spanning from musicians like Efim Schachmeister in the 1920s up through recent acts such as Peter Brötzmann who still tours Europe today.

Jazz has held a place in Germans' hearts as well as in German society since its introduction to Europe around the 1920s. Some viewed jazz as the next step towards keeping Germany on the world stage after World War I. Historian Robert G. Moeller contends that "with the arrival of American jazz in the early 1920s, Germans had to come to terms with a music that they saw as black and that came to define one aspect of modernity." (377) In *Urwaldmusik and the Borders of German Identity,* Marc A. Weiner describes the relationship of jazz and Weimar-culture:

> ... (J)azz functioned as an acoustical sign of national, social, racial, and sexual difference... (T)he music both acted as an icon of non-German forces and provided an acoustical screen for the projection of fears regarding rapid and

> violent political and social change in postwar Germany. The temporal extremes of the Republic, 1919-1933, roughly coincide with significant phases in Germany's experience with Jazz---from its introduction to the German music scene through recordings, to its so-called 'golden age'...immediately prior to the National Socialist accession to power... [Jazz] first appeared---and was later officially rejected---in conjunction with sweeping changes in the government, national identity, official culture, and the makeup of the social structure. (475)

Weiner's description shows that jazz was a major part of the culture in the Weimer Republic and because of this, many great jazz composers like Paul Whitemann either toured in or immigrated to Berlin. While there was some immigration from America, the jazz movement in Germany also spawned some home-grown greats. Many composers who were known for classical music, like Paul Hindemith or Kurt Weill, who composed symphonies as well as music for theatre, started to experiment with jazz and came to find great success because of it.

Although jazz was in high demand and jazz musicians achieved great fame, there was an event looming that abruptly ended the "golden age" of jazz in Germany. When the Nazi party took control of Germany, jazz and swing music were initially labeled as "American-influenced 'Unkultur.'" David Welch argues that "in general, however, the Nazis viewed [Jazz culture] as a minor irritant." (Welch, 232) Unfortunately, this attitude towards jazz as only a minor nuisance was short-lived. As World War II escalated, the heightening of international tensions between America and Germany paralleled tighter restrictions and regulations on jazz coming out of Germany. Wilhelm Schepping points out that "after the United States entered the war, the campaign against jazz and swing heightened, except for their peculiar function as an approved part of 'Germany Calling,' the daily propaganda broadcast to enemy military forces. The

prohibition of 'hot jazz,' syncopated rhythms, lengthy drum solos, and the saxophone, with popular American dances like the foxtrot, the Charleston, and the Lambeth Walk, hardly reduced the Swing Fever of the 1930s, which had swept through Germany and the rest of Europe." (Schepping, 660) Along with the prohibition, the Nazis employed other methods to try to compete with jazz including trying to make their own new forms of music in the hopes that they would catch on with youth. Schepping describes that "some dance bands defended themselves from these attacks by camouflaging outlawed jazz standards with false German names and titles." (660) This implies that jazz had become rooted in German culture in its relatively short history in Europe. It was an integral part of certain youth subcultures as well as in the nightlife and just like anything popular that is outlawed, it became even more popular while at the same time also becoming more disguised and hidden from the public eye. Based on this, one might even say that, if anything, the Nazi regime *helped* to cement jazz as one of the most popular forms of music in Europe and Germany by making it taboo. It forced the jazz culture to move underground and thus helped form a counterculture of jazz lovers. By making jazz an issue of national heritage and giving it the *official* title of 'Unkultur,' the Nazis also politicized it.

After the Nazis lost power, jazz musicians were once again able to openly perform, which made it possible for big name foreign artists to come in and once again play for German audiences and influence German musicians. Phillip Gassert et al describe how "American jazz musicians like Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong, Benny Goodman, Charlie Parker, and Coleman Hawkins undertook highly successful concert tours of Germany in the late 1940s." (446) After World War II, many American and British soldiers met and married German women and some even decided to stay after the war. (Varnes "It Started with a Kiss") While residing in Germany in the post World War II and Cold War eras, many of these soldiers still had their love

of the jazz and blues. As the Cold War intensified in the late 1950s and early 1960s, American jazz musicians became the focus of concerns for West and East Germans alike. They were seen as a threat to gender norms. (see Poiger, 137-140) Also, because jazz spawned from African American culture and the majority of the artists were black, they forced Germans to address their own ideas about race. The gap in ways of thinking about American influences and what they meant for Germany caused disagreements between adults who saw American musicians as a problem and adolescents who supported them. This disconnect shows "the complicated ways in which East and West German authorities used conceptions of racial and gender difference both to contain Americanized youth cultures in their own territories and to fight the Cold War battle. In spite of many ideological differences, authorities in both German states made their citizens' cultural consumption central to their political reconstruction efforts." (Poiger, 2) In this way, the governments politicized the artists and their music in order to protect and maintain long-held ideas of how German culture and Germanness should be defined.

At least in terms of popularity and social impact, rock'n'roll—and to a slightly lesser extent beat—proved to be some of the most important forms of music the Germans adopted from America and Great Britain. More conservative adults were not in favor of rock, just as they had rejected jazz, swing, and the blues before it because they thought it would corrupt young people. (see Anjou chapter 6) Adding to the frustration of adults hostile to the new music that was stirring youth could have been that fact that "the term rock'n'roll was originally slang for sex, a sexual metaphor extended from the back and forth rocking of a ship at sea." (Vannatta, 189) Some parents were worried about their children becoming slaves to evil, sexual powers of rock'n'roll. Due to Elvis' influence and fame over young people—or maybe his infamy among parents— "networks broadcasting Elvis Presley's performances on television were not allowed

to show him below the waist."(Vannatta, 189) Similar to the case of the Nazis and their prohibition of jazz, censoring Elvis only drove more people into his fan base, and when Elvis came to Germany for his active duty in the US Military at the end of the 1950s, young German fans were waiting for him. Although he never held any public concerts during his time in Germany, he loved his German fans and made time to mingle and sign autographs. Many Germans—especially women—loved Elvis and a screaming mob of German girls that could fill most concert halls was sure to appear whenever he was out in public. (see Eckardt "All Shook Up") Some of his American contemporaries, however, did tour Germany during the fifties. On Bill Haley and the Comets' first tour of West Germany in 1958, there was violence when "concerts in Stuttgart, Essen, Berlin and Hamburg ended in riots with the police, further reinforcing rock 'n' roll's image among conservatives as a devious attempt by an unscrupulous commercial industry to seduce Germany's youth."(Gassert et al., 447) Some West German working class youth had already been rioting as there was a string of such occurrences in major cities since 1956 known as the *Halbstarken-Krawalle* whose participants were influenced by the fashion and rebelliousness of America icons like James Dean.(see Schindelbeck) Gassert at al. explain that "Rock'n'roll was a catalyst for these actions not only at the few concerts of the rock'n'roll stars but also at theatres showing rock'n'roll films, local festivals, and fairs, which played the latest tunes along with the rides and held rock'n'roll competitions."(447) Instead of civil unrest and popular music like rock'n'roll merely coexisting independently of one another, they were now *cooperating* and for the first time becoming part of the same movement. Rock'n'roll was on the radio, on television, in magazines and, more importantly, it was becoming intertwined with public actions such as rioting. From the clashes between young rock'n'roll fans and the police during the 1950s, we begin to see rock'n'roll as not only a form of

music, but also as an outlet for rebellious youth to express themselves.

In the following, I examine how rock'n'roll music became part of political activism in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s. By demonstrating the manner in which authorities handled new radical forms of music and how police reacted to protests, I will show that many West German university students were not only ready to become politically active due to certain situational factors such as disagreements with authorities, but then were spurred into action because of the increase in the violence of police reactions. I will show that attempts to suppress protest movements and countercultures associated with these movements helped to further politicize West German students and musicians.

2. Rock'n'Roll, the Folk Revival in the 1960s, and Bourgeoning Protest Scenes

In light of the political and social tumult brought about by the war in Vietnam, the Cold War, and inequality across race and gender, people began expressing themselves in new ways. By the 1960s, rock'n'roll had established itself as something that many young people enjoyed, young rock'n'roll fans idolized and copied the actions and thoughts of their favorite musicians, and youth magazines like *Konkret* and *Sounds* that had formerly focused on music were now turning towards the political issues. In these subcultural contexts, music and politics entered into a very close relationship.

The English language played an important role in the rise of British and American music styles. In "Producing Artistic Value: The Case of Rock Music"Motti Regev gives some insight on the popularity of English-speaking bands and observes that "a noteworthy phenomenon during "the sixties" was what came to be known...as "the British invasion," namely, the artistic and commercial success of many British groups....The individual musicians and especially the groups in this period are numerous, yet there are several names whose "greatness" is hardly in dispute: The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Beach Boys, The Who, The Velvet Underground, The Band (groups), Bob Dylan, Jimi Hendrix, Van Morrison (individuals)." (93) These greats rose to fame and had considerable influence on music internationally with respect to the popularity of English-language music. Wanda Bryant adds that "the prominence of the Beatles and other British groups in the 1960s...led to wider acceptance of four Anglo-American traditions...the Anglo-based folk-song tradition, the "beat" tradition (Beatles), the rock tradition (dance-based, Rolling Stones style), and the soul and blues traditions." (216) This new beat music also became popular in West Germany and, like jazz before it, challenged German attitudes towards music and culture. One such tradition was the German style referred to as *Schlager*, a type of music that

Americans might refer to as “Top 40” which focused more on being catchy rather than addressing social issues and most often kept a set structure alternating between verse and chorus. Beat fans enjoyed breaking the *Schlager* mold. *Schlager* were created in a much more rigid manner than new forms and “the British groups demonstrated to youths the viability and empowerment of writing their own tunes and attaining the same or greater levels of commercial success as the more established *Schlager* and pop musicians controlled by the commercial industry.” (Gassert et al., 449) With this do-it-yourself attitude that British beat bands employed with great success, we see yet another way that young West German musicians and fans were connecting to new forms of popular music. The music was one way for them to show their parents and all adults that they were their own distinct part of society, with their own thoughts and with their own voice. *Schlager* musicians like Detlef Engel with songs like “Komm zu mir, Darling” began to sense this shift in youth mindset and started to change their style accordingly in light of the fact that “many German *Schlager* singers gave themselves English-sounding names, and English words like ‘baby,’ ‘darling,’ ‘girls,’ and ‘boys’ lent German *Schlager* lyrics an exotic touch.” (Gassert et al., 447) The overt use of English in *Schlager* demonstrates the influence of British bands.

On the way to finding their own voice, West German activists had help from arguably two of the most influential bands of the 20th century, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. I chose these two bands as the main focus for this section because of their fame and impact on musical genres and trends. Gassert explains that “the influence of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones in the 1960s launched a mass music-making movement by German teenagers striving to imitate their idols.”(Gassert et al., 445) Now aspiring West German musicians not only had the means to create their own music due to new technology, but they also had the influence of two of the most

popular bands of all time. As I show in the following, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and other bands helped spawn a new generation of musicians in Germany who not only attempted to recreate the styles of their favorite bands, but added their own styles to change the music and the message.

The Beatles have always had a close relationship to Germany. The group got its start playing on the *Reeperbahn* in Hamburg and gained its initial fame there. Their first single to be released in their homeland in 1962, was "My Bonnie," a song originally arranged by Tony Sheridan, to whom the Beatles had been introduced during their first stay in Hamburg in 1960. Also notable is the fact that the only songs the Beatles ever recorded in a language other than English were the German-language remake tracks "Sie liebt dich" (originally "She Loves You") and "Komm gib mir deine Hand" (originally "I Want to Hold Your Hand").[5] Maybe it was simply due to the fact that young German music enthusiasts liked the Beatles even more because of their connection to Germany, or maybe it was because they liked their tunes, but whatever the reason, new German groups started to copy them and even gain national recognition. In 1964, The West German Beat band, the Lords, won the chance to perform at Hamburg's Star Club in a contest entitled "Who Can Play Like the Beatles." They went on to have a series of English-language hits in West Germany and toured West Germany with the Beach Boys. Another band, the Rattles, who also played at the Star Club, gained fame as well. In 1963, on their second tour of England that year, the Rattles played a show with the Animals at the Cavern Club in Liverpool and even accompanied the Beatles on their 1966 German tour. The influence of the Beatles was also felt in East Germany in the 60s and early 70s where "several popular beat groups emerged,

[5] The Beatles had songs containing lyrics in other languages like the "Sun King" which is in Italian-sounding gibberish and "Michelle" which contains a line in French in the chorus, but in no other instance than the German language songs did they come out with a song or remake that was sung completely (and comprehensibly) in a language other than English.

like the Theo Schumann Combo, the Butlers, the Franke- Echo-Quintett, and the Sputniks. The music of Thomas Natschinski's band, Team 4… also evolved from the Beatles." (Gassert, 449-50) From this we can see that the Beatles-inspired beat tradition was considerable due to the fact that they directly inspired so many German bands; the connection between the Beatles and Germany on both sides of the Iron Curtain was significant.

The Beatles, still years away from such socially-charged songs as "Revolution" and "Piggies,"[6] both from their 1968 album *The Beatles*, had not yet done much on the social front in comparison to some of the band members' involvement with such issues later in their careers. However, on the Beatles' *Anthology*, there are a few live recordings and at the end of the song "Till There Was You," recorded at their 1963 concert at the Royal Variety Performance, John Lennon takes a short aside to the audience and says: "For our last number, I'd like to ask your help. Would the people in the cheaper seats clap your hands? And the rest of you, if you'll just rattle your jewelry." (The Beatles, "Till there was You") This may be been seen as more of Lennon's famous banter that he became known for with the press and his audiences, or this could possibly be seen as an early indicator for his later political undertakings during his solo career.

While the Beatles continued to portray the image of the mop-topped, loveable boy-band in matching suits, there was another group that was shaping rock'n'roll as we know it today at the same time. The Rolling Stones had a much grittier image. In direct contrast to the Beatles' love songs and their "yea, yea, yea" sound, the Rolling Stones were already making a name for themselves with their music and its social impact. They were heavily influenced by American musician Muddy Waters and even got their name from his song "Rollin' Stone." Because of

[6] This song has an intro and a main riff that are reminiscent of chamber music. It can be seen as a criticism of the elite by talking about "Piggies" "in their starched white shirts" and other allusions to wealthy people.

these ties to African-American blues music, they broke racial boundaries as early as their first tours in the United States in 1964. “When they played Muddy Waters songs to white kids, they were symbolically integrating the white audience into the sweat and sex and smell of the black juke joints.” (Vannatta, 192) Their concerts were the backdrop of the coming social movements. The music of the Rolling Stones and other “rock music helped initiate and propel a revolutionary social transformation. Often live music concerts in the South would separate the audience into white and black sides of the room using only a rope. But when the music and dancing began, the ranks would begin mixing.” (Vannatta, 190) Just as groups had already caused politically and socially active youth to question how things work in Germany, the Rolling Stones were doing the same in the United States and wherever they toured. As Josef J. Foy argues, “by projecting an anti-establishment image of rebellion that ran counter to prevailing social norms, The Rolling Stones helped to legitimize a counter-cultural identity. And, because they took counter-culture rebellion and transformed it into mainstream, they were able to push boundaries and challenge conformist thinking at a mass level.” (Foy, 203) The young people that the Rolling Stones’ music inspired tried to draw a line between their generation and the sins of their parents’ generation. In the US, they wanted to draw a line between themselves and the racism and segregation that their parents and grandparents had propagated. In Germany, increasingly politically active youth also wanted to distinguish themselves from parents who were guilty of a similar but different sin: silence.

One of the reasons why young German activists felt a similarly strong need to distinguish themselves from their parents’ generation was the possibility of what Wilfried Mausbach refers to as a “second silence” in relation to American atrocities in Vietnam. They realized that their parents’ generation had either taken an active role in aiding the Nazis during the Holocaust or at

least had stood by and did nothing to stop them as the ghettos filled up then emptied overnight and smoked billowed from the furnaces of concentration camps. The inaction of the bystanders was seen as the first "silence" and to keep a "second silence" from occurring, German students began to organize.

People all over the world were protesting the military action and atrocities in Southeast Asia and German students were no exception. Wilfried Mausbach argues that "for them [German students], Vietnam represented an opportunity to break away from their parents' generation of perpetrators and assuage their inherited national guilt." (279) They also felt as though they may be viewed as perpetrators due to West Germany's alliance with the United States and the fact that the US Military had asked for their assistance in South East Asian, though Germany committed little aid. What West Germany did commit to the Vietnam War was opposition. In 1967 and 1968, philosopher Günther Anders published writings against the war in the journal *Das Argument*, one of which included "a collection of aphorisms by Anders in which he claimed that the Vietnamese, charred by napalm, resembled Jews cremated in Auschwitz." (Mausbach, 291) This generation obviously recognized what their parents' generation had done—or rather, had not done—and did not want to be silent the way the previous generation had been. They felt the only way to do so was to speak out against what was happening in the name of their country. They were moved by a saying that gained much popularity among those involved in the movement: "He who keeps quiet agrees." ("Beschlussprotokoll") The attitude towards a second silence, and the prevention thereof, was one of the main factors that contributed to the rise of student activism in West Germany during the 1960s. As I show later, the second silence and the crimes of older generations were a driving force in movements in West Germany and abroad

while politically and socially motivated bands like the Rolling Stones and Ton Steine Scherben provided the soundtrack for youth counterculture and activism.

3. Student Movements and Left-Wing Terrorism in a Divided Germany

As is evident in these discussions of the rise of rock'n'roll music as political expression, in the 1960s in West Germany, political activism was also on the rise. Student groups and other organizations held public demonstrations and rallies, gave speeches, and called on other like-minded individuals to join them. Peaking in the years between 1967 and 1969, the West German Student Movement sought to critically analyze society with social change brought about at least in part in a revolutionary fashion. They searched for new social theories about the role of universities in a modern society. Wolff Dietrich Webler argues that "in addition to this students experimented with new forms of living together, new ways of socialization, the development of anti-authoritarian types of education and new forms of partnership not only to seek to change the existing patterns of society but also to provide solutions to their own personal problems." (156) These students saw problems in society and aimed to change them. In order to accomplish this, they organized in order to more effectively spread their message.

Movements sprang up all over the world during the 1960s, but what makes Germany unique? Because of what they had seen and learned from other movements in the United States and the Middle East, West German university students already had a theoretical and ideological basis for their protest. Also, university students were allowed much freedom during their studies. They had the ability to choose when they wanted to take examinations and could even get a head start on a thesis before the examination date. They were also free to change universities as they wished and gain credits towards graduation along the way. Since German University students paid no tuition and could remain in school for longer periods of time, they had more opportunities to discuss new ideas and organize than they would have otherwise had. (Webler, 158) Webler argues that students had time to radicalize, but having a lot of free time does not turn someone into a revolutionary; there were other factors at play. Max Kaase in his work "Die

politische Mobilisierung von Studenten in der BRD" cites three major factors that helped to turn normal students into activists. The first reason was structural. He maintains that the "absence of influential conservative milieu," "rigid, idealistic norm-orientation of students," and the "marginality of the student role" were to blame. (166)

The "marginality of the student role" seemed to be a main strategy that university administrators hoped to use against student activism. As students formed groups and tried to take action, universities tried to prevent them from doing so. Webler shows that "one of the first steps, beginning in West Berlin, was to abolish these student organizations as part of new university legislation. In addition, legislation was passed to discipline students. In some places, conservative students went to the courts to prevent the expenditure of student funds for political causes. There was a widespread attempt to root out student activism through legal and legislative means." (Webler, 162) This struggle is reminiscent of the struggle in the early days of jazz and rock'n'roll in Germany in that, as people rallied behind a cause that threatened the power of the authorities, authorities took measures to combat them which only embedded students deeper into the cause.

The second factor Kaase gives as to why students began to mobilize is a situational one. Of course there were large numbers of students who were willing to organize, but the groups like the *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund* (SDS) and certain prominent figures were important in that they provided an avenue for students to voice their opinions and mobilize with other (mostly) like-minded people. This leads us to Kaase's third factor, which is political. The groups formed around political ideas and attitudes. (166) While there were numerous groups with just as many diverse ideas and political leanings, my focus in this thesis will be on the groups concerned with Vietnam due to their prominence in the movements and their relation to other movements

around the world at the time, and because the two are hard to separate due to the related nature of the situations, Cold War politics.

Kaase believes that rising participation in student organizations played a large role in leading the German youth to mobilize, but yet another factor plays a major role. Many new ideas about social change and development were coming out of the Frankfurt School, a group of neo-Marxists concerned with political and social theory. The work of philosophers and political theorists associated with the Frankfurt School such as Max Horkheimer, Jürgen Habermas, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse influenced the activities of students in West Germany. Marcuse was a sociologist, philosopher, and political theorist who worked at UC San Diego and also with the Frankfurt School. He was very concerned with the Civil Rights movement in the United States and the struggles of people in the Third World. Karrin Hanshew summarizes: "Marcuse argued that oppressed and subjugated minorities had a natural right to civil disobedience—specifically, a natural right to *Widerstand*—using illegal means as long the laws remained in the controlling hand of the oppressors and were thus themselves an instrument of oppression." (Hanshew, 130) Marcuse saw the struggle of the students in West Germany in the same light as the struggle of others all over the world. Like others before him, he made a connection between what was happening in Vietnam and what had happened in Germany under the Nazis. He once drew a parallel between the two situations by noting, "there are photographs that show a row of half-naked corpses laid out for the victors in Vietnam; they resemble in all details the pictures of the starved, emaciated corpses of Auschwitz and Buchenwald." (Marcuse quoted in Mausbach, 291) Armed with these ideas and the strong resistance to a "second silence" that was already a major theme in the anti-Vietnam protests in West Germany, Marcuse influenced German students more than most—if not all—of his contemporaries. Marcuse was

certainly one of the most prominent figures to influence the student leader of the SDS, Rudi Dutschke. Having fled East Germany in 1961 because of his refusal to join the army and his involvement in convincing others to follow suit, he became the most prominent student leader of the SDS and of the student movement. Most likely due to his realization that he had so much influence over the younger generation, Marcuse never openly spoke about violent demonstration as an option for protest. This was probably because, up until a certain point in the movement, the main idea was to enlighten through non-violent means. At least for some youth involved in the movements, that idea soon changed. In the rest of this section, I will explore the radicalization of the student movement which coincides with increased involvement in movements of the time from bands whose lyrics were explicitly political.

On June 2, 1967, the Shah of Iran, who many German students saw as a dictator, visited West Berlin. Thousands of students demonstrated in front of the German Opera. "Clashes ensued when the police pushed the crowd away from the opera, and in the resulting confusion the student Benno Ohnesorg was shot to death by a plainclothes police officer." (Mausbach, 293-294) James Tent argues in *The Free University of Berlin: A Political History* that this event was "the spiritual crossroads for the German student movement." (323) Michael Schmidtke summarizes: "in Frankfurt, where 500 students had marched against the state visit of the Shah, over 10,000 participated in the silent funeral march on 8 June. Even on more conservative university campuses like Bonn or Tübingen the killing marked the beginning of a larger student protest. Many cities were like Göttingen, where a march of 6,000 students was the largest demonstration since the founding of that university." (Schmidtke, 84) There was also a funeral march from Ohnesorg's home town of Hannover to Berlin in which thousands marched. This even may have even inspired a young Gudrun Ensslin, who was at that time a student at West

Berlin's Free University and became the future leader of the Red Army Faction (RAF), into further action. It is reported that on the night of the shooting she was seen outside the SDS headquarters in Berlin crying and shouting "this is the Auschwitz generation, and there is no arguing with them." (Mausbach, 294)

Because of Benno Ohnesorg's death, students now had a reason to fear police and to question if police were really there to serve the people instead of just protecting the establishment. Also, students who previously protested the murder of civilians in Vietnam could now reference a murder of one of their own countrymen on their home soil. In this way, the death of Benno Ohnesorg was an event that brought the war home for Germans. Mausbach argues that "a few left-leaning students suddenly found themselves transformed into an academic mass movement, the radicalism of the Free University students spread to campuses all over West Germany, and loosely linked protest groups were welded together in an impressive extraparliamentarian opposition."(294) Once again, an overreaction by the authorities not only drove young activists farther away from the conservative attitudes and establishments of the previous generation, but it inspired them to join forces.

This opposition, known as the *Außerparlamentarische Opposition,* or short the APO, was formed as a reaction to the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (CDU) and the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD), which came together to form the "*Große Koalition*" (Grand Coalition). The most prominent organization in the APO was the *Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund* (SDS), which "was founded in 1949 as the student branch of the SPD." (Webler, 157) In 1961, the SDS has been excluded from the SPD because of differing ideas. Due to defeats in elections during the 1950s, for example, the SPD began to shift from a class-oriented party to a popular party. In 1959, the SPD began a "de-ideologization"

in which the party turned away from Marxism and towards social market economics. (see Schmidtke, 78) Also, the SPD accepted Kurt Georg Kiesinger as chancellor, even though he was a former Nazi who worked for Joseph Goebbels's Ministry of Propaganda. By letting a former Nazi into the party and into a position of at least potential influence, the SPD was going against what students activists had in mind for the new, post-war Germany. This not only confirmed the activists' fear of a "second silence," but the split between the SDS and the SPD is the first of many among West German movements that I demonstrate. Even more reminiscent of the Nazi past were the *Notstandgesetze* or "emergency laws" that the Grand Coalition put in place which gave the government great power and control of its citizens in case of national emergency. Schmidke argues that "critics complained that the legislative process for these laws was similar to the 1930s, giving excessive powers to the executive, and this prompted a growing backlash against the laws which contributed to the formation of the protest movements in 1968." (79) These and other changes pushed the SDS further and further away from the SPD and contributed to later protests. After splitting from the SPD, the SDS targeted the Grand Coalition as a focal point of their criticism.[7]

While tensions rose in Germany between students and the authorities, a similar situation—and subsequently similar organizations—was developing in the United States. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was staging non-violent sit-ins all over the American South and other movements were also taking place on college campuses across the country. The German SDS watched and studied these movements closely, and on June 22, 1966, began to copy them. They "initiated the first German sit-in at the Henry Ford Hall of the Free University of Berlin (Freie Universität). Some 3,000 students sat-in to prevent a proposed Free

[7] The American government and other regimes/organizations that were seen as oppressive were also targeted, but for the purpose of this section, I focus on the Grand Coalition.

University reform that would limit student tenure to eight semesters and give administrators the power to expel."(Schmidtke, 83-84) Not only were young German musicians borrowing styles from the Anglo-traditions of Britain and the United States, they borrowed protest strategies and this initial use of American methods proved to be the first success for the SDS with their borrowed strategies. In December of that same year, the SDS, lead by Rudi Dutschke, held the "*Spaziergangsdemonstration*" which was supposed to be a peaceful protest against American actions in Vietnam in which the protestors would walk through the streets of Berlin. Sometime during the walk, 200 SDS members and the group *Kommune I*

> left the march, which the police had mandated would only go through empty suburban streets, and walked into the city where demonstrations were forbidden. The protesters broke the mandate, but attempted to prevent a confrontation with the police by dispersing and then regrouping at the signal of a child's trumpet. Nevertheless, the police reacted with repression and arrested 74 people. (Schmidtke, 84)

Because the police reacted in such a way, the students began to feel that the authorities violated basic human rights. After all, it is not hard to see how one might feel oppressed when the government determines on which public streets its citizens may and may not walk.

As if being targeted by the police was not enough, soon German mass media began to target student groups and their leaders because they were also a major target for the groups' protests. The Axel Springer Verlag was a particular point of interest for protesting students because it controlled large portions of West German print media. While the students were studying how Americans were protesting, it seems the news media was studying the American way of how to deal with dissent in that their response was very close to American McCarthyism. They realized that they could use the anti-communist sentiment prevalent among some in

Western countries as a powerful tool in turning public opinion away from the protestors as they "lashed out at student activism and grumblings about monopolization, labeling them communist, which had great influence in Berlin, a city surrounded by communist East Germany." (Schmidtke, 86) This instigated a war of words between the media and student groups, which prompted some groups to call for the need of a *Gegenöffentlichkeit* or "counter public sphere." To create such an alternative public voice, students distributed leaflets and held demonstrations against what they perceived as the hostile press. This only increased the tensions and the Springer Verlag went so far as to try to demonize Rudi Dutschke by labeling him "Red Rudi." This pushed the two sides even further apart and raised anti-student sentiment so much that "when students held an anti-Vietnam war protest in February, about 50,000 Berliners responded by demonstrating their support of the American war. During the demonstration, police had to save a student who looked like Dutschke from being beaten by the crowd." (Schmidtke, 87) A few months later, an assassin shot Dutschke in the head and although he survived the attempt, the event sparked mass demonstrations and end the era of (mostly) peaceful protest and usher in a wave of clashes with the police and riots.

The students were tired of the way the media demonized them as violent and dangerous. They saw the Springer Verlag as a major cause for the attempt on Dutschke's life and as a major source of opposition to their cause, therefore they were an obvious target when the more violent demonstrations began. Just over a week after the attempted murder, 1,500 police officers were called in to protect Springer Verlag offices in Frankfurt and Hamburg. Riots broke out in Munich and Esslingen while elsewhere in West Germany, students attempted to interrupt the circulation of Springer publications. An Easter protest in Berlin escalated into fights with the police, which led people all over the world to protest Springer buildings and German embassies in major cities

like Amsterdam, Paris, Prague, London, Tel Aviv, and New York City. After bearing witness to the protest of the Springer building in front of Rockefeller Center, the New York City SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) occupied buildings of Columbia University. (see Schmidtke, 87)

The developments I traced above in the rise of rock'n'roll, i.e., and the authorities' attempt to quell a minor social disturbance which only intensified the popularity of rock music, repeats itself in respect to social movements only that here the consequences were deadly. In the wake of these dramatic events, the West German Student Movement gained world-wide recognition. People from all over the world were joining the cause. Even the German students' American counterparts took note of and were inspired by the West German SDS. German student activists were influencing some of the same people whose example had spurred the West German SDS into further action in the first place. So although German students were not the first and by far not the only group to protest during this era, their actions played a significant role in influencing and fueling other movements.

Although the West German Student Movement gained recognition internationally, there were some within the movement that were ready to resort to more extreme measures in order to express themselves. When officials tried to revoke Horst Mahler's attorney's license because of his involvement in defending the SDS, student protesters gathered outside the courthouse and attacked police officers. In a confrontation with police, many demonstrators suffered serious injuries. Michael Schmidtke interprets this event as a turning point: "This militant protest was the last one of 1968 in Germany, and it signaled that a few radicals were headed toward a violent future."(88) The actions of the few radicals had an extreme impact on the social and political movements of the 1960s and on society in West Germany.

"Wir schmeißen die Bomben in das Bewusstsein der Massen"

In this section, I show what happened as student organizations disbanded and the West German Student Movement came to an end as student organizations and bands who were affiliated with the movement distanced themselves from increasing violence. Because of the violence caused by radical splinter groups, the general public and the government began to associate protests with terrorism. Hanshew further contends that "the movement's political isolation—after previous success at winning the West German population's sympathy—and the experience of the demonstrations' new level of violence caused growing dissent between members of the radical Left on the subject of civil violence." (Hanshew, 36) Radical splinter groups decided to resort to "violence against things" to express their political opposition.[8] Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin, along with two others, firebombed two of the biggest department stores in Frankfurt as a demonstration of what they called "Konsum-Terror." They were later arrested and sentenced to three years in prison for the act. They only served a few months of the sentence and were held up as heroes by the left due to their statements in their public trial. The police later captured Andreas Baader for breaking his parole. Ensslin and a few others attempted a daring escape in broad daylight with the help of a left-wing journalist, Ulrike Meinhof. The firebombing and Baader's escape proved to be the first public actions of what became known as the *Rote Armee Fraktion* or "Red Army Faction" (RAF), otherwise known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang. The group consisted of Ensslin, Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, a small group of likeminded others, and hundreds of "helpers." Webler traces the beginnings of the RAF to the student protests by stating that "the first generation of this movement consisted largely of

[8] Christopher Ryan explores the Frankfurt bombing in relation to "violence against things" in "Violence as a Political and Artistic Weapon in Selected Writings from Ulrike Meinhof and Heinrich Böll."

students and while the later terrorist activities of the Red Army Faction had little to do with the student movement, the roots are clearly in the campus struggles of the sixties." (159) Though they were connected to the student groups, the new gang was clearly different from them in that they openly advocated violence instead of peaceful protest.

Their student movement origins can be shown through their recognition of the second silence, though they saw it in a somewhat different light in relation to society. While the student movement saw the second silence as something they wanted to prevent from happening in relation to the atrocities in Vietnam, these new radicals viewed actions to prevent such atrocities as something that the West German government was actively trying to suppress. In the 2002 BBC documentary *In Love With Terror* directed by Ben Lewis, former student leader, friend of Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin, and member of the Berlin Kommune I, Dieter Kunzelmann remarked: "The West German state was just following the American model. The so-called economic miracle was invented as a distraction to stop us from thinking about our Fascist past. Consumerism put the lid back on history. We were no longer meant to know what our past meant." ("In Love With Terror") Members of the West German Student Movement saw the money given to West Germany as part of the Marshall Plan and all the American influence that came with it as a means to keep them pacified so that they would not investigate what was really happening. Their constant protesting in the form of mass demonstrations and the failure to achieve results against the government prompted members of the now-radicalized movement to go even further. An accomplice in the department store bombings and close friend of Andreas Baader, Thorwald Proll, attempted to explain his actions and the actions of the RAF by saying: "Perhaps it is human nature to escalate things. You do something five times, six times, seven

times, and you have to raise the stakes." ("In Love With Terror") The terror career of the members of the RAF shows clearly that they raised the stakes on more than one occasion.

Another difference between the RAF and the student activists of the SDS was that while student activists were mostly peaceful in the sense that they did not pursue acts of open terrorism and simply clashed with police on occasion, the RAF members saw themselves as "urban guerillas" with open combat in mind. According to a directive written by the group, they wanted to "throw bombs into the consciousness of the masses." ("Die Guerilla kämpft aus dem Hinterhalt") They even sought military training from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, but left shortly after their arrival at the training camp outside Amman, Jordan because they felt they had no use for desert warfare tactics in an urban setting. In addition, there were disagreements that hindered cooperation between the groups. These disagreements arose when RAF members wasted ammunition by firing their AK-47s wildly and then sunbathed naked in protest against the subsequently rationed number of rounds they received. (See "Clowns of Terror") Although the desert tactics might not have been much use to them, the weapons and explosives training they received proved very valuable for the RAF in the coming years.

The group returned to West Germany and acquired resources in a series of bank robberies. After they had gained the necessary supplies in the early part of the 1970s, they began taking action. They bombed and set fire to numerous buildings, which prompted the police to take action against them. This led to arrests and shootouts that left many members dead or imprisoned. Instead of gaining martyrdom, the gang lost public favor amid public outrage at the death of police officers during the shootouts. Later in 1972, they mounted what was known as the "May Offensive." In response to increased bombing in North Vietnam, the group targeted American army bases in Frankfurt and Heidelberg, the headquarters of the American Forces in

Europe, as well as Police stations in Augsburg and Munich and at the Hamburg offices of the Axel Springer Verlag. This prompted the police to engage in a country-wide manhunt for the group members which resulted in the capture of all of the leading members of the Baader-Meinhof Gang within three weeks. (see International Terrorism since 1945)

In 1972, the leaders of the gang were imprisoned and put into solitary confinement at Stuttgart's Stammheim high-security prison. There were many claims that the authorities had housed them in unfit conditions due to their limited contact with others and the meager thirty minutes a day that they got to spend outside of their cells. The mental strain of the conditions of the prison and will to continue to fight for the cause with whatever was available led some Baader-Meinhof gang members like Holger Meins and others to go on hunger strike. However, unlike the others, Meins died from his hunger strike on November 9, 1974 and incited a new wave of violence from gang members and associates who had either not yet taken part in major action with the group or at least had not yet been caught.

Between 1974 and 1977, those who were still free began to murder and kidnap high-ranking officials and public figures in an attempt to free their leaders.(see Peters, "Der Terror von Stockholm"; Thomas 214) After these unsuccessful attempts to free their leaders, the joint trial of the Baader-Meinhof gang leaders finally got underway, but a few months later, Ulrike Meinhof was found hanged in her cell.Even among members of the RAF and the so-called "sympathizers," opinions differed as to what really happened to Ulrike Meinhof. Some initially claimed that it was murder and that guards had staged the scene to simply look like a suicide. Fellow RAF member Jan-Carl Raspe believed that her death "was a cold, calculated execution, just like with Holger [Meins], just like with Siegfried Hausner. If Ulrike had decided to end it all, to die, because she saw this as her last chance to save herself—to save her revolutionary

identity—from the slow destruction of her will in isolation—then she would have told us—or at least she would have told Andreas: that was the nature of their relationship." (Jean-Carl Raspe's speech in court) Apparently, Raspe felt that Ulrike Meinhof would have let someone know of her plan to end her life in order to preserve her memory as a revolutionary. Others in the group had a different opinion. Some RAF members believed that she killed herself because she had been mentally broken down by her fellow gang leaders. Horst Mahler remembers: "The worst thing was the systematic destruction of Ulrike Meinhof by Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin. They destroyed this woman." (International Terrorism since 1945) The systematic destruction of which he spoke could be found in the way the incarcerated RAF members communicated with each other. In their prison communications, smuggled back and forth by their lawyers, were very blunt with one another, often calling each other derogatory names and exerted psychological pressure by accusing each other of betraying the cause. Whether Ulrike Meinhof was murdered or killed herself because of the prison conditions or of Ensslin and Baaders psychological bullying, two things were certain. First, even if the letters between Baader and Meinhof did not cause her to commit suicide, they are evidence of a rift between RAF leaders. Second, the RAF was not finished with their reign of terror.

On April 28, 1977 the court found the remaining members guilty of the charges of four murders and seven attempted murders and received life sentences. They immediately began a hunger strike and called for action from members still at large. The RAF responded to the call with what is referred to as the "German Autumn" which was a string of terrorist acts that the group carried out in 1977 from July to October which included more killings of officials like Hanns-Martin Schleyer who was targeted for his past Nazi involvement and the hijacking of the Lufthansa plane *Landshut*. When a German special forces team thwarted the *Landshut* hijackers

and ended the stand-off, the imprisoned leaders Baader, Raspe, and Ensslin committed suicide in their cells. ("Selbstmord in Stammheim") As with Ulrike Meinhof's suicide, RAF members and others believed that prison guards had killed them. As a consequence of the suicides, the RAF members who were holding Schleyer killed him. (see Schmid, "das unbekannte Opfer")

As we can see from their actions, the group's designation as a "terrorist group" is in no way undeserved. They killed and bombed their way across Germany in the 1970s and 1980s and Schleyer's murder and the suicides of the founding members were not the end for the RAF. As I later examine, it was simply the beginning of a new generation of terrorists. In this section, I traced the student movements and the outcome of their radicalization. This is meant to give a better understanding of the political and social situation in West Germany at the time and to correspond with the rise in explicitly political and socially critical music during the late 1960s which I explore in the next chapter. I will also trace the convergence and divergence of music and politics.

4. Playing a Different Tune: Bands on the Political Stage

As I demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the political atmosphere in the 1960s through the 1970s was tense around the world, and Germany was no exception. While student movement groups protested in the streets, bands began making explicit political statements with their music. In this section of the thesis, I explore what happened when rock'n'roll music and the politics of the student movement came together. The mix of these two countercultures produced some peculiar results. Some bands experimented not only with new styles of music, but also with new ideas and lifestyles. The involvement of bands in the movements and politics of the day ranged from mere social commentary to direct political action taken by the members of some musical acts. This section begins by describing and then comparing the involvement of the internationally known Rolling Stones to the West German natives, the band Ton Steine Scherben. This comparison is productive because it shows the convergence and divergence of music and political movements in two different cases. I then briefly describe an eclectic selection of other bands and figures such as John Lennon, an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam War, David Bowie who not only influenced music internationally but was influenced by German musicians and the city of Berlin during his stay there, and die Ärzte who are a prominent West German band that used music as social commentary after the end of the West German Student Movement and the Vietnam era.

While the SDS held demonstrations in the streets and the RAF were still years away from their first terrorist acts, some rock'n'roll bands started to form a clearer political message. One of these bands was the Rolling Stones. In the 1960s the Rolling Stones gained a massive following and became one of the biggest acts in the world. As they became more famous and thus more influential world wide, they also gained a strong influence on popular music and subcultures in

both East and West Germany. Although the Rolling Stones were not directly active in any organized movement, the content of their songs was anything but apolitical. They already had a history of breaking social norms with their music in the US and as the situation heated up between protestors and the authorities, so did the Rolling Stones' music. Friedel Taube describes that "in 1968, when the US and Europe saw student riots, the Rolling Stones lyrics also got more and more political. The song 'Street Fighting Man' is a good example, although the band did not endorse violence with the lyrics." (Taube, "Rolling Stones Rocked the Iron Curtain") At the same time as others advocated violence, the Rolling Stones, though they heard the "sound of marching, charging feet" and thought "the time (was) right for palace revolution," ultimately gave in to the fact that "in sleepy London town, there's just no place for a street fighting man."(The Rolling Stones, "Street Fighting Man") Their songs never advocated active protest or even political violence, instead the Rolling Stones advocated for a certain rock'n'roll lifestyle. Joseph Foy claims that "by projecting an anti-establishment image of rebellion that ran counter to prevailing social norms, The Rolling Stones helped to legitimize a counter-cultural identity. They challenged traditional institutions and structures without having to be overtly political." (Foy, 203) Their ties to counterculture meant indirect ties to politics, and although they might not have been overtly political, at least lead singer Mick Jagger's revolutionary leanings are clear in a quote from a *Rolling Stone* interview in 1995. When asked about the song he remarked: "They told me that 'Street Fighting Man' was subversive. *'Course it's subversive,'* we said. It's stupid to think that you can start a revolution with a record. I wish you could!" (Wenner, 52) While the Rolling Stones' lyrics were predominantly of a nonpolitical nature, Mick Jagger's thoughts on "Street Fighting Man" show that the revolutionary drive was present in at least some of the band members, even if they assumed that music could not facilitate social change.

Despite the fact that Jagger felt that music could not cause social change, the Rolling Stones did not stop writing music that included direct social commentary. Songs such as "Mother's Little Helper" from the album *Aftermath* about rising pill addiction among housewives show that, as early as 1966, the Rolling Stones were concerned with societal problems. "Sympathy for the Devil" from *Beggars Banquet* is one particularly relevant example because it makes a reference to National Socialism in Germany. Jagger assumes the role of the devil and claims: "I rode a tank, held a general's rank, when the blitzkrieg raged, and the bodies stank."(The Rolling Stones, "Sympathy for the Devil") Also in the song, he takes credit for other atrocities throughout time and includes the line, "every cop is a criminal" which must have struck a chord with protestors everywhere who were regularly clashing with police and who saw politicians and authorities in general as corrupt.

Another important song with a direct political reference comes from the opening track on their next album *Let it Bleed*. "Gimme Shelter" can be seen as a warning of the effects of the Cold War mindset that many people had and the looming prospect of nuclear annihilation. In the song, Jagger begs for shelter from this ever present threat and the chorus echoes the fear of rape, murder and war being "just a shot away." "Gimme Shelter" proved to be important not just for its lyrical content, but also for its release date. The album on which it appears was released on December 5, 1969, the day before a turning point in the American hippie movements of the 60's. On December 6, 1969 the Rolling Stones headlined a festival at the Altamont Speedway on the outskirts of Tracy, California. Although the Rolling Stones tried to make this festival a West Coast version of the recent Woodstock Festival, the concert at the Altamont Speedway was almost the exact opposite of the "3 Days of Peace and Music" offered there. Featuring bands like Santana and Crosby, Stills and Nash, this 1-day festival seemed doomed from the start. On top of

the logistical problems of figuring out where the concert would take place and securing the proper facilities for a large crowd, security was also a factor. Members of the Grateful Dead, who were scheduled to play but did not appear due to growing unrest in the crowd, suggested that the biker gang the Hell's Angels should be hired to provide security for the event. Already drunk from the $500 in beer that they were reportedly paid for the gig and having to deal with a crowd hopped up on alcohol, LSD and amphetamines, the Hell's Angels soon found themselves in a precarious situation. The crowd became more and more unruly throughout the day and by the time the Rolling Stones took the stage, the situation was just short of chaos. (see Whitaker, "Altamont Speedway Concert Ends in Homicide") As the band took the stage, Mick Jagger even tried to smooth the situation over by saying, "There are so many of you, just be cool down in front there. Don't push around." (see *Crossfire Hurricane*) His pleas for calm and peace proved to be of no avail. The raucousness in the crowd-especially in front of the stage turned out of control eventually prompting Jagger to stop in the middle of "Sympathy for the Devil" to try to smooth things out once again, this time shouting "People! Who's fighting and what for? Why are we fighting? Just cool out!" (see *Crossfire Hurricane*)This was almost immediately followed by Jagger using his microphone not for an attempt at pacification of the crowd, but to call for an ambulance.[9] (see *Crossfire Hurricane*) During the commotion, 18-year old Meredith Hunter was stabbed to death after attacking Hell's Angels members. (Wood, 336) Hunter who was "reportedly enraged, irrational and so high he could barely walk" had tried to get on stage with a group of other fans, and when Hell's Angel Alan Passaro tried to stop him, Hunter pulled out a gun. The ramifications of his death became "widely known as the end of the hippie era."

[9] Crossfire Hurricane. In the part of this documentary about the concert at the Altamont speedway, there are many images of the crowd and Hell's Angels members whose faces and actions clearly show that many were on hard drugs.

(Rodriquez, “The Day the Music Died”) To create an atmosphere of peace and love like the one at Woodstock was no longer a possibility after this and critics of the band and youth culture used the incident as proof that hippie ideals did not work when mixed with the hard drugs that were becoming more popular.

It was not just conservative Americans who believed that the incident at Altamont was evidence of the flaws of the hippie lifestyle and other new ideas that spread during the time. The impact of the stabbing and the end of the hippie era was also prominent abroad. In East Germany, where the band was loved, although most likely secretly, a youth magazine published an article entitled “Mit der Musik kam die Gewalt”. Altamont avanciert zum “Inbegriff der Gebrechen des Imperialismus - Geldgier, Brutalität, Egoismus.” (Rauhut, “I Can’t get no SEDisfaction”) This was coming from supposedly the same youth who, only two months earlier had gathered in the hundreds after a West Berlin radio DJ jokingly reported that they were to play a rooftop concert right next to the Wall. The police were called out to disperse the crowd and shut down the area. The fact that people from all over the GDR showed up to watch a concert that never happened showed the East German authorities that fans were no longer going to hide and the authorities began loosening restrictions on Western music. Taube describes that “in 1982 an LP with selected songs by the Rolling Stones was released on a GDR record label. In August 1990, after the fall of the Wall but before reunification, the Rolling Stones played their first and only concert in East Germany.” (Taube, “Rolling Stones Rocked the Iron Curtain”) From this it is easy to see how the Rolling Stones had indirectly inspired East German youth to attempt to break boundaries set up by the authorities, except in this case, instead of crossing a rope that segregated races, people tried to cross a fortified wall that separated governments and ideas.

The Rolling Stones' image and music, or rather what that represented, compelled East German citizens to demand more freedom. Some like former GDR youth station DJ Günter Schneidewind even claim that the Rolling Stones played a part in German reunification. Due to their long hair, loud music, and large bank accounts, the East German authorities saw the Rolling Stones as a threat to their regime because young people idolized them. Schneidewind comments: "The official youth ideals in the GDR were based on socialist morals and ethics and were posted in each and every class room. This was completely the opposite of what the Stones were about. Authorities saw a real danger that young people might get rebellious." (quoted in Taube, "Rolling Stones Rocked the Iron Curtain") Though some may doubt how big of a role music might play in causing social change or even in inciting rebellion, Schneidewind agrees that art can lead to changes in society and that the Rolling Stones played a role in the fall of the Berlin Wall. (quoted in Taube, "Rolling Stones Rocked the Iron Curtain") He is not the only one who thinks this way. Peter Wicke also claims that "rock musicians were instrumental in setting in motion the actual course of events which led to the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the disappearance of the GDR." (1992, 81) Another remarkable point here is that yet again we see a government whose actions only emboldened rebellious youth and as proof of the effect it had on the government, we see looser restrictions on access to Western music and culture in the GDR. Due to the fact that western bands were still much more popular in East Germany than state-approved East German bands in the 1970s and 1980s, GDR officials had already begun to allow things like more critical lyrics, more use of English in the lyrics, and even the ability for some bands to travel outside of the Eastern Bloc in order to help them gain popularity. (see Larkey, "Political Music") Although these allowances were important in order to pave the way for additional musical freedom, the protesting that occurred after East German police attempted to

block its citizens from the Rolling Stones was a significant milestone for East Germans' efforts to achieve musical freedom because of the size of the crowd and how open the crowd was in its opposition of the East German state. There are few other bands or even protest groups who can claim that they affected that much change.

Ton Steine Scherben streiken

While bands and fans in East Germany were still subject to regulations, West German bands were free to openly speak their mind through music. At least for some West German bands who wrote political songs, it seemed that they had a built-in fan base among student activists who overwhelmingly supported them. These groups "coupled lyrics involving the daily experiences of youths with political agitation…. They earned countercultural credentials by embracing left-wing political organizations like the (West) German Communist Party (Floh de Cologne, Lokomotive Kreuzberg), the trade unions (Lokomotive Kreuzberg), and anarchist movements (Ton, Steine, Scherben)." (Gassert et al., 343) *Ton Steine Scherben* was one of the most important home-grown West German political bands. Their importance lies in the fact that while other bands tried to gain fame and then, once famous, took notice of movements, Ton Steine Scherben found fame by starting out as a group whose "aim was to create an art that would liberate consciousness and thereby lead to political action…The group's early career offers a look into one of the most salient ways in which popular music not only resonated with, but helped to constitute, youth protest." (Brown, 3) Ton Steine Scherben's early days proved to be extremely important in the context of the group's history and overall message.

The roots of Ton Steine Scherben are in public theater and street performance troupes. The Möbius brothers, Peter, Gert, and Ralph, formed *Hoffman's Comic Teatre*. They put on street performances that consisted of songs which were written by Ralph intermixed with

performances that dealt with real life situations. Throughout the 1960s, an international network of artists called Fluxus, who advocated the mixing of different media in their work, had already been experimenting with projected images behind bands as they performed, "happenings" which involved anyone present, and other mixed media art. (see Higgins) Ton Steine Scherben had similar ideas about their own performances which relied heavily on audience participation in order to bridge the gap between performer and audience and allowed the audience members to express themselves while raising political awareness. The key piece to their earliest performances, "Rita und Paul" involved Ralph playing the role of Paul and at one point smashing a television on the ground. After this, the band launched into "Macht kaputt was euch kaputt macht" ("Destroy what destroys you"). A song that questions why people follow the *Konsumkultur* by "buying cars, buying houses, buying furniture" and for whom people are "building machines, building motors, building cannons," it was Ton Steine Scherben's first single. With a final verse about beating police and soldiers falling, the last line "Protect rights, protect the state…from us," (Ton Steine Scherben, "Macht kaput was euch kaput macht") one cannot doubt the revolutionary roots of Ton Steine Scherben and should not be surprised by their later actions.

As a direct result of the audience participation segments in their shows, the Möbius brothers met Kai Sichtermann and R.P.S. Lanrue who assimilated into *Hoffman's Comic Teatre.* The group soon split with Ralph and Gert performing with *Rote Steine* and Peter remaining with *Hoffman's Comic Teatre* along with Sichtermann and Lanrue. These two theatre groups attempted to inspire people to think about their everyday interactions and what they meant in a political sense. In order to achieve this goal, they allowed audience participation to make the audience members feel more at ease to speak their minds under the guise of a character. The

early performance groups that consisted of the would-be members of Ton Steine Scherben not only engaged their audience in order to get them thinking about their situation, they also spurred people into political action and even assimilated them into their performance groups thereby creating activists out of audience members.

At the same time that the *Rote Steine* formed, the SDS had just dissolved after the assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke. The apex of the student movement had come and was now winding down which left new more radicalized protestors, movements and organizations. A hotspot for these new radicals was the borough of Kreuzberg in West Berlin. Timothy S. Brown cites many reasons for this. Firstly, the Wall had left this area of town marginalized on the western edge of the city, but at the same time, people could easily take the U-Bahn to the student districts, providing Kreuzberg residents easy access to the Free University, which coupled with cheap rents, made this area particularly enticing to students. Also, the exempt status of West Berlin residents under allied occupation made the area a destination for draft dodgers who surely brought with them some anti-war sentiment. "The combination of these factors helped make Kreuzberg *the* major destination for would-be bohemians in West Germany in the late 1960s and '70s." (Brown, 7) It was here that Ralf Möbius (who later took the stage name, Rio Resier), Lanrue, Sichtermann, and Wolfgang Seidel became Ton Steine Scherben. "The name *Ton Steine Scherben* was suggested by Reiser. "It sound[ed] socialist," writes bassist Kai Sichtermann, "or at least trade-union-like." But it also represented "a secret greeting to the band that was for us the greatest model: The Rolling Stones." (quoted in Brown, 8) The name was also reminiscent of a trade union "Bau Steine Erden." Also, the influence of the Rolling Stones ran deeper than just the music. Rio Reiser liked the Rolling Stones because, as opposed to the Beatles who made music for "Oberschüler," the Rolling Stones made music for the proletariat. (Sichtermann et al.,

18) Like many other West German bands of the time, Ton Steine Scherben were heavily influenced by the Rolling Stones.

At their first major showcase of their act at the "Festival der Liebe" in September 1970, Tone Steine Scherben started what became almost a tradition at their concerts. Shortly before they played, the bands found out that the organizers had left because they could not pay the bands or the workers and Ton Steine Scherben took the stage just as the resulting tensions reached their height. At Reiser's command, the crowd began to riot to the sound of "Macht kaputt was euch kaputt macht." (Erinnerung an Rio Reiser) The sight of a riot after a Ton Steine Scherben show was not uncommon in the following years and as the band members were inspiring the audience to action, the riots that followed inspired Ton Steine Scherben to make their shows even more political with Reiser sometimes reading Mao and with projected images behind them on stage. This stage show played a crucial role in their later gigs.

In Kreuzberg, the band members immersed themselves in groups active in the squatter movement. The squatter movement in Berlin enlisted the help of Ton Steine Scherben in one of the first building seizures in Berlin. In July 1971, Ton Steine Scherben were asked to headline a concert in the Technical University of Berlin's Mensa. There were many students and radicals in the crowd and after Ton Steine Scherben ended their set, Reiser implored the crowd to take action. That night, the crowd, including members of Ton Steine Scherben, occupied an empty factory. The building located at Mariannenstraße 13 was one of the first of the hundreds of squatter houses occupied by activists.

This action by Ton Steine Scherben not only added to their credentials as activists, it also had benefits concerning their music. Klaus Freudigmann recorded the concert there and those recordings made up side one of their first album, *Warum geht es mir so dreckig?* This album

proved to be revolutionary not only because of the revolutionary lyrics of tracks like "Der Kampf geht weiter" and "Solidarität," but also for the ways in which Ton Steine Scherben created it. They made this record without any help from the established record industry. They also started their own record label "David Volksmund" and managed themselves in order to have total control over their art. In this way, they circumvented the traditional capitalist channels of music production and served as a model for others by showing that making the music you want without involving the corporate music industry was not only possible, but also profitable. Ton Steine Scherben even began publishing a magazine for their fans called *Guten Morgen* in a move that shows how they tried to take full advantage of the popular new types of media.

As well as continuing to revolutionize the music industry, Ton Steine Scherben continued their revolutionary actions with the squatter movement. As part of a plan by West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, Kreuzberg was to be the site of an urban planning campaign that would result in tearing down a large portion of living spaces. One of the areas Brandt wanted to restructure contained the complex of the Bethanien-Krankenhaus, a hospital that closed in 1970 after over 100 years of operation. There was obvious opposition from the groups comprising the squatter movement and so another event at which Ton Steine Scherben played was held. The audience of radicals included some from the anarchist allies of the Red Army Faction named the June 2nd Movement after the date that Benno Ohnesorg was killed. One witness to the event commented: "between the songs ever shorter political texts were read. That was new and great; until then, rock music had spoken only to the gut. But the crowning event came when the entire demonstration suddenly took off and we seized the Bethanien. That still has the power to inspire me today, the channeling of a cultural event into political action." (cited in Sichtermann et al., 94) In December of 1971 the activists seized what was to become known as the Georg von

Rauch Haus after an anarchist who had recently died in a shootout with the police. The event also inspired Ton Steine Scherben to write a song called "Rauch-Haus-Song" which later became a track on the band's 1972 album *Keine Macht für Niemand*. The song describes the events of that night including a mockery of how the police must have acted, claims that the police had let the activists into the building just so that they could violently try to remove them in order to slander the group in the press (specifically the Springer press), and includes an anthem-like chant of a chorus: "Ihr kriegt uns hier nicht raus!" Some in the leadership at the Georg von Rauch Haus disapproved of the song because it was not based on the actual events.

"Rauch-Haus-Song" was not the only song from *Keine Macht für Niemand* that drew criticism from West German movements. The album's title track is reported to have been commissioned by the RAF. They wanted a song to help in the "fight against the imperialists," but what they got instead was what they saw as "political nonsense" that they saw as "unusable for the anti-imperialist struggle." (Wickert, "Ton Steine Scherben und die RAF") This disapproval by the squatter groups and the RAF caused a rift between these groups and the band and Ton Steine Scherben cut ties with the groups. As a direct result of this, the band left West Berlin in 1975 and moved to Fresenhagen in Schleswig-Holstein.

Ton Steine Scherben broke off from the leftists so they no longer had to be the voice for a movement whose leaders constantly found fault with their music. After they faced harassment from the left for adding non-political songs to their set, and feeling like they were forced into others' views of what was politically correct, the band stopped playing at "teach-ins," but they continued recording in Fresenhagen until they broke up in 1985. (see Brown, 17-18) After their break-up, Rio Resier had a moderately successful solo career, but the days of riots after concerts were long over for him and for the band.

Other important bands and figures

Ton Steine Scherben and The Rolling Stones were important figures not just in rock'n'roll but also in their role as facilitators of social changes. Though Ton Steine Scherben were more actively involved in politics than the Rolling Stones, both bands played an important role in the convergence of music and politics in the 1970s. In the following, I would like to briefly discuss some other musicians' role in influencing protest movements in general and their connections to Germany. These other musicians vary with respect to their connection to Germany during the Cold War, but their association with the ideals of the student movement and later events in Germany should not be understated due to the impact they had.

The popularity of Jimi Hendrix among student activists in Germany is likely directly connected to the fact that he was very outspoken about the Vietnam War in some of his most popular songs. His rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner," made famous by the film *Woodstock*, in which he performs the anthem, includes his signature distortion effect, which he uses in order to mimic the sound of bombs falling. His rendition of Bob Dylan's "All Along the Watchtower" became iconic and while the song originally was not about the war, the imagery in the lyrics of the watchtower brings to mind an outpost on the front lines and the thief who says "no reason to get excited" can be seen as a parallel to the attempts by American officials to quell anti-war sentiment at home. After gaining fame in the United States, Hendrix started to write songs like "Machine Gun" from the 1970 live album *Band of Gypsys* that directly references the war. In the song he talks about the "evil man"—most likely Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon—who "makes me kill you, evil man makes you kill me" which expresses the growing disillusion with the war among American soldiers in Vietnam and American civilians at home. He also talks

about picking up his "axe" and fighting "like a farmer." This line can be interpreted in many different ways. "Axe" is a slang word for the guitar, so he might be saying that he is fighting with his music. However, when the line "I pick up my axe and fight like a farmer" is viewed as a whole, it can be seen as a reference to Vietnamese farmers who joined the North Vietnamese Army after seeing their farms destroyed, villages burned, and civilian friends murdered by American forces. Such perspectives are certainly in line with arguments made by German student protesters. Another example might be Hendrix's address to the crowd on the live recording of "Machine Gun" before launching into the song in which he says "I'd like to dedicate this one to…all the soldiers that are fighting in Chicago and Milwaukee and New York. Oh yes, and all the soldiers fighting in Vietnam." This shows how he equated the soldiers fighting in Southeast Asia with the protestors fighting for their rights back home in the United States. His anti-Vietnam opinions and his views on the struggles of the oppressed in his home country echo the views of the members of the West German Student Movement who were also staunchly anti-Vietnam.

Jimi Hendrix not only wrote political songs that appealed to student activists in Germany, he also had other ties to German student activism and alternative culture in Germany. Probably the most important and relevant connection to Germany and this work is the fact that he played his last public show at the "Festival der Liebe" with Ton Steine Scherben. (see Brown, 14) He is also reported to have had an affair with Kommune I member, Uschi Obermeier. (see Teichmann, "Ein-Three-Night-Stand")[10]

Earlier, I mentioned how the Beatles were influenced by their stay in Hamburg and how they went on to influence German bands. The connection between the Beatles and political

[10] Also relevant to this work, Obermaier also claims to have had an affair with Mick Jagger and Keith Richards.

activism in 1960s and 70s Germany is their outspoken attitude towards the Vietnam War in the late 1960s and their recognition of class and racial disparity. It seems that with the Beatles, it was more of what they *did not* do than what they did that proved to be political. Their most prominent political statement was that they "were early in their refusal to play in South Africa or in the segregated states of the American south." (Freedland, "Worlds Apart Musically") Despite this, their music continued to lack explicitly political elements until their 1968 album *The Beatles*, otherwise known as "The White Album" because of its plain white jacket. This double album featured the songs "Piggies" and "Revolution." "Piggies" is a song about the rich and "Revolution" was written in response to the protest movements springing up all over the world at the time, making the year of its release that much more significant to the song. The Beatles' feelings towards protest movements and the sentiments of the protestors come across very clearly in "Revolution." When faced with the idea of violence and "destruction" as a revolutionary means, Lennon responds with "you can count me out." Also, Lennon sings about communist movements. He sees the futility of trying to replace one "institution" for another by "carrying pictures of chairman Mao."("Revolution," *The Beatles*) Even though the Beatles released three more albums after *The Beatles*, these were their last overtly political songs, the political activities of the band members, however, were not over.

Although the songwriting duo of John Lennon and Paul McCartney was credited with a much larger share of writing credits than George Harrison or Ringo Starr, Lennon and McCartney had a much different style, which became evident in their solo careers after Lennon left the band in September 1969 and the band officially broke up in 1970. (see Edmonson, 129-130) "After the Beatles split, the Lennon songs immediately…began exploring profoundly political, psychological and existential themes, while McCartney's solo work has mainly

continued to delve into the nostalgic and romantic." (World Socialism) The other Beatles members had much less to do with social issues during their solo careers in the 1970's and afterwards. Harrison was involved in some humanitarian efforts with his 1971 single "Bangla Desh" and the "Concert for Bangladesh," both of which were meant to raise money and support for that country's independence. McCartney never made many revolutionary political statements other than his 1972 song "Give Ireland Back to the Irish" which was released about a month after "Bloody Sunday" in which British Army soldiers shot protestors in Northern Ireland.[11]

John Lennon was the one former Beatle who became politically outspoken and active as soon as he started his solo career. As early as 1969, he was protesting British involvement in Nigeria and was releasing songs like "Give Peace a Chance," which was also widely used in anti-Vietnam protests. It even became popular in West Germany, and eventually reached #4 in the music charts there. (Charts.de) He continued to release political songs like "Working Class Hero" about the pressures young people face from society to fit in and "Power to the People" which urges people to "get on your feet and out in the street." These themes echo some of the ideas prevalent among those in the West German Student Movement. From the fact that "Power to the People" reached #7 on the German charts, it is evident that Germans were listening to his music and his message on a large scale. (Charts.de) In 1971, he released *Imagine* the title track of which was a call for world peace in which he asks the listener to imagines what the world would be like if there were no "countries," "possessions," "religion," or "greed."

Up until his death in 1980, Lennon continued to write more politically motivated songs and take part in protest movements including the movement to free John Sinclair, a man jailed

[11] This event also inspired other artists including John Lennon and Irish natives like U2 with their song "Sunday Bloody Sunday" and Black Sabbath's Geezer Butler who wrote "Sabbath Bloody Sabbath"

for giving two joints to an undercover police woman and who was released following a public benefit concert by Lennon and others. After his marriage to Yoko Ono, he even turned his honeymoon into a peaceful protest. His activities in the US prompted President Richard Nixon to try to have him deported and to put him under FBI surveillance. Nixon feared that Lennon's message of peace and love would have a negative effect on the war effort. The deportation battle lasted until 1975 when he finally received a green card and was even invited to the inauguration of President Jimmy Carter, showing a complete turnaround of policy towards Lennon and his political activism.[12]

John Lennon was not the only artist to inspire German musicians like the Lords (the band who "can play like the Beatles") and have a role in international movements. David Bowie also influenced and was influenced by Germany and German music and politics. He moved to West Berlin in 1976 and while living there, he wrote three albums that would later be known as "The Berlin Trilogy". For the three albums entitled *Heroes*, *Low*, and *Lodger,* Bowie drew inspiration from Germany and from German music. He relied heavily on influence from German Krautrock while writing his trilogy. (see Junker, 342) The influence that his time in West Berlin had on him musically can be shown by the fact that he not only appeared as himself in the 1981 film *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, a film about teen drug addiction in West Berlin, but he also produced music for the film even going as far as rewriting the title track for *Heroes* in German. The fact that he made a German-language remake of the song shows his openness towards his German fans and might also allude to the fact that the song's title is a reference to the German band Neu!'s song "Hero." (see Snow, 69)

[12] For more on these events and John Lennon's other instances political activism, his deportation proceedings and his life, see the documentary *The U.S. vs. John Lennon*.

David Bowie also had a significant influence on politics in the divided city. In June 1987, he played 3 days of concerts for the 750th anniversary of Berlin. These concerts were held a week before Ronald Reagan's famous speech in which he implored "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall" and in a time when tensions between East German authorities and Eat German citizens were high. David Large describes, "during the 750th anniversary celebrations a major riot broke out in East Berlin when the Volkspolizei tried to prevent thousands of young East Germans from listening to a concert near the Reichstag put on by David Bowie, Genesis, and the Eurythmics. The rioting quickly turned political, with the kids shouting, 'Die Mauer muss weg.'" (Large, 514) This event definitely added to the heightening of tensions between the citizens of the GDR and the East German authorities much in the way that the Rolling Stones' prank concert that never happened had an impact on the situation. It also was another instance of GDR citizens becoming brave enough to come out and publicly speak out against a government that heavily controlled its citizens.

While some may claim that the simple act of holding a concert, regardless of unforeseen social impact, might not fit into the definition of political action, the song "Sons of a Silent Age" from Bowie's album *Heroes* can be viewed as evidence that he at least shared some sympathies with the West German Student Movement of the late 60's. The "sons" he speaks of "rise for a year or two, then make war, search through their one inch thoughts, then decide it couldn't be done." These lines are a reference to the student activists and their later terrorist offspring who made their war on the establishment and eventually splintered into obscurity. The song's title references the "first silence" whose "sons" charged themselves with the task of speaking up. Some, like Nicholas Pegg, back up this claim by questioning if the line "platforms, blank looks, no books" refers to the Nazis. (Pegg, 195) From this we can see that while Bowie understood the

ideas of earlier movements in West Germany, he spoke of them in a historical and critical way in order to draw attention to their purpose and significance. During his time in West Berlin, he commented on politics and society while at the same time influencing a new form of music that shaped society not just in West Germany, but in other countries as well.

Punk

David Bowie was a major influence and even producer for some high-profile names like the Sex Pistols and Iggy Pop, who both also spent time in West Berlin and was a companion to Bowie. These three names helped create what is now known as punk, a genre known for the hard drinking, hard partying life-style, hard-pounding power chords, and shock value. David Large argues that "Punk rockers from Britain and America fetched up in West Berlin because the scene there seemed even grittier and nastier than New York or London, and it had the added frisson of that lovely Wall, the perfect metaphor of dangerous division." (Large, 479) Like New York City and London, West Berlin became a major center for punk and because of the city's political and social importance punk developed into something much more than just music. "It became the music of some of the countercultural scenes, like the "autonomous" youth centers in Zürich, the Squatters movement in West Berlin, and the youth-cultural underground in the GDR." (Junker, 345) Once again we see music and youth counterculture not only coexisting, but coming together as one just like with rock'n'roll and in the case of Ton Steine Scherben.

From the first punk show in Berlin in 1977, a scene grew that not only attracted punk-rockers like Iggy Pop from the US and Johnny Rotten from Great Britain, but it also inspired some native greats. (Mertens, "Berlin Punk Rock") Die Ärzte, who formed in West Berlin in 1982, have become one of the most successful German punk bands with nine albums reaching number one on the German charts. (charts.de) Though they did not make their first overtly

political song until the early 1990s, the group was making social statements with their performances in the 1980s. For example, they played their first show in an occupied building in Kreuzberg in 1982. (Tofalo, "Ein Wurfelspiel") Aside from simply playing a concert in an occupied building, in the 1980s die Ärzte made more direct statements about censorship, but they were not overtly political and not explicitly part of any political movement like Ton Steine Scherben, The influence that Ton Steine Scherben had on Die Ärzte can be seen not only in the fact that they also played in occupied buildings but may also come out in lyrical themes reminiscent of Scherben songs like "Verboten," a song about the fun to be had doing things that are forbidden and taboo from their 1983 album *Scherben*.[13] Die Ärzte put that love of the "verboten" into song when wrote and released songs with shocking lyrics like "Claudia hat 'nen Schäferhund" from their 1984 album *Debil* which talks about beastiality and "Geschwisterliebe" from the 1986 album *Die Ärzte* which deals with incest. In the same way punk repurposed the swastika in order to get people to think about its symbolism, these songs show how music was yet again repurposed to bring up other social issues like censorship. These two songs as well as others caused the two albums to be officially indexed by the *Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Medien* (Federal Department for Media Harmful to Young Persons). Because they indexed the song, the law required heavy restrictions on the sale of these albums in order to prevent children from obtaining them, but this also hindered sales to adults. In response to the restrictions, the band released the compilation album *Ab 18* ("18 or older" or "Adults only") in 1987, which featured the bands' indexed songs along with other songs containing sexually explicit lyrics. *Ab 18* was also placed on the index and still managed to reach #33 on the German

[13] Members of Die Ärzte were influenced at least in part by Ton Steine Scherben as is evidenced by Ärzte drummer, Bela B. and the remake of "König von Deutschland" with his side-project group C.I.A. on their 1998 album *Codename Freibeuter*.

charts, however German fans who also had a love for the forbidden sent the re-release of *Debil* to a peak position of #3 in 2005 when the BfjM relaxed restrictions and allowed it to be removed from the list in 2004. (Charts.de) From this we can see yet another example of how music caused a reaction from the government that led to restrictions and how musicians scoffed at them, which gives punk not only a place in this discussion, but a place among the ranks of music that used social commentary to influence media discourses on issues like censorship.

Along with punk music, a punk "style" also evolved. This style included unique hairstyles, torn clothing, piercings, tattoos, clothespins, and most notably, swastikas. The look was meant to give new meaning—or in some cases take away meaning—from things that were seen as taboos. The style mixed taboo with history and politics in order to create something that was deliberately against social norms and although the swastika was not commonly used by German punks, it was used in many other major punk scenes whose musical styles and, more importantly, ideas influenced German punk rockers The punk anti-style of deliberately dressing in a manner that was as far as possible from societal norms attempted to get people wondering. (see Ward, 161) Punks wanted people in the establishment to think about what was going on and what symbols like the swastika really meant to a new generation of Germans, and it is in this way that they were similar to the earlier student movements. The punk movement differed from the student movements in that "instead of seeking a political or cultural alternative to existing capitalist society, the punk attitude was dystopically oriented, rejecting the established political parties, authorities, and cooptation by social and political institutions." (Junker, 345) So although the use of swastikas in the Punk style can be seen as a further yet different take on the idea of the second silence, we can see from this that for the most part they were apolitical or even anti-political.

Just over the Wall in East Berlin, punk-rockers faced restrictions on lyrical content and were further restricted by the fact that the only record labels that existed were state-owned and operated. The GDR originally banned all groups that played Western music, however restrictions loosened as East German citizens demanded more freedom and even left the country. Because of the loosened restrictions new types of music were able to cross the iron curtain which led to a small East German punk scene. These punks who tried to copy the punk style by tearing their clothes and echoing the slogan "Macht kaputt was euch kaputt macht" were originally only concerned with drinking and music, but clashes with the police, the attention they got from the Stasi, and even prison sentences for members of punk bands drove them underground. They were forced to hold illegal secret concerts or hold concerts in churches. It was at the church concerts where East German punks mingled with activists concerned with human rights, the environment, and demilitarization. Because of the restrictions and the influence of their new activist friends, their music became more incendiary and overtly critical of the state. (see Mohr, "Tear Down the Wall") In light of the fact that East German punks became more vocal and direct in their opposition of the state and the fact that the state had already begun loosening restrictions on music and culture, even to the point that they planned on relaxing travel restrictions before border crossings were officially opened, shows that German punk, a growing subculture in the GDR, helped lead to change because of the pressure they exerted on the regime by going against restrictions.

As the last section of this chapter, I would like to discuss a band that was not only important for the explicit political statements they made, but also to Germany and German Reunification. In 1982, the Art Rock band, Pink Floyd, released a movie and album, both of which were entitled *The Wall.* . Contained within the album and the film are "fascist references

that permeate [his] work with Pink Floyd." (Ward, 156) Due to the relevance of the music and the popularity of Pink Floyd, Roger Waters, the band's leader, hosted a concert for the newly reunited city in July of 1990 in which he repurposed the message of *The Wall* to parallel the situation in Berlin. This event was political in a very different way than the musically political statements made in Germany in the previous decades in that it took place after borders between East and West Germany were already open and shortly before official reunification. It was very significant for the former East Germans because, if the Wall would have still been standing, they might have been forced to listen from afar, face a confrontation with the police, or not listen at all; as was true with past major concert events that took place in West Berlin. Because it was such a significant event, Waters decided to hold the concert at the area between Potsdamer Platz and the Brandenburg Gate. This is a very important and symbolic place that was previously a "no-man's-land" between the two sides of the Berlin Wall. It was a sold-out performance with 250,000 tickets sold, but after the 250,000 were allowed to enter, there were still about 100,000 people trying to get in. The remaining 100,000 people were let in free of charge to be able to bear witness to this historical event. The band performed their album *The Wall* with a host of guest musicians, the most notable of which are: Ute Lemper, the Rundfunk orchestra and choir, Cyndi Lauper, The Band, The Scorpions, Joni Mitchell, Bryan Adams, Marianne Faithful, Sinead O'Connor, Van Morrison, and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany Song and Dance Ensemble. The concert started out with a huge wall obscuring the performers. However, as the show progressed, the wall was taken down brick-by-brick by construction workers. Near the end of the concert the band was fully visible and one can be sure that everyone in the crowd that night who had waited up to 28 years to be reunited with family, friends, or just the other half of their homeland, understood the message of "tearing down walls" that Waters intended to portray.

The Rolling Stones had previously incited a gathering with a mere rumor and David Bowie spurred an all out protest, but this event, because of the significance of the time, the location, the content of the songs and the recent opening of the border along the Wall, made this concert much more meaningful to recently reunited friends, family, and countrymen. This event serves as a bookend to the role that music played in Germany during the Cold War. The division that existed between the counterculture movements as represented by bands like the Rolling Stones and Ton Steine Scherben and, on the other side, the authorities who tried to suppress them is summed up in this event in which music broke down the physical and metaphorical barriers that separated East and West Germany.

5. Where Are They Now?: A Look at Lasting Effects

So far, I have looked largely at influences. The influences of occupying forces in Germany after World War II and the music they brought with them helped give English-language music and the Anglo music tradition a stronghold in the German market. The students began protesting, then the terrorist organizations radicalized the objectives of the student movements and began bombing. At the same time, political music got the message to the masses and concerts were often the catalyst of major social and political events. All of these factors had a significant impact on society and culture in divided Germany and the world during the post-World War II and Cold War eras, but what happened to these artists and protestors after all of this? In order to show the last instances of convergence and divergence of music and political movements relevant to this thesis I now look at where the bands and the movements are today.

As we have seen, the SDS was one of if not *the* leading body in the German student movement. They protested heavily in the late 1960's and one specific protest led in part to the beginning of their end as a force for social change. In May of 1968, they gathered in Bonn alongside union workers and other activists in a crowd of 80,000 to protest against the proposed emergency laws. Susana Medeiros explains that "when the government adopted limited concessions, however, union leaders were satisfied and withdrew, allowing parliament to pass the law on 30 May. This ultimately prevented further coordinated action between workers and students, and marked the beginning of a steady decline for the SDS and the German student movement." ("German Students") Though some have attempted to revive the group, they remained largely inactive until May of 2007 when the group *Die Linke.SDS* was formed. Like the SDS, they are the student branch of the German political party *Die Linke*. They do not see themselves as a continuation of the 60's SDS, but rather attempt to tie in with the tradition of the

past and are now more concerned with things like discrimination, tuition fees, and the environment, though they are still anti-war. They have even taken part in protests against the G8 summit and the student protests for university reform in Germany in 2009 and 2010. (Die Linke.SDS) Despite this, the last few years—along with the almost 40 year absence of anything significant resembling the SDS—it is safe to say that the influence of the SDS ended when it officially disbanded in 1970.

The SDS became inactive after 1970, but the same is not true for the RAF. Though they had lost their leaders and founding members, the RAF was in no way done with their terrorist activities. They continued to attack American military instillations and other targets. They even carried out over 150 attacks between December 1984 and August 1985, but as time went on, the RAF lost public support and became isolated. (see International Terrorism since 1945) Some fled the East Germany and were protected by the Stasi who had also secretly aided them in past operations. After the Wall fell, the RAF faded out of the public spotlight and finally in 1998, released a public statement declaring that they were disbanding. After 28 years of terror, the group was no more, but what can we draw from their actions? Did they succeed in changing society? Was it in the way that they had hoped?

Whether the Red Army Faction achieved their goals, even in small ways, is debatable. They drew attention to their cause. They changed at least some peoples' minds with their actions as evidenced by the new recruits they gained over the years and still others' minds were changed in that they thought what the RAF was doing was wrong. However, the problem in defining their legacy and importance comes from the fact that there were different versions of the group with different methods and attitudes throughout the years. The first generation of the group consisted of the founding members and their associates, the second generation lasted from 1977 until the

mid 1980s, and the third generation, which undertook little action, lasted from the mid 1980s until the group officially disbanded. This splintering effect makes it hard to determine the lasting effects.

The evidence is clear that the terrorist activities of the RAF turned out to be more of a failure than a success for four main reasons. The first reason is that the terrorist acts caused more bad publicity for the group. Because of the deaths of police and civilians in the bombings, public support for the group continually waned. Even their old counterparts from the student movement began to publicly differentiate themselves from the RAF starting from early in the existence of the RAF. As Karrin Hanshew argues, "Rudi Dutschke, Herbert Marcuse, and Heinrich Böll—all leading figures for the splintered remains of the extra-parliamentary movement—made an unprecedented move by publishing explicit statements in the popular press that distanced themselves from the terrorists and rejected their actions as an illegitimate form of oppositional politics." (37) As a direct consequence of their violent actions, they lost friends not only in the public but also within the movement.

Another way that the group's actions were a glaring failure was the response they incited from the police. Wolfgang Steinke, formerly of the German Federal Police force, later said of the matter: "The RAF actually achieved the opposite of what they wanted. They led to a massive expansion and modernization of the police force. The German Federal Police got three huge new buildings. We could ask for anything. We built crime-fighting technology which was the best and the finest of the finest. There were these huge machines in which we had collected information on a scale which would give any civil rights lawyer a heart attack today." (quoted in In Love With Terror) The police also set up extensive road blocks all over the country and they checked peoples' cars so much that some in West Germany got bumper stickers that read "Ich

gehöre nicht zur Baader-Meinhof Gruppe." This is yet another sign of public favor against the group. The expansion of the police force is interesting because it repeats our "broken record" cycle except in the opposite direction. Instead of how governments had previously pushed rebellious youth into more radical action with restrictions, now a part of the movement was pushing the government into action.

The third and most obvious reason is that many of their actions were failures. The most meaningful of the failures were the attack on the Embassy in Stockholm, the hijacking of the *Landshut* and Haans-Martin Schleyer's kidnapping and eventual death, all of which took place during the German Autumn. The terrorists could not force the government to meet their demands by any means it seemed, not to mention the fact that they were racking up even more bad publicity the entire time.

The fourth and most meaningful way they failed is that their terrorist actions lead some to connect them to the Nazis. Former West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt remarked: "It was these people, who for the first time since the Nazis, carried out acts of political violence in Germany and encouraged others to take part. If you want to judge it morally, they were the moral equivalent of Nazis. It was murder as the means to a political goal." (quoted in In Love With Terror) The members of the RAF were too busy criticizing the "Auschwitz generation" and murdering former Nazis to realize that they were guilty of crimes similar to those they denounced.

Despite their glaring failures, the RAF has been immortalized in songs that are both pro- and anti-RAF. Although there are many songs that make reference to or are explicitly about the RAF and its members, it is important to note that many of the songs that speak kindly of the RAF

are punk songs. Punk, as I have shown, had a lot to do with rethinking the meaning of politics and political symbols. The German punk band WIZO, who wrote songs like "Kein Gerede," which calls people to revolt and advocates blowing up jails, palaces and banks, but they also wrote a song dedicated to the RAF. The song, "R.A.F." speaks of the RAF as if they were simply misunderstood. The song cites that fact that "The theory was intellectual and complicated/the little guy, for whom [the RAF] struggled, did not fully understand/because of that the state was able to easily isolate them as enemies of the people." (WIZO, "RAF") Another German band, AufBruch wrote a song called "Für Ulrike." In the song, AufBruch reflects on her involvement with the RAF and in a curious reference to Ton Steine Scherben which links that band and the RAF, the chorus contains the line "Und sie dachte: "Da hilft nur noch Amok. Amok Tag und Nacht. Die Sachen, die mich kaputt machen werden jetzt von mir kaputtgemacht." (AufBruch, "Für Ulrike") On the other side of the RAF's musical legacy are those who are glad they are no more. Jan Delay's song "Söhne Stammheims," is at the same time a statement against the violence of the RAF and critical of today's society. A line from the song illustrates this: "One can once again safely drive a Mercedes without it always exploding." Although he still takes the time to criticize *Kosumkultur*, at the same time he criticizes *Konsumterror* and rejoices in the chorus that "finally the terrorists are gone."(Jan Delay, "Söhne Stammheims")

This split shows how many musicians still revere them while others do not support them or are overtly critical of their actions. Those who revere them cite the fact that they fought for what they believe in and just because the average person might not understand their cause does not mean it is wrong or unjust. Their opponents dwell on the fact that they used violence and now that they are gone, Germans no longer have to worry about becoming collateral damage or even killed in one of their attacks. Another important thing to note is that WIZO and AufBruch,

as well as others who wrote songs in favor of the RAF, are punk bands while Jan Delay blends hip hop, reggae, and funk. This parallels feelings held by Germans towards the RAF in that punk in its earlier forms is part of a counterculture and styles like hip hop and funk are now more mainstream.

Maybe they made some sort of change after all. They tried to wake people up to their cause and what was happening. They left a mark on society, politics and even music, the effects of which still linger. They showed the public things they might not have seen, but because of their methods, they not only failed to affect society in the way they had hoped, but actually helped the authorities by giving them the excuse they needed to ramp up their capabilities. To say for sure that they accomplished what they set out to accomplish would be to overstate and in light of Helmut Schmidt's comments, one might say that they became the evil that they tried to destroy, but the one thing that is certain is that they are no more.

Rock is not Dead

Ton Steine Scherben had an extremely successful career releasing eight self produced albums between 1970 and 1985 when the group finally split up. Rio Reiser had already done some work independent of Ton Steine Scherben as an actor in films like "Johnny West" in 1977 and others, but it was not until after the band had split that he began making his own music with the help of former Scherben members, though not under Ton Steine Scherben name. He recorded six solo albums and shift his focus from the political to more social aspects like homosexuality. He even performed with a homosexual theatre group called *Brühwarm.* He was also active in the anti-atomic energy movement in Germany. He died on August 20, 1996. (Rioreiser.de) After his death, the former members of Ton Steine Scherben along with friends created the group Ton

Steine Scherben Family, which toured after his death until around 2010 and released DVDs, films, and live albums. Kai Sichtermann, the group's original bassist, even helped write a biography for the band. In this way, although the movements are over, the band lived on through its fans and its music.

Both the Beatles and Ton Steine Scherben still have a large following, but the Beatles' audience reaches all over the world, they continue to sell millions of albums per year, and were and still are part of mainstream cultures while the audience for Ton Steine Scherben remains rooted in alternative culture. Specifically in recent years, they sold over 6 million albums per year in the years 1995, 1996 and 2000 and were played on radio stations almost a half million times in 2008. (Nielsen Statistics) With frequent re-releases of their work, compilations, and reimagining of their music such as the 2007 film *Across the Universe* and even a Beatles-inspired Cirque du Soleil in 2006, their lasting popularity is difficult to doubt.

Maybe it is due to this popularity that the living members of the Beatles, Ringo Starr and Paul McCartney, can still do work as activists and hold much-publicized benefit concerts. One example is the concert Starr and McCartney headlined for the David Lynch foundation which promotes transcendental meditation as a therapeutic method for veterans with PTSD and domestic violence victims as well as providing scholarships for more than 250,000 people who want to learn this form of meditation. (Roth, "PBS to Air TM Benefit") These two Beatles members who were previously relatively inactive are now taking action and helping others with their fame and their music, and although this does not fit under the definition of political activism, it shows that they are concerned with social issues.

Another main focus in this work, the Rolling Stones, are not only still playing at benefit concerts like the concert in December 2012 for the victims of Hurricane Sandy which devastated the Eastern seaboard in October of that year, they have even continued to make overtly political songs. A prime example is their song "Sweet Neo Con" from their 2005 album, *A Bigger Bang*. In keeping with the anti-war and anti-government themes of the protests movements and songs from the 60's and 70's, "Sweet Neo Con" is "a no holds barred criticism of contemporary right-wing politics, both domestic and international. It condemns the hypocrisy of Christian political actors and self-proclaimed patriots, and it takes swipes at unilateralism in American foreign policy aimed at forcing regime change through military action." (Foy, 207) The song calls out right-wing conservatives who call themselves "a Christian" and "a patriot" to which Mick Jagger opines that they are "a hypocrite" and even "a crock of shit." The song goes on to condemn the way the United States treats its opposition with the line "It's liberty for all /'Cause democracy's our style /Unless you are against us /Then it's prison without trial" is an obvious allusion to how the government circumvents prisoner's rights by creating Guantanamo Bay. The song also talks about Halliburton and gasoline and how so much of the taxpayers' money is "in the Pentagon." In this way, the band directly chides President George W. Bush and more specifically his Vice-President, Dick Cheney, who not only served as CEO of Halliburton from 1995 until 2000, but served as the Secretary of Defense under George H. W. Bush from 1989 until 1993. This song shows without a doubt that their political sentiments have not changed over the years and neither has their willingness to write politically motivated songs. When this song is considered together with the fact that the Rolling Stones are still touring internationally after over 50 years of being a band, it is clear that their activism and their popularity has not waned.

6. Conclusion

As I discuss above, the new forms of mass media that arose in the first half of the 20th century gave musicians the ability to connect to a larger audience across national and linguistic boundaries. Young people used these new outlets to help carve out subcultures that were unique to them and then coupled that with the musical influence of English-speaking bands to create new types of music like beat that were meant to be the opposite of traditional German styles like *Schlager* which turned youth subcultures into a countercultures. In conjunction with musical subcultures, political protest movements emerged. From that, we see the emergence of bands that try to convey political messages and worked with and as a part of the movements. The movements soon turned in many different directions. Some faded away, some turned to violence as a means of social change, but what is clear is that the decline of the student movement marked a divergence in the history of cooperation between bands and activists. Later styles of music like punk took part in social criticism and even played a part in politically motivated action even though they were mostly apolitical or anti-political. Punk serves as a good end point for the discussion on political music because it marks a time when music, though still critical of the political mainstream, diverged from an attempt to directly engage with and influence political decisions and became social commentary.

A major finding of my research on music and protest in Germany during the Cold War is that again and again, youth activism, movements for social change, and revolutionary acts radicalized as a result of restrictions imposed by authorities which lead to sometimes violent reactions by the people involved in the movements. If the authorities had not been so harsh in their attempts to control youth movements or cultural expressions they deemed subversive, the events might have played out differently. Going back to the ideas in Ton Steine Scherben's song

"Verboten"—that people enjoy doing things that are forbidden—one has to wonder if jazz might not have gotten so popular in Germany if the Nazis had not forbidden it, thereby making people want to listen to it. Maybe students would not have spoken out and radicalized if universities had listened to students' initial grievances and had handled these issues in a less suppressive way. Would the RAF have felt the need to turn to terrorism if they felt that the student movement, unhindered by authoritative suppression, could have caused positive social change? Regardless of all other factors that had an effect on the events of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in Germany, the interplay between authorities who placed restrictions on certain aspects of youth culture and young people who demanded change heightened tensions between these two groups and led to increased violence.

The two main examples I discuss in detail, Ton Steine Scherben and the Rolling Stones, offer two rather different case studies of how music and political activism converged in 1960s Germany. Ton Steine Scherben is a band that emerged out of the movement and remained closely tied to a rather small, politically active niche culture in West Germany, which worked for social change and experimented with alternative forms of theater, music, as well as other forms of art. The Stones became a global phenomena, due in major part to their rock'n'roll attitude and lifestyle and the flair of their frontman Mick Jagger. Their music inspired activists world-wide and also in East and West Germany. Though they had the musical content and some desire to change the world politically with their music, their image, as well as their music and the presentation thereof, was different than that of more politically active bands. While the members of Ton Steine Scherben were performing on the streets, the Rolling Stones achieved worldwide fame by cultivating an image of sex, drugs, and rock'n'roll. One of the reasons—though there are surely many others—is that the Rolling Stones sang in English, which was and is more

widely understood than German on a global scale. Their lyrical content was also a factor. Ton Steine Scherben wrote and produced all of their songs. In contrast, the bulk of the Rolling Stones' early work was cover songs and they did not release a full-length record that was entirely original content until their fourth studio album, *Aftermanth* in 1966. These early songs, and even later ones, were mainly light and bluesy and more about love and romance than Ton Steine Scherbens' politically charged anthems and therefore had more potential to gain a wider audience. Probably the most important difference between the Rolling Stones and Ton Steine Scherben is how they performed. Ton Steine Scherben's performances were mostly performance theatre with music and political readings. The Rolling Stones embodied something altogether different, which mainly transpired around the flair of frontman Mick Jagger. With dance moves inspired by Tina Turner and a flamboyant style ranging from "mod" in their early days to "flowing flares, billowing blouses and spiritual ensembles," decadence and glamour took precedence over any message the music might have contained at the packed festivals and stadiums where Rolling Stones concerts took place. (see Arrington, "Tina Turner"; Foreman, "Mick Jagger's Style")

The comparison between these two bands and the exploration of the other bands is meant to show how music and politics converged in the late 1960s and then diverged as the movements and bands came into conflict over new, differing ideas. Both music and protest are ways in which people express themselves and in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they combined their expressive forces in order to spread their ideas through a medium to which people, especially certain youth subcultures, could relate. The combination was effective in that music was a good way to call people to political action such as occupying a building and that it brought more people to the cause.

Though the Rolling Stones were part of the convergence of music and politics in their own way, their interaction with youth counterculture in Germany during the Cold War is peculiar. Many of the organizations that made up the German student movement as well as the movements in the US were based on communist ideals such as class equality. The Rolling Stones with their expensive houses, cars, and lifestyles were far from that. Though they had backing from the counterculture, they were never able to become a legitimate part of the movements like Ton Steine Scherben because of their image and how they acted off-stage. It is also interesting to note that German youth idolized them *despite* the fact that they became so rich and famous, which leads one to believe that the Rolling Stones were idolized for their lyrics and their anti-establishment image more than their actual political messages.

By embedding their music completely within a political counterculture, Ton Steine Scherben not only limited their fan base because of the lyrical content and performance venues, but also put themselves in a position to face criticism from others in the movement if their music did not please certain leaders, many of whom had varying ideas of what the movement should be and how activism for the cause should be played out. Ton Steine Scherben, tired of the struggle to please members of the movement only to face criticism and dismissal, removed themselves from such direct political action like concerts that ended with the audience and the band occupying empty buildings in the name of the squatter movement. Because they removed themselves, their music devolved into more of a social commentary instead of their original goal of causing political change through music. Though Ton Steine Scherben Family still tours and plays their original tunes, the music has lost most of its power to change society and is now more of a practice in nostalgia than anything political. Conversely, the Rolling Stones, who never burdened themselves with the label of activists, have been able to maintain success and

popularity by existing as a band first and only occasionally writing songs with a political or social message. This allows their social commentary to remain more relevant because it is viewed in the scope of their 50+ year career while Ton Steine Scherben are seen as a part of a failed movement.

These bands' different developments are interesting in and of themselves, but what might be more important in the context of this thesis is the effect of their music on society in Cold War Germany in general. Authors like Peter Wicke and others like Günther Schneidewind claim that rock music lead to the fall of the Berlin Wall. Tim Mohr claims that it was punk. No matter what genre you select, it is clear that music played a part in fall of the Wall even if the part was merely that of a symbol. Music was the symbol of what the authorities had forbidden and this is illustrated by the David Bowie concert and the Rolling Stones concert that never was that lead East Berliners to demonstrate their frustration with their government and the Wall ("Die Mauer muss weg!"). To further implant the role of music in relations between and the reunification of East and West Germany, we have the symbolic—on more than one level—concert by Pink Floyd in the former no-man's-land. This event brought together people who, just months earlier, had been separated by a Wall and a death strip and signified the reunification of the country and its people.

In 1960s West Germany, music gave young people a voice and something to call their own. It moved people to action. It helped some gain fame and others infamy. Whether music made a social statement or explicitly told people to go out and demonstrate, the importance of its role in the German Student movement is indisputable. The Rolling Stones made counterculture "cool" and thereby legitimized it as an avenue for youth everywhere to express their qualms with society. Ton Steine Scherben used their music to engage in political expression and, more

importantly, to engage others in the conversation in order to help them find a place in protest movements.

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