THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE AND GERMANY, 1945–1989

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Remembering his tour of duty in West Germany as a young officer in the US Army, the later general and Secretary of State Colin Powell remarked in his memoirs that for black soldiers, "but especially those out of the South, Germany was a breath of freedom. [*They could*] go where they wanted, eat where they wanted, and date whom they wanted, just like other people."[1] Similar to Powell, African American writer William Gardner Smith described the feelings of the protagonist in his novel *The Last of the Conquerors*, set in Germany at the end of the 1940s: "I like this goddamn country, you know that? . . . It is the first place I was ever treated like a goddamn man."[2]

The permanent stationing of the US Army in Europe after the Second World War brought about 3 million African American GIs to the Federal Republic during the Cold War. Shortly after the fall of National Socialism, Germans were directly confronted with the presence of African Americans in the country, be it as soldiers, customers, tenants, husbands, or sons-in-law. In recent years, historians like Maria Höhn, Petra Goedde, and Heide Fehrenbach have begun to analyze and interpret the relationship between these two groups and the impact it had on the Cold War, transatlantic relations, and racial discourses and discrimination in Germany.[3] This project will extend these groundbreaking studies by exploring the mutual relationship between the African American civil rights movement and German attitudes toward race and ethnicity, focusing in particular on how Germany was perceived by African Americans during the Cold War. Many African American intellectuals and artists, such as Ira Aldridge, W.E.B. DuBois, Duke Ellington, and Paul Robeson, visited Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their impressions of the country, combined with those of African American soldiers stationed in postwar occupied Germany, reflect not only their personal contacts with individuals and political networks (including international religious organizations and trade unions) but also more theoretical analyses of German history, including the Nazi era, which civil-rights activists invoked as a point of comparison when denouncing racial injustice in the US. The significance these interactions had in the further development of the civil rights struggle in the US will be one of the prime subjects of analysis.

In addition to exploring how African American perceptions of Germany influenced the development of the American civil rights movement, this project will look at how the reception and recontextualization of that movement's ideology, iconography, and cultural practices transformed German political culture and traditional concepts of democracy, civil society, and the public sphere. By analyzing the ways in which Germans constructed and negotiated ethnic identities and ideas of blackness from 1945 to 1989, I hope to illuminate both the African American struggle for civil rights and the history of the black power movement in East and West Germany.

Retracing the historical encounter between African Americans and Germans during the Cold War is a critical step in reevaluating the sociocultural and political relationship between these two groups. Governments on both sides frequently monitored and, in some cases, intervened in these interactions, which is another important aspect of the African American-German relationship that will be addressed in this study. The primary goals of the project are thus to understand how concepts of race, integration, and political empowerment were mutually appropriated by Germans and African Americans in the postwar period, and to outline the social and political evolution of those concepts after the pivotal years of the 1960s.

To accomplish these goals, I will follow the trend of recent works to situate issues of racial identity and the African American experience in the twentieth century in a larger international context.[4] The growth of Black Diaspora Studies, the emergence of transnational history, and the research focus of such scholarly networks as CARR (Collegium for African American Research), ASWAD (Association of the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora) and BEST (Black European Studies) have done much to reverse the often limited, national perspectives of historiography. In the past decade, these groups have been trying to expand African American Diaspora Studies beyond the narrowly bounded geography of the US and the Caribbean, and the existing focus on US slavery and its aftermath. It is a convergence of all these trends that has induced several scholars in the US and Germany to turn their attention to the African American experience in Germany and its impact on developments in the US.

To achieve these goals, this project has entered into an international research cooperation between Vassar College, the Heidelberg Center for American Studies, and the German Historical Institute. Together with Professor Maria Höhn (Vassar), we will create a digital archive on the role of African American GIs in carrying the civil rights movement to Germany and back to the US. Sources from the African American press, government documents, and military records, as well as flyers, pamphlets, and selected articles from the alternative media are currently be-

ing made available online for future scholars and students.[5] This way, it will not only be possible to widely disseminate the project results among German and American academics, but also to establish this neglected chapter of African American diaspora and transatlantic relations as a vital subject of further inquiry, scholarship, and teaching.

"A Breath of Freedom": Images of Germany in the Civil Rights Movement

The Second World War was probably the most important factor for a transformation in US race relations in the twentieth century. The experience of African American soldiers in their fight against fascism brought a new boost and particular dynamic to the African American civil rights movement. The American dilemma, defined by Gunnar Myrdal in 1944 as the contradiction between democratic ideology and racist reality, emerged not only as a domestic problem now but also as a weakness in the global competition for hearts and minds in the postwar period vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

Already before the war, the black press had juxtaposed National Socialist discrimination of religious and ethnic minorities with the fight against racism at home.[6] Among African Americans, the US entry into the war in December 1941 did not provoke any particular enthusiasm. Rather, it reminded them of the failed hopes and broken promises of equal rights after the previous war. As the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People) declared, "Memories of all Negroes except those of the very young are bitter-green regarding the last World War. We were taken up to a mountain-top and promised that if we gave without stint of our lives and resources we would enjoy after the war democracy in full measure. Instead, some of our soldiers were lynched for wearing the uniform they had worn in France fighting to preserve democracy."[7] African American activists and leaders therefore tried to prevent a similar outcome in this conflict by calling for the simultaneous fight against injustice at home and abroad, hoping for a double victory on both fronts ("Double V-campaign"). The influential black press helped spread this message early on. In a remarkable editorial entitled "Now is the Time," *The Crisis*, the official publication of the NAACP, wrote in January 1942:

> If this is truly a death struggle between the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorships, and the dignity and decency of democracies, we cannot wink; we dare not keep silent. It must be that we declare the life blood of our fighters and the sweat of our workers to be a sacrifice for a new world which not only shall not contain a Hitler, but no Hitlerism. And to thirteen millions of

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Cartoon from *The Crisis*, February 1935
(Source: NAACP)

American Negroes that means a fight for a world in which lynching, brutality, terror, humiliation and degradation through segregation and discrimination, shall have no place—either here or there. So we must speak, even as we fight and die. We must say that the fight against Hitlerism begins in Washington, D.C., the capital of our nation, where black Americans have a status only slightly above that of Jews of Berlin. We must say that if forced labor is wrong in Czechoslovakia, peonage farms are wrong in Georgia. If the ghettos in Poland are evil, so are the ghettos in America.[8]

While stressing the "bargaining power of battlefield bravery in the struggle for advancement,"[9] the paper proclaimed that the practical necessities of the war effort would accelerate racial integration and equal employment opportunities in the armed services and industry. In addition, the experience of African Americans in the military was guaranteed to strengthen their self-confidence: "The important lesson that given training and opportunity [they] can do anything white people can do, and sometimes better, will not be lost upon the colored brethren. It will bring about a profound change in their psychology which will make them more unwilling than ever to accept a status of second class citizenship."[10]

The reality of legally sanctioned inequality and discrimination was, however, hard to change. Already in January 1941, the trade union leader A. Philip Randolph had threatened a mass march on Washington, DC to protest segregation in the defense industry, which led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to pass an executive order that prohibited discrimination in the defense industry "because of race, creed, color, or national origin."[11] Even though the war did not bring any further legal improvements for the situation of African Americans, it strengthened their determination to change their practical disenfranchisement in US society. As a result, the membership of the NAACP, for example, rose from 50,000 to 400,000 between 1940 and 1946. This increasing politicization in the African American community went along with a concerted push for the desegregation of the military. As *The Crisis* wrote in June 1945, "In the closing weeks of the war in Germany, he [the Negro soldier] was finally given a chance to fight side by side with his white fellow Americans in the same units. . . . It is to be hoped that the performance of our soldiers in Europe will move the War department to abolish the color line in the Army. There is no sense in a nation preaching democracy and spending billions of dollars and a million casualties (to date) to achieve it, and then separating its fighting men on the basis of color."[12]

Moved by the growing pressure "to put our own house in order" before trying to spread democracy in Europe and elsewhere, President Harry S. Truman finally initiated the desegregation of the military in 1948.[13] Other bills, however, aimed at banning desegregation in all public institutions, failed due to the veto power of the South in Congress. Nonetheless, the Second World War and the beginning Cold War had successfully internationalized the question of civil rights. African American activists had employed a more global outlook to race since the First World War, when black GIs encountered colonial troops in France, and kept a close watch on developments in Africa and India. Walter White, the head of the NAACP, consequently announced at the annual meeting in January 1946 that the organization would continue to stress the international dimension of the race question now, since the situation in the US was

"part and parcel of the problems of other colored peoples in the West Indies, South America, Africa, the Pacific and Asia."[14] But the domestic pressures of the Cold War soon led the NAACP to pursue a much tamer political agenda and drop international human rights in favor of gradual progress with civil rights at home.[15] Despite this political strategy, the German-American encounter continued to expand the geographical boundaries of the civil rights movement and let African Americans on a large scale experience a different legal and social status on foreign soil.

Although the US Army that occupied Germany after the war remained strictly segregated, there was no open legal discrimination comparable to Jim Crow in place in the country. The experience of black GIs in the immediate postwar period was one of liberation from the legal and social constraints that confined them in American society. Black GIs, which made up about 10 percent of the troops (about 30,000 after the troop build-up in the 1950s), were in fact received very warmly by Germans together with their fellow (white) soldiers. Friendly relations, especially with the female population, also ensued relatively quickly. According to unofficial estimates, sexual relationships between Germans and Americans during the occupation resulted in about 94,000 children. In the immediate postwar period, about 3 percent of these children were the product of African American and German parents.[16]

The Federal Republic was by no means free from racism and prejudices, but the generally cordial public attitude of Germans and the frequency of these interracial sexual relations stood in stark contrast to the freedoms African Americans enjoyed in the US.[17] As a result, many African Americans raised the question of why it was possible to seemingly transcend the color line in a post-fascist country but not in their home country, where traditional forms of institutionalized racism continued to blossom. Returning veterans, as well as detailed coverage in the black press or novels such as William Gardner Smith's *The Last of the Conquerors* transported this sentiment back to the US. As a letter to the editor to *Ebony* from 1947 explained,

> Your pictures and articles on . . . "GIs in Germany" were great, because . . . they gave undeniable proof that the Negro is a human being, a creature who loves and is loved. . . . As a free people we Negroes want the right to live wherever we choose and can pay the rent; to associate with, court or marry whomever we choose. . . . If a Negro boy and a white girl find things in common and desire to associate with each other, we as believers in democratic freedom should support their democratic right to do so.[18]

**"Jim Crow in Germany." Cartoon from a Pamphlet by
the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military and Training, 1949
(Source: Wisconsin Historical Society)**

The experience of African American GIs in Germany thus began to provide additional leverage in the domestic struggle against Jim Crow or, as some labeled it, "Hitlerism at home."

The comparison between the race laws of Nazi Germany and segregation in the US did not only exist in the discourse of African American activists and soldiers, but was also part of the legal battle for civil rights in American courts. In the first landmark case against US miscegenation laws, *Perez v. Sharp* (1948) before the Supreme Court of California, the petitioner's brief even used a reference from Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* to defend the legal status quo. As a reaction, one of the judge's concurring opinions in favor of the plaintiff expressed great distress: "To bring into this issue the correctness of the writings of a madman, a rabble-

rouser, a mass-murderer, would be to clothe his utterances with an undeserved aura of respectability and authoritativeness. Let us not forget that this was the man who plunged the world into a war in which, for the third time, America fought, bled, and died for the truth of the proposition that all men are created equal."[19] In its decision to strike down these laws in California, the court paved the way for other laws allowing interracial marriage, which the US Supreme Court finally adopted in its 1967 decision in *Loving v. Virginia*.[20]

By that point, Germany had become a fixed reference point in the domestic discourse on African American civil rights. African American activists from the NAACP to the Black Panthers used the example of National Socialism as a comparative frame to illustrate the true nature of US race relations. In doing so, they stressed the rift between the American creed of equality and the factual system of apartheid that existed in the country. The experience of a different social treatment and legal status in postwar Germany also hardened the resolution of returning veterans and the African American community to advance their cause at home through active participation in civil rights marches and demonstrations. Likewise, the communist system of East Germany was only all too eager to exploit the issue of civil rights for its own propaganda during the Cold War and gladly embraced desertions of African American soldiers beyond the Iron Curtain.[21] The impact their time in Germany had on African Americans and their decision to join and shape the civil rights movements thus remains a largely untold story to which this project seeks to give voice.

"A Guide into the Future": African American Civil Rights in West Germany

Due to the spectacular iconography of its actions and its moral implications set in the propaganda battles of the Cold War, the African American civil rights movement transcended national borders and was formative for various groups of people outside the US. In addition, it forced the American political system to react to its claims so that these domestic struggles would not unduly overshadow America's international image.[22] Considering the extraordinarily close relationship between Germany and the US during the Cold War, it is no surprise that the African American struggle also seized the attention of many Germans and, in its visions and strategies, exercised a strong influence on German intellectuals, politicians, and the public at large, both East and West.[23] Issues of (non-)violence, democratic participation, and civil rights were debated by church representatives, activists, government officials, and legal scholars alike. African American icons such as James Baldwin and Harry Be-

lafonte, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Elridge Cleaver, or Angela Davis, influenced popular culture as well as subculture. Grassroots activists, writers, and the women's movement dedicated themselves to analyzing the situation of African Americans in the US, thereby trying to draw conclusions for their own situation. Moreover, German academics became more and more interested in what was to emerge as African American Studies.

This transatlantic reception was facilitated by the multitude of government-sponsored exchange programs that brought West German students, trade unionists, and economic and political leaders to the US in the 1950s. Many West Germans thus acquired firsthand experience of the racial divisions in the country of their transatlantic partner and could relate to the civil rights struggle on a personal basis. The music of the civil rights movements and folk icons like Joan Baez additionally transported this sentiment across the Atlantic. Even West German diplomats kept close tabs on the racial situation in the US and reported closely on the civil rights movement, race riots, or legal changes.

The West German mainstream press also followed the different stages of the African American liberation struggle in great detail. Particularly in the left-leaning media, the coverage of the civil rights movement was extensive.[24] The leaders themselves, such as Martin Luther King Jr., were given a voice in the periodicals, and German activists and intellectuals discussed if their techniques and strategies had any relevance for West Germany.[25] From the very beginning, the American civil rights movement was therefore also visible to German activists. Already in September of 1963, about a hundred West German students from various political organizations demonstrated for the equality of African Americans in the US and handed over a petition signed by four hundred fifty people addressed to John F. Kennedy to the US General Consul Ford in Frankfurt, protesting discrimination against blacks.[26]

Günter Amendt, a member of the German *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund* (SDS), observed as early as February 1965 that the involvement of the young students in voter registration drives in the American South during Freedom Summer had been a decisive moment for the free speech movement at Berkeley.[27] In September 1967, the riots in the ghettos of Detroit of July 1967 prompted the German SDS to officially declare its solidarity with "black power" at its twenty-second national convention.[28] The German SDS argued that after the failed attempts by the early civil rights movement to counter the structural racism in US society, the black power movement had become a viable next step and alternative way. In the eyes of German activists, "Black Nationalism" had become part of an international class struggle designed to achieve victory against

**Solidarity demonstration for
Afro-American Civil Rights in Frankfurt, September 1963
(Source: Renate Dabrowski, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt)**

American imperialism and capitalism in cooperation with the liberation movements of the Third World.[29] Similar to their American counterparts, the German SDS saw its own task in supporting the black power movement through collective revolutionary actions or active solidarity.

In 1968, this solidarity mounted due to the assassination of Martin Luther King in April and the increasing militancy of the black power movement in the United States. A "Berliner Komitee für Black Power," for example, openly tried to collect money for the armament of black people.[30] German activists also reached out to black soldiers in Germany by engaging in GI-organizing efforts or translating works related to black power, increasingly viewing the black nationalist movement as an adaptable model to transform their own society.[31] The emergence and popularity of the Black Panther Party (BPP), as well as direct contact to its leadership by the former German SDS president Karl-Dietrich Wolff, only intensified this sentiment. With the foundation of the Black Panther Solidarity Committee in West Germany in November 1969, formerly abstract solidarity declarations translated themselves into demonstrations and workshops on their behalf, the installation of the "Red Panthers," an apprentice reading group in Frankfurt led by Wolff, as well as visits of leading Black Panthers such as Kathleen Cleaver to the Federal Republic. Due to the international presence of the BPP with Elridge Cleaver in Algiers, the German committee was even tied into a much larger network, including solidarity groups from all over Europe.[32] Other focal points and indicators of Black Panther solidarity include the "Ramstein 2"-affair, the GI underground newspaper *The Voice of the Lumpen*, and the Angela Davis campaign.[33]

These contacts and identifications were also formative for the rise of armed struggle in the Federal Republic in the early 1970s.[34] In imitation of the Black Panthers, members of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF, Red Army Faction) and *Bewegung 2. Juni* (Movement June 2) adopted similar clothing (leather jackets, etc.) and, most importantly, the carrying of weapons as a sign of increasing militarization and a growing determination to resort to violence.[35] Even the founding manifesto of the RAF "Die Rote Armee aufbauen!" in *Agit 883* was published with a black panther next to the iconic Russian Kalashnikov.[36] According to RAF member Margrit Schiller, the Black Panthers even played a vital role in the discussion among RAF leaders during the drafting of the first longer theoretical piece, "The Concept of Urban Guerilla" (*Das Konzept Stadtguerilla*). Schiller remarks that Gudrun Ensslin had been actively involved in the desertion campaign for GIs in the 1960s, during which she had extensively studied the history of the black movement with the help of Black Panther soldiers. Therefore, there are numerous references to the Black Panthers in the theoretical writings of the RAF, especially concerning their relationship to the masses and the transition to illegality, as well as the use of violence.[37]

The reception of the Black Panther movement in West Germany also entered a strange symbiosis when it merged with Frantz Fanon's theories
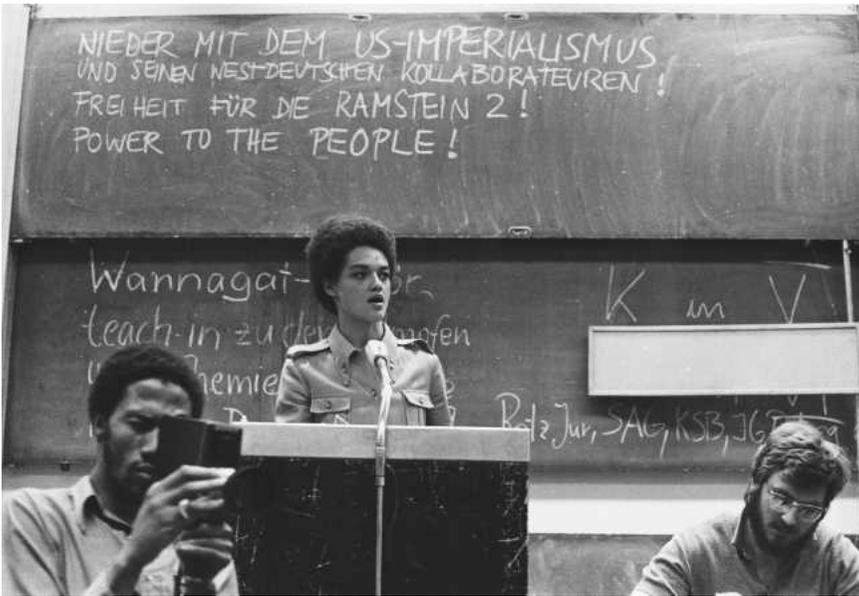
Kathleen Cleaver at the University of Frankfurt, 1971.
(Source: Barbara Klemm)

of liberation from colonial oppression and the burden of the National Socialist past in the minds of the Red Army Faction (RAF). Drawing on Fanon's model of colonial conflicts, the RAF saw the black power movement as an "internal colony" of the US, which could only liberate itself from oppression through the use of violence. Since the Federal Republic was tied to the US through the transatlantic alliance (as an external colony), it became complicit in any forms of American imperialism at home and abroad, while the RAF perceived US policy through the lens of Germany's past, semiotically linking it to the crimes of National Socialism.[38] Breaking away from this complicity thus became crucial for West German activists. Coming to terms with the West German past with the help of the "other" as a substratum of one's own oppression grew into a symbol of a belated resistance, and was the background against which the solidarity with the black power movement played out. Through this discourse, the history of the Federal Republic after 1945 was continuously being re-written and terrorist actions legitimized.

Accordingly, for parts of the student movement and groups such as the RAF, the various stages of the African American civil rights struggle played the role of a mediator to come to terms with their own country's past and future. Although unique in its intensity and violence, this particular way of recontextualizing and using the African American civil

rights movement for domestic purposes was certainly not limited to the student movement, but also permeated other segments of society. German church groups in particular were very much influenced by the integrationist vision of the African American struggle after some of their ministers and priests had taken part in civil rights demonstrations within the US.

This project therefore wants to extend its analysis of the impact of the African American civil rights and black power movement on Germany to all segments of society, and to evaluate the way in which discourses on race, national identity, and history were shaped by it. It also wants to break new territory in offering a perspective that includes both East and West Germany, by taking into account the close association of figures such as Angela Davis with the East German SED, her appearance at the "10. Weltfestspiele der Jugend und Studenten" in East Berlin in 1973, and the various support campaigns for her and African Americans being organized in the GDR.

Solidarity with African Americans was often to a vast degree part of a process of German self-definition, whether it be culturally or politically motivated. How these appropriation processes unfolded in both German states on various social levels, what the long-term consequences were in terms of concepts of race, democratic participation, and integration, and which repercussions it yielded on the nature and dynamics of transatlantic relations, will be the second major subject of this project.

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Analyzing both the role of Germany in the African American experience during the Cold War and the impact the civil rights movement had on political discourses and views of race and ethnicity in East and West Germany will thus not only open up a previously unexplored chapter of postwar history, but will also help situate these transatlantic encounters in a more global context. In doing so, it will contribute to a more complex perspective of the role of the United States in the world of the twentieth century.

Notes

[1] Colin Powell, *My American Journey* (New York, 1995), 53.

[2] William Gardner Smith, *Last of the Conquerors* (New York, 1948), 67.

[3] Georg Schmundt-Thomas, "America's Germany: National Self and Cultural Other after World War II" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1992); Maria Höhn, "GIs, Veronikas, and Lucky Strikes: German Reactions to the American Military Presence in Rhineland-Palatinate during the 1950s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995); Johannes Kleinschmidt, *Do not fraternize: die schwierigen Anfänge deutsch-amerikanischer Freundschaft,*

1944–1949 (Trier, 1997); David Posner, "Afro-America in West German Perspective, 1945–1966" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1997); John Willoughby, *Remaking the Conquering Heroes: The Social and Geopolitical Impact of the Post-War American Occupation of Germany* (New York, 2001); Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, 2002); Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, 2003); Heide Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton, 2005); Maria Höhn, "'Ein Atemzug der Freiheit': Afro-amerikanische GIs, deutsche Frauen, und die Grenzen der Demokratie (1945–1968)," in *Demokratiewunder. Transatlantische Mittler und die kulturelle Öffnung Westdeutschlands, 1945–1970*, ed. Arnd Bauerkämper, Konrad H. Jarausch, and Marcus Payk (Göttingen, 2005), 104–128; Annette Brauerhoch, *Fräuleins und GIs: Geschichte und Filmgeschichte* (Frankfurt, 2006); Moritz Ege, *Schwarz werden: "Afroamerikanophilie" in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren* (Bielefeld, 2007); Timothy Schroer, *Recasting Race after World War II: Germans and African Americans in American-Occupied Germany* (Boulder, 2007); Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds., *Gender, Sexuality, and Race in the Global US Military Empire: Germany, Korea, Japan* (Durham, forthcoming). For related studies in Afro-German history and black diaspora, see representatively Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Arbor, 2004); Maureen Maisha Eggers et al., eds., *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte: Kritische Weissseinsforschung in Deutschland* (Münster, 2005).

[4] See representatively Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal For Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights As an Issue* (Oxford, 1978); Peter J. Kellogg, "Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940s," in *Historian*, 42, no. 1 (1979): 18–41; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (March 2005): 1233–1263; Jonathan Seth Rosenberg, *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam* (Princeton, 2006); Glenda Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950* (New York, 2008); Maria Höhn, "'We will Never Go back to the Old Way Again': Germany in the African American Debate on Civil Rights," *Central European History*, forthcoming December 2008.

[5] Preliminary results can be viewed at http://projects.vassar.edu/africanamericansoldiers. I am most grateful to Maria Höhn for her constant support and generous help with this project. She and her research team at the History Department at Vassar College have been invaluable and instrumental in unearthing previously unknown primary sources, images, and historical actors.

[6] See e.g. "German Jews' Plight Identical With That of Race Here," *Chicago Defender*, September 14, 1935, 24; "Scorching Note Scores Nazis, U.S. Jim Crow," *Chicago Defender*, December 14, 1935, 4; Kelly Miller, "Race Prejudice in Germany and America," in *Opportunity*, April 1936, 103–105.

[7] Quoted in "Fight for Liberties Here While Fighting Dictators Abroad, NAACP Urges," in *The Crisis*, January 1942, 36.

[8] Editorial, "Now Is the Time," *The Crisis*, January 1942, 7.

[9] Editorial Note to Benjamin Quarles, "Will a Long War Aid the Negro?," *The Crisis*, September 1943, 268.

[10] George Schuyler, "Will a Long War Aid the Negro?," *The Crisis*, November 1943, 344.

[11] President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Executive Order 8802: Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry," June 25, 1941. See William C. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration* (Columbus, Ohio, 1970); Michael R. Gardner, *Harry Truman and Civil Rights: Moral Courage and Political Risks* (Carbondale, 2002); Raymond H. Geselbracht, *The Civil Rights Legacy of Harry S. Truman* (Kirksville, MO, 2007).

[12] Editorial, "Negro Soldiers in Europe," *The Crisis*, June 1945, 161.

[13] President Harry Truman, Address Before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, June 29, 1947, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry*

S. Truman, 1947 (Washington, 1963), 312. For the role of white liberals in pushing the civil rights agenda, see Peter J. Kellogg, *Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940s.*

[14] Walter White, Annual Meeting of the NAACP, January 7, 1946, quoted in *The Crisis*, February 1946, 52.

[15] Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, 1997); Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (Cambridge, 2003).

[16] Numbers quoted from Maria Höhn, *We will Never Go back to the Old Way Again.*

[17] For a more detailed assessment see Maria Höhn, *Ein Atemzug der Freiheit.* For a micro-study of how Germans nonetheless discriminated against African Americans in various ways, see Maria Hoehn, *GIs and Fräuleins*, passim.

[18] Letter to the editor, *Ebony* 2, no. 5 (March, 1947). Quoted in Maria Höhn, *Ein Atemzug der Freiheit.*

[19] The Supreme Court of California, *Perez* v. *Sharp* (Oct. 1, 1948), 32 Cal.2d 711, 198 P.2d 17, Carter, J, concurring opinion, 20.

[20] Robin A. Lenhardt, "The Story of Perez v. Sharp: Forgotten Lessons on Race, Law, and Marriage," in *Race Law Stories*, ed. Rachel Moran and Devon Wayne Carbado (New York: Foundation Press, forthcoming); Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race & Romance* (Chicago, 2001); Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law: An American History* (New York, 2002).

[21] In the case of a black GI named Karl Lucas, East German papers quoted the deserter as saying that "while there was racial discrimination in the United States, 'all men are created equal' in the Soviet Union." In: "Reed Report Defection," *New York Times*, December 9, 1952, 9.

[22] Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and US Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (Chapel Hill, 1996); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anti-colonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, 1997); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, 2000); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, 2001); Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1988* (Chapel Hill, 2003); Manfred Berg, "Das Problem des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Internationale Geschichte und die Transformation der Rassenfrage in den USA," in *Deutschland und die USA in der Internationalen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Manfred Berg and Philipp Gassert (Stuttgart, 2004), 171–192; Mary L. Dudziak, "*Brown* as a Cold War Case," *The Journal of American History* (June, 2004): 32–42.

[23] For the close association between Germany and the US after 1945, see Detlef Junker, ed., *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990,* 2 vols. (New York, 2004).

[24] Martin Luther King, *Freiheit: Aufbruch der Neger Nordamerikas* (Kassel, 1964); idem, *Kraft zum Lieben* (Konstanz, 1964); idem, *Warum wir nicht warten können* (Düsseldorf, 1964); James Baldwin, *Hundert Jahre Freiheit ohne Gleichberechtigung oder The Fire Next Time: Eine Warnung an die Weißen* (Reinbek, 1964). For early reports on the situation of African Americans see Henri Pavre, "Comeback in Afrika," *Konkret* 4 (April 1962): 12–13; Martin Luther King, "Onkel Tom's Snackbar," *Konkret* 6 (June 1963): 7–9, 17; "Umschau Ausland, USA: Urlaub vom Bürgerkrieg," *Konkret* 7 (July 1963): 5.

[25] See Martin Klimke, "Sit-In, Teach-In, Go-In: Die transnationale Zirkulation kultureller Praktiken in den 1960er Jahren," in *1968: Ein Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (Stuttgart, 2007), 119–135.

[26] Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Frankfurter Schule und Studentenbewegung: Von der Flaschenpost zum Molotowcocktail, 1946 bis 1995* (Hamburg, 1998), vol. 1, 201.

[27] Günter Amendt, "Die Studentenrevolte in Berkeley," *Neue Kritik* 28 (February, 1965): 5–7, 7.

[28] This was to some extent also a result of individuals who had witnessed this process first hand in the US. One of them was Gerhardt Amendt, who spent the summer of 1967 in the

United States and lived in Harlem for two months. For his experience, see Gerhard Amendt, "Das Elend der amerikanischen Neger," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, January 27, 1968. He later also published the following popular collection: idem, ed., *Black Power: Dokumente und Analysen* (Frankfurt, 1970).

[29] For the history and impact of the identification with Viet Cong, see Martin Klimke and Wilfried Mausbach, "Auf der äußeren Linie der Befreiungskriege: Die RAF und der Vietnamkrieg," in: Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und die Reformzeit der Demokratie* (Hamburg, 2006*)*, 620–643.

[30] Berlin Komitee Black Power, "Solidarity demonstration for Black Power," Flyer, 1968, 04/10 [?], in USA BPP, Black Panther Party, German SDS Papers, APOB.

[31] See especially Bernward Vesper, ed., *Black Power: Ursachen des Guerilla-Kampfes in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin, 1967), 3. See also Michael Schneider, ed., *Malcolm X: Schwarze Gewalt. Reden* (Frankfurt, 1968); Stokeley Carmichael, *Die Dritte Welt, unsere Welt. Thesen zur Schwarzen Revolution*, Voltaire Flugschriften 29 (Berlin, 1969); Robert F. Williams and Robert B. Bigg, *Großstadtguerilla* (Berlin, 1969).

[32] For an international history of the Black Panther Party, see Jennifer B. Smith, *An International History of the Black Panther Party* (New York, 1999); Michael L. Clemons and Charles E. Jones, "Global Solidarity: The Black Panther Party in the International Arena," in *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and their Legacy*, ed. Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas (Routledge, 2001), 20–39.

[33] Maria Höhn, "The Black Panther Solidarity Committees and the *Voice of the Lumpen*," *German Studies Review* vol. XXXI, No. 1 (February 2008): 133–155.

[34] Martin Klimke, "Black Panther, die RAF und die Rolle der Black Panther-Solidaritätskomitees," in *Die RAF und die Reformzeit der Demokratie,* ed. Wolfgang Kraushaar (Hamburg, 2006), 562–582.

[35] Michael Baumann, *Wie alles anfing* (Frankfurt, 1976), 15, 61; Astrid Proll, *Hans und Grete: Die RAF, 1967–77* (Göttingen, 1998), 10; Ulrike Edschmid, *Frau mit Waffe* (Frankfurt, 1997), 113, 115. See also Bommi Baumann and Till Meyer, *Radikales Amerika: Wie die amerikanische Protestbewegung Deutschland veränderte* (Berlin, 2007). For similar processes with regard to American blues music, see Detlef Siegfried, "White Negroes: Westdeutsche Faszinationen des Echten," in *Bye bye Lübben City: Bluesfreaks, Tramps und Hippies in der DDR*, ed. Michael Rauhut and Thomas Kochan (Berlin, 2004), 333–344.

[36] "Die Rote Armee aufbauen!," *Agit 883* 62, June 6, 1970, 6–7.

[37] RAF, "Das Konzept Stadtguerilla," *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF* (Berlin, 1997), 41.

[38] Wilfried Mausbach, "America's Vietnam in Germany—Germany in America's Vietnam: On the Relocation of Spaces and the Appropriation of History," in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Intercultural Identities in 1960/70s West Germany and the United States,* ed. Belinda Davis, Martin Klimke, Carla MacDougall, and Wilfried Mausbach (New York, forthcoming 2009).