



## **Peter Schult's long march to revolution 1928 - 1975**

In a self-description Peter Schult named as dream job "He was referring to the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany with its capitalist economy and the glorification of the patriarchal nuclear family. He developed his rejection of conventional family relationships early on. Schult was an illegitimate child; he was born Peter von den Steinen in Berlin on June 17, 1928; he never knew his biological father. He grew up in Jiiterbog, in a "world of scarcity. "2 In early life, he became enthusiastic about National Socialism; the Hitler Youth helped him escape from his stuffy parental home. He later wrote that his relationship with Adolf Hitler was marked by "During World War II, he served as an air force helper, gained his first erotic experiences with peers, enlisted in the navy, and experienced the surrender in Schleswig-Holstein. Returning home by adventurous means, he witnessed his mother's suicide and left the parental home forever.4 He initially worked in the mine-clearing service in the Baltic Sea, but left this activity without permission in February 1946. His superiors noted: "He has tried to meet all the demands placed on him. S. is a young, still undeveloped man.

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1) Peter SCHULT: Besuche in Sackgassen. Aufzeichnungen eines homosexuellen Anarchisten (Mi.inchen: Trikont 1978) p. 3.

2) Tomas VOLLHABER: The Nothing. The fear. The Experience. Untersuchungen zur zeitgenossischen schwulen Literatur (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel 1987) p. 72.

3) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 15.

4) Ibid p. 42.

He has a good character and needs constant guidance and leadership. He is well-liked by his comrades. "5.

Schult participated in the theft of naval property and began a career as a black marketeer. In the course of 1946, he joined a youth gang that carried out several brutal robberies. The chaotic period between the capitulation and the founding of the Federal Republic was characterized by sexual freedom due to the lack of state order. Schult had various experiences: "Another time, I slept in the same bed for several nights with a woman and her 14-year-old son. I had intercourse with the mother and the son, and both knew it. "6

During this time, doctors generally spoke of greater sexual activity, which, however, was lived out almost emotionlessly.<sup>7</sup> The occupation authorities profited from this permissiveness and even fueled it; prostitution and real love affairs could hardly be separated. Schult traveled throughout the devastated country, but was first imprisoned in 1947 and again in 1948 for a short time. In 1949, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison for continued grand larceny.

- Schult's black market career was definitely over.<sup>9</sup> After an amnesty, he was allowed to leave prison at the end of the year.

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5) Aachen-Kornelimiinster; Bundesarchiv-Zentralnachweisstelle: Strafakt Peter von den Steinen. The branch of the Federal Archives in Kornelimiinster was merged with the German office in Berlin in January 2006, and the files were shipped to Berlin.

6) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 49.

7) Dagmar HERZOG: Die Politisierung der Lust. Sexualität in der deutschen Geschichte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts (München: Siedler 2005) p. 84.

8) Ibidem p. 87.

9) München, Gustl Angstmann Archive of the Forum Homosexuality and History: Estate of Peter Schult. Attorney correspondence I, curriculum vitae.

Schult entered a new world. The Federal Republic of Germany had been founded and, thanks to economic aid from the United States ("Marshall Plan") and a generally flourishing world economy, was on the verge of a tremendous upswing; what was later called the "economic miracle" was about to begin. Economic consolidation was accompanied by political restoration. The conservative economic liberal federal government under Konrad Adenauer (CDU) pursued the goal of combining the economic upswing with the cementing of traditional family images. Homosexual acts continued to be punished according to the Nazi-enforced paragraphs 175/175a, and abortion was also forbidden. Sex education, to the extent that it took place, was aimed at preparing girls for existence as mothers; boys were attuned to their role as kiinfelige Familienvater and sole breadwinners. After the experiences of 1945-1949, however, the implementation of such a policy also implied a radical re-education of the apparently "neglected" youth. Schult, who had in the meantime become engaged to the sister of a buddy, wanted to build a secure existence for himself in the new state and became an employee in youth education in Baden-Wiirttemberg. He also joined the FDP, participated in the "Jugend arbeitskreis fiir die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands" (Youth Working Group for the Reunification of Germany) and in circles that sought to transform the FDP into a national liberal party.<sup>10</sup> Schult married, worked politically and in the homes for runaway youth, but continued to have sexual contacts with minors. This balancing act was abruptly ended by police intervention in the summer of 1954; Schult was sentenced to fiinf months in prison for completed or attempted "aggravated fornication" with persons under 21. This put an end to his career as a politician, home director and husband, and the attempt to build a "biirgerliche Leben" (bourgeois life) failed.

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10) FULLHABER: The nothingness. The fear. The Experience p. 81.

Faced with rejection by his environment, he decided to join the French Foreign Legion. At first, it seemed as if this would be just another episode in his life, because a few months later he deserted and went back to Germany.<sup>11</sup> But he could not stand it for long in Konrad Adenauer's state and returned to Marseille to join the Foreign Legion. He was transferred to Algeria in May 1957 to fight for "France's honor" - and possibly to die. For more than a year, the vast country, some of which was closely tied to the French motherland, had been in turmoil. Many French, demitted by the defeat in Vietnam in 1954, did not want to give up this colony. Bloody massacres occurred on both sides. Schult began to doubt his existence after a few months. In January 1958, he noted in his diary: "I took a stroll through Constantine. Unfortunately, the situation in Algeria means that such a stroll is not always pleasant for someone with different views. One is constantly surrounded by power, and the power is always vicious. Every twenty meters there are guards, patrols. They randomly grab people from the crowd and search them for weapons. It hurts to see people being humiliated. When I returned the next day, we found four Arabs on the road to Ain-Beida whose heads had been cut off. That is the other side of the coin."<sup>12</sup>

Schult, a foreign legionnaire, was not the only one to doubt the honest intentions of the "grande nation," which generally presented itself as a pioneer of democracy in Europe and the world. In the FRG, an initially small, then increasingly strong left-wing liberal to socialist movement began to form in the spring of 1957, whose members protested against the war crimes committed by the French army.<sup>13</sup> With the help of the

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11) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 78.

12) Ibid p. 89.

13) Werner BALSEN / Karl ROSSEL: Hail the International Solidarity

The youth organization of the SPD called on foreign legionnaires to desert and even shipped weapons to the FLN. This was the first small beginning of an extra-parliamentary protest movement in West Germany that was at least supported by students. It was also here that the journalist Ulrike Meinhof experienced her political socialization. At the same time, a youth culture was increasingly developing, especially among the lower classes, whose members were not afraid of violent confrontations with the state. The so-called "Halbstarken" took their cue from the film role model Marlon Brando in the movie

"The Wild One", which was released in early 1955. However, it was not to come to a cooperation between the differently socialized youthful rebels from the peace movement and the half-century-olds.

The violence in North Africa finally escalated when the French army stationed there threatened to revolt against the government and catapulted General Charles de Gaulle to power in 1958. A few years later, however, when General Charles de Gaulle forced the army to withdraw from Algeria, the war broke out. Parts of the Foreign Legion mutinied against de Gaulle and were crushed. In July 1961, the Algerian war ended for Schult, who returned to Germany. His stay in North Africa was significant for him in many ways. Schult had fully explored his sexual interests and finally realized that he was only interested in adolescents (Epheben) between the ages of 12 and 17. He had gained experience with a military apparatus of subjugation and had become a radical opponent of state fantasies of omnipotence. At the same time, however, he had recognized during his time as a legionary how state and military apparatuses violently

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did. Zur Geschichte der Dritte-Welt-Bewegung in der Bundesrepublik (Ki:iln: Volksblatt 1986) p. 64.

14) BALSSEN / ROSSEL: Hail to International Solidarity pp. 81-83.

The government has been able to determine the methods it used against opposition groups and the methods it used to fight terrorists.

In Germany, the country of the economic miracle, he was soon to become a critic of the capitalist economic system and petty bourgeois moral concepts. These had continued to be preached since the late 1950s by a quasi press monopoly of the Springer concern ("BILD"). Schult went to München, the city that was then called "Germany's secret capital" half ironically, half admiringly. The former center of the agricultural state of Bavaria had mutated into a banking and business metropolis in the middle of a booming federal state. At the same time, the city attracted life-skiers and artists of all kinds. The district of Schwabing had not yet degenerated into a tourist gateway, but still offered a home for unconventional thinkers of all kinds. Dieter Kunzelmann and the "subversive action", which wanted to stimulate social change through art happenings, were active here for a time.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, however, Munich was already an expensive place to live, and Schult had to start as an unskilled worker at the Bruckmann publishing house in Nymphenburger Strasse. He lived as a subtenant in the expensive suburb of Moosach. He soon went in search of sexual contacts, mostly around the main train station, where there was no restricted area at the time:<sup>16</sup>

"From time to time I also went to the gay bars around Gartnerplatz, but here I didn't feel so comfortable, here the youth was missing, here everything was so spiegellich and kleinbürgerlich, with lace doilies and vases of flowers on the tables, and who

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15) Reinhard MOHR/ Daniel COHN-BENDIT: 1968. The Last Revolution, which did not yet know about the hole in the ozone layer (Berlin: Wagenbach 1988) p. 34.

16) It was Peter Gauweiler who first established it in 1983 in his capacity as district administrative officer of the state capital

München.



If you entered the pub, you were stared at from all sides; you had to run for a few minutes before you could get a seat. In the proletarian underground, in the subculture of the outcasts, things were more humane, people were less curious and made contact more quickly than among the gay employees and small traders.

However, Schult soon became a police suspect again and in the 0 ktober 1962, he was sentenced to fiinf months in prison for insulting a minor. If he was still able to cover up this conviction, this was no longer possible in another case. In 1964, he was sentenced to 14 months in prison. When he was released in May 1966, Schult not only had to find a new place to live, but also another job. He had spent the period of imprisonment in the notorious Kaisheim correctional facility (QVA), and his experiences there reinforced his refusal of the "System BRD". But he did not yet know in which direction he should orient himself. Although he was probably aware of the Easter March movement, and in Schwabing the burgeoning student revolt had not gone unnoticed, the center of the revolt was increasingly shifting to the Free University in West Berlin. In addition, Schult, in his role as an outlaw, was rather hostile to the students, who came from secure backgrounds. In order to finance his apartment in Schwabing, he worked for some time at the Barlocher chemical plant in the north of Munich. This company produced lead products and was a constant source of concern for local residents because of the air pollution. The work paid well, but was harmful to health and very strenuous.

Gradually, Schult became interested in politics, his own life circumstances did not correspond at all to his ideas and ideals: "I had read Grass, Boll, Walser and Enzensberger, I had my experiences from the

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17) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 116.

Legion behind me, I rejected the moral view of our society and now I somehow spiirte. beriihrungs punkte. "18

The decisive link between Schult and the student movement, whose members came from a younger generation, was not only to be political convictions. What proved to be most important were drug use and music. The importance of rock music as a link between students and working-class youth first became apparent in Miinchen in the summer of 1962. When the police tried to forcibly prevent some street musicians from playing music, a real street fight broke out on Leopoldstrasse, which the police put down with disproportionate force. Among those who came to the conclusion that resistance to a state that banned music was appropriate were the later communard Dieter Kunzelmann and the co-founder of the RAF, Andreas Baader.<sup>19</sup> Another important event for the rapprochement of revolutionary-minded students and discontented workers was the Rolling Stones concert in West Berlin's Waldbiihne in September 1965. Excited by the music, but also by the intervention of the police, 20,000 spectators turned the stage into a pile of plywood. In order to better absorb the music, the singers themselves promoted the use of mind-expanding drugs. Initially, hashish played the main role, but from about 1966 chemical substances were added. The intoxication was exaggerated by corresponding songs, e.g., the Beatles evoked the effect of LSD with the song "Lucy in the Sky with Dia monds.

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18) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 145.

19) Dieter KUNZELMANN: Do not resist! Bilder aus meinem Leben (Berlin: transit 1998) p. 35.

20) Harry SHAPIRO: Sky High. Drug Culture in the Music Business (St. Andra-Wordern: Hannibal 1995) pp. 175-183.

under the influence of electrifying rock music to be an ideal means of expanding political, individual and social consciousness.<sup>21</sup>

Schult had probably already come into contact with cannabis in North Africa. In Miinchen, cannabis consumption had been rising steadily since 1964. The product was sold by American soldiers or Moroccan guest workers.<sup>22</sup> The escapees he took in also knew drugs. Among the youths, "gliicks makers" such as Captagon and Rosimon were in circulation.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, Schult began to critically question the meaning of the pop music demanded by the state. Didn't the schmaltzy songs promise the life luck of a hamster in the capitalist wheel, which Schult himself did not aspire to? He was much more interested in the rock music of the young people he desired sexually. Schult met a whole series of boys around the Cafe Venezia or went there with them. They were called "tramps," Ricky, Dave or Boris, had run away from home or from the youth center and were about 14-17 years old.

However, the political activists from the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS), with whom Schult came into contact, also frequented the Venezia, initially in his capacity as a dealer.<sup>24</sup> In addition, Schult had been living in a large apartment in Koniginstrage near the university since early 1967. Thus he became aware of the growing revolt of the students and began to deal with their objectives. He must have discovered a number of similarities with his own life. In contrast to the party-affiliated

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21) SHAPIRO: Sky High p. 189.

22) Michael FARIN (ed.): Polizeireport 1799-1999 (Miinchen: Belle ville 1999) p. 400.

23) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 149.

24) Ibidem p. 168.

student organizations, the SDS, which had been rejected by the SPD, advocated radical goals: Its members demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. Army from Vietnam; the war crimes there may have reminded Schult fatally of his experiences in Algeria. In addition, the members of "Kommune I," which was active in West Berlin and closely linked to the student movement, demanded a relaxation of the sexual discourse and a revolutionization of society for sexuality. Drawing on the theorist Herbert Marcuse, they identified underdeveloped sexuality as part of the principle of domination in the Federal Republic.<sup>25</sup> Free sexuality was therefore an elementary component of a political-social transformation. In addition, there were demands for a democratization of the media and the rejection of the so-called "emergency laws," which were seen as a precursor to a militarization of society. Various protagonists of the student movement called for solidarity with international liberation movements.

In early June 1967, the situation in West Berlin escalated. At a demonstration against the visit of the Shah of Persia

- whose rule represented only a monarchical military dictatorship - the demonstrator Benno Ohnesorg was shot by the police in West Berlin. Schult now began to become seriously involved with the student movement and took part in actions.<sup>26</sup> In addition, there were direct points of contact between Schult's sex life and the political agitation of the student movement. In the course of 1968, the so-called "home campaign" began. Its representatives believed that they could prepare and unleash a revolution precisely by means of the non-unionized working-class subculture ("fringe group strategy"). As the ideal militant "soldiers of the

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25) Herbert MARCUSE: Liberation of Sexuality. In: Helmut KENTLER (ed.): Sexualwesen Mensch. Texte zur Erforschung der Sexualität (München: Piper 1988) pp. 222-233, here p. 228.

26) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 208.

They identified the young inmates of reformatories as the "revolution" because they were easily inspired by their age and were in fact "educated" under conditions that were in part inhumane.<sup>27</sup> Encouraged by the student movement's campaigns, hundreds of juveniles broke out of reformatories in 1968/69.<sup>28</sup> Some of them ended up in socialist communes, but even more often they ended up in the "blues" subculture of drug addicts, failed students, casual workers and "bums. Some of them were housed in socialist shared apartments, but more often they ended up in the "blues" subculture of drug addicts, failed students, casual laborers and "bums. Not infrequently, the boys ended up on the street.<sup>29</sup> The hopes of the students, who were striving to broaden their revolutionary base, to educate the escapees into a loyal foot race failed in most cases. Some went to the emerging

"Most of the others either returned to the homes more or less voluntarily or sought their own paths beyond student infiltration attempts. By the fall of 1969 at the latest, the home campaign in its original form had failed, even though it was to continue under different guises until at least 1972.

It is not clear to what extent Schult was involved in these campaigns, but he did find direct connections to the student movement in the course of 1968. He was involved in the violent protests following the assassination of student leader Rudi Dutschke on Griind Thursday 1968. These protests were directed primarily against buildings belonging to the "BILD-

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27) Rose AHLHEIM / Wilfried HOLSEMANN / Helmut KAPCZYNSKI / Manfred KAPPELER / Manfred LIEBEL / Christian MARZAHN / Falco WERETKIN: *Gefesselte Jugend. Fi.irsorgeerziehung im Kapitalismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1971) pp. 63, 164.

28) Gerd KOENEN: *The Red Decade. Our little German Cultural Revolution 1967-1977* (Ki:iln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 2001) S. 175.

29) Peter SCHULT: *The Tramp*. In: *Kontiki* No. 7, 1983, o. p.

Newspaper", whose editors blamed the protesters for the assassination by means of a "pogrom" mood against the extra-parliamentary opposition. Here Schult also met the young gay activist Rolf Pohle. Pohle had studied law and for a time headed the General Student Committee (AStA) of the University of Miinchen. After the violent riots, in the course of which two demonstrators lost their lives, it was thanks to Pohle's dedicated work that the deaths of the two men could not be blamed solely on the organizers of the demonstration.<sup>30</sup> Schult was also able to observe the criminalization of APO members through the example of his acquaintance. A few months later, for example, Rolf Pohle was sentenced to prison for allegedly leading the cyclists in the riots following the attempt on Dutschke's life.<sup>31</sup>

Schult now remained involved in political radicalization. In December 1968, he was sentenced to a fine for intentional bodily harm to a member of the Ring Christlich-Demokratischer Studenten (RCDS). The wave of criminalization staged by the judiciary and the police against the protesters now affected him as well. The apolitical drug dealer had become a consciousness-raising activist. In the course of the year, however, the student revolt passed its climax. It was not possible to prevent the emergency laws from being passed, nor was it possible to attract public attention by means of a "Vietnam Congress. A general militarization of the movement was only really wanted by a few members. At best, situationist violent actions could hope for approval. Instead, many members sought

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30) Peter SCHULT: Rolf's Vorgeschichte. In: Antiquariat Schwarzer Stern (ed.): Der Blues. Gesammelte Texte der Bewegung 2. Juni, vol. 1 (Dortmund: Schwarzer Stern 2001) pp. 45-51, here p. 45.

31) Ibidem p. 49.

The women in the extra-parliamentary opposition were looking for self-realization after the energy-sapping months. Female students in particular felt underrepresented in the APO; their special interests and concerns were not even recognized by the men. The sexual liberation, meanwhile underlined by countless "Aufklärungsfilme" and "Mannermagazine," seemed to be perceived by women only as a commodity. The

The women's movement, which was forming around the "Weiberraten," denounced the one-dimensionality of the revolutionary thinking of leading SDS functionaries.<sup>32</sup> Although they talked about a world revolt, they were not in a position to improve the situation of women in their own residential communities. The male-dominated SDS seemed to continue the repressive mechanisms of the bourgeois state as an "anti-institution."<sup>33</sup> After the functionary class at an SDS meeting failed to respond to the women's complaints, Helke Sander threw tomatoes at the homosexual Hans-Jürgen Krahl and called on the women to break out of the patriarchal SDS.<sup>34</sup> The strategy of emancipation away from the revolutionary mother organization toward a separate march toward revolution was championed by a whole series of groups. The "dogmatists" wanted to revolutionize the workers and dreamed of a Starke communist party in the style of the 1920s, but with different ideological concepts (Leninism, Maois-

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32) KOENEN: *Das rote Jahrzehnt* p. 125-127.

33) Andrea TRUMANN: *Feminist Theory. Frauenbewegung und weibliche Subjektbildung im Spatkapitalismus* (Stuttgart: Schmetterling 2002) p. 16.

34) Wolfgang KRAUSHAAR: 1968. *das Jahr, das alles verändert hat* (München: Piper 1998) p. 242; Helke SANDER: *Rede des Aktionsrates zur Befreiung der Frau* (1968). In: Ann ANDERS (ed.): *Schlüsseltex-te der neuen Frauenbewegung seit 1968* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum 1988) pp. 39-47; *Aufstand der Frauen im SDS*. In: Frank WOLFF / Eberhard WINDAUS (eds.): *Studentenbewegung 1967-69. Protokolle und Materialien* (Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern 1977) pp. 219-233.

musism, Trotskyism, pure Marxism). The K-groups were born. Undogmatic critics of such a development stated ironically: "We were like Lubke. We, too, got galloping cerebral sclerosis." <sup>35</sup>

In addition, there were "grassroots" sections that also wanted to revolutionize the working class but sought to infiltrate the local subproletariat, whose members were not organized in trade unions. Many ideologically less influenced followers of the revolt hoped for self-emancipation in new environments so that they would not have to commit themselves to certain ideologies. In Berlin, the buzzword "hash rebels" was coined. Here, Peter Schult also saw his home in the slowly disintegrating revolt, which was now entering increasingly radical waters. All political groups saw themselves as part of a worldwide revolutionary movement that would defeat capitalism (but also Soviet Bolshevism) within a short time. The members of those circles who aspired to revolutionize the subproletariat aimed to increase their own militancy. This development was accompanied by an admiration of the Palestinian struggle for freedom against the state of Israel, which had turned into anti-Semitism. In order to reassure their own followers and at the same time to recruit new supporters, Miinchner Rechtshilfe and the Wacker/Einstein commune organized a "prison camp" in Ebrach in July 1969. The student Reinhard Wetter was imprisoned in the prison there. Peter Schult took part in the preparation of the event, which was originally planned as a political happening, but which, due to the clumsy actions of the security forces, ended in the end.

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35) Ulrich ENZENSBERGER: Die Jahre der Kommune I. Berlin 1967-1969 (Koln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 2004) p. 379. Heinrich Lubke, Bundespriisident 1959-1969, was occasionally swayed by age and illness to make statements that gave rise to open debates about a possible spiritual weakness.



The meeting resulted in a mass riot at the local district office. Afterwards, several participants left for Jordan via Italy to wage guerrilla warfare there.<sup>36</sup> Returning to Munich and Berlin, they began to build a clandestine organizational structure that was nevertheless embedded in the subculture of drug addicts, the unemployed and "gamblers. This also included the expansion of legal aid, i.e., cooperation with experienced lawyers who were positively disposed toward the revolutionaries' concerns. Rolf Pohle was particularly prominent in this regard. Encouraged by "wildcat strikes" in the automotive industry in the summer and fall of 1969, the self-styled revolutionaries believed they were on the verge of a social upheaval. Taking advantage of a relatively successful American liberation organization, which had been made clear in its actions, the participants called themselves "Tupamaros Miinchen" and "Tupamaros Westberlin".<sup>37</sup> They were oriented toward the U.S. Black Power movement and aimed to fight in the metropolises. This included spectacular attacks in addition to bank robberies. In Berlin, members of the "Tupamaros" staged a bomb attack on the Yidish community center on the anniversary of the 1938 pogrom night. In Miinchen, a similar attack occurred on the Yidish home for the elderly, the circumstances of which are still unclear. At that time, Schult was not involved in any terrorist groups, so his name does not appear in the police files of Miinchen. There he was only known as a drug dealer, which is why he was arrested just at the time when the "Tupamaros" began their first attacks, was arrested and sentenced to nine months in prison. He thus fell out of the subculture, out of the police's wanted list, and also out of the aufler parliamentary environment.

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36) KUNZELMANN: Do not resist p. 121.

37) Wolfgang KRAUSHAAR: Die Bombe im jiidischen Gemeindehaus (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition 2005) p. 146.

In the months when the first terrorist groups were formed, the discourse on sexuality within the left-wing scene also increased. The women's movement was responsible for this. Its representatives had not exhausted themselves in criticizing the "sex wave" that was only beginning for men. Rather, after the abject failure of the "home campaign," they strove to educate a new powerful elite of revolutionaries. They were to be educated from infancy, free of bourgeois prejudices. These considerations resulted in a comprehensive discussion of children's sexual development and sensibilities. The goal was to educate children free of "repressive family structures. To this end, the followers of the Kinderladen movement made use of the popularized theories of the abstruse Freudian philosopher Wilhelm Reich:

"... I don't find this abstract at all, but this is the result, as Wilhelm Reich proved in the 'Sexual Revolution,' that the social reproduction mechanisms arising from the capitalist or feudal mode of production give rise to a sexually repressive organization of sexuality such as the family in the first place. So we must try to understand these things not in isolation or biologically or otherwise, but from the real concrete material and economic basis, and that in this case is the capitalist mode of production and not some biologism...." <sup>38</sup>

In the Kinderladen, future generations were to grow up free of bourgeois sexual and educational norms. The anti-authoritarian educational methods of Summerhill in England and reports on hippie communes in the USA served as models.<sup>39</sup> The student communes, on the other hand, which were had so fascinated the bourgeois press in the years before 1969,

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38) Women's Revolt p. 229.

39) **Till MEYER**: Staatsfeind. Erinnerungen, 2nd edition (Jv[inchen - Berlin: Goldmann / Spiegel 1998) p. 136.

were developed almost exclusively for adults. The men were initially to be excluded from the children's stores in order to ensure an education free of patriarchal fears. The women were inspired by the idea of providing their own children and those entrusted to them with an education free of coercion, sexual assault and with complete enlightenment.<sup>40</sup> However, this concept was not strictly adhered to. To finance the Kinderladen projects, the participants resorted to sometimes unorthodox methods (drug dealing).<sup>41</sup> In addition, critics argued that the Kinderladen projects were aimed solely at the attainment of an unfiltered pleasure principle.<sup>42</sup> Parents acting on the fringes of children's self-realization took precise note of the sexual emancipation of their offspring. As early as 1969, members of Kommune 2 minutios published the sexualized language between

"Grischa" (2  $\frac{3}{4}$  years) and "Nessim" (3  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) and their first attempts at coitus.<sup>43</sup> A little later, a proud mother explained to interested readers how many rhythmic pelvic movements her three-year-old daughter performed in an hour in order to achieve orgasm.<sup>44</sup> Children as young as five years old were already not

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40) Mathilde TRAPPE/ Philipp STELLER: Die GEWALTtartige FAMILIE (Berlin: Elefanten-Press 1989) pp. 131-137.

41) Martin ZIPS: Empty in the Love-In. Once upon a time there was a hippie kid. The journalist Katharina Wulff-Brautigam, her moving book and what remained of 1968. In: *Siiddeutsche Zeitung* 11/12 June 2005, weekend supplement p. III.

42) Wolfgang Fritz HAUG: Warenasthetik. Sexualitat und Herrschaft (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer 1972) pp. 89-92.

43) Kommune 2: Tabu Kindersexualitat (1969). In: Helmut KENTLER (ed.): Sexualwesen Mensch. Texte zur Erforschung der Sexualitat (Miinchen: Piper 1988) pp. 110-119.

44) Bettina SCHUHRKE: The Development of Child Sexuality - Observed. In: KENTLER (Ed.): Sexualwesen Mensch S. 97-115, here. S. 100.

children were not only sexually enlightened to a large extent, but also correspondingly active. As a result, only the question of how children reacted sexually to adults remained to be clarified.<sup>45</sup> The already wide-ranging sexological research was hardly given any weight by the protagonists of the Kinderladen movement or by later left-wing groups active in sexual reform. Rather, all participants endeavored to pursue their own path to knowledge, unconsciously repeating many debates of (biological) sexual research of past days that were believed to have been overcome. The goal was always to banish sexual hostility from (one's own) youth education and to invalidate the socioeconomically justified sexual taboos.<sup>46</sup> The cultivation of the orgasm seemed to the adherents of children's store education like a special form of successful class struggle.<sup>47</sup>

For the "SpieBbiirger," pictures in and reports about the children's stores were downright shocking: "To the uninvolved pedestrian on Tiirkenstrasse, the academy kindergarten presented the following picture: two dilapidated barracks in an overgrown garden, in which naked children were jumping around shrieking like wild monkeys. It was certainly an exciting sight, otherwise not so many passersby had stopped to watch the spectacle as if they were in a zoo."<sup>48</sup>

The hope that the children themselves would recognize and accept orientation norms was not fulfilled. Spa-

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45) SCHUHRKE: *Development* p. 107, 113. See also Bent H. CLAESSON / Bodil CLAESSON: *Sexualinformationen fiir Jugendliche* (1968), 4th edition (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik 1974). S. 19.

46) Anton Andreas GUHA: *Sexualitat und Pornographie. Die organisierte Entmiindigung* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer 1971) pp. 30, 38.

47) Otto GMELIN: *Emancipation and Orgasm* (1968) (Haarlem: Editora Queimada 1973) p. 13.

48) Katharina WULFF-BRAUTIGAM: *Bhagwan, Che und ich. Meine Kindheit in den 70ern* (Miinchen: Droste 2005) p. 58.

t this point at the latest - around 1971 - the question of a correct childish or juvenile sexuality and the behavior of adults on the way to educate the next generation in the hoped-for world revolution arose. At the same time, under the influence of the film "It is not the homosexual who is perverted, but the situation in which he lives", the emancipation of male homosexuals began. The gays appeared to some sexual theorists of the new left as revolutionaries qua nature. Reimut Reiche, for example, called male homosexuality an "exquisitely phallic-genital sexual practice," the practice of which would lead to a softening of the socially imposed separation of the sexes and a weakening of the capitalist state. In this way, he also tried to divert attention from the fact that many representatives of the left viewed homosexuality as something inferior and accepted discrimination against gay men with equal equality.<sup>50</sup> Despite many prejudices among their political allies, the protagonists of the gay movement saw themselves as part of a comprehensive revolutionary movement.<sup>51</sup> They rejected the "bourgeois subculture:

"Although homosexuals break through the bourgeois sexual norm, they adopt the kitschy, sentimental sexual ideology of the social majority without ever being able to achieve the goals contained therein."<sup>52</sup>

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49) Reimut REICHE: *Sexuality and Class Struggle. Zur Abwehr repressiver Entsublimierung* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik).

1970) S. 119-120.

50) Form the Homosexual Liberation Front. In: *FIZZ* No. 2, 1971, S. 3.

51) Hamburg, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Archiv: SBe 699/700 Schwulenbewegung / Allgemein Box 01, Homosexuelle Aktion Westberlin / AG Schwule: *Schwule* (Berlin: E. i. S. 1974) S. 9.

52) *Ibidem*: Homosexual Action West Berlin: Declaration of Principles (Nov. 7, 1971), Articles of Organization (Feb. 20, 1972) (Berlin: E. i. S.

1972) S. 4.

Specifically, they demanded a lowering of the "age of consent" and immediately joined forces with the women's movement. Women's movement. After the enervating discussions about the Kinderladen, numerous politically committed women had decided to shift emancipation from the kiünftigen generation back to their own lives and, starting in 1972, concentrated on abolishing the abortion paragraph 218.<sup>53</sup> Peter Schult took only a marginal part in this development. He had been released from prison in 1970 with the help of Rolf Pohle.<sup>54</sup> But Schult was clearly not pleased with the actions of his friiher friends, who had slipped into the terrorist milieu, which were primarily characterized by shrill anticio nism. He also stayed out of the sexual discourse within the political left, preferring to concentrate on his drug trade and sexual intercourse with adolescent boys. Perhaps he was disturbed by the fights between Trotskyists, Leninists and anarchists. Later he noted:

"All the slogans taken from the class struggles of the past, which had their justification at the time, and their application to the present time show the outdated thought patterns, the inability to analyze the actual situation. What is the use today of the slogans "petty-bourgeois anarchists," "lumpenproletarians," "longhairs," etc., as if all revolutions did not come from those who are underprivileged, and not from the established, and the "worker," as our organizations see him, is, after all, an established person?"<sup>55</sup>

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53) Brot und Rosen (ed.): Frauenhandbuch Nr. 1 (Berlin: Eigenverlag 1972, 2nd edition 1974) p. 40. For a critique of the Kinderladen, see Heinz HENGST / Michael KOHLER / Barbara RIEDMULLER / Manfred Max WAMBACH: Kindheit als Fiktion (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1981) p. 13.

54) SCHULT: Rolf's Prehistory p. 50.

55) Berlin, private archive Volker Schlöndorff: Peter SCHULT: Some

In February 1970, the former Communist and symbolic figure of the "Spagrevolte" Fritz Teufel disappeared into illegality in München, and the "Tupamaros" carried out a series of new attacks, while at the same time the subculture of the socially ostracized was increasingly controlled by the police.<sup>56</sup> This led to a narrowing of the scope of the forming terrorists, who now believed they could achieve a revolutionization of broad social strata through spectacular actions. In Berlin, Andreas Baader managed to escape from prison in May during a release with the help of the journalist Ulrike Meinhof. Together with several comrades-in-arms, they formed the RAF, which saw itself as a revolutionary avant-garde. Based on a mixture of Leninism and Maoism, it strove for victory in the international struggle. This was the exact opposite of the concept of the Tupamaros, who wanted to act within a certain subculture as a part, not as an elite. In the spring of 1971, the RAF published several pamphlets and linked the initiation of the "armed struggle.

"Tupamaros" radicalized under the impression of the uprising.

The RAF and the first waves of arrests. In Munich, a few veterans of home campaigns, the Kinderladen movement and the fringe group strategy planned a momentous bank robbery. On August 4, 1971, Georg Rammelmeyer and Dimitri Todorov raided the Hypo branch on Prinzregentenplatz, took hostages and demanded two million DM. If the authorities refused, the bank robbers, who called themselves the "Red Front," threatened retaliation: "Machine-gun attacks on the bank.

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Überlegungen über Drogen, Politik, Literatur u. a. (maschinen schriftliches Manuskript, 14 Seiten o. J.) p. 12.

56) ENZENSBERGER: The Years of the Commune IS. 376.

57) The Concept of Urban Guerrilla (April 1971). In: Rote Armee Fraktion. Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF (Berlin: ID Verlag 1997) pp. 27-48. Über den bewaffneten Kampf in Westeuropa (May 1971). In: Ibidem pp. 49-111.



arbitrary passers-by and cars, as well as explosive attacks of devastating effect will be the result. "58

When the hostage-takers tried to board the escape vehicle that had been prepared, there was an exchange of fire in which Rammelmeyer and a hostage were shot dead. Immediately, a wave of arrests began against the possible or real supporters of the "Red Front. At the same time, many members of the left-wing spectrum in Miinchen distanced themselves from the action and the glorification of violence. Schult, who knew from his experience in Algeria how successful guerrilla movements worked, could only have had a dim view of the naiveté of the Prinzregentenstraße bank robbers. However, he could only observe the developments in Prinzregentenstrasse and within the increasingly divisive left-wing scene from a distance. For he had already been facing intensified investigative measures by the Narcotics Department for some time. After a customer betrayed him, he had to go into hiding for a few weeks and organize a new apartment. Finally, however, he was arrested in February 1971 and held in custody for several months. After a short trial, he was sentenced to eleven months' imprisonment by a Schoffengericht in November. In addition, he had to serve the remainder of the sentence that Rolf Pohle, who had in the meantime been put on the wanted list, had obtained in 1970. Schult was sent to Kaisheim for sentencing.

While still in custody, Schult had not only detached himself from drugs (cold turkey), but had also reconnected directly with the extra-parliamentary left. The "Rote Hilfe" ("Red Help"), founded in Berlin in 1970 as a successor organization to the disbanding APO Rechtshilfe, sent him propaganda material and the first texts of the RAF in his cell. He was attracted by the phrases of the self-proclaimed revolutionaries, because at least in their

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58) FARIN (ed.): Police Report p. 455.