

«Ihr seit die Gefangenen  
Im Klassenkampf  
Im Kampf um unsere Zukunft  
Und für unser Land»

### *Der Kampf geht weiter – Ton Steine Scherben*

The partition of Germany following its defeat in the Second World War made the country the epicentre of East-West tensions against the background of the atomic threat. The Cold War saw its agents take the country as a playground and the states use its soil to deploy an arsenal sufficient to erase the earth from the solar system. It is 1981 and «America is back», Reagan has just been elected, the ultra-conservatives are in power after the rising fevers of the previous two decades. Moscow has just installed its ss20 missiles in East Germany and the USA is about to do the same with its Pershings, their range is 1800 km, Berlin is 1822 km from Moscow. The renewed tension is palpable.

The anti-nuclear, anti-militarist and ecological movement has logically taken on prime importance in the social conflicts that are sweeping the country. Die Grünen appeared on the scene while the RAF imposed political violence as a dialectic. This strategy of conflictual rupture with the framework imposed by bourgeois democracy left little room for the extra-parliamentary left.

On 13 September, the arrival of General Haig of the US Army saw a crowd of 70,000 people in favour of disarmament invade the streets of West Berlin. Although the Protestant youth organisations formed the bulk of the troops with those of the SPD, they considered the situation so serious that they agreed to form a common front with the K, the communist organisations. «Their motives are not the same as ours, but that doesn't matter, as long as we serve the same purpose,» says Pastor Albertz, former SPD mayor of West Berlin. To their left are the alternative activists structured around the environmental movement, which has been mobilising for years through its action committees on concrete grounds. Then came the squatters who occupied 20 buildings with an anarchist tendency. They rejected the two blocks and maintained links with the more radical elements.

This was the birth of marginal Kreuzberg, which from the end of August and for a month organised international meetings for «punks, hippies, tramps, pederasts, lesbians and the underground from all over the world». Wild demonstrations and clashes became almost daily.

In this context, it is not insignificant to imagine an attack on the US air force base in Ramstein on 31 August. It had hardly committed any action since the «German autumn» of 1977, which had seen the first generation of the organisation decapitated. The second generation is recruiting, lurking in the shadow of the sympathisers, it is also wondering about the strategy to be followed and is seeking to regain links with the social movement.

In Yan Morvan's photographs, we can see the embryo of what will become the black block, and from the faces we see its essence: punks, hippies, leftists, tramps. Heirs of German romanticism against a background of concentration camp guilt. *Væ Victis*. The revolution in a neighbourhood, in its slow death, gives us an additional empathy with the impasse of the choice of weapons. The alternative was never dialectically anything other than a capitalism, if you doubt it, go to Kreuzberg.

## **Berlin**

1981

### **ARCHIVE N°13**

YAN MORVAN

300 ex. 2021

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