

Ulrike Meinhof's *Bambule*: Performing Politics in the Electronic Public Sphere

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## I. Introduction

In the preeminent text describing the history of the Baader Meinhof Group, *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex*, Stefan Aust describes Ulrike Meinhof's descent into the terrorist underground succinctly:

Am 14. Mai 1970 um 9.00 Uhr morgens war es soweit. Andreas Baader wurde mit Waffengewalt aus dem Institut für Soziale Fragen im Westberliner Stadtteil Dahlem befreit...Baader und seine Befreier entkamen. Mit dem Sprung aus dem Fenster des Instituts für Soziale Fragen beendete Ulrike Meinhof ihre journalistische Karriere und ging in den Untergrund.<sup>1</sup>

In the 2008 film of the same name based on Aust's book, director Uli Edel fills in the emotional dynamic of this scene missing from Aust's account. He focuses on Meinhof's panic and indecision in particular. As her accomplices enter and violently free Baader, the camera switches back and forth from Meinhof's face to the chaos erupting around her.



Figure 1 Meinhof (Martina Gedeck) scans the room one final time before jumping out of the window in *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex*.

She realizes she has two options: remain in the room and feign surprise when the police arrive, as planned, or follow her accomplices through the window, join the terrorist underground, and leave

<sup>1</sup> Stefan Aust, *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (Munich: Hoffman und Campe Verlag, 1986), 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex*. directed by Uli Edel. (2008; Munich, Germany: Constantin Film Verleih, 2009), DVD.

any chance of continuing her journalistic career. Of course, she chooses to jump through the window, and much scholarship has been dedicated to understanding her life and work after her move into the underground. Yet her ambivalence towards leaving in this scene led me to the two principle questions that motivated this project: Why did Ulrike Meinhof decide to follow Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin through that window? Further, what would have become of Meinhof had she chosen to continue legitimate work as a journalist and public figure?

To answer these questions, I will discuss the television film, *Bambule*, for which Meinhof wrote the screenplay and created a radio feature in preparation. The film, set to air ten days after Baader's escape on May 24, 1970, was quickly removed from the network's schedule because of Meinhof's terrorist connections. It would not be shown on German television until the 1990s. In the following two chapters, I will investigate how Meinhof used two forms of electronic media, radio and television, differently to convey a political message. These works represent a transition for Meinhof as she moved from print journalism to electronic media and created her first fictional work. Analysis of these works give us an indication of what direction her career and political legacy could have taken had she chosen to sit back down in the Institut für Soziale Fragen and disavow her connection to Baader's escape. Additionally, Meinhof's attitude towards these works, particularly towards their perceived weaknesses, helps to explain how her decision to jump through the window might not have been as spontaneous as it seems in Edel's *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex*.

Before turning to violent resistance as a part of the Rote Armee Fraktion, Meinhof waged an ideological war through her work in the media against what Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge deemed the "bourgeois public sphere." Negt and Kluge describe the bourgeois public sphere in their book *The Public Sphere and Experience* as one defined by the experiences of the minority

ruling bourgeoisie class and “in which the experiences of individuals are organized and implemented in public and private form alternately...” Such a system does a disservice to the majority proletariat, for whom the issues in the private sphere and oppression in the public sphere could not be viewed in isolation. Marxist writers like Meinhof sought to eliminate the exclusion of proletarian experience from the public sphere by creating media that would instead portray the connections, or *Zusammenhänge*, between the public and private spheres in the name of proletarian experience. This, unlike the bourgeois public sphere, would shift the focus to the interests of the proletariat class, which “could be organized only if they enter into a life-context, in other words, into a proletarian public sphere. Only then do they have the chance to develop as interests, instead of remaining as mere possibilities.”<sup>3</sup> The bourgeois public sphere created the cultural context in which the nation’s politics played out. By helping to form a counter public sphere focused on the proletarian rather than the bourgeois experience, Meinhof sought to empower the working class to see their presence and interests in media and, as a result, to assert those interests in the political sphere as well.

This thesis is divided into two chapters and discusses how Meinhof’s work on *Bambule* operated within the proletarian public sphere. The first chapter will discuss how Meinhof uniquely conveys her politics in the radio feature. Using Bertolt Brecht’s *Radiotheorie* and theories of photojournalism, I will argue that Meinhof used form to expose the hidden reality of working class women in these homes. The second chapter will discuss the television film. The focus in the second chapter shifts from form to emotional content as I explore how Meinhof and filmmakers used the melodramatic form to expose political truths similar to the ones found in the radio feature. I have also included two appendices, one for the radio feature and another for television film, which break

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<sup>3</sup> Both quotes found in: Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, “The Public Sphere and Experience,” *October* 46, (2008): 81.

down each work on a speaker-by-speaker and scene-by-scene basis, respectively. Appendix I serves as the principle reference for quotes in the first chapter, but in the second chapter, I have chosen to cite all quotes using the screenplay to allow for greater specificity.

## II. Chapter One

### I. Introduction

No one would argue that Ulrike Meinhof's legacy is terribly complicated. Given her sudden descent into the West German terrorist underground in May 1970 and her dramatic death in Stammheim Prison in May 1976, it is impossible to distance her earlier journalistic works from the work she did with the Red Army Faction. This chapter certainly does not seek to ignore her role as a terrorist in favor of discussing her journalistic endeavors. Rather, it will put her contributions to what I shall call West Germany's electronic public sphere into a larger context, which will seek to better understand her politics and eventual motivation entering the terrorist underground. The radio feature itself sought to create knowledge rather than terror by increasing the awareness and presence of Meinhof's leftist, feminist politics throughout the electronic public sphere.

"Bambule" was not Meinhof's first foray into the world of radio, but it was her last. Meinhof became a member of the New Left Radio committee after the shooting of Rudi Dutschke. The committee attempted to broadcast an hour of leftist content daily on West German radio. In late 1969, she also taught a seminar on radio entitled "Funklabor: Möglichkeiten von Agitation und Aufklärung im Hörfunk-Feature."<sup>4</sup> Her call to agitation and enlightenment is present in previous radio features, which included "Ausgestossen oder aufgehoben: Heimkinder in der Bundesrepublik" (1965), "Gefahr vom Fließband: Arbeitsunfälle, beobachtet und kritisch beschrieben" (1965), "Frauen sind billiger: Ein Bericht über Frauenarbeit in der Bundesrepublik" (1967), "Halb Weib—Halb Mensch: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Situation der Frau zwischen

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<sup>4</sup> Leith Passmore, *Ulrike Meinhof and the Red Army Faction: Performing Terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 26-27.

Familie und Erwerbstätigkeit” (1967), and “Guxhagen—Mädchen in Fürsorgeerziehung. Ein Heim in Hessen” (1969).<sup>5</sup> Each of these features focused on similar themes like those in “Bambule”: the intersection of women’s rights and working and living conditions for the lower class. This chapter focuses on the radio feature “Bambule” because of its timing as Meinhof’s final mainstream project and its relative fame and importance as the predecessor to her only television film of the same title.

Though scholarship tends to focus on Meinhof’s journalism and her militancy, little scholarly work has been done to examine “Bambule” as a radio feature, though certainly more focus has been given to the television adaptation. Scholar Sarah Colvin, for example, places the film version of the project in the context of the feminist movement as an example of the concept that the personal is political. Her analysis focuses on personal relationships between girls in the home and their caretakers and on the solidarity formed as a result. Colvin indeed makes an important contribution to the study of this work, but this chapter discusses what Colvin overlooked, namely how the medium itself—radio—constructs an argument for political purposes. Rather than analyzing characters and the plot, it will consider the radio feature’s broader themes and how the feature makes her political message clear by drawing connections between marginalized identities and the treatment of women in care. In this chapter, I will first discuss the environment of radio in the 1960s to frame “Bambule” as a part of a large, still influential medium and examine radio’s unique conventions and potential. I will then move to Bertolt Brecht’s *Radiotheorie* in order to better understand Meinhof’s influences. The final section will apply Brecht’s theory to analyze “Bambule” itself and show that Meinhof used her radio commentary within the public sphere to

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 184.



expose the hidden connection between class, sex, the cycle of poverty within the home system, its implications for West Germany and, above all, the need for the leftist movement in general.

## II. “Bambule” and West German Radio Plays in the 1960s

The word *Bambule* refers to a typically non-violent form of protest. The term originally referred to prisoners resisting prison conditions by banging metal objects against the bars of their cells in order to create a disturbance. It takes its meaning from the French word *bamboula*, which refers to a drum and dance native to the Americas.<sup>6</sup> The word has since been used for various forms of art and resistance that seek to capture the same rebellious spirit as a prison *Bambule*.<sup>7</sup>

Meinhof’s “Bambule” takes place in a home for girls under the ward of the state rather than in a prison. Meinhof created the feature to showcase her research intended for the television version of “Bambule” by featuring raw excerpts of her interviews with Monika, Jynette, and Irene—three women who spent most of their teenage years living in various homes in West Berlin—woven together by Meinhof’s own commentary. While the interviews of the three women remain mostly informational as they recount memories of their lives and struggles in the home, Meinhof’s interjections oscillate between factual clarification and more political commentary.

As outlined in Appendix 1, the radio feature can be divided into distinct parts that culminate in Meinhof’s well-structured argument. Sections A and B give listeners a biographical context for each woman interviewed and an overview of the home system. Each interviewee is described physically by Meinhof before conveying the story of their arrival in the home system in their own words. After discussing her confidence in the veracity of these interviews in Section C, Meinhof

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<sup>6</sup> *Duden*, Online ed., s.v. “Bambule.”

<sup>7</sup> Other uses of *Bambule* in the German speaking world include a television news magazine, a countercultural trailer park in St. Pauli, a rap album, a former extreme-left communications center in Braunschweig, and a wine-based mixed drink.

moves on to describe the daily life in these homes. Section D lays the groundwork by explaining the issues in the home that motivate girls to rebel against the caretakers and run away altogether. Meinhof then details the measures used by caretakers to discipline those who do try to escape, including isolation in a bunker, placement in a separate closed wing of the home, and the loss of privileges like cigarettes and long hair. Monika, Jynette, and Irene each describe their unique experiences with these punishments. Meinhof then connects these experiences in the home with the experiences of youths living there before and after their involvement with the system as addressed in Section I. She contends that these homes ensure that girls who have little support or consistency in their family lives move into homes that still lack the support these girls need. By constantly moving around the home system, this lack of consistency is normalized, which results in women entering into an adulthood with equally few chances at finding stable careers or relationships.

Section J briefly gives the women a chance to look back nostalgically on their time in the home, where such a regulated life eliminated worries and helped build community. This carefree environment, however, was interrupted by the most extreme form of discipline eventually introduced into the home: the use of police, even violence, in order to force obedience, as described in Section K. Police involvement is the final straw, as Section L describes the titular *Bambule*. Jynette jovially tells the story of her *Bambule*, during which nearly all of the girls in the home band together, refuse to eat or talk to the caretakers and destroy property in several rooms by smashing mirrors and throwing kitchen supplies on the floor. Meinhof justifies this protest as a necessary response to the unjust conditions described in the rest of the feature. The feature ends pessimistically with Monika's hopes for a successful future that never came to fruition and Jynette and Irene's doubts that this radio feature will result in any positive change to the home system.

The politically charged radio feature serves to inform the public about what Meinhof found to be a massive injustice to young women, especially those of the working class, which had been institutionalized by bourgeois society. Rather than addressing the familial problems and lack of opportunities given to these working class women, the government chose to remove them from society and place them in homes that were, until then, mostly ignored at the margins of society. In so doing, society was able to criminalize these young women within the social welfare system while hiding the true reason why they found themselves with so few opportunities: mistreatment in the home system. Meinhof spends a little over 23 minutes of the hour-long documentary discussing problems in the home with an additional seven minutes devoted to the titular *Bambule* response.<sup>8</sup> The feature only devotes approximately 14 minutes to discussing Monika, Jynette, and Irene's lives outside of the home.<sup>9</sup> Meinhof is not interested in vilifying these women, as they have already been oppressed by society their entire lives. Rather, the radio feature uses the bulk of its time to stage a political message and to expose the home system for what it really is: a corrupt system that uses punishment and isolation to ensure that working class women never reach their full potential.

“Bambule” premiered during a wave of German radio plays referred to as “*das Neue Hörspiel*,” which lasted roughly from 1965 until 1975. The plays produced during this time were experimental and competed with more traditional radio plays for airspace while its listeners and creators turned towards the increasingly popular television and film mediums. As a result, they played to a much smaller, more intellectual audience than the average radio play.<sup>10</sup> The genre of *das Neue Hörspiel* is difficult to define, and as Austrian scholar Hermann Keckeis writes, it is

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<sup>8</sup> Problems in the home: Appendix 1: Sections D,E,F,G,H, and K. The *Bambule*: Appendix 1: Section L.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix 1: Sections A and M.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Bräutigam, *Hörspiel-Lexikon* (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 8.

easier to define these plays in terms of what they are not. The movement was an attempt by authors to distance themselves from the conventions found in the “old” radio plays and to do away with traditional dramaturgic and aesthetic ideas.<sup>11</sup> The result, according to Mark Ensign Cory, was the creation of a “new acoustical art form” that combined the poetic expression of the radio play with the possibilities of the acoustical art form, namely sound, music, and voice, to engage the listener’s imagination.<sup>12</sup>

The style found in “Bambule” is also consistent with the trend of literature in the 1960s toward documentarism.<sup>13</sup> During this period, authors began using documentary evidence to add authenticity to their prose. Writers saw themselves as the “consciousness of the nation” and as such, used documentarism as evidence in their writing. The point in this documentary literature was not to recreate reality in order to show what happens, but to invoke reality and give an interpretation of it. To best accomplish this goal, “Bambule” takes the form of a radio feature. Keckeis defines the radio feature as an “*informatische Zweckform*,” which uses the dramatic and entertaining elements of the radio play to convey a persuasive message.<sup>14</sup> Real facts and stories proved to the reader that the situation described by the author had happened at least once, giving the argument validity. With that specific experience in mind, the listener could then better understand the author’s general argument. During this time, stories and facts were not enough to

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<sup>11</sup> Hermann Keckeis, *Das Deutsche Hörspiel: 1923-1973; Ein Systemat. Überblick Mit Kommentierter Bibliographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum-Verlag, 1973), 23.

<sup>12</sup> See also: Keckeis, Bräutigam.

Mark Ensign Cory. *The Emergence of an Acoustical Art Form; an Analysis of the German Experimental Hörspiel of the 1960s* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1974), vii.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Thomas, *Literature in Upheaval: West German Writers and the Challenge of the 1960s* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1974), 109.

<sup>14</sup> Hermann Keckeis, *Das Deutsche Hörspiel: 1923-1973; Ein Systemat. Überblick Mit Kommentierter Bibliographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum-Verlag, 1973), 80-81. A similar definition found in: Armin Paul Frank, *Das Hörspiel; Vergleichende Beschreibung Und Analyse Einer Neuen Kunstform*, (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1963), 19.

show the complexities behind reality, so authors stepped in to provide the context with which to expose these complexities.

### III. Bertolt Brecht's *Radiotheorie*

To understand just how Meinhof used the radio feature as a political medium, one must examine one of the most important influences on leftist art in Germany in the 1960s, writer Bertolt Brecht. Brecht writes in his "Radiotheorie": "Es ist eine formale Aufgabe des Rundfunks... belehrenden Unternehmungen einen interessanten Charakter zu geben, also die Interessen interessant zu machen."<sup>15</sup> By 1927 Brecht had already declared the radio an antiquated art form that, despite its capabilities, had remained ineffective in the hands of the bourgeoisie. However, the radio, he claimed, still had the potential to educate and enter into a dialogue with the public. This "belehrende Unternehmung" could reach and educate the masses without intervention from the state in the form of entertainment.

The greatest difficulty for broadcasters in Brecht's *Radiotheorie*, however, was having something new and meaningful to say to an audience eager for engagement. "Ein Mann, der was zu sagen hat und keine Zuhörer findet, ist schlimm daran. Noch schlimmer sind Zuhörer daran, die keinen finden, der ihnen etwas zu sagen hat."<sup>16</sup> Audiences were not content with simple stories or reports and interviews given by the state. Instead, these lessons and dialogues had to illuminate a common reality. In his essay "The Popular and the Realistic," Brecht advocates for truthful representations of reality to be made available for the masses through popular culture.<sup>17</sup> The need for realism, he contends, is urgent, and "Our conception of realism needs to be broad and political,

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<sup>15</sup> Bertolt Brecht, *Schriften Zur Literatur Und Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), 137.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>17</sup> Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre; the Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. John Willet (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 108.

free from aesthetic restrictions and independent of convention.”<sup>18</sup> These aesthetic restrictions and a misguided reliance on convention only serve to detract from the truth contained in the work. As a result, reality can be represented either through a fantastic or, as heard in “Bambule,” more factual documentary form. It also enables the story of “Bambule” to be transformed for the medium of television as long as the integrity of the political truth about reality it conveys remains intact.

Brecht’s theories of radio, photography, and theater remained influential long past his lifetime, and resonated especially with women filmmakers in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>19</sup> Though this chapter focuses on “Bambule” as a radio feature, Brecht’s impact on filmmaking remains relevant, as Meinhof prepared the radio feature as part of her research for a film. Renate Möhrmann claimed that the pioneering women filmmakers during this time period, much like Meinhof, “shared the basic prerequisites of Brecht’s way of work: the trust that the audience can be taught, the conviction of a discerning society, and confidence in the changeability of that society.”<sup>20</sup> Assuming these prerequisites could be fulfilled, Brecht was an ideal ideological inspiration for this group of feminist filmmakers who believed that women’s oppression was rooted in class struggle created by a capitalist society rather than in the patriarchal structure itself.<sup>21</sup> Accordingly, the films with this Brechtian influence sought to create a “counter cinema” that could physically display acts of discrimination in the everyday lives of working class women. Solidarity was an important theme for this work, insofar as the audience, they hoped, would be receptive and willing to change as a result.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>19</sup> John Rouse discusses Brecht’s impact on West German theater in the 1960s and 70s in detail in *Brecht and the West German Theatre: The Practice and Politics of Interpretation*. Renate Möhrmann, “The Influence of Brecht on Women’s Cinema in West Germany,” in *Re-interpreting Brecht: His Influence on Contemporary Drama and Film*, ed. Colin Visser and Pia Kleber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 161-169.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>21</sup> Meinhof discusses this idea herself, see footnote 32.

Women filmmakers during this time wanted to expose the reality of women's oppression in their work. This reality, however, does not simply refer to a visual representation of daily life on film. Brecht contends in this theory of photography that "a simple 'representation of reality' says something about reality less than ever before."<sup>22</sup> The medium of film gave viewers the opportunity to peer into the lives of working class women, but the presentation of daily life is not enough to expose the underlying themes that these filmmakers wanted to portray. Möhrmann quotes Claire Johnston on the limits of film: "[T]he 'truth' of our oppression cannot be captured on celluloid with the 'innocence' of the camera. It has to be constructed/manufactured."<sup>23</sup> Women filmmakers like Meinhof who wished to highlight the issues associated with being a woman in the 1960s therefore saw Brecht's theory of reality in radio and film applicable to their mission and capabilities as artists. By continuing to use Brecht's theory in their work, these new filmmakers were able to "keep Brecht alive" well into the 70s and beyond.

#### IV. Analysis

Brecht's theory is especially relevant to "Bambule" as it relates to journalism, specifically photojournalism, which, despite its pictorial presentation of actual scenes from life, is still unable to reveal any truth about the scenes it strives to represent. Brecht contends that "Die Photographie ist in den Händen der Bourgeoisie zu einer furchtbaren Waffe *gegen* die Wahrheit geworden. Das riesige Bildmaterial, das tagtäglich von den Druckpressen ausgespien wird und das doch den Charakter der Wahrheit zu haben scheint, dient in Wirklichkeit nur der Verdunklung der

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<sup>22</sup> Bertolt Brecht, *Schriften Zur Literatur Und Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), 117.

<sup>23</sup> Renate Möhrmann, "The influence of Brecht on women's cinema in West Germany," in *Re-interpreting Brecht: His Influence on Contemporary Drama and Film*, ed. Colin Visser and Pia Kleber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 164.

Tatbestände. Der Photographenapparat kann ebenso lügen wie die Schreibmaschine.”<sup>24</sup> As a journalist, Meinhof used radio in a similar fashion as a photojournalist uses the camera: as a medium outside of print that can present its subject directly. Rather than using photographs, Meinhof features the voices of real women in her radio feature. Yet, much like a photograph in Brecht’s theory, the simple presentation of reality heard in these interviews is not enough. In the hands of the bourgeoisie, stories about these homes could be used to isolate the problem as something that only affects delinquents and has little to do with the listeners’ daily lives. Instead, Meinhof operates in the functional dimension, in which she forgoes purely aesthetic representations of her subjects in order to reveal the underlying social conditions that control those subjects in her work. This is what makes Meinhof’s radio feature so effective, as her politics are expressed through these hidden connections that illuminate a political reality.

A simple report about the situation in girls’ homes detailing statistics and facts would have very little effect on the listener and achieve no political gain. Instead, effective art, according to Brecht, seeks to expose the “dark associations and anonymous feelings that reality produces...”<sup>25</sup> Meinhof moves past simple facts and anecdotes to find these dark associations that operate on the level of the functional plane several times, especially in the segment “Zusammenhänge,” which will be discussed later. The very same interviews could have been used to present a “simple representation of reality,” as Brecht warns, by simply detailing the daily life in these homes. Yet doing so would ignore the underlying social conditions shaping the subjects’ quotidian reality. Exposing these social conditions on the functional plane, rather than just presenting the facts about the home’s mistreatment themselves, is what gives the documentary its political force. Each of

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<sup>24</sup> Bertolt Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke 20: Schriften zur Politik und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967), 42-43.

<sup>25</sup> Bertolt Brecht, “From The Three Penny Trial: A Sociological Experiment (Bertolt Brecht)” in *German Essays on Film*, ed. Richard W. McCormick and Alison Guenther-Pal. (New York: Continuum, 2004), 117.



these anecdotes is used to expose a greater truth about the treatment of proletarian youth, until eventually, a *Bambule*, a form of nonviolent protest, is justified as a “verzweifelte Befreiungsversuche” and an acceptable, necessary form of resistance.

To make these lurking “dark associations” accessible to the listener, Meinhof presents a layered argument, each one deeper than the last, until the listener can see the political truth hidden at the center of the issue. The most superficial of these layers would be clear even to a listener tuning in midway through the broadcast. The format of the feature lays out a clear argument against the current treatment of women and girls in the ward of the state. Meinhof devotes approximately a third of the hour long radio feature to the punishments endured in the home, with less than three minutes detailing any positive memories of their time in the system.<sup>26</sup> Yet even a positive memory, like Jynette’s reflection on the great camaraderie in the home stems from a need to unite against unfair conditions and a will to undermine authority figures like caretakers.<sup>27</sup> Stories of the cruel punishments endured by the interviewees convince the listener that the home system is corrupt and in serious need of reform. Listeners are even denied the catharsis of a happy ending, as Meinhof laments Monika’s bleak future in Section M and Jynette and Irene express doubts as to the effectiveness of the broadcast in creating change in Section N, the final statements before the credits. Meinhof, however, did not intend to merely create change in the home system. She needed the pessimistic ending in order to accomplish her goals.

This goal becomes clearer in the next layer of the argument, which makes the common background of the girls clear in Section B. Meinhof mentions that girls in homes come from the

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<sup>26</sup> Punishments in the home discussed in Sections E, F, G, H, and K. Total time for all 5 sections: 19 minutes, 40 seconds, out of the nearly 59 minute broadcast. Positive memories of the home in Section J. Duration: 2 minutes, 47 seconds.

<sup>27</sup> Subsection J3.

proletariat class, and that the rhetorical threat of being sent to a home is used to ensure middle and upper class children stay in line.

Zur Diskriminierung dieser Jugendlichen gehört ihr unglaubwürdig machen. Das betrifft nicht nur sie, auch ihre Eltern und Freunde. Fürsorgeerziehung trifft fast ausschließlich die proletarische Jugend. Da in der Propaganda der Klassengesellschaft die Schichtzugehörigkeit als persönliches Verdienst oder Versagen ausgegeben wird, ist Armut Schande, sind Arme unglaubwürdig. Also wird man sagen, was die drei Mädchen hier erzählen: das sei unglaubwürdig, das sei alles nur Spinne.<sup>28</sup>

In this section, Meinhof not only declares the proletarian status of her subjects and their villainized place in society, but she also implicitly issues a challenge to the listener to move beyond the cultural norms that insist these women are failures in society who are not to be believed. She insists on the believability and legitimacy of her subjects in the following section and calls on the listener to accept that legitimacy and, in doing so, cast off society's classist propaganda.

Furthermore, each interview subject is briefly described physically before Meinhof goes into detail about the women's work in factories and in the streets, solidifying them as members of the working class facing unfair treatment.

Nachdem Monika sich von Jynette getrennt hatte, fing Jynette in einer Fleischfabrik an. Einstellungslohn für Frauen: 3,38 [DM]. Einstellungslohn für Männer: 3,98 [DM]. Weil Jynette auf Mann geht, hat man ihr schon nach einer Woche eine schwerere Arbeit gegeben. Männerarbeit [...] 145 Mark brutto in der Woche, Jynette war enttäuscht. Aber sie wollte sich nicht beschweren, weil die Fabrik bei ihr um die Ecke war, das spart Fahrgeld und Zeit.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Section B2: "Wenn du nicht artig bist, kommst du ins Heim. Wenn Vati das hört, der will dich sowieso ins Heim stecken. Da vom Heim der Vollzug der Drohungen erwartet wird, der Heimeinweisung der Ausschluss von allem ist, nimmt das nicht Wunder, dass das Heim der Vollzug der Drohungen ist."

<sup>29</sup> Jynette is described physically in no uncertain terms in section A3: "Jynette sieht aus wie ein Mann. Sie trägt Anzug, Weste, Schlips und Oberhemd. An der Stimme erkennt man, dass sie eine Frau ist. Sie ist groß und kräftig, wenn sie ein Kleid anzöge, würde man sagen, sie sei dick." Meinhof also takes note of Monika and Irene's constantly changing hair colors. The ambiguity in all three women's appearances, Meinhof claims, is indicative of *Identitätsschwierigkeiten*, which have affected the women throughout their lives.

These women are presented as having few options. Despite a heavy workload and unfair treatment, Jynette is forced to remain passive despite her disappointment, as she has few alternatives economically. The interviews are also marked by their strong use of dialect and informal speech, which lies in contrast with the formal, journalistic tone with which Meinhof speaks. This distinction is important, as it makes it clear that the issues presented are not isolated from issues in a class society. These homes disproportionately affect those from the proletarian class, and as such must be seen as a weapon of the bourgeoisie in the class struggle.

The people in these homes, however, are not simply members of the proletariat; they are proletarian *women*, which adds an important layer to the kind of oppression that these homes perpetuate. The control that her pimp has over her and how susceptible she is to the whims of her male clients is central to Monika's backstory. Meinhof discusses income inequality and gender discrimination when discussing Jynette's work in the factory. In regards to Jynette's heavy workload and paltry hourly wage, Meinhof explains "Männerarbeit, weil Jynette lesbisch ist, Frauenlohn, sie ist eine Frau."<sup>30</sup> These intersecting identities are a vital part of Meinhof's theory, as she, like many other far left feminist thinkers at the time, thought that female oppression stemmed not from the patriarchy, but rather from the structure of capitalism itself.<sup>31</sup> These women came from poor economic situations, and these homes, by not offering proper education or job opportunities and isolating girls from society, ensured that they would have equally dismal prospects later in life. Therefore, they were more susceptible to mistreatment in the capitalist system, and, as a result, were further oppressed as women. The radio feature could easily be seen

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<sup>30</sup> Subsection A3

<sup>31</sup> As discussed in the Section III of this paper, "Bertolt Brecht's *Radiotheorie*."

in this way as feminist, though Meinhof saw feminism as inseparable from Marxism, as both find their roots in fighting the capitalist system.<sup>32</sup>

The connection between the superficial presentation of issues in homes and the oppression and alienation felt by proletarian women is made most clear in Section I, entitled “Zusammenhänge.” These six minutes are purposely placed almost exactly halfway through the feature at the 32:44 mark. At this point, the listener is already familiar with each woman’s backstory and the unfair forms of punishment and discipline experienced in the home.<sup>33</sup> The first 32 minutes are enough to stir outrage, concern, and sympathy in the listener. Meinhof then turns attention to the underlying *Zusammenhänge*, or connections, in order to channel identification towards a more political goal. Instead of examining the home system in isolation, Meinhof places time in the home into a larger chain of events. These women are born into family situations where no one has the time or money to take care of them. Alienated, the young women act out and are pushed into state-owned homes. This alienation, or “niemanden haben,” is cited by Meinhof as both the source of these women’s issues and the eventual result of time spent in a home in the following passage:

Was ist der Zusammenhang zwischen der aktuellen Situation der Mädchen und ihrer Heimzeit? Alle drei sind unehelich geboren. Bei Irene hat der Stiefvater die Vaterrolle angenommen. Er hat sie geschlagen. Er hat sie aber auch geliebt. Die kleine Kneipe der Eltern ließ ihm keine Zeit und keine Kraft, sich um das Kind zu kümmern [...] Das ist der primäre Zusammenhang zwischen ihrem Heimleben und ihrem Leben heute. Weil sie niemanden hatten, kamen sie ins Heim, daran hat das Heim nichts geändert, sie haben auch jetzt niemanden. Niemanden haben, das bedeutet, dass wenn man von der Arbeit kommt, keine Butter und kein Brot im Haus ist, wenn man nicht selber eingekauft hat. Niemanden haben, das bedeutet, dass einen keiner fragt, wie’s war, wenn man von der Arbeit kommt.

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<sup>32</sup> Sarah Colvin, *Ulrike Meinhof and West German Terrorism: Language, Violence, and Identity* (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 50-51.

<sup>33</sup> These punishments include isolation in a bunker or closed wing of the home, loss of basic privileges, forced haircuts, relocation without warning, and even police intimidation and violence. The first and last of these punishments are considered especially insidious, as they contribute the most to the sense of isolation and forced criminalization faced in adulthood for which Meinhof blames the corrupt home system.

Niemanden haben, dass bedeutet, dass, wenn man, wie Irene, auf ihre Haushaltstelle kein Zimmer hat aber krank wird, dass man kein Zimmer hat, wo man krank sein kann [...] Niemanden haben, bedeutet mit anderen Worten, dass man in Kneipen und Lokalen rumhängen muss, wenn man jemanden treffen will, das bedeutet Geld ausgeben, das bedeutet die Nacht durchmachen, das bedeutet, dass doch alles keinen Sinn hat, dass man nicht weiß, was das alles für einen Sinn hat.

Here, Meinhof connects the cyclical nature of having no one as a child and becoming an adult who has no one as well. Children abandoned by parents who escape to bars to cope find themselves equally lost in the same type of establishments as the adults who failed to raise them. Meinhof continues, explaining exactly what role the home system plays in this social breakdown.

Heim bedeutet Heimwechsel, bedeutet Trennung von alten Freunden, neue Freunde, Trennung von den neuen Freunden, Trennung, neue Freunde, Trennung, niemanden haben [...] Heim bedeutet, in der Wäscherei arbeiten, in der Küche, im Garten, in der Nähstube, stumpfsinnige Industriearbeit [...] Heim bedeutet keine Ausbildung, 20 Pfennig die Stunde, bedeutet, alles weggenommen kriegen, älter werden, alles versäumen, Zeit verlieren, nichts haben.<sup>34</sup>

These homes actively prevent those who live there from creating real relationships in their formative years on account of punishment, isolation, and the constant relocation between homes. This lack of consistency becomes normalized for these girls, who become women with equally few connections in their lives once they are on their own. Not only are these women not better off than they were before, their ability to achieve self-sufficiency is crippled as they become dependent on pimps, factory managers, and the state. It is also important to note that the connection between the personal sphere and work is ever-present, as homes take away both personal fulfillment and the opportunity for career advancement and improvement. An adolescence that begins with “niemanden haben” ends with “nichts haben” as well.

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<sup>34</sup> Section I

The previously invisible *Zusammenhänge* make it clear that the true intent of the radio feature is to expose an institution within a corrupt system that criminalizes young girls and forces complacency within an unequal society. It is no surprise, then, that the only positive memories of the home, discussed immediately after *Zusammenhänge* in section J, are of the strong camaraderie that developed because of the repression in the home and the girls' common experiences. The focus on solidarity is important for Meinhof's politics and is vital to the success of the *Bambule* protest and general resistance for which she advocates later in the feature.

Solidarity with these women, outrage against a corrupt system, and understanding for these women's difficult backgrounds culminate with Meinhof's call to resistance as a way of fighting for equality. In section L, Jynette excitedly recounts a nonviolent, though materially destructive, resistance performed with all of the girls in the home acting in varying degrees of solidarity. Her version of the story is lighthearted, characterizing the small rebellion as a spontaneous attempt by the girls to make a fuss, describing herself and the others as acting "albern." Giggling can even be heard in the background. Jynette recounts the story, saying

„Wir machen Terror.“ „Dann waren alle gleich klar. Alle haben's mitgemacht, ja? Also das Essen kommt hoch [...] und wir werden alle ins Essen reinspucken. „Es gibt keine Zigaretten!“ das war das erste Weib [...] jetzt haben wir noch in der Küche so ein Telefon zu hängen, womit wir mit den ganzen Etagen verbunden sind. Wir sofort ans Telefon, uns mit den Etagen verbunden, „Wir machen Terror. Wir essen nichts“ die Ganzen, alle haben's mitgemacht. Oben, unten, in der Mitte. War ganz toll. War wirklich auf die ganz Schnelle ganz toll organisiert. So, das Essen, haben wir uns dann Salz und Zucker geholt, alles reingekippt, und das runterfahren lassen. Und die kamen hoch und sagten, was es hier los wäre und so weiter und fing dann an, wir kriegen keine Zigaretten vier Wochen, und das Geld wird gesperrt, damit wir das Essen bezahlen können, das wir versaut haben [...] War uns egal.“<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Subsection L2

She continues that in response to these punishments, the girls only grow more resolute, destroying furniture and windows, refusing to speak to the caretakers, and keeping the caretaker on duty awake throughout the night with constant requests. Finally, the power that the home has is defeated, as the girls refuse to be controlled by threats of punishment. Such an effort can be spontaneously organized because the girls in the home were already united by a common cause: a wish to escape, even for a few hours, the unfair treatment they receive in the home. Ultimately, Jynette, as an instigator of this rebellion, is subdued by a sleeping pill disguised as a treatment for her headache, and she wakes up in another home.

Only Meinhof uses the term *Bambule* in the feature and therewith solemnly justifies protest, claiming that “Druck erzeugt Gegendruck, Gewalt, Gegengewalt.” This statement does not call for violence in state-owned homes. Rather, this *Bambule* is a proxy for what Meinhof sees as a necessary greater resistance on the level of public sphere work against forces oppressing proletarian women. Society is putting pressure on oppressed groups in the form of systemic violence, and those disadvantaged, she claims, will naturally turn to similar means in response. *Bambule* is more than throwing food and furniture onto the floor in the home’s kitchen. More generally, she claims “Bambule: Das ist Aufstand, Widerstand, Gegengewalt” seemingly by any means necessary.<sup>36</sup>

Meinhof makes this call for change to more than just the care system. The shortcomings of the system illustrate a larger truth that the proletariat is being mistreated and ignored by the ruling class. Other forms of media may try to distract from this fact, but Meinhof seeks to raise the

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<sup>36</sup> In this quote, Meinhof uses the same language popular in the student movement, this time to advocate for the feminist and working class causes. For more information on the connection between the RAF and the student movement, see “Joined at the Hip? The Representation of the German Student Movement and Left-Wing Terrorism in Recent Literature” by Ingo Cornils and *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* by Stefan Aust.

consciousness of both the proletariat class and the bourgeoisie. The *Bambule* featured at the end of the broadcast creates an example for the listeners to follow, as the girls realize their power united against a ruling elite, whether or not they realize the implications of this action at the time. The listener should identify with the girls' motivation and examine the same invisible forces governing their own lives as Meinhof makes those *Zusammenhänge* visible. This is precisely how Meinhof's politics operate; they see the otherwise invisible political issues that permeate every aspect of our personal lives and expose them to raise consciousness that leads to action.

## Conclusion

When seen in the proper context and analyzed fully, the presence of Meinhof's politics become clearly visible in the radio feature. Yet even the subjects of the feature seem to doubt that a radio broadcast like this has the potential to create any real change, political or otherwise, as a result. While this may seem at first to weaken her argument, the doubts expressed in the following exchange between Jynette and Irene actually reiterate the importance of Meinhof's focus on invisible connections and the importance of consciousness raising through form.

MEINHOF: Jynette und Irene sind skeptisch in Bezug auf den Nutzen so einer Sendung.

JYNETTE: Das hören sich ja dann bestimmt irgendwelche Leute an.

IRENE: Und dann haben sie wieder einen Grund zu erklären.

JYNETTE: Ja.

IRENE: Scheiße. Ich spinn ja rum,

JYNETTE: Ja, was heißt, „spinn rum?“ Was, was wir erzählt haben, es muss ja alles in den Akten vermerkt sein.

IRENE: Muss? Meinst du, die schreiben darin irgendwie, wenn sie mal, wenn die Mist gebaut haben? Da steht höchstens drin, [...] die Nacht mit dem Weib im Bett erwischt, (JYNETTE: Ja, ja, logisch) oder, Bunker gekommen, wegen dem und dem.

JYNETTE: Na eben, da müssen ja auch die drei Wochen Bunker vermerkt sein.



IRENE: Ja klar, sind vermerkt aber bestimmt die drei Wochen nur. Schreiben die darin, ach naja machen sich ja strafbar...[*the dialogue fades*]<sup>37</sup>

This excerpt is crucial because it shows how ineffective the broadcast would have been without Meinhof's critical lens. These women were speaking in interviews before hearing Meinhof's commentary. Their exasperation comes from an awareness of the system itself and the knowledge that though their problems in the home are well documented, this information is used against them. In the hands of those in power, the scandal is not that these girls were forced to spend time alone in a bunker; it is how they got there. Those in power do not record when "die Mist gebaut haben" because no one is holding them accountable. With this in mind, Jynette and Irene's skepticism is understandable. Their mistreatment has always been on the record and used as "wieder einen Grund zu erklären," and they do not yet see any reason that this will change.

This is an example of the bourgeoisie's use of the truth as a "Waffe gegen die Wahrheit" that Brecht warned about earlier in the chapter, and solidifies the importance of Meinhof's commentary and effort to create a functional argument that exposes the actual, underlying power structures beneath the simple facts recorded in the state's files. Meinhof takes control of the narrative and encourages members of the proletariat, specifically women, to do the same to tell their own, more complete stories to recognize the forces at play in their lives and eventually rebel against them, with "Bambule" as an example. In this sense, the ending is an optimistic one, as Meinhof has equipped the listener to move past these doubts and see that real solutions are possible with increased public consciousness and the narrative in the hands of those who were formerly oppressed.

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<sup>37</sup> Subsection N2

This message has important ties to the feminist movement because it explicitly tells the story of women from a feminist perspective. In 1968, approximately one year before the broadcast of “Bambule,” Helke Sander set the tone for the women’s movement in Germany in her “Speech by the Action Council for Women’s Liberation,” saying:

Women are seeking their identity. They cannot achieve this by participating in campaigns which do not touch upon their immediate conflicts. That would be false emancipation. Women can only find their own identity when the social conflicts which have been relegated to private life are articulated; only then will women join together and be politicized. Most women are unpolitical because politics has always been one-sidedly defined and never included their own needs.<sup>38</sup>

The stories told in “Bambule” concern the private lives of working class women in control of the state. In the final dialogue of the feature, Jynette and Irene insist on an apolitical conclusion that merely focuses on the implications of the broadcast in the private sphere. Meinhof, however, politicizes the lives of these young women to show that politics can indeed include the needs of proletarian woman. Meinhof was capable of writing men’s stories and did so on countless occasions during her career in print journalism, yet for her work in the mediums of radio and film, she chose to tell the stories of women.<sup>39</sup> For Meinhof, the personal must become political, and “Bambule” serves to bridge the gap between the issues faced by women daily and their political implications. For Meinhof, the ultimate goal of telling these stories and making these previously invisible connections is for Jynette, Monika, Irene, and herself to become producers of a counter public sphere. As producers, women are capable of putting the knowledge into the public

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<sup>38</sup> Helke Sander, “Speech by the Action Council for Women’s Liberation,” in *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*, ed. Edith Hoshino Altbach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 307-310.

<sup>39</sup> Examples of this include: “Auf Antrieb: Mord. Einzelheiten zum Fall Fränkel,” “Gustav, Gustav,” and “Geschichten von Herrn Schutz.” In Ulrike Meinhof, *Deutschland Deutschland, Unter Anderem: Aufsätze und Polemiken* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1995), 55-61, 149-151, and 22-30.

consciousness that allows them to define their own identities rather than remaining passive consumers of media forced to accept the identities given to them.

### III. Chapter Two

#### I. Introduction

While radio features were falling out of favor in the late 1960s, original films made for television were becoming increasingly popular in the time leading up to the production of *Bambule: Fürsorge—Sorge für wen?*<sup>40</sup> Rather than finding a small, niche audience comprised mostly of intellectuals, television films had a much broader appeal during this time and could reach the masses. Reaching a wider audience was naturally desirable for Meinhof's political message as she attempted to raise the consciousness of the working class, in general, and the plight of working class women, in particular. However, despite its mass appeal, the television industry was still controlled by programming elites who ran the major public broadcasting networks. Only two decades after the end of World War II, Marxist thinkers mistrusted a medium that would once again give so few people control over mass produced popular culture and claimed that "the mass medium of film stood as both an instigator and a sign of fascist mentality."<sup>41</sup> Those elites, for their part, were seemingly aware of this perception and made an effort to hire directors with diverse ideological backgrounds. Still, this could not change the fact that, as described by Jean Shattuc, "by conceiving of these films within the institution of state television and then having them produced by independent filmmakers, television officials were able to create an aura of multiple points of view while restraining tight control of what was produced."<sup>42</sup> A strong antifascist voice at the time, Meinhof would have been aware of these limitations. Despite this, she still placed importance on creating a subversive narrative for mass media in order to advance her political goals.

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<sup>40</sup> Jane Shattuc, *Television, Tabloids, and Tears: Fassbinder and Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 45.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

However noble her goal, Meinhof found herself repeatedly disappointed during the production process by the limits imposed on her by the network and production team. Meinhof herself, perhaps understandably given her quick descent into the terrorist underground shortly thereafter, did not say much publically about her work on *Bambule*, but director Eberhard Itzenplitz penned an essay looking back on their work together in 1987. In that essay, “Über die Filmarbeit mit Ulrike Meinhof,” Itzenplitz details the many disagreements he had and compromises made during the writing and filming of *Bambule*. Early on, it became clear that although both agreed they wanted to make a socially important film, this goal meant something different for each contributor. He writes that “Für mich war es die Vorbereitung auf einen neuen, weiteren Film, der sich mit gesellschaftlichen Zuständen in der Bundesrepublik beschäftigen sollte. Nicht mehr, aber auch nicht weniger.”<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, “Im Vordergrund stand für [Meinhof] vielmehr die politische Botschaft.” For Meinhof, this film was a means to a larger political end that would raise the consciousness of the working class and those who oppress them. Yet for Itzenplitz, it was an end in itself that portrayed the social conditions in Germany without trying to change them. This basic disagreement set the tone for the issues that would arise during production as Itzenplitz had to reign in Meinhof’s often politically effective but dramaturgically unworkable efforts.

The second principle issue was Meinhof’s struggle to distill her political message into a dramatically coherent and entertaining product. The balance between realism and heavy symbolism seemed especially elusive. Itzenplitz had to consistently remind Meinhof that “der Transport wichtiger gesellschaftlicher Informationen dürfe in Spielform keinesfalls die Diktion eines Leitartikels übernehmen; die auftretenden Personen würden ‘unglaublich, ja lächerlich

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<sup>43</sup> Ulrike Marie Meinhof, *Bambule: Fürsorge—Sorge für wen?* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2009), 112.

wirken.”<sup>44</sup> Meinhof originally called for extreme realism in the film and wanted the characters to be played by the girls in the homes themselves, keeping the names of people and places from her interviews intact. She thought that no one was more qualified to give a revolutionary message than those who needed the revolution themselves. The filmmakers, however, disagreed, calling her initial efforts “unspielbar” and even “einfach langweilig.”<sup>45</sup> In contrast, Meinhof also attempted to write surreal, allegorical scenes into the screenplay which, though symbolically effective, “hatten einen merkwürdigen theatralischen, ja opernhaften Charakter.”<sup>46</sup> Despite its basis in real interviews and experiences, this was Meinhof’s only major fictional work, and it seems she had difficulties taking advantage of dramatic conventions while maintaining her political, journalistic writing style. The documentary realism that was so important to the radio feature clashed with television’s unique expectations and conventions.

The collaboration between Meinhof, Itzenplitz, and Dieter Waldmann on the script is preserved in *Bambule: Das Regiebuch*, a collection of photocopies of select pages from the original screenplay covered in director’s notes. Specifically, the collection focuses on scenes that were cut from, heavily reworked or edited in the script before filming began. In fact, some of the most common annotations are a simple “X” through the entire page or “TEMPO” written in large letters across the text, indicating that, true to the claims Itzenplitz makes in his essay, many of Meinhof’s ideas only slowed down the plot or were too unwieldy for the plot to remain coherent and interesting. Interestingly, most of these scenes, as seen below, also had small illustrations or notes that show the filmmakers’ honest attempts to make these scenes work. Only after considerable effort and discussion, it seems, were scenes or plotlines deemed unworkable. (See fig. 1)

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 124 and 117, respectively.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 129.

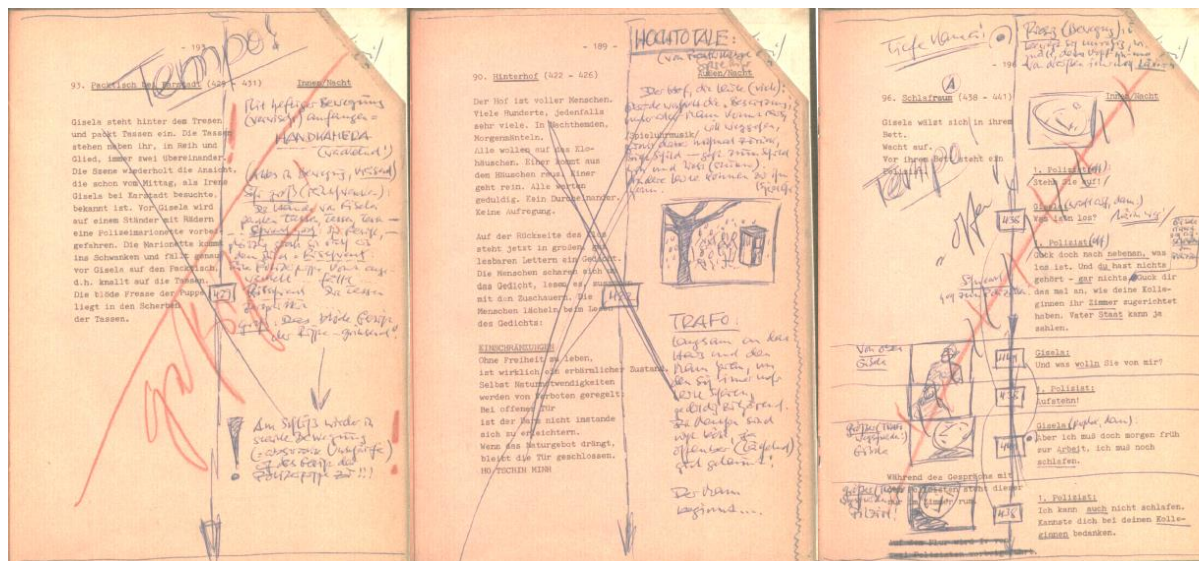


Figure 2. Pages from the original screenplay with annotations by the director, Eberhard Itzenplitz found in *Bambule: The Script/Das Regiebuch*

In the introduction to the collection, Clemens von Wedemeyer reiterates the idea that “among the fundamental differences between director and author is the latter’s rejection of all too topical theses and graphic political allegories.”<sup>48</sup> The notes included in the script and the several scenes cut from the film makes these fundamental differences clear and how the director altered the script based on his assertions. However, I disagree with von Wedemeyer’s further assertion that “The director had the last word here.”<sup>49</sup> Although we only hear Itzenplitz’s voice in *Das Regiebuch*, the principle dialogue and message is still wholly Meinhof’s. Itzenplitz played an important role tempering Meinhof’s more extreme, unworkable ideas and aiding her transition from journalism to film, but I contend in the following chapter that, with the help of her production team, she was still able to convey a political message in the film very similar to the message in her independently created radio feature.

<sup>47</sup> Clemens von Wedemeyer, ed., *Bambule: The Script/Das Regiebuch* (Ostfildern bei Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

Yet though her message is similar, Meinhof conveys her politics differently in the film by creating a narrative that finds its effectiveness through emotional identification rather than focused commentary. The women in the radio feature also tell stories in their interviews, but the political weight of their experiences is not accessible to the reader without the aid of Meinhof's explicit commentary. She uses the documentary form to convince listeners that these working class women are oppressed and that society is in need of change. However, for the television version of this project, Meinhof did not choose to make a documentary film. Instead, she chose to remove her personal narrative and create a fictional narrative in which the characters speak for themselves. The film no longer needs to convince viewers of the main characters' victimhood because viewers experience the girls' oppression firsthand as the plot progresses. Tragic events in the story stir emotions in characters meant to illicit sympathy from the audience. This emotional identification is vital to the film's political effectiveness and is made possible through melodramatic form.

## II. Melodrama

Unlike Meinhof, Itzenplitz was no stranger to political cinema.<sup>50</sup> Both the final screenplay and the film itself are the products of over a year of discussions and compromises between Meinhof, Itzenplitz, and producers like Waldmann of Südwestfunk. With the help of more experienced filmmakers, the final product overcame the mostly aesthetic issues Meinhof faced by applying the melodramatic form to Meinhof's foundation in order to create a political work within the constraints of popular film conventions. In his formative essay on the topic, Thomas Elsaesser outlined the ideological power of melodrama, stating:

One of the characteristic features of melodramas in general is that they concentrate on the point of view of the victim [...] The critique--the questions of "evil," of responsibility--is firmly placed on a social and existential level, away from the arbitrary and finally obtuse

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<sup>50</sup> His other work before 1970 included *Nur der Freiheit gehört unser Leben*, *Schrott*, and *Hotel der toten Gäste*.



logic of private motives and individualised psychology. This is why the melodrama, at its most accomplished, seems capable of reproducing more directly than other genres the patterns of domination and exploitation existing in a given society, especially the relation between psychology, morality and class-consciousness, by emphasizing so clearly an emotional dynamic whose social correlative is a network of external forces directed oppressively inward, and with which the characters themselves unwittingly collude to become their agents.<sup>51</sup>

In this way, melodrama was the ideal form for accommodating Meinhof's message for television that sought to reshape the narrative around these young women's lives. Girls are placed in these homes for poor behavior, and during the film, characters steal, destroy property, and turn to prostitution. Yet rather than condemning these girls, Meinhof portrays them as victims of an oppressive system they cannot control. The ideological component of the melodramatic rendition is not the explicit commentary found in Meinhof's radio feature. Rather, it arises organically within the narrative when viewers identify a character's personal suffering with greater societal issues.

Central to Elsaesser's conception of melodrama's ideological power is the filmmaker's ability to create the aforementioned "emotional dynamic," which draws in the viewer and leads them to identify with the characters' plight. Elsaesser goes on to say how melodrama can use emotion to engage the audience with the narrative:

Such archetypal melodramatic situations activate very strongly an audience's participation, for there is a desire to make up for the emotional deficiency, to impart the different awareness [...]: the primitive desire to warn the heroine of the perils looming visibly over her in the shape of the villains shadow [...] The spectator...is made aware of the slightest qualitative imbalance in a relationship and also sensitized to the tragic implications that a radical misunderstanding or a misconception of motives might have, even when this is not played out in terms of a tragic ending.<sup>52</sup>

It is not enough for the film to focus on societal exploitation and oppression if it does not also give the viewer a tragic outlet into which they can channel their newfound awareness and moral outrage.

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<sup>51</sup> Thomas Elsaesser "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama," in *Film Genre Reader IV*, ed. Berry Keith Grant. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 457.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 460.

Melodrama does this by connecting viewers to their tragic heroes through emotion. The effects of injustice become tangible and personal when viewers can identify with compelling characters who are themselves suffering. The viewer's "primitive desire" to help the characters they see in danger encourages them to participate in the narrative, which enhances melodrama's ideological effectiveness. In the following sections, I will examine how the melodramatic rendition depicts the suffering of these characters to create an emotional connection between them and viewers and to highlight the societal pressures that cause their oppression.

### **III. Differences Between the Radio and Film Versions of *Bambule***

Meinhof and Itzenplitz found a balance by creating a melodramatic narrative that could encompass a similar political message as the radio feature through stories of individual suffering within the home system. In the radio feature, interviews are only used as evidence for Meinhof's argument. In other words, stories are merely one of several tools that Meinhof uses to discuss more general topics and themes. Yet the film focuses entirely on telling the stories of these women. As a result, each character's storyline must itself represent each topic and theme in Meinhof's analysis of the home system because storytelling is the only tool available to the television film format. The film begins with Monika and Irene's escape attempt, in which only Irene is successful. As their paths diverge, Irene's storyline illustrates difficulties adjusting to life outside the home while Monika sits in the bunker and experiences the full range of punishments carried out by the home system. Interestingly, though Jynette speaks twice as many times as Monika in the radio broadcast, she becomes a minor character in Irene's storyline in the television version. In the radio broadcast, we learn that Irene actually lived with both Jynette and Monika, who were in a relationship at the time. Monika and Jynette never meet in the film. Instead, a new character, Heidi, is created to be

Jynette's partner. She is immediately jealous of Irene and Jynette's bond, a dynamic never mentioned in the radio broadcast.

Heidi was not the only character created for the film. In the radio feature, Meinhof only mentions Monika, Jynette, and Irene by name. Caretakers and family members are only mentioned using generic identities. The film creates four authority figures: two named caretakers, Frau Timm and Frau Lack, a frustrated male teacher, and a leering gatekeeper.<sup>53</sup> The authoritarian Frau Timm comes as no surprise. She is portrayed unsympathetically and only appears in scenes to punish the girls in many of the ways mentioned in the radio play. Frau Lack, on the other hand, is a new addition in the film. Rather than presenting the caretakers as absolute evil, Meinhof chose to create a more complex character out of Lack. Frau Lack seems to actually care about the girls in the home, though she is still complicit in their unfair treatment.

Meinhof's argument in the radio play centers on two key concepts: mistreatment in the home system and the effects this mistreatment has on the girls' attempts to reintegrate into society. Monika's storyline in the television film is used to illustrate poor conditions and unfair punishment in the home itself. She, along with others, loses cigarettes or television privileges several times throughout the film and finds herself in the bunker after her escape attempt<sup>54</sup>. Through flashbacks, something not used at all in the radio feature, we also see memories of her younger years in the system. One of these stories, about a nun chasing her through a convent to cut her hair, is taken directly from an interview in the radio broadcast, while the others appear to be new. These new stories tend to explain the kind of isolation and abandonment Monika felt as a child that led to her current situation.

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<sup>53</sup> According to director Eberhard Itzenplitz, Frau Timm was originally called Frau Turm in the screenplay, but her name had to be changed due to censorship. This indicates that Frau Turm was a real person, though she is not mentioned by name in the radio broadcast.

<sup>54</sup> This is despite the fact that Monika is the only radio interviewee who did not spend any time in the Bunker.

If Monika's character exists to expose conditions in the home, Irene's escape from the home shows the viewer the consequences of running away, known by the girls as going *auf Trebe*, and attempting to assimilate themselves back into the real world. Irene first returns to her mother, who, while expressing some sympathy, cannot take Irene, a minor, back home because of her father. What's more, she has little money to give her. She attempts to get a job in retail, and despite a positive interview, is unsuccessful without the proper papers, which the home still holds. Early in the film, we see that Irene is in a relationship with Gisela, another girl who lives in the home but is allowed to work in a department store. When Irene attempts to meet her in town, Gisela avoids her and leaves with a man instead. None of these stories are explicitly present in the radio play, but they are all indicative of the kind of isolation and helplessness Meinhof describes in the *Zusammenhänge* section of the radio broadcast. As a result, Irene moves in with Heidi and Jynette and, after expressing her frustrations, ends up turning to prostitution in an attempt to buy false identification. She fails at this as well, eventually returning to the home right after the titular *Bambule* takes place. Together, these two storylines create melodramatic situations which educate the viewer by revealing and emphasizing the oppressive forces present in society that brought about these issues, which prepares viewers to understand the climactic ending and Meinhof's political message.

#### **IV. Melodrama in *Bambule***

In order to effectively make her claim, Meinhof must first convince the viewer of the main characters' victimhood. She does so by creating a melodramatic narrative centered on the girls in the home and their struggles with the status quo. Much like the radio play, Meinhof's argument is layered to show the *Zusammenhänge* between time in the home and problems later in life.

However, her personal commentary, which constituted almost half of the radio play and presented her political message, is completely absent from the film.<sup>55</sup> Instead, the stories themselves accomplish this goal. The women's interviews in the radio program only relayed their experiences, but were not themselves trying to achieve a political end. As such, they did not need to be political in and of themselves. The women in the film, on the other hand, are fully responsible in their own narratives. Therefore, the hidden realities that exist in society and oppress these women must be revealed through their suffering and emotions. Monika's time in the bunker and numerous flashbacks cement her status as a victim within the home system. Irene's time on the outside reveals the forces working against them in public life as a result of their time in care. Finally, the viewer sees that the oppression of these characters extends beyond the public sphere as they are also affected by societal pressures that influence their personal relationships as well.

During her time in the bunker, Monika is visited by Frau Lack and has several flashbacks while describing her poor treatment in the home system. She is severely punished several times for relatively innocuous transgressions like refusing to eat fish served for dinner or having long hair. Yet her most egregious punishment occurs when she has done nothing at all. In a flashback, a fourteen year-old Monika is caught up in chaos when another girl steals a fire extinguisher during gym class, sprays it wildly, and throws it in a toilet as the class gleefully looks on. When the teacher asks who was responsible for the mess, Monika is falsely accused and punished. After the flashback, Monika and Lack have the following exchange:

MONIKA: Da bin ich wieder ins Kloster gekommen.

FRAU LACK: Warum hat die dich denn verpetzt?

MONIKA: Ich weiß nicht. Sie hat nachher Klassenkeile gekriegt. Sie ist auch von der Schule gekommen, weil keiner mehr mit ihr gesprochen hat. Aber da hatte meine Fürsorgerin schon alles gegen mich gesammelt. Die wollte mich sowieso wieder ins Heim haben.

FRAU LACK: Warst du's denn? Ich meine—du hattest aber den Feuerlöscher ins Klo gesteckt.

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<sup>55</sup> Approximately 26 minutes and 30 seconds of the 58 minute broadcast.

MONIKA: Nein. Ich war's nicht. Aber das hat dann keiner mehr geglaubt. Wenn die das nicht gesagt hätte, *wenn...*<sup>56</sup>



Figure 3. Monika (Christine Diersch) reacts to Frau Lack's (Antje Hagen) accusation in *Bambule*.

This story is indicative of the problems these girls had staying in society. The caretaker in the story is so quick to believe that Monika would be guilty that it does not matter if she was actually responsible or not. Even her supposed ally, Frau Lack, believes that Monika must have done something to warrant her own treatment. She is a scapegoat in this story just as working class girls in these homes are scapegoats for the society that failed them. By the time she was fourteen, Monika was already aware that no one would believe or stand up for her and that her fate within the home system was inevitable.

The film makes clear, however, that Monika is also not fully responsible for the bad behavior that gave her a reputation. The idea of *niemanden haben* central to the radio play is illustrated through these flashbacks as well. In the aforementioned fish flashback, Monika refuses to eat “eine Gabel für [ihre] Mutti” because she barely knows her and “eine Gabel für [ihren] Pappi” because she does not have one.<sup>58</sup> Yet a photograph of her mother serves as her inspiration

<sup>56</sup> Meinhof, Ulrike Marie. *Bambule: Fürsorge—Sorge für wen?* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2009), 44  
All quotes from the film are taken from this version of the screenplay. Any grammatical or spelling errors in these quotes are original to Meinhof's screenplay.

<sup>57</sup> *Bambule* (television film), 31:50

<sup>58</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 30-31

for long hair and makeup and it is ripped apart before her hair is forcibly cut. The connection between family and later strife is ever-present, and it is no more visible than in a pointed flashback in which Monika and her friend, Ilona, create a play in the convent. The story, as told by Monika in voiceover,

...handelte von der Stiefmutter und ihrem Kind. Die Stiefmutter war sehr böse und schlug immer das Kind und gab ihm nichts zu essen, und es mußte arbeiten und durfte überhaupt nicht spielen wie die anderen Kinder und mußte immer den Abwasch machen, und die Stiefmutter lag während dem auf dem Sofa, und das Kind kriegte immer geschimpft, bis es ins Heim kam.

This fairy tale of a mistreated child too poor to enjoy the carefree lives of other children reflects the real situation for many girls living in these homes, specifically Monika. The real impact of the play, however, comes from its ending, both real and imagined. The play has a happy ending, as Monika's voiceover continues, saying "Und dann hat eines Tages die Stiefmutter ihr Unrecht eingesehen und das Kind durfte wieder nach Hause kommen und alles war wieder gut."<sup>59</sup> This ending, of course, does not happen, and never will. In reality, the child, Monika, and her stepmother, Ilona, kiss at the climax of the play.



Figure 4. Monika and Ilona (Eva-Maria Miner) kiss at the end of their play in *Bambule*.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>60</sup> *Bambule* (television film), 33:32.

At that moment, a nun walks in, kicks them out of the convent, and the two girls never see each other again. Rather than ending with family reunification and independence, the girls are met with punishment and isolation as the cycle that began as children continues. This scene establishes a direct connection between the suffering and punishment faced in the homes and working class backgrounds. The girls' only desire is to return to a happy family, but instead, the home system treats them as delinquents and tears the loving relationships they do have away from them. Rather than healing and rehabilitating these girls, the home system has only deepened the issues that put them at a disadvantage in the first place.

In each scene we become increasingly acquainted with Monika's tragic life story, which creates a connection between Monika and her audience. Though she tends to feel sympathetic towards Monika, Frau Lack, like the other adults in the story, remains skeptical. Yet through film, the audience is able to experience the stories firsthand and therefore believes her. They see the look of abandonment in Monika's eyes when falsely accused, the terror when forced to cut her hair, and the heartbreak of having Ilona taken away from her. This emotional bond fosters identification, which draws the audience into the story as they too become invested in Monika's wellbeing.

It should come as no surprise, then, that women who grew up in these homes would continue to struggle in many of the same ways in their adult lives as they attempt to reintegrate themselves into society. Irene experiences this firsthand as she attempts to begin her life after she escapes. Her mother has very little money to give her, so she quickly tries to find a job as a cashier in a store. During the interview, she makes a positive impression and the employer seems ready to hire her until he asks for her papers, which the home still possesses. The lasting effect of her status as a former Eichenhof resident can be seen in the exchange that follows



EINSTELLER: Zeigen Sie mal ihre Papiere.  
 IRENE: Ich hab' keene.  
 EINSTELLER: Du machst mir Spaß. Biste aus der Kantstraße?  
 IRENE: Nee, nich' Arrest, Heim.  
 EINSTELLER: Mädchenwohnheim?  
 IRENE: Ja.  
 EINSTELLER: Oder aus'm Eichenhof?  
 Irene (*das weit von sich weisend*): Nein—natürlich nicht—Trebebraut—was? Nee!<sup>61</sup>



Figure 5. Irene (Dagmar Biener) denies being a Trebebraut in *Bambule*.

The first obstacle that she faces is concrete; it is impossible for her to gain employment without her papers and the consent of the home, which she will not receive. This would be difficult enough to overcome, but the shame of being from Eichenhof is even worse. When asked, Irene becomes defensive and attempts to distance herself from the truth. It is unclear which factor is more important to the employer, but legitimate employment is still impossible, regardless of the lies Irene is able to tell. She leaves, promising to come again the next day with papers, but never returns. In contrast to Monika's story, Irene's situation is not tragic. She is not upset during this interaction; she is ashamed. This adds another emotional dynamic to the film, as viewers can now sense the shame of being associated with the home in addition to the tragedy of the events that put them there.

<sup>61</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 40.

<sup>62</sup> *Bambule* (television film), 27:53.

The film thus shows a direct connection between opportunities withheld by the state and criminality as Heidi, a prostitute herself, and Jynette suggest prostitution to a desperate Irene as a way to earn money without papers. Irene is, of course, not enthusiastic about the idea, saying:

IRENE: Ist aber das Letzte.

JYNETTE: Wenn de Geld brauchst und keen Ausweis hast.

HEIDI: Mußt ja nicht. Ist nur'n Vorschlag.

IRENE: Na ja, -- ,Vorschlag'. Ick hab' keene Lust mehr... Mal seh'n, wie das mit die Ami-Weiber wird. Denn ich hab' immer noch keinen Ausweis. Ich glaube, ich geh' wieder rin.

HEIDI: Biste sauer?

IRENE: Ja.<sup>63</sup>



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Figure 6. Jynette (Helge Henning), Heidi (Barbara Schöne), and a newly blonde Irene discuss prostitution in *Bambule*.

In this exchange, Irene scoffs at the idea that their proposition is only a “suggestion.” Without proper identification, legitimate employment is out of the question. Instead, Irene and others like her are left with two options: crime or returning to the home. Irene considers prostitution “das Letzte:” a career considered as shameful as being from the home in the eyes of the employer from the previous scene. Still, Irene attempts to follow Heidi’s advice, later claiming that “Mit 50 Mark komm ich aus. Dafür krieg’ ich schon ein’ Ausweis.”<sup>65</sup> Her criminal activity stems not from an innate character flaw, but from a will for legitimate employment. Yet her attempt proves

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 79. In the original screenplay, the final lines read:

HEIDI: Biste wütend?

IRENE: Nee, enttäuscht.

<sup>64</sup> *Bambule* (television film), 1:03:43.

<sup>65</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 86.

unsuccessful, as she and Jynette are unable to find the pimp's location after hours of searching. Despite her desperation, this does not seem to bother either of them as they tell their story in a crowded bar at the end of the night.<sup>66</sup>

Within a few days, Irene, out of options, leaves Heidi and Jynette for the home at the same time the *Bambule* is taking place. In their final conversation, Jynette is confused, but Irene is resolute:

JYNETTE: Warum denn so plötzlich? Kannst doch bei uns wohnen.

IRENE: Plan geändert.

JYNETTE: Versteh' ich nicht.

IRENE: Du verstehst vieles nicht.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 7. Irene leaves Heidi and Jynette's apartment early in the morning in *Bambule*.<sup>68</sup>

Irene, however, finally does understand. The home system has doomed her to a life underground, and living with Jynette and Heidi will do nothing to solve her problem or improve her situation. With all of her legitimate and illegitimate options exhausted, the plan has to change. She is *sauer*, and she returns to the home ready to make change from within the system rather than hiding outside of it.

<sup>66</sup> In fact, on page 86, Meinhof wrote into the script that "Es wäre schön, wenn es so gemacht würde, daß auch die Zuschauer das Lachen kriegen." Both women laugh while telling the story, which is ironically one of the few lighthearted moments of the television film.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>68</sup> *Bambule* (television film), 1:21:07.

These women are not only victims when in the public eye; their oppression extends into the private sphere as well, as almost every main character in the film has a homosexual relationship.<sup>69</sup> In one of the few textual analyses of *Bambule* the television film, scholar Sarah Colvin briefly deals with the film's lesbian storylines. She focuses her interpretation of these themes on their implications for solidarity within the home, saying "In *Bambule*, lesbianism is a metaphor for solidarity; it signals marginalized social status and the potential that nonetheless inheres in human relationships," and that "love is the first step towards solidarity."<sup>70</sup> Though Meinhof's work is undeniably a call to solidarity, this interpretation is willfully shortsighted. To limit one's reading of the text to simply focus on solidarity is a mistake, as it both discounts the real emotions and intimacy experienced by the characters in lesbian relationships and ignores the subversive, political nature of such an explicit portrayal of lesbian relationships on television during this time.

Colvin cites an important scene in the bunker between Monika and Frau Lack, in which Monika abruptly asks Frau Lack about her sexuality and Lack quickly dodges the question. Colvin interprets this as Monika seeking a "powerful human connection" through the shared experience of same-sex attraction. However, when one examines the rest of the scene, it becomes clear that its true significance lies elsewhere. After dodging Monika's inquiry, Lack begins by giving an almost positive endorsement of lesbianism, saying

Ich will dir mal was sagen: Ich weiß nicht, ob es gut ist, daß ihr so seid. Jemanden lieb haben, ist nicht schlecht. Ich frage mich nur manchmal, ob ihr euch lieb habt. Manche Mädchen, die den Macker machen, sind richtig gemein zu dem andern Mädchen. Wie Männer, die blöd sind zu ihren Frauen. Wenn ihr euch wirklich lieb habt, ist es gut. Ich glaube sogar, es ist besser, du liebst ein Mädchen als niemanden.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Iv is the only principle character in the home whose sexuality is never mentioned.

<sup>70</sup> Sarah Colvin, *Ulrike Meinhof and West German Terrorism: Language, Violence, and Identity* (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 60. Ibid., 61.

<sup>71</sup> Ulrike Marie Meinhof, *Bambule: Fürsorge—Sorge für wen?* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2009), 53-54.



Figure 8. Frau Lack reacts to questions about her sexuality in *Bambule*.<sup>72</sup>

Her discomfort when questioned and the tension during this conversation make it clear to viewers that Frau Lack really does share same-sex attraction, yet her comment shows her ambivalence towards her and the girls' feelings. Though she is much more receptive than her colleagues, she qualifies this acceptance with doubt. She goes on to express worry for the girls' futures, should they choose to live openly as lesbians, continuing:

Ihr habt's nur schwer, wenn ihr so bleibt. Ihr habt die Leute gegen euch...Und wenn man alle Leute gegen sich hat, ist das schwer. Wenn du mal einen Streit hast mit deiner Freundin, dann siehst du plötzlich, wie die andern sie sehen, und die andern sehn das häßlich an und du dann auch, und das ist dann schwer für euch.<sup>73</sup>



Figure 9. Frau Lack expresses these worries in *Bambule*.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Bambule* (television film), 39:59.

<sup>73</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 54.

<sup>74</sup> *Bambule*, (television film), 41:36.

In this scene, Lack's attempt to give Monika advice only serves to convey her own fears stemming from an aspect of her own identity with which she is uncomfortable. Before this conversation, Lack comes across as a well-meaning ally and the only caretaker with the girls' best interests at heart. In this conversation, we begin to see the cracks in this persona. Lack has the potential to establish a real connection with Monika based in solidarity, yet when presented with the opportunity, she resists. Instead, she falls back on rhetoric designed to call same-sex attraction, including her own, into question and allows her fears to dominate the conversation. She is a coward who has submitted to the public sphere. Lack's character serves as an example of the political moderate in West German society who, though they recognize their own oppression in society or sympathize with leftist causes, refuse to give up the security of the status quo in favor of revolution. At the same time, Meinhof conveys the real sense of discomfort that lesbians experienced in society and how they were viewed at the time. Explicit discussion of homosexuality, particularly lesbianism, on television was rare and incredibly progressive in the 1970s. Though there are a few other examples of homosexuality in West German cinema up to this point, this level of acceptance and outright acknowledgement of homosexual attraction was uncommon at the time, and, had it aired as scheduled in 1970, would have been a rare moment of increased lesbian visibility.<sup>75</sup>

Experiencing same-sex attraction makes a character a victim in a heteronormative society. Importantly, the girls are never directly chastised for their sexual behavior.<sup>76</sup> Instead, those like Frau Lack are principally concerned with how homosexual women are seen by society. It becomes clear that the oppression of these girls comes from an outside societal force, not any personal wrongdoing. The individual suffering seen in these relationships, Monika's expulsion from the

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<sup>75</sup> Richard Oswald's *Anders als die Adern* (1919), Reinhold Schünzel's *Viktor und Viktoria* (1933), and Leontine Sagan's *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931) are notable early examples.

<sup>76</sup> Monika is punished by a nun for kissing another girl in a flashback scene, but as the nun is considered a villain, this does not come across as a justified condemnation. The nun's behavior is seen as irrational.

convent, Gisela's slight of Irene for a man on the street, and Jynette's difficulty fitting in are all symptoms of greater societal oppression. These relationships present new opportunities as well as challenges for emotional identification. The scenes already mentioned in this chapter take place in the public sphere and illicit negative emotions: sadness, shame, and anger. The private sphere, on the other hand, presents the opportunity for love and positive emotions. Yet, despite this potential, each love story ends in disappointment and heartbreak while Frau Lack remains repressed. This further involves the audience in the story, as each character is denied her happy ending and viewers are denied the satisfaction of watching it. Yet at the same time, presenting taboo homosexual relationships rather than accepted heterosexual relationships can detach viewers, especially those moderates who Meinhof tries to reach through Frau Lack. Despite their possible prejudice, by bearing witness to this melodrama, viewers are invited to identify and resent the forces that caused these characters' suffering, namely the oppressive nature of the home system and heteronormative society that places them in an environment in which these relationships thrive but condemns them once they develop.

By portraying lesbian relationships based on the lives of real women, Meinhof also continues her mission to expose hidden realities, as discussed in the last chapter, this time through melodrama. In her survey of queer German cinema, Alice A. Kuzniar highlights the importance and burden of queer representation in film, asserting that

Because the furtive glance can never perceive enough, queer cinema is one of baroque display and theatricality that paradoxically hides as much as it reveals. It reminds the viewer that sexual difference is not always something one can see; by disrupting and scotomizing the optic register, it challenges the accepted notion that cinema discloses and makes visible an empirical reality.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Alice A. Kuzniar, *The Queer German Cinema* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 5.

Both the film and radio play tell the stories of women whose lives already lie on the outskirts of society as members of the working class. The proletariat identity, however, is one that marks them in every aspect of life and is easily defined by their careers, neighborhoods, and ways of speaking. Sexuality, however, can and too often must be hidden and the expression of sexuality is suppressed by a society that assumes and requires heterosexuality. For this reason, increased visibility for lesbians in film is as necessary as it is subversive. Writer Ingeborg Boxhammer summarizes the purpose of lesbian representation in film history, saying “Bei einer Lesbenfilmgeschichte geht es—wie in der allgemeinen und speziellen oder individuellen Geschichtsschreibung auch—vor allem um Sichtbarkeit.”<sup>78</sup> In *Bambule*, Meinhof uses homosexuality for more than a call to solidarity. She is very deliberately exposing, and in turn normalizing, the reality of homosexuality in mainstream culture.

## V. Conclusion

These three elements: struggles in the home, at work, and in private life, converge to create an ending in the film that differs greatly in tone from the ending of the radio play. As discussed in the first chapter, the interviewees in the radio play have not yet heard Meinhof’s analysis and end the broadcast with doubt as Irene’s voice trails off. The film version of Irene, however, is much more resolute. After suddenly returning to the home, she turns to Iv, who expresses the same kind of doubt found at the end of the radio play. Instead of agreeing with her, Irene raises her voice, saying

IRENE: Dann muß man ebend reden, viel mehr reden, warum wir das machen, was wir wollen – reden! Und den Bunker mit richtigen Sachen vollschreiben. Nich’ „Alles

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<sup>78</sup> Ingeborg Boxhammer, *Das Begehren im Blick: Streifzüge durch 100 Jahren Lesbenfilmgeschichte* (Bonn: Mäzena Verlag, 2007), 19.



Scheiße“, oder „Peter, I love you“. Nee! „Heime sind Gefängnisse“, „Wir wollen richtig bezahlt werden!“, „Nieder mit dem Lajug!“ So was.<sup>79</sup>

IV: Dann kommste nie raus. Ich sag's dir.

IRENE: Quatsch! Wer Terror macht, den schmeißen se raus. Wer sich gut führt, der wird vergessen, der wird schwarz hier drin. Wer sich fügt, wird fertig gemacht. Verstehst du, Iv? Wenn de dich fügst, freuen se sich, daß se dich fertig gemacht haben. Dafür sind se dann nett zu dir, daß se dich kaputt gemacht haben. Nee, du! Nee!<sup>80</sup>

These final lines are an unequivocal call to action. The change to a more explicit ending was necessary because, as described by Clemens von Wedemeyer, “The script brought together the results of Meinhof’s research in various homes... The idea was to let the girls speak for themselves in the film, which was thus to be the catalyst for a movement against the reform homes as instruments of state education.”<sup>81</sup> Meinhof’s commentary no longer forms the basis for the argument as the stories of these women, portrayed by actors, provide the evidence themselves.

Yet the call to action in *Bambule* is not limited to girls like Irene living in the homes. Though the viewer may sympathize with them, few viewers will be able to identify with Irene or Monika because they are not in the same social position. Instead, Meinhof created another character, Frau Lack. The melodramatic narratives in the film make the viewer aware that these women are being oppressed; the character of Frau Lack makes them aware that they can also act as the oppressor. As stated earlier, the script only develops two caretaker characters: Frau Timm and Frau Lack.<sup>82</sup> Timm is an immediately unlikeable authority figure who is easy to dismiss as a guilty player in an evil system, but Lack’s character cannot be so easily condemned. She spends most of the film in the bunker with Monika and, much like the viewer, lends a sympathetic ear to

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<sup>79</sup> “‘Heime sind Gefängnisse’, ‘Wir wollen richtig bezahlt werden’” appears in the script but is not said in the film.

<sup>80</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 101.

<sup>81</sup> Clemens von Wedemeyer, ed. *Bambule: The Script/Das Regiebuch* (Ostfildern bei Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012), 2.

<sup>82</sup> Another caretaker, Frau Bonnie, appears in a scene on page 90, but only to be antagonized by the girls before the *Bambule*. Her character is never developed further.

her story. Yet despite her intimate knowledge of the abuses in the home system and her relative power within it, she does little to change anything.<sup>83</sup> In the final scene, immediately before the lines above, Irene angrily confronts Lack about her inaction, asserting that

Sie müssen sich mal entscheiden, für wen Sie sind. Für die oder für uns...Wenn keiner dabei ist, ist Frau Lack prima. (*höhnisch*) Im Bunker ist Frau Lack ganz große Klasse. Aber wenn's drauf ankommt, kann Frau Lack nichts machen – muß sie abschließen, muß nach Westdeutschland verlegen, muß das Fernsehen ausstellen, muß das Licht ausmachen, macht Kniff vor Frau Timm, kriecht Frau Timm in den Arsch.<sup>84</sup>

With tears in her eyes, Lack gives up, leaving the room and locking the door behind her. In many ways, she represents the average viewer. The majority of viewers were never in a reform home, and the conditions in them affect their lives very little. In fact, they, like Lack, actively benefit from the system, which puts them in a position of power. In this scene, Meinhof exposes their hypocrisy. Simply viewing this film and recognizing the victimhood of its characters are not enough if viewers do not use the power they do possess in society to join the revolution and create social change. Identification with Frau Lack in this scene is almost shameful, as the audience must confront its own inaction. Identifying with Frau Lack means the audience must acknowledge it is just as capable of helping the characters for whom they feel such great sympathy as it is of deserting them.

The ultimate goal of the radio and film versions of *Bambule* is the same: to expose the reality experienced by this hidden subset of German culture. In his *Radiotheorie*, Bertolt Brecht claimed that “Ein Mann, der was zu sagen hat und keine Zuhörer findet, ist schlimm daran. Noch schlimmer sind Zuhörer daran, die keinen finden, der ihnen etwas zu sagen hat”<sup>85</sup> The listener, in his theory, was looking for a truthful representation of reality, one that Meinhof was able to harness

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<sup>83</sup> When asked in an earlier scene (page 52), Lack tells the girls that she does disapprove of the Bunker's overuse in the home.

<sup>84</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 99.

<sup>85</sup> Bertolt Brecht, *Schriften Zur Literatur Und Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), 123.

for revolutionary purposes. In the film, Irene claims that, despite her flaws as an ally, „[Lack] hört wenigstens mal zu. Man kann’s doch nur einem sagen, der zuhört.“<sup>86</sup> Throughout the *Bambule* project, Meinhof was trying to reach anyone willing to listen to illuminate this necessary truth. Whether using Brechtian theory in an informative radio feature or employing melodramatic narratives to incite rebellion through fiction, Meinhof successfully employed different forms in order to convey a revolutionary message to wide-reaching masses.

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<sup>86</sup> *Bambule* (screenplay), 100.

#### IV. Conclusion

Ulrike Meinhof is remembered for her far-left views and involvement with the Red Army Faction. Her image is one that she crafted herself in large part through her writing both for the group and independently thus requires little by way of rehabilitation. What this investigation seeks to understand with reference to Meinhof's screenplay, *Bambule*, and its radio counterparts is the crucial turning point they occupy at a key transition in her complicated biography. In chapters one and two, I discuss how Meinhof used radio and television to convey her political message about the victims of a systemic state violence. These two works are politically effective and, in the case of the film especially, emotionally moving. Meinhof's journalistic success is widely acknowledged, but *Bambule* shows us that her contributions were not merely journalistic. Meinhof recognized the political potential of storytelling, in general, and literature, radio, and film, in particular. She could have continued to influence and expand the counter public sphere by creating more works of politically aware fiction in the vein of *Bambule* to ensure the presence of otherwise excluded interests in the media. The quality of her work and her high profile at the time suggest that future film and radio opportunities were likely.

This paper's focus on form is especially relevant when discussing the potential of political art in the contemporary context. Meinhof lived during a time when only a few electronic mediums existed and when television was dominated by public, state-owned networks. She chose to work not only in one but two of the widest reaching mediums of the time: public television and radio. Comparatively, there is a much more diverse media landscape today as the electronic public sphere has expanded in size and scope with the introduction of digital media and the proliferation of private media sources and channels. What Meinhof's media work makes clear is that the same political messages must be adapted to different forms of media in order to

be effective at all. Radio and television each provided new opportunities for engaging with their audiences, but they also have unique rules of engagement. Had she avoided her incarceration in Stammheim Prison and remained an influential critic in society, Meinhof could have written more such engaged cultural works like *Bambule* well into the 80s. Questions of form are therefore vital to understanding how political writing in mediums like literature, film, and radio work both then and now.

Let's return to where this study began, Edel's *Baader Meinhof Komplex*, when Meinhof eventually decides to jump out the window. In that moment she forwent a future that could have mined the possibilities of media, and began a violent, ideological fight against capitalist oppression. When one examines her works in radio and television and their limited political impact, this decision is not difficult to understand. Though she could have had future potential as a force in the electronic public sphere, Meinhof the journalist did not want to create a conversation, ironically. She wanted a revolution. As I have shown, both her radio feature and television film were effective in making the political point that proletarian women were oppressed in a bourgeois society. Consciousness raising was certainly important to her cause, yet we can see that awareness of issues is ultimately not enough for Meinhof, who in the end advocated for action against the forces of oppression. By naming both projects "Bambule," Meinhof placed importance on action. The protests she portrays go beyond what language can achieve politically to become materially destructive within the storyline. In the film, Irene condemns Frau Lack's inaction and instead calls for escalation, what Meinhof ultimately did herself. In effect, Meinhof sets herself up for failure by creating a work of art that simply could not accomplish her actionist goals, even though she had a competent grasp of both mediums and their concomitant rules. Had she continued to produce films and radio features, she could have

gained popularity, but it is unlikely that she would have incited the kind of direct political resistance that her work intended to create. Ulrike Meinhof wanted ultimately violent resistance and found it in her deadly involvement with the RAF, not in projects for television and radio that still live on today.

**V. Appendix I: *Bambule* (radio feature)**

<b>A</b>	<b>0:00-12:37</b>	<b>I. Biographical Context for Jynette, Monika, and Irene</b>
A1	0:00-0:30	Announcer: Radio Feature Introduction/Context
A2	0:30-1:14	Meinhof: Introduction to lives of the three women interviewed
A3	1:14-2:17	Meinhof: Description of Jynette's appearance and work life
A4	2:17-3:21	Jynette: Explains her history of moving around homes
A5	3:21-4:04	Meinhof: Continues Jynette's story and physically describes two homes, Reinickendorf and Ollenhauer
A6	4:04-5:08	Meinhof: Description of Monika's appearance and work life
A7	5:08-7:24	Monika: Explains her history of moving around homes
A8	7:24-8:02	Meinhof: Recaps Monika's story, emphasizing her difficulty in forming relationships
A9	8:02-10:12	Meinhof: Description of Irene's appearance, work life, and relationship with Monika and Jynette
A10	10:12-12:37	Irene: Explains her history in homes/being taken in without her consent
<b>B</b>	<b>12:37-16:38</b>	<b>II. Description of the Home System</b>
B1	12:37-13:11	Meinhof: Description of Eichenhof Home's purpose and physical aspects
B2	13:11-16:38	Overview of the home system, its purpose, and its place in society
<b>C</b>	<b>16:38-17:08</b>	<b>III. Legitimacy for the Argument</b>
C1	16:38-16:51	Announcer: States that more and more people are paying attention to this cause
C2	16:51-17:08	Meinhof: Ensures the audience that the following stories can be trusted
<b>D</b>	<b>17:08-21:34</b>	<b>IV. Problems in the Home and Going <i>auf Trebe</i></b>
D1	17:08-17:32	Meinhof: Tells the story of Jynette's forced move to West Germany
D2	17:32-19:16	Jynette: Tells the story from her own perspective
D3	19:16-19:24	Meinhof: Explains the "Knaster" used to transport girls between homes
D4	19:24-19:54	Jynette: Describes travelling in the Knaster
D5	19:54-20:22	Meinhof: Connects Jynette and Monika's stories and introduced Monika
D6	20:22-20:40	Monika: States she was told she could leave any time she wanted
D7	20:40-20:45	Meinhof: Defines being " auf Trebe," or running away without any ID
D8	20:45-20:57	Monika: Tells the story of her eventual release
D9	20:57-21:34	Meinhof: Recaps the themes of each story, introduces the Bunker used as punishment
<b>E</b>	<b>21:34-23:38</b>	<b>V. Punishments and Discipline: The Bunker</b>
E1	21:34-22:17	Irene: Describes life in the Bunker
E2	22:17-22:28	Meinhof: Continues to describe punishments related to the Bunker
E3	22:28-22:41	Jynette: Describes a different Bunker in another home
E4	22:41-22:43	Meinhof: States that Jynette remained in that Bunker for 3 weeks
E5	22:43-22:48	Jynette: Repeats that she stayed in the Bunker 3 weeks without leaving

E6	22:48-22:51	Meinhof: States that Monika never went to the Bunker
E7	22:51-23:38	Monika: Explains that she was scared to go into the Bunker because of claustrophobia
<b>F</b>	<b>23:38-28:22</b>	<b>VI. Punishment and Discipline: The Closed Wing</b>
F1	23:38-23:54	Meinhof: States that the police were called less often then and introduces the Closed Wing
F2	23:54-25:54	Irene: Describes life in the Closed Wing and her many escape attempts
F3	25:54-26:46	Meinhof: Defines the Closed Wing and compared them to regular Open Wings
F4	26:46-28:22	Irene: Continues to describe life in the Closed Wing, its community, and its restrictions
<b>G</b>	<b>28:22-28:59</b>	<b>VII. Punishment and Discipline: Loss of Privileges</b>
G1	28:22-28:42	Meinhof: Describes various things used as punishment incl. Bunker and loss of privileges
G2	28:42-28:59	Jynette: Explains the cost of things like cigarettes and the difficulty of having them taken away
<b>H</b>	<b>28:59-32:44</b>	<b>VIII. Punishment and Discipline: Cutting Hair and Convents</b>
H1	28:59-29:26	Meinhof: Introduces the practice of caretakers cutting the girls' hair
H2	29:26-30:02	Jynette: Tells the story of a caretaker cutting her hair in the night
H3	30:02-30:15	Meinhof: Information about convents
H4	30:15-32:44	Irene: Describes her life in the convent and being forced to cut her hair
<b>I</b>	<b>32:44-38:16</b>	<b>IX. Zusammenhänge</b>
I1	32:44-38:16	Meinhof: Homes ensure that girls have little connection to anyone
<b>J</b>	<b>38:16-41:03</b>	<b>X. Positive Memories of the Home</b>
J1	38:16-39:01	Monika: States that the home gave her a worry free environment, was a great time.
J2	39:01-39:09	Meinhof: States that Jynette also remembers the home fondly
J3	39:09-39:44	Jynette: Describes the "great camaraderie" in the home
J4	39:44-39:47	Meinhof: States that Irene disagrees with the other two
J5	39:47-39:59	Irene: Explains why she disagrees
J6	39:59-40:38	Jynette: Has a small back-and-forth with Irene debating
J7	40:38-41:03	Irene: Reflection on her identity/relationships in the home
<b>K</b>	<b>41:03-48:46</b>	<b>XI. Punishment and Discipline: Escape as Resistance and the Use of Police/Violence</b>
K1	41:03-41:09	Meinhof: States that things were better before and the cops were called less often
K2	41:09-41:51	Jynette: States that things were different and she never saw the cops being called
K3	41:51-44:20	Meinhof: Homes have gotten more extreme in using violence in the past few years



K4	44:20-46:52	Irene: Explains an incident tearing down a wall that got her sent to the Bunker
K5	46:52-47:02	Meinhof: States that Irene saw her mother after the incident but still refused to go to the Bunker
K6	47:02-47:46	Irene: States that after her refusal, the police were called to violently put her in
K7	47:46-47:58	Meinhof: Explains that other girls from the incident were also put in Bunkers
K8	47:58-48:46	Irene: States that she didn't know the others were there at first
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<b>L</b>	<b>48:46-56:06</b>	<b>XII. <i>Bambule</i></b>
L1	48:46-49:19	Meinhof: Resistance was always spontaneous. Defines Bambule
L2	49:19-54:02	Jynette: Describes the Bambule/How she was transferred to another home as a result
L3	54:02-56:06	Meinhof: Justifies the Bambule and describes the girls' current living situations
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<b>M</b>	<b>56:06-57:25</b>	<b>XIII. Monika's Current Situation and Hope for the Future</b>
M1	56:06-57:20	Monika: Promises that in 2 months she prove to herself/mother that she can be successful
M2	57:20-57:25	Meinhof: States that a few weeks later, Monika called asking for money
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<b>N</b>	<b>57:25-58:32</b>	<b>XIV: Debate Over the Usefulness of the Broadcast/Greater Context</b>
N1	57:25-57:47	Meinhof: States that Irene and Jynette are skeptical about the usefulness of this broadcast
N2	57:47-58:32	Jynette and Irene: Express those doubts
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<b>O</b>	<b>58:32-58:50</b>	<b>XV. Wrap Up and Credits</b>
O1	58:32-58:50	Announcer: Wrap up and credits

**VI. Appendix II: *Bambule* (television film)**

<b>Scene</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>1</b>	0:00-0:53	Hallway: Iv sings and kicks doors in the hallway
<b>2</b>	0:53-2:05	Yard: Girls cheer as Monika and Irene climb over the wall before Frau Turm brings the girls back inside
<b>3</b>	2:05-2:33	Gate: Gatekeeper and Gisela talk as she leaves for work
<b>4</b>	2:33-3:11	Sidewalk: Monika hurts her foot, Monika and Irene are picked up by a school official in a VW
<b>5</b>	3:11-5:59	Classroom: Girls read a story aloud. The teacher notices M+I are not there. In cuts to the yard, we see M+I arrive. Irene runs away again.
<b>6</b>	5:59-7:16	Bunker: Monika examines the room, expresses her frustration, and stares out the barred window
<b>7</b>	7:16-8:28	Bus: Irene meets Gisela. They have a tense conversation about Monika and her plan. I kisses G and runs out
<b>8</b>	8:28-9:32	Bunker: Frau Turm asks M about her foot, but M only wants cigarettes. Turm forces M to stand up, which hurts her foot more
<b>9</b>	9:32-12:45	Bar: I visits her mother at work. They talk about plans, I's father, and money
<b>10</b>	12:45-13:26	Hallway: Iv tells Frau Lack M is in the bunker. Lack is concerned and leaves
<b>11</b>	13:26-14:43	Classroom: Teacher tells girls the office will decide who gets to go on a trip. Iv is skeptical and says she thinks something will happen today
<b>12</b>	14:43-15:01	Hallway: Turm urges Teacher to make sure all participants return from the trip
<b>13</b>	15:01-15:29	Bunker: M tells Lack about her favorite home in Hamburg
<b>14</b>	15:29-16:50	Flashback: Monika's fish story
<b>15</b>	16:50-17:19	Bunker: Lack and M laugh about the story. Iv brings M cigarettes, Lack helps.
<b>16</b>	17:19-18:52	Irene's Grandmother's Apartment: They discuss I's mother. The police come and leave.
<b>17</b>	18:52-19:25	Yard: Cigarettes are delivered through the window into the bunker
<b>18</b>	19:25-20:17	Office: Iv asks for her mail and is upset to find that Turm has it
<b>19</b>	20:17-21:41	Bunker: Lack and M talk about convents
<b>20</b>	21:41-22:12	Flashback: M has to clean chairs because of her hair in the convent
<b>21</b>	22:12-24:31	Ironing Room: Girls work and sing. A caretaker forces one out of the room, who returns crying due to a loss of privileges
<b>22</b>	24:31-26:46	Flashback: M brushes her hair in the convent. A nun rips up a photo of her mother and chases her through the convent to forcibly cut M's hair.
<b>23</b>	26:46-27:04	Bunker: Lack tells M she doesn't believe that story, which hurts M.
<b>24</b>	27:04-28:16	Office: Irene interviews for a job, but can't get it without papers
<b>25</b>	28:16-29:46	Ironing Room: Girls work and discuss what they would change about the home and the bunker
<b>26</b>	29:46-30:15	Yard: The girls smoke but Turm pushes them back inside to work
<b>27</b>	30:15-31:53	Bunker/Flashback: Other girls in the convent accuse Monika of something she didn't do. Lack believes M did it too.
<b>28</b>	31:53-32:35	Yard: A girl attempts to escape but doesn't. Iv decides to break M out of the Bunker.

29	32:35-33:45	Flashback: In the convent, M and another girl, Ilona, pantomime a story about a dysfunctional family and kiss at the end. A nun sees and is furious.
30	33:45-34:05	Yard: A girl claims to have escaped and come back with cigarettes to prove it.
31	34:05-35:51	Flashback: A nun searches Ilona's things and finds a love letter from M. Ilona is kicked out of the convent
32	35:51-36:31	Bunker: M tries to ask Lack a question. Lack gets uncomfortable and leaves
33	36:31-39:15	Hallway/Cafeteria: Jutta goes on hunger strike. Iv confronts Lack about not doing anything about the Bunker.
34	39:15-41:59	Bunker: M picks at her arm with a shard and asks Lack if she's a lesbian. Lack dodges the question and talks about love in general
35	41:59-46:39	Heidi and Jynette's Apartment: I visits Jynette and Heidi. They catch up about home life.
36	46:39-47:58	Flashback: Monika is transferred to a new home without her knowledge.
37	47:58-50:24	Bunker: M finishes her story as Lack discovers Iv and others staging a sit-in outside the Bunker
38	50:24-50:53	Flashback: Adults discuss M's case in court
39	50:53-51:22	Outside the Bunker: The girls sing a song
40	51:22-52:38	Flashback: A judge interrogates M and lectures her on stealing
41	52:38-53:13	Outside the bunker: Turm breaks up the sit-in and removes Lack from the bunker
42	53:13-53:52	Ironing room: The girls return to work frustrated
43	53:52-55:14	Office: Lack tries to convince Turm to not transfer M
44	55:14-56:25	H/J's Apartment: H, J, and I play cards and dye I's hair
45	56:25-58:11	Ironing room: M blames those in the sit-in for getting her moved to a convent. They think of ways to get her dismissed from the convent.
46	58:11-59:03	Yard: M climbs a tree, refusing to go. The girls cheer her on as Turm and the gatekeeper convince her to come down
47	59:03-1:00:00	Street: I walks to meet Gisela, but it disappointed when she sees G leaving with a man instead
48	1:00:00-1:00:53	Lounge: Girls dance and laugh. They run out when they hear the wall is being torn down
49	1:00:53-1:01:22	Yard: Girls cheer as others tear down the fence, but they leave when Turm appears
50	1:01:22-1:01:31	Lounge: G appears, denies seeing Irene, and says she met with her brother instead
51	1:01:31-1:03:08	Convent: Monika sees the same nun that cut her hair then insults the head nun
52	1:03:08-1:04:40	H/J's Apartment: They talk about prostitution and I's anger about G leaving with a man
53	1:04:40-1:05:43	Lounge: The girls watch TV before Turm appears and makes them stop
54	1:05:43-1:07:19	Bedroom: M is back, laughing about the nuns. Turm appears, takes their cigarettes, gives them a fine, and forces them to clean the room
55	1:07:19-1:08:01	H/J's Apartment: Their landlord visits to make sure I isn't staying the night
56	1:08:01-1:08:51	Bedroom: Girls sing and clean the room. They try to smoke but realize they don't have matches
57	1:08:51-1:09:59	Street: Heidi discusses business and goes with a client

<b>58</b>	1:09:59-1:11:03	Bar: J and I play a game with the bartender before leaving to work
<b>59</b>	1:11:03-1:11:52	Bedroom: Babsi bangs on the door to go to the bathroom while others complain
<b>60</b>	1:11:52-1:12:24	Street: J and I discuss business and how much money they need
<b>61</b>	1:12:24-1:13:41	Bedroom: Iv encourages the other to rebel by asking for the bathroom all night instead of smoking. M goes.
<b>62</b>	1:13:41-1:15:59	Bar: J and I laugh about their night. H returns, annoyed
<b>63</b>	1:15:59-1:16:50	Bedroom: The caretaker refuses to let the girls out again for the bathroom
<b>64</b>	1:16:50-1:18:05	H/J's Apartment: All three lay in bed. J and I have a short conversation about the moon
<b>65</b>	1:18:05-1:19:42	Hallway/Bedroom: Bambule. The girls bang loudly on the doors, throw furniture, and rip up bedding.
<b>66</b>	1:19:42-1:20:10	Bedroom: The Bambule is over. A police officer wakes up Gisela
<b>67</b>	1:20:10-1:21:23	H/J's Apartment: Irene wakes up and decides to leave without giving J a reason
<b>68</b>	1:21:23-1:21:43	Police Station: I turns herself in and asks to be returned to the home
<b>68</b>	1:21:43-1:22:28	Isolation room: Iv finds herself alone and locked inside
<b>69</b>	1:22:28-1:22:56	Yard: Gisela leaves for work and sees I returning in a van
<b>70</b>	1:22:56-1:23:21	Isolation room: Irene enters and Iv tells her about the Bambule
<b>71</b>	1:23:21-1:23:41	Cafeteria: Lack asks about last night and says she isn't allowed to leave the doors open tonight either
<b>72</b>	1:23:41-1:27:28	Isolation room: Iv and I discuss their plans for future resistance and their frustration with Lack
<b>73</b>	1:27:28-1:29:24	Credits

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