

Protest Music, Urban Contexts and Global Perspectives

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Abstract - Résumé

This article argues that urban environments in the 1960s and 1970s provided excellent music-cultural and political conditions that stimulated not only protest, but also the creation and performance of protest music. It demonstrates this by means of two case studies. The music of the Krautrock band CAN in Cologne and the Volksambulanz Concert in West Berlin can be considered as emerging from both cities' unique political and cultural situations. These were, paradoxically enough, the long-term results of the reorganization of Germany after 1945. Both cities possessed lively avant-garde music scenes with musicians from all over the world, as well as communal grievances that triggered protest and protest music; West Berlin was additionally marked by its specific status as a demilitarized zone and immured city.

Keywords: Bethanien • Berlin-Kreuzberg • Cologne • Stockhausen • CAN • Krautrock • urbanism • protest • protest music • Erhard Grosskopf • Cornelius Cardew • Christian Wolff • Frederic Rzewski • Ton Steine Scherben • Irmin Schmidt • DAAD • avant-garde music

I. 1968 – Urbanism and Globalization

It is evident that urban environments are good cradles for protest. Urban environments are marked by densification and, therefore, offer what protesters and activists need most: the physical presence of many people – crowds, masses – who express their dissent and forcefully demand change. These densely populated urban areas permit the mobilization not only of protesters, activists, and sympathizers, but also journalists and mass media that disseminate the protesters' message. Furthermore, compact urban neighbourhoods compress diverse, heterogeneous lifestyles, opinions and value systems opposed to each other and, thus, catalyze conflicts into protest and revolt.¹ This is why protest movements tend to be urban, i.e. emerge in areas that provide the necessary concentration of people, institutions, diverse lifestyles, etc. This close relationship between urban

¹ See, for instance, Sherman, Dijk and Alinder 2013; Klimke and Scharloth 2008.

structures and protest can also be observed in the student and protest movements of the 1960s and 70s: the global centres of protest were cities such as Paris, Berlin, New York City, Prague, Mexico City, Rome, Tokyo, Bangkok, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Cape Town, Belgrade, and Istanbul.²

While the dynamics of dissent, however, were urban, the spirit of its agents was *global*. Activists from one country travelled to activists in other countries.³ Across national borders, they exchanged their socio-political critiques and, in so doing, shaped what is today considered the global *zeitgeist* of '1968': the belief in universal human rights and the rejection of heteronomy as well as a heightened awareness of other nations and other people's concerns.⁴

To what degree does this specific character of the protest movements – their emergence in urban centres, although they are transnational and transgressive in spirit – also play out in the protest music of this time-period? Evidence for the transnational character of protest music easily comes to mind: »Blowin' in the Wind«, »Where Have All the Flowers Gone«, »We Shall Overcome«, and »El pueblo unido jamás sera vencido!« (»The People United Will Never Be Defeated!«), for instance, were known by protesters around the world and provided the musicscape for the expression of dissent during protest marches in numerous countries. Furthermore, like the political activists, New-Leftist, politically engaged musicians shuttled between cities in different countries and continents and exchanged knowledge of musical styles, aesthetics and socio-political issues.⁵ In which way, however, did urban centres also stimulate and shape protest music, as they stimulated political upheavals? I will pursue this question by means of two urban case studies: the emergence of the Cologne rock band CAN in 1968 and the performance of the 1974 Volksambulanz Concert in Berlin. In what follows, I will demonstrate that the urban environments of Cologne and Berlin provided not only the socio-political factors that turned conflict into protest, but also a rich, manifold music-cultural environment that gave ample opportunity for the

² See, for instance, Kurlansky 2003; Anonymous 1973a, pp. 785-801 (section »Workers' and Students' Protest: The Demonstrations«); Cornils and Waters 2010.

³ Klimke, 2010, ch. 3 and 4.

⁴ Fink, Gassert, and Junker 1998, »Introduction«, esp. pp. 20-26; and Weitbrecht 2012. In 1968, many activists met in the framework of the World Festival of Youth and Students in Sofia. The BBC television show of 13 June 1968 presented a discussion between the British broadcaster Robert McKenzie, on the one hand, and twelve invited student activists on the other. The activists were delegates from across Europe, the United States and Japan: Tariq Ali (Great Britain), Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Alan Geismar (France), Lewis Cole (United States), Leo Nauweds (Belgium), Alberto Martín de Hijas (Spain), Yasuo Ishii (Japan), Jan Kavan (Czechoslovakia), Ekkehart Krippendorff and Karl-Dietrich Wolff (West Germany), Luca Meldolesi (Italy), and Dragana Stavić (Yugoslavia). For a comprehensive survey and more historical details: see Klimke and Scharloth 2008.

⁵ See Beal 2009; Beate Kutschke, En lieu of an introduction, in: Kutschke and Norton 2013 (including various references mentioned in it).

creation of music – and new musical styles – that reflected the socio-political spirit of dissent and upheaval.

II. Cologne

Even though Cologne was not one of the main centres of protest in the 1960s and 1970s, between 1966 and 1968 the city was involved in the youth and student upheaval: there were protest marches against the rising cost of public transport, new education laws and the passing of the German Emergency Acts that permitted the state to limit basic constitutional rights in case of emergency; protests were also organized in response to the killings and attempted murders of two new-leftist students, Benno Ohnesorg and the extremely popular student leader Rudi Dutschke, in June 1967 and April 1968 respectively.⁶

It is well known that the German Krautrock band CAN was founded in this vibrant socio-political climate. It is also well known that the two founders of the band – Irmin Schmidt, composer and keyboardist, and Holger Czukay, bassist and sound engineer/editor⁷ – had studied with Karlheinz Stockhausen in Cologne in the early 1960s. Moreover, travelling to the United States, Schmidt had become acquainted with well-known musicians from diverse musical genres: the avant-gardists John Cage, David Tudor and Merce Cunningham;⁸ the minimalists Steve Reich, La Monte Young and Terry Riley;⁹ the rock musicians and bands Velvet Underground, Sly Stone, Frank Zappa, James Brown, and Jimi Hendrix.¹⁰ Familiarity with these international styles and a solid education in avant-garde music enabled the band to create its individual musical style, an aesthetic hybrid that combined typical elements of rock music – beats, grooves, drones – with what simultaneously became characteristics of minimal music – short loop-like melodic patterns and obstinate repetitions – with what, following Adorno, can be called the avant-gardist and free jazz ‘aesthetics of the fragment’.¹¹ The latter encompassed distorted snippets of voices speaking and singing.¹² What factors, however,

⁶ Anonymous 2014a or earlier.

⁷ Schmidt and Czukay founded the band together with Michael Karoli (guitar) and Jaki Liebeck (drummer) while David C. Johnson (composer and flutist), Malcolm Mooney (vocals) and Damo Suzuki (vocals) were temporary members.

⁸ Schmidt, quoted in Zahn 2006, p. 44.

⁹ He met those composers in New York City in 1966 (Anonymous 2014b or earlier).

¹⁰ Schmidt, quoted in Zahn 2006, pp. 63–64.

¹¹ Cf. Adorno 1969 (1973); Dällenbach and Nibbrig 1984; and Kutschke 2007a, ch. »Fragmentarizität«. The auditive impression of fragmentariness is based on principles of design and construction that are similar to those used to create the visual impression of fragmentariness avoiding conventional gestures of beginning after and closing before a break. In other words, the impression of fragmentariness is based on conventions that define what is fully rounded.

¹² See CAN 1969.

led to the rather rare phenomenon of musicians becoming suspicious of the specialized musical area in which they had been trained, i.e. avant-garde music – an area additionally marked by a radically progressive image?¹³ What led them, finally, to turn to an opposed musical style – rock music – that they considered equally progressive?

Answering this question requires taking Cologne's post-1945 music-cultural history into consideration. After the capitulation of the Third Reich, the Allies aimed at restructuring Germany in two respects: first, they decentralized Germany because they believed that preventing Germany from having a single centre of power, such as Berlin was before 1945, would minimize the possibility of the re-emergence of a dictatorship.¹⁴ Second, the Allies believed that a pluralist, multifaceted and progressive culture that made Germans familiar with what had been considered to be 'degenerate' art during the Third Reich, first and foremost jazz and contemporary classical music, would stimulate democratic thinking and prevent Germans from racist and discriminatory ideas.¹⁵ Therefore, the allies institutionalized numerous cultural centres not in one city, but in various German towns: Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Bremen, Stuttgart, Darmstadt, Donaueschingen, Munich, Baden-Baden and – of course – Cologne. During the late 1940s and early 50s, Cologne was provided with a symphony orchestra, an opera house, a broadcasting station, and, connected with the latter, an electronic studio equipped with the technology to produce electronic avant-garde music.¹⁶ Because the electronic studio was the first of its kind,¹⁷ it attracted avant-garde composers from all over the world such as: the Dutch Karel Goeyvaerts (from 1952), the French Henri Pousseur (in 1954), the German-Argentine Mauricio Kagel (from 1957) and the Hungarian György Ligeti (from 1957 to 1958), and Karlheinz Stockhausen (from 1955), who had grown up close to Cologne, in the Bergisches Land.¹⁸ In short, during the 1950s and 60s, Cologne became a centre of avant-garde music that, because of continuous state subsidies and despite its avant-gardist, i.e. non-conformist, atmosphere represented a segment of the music-cultural establishment.

¹³ Like rock music – its harsh, loud sounds; its socio-politically provocative, sometimes obscene lyrics; as well as the anti-bourgeois behaviour modes and clothing styles of rock musicians –, the 'appearance' of avant-garde music originating in the difficult socio-political climate of the 1920s conveys a spirit of revolt against the *status quo*. It does this, however, with different stylistic means: atonality, dissonant harmonies, jagged melodic lines and fragmentary forms (instead of noisy, strident instruments, screaming voices, excessive loudness and pounding percussion).

¹⁴ New-Leftist protesters considered the passing of the emergency acts in May 1968, which permitted the government to limit constitutional rights, a clear symptom of these tendencies. (See Anonymous 1998 (1962), pp. 158 and 159.)

¹⁵ Beal 2000 and 2006; Kutschke 2009.

¹⁶ Richter 1979, p. 52; Zahn 1996, p. 70.

¹⁷ Morawska-Büngeler 1988 and Koenig 1976.

¹⁸ Frisius 2006, p. 1469.

It was this specific character of Cologne's urban environment – an avant-garde music scene that was marked by both a non-conformist image and an establishment status, meeting the New-Leftist socio-political spirit of the 1960s – that stimulated CAN's turn against avant-gardism. This becomes visible in various interviews with Schmidt. He explains the reasons for the foundation of CAN by oscillating between two individual causes that, though they appeared factually separated from each other, seemed to be closely connected in Schmidt's mind. Distinguishing CAN's modes of musical production from Stockhausen's modes, for instance, Schmidt explained in an interview with Robert von Zahn in the 2000s:

I resisted Stockhausen terribly, not him as a person, but the scientific character of his music and the laws of serialism. These [of serialism] were extremely strict rules of order, indeed, those were almost Stalinist.¹⁹

In this statement, Schmidt not only confirms the band's strong desire to detach itself from the highly stylized aesthetics of the Western avant-garde and, connected with this, their music teachers and spiritual fathers, but he also criticizes avant-garde music in *political* terms. Although one could interpret the reference to Stalinism as pure metaphor serving to characterize serialist techniques as *aesthetic* (not political) terror, purges, and forced compositional labour, another segment of the interview reveals that, for Schmidt, a deeper relationship existed between his choice of musical styles and genres, on the one hand, and political issues, on the other. Asked by Zahn whether he considered CAN an international band, he answered:

According to its origin, rock music is Anglo-American. When we started, it was the standard. People said that we cannot play such [Anglo-American] music. Thus, we had to demonstrate that music of a German rock musician cannot sound like that of a London or Liverpool rock musician. This doesn't work; or it is untruthful. This is related to the historical region and my entire tradition. Where I went to school, three quarters of my teachers were Nazis. This is why I was kicked out of school because I wrote in the [school] magazine that they were Nazis. I figured out that my history teacher had been training director at the Reichsarbeitsdienst. I actually liked him, but I published it in the school magazine. We also grew up in a country in which culture was abolished when we were still children.²⁰

¹⁹ »Ich habe mich damals fürchterlich gegen Stockhausen gewehrt, nicht gegen ihn als Mensch, sondern gegen die Wissenschaftlichkeit in dieser Musik und gegen die Gesetze des Serialismus. Es waren sehr strenge Ordnungsregeln, ja, es hatte fast etwas Stalinistisches« (Schmidt, quoted in Zahn 2006, p. 43).

²⁰ »Rockmusik ist ihrer Herkunft nach angloamerikanisch. Als wir anfangen, war sie der Maßstab. Die Leute sagten, wir könnten das nicht spielen. Wir mußten also klarstellen, daß Musik von einem Deutschen gar nicht so klingen kann wie die von einem Londoner oder Liverpoolsen Rockmusiker. Das geht nicht, oder es ist verlogen. Es hat also mit der historischen Region zu tun, mit meiner ganzen Tradition. Dort, wo ich zur Schule gegangen bin, waren meine Lehrer zu drei Viertel Nazis. Deswegen bin ich von der Schule geflogen, weil ich in der Zeitung geschrieben habe, daß sie Nazis waren. Ich bekam heraus, daß mein Geschichtslehrer Schulungsleiter beim Reichsarbeitsdienst war. Ich mochte

In this quote, whose first sentences are by no means logically consistent, Schmidt includes a recollection of his – pre- or post-1945 – school years with a reflection on the specific German conditions for creating popular music after World War II. What caused Schmidt to associate Germany's National Socialist past and his critique of Nazi collaborators with his own and the band's musical development? In order to reconstruct the reasons for this *idée fixe*, we need to better understand the New-Leftist climate of protest and revolt that was prevalent among Western intellectuals and artists in Cologne and other cities, and which also played a significant role in the formation of CAN.

More than in other countries that were immersed in the new-leftist spirit of '1968', the West German protests involving students and other dissenters were marked by a general mistrust of authorities – not the individual authorities of specific institutions, but authorities as such. The reason for this was the legacy of the Third Reich, dictatorship, World War II and the genocide they attributed to authorities and their specific role in early 20th-century Germany. As German and American psychologists and philosophers such as Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm, Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and the so-called 'Berkeley group' had argued since the 1930s²¹ in various publications and research projects, individuals who had been the victims of authoritarian and repressive pedagogy during childhood were most likely to develop an authoritarian personality, i.e. a personality susceptible to serving the needs of an »authoritarian state«.²² Seen in this light, the National Socialist dictatorship including the Holocaust and World War II appeared to be an effect of authoritarian and hierarchical modes of behaviour between people – principals and dependents.²³ Against the background of those theories, young intellectuals and artists (including the musicians of CAN), who

den eigentlich, aber ich habe es in der Schulzeitung veröffentlicht. Wir sind auch in einem Land aufgewachsen, in dem die Kultur abgeschafft war, als wir noch Kinder waren« (Schmidt, quoted in Zahn 2006, p. 76).

²¹ See Reich 1933 (1946), Fromm 1936 and 1941 (1980), Horkheimer 1940/1942 (1978) and Adorno 1950. The Berkeley group comprised the psychologists R. Nevitt Sanford, Daniel J. Levinson and Else Frenkel-Brunswik.

²² Horkheimer 1940/1942 (1978), p. 102.

²³ Consequently, the students and protesters in West Germany fought everybody and every institution that represented authority: the state, state officials (e.g. police, judges and prosecutors), the education system and academics, as well as the right-wing mass media represented by the Springer Press. In the 1960s, the Springer Press adopted the role of publicly spreading the distorted image that members of the New-Leftist movement were anti-social subjects. Additionally, they repressed the fact that many of the protesting students, intellectuals and artists, especially their leaders, were driven by serious and justified social critiques that were not directed merely at the Springer Press (Hadem 2008). Regarding the targeting of state officials, cf., for instance, Langhans and Teufel 1968. In this publication, both student rebels Fritz Teufel and Rainer Langhans describe how, at their trial in July 1967 in Berlin-Moabit, they ridiculed the judges and prosecutors. Regarding the targeting of teachers, see the passage in Müller-Doohm 2003, p. 689, which reports the students' humiliation of Adorno in 1967.

were immersed in – or at least influenced by – the New-Leftist spirit of the 1960s, had good reason to be suspicious of authorities.²⁴

Like other musicians and music students,²⁵ Schmidt – probably unconsciously – applied this perspective to his musical environment. Even though there are no reports that Stockhausen behaved in an authoritarian manner towards his students,²⁶ the music he created could be interpreted as being authoritarian because it represented a compositional style and aesthetics that was declared to be more or less obligatory for composers who wanted to be classified as up-to-date. In this way, Stockhausen's music indirectly 'dictated' to other musicians what kind of aesthetics was permitted and what was not. (How composers who did not want to submit to aesthetic doctrines experienced the pressure during the International Summer Courses for New Music in Darmstadt, for instance, was described by Henze in his autobiography.²⁷) Seen in this way, CAN's musical style, its unrestrained mixing of avant-garde with rock music that neglects the – officially insurmountable – boundaries between high and low culture,²⁸ can be understood as an act of anti-authoritarian liberation. This paradigmatically manifests itself in the short track »Pnoom«,²⁹ a piece on CAN's 1968-album *Delay*.³⁰ The piece mixes a typical jazz accompaniment (percussion, double bass playing a riff) with a punctual, more-or-less atonal, melodic line. This line played by two saxophones, whose squeaking sounds remind one of Peter Brötzmann's timbres,³¹ emulates less the swing of free Jazz that would suit »Pnoom«'s jazz accompaniment than an avant-garde diction: the serialist, anti-organic gesture that Stockhausen favoured in the early 1950s, in pieces such as his *Kontra-Punkte* of 1952/53,

²⁴ They even feared the re-emergence of dictatorship because authoritarian and partially violent behavioural modes of people in power such as parents, pedagogues and state officials were still prevalent in West Germany (cf. anonymous 1962 (1998), pp. 158 and 159).

²⁵ Cf. Boehmer 1970 and Hamm 1970.

²⁶ On the contrary, Stockhausen seemed to join the anti-authoritarian struggle, too. In 1970, the year of the bicentennial of Beethoven, Stockhausen and Mauricio Kagel were commissioned each to compose a piece commemorating Beethoven; both diverted this task into an anti-hagiographical act toppling the great master Beethoven from his pedestal. They appropriated Beethoven's music by literally ripping it apart (for more details: see Kutschke 2010).

²⁷ Regarding Hans Werner Henze, see Henze 1996; regarding Luigi Nono, see Manzoni 1996, pp. 182 and 240.

²⁸ Fiedler 1969. On the close relationship between the anti-hierarchical, anti-authoritarian spirit of '1968' and postmodern pluralism in music: see Luckscheiter 2007, Hentschel 2008, Kutschke 2007 and 2010.

²⁹ Listen to »Pnoom« on: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pkuR-vzQY4Y>.

³⁰ CAN 1968.

³¹ However, in contrast to the punctual style of the saxophones' line in »Pnoom«, its emphasis on 'sound dots', Brötzmann's jazzy style of the same time-period, the late 1960s, was marked by fast melodic lines, i.e. the individual pitches were rather intertwined or melted with each other. Furthermore, the overall gesture of his style was rather fuzzy and 'dirty', clearly distinguished from the precise, almost disciplined presentation of punctual pitches in serial music and in »Pnoom« (whose pure, disciplined aesthetics was also supported by the rhythmically strict performance of the riff in the bass).

for instance. In order to mark this aesthetic mix as a provocation, CAN evoked *la musique concrète* at the end of the piece by employing the sound of falling toy blocks. Furthermore, the extremely short length of the track (26 seconds) pointed to the playful, tongue-in-cheek attitude of the band to their piece. CAN targeted the gurus of avant-garde music by disrespectfully mixing high avant-gardist elements with low-pop styles.³²

III. Berlin

The close intertwinement of the political situation and the specific music-cultural landscape created after 1945, together with the New-Leftist spirit of the 1960s and 70s, played out not only in Cologne, but also in West Berlin. In contrast to Cologne, however, the exceptional world-political status of the immured city generated specific inner-political and music-cultural conditions. After the building of the Wall in 1961, the fear of the West Berliners that the 'Soviets' could annex West Berlin increased and stimulated parts of West Berlin's industry and working population to move to West Germany. West German and West Berlin politicians counteracted this trend by providing financial inducements and excellent facilities for technical education and research for those who wanted to move to (or stay in) West Berlin.³³ Furthermore, they vitalized West Berlin's cultural and intellectual life by organizing visits of artists from abroad. Additionally, they aimed at stimulating students from West Germany to study in Berlin, considering this as a kind of anti-communist education that should strengthen the desire of West Germans for the reunification of all Germany.³⁴ However, not only these officially-desired groups came to West Berlin, but also those rather less desirable: to give one example, young men who objected to military service but shied away from direct confrontation with the administration and, instead, moved to the enclosed city whose special status as a demilitarized zone, and its not being an official part of West Germany, precluded the drafting of men in the city.³⁵

As I will demonstrate by investigating the so-called Bethanien protests, this complex and unusual political and cultural-political situation in West Berlin provided some of the key factors for the confrontations between New-Leftist dissenters and the city's government in the early 1970s, and the role that music and musicians developed in the context of those conflicts. In what follows, I will

³² By doing this, they unintentionally engaged in a postmodern collapsing of the boundaries between high and low culture (Fiedler 1969).

³³ Elkins and Hofmeister 1988, p. 120.

³⁴ Hertz 2008, p. 159.

³⁵ Before the 1990s in West Berlin, young men could not be drafted for army service; many young men from West Germany took advantage of this by moving to West Berlin.

not recapitulate the role that the rock band Ton Steine Scherben played in the *first* confrontation revolving around the future of the Bethanien Hospital located in Berlin-Kreuzberg. This has not only been narrated several times,³⁶ but is also commemorated in the »Rauchhaus Song«, one of Scherben's most-famous pieces.³⁷ Instead, I will focus on the conflict around the Bethanien that occurred two years later in 1973/1974.³⁸

In 1973, the Berlin government's plan to transform the former hospital into an artists' centre provoked protests by New-Leftist activists. The latter believed that a children's out-patient clinic would better serve the inhabitants of Kreuzberg, one of West Berlin's poorest worker districts. Who were those activists who organized the »Children's Clinic in Bethanien« battle committee, founded in late summer of 1973³⁹ in order to oppose the governmental plans? Today, three names of the committee members appear to be telling: the Berlin-based avant-garde composer Erhard Grosskopf who, in the 1980s and 90s, shaped the West Berlin avant-garde scene by organizing Insel Musik, a festival dedicated to New Music (from 1978 to 1998);⁴⁰ his British colleague Cornelius Cardew who, in the academic year 1973/1974, was a fellow of the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) in Berlin; and the literary theorist Helmut Lethen,⁴¹ then assistant⁴² at the German Department of the Free University in Berlin, who acted as the committee's chair.⁴³

³⁶ See, for instance, Brown 2009.

³⁷ In 1971, the Scherben, three members of which had moved from West Germany to West Berlin in order to avoid the convocation, called to occupy a building of the shut-down Bethanien Hospital in Berlin-Kreuzberg during a concert at the Technical University. They did this because, according to many critical voices, Berlin's government did not care if buildings were vacant while, at the same time, Berliners suffered from a lack of available and affordable living space. The Scherben's call for squatting not only led to the occupation of the building right after the concert (together with the band), but also pushed the Berlin government to lease the building that the squatters had renamed Rauch-Haus to a youth centre where young people without a home (in the literal and emphatic sense of the word) could live. ('Rauchhaus' commemorated the city guerillero Georg von Rauch, who had died in a shooting with the police a few days earlier.) Listen to the song on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cgKncnjKeFo>.

³⁸ The primary sources are available at the archives of the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum in Berlin: Inv. Nr. 2008/10, »Objektgruppe: Konvolut, Kategorie: Geschichte Bethanien, Lfd. Nr. 6, Bürgerinitiativen für das Krankenhaus«; and Inv.-Nr.: 2008/18, »Objektgruppe Konvolut, Kategorie: Geschichte Bethanien, Lfd. Nr. 8, Zeitungsartikel von 1968 bis 1993, Künstlerhaus Bethanien: Pressespiegel 1972/1973«.

³⁹ Agitationsbroschüre 1974, pp. 3 and 21.

⁴⁰ Fricke and Grosskopf 2003.

⁴¹ In the context of the Bethanien protests, Lethen had to stand trial in February 1975, having been accused of parliamentary coercion [Parlamentsnötigung], trespass and damage to property in October 1973 (Anonymous [late 1974 or early 1975]).

⁴² The rank of an assistant is approximately comparable with that one of an assistant professor or lecturer.

⁴³ Lethen 2014.



Cardew (left), Lethen (centre) and an unknown member of the battle committee (right). The photo shows one of the weekly meetings of the battle committee.⁴⁴

As committee members, the composers supported the struggle in various ways: Cardew wrote a flyer in which he pointed to what he considered the true reasons for the installation of the artists' centre in the Bethanien, the aim of West Berlin's government to transform Kreuzberg, a workers' district, into a residential area for middle-class people and intellectuals who would push the workers to the outlying districts of West Berlin;⁴⁵ Cardew also composed the »Bethanien Song« that the dissenters, according to Lethen, bawled out enthusiastically.⁴⁶

In the framework of the *Congress for the Sufficient Health Care of the Working Population* [Kongreß für eine ausreichende medizinische Versorgung der werktätigen Bevölkerung] held on January 19-20, 1974, Grosskopf delivered a paper that discussed (or rather explained) why artists had good reasons to support the children's out-patient clinic.⁴⁷ Eleven months later, in December 1974, he organized

⁴⁴ Lethen 2014.

⁴⁵ Cardew 1973. Cardew's assumption was not entirely unfounded. For several years, Kreuzberg was considered one of the most popular districts of Berlin by intellectuals and middle-class people.

⁴⁶ Lethen 2014.

⁴⁷ Agitationsbroschüre 1974, S. 27. (The speech has been printed in Grosskopf 1974a.)

Bethanien Lied

C7

KINDERPOLIKLINIK KEIN KUNSTLERZENTRUM, KINDERPOLIKLINIK KEIN KUNSTLERZENTRUM

1. HÖRT UNS ZU IHR ARBEITER KOL- LEGEN GEH'N WIR DER SACHE AUF DEN GRUND
2. UNSER NÄCHSTES ZIEL IST DAS BE-THANIEN WEG MIT DER BÜRGERLICHEN KUNST
3. DIESE KLINIK IST FÜR UNSRE KINDER UNSER KAMPF GIBT EINE BESSEREN WELT
4. UM DEN SOZIALISMUS ZU ER- KÄMPFEN STÜRZEN WIR DIE BONZEN VON DEM THRON

KRANK IST NUR DER WENIGE DER ZU-SAMM'BRICHT WER ARBEITEN KANN DER IST GESUND
UNSE KRAANKEN KINDER BRAUCHEN HILFE DOCH DIE S. P. D. HAT UNS VERHUNZT
WAS GESTIELT WIRD MERKT DOCH SCHON EIN BLINDER NICHTS MEHR KANN ES GEBEN DAS UNS HÄLT
AUSLÄNDER UND DEUTSCHE STEHN ZU-SAMMEN EINHEITSFRONT DER REVOLUTION

UND DIE BÄNDER LAUFEN IMMER SCHNELLER IMMER WENIGER WERT IST UNSER LOHN
TAUSENDFACH BETRÜGT SIE UNS MIT WORTEN WO KOMMT DENN UNSER ELENDE HER?
GEGEN TEUFUNG LOHNRAUB UND ENT-RECHTUNG GEGEN IMPERIALISMUS UND DEN KRIEG
FÜR DIE TIEFE FREUNDSCHAFT ALER VÖLKER ALLE MACHT IN UNSRE HAND

UND DIE AUSSICHT WIRD VON SELBST NOCH HELLER WENN WIR SETZT NICHTS TUN
IHRE POLI-TIK IST DIE DER REICHEN UNS TÄUSCHT SIE NICHT MEHR
GEGEN JEDE AUSBEUTUNG UND KNECHTUNG UNSER IST DER SIEG
FÜR DIE GESELLSCHAFT OHNE KLASSEN GLÄNZEND WIRD DAS LAND

REFRAIN

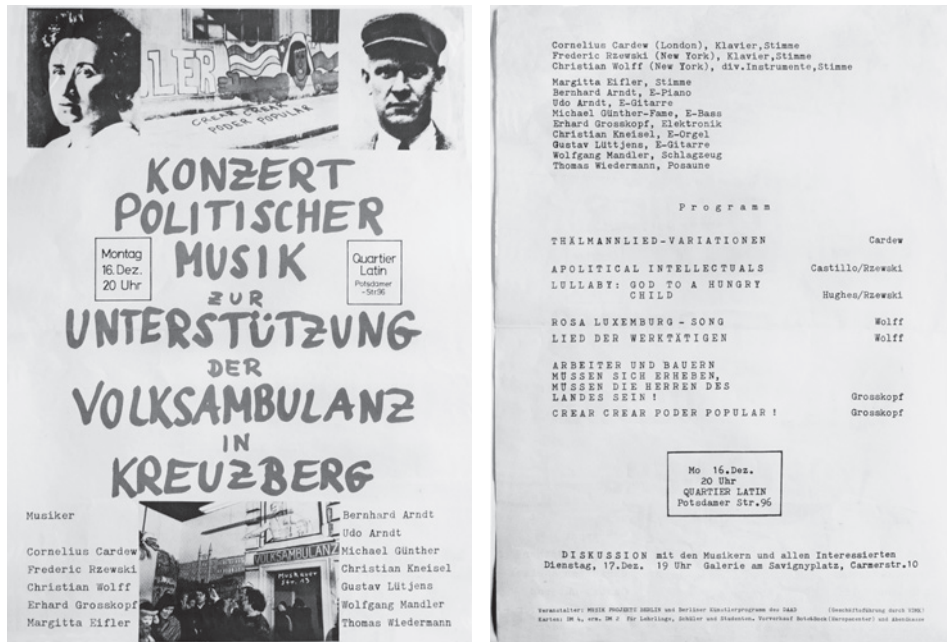
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1.2.3. BETHA NIEN GEHÖRT UNS BETHAN IEN GEHÖRT UNS WIR
4. ES WIRD UNS GEHÖR-EN ES WIRD UNS GEHÖR-EN

C7 F C7 F

WERDEN ES UNS ERKÄMPFEN GEGEN JEDEN WIDERSTAND WIR WERDEN ES ERKÄMPFEN MIT DEM KNI TEE

Music ex. 1: Cornelius Cardew, *Bethanien Song*
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Poster of the Volksambulanz Concert, front and rear
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the Volksambulanz Concert. In what follows, I will focus on this event because I believe the Volksambulanz Concert is a particularly telling example of the intertwinement of the global perspective of New-Leftist protesters and specific urban conditions, a combination that manifested itself in both the concert programme and the compositional techniques the individual pieces displayed.

The concert featured compositions by Cardew, Grosskopf himself and their North-American colleagues Christian Wolff and Frederic Rzewski. What, however, were the reasons that drove Grosskopf, Cardew and Lethen, that is, intellectuals and artists, to engage in the needs of workers, i.e. a social group with which composers have usually been barely connected?⁴⁸ Like other New Leftists,

⁴⁸ Scholarship on the student and protest movements of the 1960a and 70s tends to marginalize or ignore the deep social divide between New Leftists and Old Leftists, that is however crucial for the understanding of the development of the protest movements after 1968. The interests of the Old Left and its clientele, i.e. workers, and the New Left formed by students, intellectuals and artists, differed remarkably. Even though both the New and the Old Left shared the same social enemy, the bourgeoisie, the reasons for its rejection were quite different. For the Old-Leftist workers, the bourgeoisie represented the social groups and classes that were much better off. Thus, their resentment was directed against all social classes above the workers class: not only the privileged upper (middle) class, but also the intellectuals and well-educated groups, i.e. the students. The counter-model against which the

the young musicians and intellectuals respectively followed a general trend that had developed since the late 1960s:

In West Germany at the turn to the 1970s, the protest and student movement was marked by a crisis and decline. In the late 1960s, especially after the assassination attempt of the student leader Rudi Dutschke in April 1968 and the so-called battle at the Tegeler Weg, it became more and more visible that the abolition of the entire West German 'authoritarian' state and the capitalist system that the students and protesters had hoped to achieve would not become a reality any time soon.⁴⁹ The movement responded to this situation in various ways. Some of the activists became radical, i.e. they more doggedly and violently fought against authorities; this radicalization culminated in the left-extremist terrorism of the Red Army Faction (RAF) in the 1970s. Other New Leftists focused on local problems such as the construction of nuclear plants and the housing shortage (despite there being simultaneously empty buildings); in the same vein, squatting activities such as those of the Scherben increased significantly.⁵⁰

A third group of people turned to what they believed would be more promising than the New Left: the orthodox Old Left, the traditional workers' movement that had its heyday in the late 19th and early 20th century and had always been particularly active in the industrial, urban centres. The New Leftists turned to the Old Left in response to numerous unauthorized strikes of workers in various European countries including West Germany – notably, the so-called September Strikes of 1969.⁵¹ Observing the strikes through the mass media, the '68ers' developed the idea that, unlike the students, the workers could operate as *true* revolutionary subjects, the leaders of the revolution.⁵² In this light, many New Leftists (including politically-engaged composers) joined the German Communist Party (DKP) and other so called K-groups ('K' standing for 'Communist'). In doing so, they heeded the advice propagated by the leftist singer-songwriter Franz Josef

New Leftists shaped new lifestyles and behaviour modes, however, was the narrow-minded and self-restricted *petit-bourgeoisie* (even though, in their theories, they criticized the educated middle classes) (cf. Kraushaar 1998, vol. 1, pp. 318, 468, vol. 2, pp. 695, 788). In brief, their idea of the paradigmatic bourgeois was the *petit-bourgeois* in relation to which the new lifestyles they promoted came across as pure provocation. By criticizing narrow mental horizons and *petit-bourgeois* modes of behaviour, the New Leftists' critique basically targeted all those social layers, including the working class, that did not possess the broad, progressive, maladjusted, creativity-driven spirit of the (New-Leftist) intellectuals. Even though the fundamental antagonism between both groups was usually well repressed, it manifested itself most clearly in the assassination attempt against Rudi Dutschke. Not coincidentally, the assailant was a worker. Although the New Leftists downplayed this aspect by conceptualizing the assailant as a marionette of the right-wing Springer Press, the subliminal hostility between the former New-Leftist students and intellectuals, on the one side, and the orthodox Old-Leftist workers, on the other, cannot be neglected.

⁴⁹ Regarding the battle at the Tegeler Weg: see Kraushaar 2012, pp. 10ff.

⁵⁰ See footnote 37.

⁵¹ See Birke 2007, p. 275.

⁵² Kossack 2005; Langguth 1975, pp. 498-99.

Degenhardt in a song of 1969. Accompanied by martial strokes of a guitar, the song's refrain (and title) commanded: 'Join the new front [the new Old Left], in the companies. Transform the business from the inside, destroy the gears.' ['Reiht Euch ein in die neue Front, in die Betriebe. Rolllt den Laden von innen her auf, brecht das Getriebe'.⁵³]

Seen in this light, Grosskopf, Cardew and Lethen's advocacy for the workers' children in Kreuzberg conformed with the general interest in workers. Their commitment, especially for the Bethanien (instead of any other communal project), however, was also due to Grosskopf's and Cardew's earlier and indirect involvement in the transformation of the Bethanien – though not as protester, but as cultural politician. During preceding years, Grosskopf had persistently lobbied Berlin's authorities for the installation of a public electronic studio in the city.⁵⁴ Berlin's government had eventually fulfilled his request by planning to include the desired electronic studio in the future Bethanien that was to be run as an artists' centre. Against this background, Grosskopf probably felt co-responsible for the Bethanien's fate.

The proletarian turn of both composers,⁵⁵ however, did not only manifest itself in the altruistic fight for a children's clinic, but also in what one could call a more general change of artistic identity and interest. Music was not a purpose in itself anymore, but should rather serve the needs of the new allies, the workers; it should articulate those socio-political critiques and visions that promised substantially to change the workers' living and working conditions and, of course, in so doing, should encourage the music's listeners and win over combatants. This new political-ideological orientation most clearly reflects itself in the Volksambulanz Concert. Three of the seven pieces that were performed during this concert revolved around poems that resonated with the German orthodox socialist-communist movement by referring to its important figures and/or by varying music that had been dedicated to the workers movement: Wolff's »Rosa Luxemburg-Song« (for voice and percussion) and Cardew's *Thälmannlied-Variationen* [Variations of the Thälmann Song] (for piano) brought to mind two politicians who had engaged themselves in the workers movement, but had become victims of antagonist political groups, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thälmann.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the *Thälmann-Variationen* were based on the popular communist »Thälmann

⁵³ Listen to this song on: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EG-5PYISM_M.

⁵⁴ Grosskopf 1974a.

⁵⁵ The term 'proletarian turn' is used for instance by Benicke 2010. It does not appear to have been coined in the early 1970s, but was developed later.

⁵⁶ Luxemburg, a leading spokeswoman of the German Socialist Party and co-founder of the German Communist Party, was murdered by the Garde-Kavallerie-Schützen-Division, a division of the Prussian Army, in 1919; Ernst Thälmann, a politician of the German Communist Party, was murdered by the Nazis after eleven years of solitary confinement, in 1944.

Song»⁵⁷ and were complemented by two other known songs revolving around the political figure of Thälmann. The second piece, the »Rosa Luxemburg-Song«, presents a passage from Luxemburg's fragment »Einführung in die National-ökonomie«⁵⁸ [Introduction to National Economy], translated from German into English. It argues that the causes of financial crisis are all man-made. The original lyrics of the »Thälmann Song« focus on the political persecution and murder of Thälmann and encourage listeners to fight for a better world. The third of those pieces, »Lied der Werktätigen« [Song of the working people], also by Wolff and composed for a rock band,⁵⁹ draws on Hanns Eisler's 1929 song of the same title;⁶⁰ the original song with lyrics of Stephan Hermlin encourages workers to fight for their political visions despite the risk of being killed by adversaries.

In the pieces of the Volksambulanz Concert, however, not only the interest and engagement for West Berlin's, i.e. West European, workers manifested itself strongly. The workers' perspective was additionally complemented by a global perspective. Like the interest in the workers' concerns, the interest in the concerns of the life and work conditions of individuals in other countries and continents was stimulated by a general 'spirit of concernment and mutual interest', a spirit that manifested itself most vitally in the protests against the Vietnam war and the sympathy for the civil rights movement.⁶¹ In the Volksambulanz Concert the global concernment manifested itself in a focus on the socio-political grievances in Central America and China. Grosskopf's »Arbeiter und Bauern müssen sich erheben, müssen die Herren des Landes sein!« [Workers and peasants must arise, must be the masters of the country!]⁶² dedicated itself to the Chinese Communist movement. His piece for chamber ensemble is an arrangement of a tune by the Chinese composer Nie Er, who joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1933 and

⁵⁷ The lyrics and music are by Erich Weinert and Paul Arma respectively. Listen to the »Thälmann Song« on: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVLcG1jYZHE>. A recording of Cardew's piece is available on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qcRQQ2i89Q8>.

⁵⁸ Luxemburg 1909-1925 (1975), p. 571.

⁵⁹ Cf. Wolff 2013. The first page of the score indicates three staves – two in G clefs in a chordal setting, one in F clef and indicating just one voice. During the Volksambulanz Concert those parts were most likely played by two electric guitars and an electric bass. According to Wolff, this piece was written to be performed by a 'rock band' including percussion (cf. Wolff 2014).

⁶⁰ With lyrics by Stephan Hermlin. In 1949, Eisler replaced the original lyrics of Stephan Hermlin by those of Franz Jahnke and Maxim Vallentin (cf. Ahrend 2001, p. 191). With those lyrics the song is usually identified as »Lied der Komintern«, not as »Lied der Werktätigen«.

⁶¹ Surprisingly, the subordinated status of women in all human societies, including the Western societies that the New Leftists inhabited, remained overlooked by the New Leftists. It was criticized by the Second Feminist Movement, whose protest rose briefly after the climax of the student movements' protests.

⁶² In Grosskopf's catalogue this composition is listed with the title: *Looping 2. »Arbeiter und Bauern müssen sich erheben«* for ensemble [Fl., Klar., Pos., 2 Perc, Pno., Vl., Va., Vc.] op. 16. - EG. - UA London 1974; 9'20« (cf. Grosskopf 2014 or earlier).

also wrote the national anthem of the People's Republic of China.⁶³ The title of Grosskopf's arrangement quotes a verse in the middle of the poem – »Arbeiter und Bauern sind eine Familie« [Workers and peasants are one family] – and encourages its listeners to fight for freedom. Likewise, Grosskopf's »Crear crear poder popular« [Create the power of the people!] for rock ensemble relates the fight over the Bethanien to the Latin-American Liberation movements, the latter coming to Western attention after the coup d'état in Chile in September 1973. His piece quotes a slogan of the Chilean workers movement of 1972, i.e. a year before the military putsch set up a dictatorship. Its message is complemented by two texts to be read during the performance of the piece; the latter asks its listeners to not give up the revolutionary struggle.

It is obvious that it is a small cognitive step from advocating for workers, one of various underprivileged social groups, to advocating for underprivileged social groups of other *couleurs*. Correspondingly, Fredric Rzewski's contributions to the concert addressed other, non-workers' grievances in South and North America. His song »Apolitical Intellectual« for two voices and piano sets to music a poem by the Guatemalan poet Otto René Castillo, who, in the 1960s, joined the guerrilla struggle against the dictatorial government that had annulled all preceding reforms in favour of workers and poor peasants. The poem by Castillo, whom the government murdered in 1969, propagates the idea that intellectual work is useless and, instead, intellectuals are morally obliged to support actively »the simplest of our people«.⁶⁴ The second of Rzewski's two pieces, the song »Lullaby. God to a hungry child«, has lyrics written by the Afro-American poet Langston Hughes (1902-1967); these lyrics accuse god, i.e. the world, of massive injustice and advantaging the rich.⁶⁵

Having described the way in which the Berlin urban centre stimulated protest and how this manifested itself in the Bethanien protests and the lyrics of the pieces performed during the Volksambulanz Concert, to what degree did it also generate specific protest music?

⁶³ Nie Er was a leading figure in early 20th century Chinese music composition. In the anthology »New Songs of the Battlefield« (Guowuyuan Wenhuaazu 1972), the original lyrics of the tune »Fighting the Yangtze River« were replaced by the new text »Workers and Peasants Are One Family« (cf. Bryant 2004, p. 88). The first piece of the collection *String quartet exercises out of songs* by Wolff (Wolff 1977) is also based on Nie Er's tune. As Wolff states in the introduction, the piece is »a kind of fantasy-variation on the tune of a Chinese folk song which was used in the 1940s for the revolutionary song 'Workers and Peasants Are One Family'« (Wolff 1977).

⁶⁴ Rzewski 1974a, p. 1.

⁶⁵ The complete poem is: »Hungry child,/ I didn't make this world for you./ You didn't buy any stock in my railroad./ You didn't invest in my corporation./ Where are your shares in Standard Oil?/I made the world for the rich/ And the will-be-rich/ And the have-always-been-rich./ Not for you,/ Hungry child.«

IV. The Music of the Volksambulanz Concert

Not all music is suited to operate as protest music. Political music, including that addressing political activists and dissenters, should usually serve to recruit future followers and strengthen the identification of current supporters with the movement's goals; music is appropriate protest music if it is suited to encouraging supporters to civil disobedience. In order to achieve this, the music and lyrics conveying the political message should be – somehow – understandable; they should be easily remembered in order to enable activists or future supporters loudly or tacitly to sing along with the performed or imagined song, especially in situations of frustration and hopelessness regarding the desired success of the political activists' goals.

The Volksambulanz Concert appears partially to have paid tribute to these requirements. Four of the compositions performed during the concert – Cardew's *Thälmann Variationen*, Wolff's »Lied der Werktätigen«, Grosskopf's »Arbeiter und Bauern sind eine Familie« and Rzewski's »Lullaby. God to a Hungry Child« – were based on songs whose music and/or lyrics were popular or, at least, well-known among New Leftists. However, except for the *Thälmann Variationen* (perhaps), the pieces were certainly not designed to make audiences sing along with the tunes; the specific arrangement of pre-composed material rather served to generate a familiar musical atmosphere. To start with the *Thälmann Variationen*:

The form that Cardew chose, the set of variations, is, like arrangements of preexisting melodies and contrafacts, particularly suited for political music.⁶⁶ It permits the performance of a well-known tune and the message its lyrics convey

⁶⁶ In music history, sets of variations often underscored the composer's claim to being a master. Johann Sebastian Bach, for instance, responding to Frederick II's request to compose a six-voice fugue on a given theme in 1747, evidenced his compositional mastery and inventiveness by sending the Prussian king not only the fugue, but by adding various other movements that built together a multi-part composition, the *Musical Offering*. It consists of a six-voice and a three-voice fugue, ten canons and a trio sonata, all on the same theme Frederick II had proposed. Especially in the 20th century (but also before that), variations on a tune by a preceding master or virtuoso seemed to aim at honouring the creator of the chosen tune and, in doing this, claimed that the composer of the variations was as equally gifted as the preceding composer that the variations were honouring. See, for instance, Boris Blacher's *Orchestervariationen über ein Thema von Niccolò Paganini* (1947), Benjamin Britten's *Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Henry Purcell*, op. 34 (1945), Ferruccio Busoni's *10 Variationen über ein Präludium von Chopin BV 213a* (1922), Alfredo Casella's *Paganiniana* (1941), Hans Werner Henze's *Telemanniana* (1967), Bohuslav Martinů's *Variationen auf ein Thema von Rossini* (1949), and Ralph Vaughan Williams's *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* (1910). In this light, Wolff's arrangement of Eisler's »Lied der Werktätigen« could be understood as honouring Eisler who was admired by politically-engaged, New Leftist musicians in the early 1970s (cf. the issue of *Sozialistische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Gesellschaft* that was dedicated to Eisler [Boehmer et al. 1973].) This, however, appears to have played at best a marginal role in this concert. (On the significant change of homage-and-variation compositions in West and East Germany in the 1960s and 70s and the attitude their composers articulate: see Kutschke 2010 und 2013.)

over and over again and, at the same time, avoids boredom by creating variety. Furthermore, presenting the tune and its message in the shape of different characters that ornamentation, different registers, tempos, new accompaniment figures etc. generate, the variation set intensifies the political message.⁶⁷ Correspondingly, in the *Thälmann Variationen*, Cardew presented the original tune of the »Thälmann Song« (complemented by two other songs on Thälmann and the workers movement) in a multitude of new shapes;⁶⁸ the tune is readily recognizable in eleven of the fourteen variations, at least during parts of each variation.⁶⁹ Availing himself of 'classical' compositional techniques, a series of full chords with up to eight tones distributed over several registers and bass lines running scalewise in octaves in the last variation, Cardew creates a Beethovenian-like apotheosis that praises Thälmann.

In contrast to the *Thälmann Variationen* that mostly complied with the listening expectations of an average Western audience, the other three compositions, drawing on pre-composed music, arrange the musical material rather freely. In Grosskopf's »Arbeiter und Bauern«, Nie Er's pentatonic Chinese song appears in the middle of Grosskopf's composition at m. 108. It emerges out of an accompaniment whose texture, four individual voices that repeat short melodic figures of an Alberti-bass-like shape at moderate speed,⁷⁰ vaguely resembles minimal music and Ligeti's micro-polyphonic technique used in his *Requiem*. It resembles the former regarding its repetition of patterns; it resembles the latter in the way it uses a small segment of the chromatic scale for all four voices. Because of this narrowness of the tonal spectrum, the voices, like those in the »Kyrie«, the second movement of Ligeti's *Requiem*, constantly cross each other.⁷¹ Grosskopf inserted

⁶⁷ In light of this overall usefulness of sets of variations for political music, it is not surprising that Frederic Rzewski, too, composed a variation set on a popular leftist political tune: *Thirty-six Variations on »The People United Will Never Be Defeated!«* of 1975.

⁶⁸ For instance, rhythmic polarization (in variations 1 and 8), minor (in variation 1), changes of octave, i.e. register (in variation 2), ornamentation, addition and omission of tones (in variations 8 and 4 respectively), the enrichment of the sound by octave doubling (in variation 5), harmonic alterations such as parallel voice leading (in variation 8), transpositions (in variations 9, 12 and 13), shifting the melody to the middle voice and bass (in variations 9 and 13), syncopated accompaniment (in variation 9), and distortion of the melodic line (in variation 13) (Cardew 1974 [1989]).

⁶⁹ The tune of the »Thälmann Song« is recognizable in variations 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14. The tunes »Heimlicher Aufmarsch« and »Libérons Thälmann« in variations 6 and 7 are also well recognizable (Cardew 1974 [1989]).

⁷⁰ This is probably the reason for the title of the set of compositions – *Looping* – to which »Arbeiter und Bauern« belongs.

⁷¹ In contrast to Ligeti's micro-polyphonic compositions that mostly use a multitude of voices (i.e. employ a large orchestra and choir), Grosskopf avails himself of no more than four voices (3 strings and 1 voice of the piano). The effect, not surprisingly, is quite different: it obscures and conceals the individual voices less, as Ligeti's pieces of his 1960s (first and foremost, *Apparition*, *Athmosphères*, *Requiem* and *Volumina*) did, than it emphasizes the dissonances.

The musical score is written for piano and consists of several systems of staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The score includes various musical notations such as beamed notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Key markings include 'd-80' at the beginning, 'rousing' in the first system, 'broaden out' in the second system, 'pick up' in the third system, 'broaden out' in the fourth system, 'pick up' in the fifth system, 'loco' in the sixth system, and 'Out '74' at the end. The notation is complex, with many beamed notes and dynamic markings.

Music ex. 2: Cornelius Cardew, *Thälmann Variations*
© reproduced by kind permission of Horace Cardew.

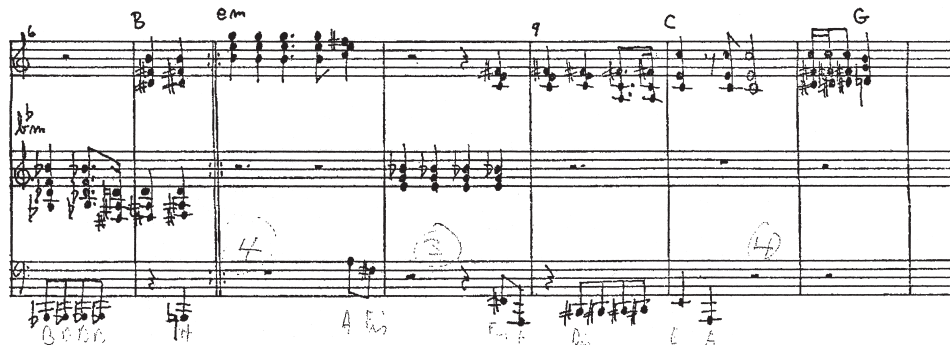
Music ex. 3: Erhard Grosskopf, »Arbeiter und Bauern müssen sich erheben«, mm140 ff, © reproduced by kind permission of Erhard Grosskopf.

the pentatonic tune of Nie Er's song into this web of heavy dissonances by splitting it up into individual phrases with long breaks in between.⁷²

Whereas, in the *Thälmann Variationen*, Cardew put considerable weight on preserving the original shape of the Thälmann song and, in »Arbeiter und Bauern«, Grosskopf presented Nie Er's song unaltered, Wolff rather drastically modified the tune of Eisler's »Lied der Werktätigen«, the unofficial anthem of the Communist International, on which his piece of the same title⁷³ is based. Wolff altered Eisler's original setting in several respects: firstly, he transposed it up a minor third, from C sharp minor to E minor; then, in the introduction, he kept the

⁷² Not only the 'texture' itself, but also the relationship between the pentatonic song and the 'texture' is heavily dissonant. In mm 143-167, the accompaniment and the pentatonic scale of the tune use almost complementary pitches: *g*, *b* flat, *b*, *c*, *c* sharp, *e*, *f* sharp, *a* flat in the accompaniment, in contrast to *d*, *e*, *f* sharp, *a*, *b* of the tune. Both – accompaniment and tune – share with each other only *f* sharp and *b*; it is remarkable that the central pitches of the pentatonic scale $\hat{1}$ (*d*) and $\hat{5}$ (*a*) do not occur in the accompaniment.

⁷³ Only the first page and a sketch of the third page are available.



**Music ex. 4: Christian Wolff, »Lied der Werktätigen«, mm 6-12 (= second staff)
© reproduced by kind permission of Christian Wolff.**

chord progression, but changed the rhythm and, connected with this, the melodic structure. Thirdly, he cut the introduction into short segments of approximately one measure each with longer breaks in between. Fourthly, he filled those breaks by a second voice or rather bundle of voices that more or less imitates the new setting in *E* minor though here in a different key, namely *G* major. The resulting metre is, fifthly, irregular; it oscillates between 4/4, 7/4 and 2/4. Sixthly, he altered the bass in a way that it relates to both chord progressions of the polytonal canonical setting (in *E* minor and *G* major).

Despite Wolff's focus on the initial characteristic fanfare-like motive, the alterations effect such a strong distortion that the audience of the Volksambulanz Concert most likely did not recognize the piece before the actual tune begins in measure 8 (including upbeat). Here again, Wolff applied the alterations listed above: modification of rhythm and metric organisation, and slight modifications of the harmonies (the bass tone serving as the fundamental of the tonic chord in the original chord progression of the tune's beginning – tonic and minor subdominant with added sixth – is omitted and, thus, the tonic, originally in basic position, appears in a first inversion).

Rzewski's »Lullaby. God to a Hungry Child« also refers to pre-composed material, but not leftist political music as do Cardew's *Thälmann Variationen*, Grosskopf's »Arbeiter und Bauern«, and Wolff's »Lied der Werktätigen«; it alludes to Johannes Brahms' well-known lullaby »Guten Abend, gute Nacht« [Good evening, good night]. The unusual accidentals at the beginning of the staves, that flatten *G*, *B* and *D*, define an altered Phrygian mode on *F* with augmented scale degrees $\hat{3}$ and $\hat{7}$ (as major third of the tonic triad *F* and the leading tone to the octave, respectively). The verses, twelve in sum and arranged in a 9/8 measure, are set to two accompanying lines that are shaped in triplets typical of lullabies.

Lullaby: God to a Hungry Child Langston Hughes
Frederic Rzewski 10/30/74

$\delta = 72$

VOICE *p*

1. Hung-ry child, I didn't make this world for you, this world for you.

ACCP'T. *p*

(4x)

(second time: *gato*)

2. Hung-ry child, I didn't make this world for you, this world for you.

3. You didn't buy any stocks in my railroads, you didn't invest in my corporations.

Music ex. 5: Frederic Rzewski, »Lullaby«, first to third verse
© reproduced by kind permission of Frederic Rzewski.

They comprise two different tone groups: the whole altered Phrygian scale in the second line; *F*, *G* flat, *A*, *C*, and *D* flat in the first line.⁷⁴

In contrast to those pieces that put weight on the arrangement of pre-composed tunes, the »Rosa Luxemburg Song« by Wolff, »Apolitical Intellectuals« by Rzewski, and »Crear, Crear« by Grosskopf focus on the text setting and/or presentation. The »Rosa Luxemburg Song« for voice accompanied by percussion is designed like a medieval chant with undetermined durations. Luxemburg's text is delivered in arch-shaped melodic phrases whose individual pitch classes (comprising 4 to 6 different pitches each and shaping temporary modalities) change from sentence to sentence and, in total, use the complete chromatic scale. The compositional idea of »Crear, Crear« revolves around poly-metre and 'phase-shifting'.⁷⁵ The slogan »Crear crear poder popular« is presented in spoken mode

⁷⁴ Because of this design, the Phrygian tonality in *F* is not clearly recognizable at the beginning: the first and second verses can equally be heard as centring around *G* flat minor (*A* enharmonically equivalent with *B* double-flat). In this context, *F* and *C* operate as a kind of suspension, i.e. a chord that *suspends* the sounding of the following 'actual' chord. Toward the end of this line, the focus shifts from *G* flat minor to *F* major. Now *D* flat is heard as a passing note in respect to the *F* major six-four chord. Wolff supports this impression by his metric structuring of the first accompanying line (legato and crescendo-decrescendo signs); he places the metric emphasis on the second beat of the second triplet, i.e. in the middle of each measure. It is only in the first verse that the tonal centre *F* becomes clear because of the sharpened *B* flat shaping an augmented minor sixth as first chord of a Phrygian cadence progressing to *F* major.

⁷⁵ In part 1, both electronic organs, both electric guitars, the tom-tom and the electric bass play individual two-measure, riff-like ostinato figures of 10 quarter notes in length in five-four metre. The ostinato figures of most instruments structure the length of 10 quarters as 3+3+2+2 (or 6+4); the figure

in the introduction, between part 1 and 2 and during part 2. While all pieces performed at the Volksambulanz Concert can be somehow heard as vaguely tonal or modal, Rzewski's »Apolitical Intellectuals« for voice and piano accompaniment is clearly atonal. It is a schematically shaped, highly dissonant litany employing chromatic downward and upward motion in varying ways.⁷⁶

V. Urbanism and Globalization as Characteristics of (Musical) Protest – Reconsidered

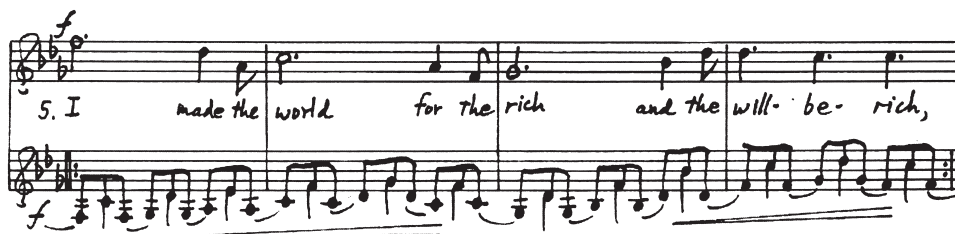
Let us return to my question posed at the beginning of the preceding section 'Having described the manner in which the Berlin urban centre stimulated protest and how this manifested itself in the Bethanien protests and the lyrics performed during the Volksambulanz Concert, to what degree did it also generate specific protest music?' The compositions were marked by heterogeneous features. Cardew, Grosskopf, Rzewski and Wolff based their pieces on pre-composed material and political texts; the latter could be easily understood by the audiences (provided they knew sufficiently English):

In »Lullaby«, the »Rosa Luxemburg-Song«, and »Apolitical Intellectuals«, each piece revolves around a decisive insight. Rzewski's »Lullaby« climaxes in the lyrical subject, 'God' (according to the poem's title) explaining to a hungry child that poor people suffer because he/she, god, »made the world for the rich«.⁷⁷

of the first electronic organ, in contrast, comprises two quarter notes each and, thus, creates a poly-metric, 'phase-shifting' effect. In part 2, Grosskopf intensifies the poly-metric compositional mode. Here, each instrument plays an ostinato-like pattern of an individual length and in individual metre: the first organ plays three measures in 4/4 metre (i.e. 12 quarter notes in sum), the second organ plays two measures in 7/4 metre (i.e. 14 quarter notes in sum), the tom-tom and the bass play two measures in 5/4 metre (i.e. 10 quarter notes in sum), the first electric guitar plays one measure in 9/4 metre (9 quarter notes in sum), and the second electric guitar plays two measures in 4/4 metre (8 quarter notes in sum). The harmony corresponds with the multivalence of the metric structure. The upper voices partially support, partially contradict the bass that articulates the Dorian mode on *E*. In addition to chords whose tone material belongs to Dorian on *E* (fifth scale degree *B* and major chord on the fourth scale degree), the upper voices also include tone material that can be related to Ionian or Mixolydian on *E*: fourth scale degree *A* and major chord on the first scale degree).

⁷⁶ The beginning – the introduction and section A (Rzewski 1974, p. 1) – uses the tone material of two augmented triads that have been intertwined with each other at the distance of a minor second and create a scale whose intervals alternate between minor seconds and minor thirds. Albert Simon has called this type a 'Konstrukt' [construction] (cf. Haas 2004). This material structures the introduction as follows: while, in the triple metre, the fundamentals of each augmented triad move chromatically upwards, the entire chords on the first and third beat, and the chords on the second beat, move chromatically downwards. Section B on page 2 is based on similarly schematical principals, but uses more and more major and minor instead of augmented triads. The vocal line is identical with the upper notes and, thus, sings tritones that chromatically move downward (in part A) and upward (in part B, starting on page 2).

⁷⁷ Fifth verse (Rzewski 1974b).



Music ex. 6: Frederic Rzewski, »Lullaby«, fifth verse
© reproduced by kind permission of Frederic Rzewski.

The composer put most weight on getting the cynicism of this poem across by opposing the sweet lullaby idiom – the triplet rhythm of both accompanying lines and the vocal line in piano that evokes care, love, security, and comfort – with a distorted quotation of Brahms’ »Guten Abend, gute Nacht« sung in forte (the rhythm and melodic shape largely correspond with the original tune on the words »Morgen früh, wenn Gott will, wirst Du wieder geweckt«;⁷⁸ the intervals, however, partially deviate from the tune). All in all, Rzewski’s reminiscence of a lullaby is by no means an invitation to sleep safe and sound. In contrast, it rather points bluntly to the merciless brutality of the world and those almighty beings who might rule it.

Similarly, Wolff’s »Rosa Luxemburg-Song«, which emulates a medieval chant (or chant as spiritual practice in general) points out that – as Luxemburg argues – economic crises (leading to bankruptcies and the rise of unemployment) are not »an ordeal from heaven«,⁷⁹ but the effect of several factors that can principally be controlled by people. And »Apolitical Intellectuals« culminates in reproaching intellectuals who, instead of striving to change the world, focus on »clothes«, »siestas«, the »philosophy of nothingness« and the »ontology of money« and, thus, are »born in the shadow of the total lie« (the structure of the music accompanying this verse in mm 25-28 is the most simple of the piece – minor chords move chromatically downwards – whereas the voice is whispering).

Unlike the verses, the music is by no means equally clear and direct. Except for Cardew’s *Thälmann Variations* whose original song is well recognizable and presented in a largely major-minor tonal setting, the pre-composed materials of the other songs are rather subtle allusions that emerge from a tonally rather difficult environment; audiences could listen to the music as being ruled by tonality, but only through a thick veil of dissonances.

The reasons for the choice of compositional techniques used in the pieces performed during the Volksambulanz Concert are well-understood today. Contemporary composers of the early 1970s felt a conflict between, on the one hand,

⁷⁸ »Tomorrow morning, if God will, you will be awakened again.«

⁷⁹ Fourth staff (Rzewski 1974b).

the desire to contribute to the socio-political upheaval and change by writing and performing protest music such as that performed at the Volksambulanz Concert; and, on the other, writing 'progressive' music that, after 1945, had to be 'naturally' atonal and, thus, was difficult to understand by the addressees of the political message, who were usually not experts in contemporary music.⁸⁰ The composers of the Volksambulanz Concert aimed at solving this conflict by means of compromise: pieces that presented pre-composed tonal material, but in a modern, atonal shape.

Despite those efforts, as Wolff recollects today, this compromise between a comprehensible verbal message and a progressive musical style failed not only to satisfy his personal aesthetic standards, but also to sufficiently entertain the audience. The latter was »sympathetic to the cause of the Volksambulanz but quite unable to relate to our music (for all its effort not be[ing] at all 'avant-garde'), and therefore becoming more and more restless, if not just hostile. Misunderstanding on all sides.«⁸¹

The success or failure of the Volksambulanz Concert, however, was not the purpose of this article's investigation of the event.⁸² Instead, the concert has served me as an interesting example of protest music that emerged from a complex socio-political situation that was determined, first, by world-political factors that manifested themselves in a specific urban situation – West Berlin's role as the Western bulwark beyond the Iron Curtain and, resulting from this, its special status as a demilitarized zone and immured city attracting young people, especially those who were unhappy with the socio-political status quo in West Germany – and, second, the New-Leftist political climate that interpreted communal conditions such as the insufficient medical provision for the children of workers in relation to global grievances such as the crushing of the Latin-American socialist-communist reforms by military putsches. It was this framework that provided the conditions for the Volksambulanz Concert:

As mentioned above, national and international politicians responded to the rise of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 through intensified efforts to keep the city intellectually and culturally alive. They did this – among other things – by financ-

⁸⁰ In compliance with Adorno, they believed that only progressive music would be suited to convey a progressive, world-changing spirit (while compositions with traditional technical means would have served rather to consolidate the world as it is). Many composers considered Eisler's music a model. The music of Eisler combining energizing, march-like rhythms with dissonant, but still tonal (modal or major-minor tonal) harmonies offered a compromise. It was not major-minor tonal in a conventional way and, thus, came across as progressive, but it could still be perceived as tonal, i.e. was understandable by non-professionals. See Boehmer et al. 1973.

⁸¹ Wolff, in an e-mail to the author of November 13, 2014.

⁸² The Volksambulanz Concert as well as the protesters' efforts demanding a children's outpatient clinic instead of an artist centre were eventually not successful; Bethanien became an artist centre.

ing and organizing the visits of artists from abroad. In this context, the German exchange service, DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) founded in 1962, was assigned to organize the stays of artists from all over the world who were usually hosted for a year. According to Peter Nestler, the director of the DAAD »artists-in-residence program« until 1972,⁸³ one of the unofficial criteria for a candidate to be invited by the DAAD was his/her 'social' skills. The invited artist should not only produce excellent art while staying in Berlin, but also actively participate in meetings and parties at which people talked about all kinds of intellectual issues, including politics.⁸⁴ In this light, it does not seem to be a coincidence that, except for the organizer of the concert, Grosskopf, the other three composers contributing to the Volksambulanz Concert and engaging in political issues (instead of merely focusing on the artistic business) were not Berlin residents in the narrow sense, but former or current DAAD-fellows, i.e. foreigners from the United Kingdom and the United States. Rzewski had been a DAAD-fellow in 1963 and, from that point on, regularly returned to Berlin, Cardew was a DAAD-fellow in 1973, and Wolff in the very year of the concert, 1974.⁸⁵ If Nestler's description of DAAD's policies for choosing artists to be invited to stay a year in Berlin was correct and the 'jobs' of those artists also included acting as communicators, it was most likely those communicative skills, this interest in more than aesthetic, 'extra-worldly' issues, that made them perfect candidates for engagement in the New-Leftist intellectual scene.

Seen in this way, the DAAD's activities can be considered as a blessing and curse for Berlin and its government, and the indirect cause for the fight over the transformation of the Bethanien in 1973/1974. It was Berlin's status as a demilitarized zone and immured city that had brought to Berlin not only a large number of rebellious individuals, such as the conscientious objectors participating in the squatting scene, but also open-minded avant-garde composers who, coming from other countries with their own specific socio-political problems, were inclined to engage in worker-friendly communal politics in Berlin. Thus, while the DAAD, the designated supervisor of the centre (together with the Berlin Academy of

⁸³ Nestler was the programme's director from 1963 to 1972.

⁸⁴ Nestler 2008. Nestler's recollection has, no doubt, to be considered as being subjective. However, the photos evidencing past events of the Künstlerprogramm on the institution's website demonstrate that, in fact, musicians being guests of the Künstlerprogramm did not only make music, but also participated in social events (cf. www.berliner-kuenstlerprogramm.de/de/profil_ge.html, accessed December 15, 2014).

⁸⁵ Various composers who engaged in the leftists' protests in Berlin and elsewhere were former (or current) DAAD fellows: in addition to Cardew (in 1973/1974), Frederic Rzewski (in 1963/1964), and Christian Wolff (in 1974/1975), Louis Andriessen and Hans Werner Henze (in 1964/1965) and Luc Ferrari (in 1967/1968).

Arts),⁸⁶ supported the transformation of the Bethanien into an artists' centre⁸⁷ because it provided its fellows with art studios, including the badly needed electronic studio, its fellows supported the opposition by demanding the installation of an out-patient clinic in the Bethanien.

In comparison, the Cologne and Berlin protest music scenes were marked by both significant similarities and differences: firstly, both profited from West Germany's decentralized political and cultural reconstruction after WWII that distinguished West-German cities from cities in other European countries. The highly developed (and subsidized) music scenes, especially those of classical and avant-garde music, in the New-Leftist climate around 1970 created a fertile soil in which protest music grew. Additionally, the Volksambulanz Concert emerged from West Berlin's specific political status as an enclosed city during the Cold War. This condition brought young, critical and politicized artists to Berlin, artists who were eager to contribute to the leftist upheaval and revolt by not only artistic, but also political means.

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⁸⁶ The DAAD and Academy of Arts (AdK) were officially called 'associates' or 'share holders' of the artists' centre that was planned to be run (and is still run today) as a GmbH, i.e. a limited company. Factually, the DAAD and the AdK have basically acted as the supervisory body of the artists' centre that has largely been financed on the basis of subsidies (as are the DAAD and the AdK themselves).

⁸⁷ Anonymous 1973b; gtl 1975.

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*Sažetak***Protestna glazba, urbani konteksti i globalne perspektive**

Očito je da su urbane sredine dobre kolijevke za protest. Kompaktna, zbита susjedstva sažimlju različite životne stilove, mišljenja i vrijednosne sustave te tako kataliziraju sukobe u protestne aktivnosti i revolte. Urbana zgusnutost omogućuje mobiliziranje dovoljnog broja protestnih osoba, aktivista, simpatizera i masovnih medija koji šire poruke disidenata. Ne iznenađuje da su središta protesta tijekom 1960-ih i ranih 1970-ih bili gradovi poput Berlina, New Yorka, Pariza, Amsterdama, Rima i Tokija.

Međutim, u tim su desetljećima urbane sredine stvarale i specifične glazbeno-kulturne uvjete koji su poticali stvaralaštvo i izvođenje protestne glazbe. To je bilo vidljivo u Kölnu i Berlinu. Glazba sastava Krautrock CAN u Kölnu i koncert Volksambulanza u Zapadnom Berlinu mogu se razumjeti stoga što potječu iz jedinstvenih situacija tih dvaju gradova što su, paradoksalno, bile dugoročne posljedice reorganizacije Njemačke nakon 1945. godine. Dok je dobro poznato da je CAN razvio svoj jedinstveni Krautrock stil tako što je zauzeo buntovnički odmak od avangardne estetike učitelja njegovih članova, lokalni, tj. urbani uvjeti za taj potez do sada su bili nepoznati. Köln je prije svega imao neobično visoko razvijenu avangardnu glazbenu sredinu bez koje bi CAN-ova nepokorna estetička orijentacija bila bez ozbiljnog bauka. Nadalje, ova preorijentacija nije bila samo glazbeno-estetičkog karaktera, nego je bila i politički motivirana. Razgovori s Irwinom Schmidtom pokazuju do koje je mjere njegov način odnosa spram glazbeno-estetičkih pitanja bio isprepleten s potrebom da se nagodi s njemačkom nacionalsocijalističkom prošlošću.

Koncert Volksambulanza početkom 1974. godine dogodio se na jednom od vrhunaca sukoba između zapadnoberlinske vlade i u to doba uglavnom lijevo orijentiranih građana. Kao i 1971. godine 1973/74. sukobi su se zbivali oko zatvaranja bolnice Bethanien (Betanija) u Berlin-Kreuzbergu. Dok se 1971. sastav Ton Steine Scherben angažirao u zaposjedanju dijela bolnice, dvije godine kasnije avangardni kompozitori Erhard Grosskopf (Zapadni Berlin) i Cornelius Cardew (U.K.), obojica članovi borbenog komiteta 'Dječja klinika u Betaniji', borili su se da spriječe transformaciju Betanije u umjetnički centar. Oni su to činili u korist dječje vanjske (ambulantne) klinike. To su bili okviri unutar kojih je Grosskopf organizirao koncert Volksambulanza s glazbom Cardewa, Frederica Rzewskog, Christiana Wolffa i njegovom vlastitom glazbom. Koncert je ciljao na to da zadobije podupiratelje za namjere borbenog komiteta izvođenjem kompozicija koje su – uglavnom na temelju tehnike glazbenih citata – podsjećale na prošle i tadašnje, uspješne i neuspješne političke bitke. One su komemorirale važne političare i umjetnike komunističkog i starog radničkog pokreta koji su postali žrtve sukobljenih političkih snaga; oplakivali su oslobodilačke pokrete Latinske Amerike, hvalile kinesku Kulturnu revoluciju i napadale društvene nepravde SAD-a.

Koncert Volksambulanza učinio je vidljivim uske veze između pojave protestne glazbe i aktivnosti DAAD-a (Zapadno-njemačka služba akademske razmjene) tijekom 1960-ih i 1970-ih. Pozivajući umjetnike i intelektualce da žive i rade jednu godinu u Zapadnom Berlinu i da na taj način održavaju zazidani grad kulturno živim, DAAD je doveo ove krajnje kritičke kompozitore u Berlin gdje su se angažirali u protestu protiv vladinih planova. Stoga ne iznenađuje da su nenjemački kompozitori s koncerta Volksambulanza – Cardew, Rzewski i Wolff – bili prijašnji ili tadašnji stipendisti DAAD-a.