

A Revolution of Perception?

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A Revolution of Perception? Consequences and Echoes of 1968

Edited by Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey

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Consequences and Echoes of 1968

*Edited by
Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey*



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Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Introduction <i>Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey</i>	1
I. Re-linking Europe and the ‘Third World’	
1. Rethinking the Writer’s Role: Enzensberger and Cuba – or A Story of Self-Censorship <i>Henning Marmulla</i>	17
2. Global Dimensions of Conflict and Cooperation: Public Protest and the Quest for Transnational Solidarity in Britain, 1968–1973 <i>Steffen Bruendel</i>	35
3. Letters from Amman: Dieter Kunzelmann and the Origins of German Anti-Zionism during the Late 1960s <i>Aribert Reimann</i>	69
II. Re-orienting Visions and Classifications	
4. Politically Relevant or ‘Carnival’? Echoes of ‘1968’ in German Public Broadcasting <i>Meike Vogel</i>	91

5. The Transnational Dimension of German Left-Wing Terrorism in the 1970s: The View from Italy <i>Petra Terhoeven</i>	106
6. Feminist Echoes of 1968: Women's Movements in Europe and the United States <i>Kristina Schulz</i>	124
7. The Politics of Cultural Studies: The New Left and the Cultural Turn in the Social Sciences and Humanities <i>Rainer Winter</i>	148
8. Revolution in a Word: A Communicative History of Discussion in the German 1968 Protest Movement <i>Joachim Scharloth</i>	162
Notes on Contributors	184
Selected Bibliography	187
Index	199

Illustrations

2.1	<i>Black Dwarf</i> 14(15), 18 Apr 1969	40
2.2	<i>Black Dwarf</i> 13(11), 14 Feb 1969	41
2.3	<i>Red Mole</i> 2(14), 14 Aug 1971	42
2.4	<i>Black Dwarf</i> 13(6), 15 Oct 1968	43
2.5	<i>Black Dwarf</i> 68 (Special Issue), 8/9 Oct 1968	51
2.6	Poster: Che Guevara (ca. 1967). Deutsches Plakatmuseum, Essen	52
2.7	<i>Black Dwarf</i> 14(21), 30 Aug 1969	54
4.1	'For the sake of order that must be upheld'	93
4.2	Television scene still – Members of Commune I	96
4.3	Television scene stills	98
4.4	Television scene stills	98
4.5	Television scene stills	98
4.6	Presenter Dieter Gütt in <i>Jahresrückblick 1968</i> [End-of-Year Review 1968]	99
4.7	Television scene still – International Vietnam Congress 1968	100
5.1	<i>La Repubblica</i> , 21 Oct 1977	113
5.2	'Extraordinary deed of the super-heroes'. Supplement to <i>Nuovo impegno</i> 34. Rivista trimestrale marxista-leninista (1977), 62	115

Introduction

Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey

Something for Us to Invent

'1968 is a date in which the imaginary has nested', wrote the German poet and playwright Hans Magnus Enzensberger in his diary. He was not able to describe in one term what happened in this year, or even to make sense of it. 'The forbidden sentences march in the streets', so it seemed to him; 'two thousand, twenty thousand, two hundred and twenty thousand words, protest marches, resolutions'. Accompanied by 'power struggles', 'rumours', 'feverish expectations' and 'fundamental wishes', they produced a 'raging movement' for him,¹ as the only way to deal with '1968'.² Ten years later, reminiscing, he found his way back to poem and verse. In *Der Untergang der Titanic* [The Sinking of the Titanic] he wrote:

I am cold. I remember – it's hard to believe,
not even ten years have passed since –
the rare light days of euphoria.

Nobody ever gave a thought to Doom then,
not even in Berlin, which had outlived
its own end long ago. The island of Cuba
did not reel beneath our feet. It seemed to us
as if something were close at hand,
something for us to invent.³

Even with distance in time, Enzensberger was hardly able to describe what this 'something for us to invent' really was. He circumscribed it with these words:

Tomorrow things will be better, and if not
tomorrow, then the day after. OK –
Perhaps not much better really,
but different, anyway. Yes, everything
was going to be quite different.
A marvellous feeling. Oh, I remember it.⁴

The French philosopher Régis Debray, who had moved to Cuba before Enzensberger, recalled a similar perception of time when he looked back onto the sixties. He wrote in his autobiography:

When I was twenty years old, time was a roadmap, a mobilization order. It was illuminated from the front, and it called us together to the front. Politics was our grand affair, because time was pending like a bridge. Time was a connecting pillar, bent from the past directed into the future (not programmable, but foreseeable; not shining, but unpublished, not like the known). It was a grand travel, it led us from a 'less' to a 'more'. We aimed at another world, which did not exist anywhere, but was promised.⁵

The perception of time as a journey, as Debray depicts it, was shared by many other representatives of the New Left. Three elements constitute this perception of time. Firstly, the future is thought of as structurally different from the past and, secondly, it is considered formable. History is presumed to be subjected to target-oriented development, from which, at each point in time, one can derive a mandate for shaping society within that time, according to the principles of the development of history. Historical developments can therefore, thirdly, be accelerated or slowed down. They are tied to processes of consciousness and actions of revolutionary subjects. The premise is that history is shaped by collective actors. By replacing the working class, liberation movements, marginal groups and young intellectuals move to the forefront and take up the role of the revolutionary subject and vanguard within the process of societal transformation. It is ascribed to them, and some of them adopt the view that they are capable of initiating processes of consciousness and mobilization within society.⁶ 'We're realists, we demand the impossible', a slogan of Ernesto Che Guevara, spread around the world.

The Dynamics of Contention

The year '1968' marked the climax of protests, capturing almost all Western industrialized countries simultaneously. Everywhere, the protesters challenged the established institutions of Western democracy. They questioned the exclusive right of representation by established parties and intermediary groups, confronted those parties and groups with an opposing power and public presence that negated traditional structures of institutional authority, and criticized basic assumptions of the postwar order.⁷ These protests were more than a student rebellion or a generational revolt. Trying to grasp the wave of protests analytically, one can characterize them as 'social movements'. Analytically defined, a social movement is an 'organized and sustained effort of a collective of interrelated individuals, groups and organizations to promote or to resist social change

with the use of public protest activities'. To reach their goal social movements are forced to act and form themselves via action.⁸

The formation of the 1968 movements took place in different countries at different times: in the USA in 1964 with the Free Speech Movement, in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1966 with the formation of an extra-parliamentary opposition parallel to the formation of the grand coalition government, in Italy in 1967, in France in 1968. In all these countries a crisis of the structure of the universities preceded the formation of the protest movements, but nowhere were these problems in the university sector able to ignite the spark of protest mobilization. In 1968 in the USA the student movement, the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement combined their forces; in West Germany the student movement, the opposition against the Emergency Laws and the campaign for democracy and disarmament, emanating from the former Easter March movement, interacted; in France a great parallel action of student and worker movements shook French society and rocked the Gaullist regime. In Italy student protest and mass strikes of the working class interacted in the 'hot autumn' of 1969.

In all Western industrialized countries the rise of an intellectual New Left, *Neue Linke*, *Nouvelle Gauche*, *Nuova Sinistra* preceded the mobilization process of the 1968 movements. The New Left distinguished itself from the Old Left, from the reformism of the social-democratic and socialist parties as well as from the perversion of Communism by Stalinism. The New Left was – and the movement in France demonstrated this conspicuously – anti-capitalistic and anti-communistic.⁹ The intellectual *Nouvelle Gauche* [New Left] grew out of discussion forums which, from the late 1950s on, grouped themselves around magazines: the *New Left Review*, *Arguments*, *Socialism ou Barbarie*, *Internationale Situationniste*, *Quaderni Rossi* and *Quaderni Piacentini*, to name but a few. These magazines were interlinked. They exchanged articles and thereby circulated terms, hypotheses and action strategies.¹⁰ The New Left was convinced that socialism should not be restricted to political and social revolution, seizure of power and nationalization of the means of production. Rather, it should eliminate the alienation felt by the individual human being in everyday life, recreation and family, as well as in sexual and societal relationships. The New Left was anti-authoritarian and anti-hierarchical. The individual should be freed from subordination to the collective. The premise was that changes in the cultural sphere have to precede social and political transformation. New lifestyles and modes of communication had to be anticipated and developed on an experimental basis by creating new cultural ideals, applying them in subcultures and testing them as alternatives within existing institutions. The New Left understood itself as a movement, not a party. The maxim was action, not organization. It sought to generate awareness through action to change the individuals taking part in it. The proletariat were no longer seen as the leaders of social and cultural change. Instead, the New Left believed that the impetus for social transformation would come from other groups: the new (skilled) working

class, the young intelligentsia and social fringe groups. What its circles set into motion were ideas.

The ideas of the New Left gained mobilization power when the ‘student’ New Left began to refer to them in the 1960s – from the American Students for a Democratic Society to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the *Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund* (SDS), the French Movement of 22 March, and the Italian *Potere Operaio*, to name only the most important ones. For a short period, it seemed possible that the New Left would become a broad social movement that could revolutionize the parties of the Old Left ‘from the bottom up’.¹¹ Uncovering structures of authority, power and violence ‘beyond the Leviathan’, the New Left used the full spectrum of direct action strategies. With forms of provocative action, which borrowed from the techniques of the literary vanguard of the first half of the twentieth century as well as from the strategies of civil disobedience of Mahatma Gandhi and the American civil rights movement, it managed to reveal the structures of authority and power almost everywhere: in factories and offices, in theatres and publishing houses, in schools and courts. Whether CEOs or directors, professors or judges, authors or poets, no one was spared from critique and disenchantment. When the words ‘Fuck; what is he doing here?’ were flung at Jean-Paul Sartre as he tried to force his way through the crowd towards the Auditorium of the Sorbonne University in May 1968, he told the audience that he had come to listen, not to teach.¹²

The anti-authoritarian and anti-hierarchical dimension in the thinking of the New Left was strengthened by an anti-institutional attitude. It was ‘one of the nicer aspects of these years’, Hans Magnus Enzensberger declared, ‘that this was not a membership thing’. And Pierre Bourdieu stated that it was ‘the anti-institutional mood that remains for me the laughter of May’.¹³ Together, the anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical and anti-institutional attitudes led to a new understanding of politics. It implied that grievances should not just be channelled into politics as usual, but that one should attend to them, articulate them, draw attention to them, and reflect about means and ways to remedy them and try them out.¹⁴ This new understanding of politics became manifest in sit-ins, which provided a forum for critical discussion, for the formation of a counter-public and the establishment of counter-institutions within the framework of the traditional institutions. Trusting in the politicization and democratization of society from the ‘bottom up’, the notion of politics of the New Left was congruent with that of the civil movement in Prague, which confronted the etatism and democratic centralism of ‘real socialism’ with practices of a *societas civilis*, a civil society.¹⁵

Consequences and Echoes

What traces did the protest movements of 1968 leave in the political, social and symbolic order of the Western societies they called into question? The

contributions to this volume focus on consequences and echoes of 1968 from different perspectives. They reflect divergent research approaches and emphases within the German field of the humanities, particularly in the fields of history, sociology and linguistics. They were brought together for the first time on the occasion of a workshop entitled ‘*Wreckage of Modernity*’ or ‘*Revolution of Perception? 1968: Consequences and Echoes*’ on 27 February 2009. Sponsored by the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft [Association for the Promotion of Science and Humanities in Germany], the workshop was organized at the European Studies Centre at St Antony’s College in Oxford as an interdisciplinary event for research fellows from Germany, Austria and Switzerland. They all presented their theses in front of an audience which consisted of British academics and students from Oxford as well as activists and witnesses of the 1968 movements in Great Britain and Germany. A roundtable discussion supported by the Collaborative Research Centre, ‘The Political as Communicative Space in History’ (SFB 584, University of Bielefeld), concluded the workshop. It brought together – under the chairmanship of Robert Gildea (Oxford) – activists and contemporaries of the 1968 movements in different countries. Participants were: Sally Alexander (London), Gareth Stedman Jones (Cambridge), Leszek Kolakowski (Oxford), Sheila Rowbotham (Manchester), Michael Vester (Hannover) and Karl Dietrich (KD) Wolff (Frankfurt).

Diverse effects, emancipatory and destructive, have been attributed to the 1968 movements in the last forty-five years. Various heirs claim the legacy. In *The Sinking of the Titanic*, Hans Magnus Enzensberger picks up the image of ‘wreckage’ to analyse a dual sinking: the sinking of the luxury liner *Titanic* in 1912 and the sinking of the utopian project, linked to the 1968 movements, in the years following the acme of protest in 1968. Both ‘wreckages’ are seen by Enzensberger as doomed to fail for the same reason: their belief in progress. The designing engineers and passengers imagined the *Titanic* to be unsinkable and thought nature to be controllable. The protagonists and the passengers of the 1968 movement followed a conception of history as something lying in people’s hands to be shaped. They saw the transformation of society to be tangible and within reach. Both beliefs are seen by the lyric subject retrospectively as a fatal error. In *The Sinking of the Titanic*, Enzensberger writes:

You don’t have to be Hegel to catch on to the fact
that Reason is both reasonable and against Reason. /.../
We make the tables turn, we ask reality
How real it is? Hegel is smiling
Filled with *Schadenfreude*. We daub his face
With an inky mustache. He now looks like Stalin.¹⁶

According to Enzensberger, the rise of postmodernism is linked to the challenges or the ‘wreckage’ of the protest movements. The postmodern paradigm negates, like the lyric subject in *Untergang der Titanic*, the utopia, the

idea of the malleability of the world and the knowledge of its development. The mentality of progress, utopias and teleological understandings of history – the basic belief of modernity – were prone to end in totalitarianism.

The protests of 1968 have been hailed as well as demonized and instrumentalized for everyday politics. Altogether one can say that their effects have been more labelled than analysed. Three reasons for this should be listed. Firstly, social movements are a fluid phenomenon. They cannot be in motion constantly, but fall apart and die down after a phase of mobilization. They dissolve into subcultural milieus, sects, newly founded or old parties, terrorist groups or follow-up movements. These groups and networks adopt selected impulses of the movement, carry them on, but change them at the same time by isolating them from their original context and transferring them into new settings. It is therefore difficult to identify their effects and legacies. Secondly, social movements define ‘issues’ and introduce them into debate. They articulate and communicate societal contradictions, but require further agents in order to become effective (media, political parties, associations). This means that social movements normally do not have the power to bring about the desired change of the basic political structures by themselves. It is therefore not feasible to directly ascribe to them influence over political, social and cultural developments. Thirdly, social movements always compete against other factors of social change (e.g. immanent development tendencies, countervailing interests, chances of disposition over political clout), which makes it difficult to isolate their self-contained contribution. Confronted with these theoretical and methodological obstacles, systematic research regarding their consequences has long been neglected and could not draw extensive scholarly attention until the first decade of this century.¹⁷

Politics of Perception

Since then, varying answers have been formulated to respond to the question of how social movements matter. It has been proposed to differentiate between three types of impact: political, cultural and biographical.

Political impacts are those effects of the movement activities that alter a movement’s environment. Cultural impacts are changes that alter a movement’s broader environment, such as public opinion or the value orientations and life-course patterns of a society. Personal and biographical impacts are effects on the lives of individuals who have participated in movement activities – effects that have been brought about at least in part due to the involvement in those activities.¹⁸

Furthermore, it has been suggested to discern between ‘external’ and ‘internal’ impacts, ‘external impacts’ being the effects of social movements on political institutions, while ‘internal impacts’ would imply changes to the inner structure of a social movement and its organization. Combining the two approaches,

Marco Giugni and Lorenzo Bosi have developed a typology of movement outcomes, including six main domains of possible impacts:¹⁹

	Internal	External
Political	Power relations within a movement or social movement organization	Substantial (policy) procedural, institutional change
Cultural	Value change within a movement, social movement organization, or movement sector	Public opinion and attitudes
Biographical	Life-course patterns of movement participants	Aggregate-level life-course patterns Life-course patterns of movement targets

Parallel to the dispute about theoretical and methodological understandings of the effects of social movements, empirical analyses of the consequences of the 1968 movement have been conducted. They focused on the analyses of autobiographies of movement activists,²⁰ the consequences of protest mobilization for institutions (church, theatre, universities, editorial offices),²¹ the impacts on the establishment²² and on the business sector,²³ as well as on subsequent social movements²⁴ and groups.²⁵

The present volume contains eight studies, which could be – and are sometimes explicitly – imputed to the dimensions suggested by Giugni and Bosi, that is to say the political, cultural and biographical effects of the 1968 movement. These studies are not linked by a common analytical referential frame, but by a leading research question: has the 1968 movement had an impact on the schemes of perception and classification, on the criteria of vision and division of the social world? With this research question, the case studies operationalize the concept of ‘politics of perception’ developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. They accentuate the changes of attitudes, conceptions and values in the course of the 1968 movement, without separating these cultural changes schematically from the field of politics (as Giugni and Bosi do).

The analytical concept, ‘politics of perception’, claims that ‘the political’ starts where protagonists call into question dominant schemes of perception and classification, and set examples through expressive and subversive discourses, proclaiming the cancellation of the clandestine assent to the prevailing order, redefining situations and events, and formulating alternative referential values or leading ideas and thereby confronting the established order with another alternative concept of order.²⁶ A further assumption is added: the transformation of the established political order presupposes – and this is a fundamental premise in Bourdieu’s work – the breach with incorporated cognitive structures which

cause the doxic submission under the prevailing order. In other words: 'Political subversion presupposes cognitive subversion, the conversion of the perception of the world', because there is a correspondence between objective social organizations and schemes of classification, between objective structures and mental structures. Orders of the state are obeyed, Bourdieu claims, with such a 'powerful self-evidence only because it has previously enforced the cognitive structures under which it is perceived by its citizens'.²⁷ From this it follows that the chance to change the social world is connected to the contest of dominant schemes of perception by individuals and social groups, and to the change of the criteria of vision and division of the world. From this point of view, schemes of perception are part of social reality and of political combat. Aspiring to a heretical breach with the existing order, the New Left had at its disposal perceptions of a different society and offered alternative referential values. Did it initiate a 'revolution of perception'?

One of the central endeavours of the New Left was to change the relation between the 'First' and 'Third World'. The New Left experimented with new approaches to rethinking and re-linking Europe and the Third World. The volume opens with this central issue of the 1968 movements, relatively neglected in commemorations but recently rediscovered.²⁸ Three case studies investigate and assess the experiences. The second part of the volume focuses on the impact of the 1968 movements with regard to the shaping of new attitudes and schemes of perceptions, and new social or political identities. Did the movements induce new sensibilities, new forms of communication, new approaches to history and social sciences? The following short introductions delineate and frame the chapters to be found in each of the two parts of this volume.

Re-linking Europe and the 'Third World'

The 1968 movement was a transnational movement, if one looks at the network of its supporter groups, which were influenced by the ideas of the New Left. They shaped a global perspective on what was going on in the world. Originating from the era of the Cold War, it uncovered a new polarization beyond the East–West blocs: the North–South conflict. 'The political language disguises it with the help of pseudonyms, mystifications and metaphors', said Enzensberger in a brilliant contemporary analysis in 1965.²⁹ The New Left considered the growing imbalance of power between the so-called 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' countries, between the 'First' and 'Third World', as a new divide of world politics. It began to regard the liberation movements of the 'Third World' as a new revolutionary subject, replacing the Marxist proletariat. Their fight for freedom had significance and provided orientation for the emancipation movements in the metropolises of the industrialized nations. This was expressed by the travels of activists of the 1968 movements to countries of the 'Third World', as well as by

the steadily increasing reports with which alternative newspapers of the movement tried to form a counterweight against the news reports of the mass media and a broader counter-public.

In this volume, **Henning Marmulla** (Berlin) analyses the importance of Cuba and the ‘Third World’ for Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *spiritus rector* of the German extra-parliamentary opposition, focusing on his stay on the island in 1968/69. **Steffen Bruendel** (Essen) highlights the aims and the role of two voices of the counterculture in Great Britain, *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole*, in order to find out in how far British protesters felt embedded in worldwide protest movements against suppression and exploitation of the ‘Third World’. He illustrates how their quest for transnational solidarity combined the global dimensions of protest with certain internal issues of liberation and solidarity. **Aribert Reimann** (Oxford) outlines the emergence of the pro-Palestinian solidarity movement among German students in the wake of Israel’s Six-Day War. Analysing left-wing activists from Germany undergoing military training with Palestinian units in the Jordanian desert, he demonstrates the cohesion between ‘Palestine Connections’, militant anti-Zionism and the move to illegal armed struggle. Focusing on the solidarity of the 1968 movement with the ‘Third World’, the three case studies draw different conclusions. Solidarity in the case of Enzensberger results, as Marmulla shows, in rethinking the writer’s role, in quarrelling with the Cuban past (*The Havana Inquiry*) and ‘importing Cuban music and voices to the concert halls’ of the European avant-garde. The quest for transnational solidarity and worldwide revolution, propagated by *The Red Mole* and *The Black Dwarf*, helped to create, as Bruendel’s thesis points out, ‘a “solidarity movement” in Britain and indeed “changed minds and lives”’. On the other hand, solidarity with the Palestinian movement contributed, as Reimann states, ‘a good deal to the protest movements’ disintegration into blind radicalism and political violence’.

Re-orienting Visions and Classifications

Do social movements have effects of their own in the process of cultural change? Or do they merely catalyse the change of cultural models? Within the last ten years, social movement research has increasingly directed its attention towards processes of protest, in which the identities of the activists underwent a complete change. This meant the experience of conversion, which reshaped the perception of individuals with regard to the world and the self. Quite often the development of a new perception of the self is triggered by incidents of communication, as Georg Herbert Mead states.³⁰ The action strategy of the 1968 movement – provocative action, limited rule-breaking by civil disobedience – created a chain of communication events within the mobilization process of the movement. The occupation of places and buildings opened new spaces for communication. The 1968 movement was able to show in an exemplary manner what social

movements could primarily achieve: the mobilization of the public, and the communicative occupation of public space and the discourses within it.³¹ What were the effects of public deliberations? What was brought about by ‘acting together’ or ‘acting in concert’ (as Hannah Arendt depicted the seizure of the public space)?³²

The second part of the volume focuses on studies of contemporary history, sociology and linguistics, which lay emphasis on 1968 as an incidence of communication which has altered discourses, identities, academic perspectives and language.

At the outset, the contribution by **Meike Vogel** (Bielefeld) examines how public television depicted and presented the new protagonists in the political field. She demonstrates how public television characterized the protest movement, visually and verbally, and how it transformed student protests into a communicative event ‘that facilitated and shaped a broad public discourse on legitimate means of participation’. **Petra Terhoeven** (Göttingen) focuses attention on transnational communication after 1968: on a new European counterpublic in favour of the Red Army Faction (RAF), rising in the wake of the 1968 movement and culminating in the ‘Deutscher Herbst’ of autumn 1977. Based on a transnationally interconnected ‘leftist’ subculture, which was ‘not so much united by common aims as by a stereotype of a common enemy’, as Terhoeven argues, the new counterculture tried to influence the perception of German left-wing terrorism in Europe as well as the perception of the Federal Republic as a centre of global power structures.

Communication about power structures is also the theme of the contribution by **Kristina Schulz** (Bern), who analyses the micro-mobilization of feminist groups against patriarchal structures within the context of 1968. Her article accentuates the links between the 1968 movement and one of the most important subsequent social movements, the women’s liberation movement in Europe and the United States. The New Left, she argues, enabled women to see themselves as subjects of change. ‘The “leading role” of the industrial proletariat was over. After 1968, none of the “other” groups in struggle – neither women nor racial “minorities” nor sexual “minorities” nor the handicapped nor the “ecologists”,’ Immanuel Wallerstein wrote, ‘would ever again accept the legitimacy of “waiting” upon some other revolution.’ Confronted with chauvinist patterns of behaviour within the network of the Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund, a leading movement organization of the 1968 movement in West Germany, women’s groups started their own process of consciousness-raising, self-empowerment and self-determination with *Eigensinn*, claiming changes in gender relations and organization of every life under the slogan: ‘The personal is political’.

The chances of social critique, of empowerment, of social transformation and of the processes of radical democratization were also emphasized in the 1970s in Birmingham at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), which initiated a debate about the notion of culture within the social sciences. **Rainer**

Winter (Klagenfurt) rates this debate as a consequence of 1968. In his contribution he examines how the CCCS dealt with the ideals of 1968 and brought them into academic debate, underlining the contribution of the New Left to the ‘cultural turn’ in the social sciences up to recent debates.

The contribution by **Joachim Scharloth** (Dresden), which closes the volume, deals with alterations in the communicative practices in academic activities, like lectures and seminars, as consequences of the 1968 movement. Modes of speaking and debating are examined. Reconstructing the history of ‘*diskutieren*’ around 1968, he argues that the shift from consensus-orientated discussion to ‘Discussion Happening’ is to be seen not only as an ‘indicator’ but as a ‘factor’/‘motor’ of the radicalization of the German 1968 movement.

By calling into question established schemes of perception and classification, criteria of vision and division of the social world – often by fanciful forms of acting in public – the ’68 movements broadened, last but not least, the horizon of the political. They detached ‘politics’ and ‘the political’ from the state and its apparatus, and so they created a culture where personal politics as well as countercultural communities became central. They inspired by their anti-institutional attitude subsequent protest movements up to Occupy Wall Street, and contributed to the development of a movement sector in all Western democracies. Grassroots movements became a persistent challenge to top-down institutions.

* * *

A scholarship from the ‘Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft’ at St Antony’s College, Oxford, in the academic year of 2008/09 enabled me to organize the workshop on the ‘Consequences and Echoes of 1968’, the lectures from which form the basis of this publication. My thanks, therefore, go to the Stifterverband as well as to Jane Caplan, who was responsible for the execution of this scholarship programme. I also thank Mareike Buba and Henning Damberg from Bielefeld University for the preparation of the manuscripts for printing.

Notes

1. H.M. Enzensberger. 1984. ‘Erinnerungen an einen Tumult. Zu einem Tagebuch aus dem Jahr 1968’, in R. Sievers (ed.). 2004. *1968. Eine Enzyklopädie*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 23–26, here 25.
2. *Ibid.*, 23.
3. H.M. Enzensberger. 1978. *Der Untergang der Titanic. Eine Komödie*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 15, here cited from Enzensberger. 1989. *The Sinking of the Titanic. A Poem*, translated by the author, London: Paladin, 8–9.
4. *Ibid.*, 14.
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6. Cf. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2008b. *1968 – Eine Zeitreise*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 108 ff.

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PART I

Re-linking Europe and the
'Third World'

I

Rethinking the Writer's Role

Enzensberger and Cuba – or A Story of Self-Censorship

Henning Marmulla

A Failed Book: Prologue

This is the story of a book that has never been written – or perhaps of a book that has never been published; a book sleeping in a cellar somewhere in Munich, waiting to be discovered by a historian or literature specialist who will bring it back to life from a forty-year dream. This is the story of a book that Hans Magnus Enzensberger intended to write about Cuba – not a book in the form of a theatre play reconstructing an interrogation;¹ not a book in the form of a poem picturing the decline of Cuba, the decline of modernity and the decline of hopes for a revolution.² This is the story of a book that Enzensberger announced in September 1969 to his publisher Siegfried Unseld, who, after their conversation, made the following note:

Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Cuba. (Planned subtitle: The Invention of an Island). A fundamental book on Cuba, including a fundamental analysis of the situation of the Left. 300 pages, manuscript to be submitted by December 1969 at latest. The book will be published in July 1970 (unless developments in global politics necessitate an earlier publication). No need for a contract with Enzensberger at this stage.³

Even if the contract had been signed, it would not presumably have changed the fact that this book could never come out. Two months later, in November 1969, Enzensberger wrote to Unseld: 'The prospects of the book on Cuba are not looking good. We cannot put it on the list of releases for the first half of the year'.⁴ Three months later, Enzensberger was more than certain that he would never finish it; he knew it was a 'failed book – failed due to my own self-censorship'.⁵

The story of this book reflects the story of Enzensberger and Cuba. It is a tragic love affair, on which Max Frisch would have probably commented: You shall not make for yourself an idol. For many European writers in the 1960s, including Enzensberger, Cuba was such an idol.⁶ The rift between its image and reality was, however, too deep to allow Enzensberger's book to ever see the light of the day. When Enzensberger left for Cuba in October 1968, he was full of hope. He had already been to the island earlier that year, but this time he intended to stay there. Even though his primary goal there was not to spend his time as a writer, but rather to gain a deeper understanding of the Cuban socialism, in the end Cuban reality very much affected his writing. But his high hopes were soon dashed.

This chapter is an attempt to reconstruct this story of self-censorship – an attempt guided by one fundamental question. This question has enough potential to shed light on the tragic love affair between Enzensberger and his island, and is a recurring theme during his journey from Frankfurt, via the Norwegian island of Tjøme, the USA and Berlin to Cuba and then back to Berlin. The question is about the role of the writer. Using it as a guiding thought, the following analysis will focus on the complex network of relations that developed over the years between Enzensberger and Cuba.

Enzensberger wrote about Cuba long before January 1968, when he first visited Havana to participate in the Cuban Cultural Congress. He continued writing about it when he came back, after an eight-month stay on the island in 1968/69. Enzensberger developed a very specific relationship to Cuba. He imagined the island to be a place of successful revolution and a model case of genuine socialism onto which he projected his hopes. In December 1968, in a letter to the subeditor of *Kursbuch* (a journal Enzensberger edited), he developed a three-tier model explaining his relationship to Cuba:

Once on the island, our role in this society transforms slowly from that of observers to participants (with limited liability); I am now entering so to say a third phase (the first having been enthusiasm, which I experienced in January, the second being that of counterrevolutionary feelings, which was in November; as for the third one, I still don't know it well enough to describe it). . . . the intention to turn this experience into a book is growing ever stronger.⁷

Similar to Hans Werner Henze's explorations into music and the role of the composer, Enzensberger's efforts on Cuba were directed towards answering a crucial question regarding literature and the role of the writer, namely: What is revolutionary art? For Enzensberger this question constituted the *conditio sine qua non* in the process of redefining the writer's role, since it captured many important experiences he had in the 1960s. Protests against the war in Vietnam, criticism of the university system that produced apathetic consumers instead of critically minded citizens, discontent with a society founded on authoritarian structures that are never questioned, as well as the unbearable thought of the imperative character of the colonial system inscribed in capitalism – all these

dimensions of political criticism provoked Enzensberger to examine the question about his own role as a writer. The guiding light in this process was a potent and controversial assumption that revolutionizing the society can only be achieved by revolutionizing the individual in his own environment.

This chapter consists of three major sections. The first one is an analysis of the importance of Cuba and the so-called 'Third World' for Enzensberger's 'position-taking' in his journal *Kursbuch*. The second part focuses on his stay on the island and asks about the motives behind the process of introspection Enzensberger and Hans Werner Henze underwent in Cuba. For that reason it concludes with the examination of Henze's and Enzensberger's joint project: *Cimarrón*. The final part deals with Enzensberger's post-Cuban deliberations, not least with the poem *The Sinking of the Titanic*. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how the disillusioning confrontation with the Cuban reality, which – as it turned out – had little to do with his hopes and projections, spurred Enzensberger's literary production, leading him to translate his experiences in Cuba into writing. In the concluding part, however, an attempt will be made to answer the question of why the manuscript of the other book on Cuba, referred to by Siegfried Unseld in June 1969, rests in a cellar, in the sea, in a waste-paper basket or in Enzensberger's head – but not in front of the reader. The journey begins in 1965 in Frankfurt, at the time a certain journal found its way from Enzensberger's head to the bookshops all across the Federal Republic of Germany, only to travel back to the heads of students responsible for the making of 1968.⁸

Act 1. 'Towards the Epicentre'

The first issue of Enzensberger's journal *Kursbuch* was published in June 1965 by the Frankfurt-based publishing house Suhrkamp. Although it came out in Germany, *Kursbuch* cannot be said to be a German journal – probably just as Enzensberger cannot, strictly speaking, be thought of as a German writer.

Enzensberger had already been planning to found an international journal,⁹ together with friends and writers from France, Italy and Germany, four years before the first issue of *Kursbuch*. What united them was the vision and the untamed wish to find a common, international, intellectual solution to the most burning issues of their time. This group of intellectuals strove towards a collective reaction to the war in Algeria and to intellectual and bodily infringements imposed by the French state on the signatories of the *Manifesto of the 121*, who revolted against the injustice and colonial zeal so visible in the war in Algeria. The ultimate aim, however, was a mode of cooperation to be achieved through a collective way of writing that was to be newly invented. This ambitious project eventually failed, less due to political or ideological premises than to personal reasons and differences in theoretical approaches to literature. At that point Enzensberger decided to turn the tables. His new guiding principle was not to

strive to produce something with others, but to stream the production of the many into one channel – his journal *Kursbuch*. This journal, which came to life in June 1965, focused on the import of international literary and intellectual production. From the very outset its central theme was the ‘Third World’.

The international dimension, which lay at the heart of the journal, resulted from Enzensberger’s international disposition. This disposition could be observed from the very outset of his career in the literary field, well before *Kursbuch* was founded. Even before taking his final secondary school examinations in 1949 in Nördlingen in Bavaria, Enzensberger (born in 1929) was able to secure an important post with the Allied Forces. He worked as an interpreter – first for the Americans, later for the British. Thanks to the contacts he made there, he had the opportunity to visit England and Sweden as early as 1949. In the 1950s his studies in literature, language and philosophy led him to the Sorbonne University in Paris. His international disposition was also the reason why his French and Italian counterparts, who were involved in planning *Revue Internationale* (a journal, which was supposed to bring together Italian, French and German intellectuals, but which was never realized), preferred to discuss all matters with him rather than with Uwe Johnson, who moved from the GDR to West Berlin in 1959. Even though Johnson was officially the editor representing the German side in this international project, he spoke neither French nor Italian. Thus, for the international literary scene it was Enzensberger and no other writer who stood for the cosmopolitan spirit among the Germans.

Hans Magnus Enzensberger had his literary breakthrough in 1957 with a collection of poems *verteidigung der wölfe* [Defense of the Wolves], published by Suhrkamp. Thereafter he came to be a respected intellectual in Germany. Over the years his cooperation with the Suhrkamp publishing house has not only been in the role of a writer. From 1960 to 1961 he worked there temporarily as an editor, and from then on he has also acted as an advisor to the publisher. It was upon his recommendation that many, particularly international, authors joined Suhrkamp. One good example is the *Poesie* series, which he was in charge of from 1962. Within merely one year it saw the publication of books by Fernando Pessoa from Portugal, Giorgos Seferis from Greece, David Rokeah from Israel and Gunnar Ekelöf from Sweden. In *Museum der modernen Poesie* [Museum of Modern Poetry] on the other hand, a 750-page anthology published in 1960, Enzensberger managed to bring together over a hundred writers from over thirty countries whose works he deemed representative of poetry in the years 1910 to 1945, i.e. in the period of modernism. The table of contents included names such as René Char, Federico García Lorca, Nâzim Hikmet, William Carlos Williams, Konstantinos Kavafis and Octavio Paz. This canon established by Enzensberger was entirely new, since only a very few of the writers presented in *Museum der modernen Poesie* had received attention in Germany by that time. This fact demonstrates that Enzensberger’s ambition has always been to overcome the tendency to view literature from a purely national perspective and to expand the perception of the social world beyond national borders. The maxim

he coined in 1964 could very well be perceived as a guiding principle for his journal *Kursbuch*: 'I will accept this fact [that I am German] whenever possible, and ignore it whenever necessary';¹⁰ needless to say, he followed it throughout the years, an outstanding example of which can be found in the second issue of the journal.

Following Pierre Bourdieu's assumption that the way we perceive the world is determined by certain schemes of classification, it can be claimed that one of the common divisions prevailing until today – and all the more so in 1965 – is that between East and West. This opposition had enough potential to divide the world into two blocs – and one country, Germany, into two parts. Having assumed that this dichotomy existed not only on paper, but also in the minds of the people (and thus in reality), Enzensberger questioned it in the second issue of his journal, where he also put forward an alternative. It was not the pair 'East/West' that was pivotal, he insisted, but that of 'North/South'. The old opposition 'capitalist versus socialist' had already become irrelevant and should be replaced by a new one: 'poor versus rich'. To put his argumentation from August 1965 in a nutshell: the decisive line of demarcation was the one separating the wealthy industrial societies from the poor. 'The dividing line in the new class struggle', argued Enzensberger, 'separates poor communists from rich communists, poor neutrals from rich neutrals, poor from rich members of the "Free World".'¹¹ Such an argumentation allowed him to direct his attention to those parts of the world he defined as 'the epicentre of the global politics': for Enzensberger this epicentre in 1965 was 'already in South-East Asia, in Africa and Latin America. . . . We are on the periphery'.¹² Being on the periphery himself, Enzensberger used his journal *Kursbuch* as a channel for voices from the epicentre and a forum for renowned theorists from these regions. Thanks to this strategy their literature became accessible to the German reader for the first time. In this process Enzensberger assumed the role of an importer – he expanded the German horizon by enriching it with paramount texts and ideas from Asian, African and Latin American past and present. It should be mentioned that Enzensberger acted not only as a collector, but also as a contributor. The majority of the texts he produced for the purposes of the journal had two sides to them. On the one hand, he provided analyses of the global situation. On the other, he raised questions about the role of the extra-parliamentary opposition in Western Europe and the role of the writer and intellectual in the inevitable process of intermeditation between the protests in Europe and the USA and the liberation movements in the 'Third World'.

Over a year before the death of Benno Ohnesorg, who was shot by a policeman during a demonstration against the visit of the Shah of Persia to Berlin in June 1967, Enzensberger wrote an afterword to a book that was to become fundamental for the 1968 movement. The book was *Persia* by Bahman Nirumand, with Enzensberger's afterword *Unsere weißen Hände* [Our White Hands]. Enzensberger's conclusion in this text was that 'the only way to confront' the violence inflicted on the Persian opposition by the regime of the Shah was 'with

violence. As long as the regime remains in power, any kind of reform is out of question; and the regime can only be overthrown by means of revolutionary violence. None of this is in sight at the moment'.¹³ Enzensberger finished his text with the following words: 'Now we put the book away on the shelf. We take a closer look at our hands. They are completely empty and strangely white'.¹⁴ This was something German students did not want to see. They did not want their hands to stay white and empty when, one year after Enzensberger's text was published, the Shah of Persia visited Germany. They protested! Enzensberger did not want to see his books lying idly on the shelf either. What he proposed was a dual strategy of intellectual redefinition. The first dimension of this strategy was a redefinition of literature and the role of the writer. His intellectual companion in this venture was his subeditor from Frankfurt, Karl Markus Michel.

In June 1967, in an article published in *Kursbuch*, Michel, who was the subeditor of the journal from its first issue onwards, presented his thoughts on the current situation of intellectuals. Writing about many of his colleagues, he claimed that the consequence of their chosen plan of action 'was something they sometimes speak of, but do not truly desire: a revolution'.¹⁵ From Michel's point of view, petitions and political interventions of the intellectuals were nothing more than 'blunt opinions that could at best lead to other blunt opinions'. To expose the meaninglessness of such petitions Michel used Enzensberger's concept of the consciousness industry, claiming that 'what once used to be public opinion that could develop and change, has now turned into and will increasingly become a consumer habit that is subject to regulation'.¹⁶ What Michel wanted to achieve was a discussion of the relevance of intellectuals in times of the all-absorbing, all-pervading consciousness industry. To quote him again: 'it is not the sheer existence of intellectuals that is being questioned, but the legitimacy of their opposition, the competence and effectiveness of their criticism, and the substantiality of interests they represent'.¹⁷ In his writings, Michel provided at least a negative definition of the new intellectual, of whom something more is expected than merely petitions and interventions on the feature pages of daily papers. What would the role of the writer be in this situation? From January 1968, Enzensberger's answers to this question sound, as one could put it, more and more 'practical'.

In January 1968, while Enzensberger was staying in Cuba, his article *Berliner Gemeinplätze* [Berlin Commonplaces] appeared in *Kursbuch* 11. 'All political actions', he claimed, 'now stand and fall in the context of the international revolutionary movement'.¹⁸ The focal point in this passage is 'action', since, following Enzensberger, even the solidarity 'among intellectuals . . . remains pure rhetoric as long as it does not manifest itself in political actions whose usefulness can be proved'.¹⁹ The question that remained was naturally: What is useful action?

In his November 1968 article *Gemeinplätze die Neue Literatur betreffend* [Commonplaces on the Newest Literature], Enzensberger described this new, useful role as follows: 'The writer should set political alphabetization as his aim. In doing so, he should follow the examples of Günter Wallraff's reports

from German factories, Bahman Nirumand's book on Persia, Ulrike Meinhof's columns, Georg Alsheimer's Vietnam report'. Such an effective literature that is perhaps understood best as 'political analysis', as well as political actions such as those conducted by Kommune 1 (i.e. actions aimed at getting wide publicity and hence transforming consciousness) were, in Enzensberger's eyes, possible ways of transforming society.²⁰ Literature also needed to become socially useful, which was the first consequence Enzensberger derived from his reflections on the new definition of the writer's role. This was the claim articulated eventually in *Kursbuch* – nothing more, nothing less (note that he never pronounced any other type of literature dead; he simply thought of it as socially irrelevant).

The second dimension of the already mentioned dual strategy, which involved both intellectual redefinition and personal action, was leaving the USA for Cuba – an act of intellectual (and bodily) intervention, which was extremely symbolic in 1968.

Act 2. 'Why Haven't You Done Anything Against Slavery?'

In January 1968, together with his second wife Mascha, Enzensberger participated in the Cultural Congress in Havana. Tom Hayden from the Students for a Democratic Society as well as the Italian publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli were also there, to name a few. Enzensberger was enthusiastic about it. Later that month he wrote a letter to his publisher:

I've been away for the past month, visiting Cuba. This visit has made an extremely strong impression on me, and it will surely have consequences for my life. For the first time in my life I have seen a revolution that is not dead, a revolution not devouring but feeding its children, a revolution without this gray, oppressive aura we are so familiar with from the East, a revolution that has understood that suppressing intellectual work is an act of counterrevolution. I'm cutting it short now, reluctantly – as I could fill many pages with my observations – and will save it for our meeting early next year. It seems that I will be back in Berlin in March or April already.²¹

Enzensberger did as he promised, but before that he sent an open letter to the president of Wesleyan University, in which he announced his resignation from a fellowship he had accepted three months earlier. The letter, dated 31 January 1968, was published in February in the *New York Review of Books*, as well as in *Zeit*, a German weekly, in early March. 'I believe', wrote Enzensberger, 'the class which rules the United States of America, and the government which implements its policies, to be the most dangerous body of men on earth.' Its aim is 'to establish its political, economic, and military predominance over every other power in the world', and its enemy is the revolution.²² The means to this end are either war or support of 'oppression, corruption and starvation' in many poor countries in the world.²³ A second strategy is the so-called repressive tolerance, whereby criticism of the system is integrated into the system in order to make

it ineffective. Quoting Régis Debray's comment that an intellectual can only be measured by the 'relation between his beliefs and his deeds',²⁴ Enzensberger bade farewell to the university, and in autumn 1968 took off for Cuba. He felt that he could 'learn more from the Cuban people and be of greater use to them' than he could 'ever be to the students of Wesleyan University'.²⁵

When Enzensberger arrived in Cuba in November 1968, his immediate wish was to start a series of tutorials for local students in order to stimulate the process of learning from each other.²⁶ However, he was never granted permission to begin lecturing. His opinions on Czechoslovakia's invasion by the troops of the Warsaw Pact had made him suspicious in the eyes of the Cuban authorities. As a result, Enzensberger never had a chance to meet either Fidel Castro or Cuban students. He was sent on a tour around the country and spent time in luxurious hotels for tourists. At that time his impressions of Cuba were not that unambiguous anymore. Perhaps it was simply the beginning of the third phase in his affair with Cuba (after enthusiasm and counterrevolutionary feelings), the phase which he was unable to define in December 1968 and of which he wrote four months later: 'Socialism is indeed a funny thing. But I will not let it turn me into a counterrevolutionary! This is, generally speaking, the atmosphere here'.²⁷ Notwithstanding this disillusion, Enzensberger was still driven by the wish to differentiate – between the people, living their life within the revolution, and the state authorities, whose authoritarian nature he could not overlook. What is more, Cuba's image as a place with absolute freedom of artistic expression slowly started to fade. In 1968 the Association of Cuban Writers and Artists awarded a poetry prize to Enzensberger's friend, Heberto Padilla. His book, however, was not published straight away. Eventually it appeared with a very critical foreword, in which the association distanced itself from the author.²⁸ In April 1969, Enzensberger wrote in a letter to Unseld: 'I still like it here and I don't know how long I'm going to stay. I'll be back by the end of May at the latest, but it might also be earlier – there is no decent job for me here at the university. First I will go to see the country life for two or three weeks, then I'll decide what to do next'.²⁹

What Enzensberger saw in the country were sugarcane plantations and the poverty of the people. He studied training materials of the Cuban Communist Party and was appalled at the dogmatism with which it was imbued (the aftermath of this is apparent in *Kursbuch's* issue from October 1969 dedicated to Cuba, where Enzensberger published – next to his article critical of Castro – a couple of extracts from Castro's speeches. '40 pages of Castro', as he wrote in a letter to Karl Markus Michel, 'would be unbearable').³⁰ At that time Enzensberger developed a strong interest in Cuba's past. He wrote *Das Verhör von Habana* [The Havana Inquiry], a theatre play about the interrogation of invaders in the Bay of Pigs in 1961. But he also dug deeper, venturing forth to translate *Cimarrón*.

Cimarrón is an autobiography of a Negro slave, Esteban Montejo. In 1963 a Cuban writer and ethnologist, Miguel Barnet (born 1940), conducted a number

of interviews with 104-year-old Montejo, who told him the story of his life as a slave in the nineteenth-century Cuba occupied by the Spanish. In Latin American Spanish, '*cimarrón*' stands for an animal that ran away, but the term was also used by slaveholders in relation to people. Barnet put the pieces of Montejo's story together into an autobiography, which was published in Cuba in 1966. In Germany a few excerpts from the text appeared in 1968 in *Kursbuch*, and the whole book was published in 1969. Enzensberger started translating some fragments in summer 1968, which were later included in *Kursbuch's* issue on Cuba.

In March 1969, at the invitation of the Cuban cultural authorities (issued mainly due to Enzensberger's efforts), Hans Werner Henze arrived in Cuba. In his autobiography, Henze explains the reasons for his visit to the island by summarizing them with one question: Who or what is a revolutionary artist?³¹ Was Enzensberger not looking for an answer to the same question? What united the two – a composer on the one hand, and a writer on the other – was an artistic rendition of a Cuban story: the story of *Cimarrón*.

Hans Werner Henze met Barnet in 1969. Together with Enzensberger they also visited Montejo Esteban. As a result of these encounters, and based on his translations for *Kursbuch*, Enzensberger wrote a libretto, for which Henze composed the music. The interesting thing about Montejo's story was that, for the first time, a life story of a runaway slave reached a person who had access to the cultural industry and who could thus disseminate it. This is a rare example of 'history from below', which for the twentieth century might not be extraordinary, but which was unique for the Cuban struggle for liberation from the Spanish occupation. The emancipatory potential of *Cimarrón* can be seen on many levels. First, it tells the story of emancipation of a slave from his oppressors. Secondly, in composing his score, Henze transferred this emancipatory mode to the present. Materials from the rehearsals of *Cimarrón* attest to 'an emancipatory intention in its composition'.³² In other words, the score leaves room for individual interpretation, both for the vocalist and the musicians. The vocalist is free to choose the pitch as well as the rhythm and pace of his performance, so that the final outcome is actually composed during rehearsals, in the process of interaction between the musicians, the vocalist and Hans Werner Henze.

The libretto provided by Enzensberger consists of fifteen scenes focusing on historical events and Montejo's subjective views. The score integrates many instruments and rhythms typical of Cuban music: Scene 8, *Die Frauen* [Women], follows the rhythm of a Cuban song; in Scene 13, *Der schlechte Sieg* [Bad Victory], rumba, a classic Cuban folk tune, is used to introduce the triumphant euphoria of the Cubans after regaining independence; a *habanera* in Scene 2 alludes to the decadence of the colonial rulers, whereas the hymns in Scene 10, *Die Pfarrer* [The Priests], are slightly out of tune to symbolize the hypocrisy of the clergy. The folk character of the score is rounded out by a variety of instruments of Caribbean and African origin, including a Trinidad steel drum, marimbula, log drums, boobams, temple bells, congas and bongos.³³

The exceptional aspect of this piece of music is a combination of atonal modernity with traditional elements of the Cuban music. In this way, Henze achieved something that was innovative even for an aficionado of the avant-garde. At a conference on 100 years of atonality held in Berlin in 2009, musicologist Ulrich Mosch contradicted the opinions represented by neurobiologists, according to whom atonality exceeds human capacities of perception. Mosch argued quite the opposite: in his opinion it is atonal music in particular that has the potential to present human perception – a dynamic rather than fixed apparatus – with a wealth of new sensual experiences.³⁴

Assuming the plausibility of Mosch's views, *Cimarrón* could be interpreted as part of a double revolution of perception – at the levels of both text and sound. The aleatoric score of this piece – allowing for variations governed by chance – is meant to stimulate creativity and active participation, leading to the dissolving of the relationship between the creator and the performer. On the other hand, it disturbs the audience and confronts it with music that – similarly to the Alienation Effect in the Brechtian epic theatre – does not provide it with the comfort of illusion. This serves as a means to prevent passive consumption and facilitate an act of active reflection.

The year 1968 did not bring about any transformation of the institutional system of Western democracies. In this sense the movement failed. The transformation strategy of the New Left, however, was twofold: starting with an individual, whose apathy was to be shattered by active participation, transformation was to spill over to the whole society. The aim was to turn the prevailing patterns of thinking and perception upside down.³⁵ By importing *Cimarrón* to the concert halls in the European periphery, Henze and Enzensberger made Cuban music and Cuban voices heard. The question, 'Why haven't you done anything against slavery?', echoed in Italian, German and French opera houses, making it impossible for theatre- and opera-goers to disregard it.

The path taken by Henze and Enzensberger marks an important conceptual differentiation between a revolutionary intellectual and a universal intellectual in the tradition of Jean-Paul Sartre. By appealing to common values, universal intellectuals attempted to exert their influence on social struggles from the outside. By contrast, a revolutionary intellectual acted from the inside to the outside, from the Cuban epicentre into the European periphery. Enzensberger and Henze brought Cuban liberation art into European cities. By the time they got back from the island, however, the extra-parliamentary opposition in Europe, which for Enzensberger was the only hope in 1968, began to crumble.

Act 3. 'I Continue to Wail, to Swim'

In an interview given in 1979 about his activism in the 1960s, Enzensberger said: 'Writers don't generate any grand social movements, but if they encounter one, they must take a position'.³⁶ The 1968 movement was founded on a teleological

concept of history and propagated the idea of a new social order. For many 1968 activists, Cuba represented the ultimate hope: an example and model at the same time. As time passed, the movements in Europe and the USA disintegrated, divided by differing attitudes towards violence as well as by organizational issues. The 1970s witnessed the emergence of a new paradigm – one already considered in the 1960s, now confirmed by the new economic reality of the oil crisis. By proclaiming that history cannot be planned, postmodernity dismissed the central presumptions of modernity, which were still so strong in the 1960s as to make intellectuals believe it was possible to ‘intervene in time and history’ (*sich in die Zeit stellen zu können*), as Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey put it.³⁷ Enzensberger grasped these new emerging ideas and used them in 1978 to write a long poem, *The Sinking of the Titanic*.

Having the form of a journey through time and space, and set against the backdrop of 1912 (the year the *Titanic* sank), the poem relates the decline of hopes for a revolution (explicitly named as ‘Cuba 1969’) to the demise of the idea that progress can be planned and shaped by means of the right theory (‘Berlin 1977’). Published in 1978 by the Suhrkamp publishing house, the poem looks back at the past to discover in it the starting point of not one, but many possible paths leading to one of many possible versions of the future. In *The Sinking of the Titanic* it is not only the ship that is sinking, but much more: modernity, revolution and the historic paradigm – they are all portrayed as going down. What needs to be emphasized is that sinking does not equal drowning, as it implies the possibility of resurfacing. What does not founder, though, is the lyric subject, who – just as Enzensberger – is also a writer. This can be inferred from the last, reassuring line in the text: ‘I continue to wail, and to swim’.³⁸ What is it then, specifically, that is sinking?

First of all, it is obviously the *Titanic*. While the rescued row ‘away / from the blank, impervious spot / where the *Titanic* has disappeared’,³⁹ most of the passengers ‘go down softly / bloated and sagging soggly’⁴⁰ until the water is up to their necks, ‘until you drink it, until you feel the water / thirstily seeking your inside, your windpipe, your womb, / your mouth; and you know what it wants to do: it wants / to fill up everything, to swallow, and to be swallowed’.⁴¹

It is interesting to see what the social composition of passengers looks like. The community portrayed in the poem displays very distinctive features of a class society. The top deck is a floor for many festivities, such as receptions or dance soirées, during which members of the noble class are treated to exquisite cuisine. Their idleness and mindlessness is well exemplified by the person of John Jacob Astor, who, ‘nail file / in hand, rips up a lifesaver in order to show / to his wife (née Connaught) what is inside / (probably cork)’.⁴² At the same time those ‘down below are always the first / to understand danger. Hastily they collect / their bundles, babies and ruby-red feather beds’.⁴³ The approaching catastrophe, however, does not lead to the collapse of the class system, as the Marxists would probably desire. Even in the face of imminent danger, it is more than clear ‘that the First Class is always first served / and that there are never enough milk bottles,

/ shoes or lifeboats for all of us'.⁴⁴ Surprisingly, such extreme circumstances do not lead to the emergence of the 'revolutionary subject' in the Marxist sense. The reaction of the lower class to a dramatic appeal by an agitator on the ship ('When do you want to take your revenge / if not now?')⁴⁵ is that of sheer helplessness:

They understood quite well / what he said, but they did not / understand him. His words / were not their words. Worn / by other fears and by other hopes, / they just stood there patiently / with their carpet bags, their rosaries, / their rickety children / at the barriers, making room / for others, listening to him, respectfully, / and waiting until they drowned.⁴⁶

The overall image conveyed in the poem is that of 'the gamblers / and the telegraph operators' following a dispute between Bakunin and Engels, 'as if a tennis match were going on':⁴⁷ not intervening, but merely observing.

Second of all, the poem depicts the demise of the much cherished vision of the Cuban utopia. The perception shared by many Western intellectuals in 1968 of Cuba being the place where the socialist utopia was being successfully enacted, providing an example for the whole world to follow, was by and large an illusion. In 1969, however, we 'did not know / that the party had finished long ago'.⁴⁸ How come? Was the lyric subject not aware of it? Perhaps it had a premonition, but 'I didn't want to admit to myself / that the tropical party was all over'.⁴⁹

Finally, what founders is 'my poem / about the sinking of the *Titanic*'.⁵⁰ This poem, according to the lyric subject, was '*ohne Durchschlag*'⁵¹ – without a copy. Since there was no carbon paper in Cuba, it physically existed only in one copy. Semantically speaking however, the phrase '*ohne Durchschlag*' has a second meaning in German, namely 'being ineffective, lacking resonance'. Such an interpretation refers back to the poetological redefinition of literature described above, which Enzensberger advocated in 1968. A very tentative interpretation of this passage could suggest that the author alludes to the reasons for his self-censorship. The poem about the *Titanic* is, after all, right before the reader's eyes. What is it then that is foundering? Which text did not have a resonant copy? It is possible that what is meant here is a very discreet reference to the book on Cuba that was never published. It is possible that, to the author, this book seemed superfluous. It is possible that he did not see any reason for writing it, since the social basis in the form of the extra-parliamentary opposition no longer existed. It is also possible, however, that Enzensberger feared the applause from the wrong side. What if the book turned out to be so critical of Cuba that it intensified the radical criticism of the New Left, for whom Cuba still represented the hope for a potential revolution?

The poem *The Sinking of the Titanic* can also be read as a journey – an interpretation plausible not least in the light of references to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Analogically to Dante's work, divided into *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, each consisting of thirty-three cantos, Enzensberger's poem consists of thirty-three cantos (and sixteen glosses). Another parallel is that both Dante and Enzensberger make use of the stylistic device of *dialogus mortuorum*,

dialogue of the dead.⁵² Last but not least, Dante is also one of the passengers on the *Titanic*.

The journey-like character of the poem is emphasized by the movement: the ship moves towards an iceberg and then goes down. Interestingly enough, the place and time the poem was written are given in the form of a journey as well: 'Havana 1969 – Berlin 1977'. This distance, both in time and space, can be transposed on the personal level of the author who ventured on this journey and might have become estranged from himself in the process. Even though he may never have directly postulated the existence of an authentic and an alienated self, and the need for differentiation between them, these two (or even more) different selves come to the fore from the very beginning of the poem. The existential drive of a self-inventing subject takes on a radically performative character – the subject establishes itself through the act of speaking: 'There is someone who listens, who waits, / holds his breath, very close by, / here. He says: this is *my* voice'.⁵³ One consequence of such an approach is that the self remains elusive and nebulous, different in every single point in history.

This process of the dissolving of a fixed identity of the author finds its literary rendition later in the poem, when the lyric subject is plagued by immense doubts about its own authenticity. While attempting to reconstruct the foundered poem, the lyric subject asks itself what it was like 'in my poem? Was it in my poem / at all? And what about that thin, / absent-minded, excited man roaming Havana, involved / in disputes, metaphors, endless love affairs – was that me?' This uncertainty about one's past identity extends to the future: 'And in ten years from now / I shall not be sure that these very words are my own'.⁵⁴

A few weeks before bringing out the poem on the *Titanic*, Enzensberger published a short essay in *Kursbuch: Zwei Randbemerkungen zum Weltuntergang* [Two Side Notes on the End of the World]. In the text he accused the Left of not having learned 'what each and every passer-by has already understood: that there is no *weltgeist*; that the laws of history are unknown to us'.⁵⁵ This statement is by no means a sign of resignation, quite the opposite – its tone is very serene. What Enzensberger wishes for is 'a little less fear, a bit more mindfulness, respect and modesty when faced with the unknown. Then we will see what happens next'.⁵⁶ In this sense *The Sinking of the Titanic* describes a quest as well. Without an aim and a clear direction – or without the safety of *telos* and *linearity*, to use the vocabulary of modernity – the lyric subject in the poem is thrown to the sea. It does not sink, however, but keeps on swimming. Following the line of argumentation of Rainer Barbey, it is this very act of moving forward that has the rescuing effect and the potential to replace the pursuit of the ultimate purpose in history. The sea could be interpreted in this context as an 'area of anarchic freedom, protecting one from socio-historic determination and ultimately taking on the role of the harbour, once thought to be lost forever'.⁵⁷ This conclusion could very well be to Enzensberger's liking – after all, it is very much in favour of the postmodern paradigm. Instead of heralding new dogmas, the writer finds pleasure in the state of being doubtful about himself, provoking the readers to

at least be productively doubtful about themselves. The publication of the book on Cuba, that Siegfried Unseld intended to announce in 1969, was not possible anymore in 1978. The most Enzensberger could do was to publish *The Sinking of the Titanic*. To explain why, this chapter will conclude with three short remarks.

Conclusion

First of all, if a writer takes on an earnest challenge of permanently validating himself in his role (and this is precisely what Enzensberger did), it is reasonable to assume that in the course of history, and as the literary field develops, this role will change as well. Many of Enzensberger's fellow writers, however, did not understand the essence of this transformation process and perceived him as an opportunist. For instance Hans Werner Richter, founder of the Group 47,⁵⁸ which Enzensberger joined in 1955, proclaimed in 1969 that Enzensberger 'turned from the charlatan of literature to a charlatan of revolution and now to a charlatan of economic policy. It seems to me that there is nothing more to him – as apparently there has never been'.⁵⁹ For Enzensberger, on the other hand, permanent transformation, as well as constant redefinition of literature and of the intellectual's role, constituted *conditio sine qua non* of his work.

In 1978, after the collapse of the 1968 movement, Enzensberger redefined his role as a writer to see it predominantly in stimulating irritations in the patterns of thinking and perception. He no longer felt able to give simple formulas as to how to live a righteous life. In doing so, however, he took on one of the guiding concepts of 1968 – a concept that, in the context of a widely assumed failure of the 1968 movement, represented a counterpoint of success, namely that transformation of society can only be achieved by means of a transformation of the way we perceive the world. Bertolt Brecht called it 'engaged' or 'interventionist thinking' [*Eingreifendes Denken*].⁶⁰ What he meant by this was the process of thinking induced by the author, whereby he does not dictate a reaction he expects from his audience, but rather aims at fundamental change in their attitudes.

As Karl Markus Michel put it in 1968 in *Kursbuch 15*, the world cannot be the subject of poetry anymore – it needs to be the subject of change.⁶¹ It appears that ten years later, paradoxically, the only way to make the world political again was through its 'poetization' – a process that was supposed to be neither self-referential nor to take the form of aggressive political agitation. Its prior aim was rather to undermine the pervading modes of thinking and perceiving the social reality, and to put this energy into productive use. This explains why the lyric subject in *The Sinking of the Titanic* continues to wail, and to swim – even though there is no *telos* in sight.

Seen from this perspective, the *Titanic* is a postmodern, or – to be more precise – a radically modern⁶² text. It does not pronounce the superiority of one particular ideology, nor does it completely condemn or erase all past ideologies

– note that the suitcases of passengers, which symbolically stand for the past ideological and mental structures of consciousness, do not sink, but keep floating in the water (cf. canto 23). What Enzensberger proposes in his text is to construe modernity, together with its ideologies and visions of progress, as part of the tradition that should be saved from sinking into oblivion. Postmodernity never claimed powers to wipe out modernity. In a way, such an act would be essentially totalitarian (i.e. directed at totality) and thus modern, as understood in terms of the Enlightenment. To recall Adorno's and Horkheimer's views on this matter, 'the Enlightenment recognizes as being and occurrence only what can be apprehended in unity'.⁶³

Put in this context, Enzensberger's poem constitutes a mere reflection upon some aspects of modernity, but instead of tying them up into a narrative, leaves them hanging loose in their plurality. What the text condemns is totality. The path leading to the future is open – open as the sea, upon the waves of which the lyric subject is swimming. It wails, because it thinks, it swims, because it wants to move forward – even though it has no clear aim. One year after *The Sinking of the Titanic* was published, Enzensberger elaborated on this concept in an interview conducted by Hajo Kesting: 'I don't know the reasons why socialism ends up failing each and every time. I'm not even sure it always has to be this way. I am simply not ready to have a strong opinion on this. I enjoy being surprised'.⁶⁴ And in *Two Side Notes on the End of the World* Enzensberger wrote that 'I don't think I need to assure you . . . that I know of the future as little as you do'.⁶⁵

The second reason why the book on Cuba could never come out was the fact that in the 1970s the island came to be increasingly discredited as a model of a possible revolution. The most painful experience for Enzensberger in this respect was an act of public self-criticism by his friend Padilla. In a public address he recalled:

I have had countless conversations with Hans Magnus Enzensberger, German poet and essayist. I used those occasions to present my views on the revolution, which were always harsh and hostile. . . . Enzensberger listened to my critical opinions and defeatist analyses. I am convinced that I have managed to distort his views on our revolution, towards which he was not very enthusiastic in the first place anyway.⁶⁶

Enzensberger knew these statements were made as a result of torture.

Finally, judging by the subtitle (*The Invention of an Island*), the book on Cuba was supposed to present the ultimate dispute about the socialist utopia on the island, and the hopes and expectations the New Left projected onto it. As the 1968 movement demobilized, however, the decisive moment for the book had already passed. In 1981, in a conversation with Susan Sontag, Enzensberger explained his self-censorship, saying: 'Preferably I would . . . like to have published this book on Cuba, but it was impossible to do it. This book would have been constructive only in the Cuban context, and not simply in the context of my person'.⁶⁷ This might have been another reason for self-censorship, although

it is always a question of how trustworthy writers are when they talk of their own works. Still, irrespective of what the content of the manuscript might have been, it can safely be claimed that while in Cuba, Enzensberger's principal goal consisted in rethinking the writer's role and re-linking Europe and the 'Third World'.

Notes

1. H.M. Enzensberger. 1974. *The Havana Inquiry*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
2. H.M. Enzensberger. 1980. *The Sinking of the Titanic*, Manchester: Houghton Mifflin Co.
3. Siegfried Unseld: conversation with Hans Magnus Enzensberger on 25 June 1969, in H. Marmulla. 2011. *Enzensbergers Kursbuch. Eine Zeitschrift um 68*, Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 229.
4. Enzensberger to Unseld, letter dated 8 Nov 1969, in *ibid.*
5. Enzensberger to Unseld, letter dated 28 Feb 1970, in *ibid.*
6. Cf. Q. Slobodian. 2012. *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany*, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. Slobodian argues that the relation of the West German New Left to Cuba was first established as a result of personal contacts and demonstrates how, in the course of the 1960s, it developed into an increasingly abstract identification with the Third World.
7. Enzensberger to Karl Markus Michel, letter dated 8 Dec 1968, in Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch*, 223.
8. For more information on the relationship between the '68 movement and Enzensberger's *Kursbuch*, see Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch*; H. Marmulla. 2012. 'Verbindungen 1965/2012', *Kursbuch* 170, 16–33; H. Marmulla. 2007. 'Das Kursbuch. Nationale Zeitschrift, internationale Kommunikation, transnationale Öffentlichkeit', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), 1968. *Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 37–47.
9. For more information on the international journal, see R. Schmidt. 2009. *Die unmögliche Gemeinschaft. Maurice Blanchot, die Gruppe der rue Saint-Benoît und die Idee einer internationalen Zeitschrift um 1960*, Berlin: Kadmos Kulturverlag; H. Marmulla. 2006. 'Internationalisierung der Intellektuellen? Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer "communauté internationale" nach dem Algerienkrieg', in I. Gilcher-Holtey (ed.), *Zwischen den Fronten. Positionskämpfe europäischer Intellektueller im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie, 179–200; H.M. Enzensberger and U. Johnson. 2009. 'Fuer Zwecke der brutalen Verstaendigung. Der Briefwechsel', edited by H. Marmulla and C. Kröger, *Der Briefwechsel*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
10. H.M. Enzensberger. 1964. 'Am I a German?', *Encounter* 127, 16–18, 18.
11. H.M. Enzensberger. 1965. 'Europäische Peripherie', *Kursbuch* 2, 154–73, 162.
12. *Ibid.*, 171.
13. H.M. Enzensberger. 1967. 'Unsere weißen Hände. Eine Nacherinnerung,' in B. Nirumand, *Persien. Modell eines Entwicklungslandes oder Die Diktatur der Freien Welt*, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 149–54, 151.

14. Ibid., 154.
15. K.M. Michel. 1967. 'Die sprachlose Intelligenz 3: Bittere Pillen', *Kursbuch* 9, 200–26, 206.
16. Ibid., 212.
17. Ibid., 216.
18. H.M. Enzensberger. 1968. 'Berliner Gemeinplätze', *Kursbuch* 11, 151–69, 159.
19. Ibid., 160.
20. H.M. Enzensberger. 1968. 'Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend', *Kursbuch* 15, 187–97, 196.
21. Enzensberger to Unseld, letter dated 24 Jan 1968, in Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch*, 221.
22. H.M. Enzensberger. 1970. 'Offener Brief an den Präsidenten der Wesleyan University Mr. Edwin D. Etherington vom 31.1', in J. Schickel (ed.), *Über Hans Magnus Enzensberger*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 233–38, 233.
23. Ibid., 234.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 238.
26. For more information on Enzensberger's stay in Cuba, see also D. Weitbrecht. 2012. *Aufbruch in die Dritte Welt. Der Internationalismus der Studentenbewegung von 1968 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 99–112. Weitbrecht describes Enzensberger as a 'pioneer in the process', which concerned many stakeholders in the late Third World Movement (110). To learn more about the importance of the 'Third World' in the 1960s, see also S. Christiansen and Z.A. Scarlett (eds). 2012. *The Third World in The Global 1960s*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
27. Enzensberger to Michel, letter dated 1 Apr 1969, in Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch*, 224.
28. G. Maschke. 1971. 'Dokumente einer verratenen Revolution', in H. Padilla, *Außerhalb des Spiels*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 143–59, 145.
29. Enzensberger to Unseld, letter dated 6 Apr 1969, in Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch*, 225.
30. *Planung Kursbuch* 17: Cuba, of 5 Mar 1969; Archives of the Suhrkamp Publishing House, Frankfurt: Correspondence *Kursbuch*, 1969–1970, in Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach.
31. H.W. Henze. 1996. *Reiselieder mit böhmischen Quinten*, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 312.
32. P. Petersen. 1988. *Hans Werner Henze. Ein politischer Musiker*, Hamburg: Argument, 135.
33. M. Kerstan. 2007. *H.W. Henze: El Cimarrón*, 2007, URL: www.elcimarronensemble.com (last visited on 16 Feb 2009).
34. Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11 Feb 2009, N4.
35. Cf. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2008. *1968. Eine Zeitreise*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2001. *Die 68er Bewegung. Deutschland, Westeuropa, USA*, Munich: C.H. Beck.
36. H.M. Enzensberger. 1984. 'Gespräch (mit Hajo Kesting, 1979)', in R. Grimm (ed.), *Hans Magnus Enzensberger*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 116–35, 125.
37. Gilcher-Holtey, *1968. Eine Zeitreise*, 199.
38. Enzensberger, *The Sinking of the Titanic*, 98.
39. Ibid., 49.
40. Ibid., 36.

41. Ibid., 40–41.
42. Ibid., 4.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., 5.
45. Ibid., 16.
46. Ibid., 17.
47. Ibid., 33.
48. Ibid., 9.
49. Ibid., 12.
50. Ibid., 13.
51. H.M. Enzensberger. 1978. *Der Untergang der Titanic* (German edition), Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 21.
52. Enzensberger uses this ‘discontinuous method’ (Walter Benjamin) of *dialogus mortuorum* again in his recent novel *Hammerstein oder der Eigensinn* (2008. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp).
53. Enzensberger, *The Sinking of the Titanic*, 1.
54. Ibid., 18.
55. H.M. Enzensberger. 1978. ‘Zwei Randbemerkungen zum Weltuntergang’, *Kursbuch* 52, 1–8, 7.
56. Ibid., 8.
57. R. Barbey. 2007. *Unheimliche Fortschritte: Natur, Technik und Mechanisierung im Werk von Hans Magnus Enzensberger*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 212.
58. For more information on Group 47, see H. Böttiger. 2012. *Die Gruppe 47: Als die deutsche Literatur Geschichte schrieb*, Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2004. ‘Was kann Literatur und wozu schreiben? Das Ende der Gruppe 47’, *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 14(2), 207–32.
59. H.W. Richter. 2012. *Mittendrin: Die Tagebücher 1966–1972*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 124.
60. Cf. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2006. ‘Theater und Politik. Bertolt Brechts “Eingreifendes Denken”’, in Gilcher-Holtey (ed.), *Zwischen den Fronten*, 117–51.
61. K.M. Michel. 1968. ‘Ein Kranz für die Literatur’, *Kursbuch* 15, 184.
62. According to Wolfgang Iser, postmodernity, in its radical-modern constitution, is a ‘phase in history which recognizes radical plurality as a fundament of societal order and in which plural patterns of meaning and action are of great importance, if not dominant and obligatory’ (W. Iser. 1988. *Unsere postmoderne Moderne*, 2nd edn, Weinheim: Wiley-VCH, 5).
63. M. Horkheimer and T.W. Adorno. 1997. *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 7.
64. Enzensberger, ‘Gespräch’, 133.
65. Enzensberger, ‘Zwei Randbemerkungen zum Weltuntergang’, 8.
66. Quoted after Maschke, ‘Dokument’, 154.
67. H.M. Enzensberger. 1981. ‘Der Autor als Komplize. Ein New Yorker Gespräch über Zensur und Selbstzensur mit Joseph Brodsky, Hans Christoph Buch, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Richard Sennett, Susan Sontag u.a.’, *Freibeuter* 4(8), 1–14, 7.

Global Dimensions of Conflict and Cooperation

Public Protest and the Quest for Transnational Solidarity in Britain, 1968–1973

Steffen Bruendel

[We] will support the struggles for national liberation and socialism throughout the world . . . [We] will give support to the Chinese, Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, to the anti-bureaucratic struggles in Eastern Europe and the struggle for workers' control and socialism in advanced capitalist countries.
 – *The Red Mole*¹

With this programmatic statement a new radical newspaper was launched in March 1970. Named *The Red Mole*, it was to be the internationalist voice of dissent in the aftermath of the protest movement which Britain had faced since 1967. The paper followed its predecessor *The Black Dwarf*, which had come into existence in the heydays of protest in early summer 1968. With a circulation of sometimes up to fifty thousand copies, both papers were important representatives of alternative media in Britain between 1968 and 1973. However, apart from a few references and sporadic quotations of front-page slogans,² neither paper has yet been subject to a systematic analysis.³

This is due to the common assumption that 1968 is not a historical landmark in Britain as it is in France or Germany. Even though recent years saw a variety of studies which highlighted that protest in Britain – like in other countries – was triggered by national as well as transnational political topics,⁴ some recent studies still support the narrative that ‘not that much happened in Britain in 1968’.⁵ Indeed, in Britain the year 1968 ‘has not obtained quite the iconic status of the long 1960s in other countries’, and research on extra-parliamentary movements in 1960s Britain ‘is still in its infancy’.⁶ Comparative studies covering protest movements mainly focus on the United States, France, Italy and

Germany,⁷ and research in the U.K. on the 1960s mainly concentrates on social and cultural changes or on generational conflicts.⁸ It may, thus, still be appropriate to call 'sixty-eight' a widely unknown '*lieu de mémoire*' in Britain.⁹

Recent studies rightly stress the global aspects of 1968, calling this year a 'transnational moment of crisis and opportunity'.¹⁰ Following this assumption, I am going to analyse the 'increasingly globalized repertoire' of ideas and actions¹¹ which characterized the British protest movement of 1968. My analysis is based on concepts of transnational history, which have been refined since the 1990s to analyse 'forces and themes that may not necessarily be global but still cross-national', by focusing on 'transnational connections' based on personal contacts as well as 'supranational consciousness' emanating from mutual perceptions, exchanges and entanglements.¹² Transnational relations are non-state relations. They are classically defined as 'contacts, coalitions and interactions across boundaries that are not controlled by central foreign policy organs of state'. In transnational interactions 'at least one actor is not an agent of a government or an intergovernmental organisation'.¹³

My analysis further relies on the concept of political communication used by the Collaborative Research Centre of Bielefeld University,¹⁴ and follows theories of Pierre Bourdieu. Political communication works among social and cultural groups on a semantic as well as symbolic level. It depends on language, images, rituals and symbols. There is, according to Bourdieu, a continuous 'performative discourse' among social actors about the dominant interpretation. Prior to collective political action, there is a certain reshaping of classifications and views. The questioning of traditional opinions paves the way for new visions on which collective action is based.¹⁵

Given that the role of the media is crucial for the mobilization and communication of movements,¹⁶ I am going to analyse the transnational 'discourse community'¹⁷ shaped by two alternative newspapers between 1968 and 1973: *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole*. Both papers were not only bound to certain far-left groups but also had an important impact on the British protest movement as a whole.¹⁸

I will first analyse the emergence of both papers as examples of unconventional media in Britain. Looking at the professional, social, national and ethnic background of the editors and their interrelation with dissenters from other countries, I want to find out whether the British activists were transnational actors who formed networks and alliances across borders. Secondly, I will examine whether the issues both papers addressed were national or 'transboundary' (Robert Cohen), or both. An analysis of the editors' aims expressed in the editorials and the authors' articles will also illustrate their understanding of politics. Thirdly, I will study how both papers linked the global dimensions of protest with internal issues of liberation and solidarity, and thus reshaped common interpretations. In examining whether British protesters felt embedded in worldwide protest movements of the late 1960s, I want to assess which topics shaped the quest for 'Transnational Cooperation and Solidarity'¹⁹ in Britain.

Creating a Transnational Discourse Community: *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole*

The founding of the Dwarf and later the Mole stood in the context of emerging alternative media in Western countries. With the USA getting increasingly involved in Vietnam, the American civil rights movement growing and Berkeley students launching the first sit-ins, the need to provide information about aims and actions became increasingly pressing for the movements. As early as 1964 the first U.S. underground paper came into existence in Los Angeles. Cheap offset-press technology made it possible to produce periodicals of reasonable paper quality and price. Whereas the mass media were shaped 'by the values and perceptions of primarily white, middle class, male mainstream writers and editors', an alternative, underground press emerged 'to mirror, spark, express, organize, advocate, and hype the strands of protest'. By 1969 about five hundred papers 'served communities and constituencies worldwide'.²⁰ Why was that so?

It had to do with a growing dissatisfaction about the way the conventional press dealt with certain topics. Thus underground media 'sought to counter mainstream distortions and omissions'.²¹ In 1967 the renowned German writer and intellectual Hans Magnus Enzensberger, who had been awarded the distinguished Büchner Prize for literature four years earlier, critically analysed the role of the press in Germany which only reported on Persia's glamorous Court, omitting all problematic issues like police brutality, poverty and dissent with the Shah's regime. According to him, Persia was just a model for 'the big lie' which the media also spread about Latin American countries, Angola and Vietnam. By lying about the real situation in those regions and countries, he stated, Europe and the USA just sought to defend their system of worldwide exploitation.²² The reaction of the German extra-parliamentary opposition was to call for *Gegenöffentlichkeit*. This term has the notion of counterculture and means alternative, independent or underground press. However, underground does not necessarily mean being illegal but focusing on unpopular or neglected themes and counterculture issues. Aiming at providing uncensored information and at globalizing revolutionary spirit, Rudi Dutschke and other members of the German socialist student organization SDS founded the *Internationales Nachrichten- und Forschungsinstitut* (INFI) in the aftermath of the International Vietnam Congress in 1968 as a 'transnational counter-alliance'.²³

Given that, according to Bourdieu, the change of perceptions and the questioning of common assumptions are prerequisites to collective political action,²⁴ new independent media were necessary to show the true situation in Vietnam, Africa and Latin America. Explaining the link between capitalism, imperialism and neocolonialism, the underground press aimed at changing mindsets: 'The radical must present a counter-vision,' an American activist remarked, 'he must create new values'.²⁵ Being eager to expand their audiences, alternative papers also had to infuse their readers with a certain sense of community, of class, of collective struggle and solidarity, which gave the movement the strength of

self-preservation and direct action. The underground press ‘questioned, altered, sought to radically change’ society’s status quo.²⁶ The necessary presupposition of changing society was ‘changing one’s head’.²⁷

In Britain, the negative and one-sided press coverage of the March 1968 Vietnam demonstration in London became the kick-off for launching *The Black Dwarf*, Britain’s new alternative newspaper. On 17 March, about twenty-five thousand people had followed the call of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC) for a demonstration against the Vietnam War. They gathered in Trafalgar Square and waved flags of the Vietnam Liberation Front (FNL). Many speakers attacked the Labour government’s complicity with the U.S. aggression. Police could not stop them from marching into Grosvenor Square where the U.S. embassy was located. When mounted police attacked the demonstrators in front of the embassy, marbles were thrown on the streets, making the horses stumble and fall. The following day, British media reported extensively on injured horses but overlooked police brutality during the two-hour confrontation. The reaction of the British public, donating ‘tons of flowers for wounded horses’,²⁸ made the VSC demonstration of 17 March a turning point regarding the awareness of protest in Britain.²⁹

Being a response to the media perception of the 17 March demonstration, the Dwarf was an attempt to readjust public opinion and to focus on the real problems that had led to widespread protest: the Vietnam War, capitalism and exploitation. On May Day 1968, a special edition was issued. According to the editors, the Dwarf was to counterbalance the traditional press: ‘One reason for the wretchedness of our society is the brainwashing practised by the privately owned mass media known as “free press”’.³⁰ The Dwarf analysed the British press calling it ‘the most inbred and monopolized press in the Western world’. It was ‘a class institution totally integrated within the upper echelons of capitalist society’. Freedom of the press in Britain meant that ‘three millionaires . . . control[led] 6 out of 7 copies of all morning papers sold every day’.³¹ In contrast, the Dwarf represented a truly independent paper giving voice to the oppressed.

Being the movement’s ‘vanguard paper’ but not belonging to a party or group, the Dwarf was to turn the movement into one that was ‘internationalist, ag[g]ressive and united’. Whereas the bourgeois press – in the view of the underground press – defended capitalism using news and opinions, the Dwarf aimed at destroying capitalism using ‘the same weapons’: information and interpretation. The Dwarf ‘should offend bourgeois sensibilities and appeal to young workers and students. It should write about struggles elsewhere in the world and relate them to struggles in Britain’.³²

The American Liberation News Service (LNS) also stressed the importance of new media for protest movements. LNS had been co-founded in 1967 by 23-year-old Marshall Bloom. Bloom was the former president of the Students’ Union of the famous London School of Economics and Political Sciences (LSE). In 1967 he had been suspended for his role in protest demonstrations the year before. Having returned to the USA he set up LNS to serve as a press agency for

alternative newspapers.³³ In March 1969, LNS stressed that underground papers often gave new radicals ‘a place to function in the movement’. In fact, ‘working for a paper can be a radicalizing experience in itself’. Furthermore, most alternative papers tried to create ‘a democratic work situation’, listing the editors either alphabetically or in random order ‘as part of an attempt to avoid establishing hierarchies of power’.³⁴ Dwarf and Mole were perfect examples of this quest for equality in presenting the editors consequently as ‘Editorial and Production Group’ or ‘Editorial Group’ (later: ‘Board’).³⁵

Both Dwarf and Mole were in many aspects typical examples of underground or alternative press, using colour, caricatures, comics, photos and poems to visualize the print and thus distinguishing themselves from mainstream media. Red, white and black were the colours mostly used for the front pages, and among the graphic techniques were superimposition of pictures over print, collage and montage. The artistic appearance of both papers is illustrated by some caricatures – depicting politicians like Harold Wilson and Edward Heath³⁶ – and by many impressive picture montages showing images of the Vietnam War,³⁷ or of British soldiers in Northern Ireland (see Figures 2.1–2.3).³⁸

Many front pages were designed so that they could be used as posters (see Figure 2.4).

‘Don’t demand, occupy’ – the front page headline of Dwarf issue no. 6, 1968 – was so popular that students and young workers publicly displayed it at universities and factories.³⁹ Furthermore, writers contributed poems to both papers and ‘much of the better writing in the movement papers reflect[ed] the language of poetry – free, imaginative, unfettered, almost visual’.⁴⁰

The papers’ artistic appearance illustrates the intellectual and artistic abilities of the editors. Theory was to be combined with action. ‘We were not academics’, Sheila Rowbotham recalls.⁴¹ In fact, the Dwarf’s editors understood the ‘subversive potential of media texts’⁴² and aimed at representing the voice of the oppressed. The aim of giving first-hand information on the Vietnam War and other conflicts in the world attracted many renowned artists and brilliant intellectuals. The editorial boards of both the Dwarf and later the Mole were socially homogeneous, consisting predominantly of Oxford-educated intellectuals and artists. They can roughly be divided into two generational groups.

One group was composed of young dissenters in their mid-twenties, born in the 1940s. Among them were the journalist Tariq Ali (*1943 in Lahore), former president of the Oxford Students’ Union; the Indian-born economist Vinay Chand (*1945), who studied at the LSE from 1963 to 1968; the British sociologist Robin Blackburn (*1940), who taught at LSE until he was dismissed for his support of the LSE occupation in 1969; the Zimbabwean refugee Chenhamo Chimutengwende (*1943); the Irish political scientist Fred Halliday (1946–2010), who graduated from Oxford in 1967 and attended the London School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 1969; and British feminist Sheila Rowbotham (*1943), also an Oxford graduate, who was to publish her influential pamphlet *Women’s Liberation and the New Politics* in 1969.⁴³



DWARF COMMENT

There is, as the *Times* has said, 'a smell of Weimar in the air'. As the working class deserts the Labour Party and its leaders fall out amongst themselves, it becomes clearer every day that Labour is not merely governing badly – it is ceasing to govern at all. Faced with an economic crisis caused by the final collapse of Britain's imperial power, Labour is unable to take the obvious measures for its cure – nationalisation of the City, of the big firms which dominate the economy, withdrawal from NATO, and the conversion of our massive military resources to peaceful purposes. For these measures would run counter to the alliance with big business and imperialism which lies at the heart of modern social democracy. Yet, on the other hand, Labour is incapable of

taking a genuinely right-wing path for that would destroy the party within a matter of weeks. Thus unable to go either to the right or the left, they dither. Even their attack on the unions is half-hearted, just as their defense of the comprehensive schools is inadequate.

Meanwhile the crisis deepens, as one by one the major institutions of our society – parliament, private property, authority, marriage, religion – fall into disrepute. Everywhere, the social fabric is disintegrating.

In this situation the Right is mounting a desperate counter offensive. The Conservative Party, the employers, and their newspapers call for more repression to stem the resurgent tide of indiscipline and disregard for authority. Even the *Observer*, a self-styled progressive paper, can carry a cartoon depicting James Callaghan as Judas receiving thirty pieces of silver from the trade unions for opposing the penal clauses in the Government's anti-union bill.

When the Conservatives take power, either through elections or in alliance with the Labour Right in a national

government, this counter offensive will move from the level of demands to the level of actions. The working class will be faced with a challenge which, if successful, could reverse the gains of the last quarter century and mean the effective emasculating of the trade union movement. If the crisis did not yield to these measures, the next step might be a regime fascist in all but its name.

Yet this is not a time for despair. Although the working class is not voting Labour it has not given up the fight. On the contrary, the Ford's dispute, the Worker's Control Conference and other recent events have shown that there is a new militancy around. The Conference called for a one day strike on May 1 against the White Paper 'In Place of *Strife*' and, significantly, for the setting up of action committees including non-trade unionists.

So far, however, this militancy suffers from several defects. It is still largely defensive, aiming to defend existing positions rather than to gain new ones. But, more crucially, it is still directed to industrial rather than political ends. The

Continued overleaf.

**IKE
PAKISTAN
R. S. S. F.
P. D.
MARCH
MARCUSE
BLACK
PAPER
SOVIET
ART
DWARF
BALL**

Figure 2.1 Black Dwarf 14(15), 18 Apr 1969

The other group consisted of established artists aged about forty who were born between the late 1920s and early 1930s. Among them were poets like Adrian Mitchell (1932–2008) and Christopher Logue (1926–2011). Mitchell had been educated at Oxford and worked as a journalist before he became a

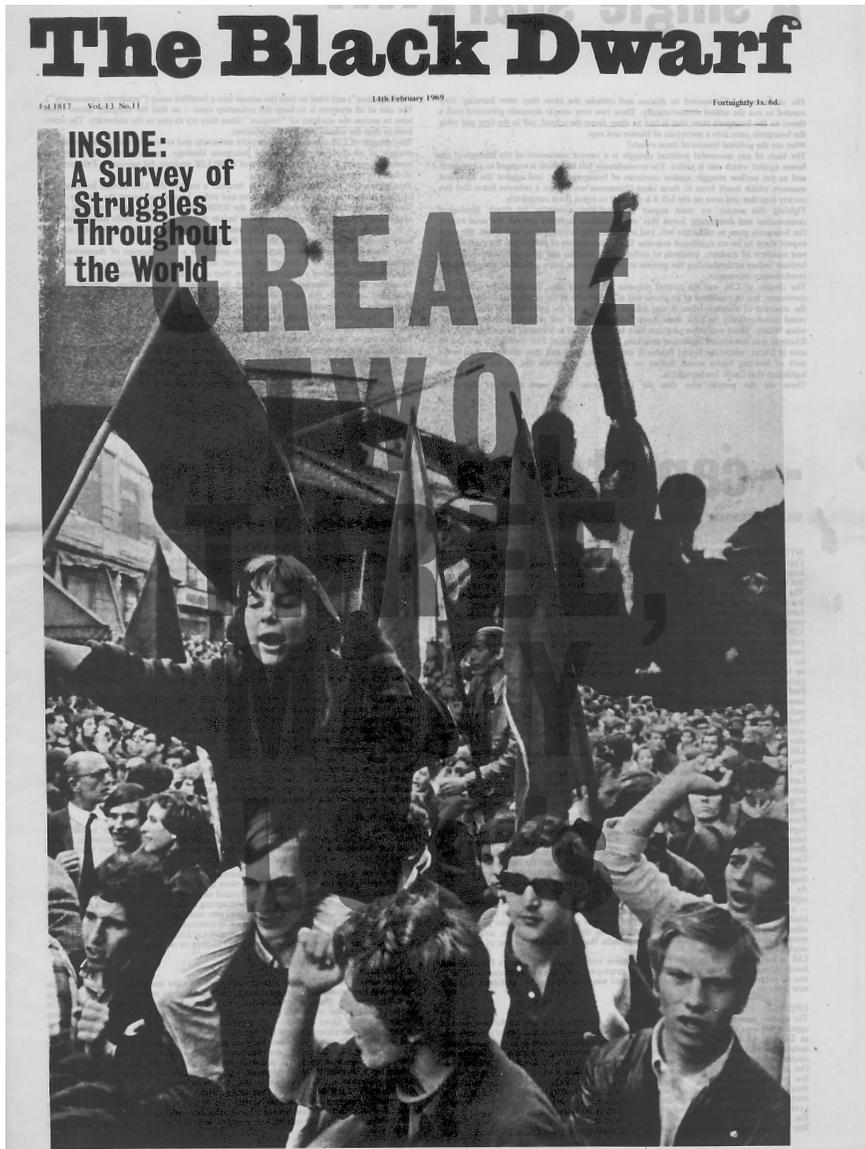
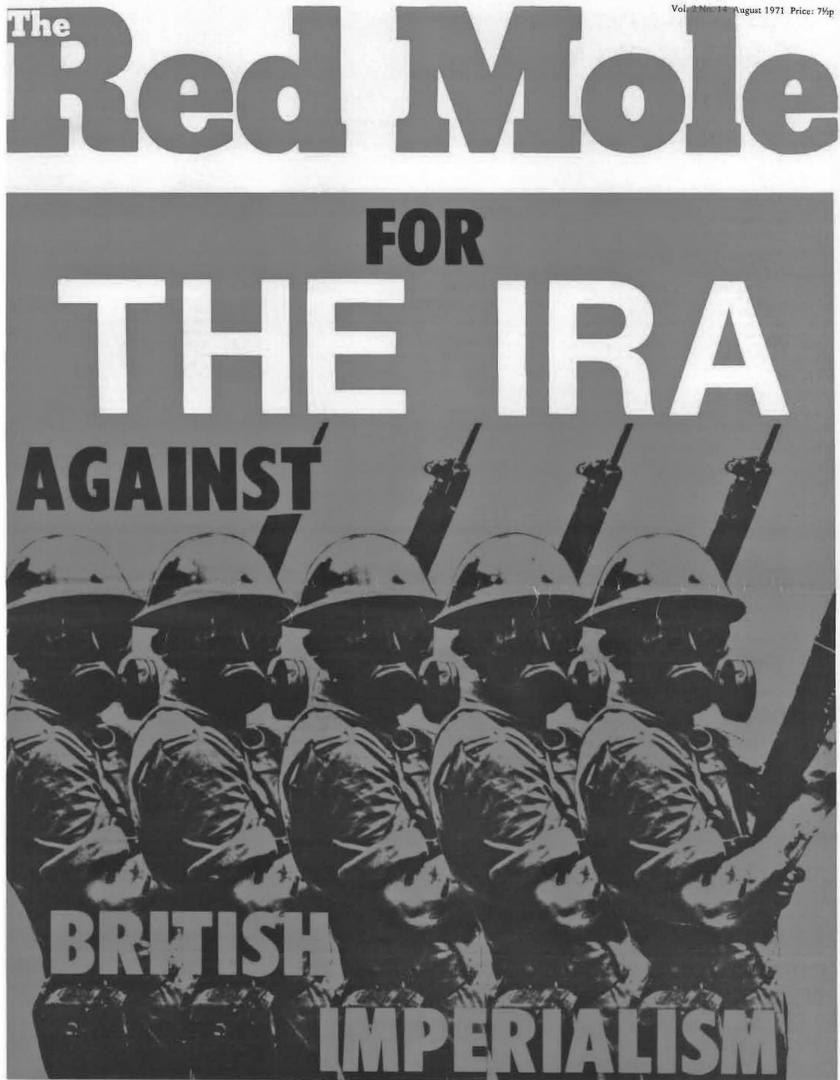


Figure 2.2 *Black Dwarf* 13(11), 14 Feb 1969

freelance author in 1959. His very first volume of poems, *Out Loud*, gained him recognition as a persuasively original writer on social and political themes. Mitchell first read his poem *To Whom it may Concern*, often referred to as *Tell Me Lies*, to CND marchers on Easter Day 1964. He said it was ‘not about the Vietnam war but about being in Britain during that war’.⁴⁴ Christopher



BRITAIN AND THE COMMON MARKET: Ernest Mandel SPAIN/ITALIAN FASCISM/SUDAN

The War in Ireland: Bob Purdie

BENGAL: Release Bhashani!

The Labour Party

The Nixon-Mao Summit: Tariq Ali

Black Struggle in Manchester

Figure 2.3 *Red Mole* 2(14), 14 Aug 1971

Logue had taken part in CND's first Aldermaston march in 1958 and later joined Bertrand Russell's 'Committee of 100'. His poem *I Shall Vote Labour* of 1966 was a sarcastic mockery of Labour politics.⁴⁵ Both poets were joined by the playwright David Mercer (1928–1980), the controversial but influential

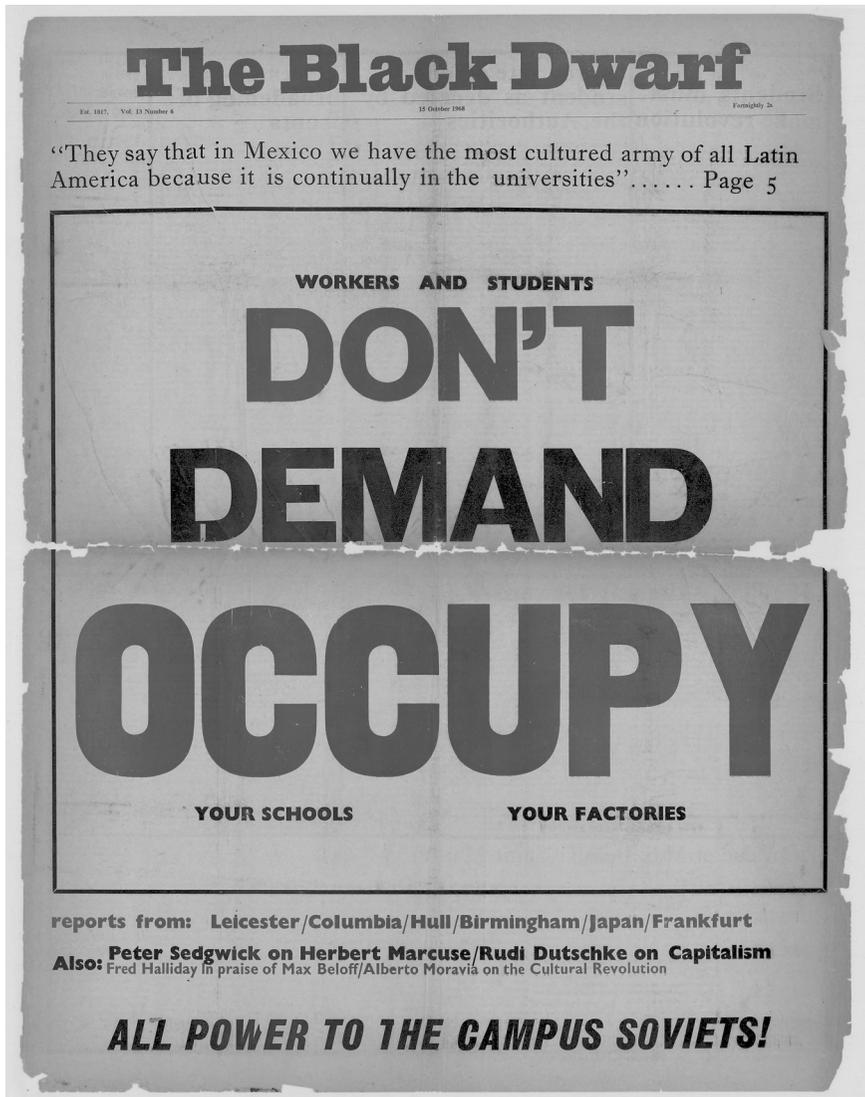


Figure 2.4 *Black Dwarf* 13(6), 15 Oct 1968

theatre critic and writer Kenneth ‘Ken’ Tynan (1927–1980) and the abstract painter John Hoyland (1934–2011), whose 1967 solo retrospective exhibition at Whitechapel Gallery had already established him as a known abstract painter.⁴⁶

To further assess the intellectual landscape of the editors, it is important to recall that the 1950s had already seen widespread protest. The fear of a nuclear war led to the creation of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War

(DAC) in 1957 and of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in 1958. The New Left, established by socialist dissenters like Edward Palmer ('E.P.') Thompson and Raymond Williams from the mid-1950s, advocated new forms of protest and transformation. The journal *New Left Review* (NLR), launched in 1960 as a merger of two earlier journals, immediately became the most influential organ of New Left thought. Even though the New Left served as 'CND's think tank',⁴⁷ its rejection of traditional organizations made it difficult to transform the CND into a more broad-based leftist movement.⁴⁸ Hence a second New Left emerged, represented by NLR's new editor, Perry Anderson, who criticized Thompson's approach to revolution and socialism. In particular he deplored the absence of both a revolutionary socialist movement in Britain and a revolutionary theory upon which such a movement could be built.⁴⁹ Gandhian thoughts on 'direct action' and 'civil disobedience' which had influenced the New Left and the CND movement⁵⁰ also fascinated the paper's editors and various activists.⁵¹ Consequently the Dwarf and the Mole called for action and focused on young intellectuals and anti-colonial movements as agents of social change.

The editors aimed at embedding their new newspaper in the historic line of protest against oppression. Having reflected on which historical radical newspapers could be revived, they came across *The Black Dwarf*, published between 1819 and 1828 by an early internationalist who encouraged his readers to support rebellions and uprisings in other countries – for example in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁵² The name was adopted and the new Dwarf was meant to continue the work of its predecessor. After some difficulties in finding a printing office, the first edition was finally published on 1 June 1968.⁵³

The transnational character of the Dwarf's editorial board was due to the fact that its members formed a multi-national and multi-ethnic group. However, this group also deliberately acted in a transnational manner by establishing personal contacts with activists abroad and forming cross-border networks. Indeed, the 1960s saw a lot of interaction and mutual intellectual influence. A transnational attitude – 'internationalism' was the term of the time – 'was implicit and taken for granted', as Rowbotham recalls in her memoirs. Foreign students brought 'information and radical ideas from their own milieux' to Britain, and 'friendship and love affairs' frequently cemented the relations to other countries. This 'internationalism' was 'much more than an abstract political idea'.⁵⁴ In fact, British students felt 'they belonged to an international movement whose purpose was to change the world'.⁵⁵

The International Vietnam Congress in West Berlin in February 1968 served as a catalyst of dissent and helped to spread forms of protest: 'We learnt everything in Berlin', French activist Alain Krivine recalled in 2008.⁵⁶ Three thousand participants, among them Tariq Ali, Robin Blackburn, Daniel Bensaïd, Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, gathered in the divided city. The inspiring experience of collective public demonstration served as a model for VSC's March demonstration in London, and influenced French protest

which was to culminate in May 1968. Members of the American Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met Karl Dietrich ('KD') Wolff, then chairman of the German Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (also abbreviated SDS), and invited him to the USA.⁵⁷ Symptomatic of the transnational ties that had been established was a television discussion broadcast on the BBC on 13 June 1968 entitled *Students in Revolt*. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, K.D. Wolff and Tariq Ali were among the participants, who met in London and presented themselves as members of a worldwide movement.⁵⁸

It is important to stress that the personal relations not only transcended the national movements but were also promoted by internationally renowned scholars. As early as 1961/62, during his academic year in the USA, German activist Michael Vester established ties with American SDS and even drafted parts of the Port Huron Statement.⁵⁹ According to him, the Polish philosopher Leszek Kołakowski, a famous scholar of Marxism who taught in Berkeley and Oxford after he had left Poland in 1968, was 'one of our heroes'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Vester met Gareth Stedman Jones, a former CND activist and NLR author, in 1963 and recalls having been influenced by British thinkers of the New Left. In contrast, Stedman Jones stresses the 'tremendous influence of the Frankfurt School'.⁶¹ Like Marx, German-American philosopher and sociologist Herbert Marcuse regarded alienation and dehumanization as characteristics of capitalism. Placing his hope for change on outsiders and outcasts, Marcuse became one of the intellectual icons for students who themselves felt treated like outcasts. Between 1967 and 1969, Marcuse personally addressed student activists in New York, London, Berlin, Paris and elsewhere.⁶²

Furthermore, *The Black Dwarf's* office in Soho became a meeting point for activists travelling to the U.K. It also served as the provisional headquarter of the VSC in which Ali played a key role. Thus the Dwarf was also connected to this important British organization. When public panic grew with regard to the VSC demonstration planned for 27 October 1968, Scotland Yard searched the rooms. However, with over a hundred thousand participants, the October demonstration was the biggest protest against the Vietnam War and one of the biggest ever held in postwar Britain. A special edition of *The Black Dwarf* with a print of fifty thousand copies was published on 27 October to support the action.⁶³

In spite of this success, the Dwarf faced some difficulties. As lack of money was a general problem for the alternative papers,⁶⁴ the Dwarf editors had to issue appeals for money and solicit donations to help to pay debts. Furthermore, printers in the London area refused to print the paper for political reasons, and thus sometimes forced the Dwarf to reduce its size. However, rumours that the Dwarf was to end were rejected by its editors in early 1969: '*Black Dwarf* is here to stay'.⁶⁵

But there were frictions inside the editorial board. Since 1968 there had been six to eleven editors who generally disagreed on the organizational structure of the paper. Some of them, including Tariq Ali, were convinced that the Dwarf

needed an organization to survive. When the dissent grew, those who favoured organization – most of them being members or sympathizers of the International Marxist Group (IMG)⁶⁶ – left the Dwarf and founded a new radical paper, called *The Red Mole*. The new paper was named after a quotation of Karl Marx in which he compared the revolution to a mole ‘who knows so well how to work underground, suddenly to appear’. The first issue was published in March 1970.⁶⁷ The Mole’s editorial board was composed of (among others) Tariq Ali and Chenhamo Chimutengwende; the writer, scholar and activist Teresa Hayter (*1940); and the political scientist Peter Gowan (1946–2009), who met Ali through the VSC in 1968 and was, like him, a member of the IMG. Later Robin Blackburn joined them.⁶⁸ The Mole’s board proved to be steadier, having ten to twelve editors until July 1972 and seven until it ceased to exist in 1973.⁶⁹ Among the editors who continued to work for the Dwarf were Sheila Rowbotham, Vinay Chand, Fred Halliday and Adrian Mitchell, as well as the literary agent and television producer Clive Goodwin (1932–1977).⁷⁰

In the first issue of the Mole, the editors commented extensively on the ‘[p]olitical split of the Dwarf[s] editorial board’ which had occurred ‘because it was impossible to achieve unity in action’. The new paper was to be ‘both a beginning and a continuation’. *Red Mole* was to ‘continue to reflect all that was best in old Dwarf but it will be a much more politically consistent and coherent paper than its predecessor’, the editors wrote. Regarding their quest for organization, they stated: ‘It was essential to hammer out a long-term political strategy for the Dwarf if it was to survive as a permanent and serious feature of the revolutionary left and not to disappear with the first temporary downturn in activity’.⁷¹

According to the Mole’s editors, the Dwarf had been the voice of the extra-parliamentary opposition but lacked any perspective besides giving information. In contrast, the Mole was ‘dedicated to intervening in the class struggle’. Being a ‘revolutionary paper in [a] capitalist society’ that ‘give[s] a lead to militants’, the Mole was to represent a ‘revolutionary alternative’. Being not merely ‘a spectator or a commentator’ but a ‘living part of that struggle’, the Mole was to be ‘above all an organizing paper, which uses its contacts to build real political links between militants, to create the basis for an organization which both supports and is supported by the paper’.⁷²

From today’s perspective, the papers do not seem to be that dissimilar. However, the tactical question of organization was regarded to be of utmost importance by the Mole’s editors. In pointing out that an ‘organisational perspective’ was needed as well as ‘a strong link to revolutionary action’, they combined the Old Left’s preference for organization with the New Left’s focus on action. ‘The crying need of the left is to get organised’, they wrote. Their aim was to establish ‘Red Circles’ all over the country. They were seen as the ‘fragments that will one day join together to form the revolutionary party to make the revolution in Britain’.⁷³

Shaping a Global Perspective: Transnational Topics and National Effects

From their very beginnings both radical newspapers, Dwarf and Mole, kept an entirely internationalist perspective on what was going on in the world. On the one hand this view was shaped by Trotskyite theory and followed the 'rediscovery of the international context as heritage of socialism'⁷⁴ which had started in the late 1950s and early 1960s. On the other hand the transnational perspective was shaped by the very fact that the editorial board itself was transnational. Almost naturally, Tariq Ali and Vinay Chand from Pakistan, Chenhamo Chimutengwende from Zimbabwe and Fred Halliday from Ireland kept personal links to their countries of origin. Editors and authors travelled not only to France and Germany⁷⁵ but also to Vietnam, Pakistan and Northern Ireland, and reported directly from those countries.⁷⁶ Due to Britain's colonial heritage it seemed likely that both papers would focus on Asia and Africa where Britain had been a major force, and on Latin America. In May 1970 the Mole stressed that British imperialism had established 'neo-colonialist forms of exploitation' using economic and financial power.⁷⁷

The transnational approach of the Dwarf was further underlined by reprinting texts by foreign activists like Rudi Dutschke, Alberto Moravia, Alain Krivine and Ernest Mandel.⁷⁸ In fact, the Dwarf's transnational political contacts can best be illustrated by the special permission they got from the Cuban government to publish Ernesto 'Che' Guevara's diaries in a 24-page 'Autumn Sixty Eight Special Issue' of October 1968.⁷⁹ Guevara, who had been killed in October 1967 in Bolivia, was one of the international movement's heroes. The Dwarf used the translation of *Ramparts*, an American New Left magazine, where the diaries had first been published in English.⁸⁰ Furthermore, many prominent figures from Britain contributed to the papers, like the famous peace activist and Nobel laureate Bertrand Russell, who published his political testament in the Dwarf in 1970,⁸¹ and John Lennon, who was interviewed by Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn in the Mole in 1971.⁸² In the heyday of protest, the Dwarf covered unrest and protest 'Across Five Continents in More Than Thirty Countries'.⁸³

Thus the papers were rethinking and re-linking Europe. Anti-imperialist liberation movements in Africa, Latin America and Asia were associated with Western emancipation movements. Whereas the 'impulses of modernisation' traditionally came from Europe, they were now imported from abroad. Thinking in global connections was a characteristic of transnationally oriented elites in all countries.⁸⁴ The editors and the authors of the Dwarf and the Mole deliberately broadened the focus of their readers. Both papers reported on the Vietnam War and on conflicts in other world regions such as Palestine, Nigeria, Mozambique, Guinea and Angola.⁸⁵

However, being the incarnation of U.S. imperialism, the Vietnam War and American war crimes were covered extensively. In particular the My Lai massacre of 16 March 1968 when U.S. troops killed hundreds of Vietnamese civilians and

the 'Green Beret Affair' of July 1969 after American Special Forces shot a North Vietnamese double agent provoked international outrage.⁸⁶ So did the secret bombing of Cambodia and Laos in 1969/70.⁸⁷ Both papers, *Dwarf and Mole*, aimed at revealing the horrors of war to mobilize activists in Britain.

Even though the brutality of the Vietnam War served as a catalyst and mobilized many people, activist Peter Buchanan noted in October 1968 that 'we have our own issues, as real, as pressing'.⁸⁸ Reflecting post-colonial developments and criticizing racial segregation in former colonies inevitably sharpened the view when analysing the situation of black immigrants at home. Racism was therefore not only a transnational topic but also one of the most important 'own issues' in Britain, due to new forms of 'globalization' that had started after the Second World War.⁸⁹

To rebuild Britain after the Second World War, immigration from the colonies had been encouraged. The British Nationality Act of 1948 allowed all Commonwealth citizens free entry into Britain. However, mass immigration in the late 1950s was met with increasing racism and widespread discrimination against migrants. Race riots in Nottingham and West London as early as 1958 indicated rising tensions in race relations.⁹⁰ The government thus restricted immigration by passing the first Commonwealth Immigration Act in February 1962 and a second Act in 1968. Referring to race relations, James 'Jim' Callaghan, Home Secretary from 1967 to 1970, stated that Britain had 'rarely faced an issue of greater social significance for our country and children'.⁹¹

Eventually a new right-wing party was founded in February 1967, being a merger of several right-wing groups: the National Front (NF). The NF strongly rejected immigration and was thus attractive to many disenchanted Conservatives as well as to working-class people.⁹² Indeed, racism was of the utmost importance for Britain in the late 1960s. Yet in the context of globalization it may appear to be just another social response to decolonization and immigration; whereas transnational solidarity was the political task of the Left, xenophobia became a reaction of the Right.⁹³ Even though racial prejudice was not limited to Britain, it was the U.K. where public racism was seen as a major social problem and thus had a direct impact on the protest movement.

The fight against racism in Britain was a mobilizing factor comparable to the American or South African fight against racial segregation. The fact that anti-racist protests were triggered by linking post-colonial structures in Africa to xenophobia at home can best be illustrated by looking at the famous LSE, where the appointment of Dr Walter Adams from University College, Rhodesia as new director evoked student unrest in 1966/67.⁹⁴ Critical students could not ignore the apartheid policy in countries like South Africa and Rhodesia. Consequently LSE's Socialist Society publicly stated that Adams was 'not a suitable person to be placed in charge of any higher education. Nor, especially, is he suitable as the Director of a multi-racial college like LSE'.⁹⁵

To prevent a supposedly racist person from becoming head of a liberal university, the students raised the question of student participation and representation

and so the 'troubles' began. Students at Leeds, Essex and Warwick universities also linked internal issues like university governance with greater issues like racism, apartheid, nuclear weapons and Vietnam.⁹⁶ The fact that many student leaders were foreigners – for example, Oxford graduate Tariq Ali, who supported the university's anti-apartheid group 1963 to 1965, as well as LSE students David Adelstein from South Africa and Marshall Bloom from the USA – led to a certain sensitivity towards xenophobia among activists. The very fact that foreign agitators were blamed by the press in almost every country⁹⁷ strengthens the argument that, in addition to local activists, transnational connections and networks were important for the global scale of protests. However, in Britain, outspoken xenophobia was deliberately used by the press to delegitimize the protests, making 'foreign scum' the most commonly used insult by British media.⁹⁸

At the beginning of 1968, up to one thousand Kenyan Asians holding British passports were arriving in Britain each month. Therefore a second Commonwealth Immigration Act was discussed. With opinion polls showing that 72 per cent supported the act, conservative politicians played the race card, and Conservative MP John Enoch Powell soon became the mouthpiece of British racism. In 1968 even the NF 'gained credibility because of Powell's warnings'.⁹⁹ He demanded to reduce the 'alien element' in Britain otherwise the country would face bloody riots.¹⁰⁰ Politicians and some media were upset but Powell was also praised, receiving some forty-five thousand positive letters. London dockers and meat packers even publicly supported him.¹⁰¹ These reactions show that chauvinism and racism were indeed, as Tariq Ali put it, the two 'vulnerable points' of the British working class.¹⁰²

Consequently, the Dwarf's pre-issue of May Day 1968 directly referred to Powell's speech and the reactions among workers it had caused. Working-class support for Powell was criticized but also taken as an example 'that it's easy for upper-class racists to brainwash the most backward and mean-minded elements of the working class into a hideous mob'.¹⁰³ The back side of the pre-issue featured a photo of Powell with an SS cap, and describing him as the 'declared enemy of the working class' (E.P. Thompson).¹⁰⁴ Fighting racism remained one of the most important issues in the Dwarf and later the Mole.¹⁰⁵ Both papers described xenophobia and racial prejudice as being prevalent among workers, trade unionists and policemen. Racism and politicians like Powell were presented as 'symptoms of the decay of British capitalism'. Therefore fighting capitalism meant 'combat[ing] racism' and that meant solidarity with the oppressed at home and abroad.¹⁰⁶

This entanglement can best be illustrated by the Ulster conflict that became the other 'national' issue of the British protest movement in 1968. The emergence of a civil rights movement in Northern Ireland in the wake of global protests began with the foundation of the Northern Irish Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in January 1967. Initially the movement demanded 'British rights for British citizens' – freedom of speech and assembly as well as an end of all discrimination.¹⁰⁷ When no success was in sight and a civil rights march in

Derry¹⁰⁸ was violently dispersed by police on 5 October 1968, the suppression of Irish Catholics became a public issue and British sovereignty over Ulster was soon to be questioned. The NICRA aligned itself with People's Democracy (PD), founded in 1968 by students in Belfast when '[t]he French May was still fresh in our minds', as PD leader Michael Farrell recalls.¹⁰⁹ Both organizations were strongly influenced by the American Civil Rights Movement and the Black Panthers.¹¹⁰ The fact that the Northern Irish movement was perceived as transnational can best be illustrated by a Protestant Ulster MP who lamented in October 1968 that 'these sort of people' work 'all over the globe and much nearer home, at Grosvenor Square in London, in Paris, Dublin and now in Londonderry'.¹¹¹

Young Irish activist Bernadette Devlin, elected Member of Parliament in April 1969, sought to put pressure on the British government by giving speeches in Britain and setting up the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign, inspired by the VSC. English and Irish activists cooperated and communicated across the borders of Ulster.¹¹² The Dwarf fully supported them. After the deployment of British troops in August 1969, the journal compared the conflict in Northern Ireland to the struggles for freedom elsewhere in the world.¹¹³ Heavy fights in Derry in August 1969, followed by violent outbursts in Belfast which left seven people killed and a hundred wounded,¹¹⁴ marked a turning point in the perception of the struggle. The Dwarf and the Mole now interpreted it as a regional version of the global campaign for freedom and liberation.¹¹⁵ The British suppression of protests culminated in the so-called 'Bloody Sunday' on 30 January 1972 when British troops shot twenty-seven protesters in Derry, killing half of them. One day later the Mole featured a four pages 'Bloody Sunday Special Edition' demanding to 'avenge Derry' and calling for a demonstration at Downing Street.¹¹⁶

In defining British policy in Ulster as a ruthless form of British imperialism as well as internal colonialism, the Dwarf and the Mole effectively changed the perception of the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland. Solidarity with the Irish quest for self-determination thus became a major topic. Freedom and self-determination were – like racism – transnational issues that were turned into a national challenge.

Linking 'Peripheries' with 'Centres': Transnational Cooperation and Solidarity

In October 1968 the front page of the Dwarf's special edition featured Che Guevara's famous picture taken by Cuban photographer Alberto Korda in 1960 (see Figure 2.5). The Italian publisher and activist Giangiacomo Feltrinelli had brought two prints to Europe in 1967, where Che's picture was transformed into a red and black coloured poster – making him a pop icon ever since (see Figure 2.6).¹¹⁷ The Argentinean revolutionary who had fought together with

The Black Dwarf

autumn sixty eight special issue first uk edition 5/-



Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries introduction by Fidel Castro

ALMOST A YEAR ago today Major Ernesto Che Guevara was murdered in the Bolivian jungle by the military regime of Bolivia. We are informed that CIA representatives were present.

This special issue of The Black Dwarf is devoted entirely to the Bolivian Diaries of Che Guevara, which we consider to be an important political document. The diaries were first published by Ramparts magazine in the United States and we are making use of their translation. These diaries were presented to the revolutionary Cuban government by the Bolivian Minister of the Interior Smor Antonio Arguedas, who has declared his solidarity with the Cuban revolution and is now

paying the price for it. The verdict of the military tribunal in Bolivia which is trying him for high treason is a foregone conclusion, but the spirit of internationalism inspired in Latin America by the Cuban revolution cannot be quelled by legal statutes. It will continue till the last battle has been fought, the last victory won.

A different version of the Diary is being peddled by some publishers in league with those who murdered Che. We spit on them! The blood-money they paid for the Diaries makes them accomplices to the crime. And they will pay for it.

As for ourselves we can do no better except to declare ourselves for the Cuban revolution and

its extension to the whole of Latin America - an ideal for which Che perished - NOT IN VAIN.

TARIQ ALI
EDITOR

EDITORIAL AND PRODUCTION GROUP: Tariq Ali, Clive Goodwin, Robin Flog, David Mercer, Mo Tefelbaum, Adrian Mitchell, Fred Halliday, Sean Thompson, Roger Tyrrell, Published by THE BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1. Printed by Socialist Review Publishing Co. Ltd. (TU), Paxton Works, Paxton Road, London N17. Distributed by Moore-Harness Ltd., 11 Lever Street, EC1 01-253 4255.

Figure 2.5 *Black Dwarf* 68 (Special Issue), 8/9 Oct 1968



Figure 2.6 Poster: Che Guevara (ca. 1967). By permission Deutsches Plakatmuseum im Museum Folkwang, Essen (In.-No. 14723)

Fidel Castro in Cuba embodied ‘the internationalist spirit which characterizes the world today and which will do so even tomorrow’, Castro wrote in the text reprinted in the Dwarf’s Special Issue: ‘Few times in history, or perhaps never, has a figure, a name, an example been so universalized’.¹¹⁸

Indeed it was Cuba that served as a universal model for successfully reaching liberty and socialism. According to Tariq Ali, the Cuban revolution had inspired a lasting ‘spirit of internationalism’.¹¹⁹ Presenting revolutionaries like Che as

role models was combined with an analysis of the tasks and actions of liberation movements in various world regions, to see what could be learned from them. Therefore reports from China, Pakistan, Nigeria, Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina and Brazil filled the Dwarf as well as the Mole.¹²⁰ This approach was new. It emerged because mass media, new ways of communication and a rising frequency of personal encounters between people from different countries facilitated the flow of political ideas. Like the migration of people, the flow of ideas was equally reversed after the Second World War.¹²¹ Immigrants and students from the Commonwealth who came to work or study in Britain influenced British activists 'in terms of both content and forms of protest'. A transnational exchange of ideas and political views helped to establish cross-border networks based on 'communications between a wide range of activists within and beyond Europe'.¹²²

The traditional differentiation between centres and peripheries in the world was changed such that liberation movements abroad came to be presented as positive examples from which to learn at home. In other words, the quest for transnational solidarity implied a shift from the geopolitical distinction between 'centres' and 'peripheries' to a 'global' approach of defining and reinterpreting developments. Thus the traditional view that the Commonwealth consisted of Britain as the dominant centre, with former colonies as dependent peripheries, was challenged as much as the common assumption that the United Kingdom was formed by England as the centre with Wales, Scotland and Ireland as dependent peripheries.¹²³

Covering, for example, the Cuban revolution, African liberation and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the Dwarf and the Mole reversed the traditional export of European ideas to other continents and imported the views of Castro, Che Guevara and Mao Zedong to Britain. In 1970 the Dwarf recalled Mao's invocations of the 'spirit of the Paris commune' and stated that the successful Tet offensive of the Vietnamese 'had inspired the French students in May 1968'. Thus the Paris May events 'symbolized the fact that the revolution had leapt back to Europe'.¹²⁴ In fact, in the mid-1960s, 'the outside world broke in'.¹²⁵ The climate created by the American civil rights movement, ANC resistance to apartheid in South Africa, and revolting students all over Europe made the injustices that had been accepted for so long become intolerable.

'The revolutions in China and Cuba', Tony Judt put it ironically, 'were invested with all the qualities and achievements so disappointingly lacking in Europe'. The peasant revolutions in the non-European world attracted Western intellectuals and students for their anti-imperialist spirit, their anti-colonial purpose and their 'liberating violence'.¹²⁶ Although neither the Dwarf nor the Mole explicitly advocated violence, the British protesters' attitude towards violence was similarly ambivalent to that of their counterparts in France and Germany. Tariq Ali recalls that the demand for solidarity did not include violent actions in Britain,¹²⁷ but the front page of the Dwarf's August 1969 issue featured a Molotov cocktail ready to be thrown (see Figure 2.7).¹²⁸

The Black Dwarf

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"REVOLUTION IS NEVER BASED ON BEGGING SOMEBODY FOR AN INTEGRATED CUP OF COFFEE.

REVOLUTIONS ARE NEVER FOUGHT BY TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK.

REVOLUTIONS ARE NEVER WAGED SINGING 'WE SHALL OVERCOME'.

REVOLUTIONS ARE NEVER BASED UPON THAT WHICH IS BEGGING A CORRUPT SOCIETY OR A CORRUPT SYSTEM TO ACCEPT US INTO IT.

REVOLUTIONS OVERTURN SYSTEMS."

MALCOLM X (1925-1965).



**LEEDS/PUNFIELD & BARSTOW/SKINHEADS
THE ROYAL ULSTER CRIMINALS
DAVID MERCER ON THE KUZNETSOV AFFAIR
INDIA/PAKISTAN/CURACAO/THAILAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ANNIVERSARY/GREECE**

Figure 2.7 *Black Dwarf* 14(21), 30 Aug 1969

Being disappointed with the fragmented British movement which was 'singularly unable to fill the political vacuum', Ali and Halliday called for organization because large numbers of young activists had been mobilized, but no immediate perspective could be offered to them except reading *The Black Dwarf* and taking part in demonstrations.¹²⁹ In February 1969, Ali took up the issue of organization, pointing out what could be learned from the Pakistani movements. According to him, mutual support of workers and students had been significant in Pakistan. However, Ali stated, the 'strength of the upsurge – its immediate and spontaneous character – was also its chief weakness'. Stressing the need for a 'well-disciplined, organised Socialist Workers and Peasants Party' in Pakistan,¹³⁰ he concluded with regard to Britain that organization is vital for every protest movement.

About a year later, the question of organization caused a split in the editorial board. However, there was also dissent about the question of how critically liberation movements should be presented. In November 1969 a Dwarf article on the South African liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC), revealed the corruption of ANC leaders. Four members of the editorial board¹³¹ publicly dissociated themselves from that article, which contained 'unsubstantiated and . . . unverifiable' criticism. They generally rejected that a socialist paper 'spends more energy attacking anti-imperialist organizations than it does attacking the imperialists'.¹³² Tariq Ali replied and expressed his view that informing about the ANC's 'corruption, nepotism and terroristic methods' was necessary because 'no solidarity movement [could] be built on myths'.¹³³

To him and others, the basis of international solidarity had to be a true analysis of strengths and weaknesses of movements abroad and at home. It was further necessary not only to criticize the United States but to link American aggression with British imperialism. Worldwide exploitation and international solidarity were to be seen as two sides of a coin. In October 1968, Peter Buchanan formulated: 'International solidarity demands that we protest as violently as we are able over British complicity in the American repression'.¹³⁴ VSC consistently attacked Wilson and his government over Vietnam. Every issue of the VSC Bulletin contained a special section presenting various ways of 'British complicity', and demanding solidarity with the oppressed and exploited countries.¹³⁵

But what did transnational solidarity actually mean? On the one hand, it meant adopting successful forms of action. When the Dwarf demanded in February 1969: 'Create two, three, many LSEs',¹³⁶ it linked the occupation of universities with Che Guevara's earlier demand to create 'many Vietnams'.¹³⁷ On the other hand, solidarity meant active involvement. In February 1969, for example, the Dwarf called for welcoming a Vietnamese student delegation at Heathrow. A demonstration was planned to criticize the Labour government's policy of refusing visas for NLF representatives.¹³⁸

Even though the Dwarf and the Mole were distributed to workers and miners as well, they were essentially the projects of intellectuals and artists. The journals did not achieve student-worker unity on a broad scale and they were

unable to present a clear guideline for active solidarity. Consequently the paper's quest for transnational solidarity and worldwide revolution was sometimes criticized as 'inchoate "revolutionism"'.¹³⁹ However, their lasting effect is that both newspapers encouraged transnational 'interaction' as well as national 'action' by providing information on liberation and protest movements in countries around the world. In doing so, both papers helped in creating a 'solidarity movement'¹⁴⁰ in Britain, and indeed 'changed minds, and lives'.¹⁴¹

If one bears in mind the astonishingly persistent narrative that 'Britain sat on the sidelines of '68',¹⁴² facing only politically insignificant unrest, the various transnational connections of the British movement (re-)presented by the Dwarf and the Mole are remarkable. Differences among protesters or a lack of 'consensus on what the protests were about' do not necessarily make it 'difficult to identify the existence of a genuinely global force of change'.¹⁴³ Indeed the local factors of protest do not sufficiently explain the 'global phenomenon' (Immanuel Wallerstein) of 1968. The analysis of the Dwarf and the Mole proves that the late 1960s saw three ideological shifts: firstly, from the classical revolutionary subject – the proletariat – to new revolutionary actors such as the youth or oppressed minorities all over the world; secondly, from the dogma of one single organization to a 'multiplicity of organisations, each representing a different group or a different tonality, loosely linked in some kind of alliance'; and thirdly, from the aim to achieve power in individual nation-states consecutively, beginning with advanced capitalist countries, to a decentralized approach calling for permanent global revolution, synchronized between the West and formerly peripheral regions.¹⁴⁴

The anti-colonial struggles and the protest movements of the late 1960s formed 'transnational political solidarities'. Political issues, promoted worldwide by intellectuals and alternative media, helped to create 'transnational political spheres' in which international and internal political transformation entangled.¹⁴⁵ The transnational 'discourse community' (David Apter) led to an early form of what today is called 'network society',¹⁴⁶ based on communication. If Marxism itself can be called a 'utopia of globalisation',¹⁴⁷ the quest for transnational solidarity influenced by the New Left deserves this label all the more. From the '[p]erspective of globalisation',¹⁴⁸ both alternative periodicals, Dwarf and Mole, presented and represented the global dimension of conflict and cooperation.

Conclusion

The 1960s were 'an intensely significant decade'¹⁴⁹ with regard to public awareness and politics, even in Britain. Analysis of two important alternative newspapers, *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole*, shows that the common notion that Britain faced primarily social and cultural changes around 1968 is to be revised. In fact, Britain saw a rising public awareness of transnational and national issues

that were considered politically or socially important. Often they were entangled. Racism and apartheid in former colonies, for example, increased sensitivity towards domestic nationalism and xenophobia, but also linked British imperialism abroad to the suppression of minorities at home. The Vietnam War exemplified imperialism and neo-colonialism, and mobilized more people for protest than ever before in 1968. However, liberation movements in developing countries and the American Civil Rights Movement also triggered protest in Britain, which was intensified by national issues like student unrest, anti-racism and the Ulster conflict.

The British protest movement may have been smaller than in other countries but it was by no means less political. Growing dissatisfaction with conventional media and a certain global responsibility led young activists like Tariq Ali, Vinay Chand and Sheila Rowbotham, as well as established artists like Fred Halliday, Christopher Logue and Adrian Mitchell to establish journals differing greatly from conventional media. Here lies the fundamental and lasting importance of *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole*. Being part of the counterculture, they were non-state organs which published news to counterbalance the commercial press and present information which mass media omitted. They quickly became the leading periodicals of British counterculture and aimed at changing common perceptions.

The editorial boards of the Dwarf and the Mole were socially homogeneous but, with editors of Pakistani, Rhodesian, English or Irish origin, they were also nationally and ethnically diverse and thus transnational themselves. Furthermore the editors formed cross-border alliances with activists from France, Germany, the USA and other countries, and invited prominent political thinkers to contribute to the papers. The Dwarf and the Mole equally focused on national and transnational issues. The legacy of the British Empire and the existing Commonwealth almost necessarily broadened the focus of the papers. Using first-hand information from other world regions, printing interviews with artists and musicians and reprinting important essays from famous foreign dissidents, both papers formed a transnational 'discourse community' and encouraged global networking.

The Dwarf's and Mole's fight against Western neo-imperialist exploitation at home and abroad combined Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution beyond nation-states with the New Left's global focus on students, minorities and liberation movements. The 1960s conflicts in Latin America, Asia and Africa gave protest movements in Western Europe not only a common enemy – U.S. imperialism and capitalism – but also new models of successful resistance: China, Cuba, Vietnam and later Northern Ireland.

Given that the Dwarf and the Mole led to transnational coverage of new intensity and range between 1968 and 1973 it may be appropriate to call '1968' in Britain a 'revolution of perception' (Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey). Breaking with 'all previous forms of politics', people came to a 'new way of seeing'.¹⁵⁰ Given that indeed none of the European governments 'succeeded in returning to pre-1968

“stability”, the year 1968 marked a ‘turning point for the rulers and the ruled’ and saw – at least in activists’ eyes – ‘the rebirth of revolutionary socialism in Europe’.¹⁵¹

The transnational dimension of global protest was triggered by a ‘collective protest identity’, which was based on common cultural and political convictions, and intensified by a ‘global media discourse’¹⁵² to which the Dwarf and the Mole contributed. Underground journalism was ‘part of an alternative “multi-media insurgency”’¹⁵³ that chronicled the rise and decline of the movements. As a phenomenon of the 1960s it was generally short lived. By 1973 many papers ceased to exist.¹⁵⁴ Yet underground media like the Dwarf and the Mole helped ‘to engender a distinct sense of community that emerged in the mid-1960s’¹⁵⁵ and shaped the quest for transnational solidarity in Britain.

Notes

1. *The Red Mole* [hereafter: RM] 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 2.
2. See, for example, H. Nehring. 2008. ‘Great Britain’, in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), 1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 125–36, 127; N. Thomas. 2008. ‘Protest Against the Vietnam War in 1960s Britain: The Relationship between Protesters and the Press’, *Contemporary British History* 22(3), 335–54, 344, 347; N. Thomas. 2002. ‘Challenging Myths of the 1960s: The Case of Student Protest in Britain’, *Twentieth Century British History* 13(3), 277–97, 280. See also S. Prince. 2007. *Northern Ireland’s 68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of The Troubles*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 126.
3. The Bodleian Library (Special Collections & Western MSS), Oxford University, holds the almost complete editions of both papers. The British Library (Rare Books) in London holds quite a number of *The Black Dwarf* issues. Nearly all issues of *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole* can now be read on (and downloaded from) a private homepage and blog: The Red Mole. A modest contribution to the history of the Fourth International in Britain: <http://redmolerising.wordpress.com/> (17 Nov 2013).
4. Thomas, ‘Myths’, 277–97 (this article largely relies on Thomas’s unpublished doctoral thesis of 1997, University of Warwick); Thomas, ‘Protest’, 335–54; D. Marquand. 2008. *Britain since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy*, London: Orion, 216–20; Nehring, ‘Great Britain’, 125–36; A.O. Edmonds. 1994. ‘The Viet Nam War and the British Student Left: A Study in Political Symbolism’, *The Viet Nam Generation Big Book* 5(1–4), URL: http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_doc/Texts... (4 Jan 2009); see also R. Fraser (ed.). 1988. *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt – An International Oral History*, New York: Pantheon, 273.
5. S. Beller. 2010. ‘The End of Modernity? – 1968 in the USA and the UK’, in O. Rathkolb and F. Stadler (eds), *Das Jahr 1968 – Ereignis, Symbol, Chiffre*, Vienna: Vienna University Press, 31–53, 44.
6. Nehring, ‘Great Britain’, 125, 133. He emphasizes the ‘lack of any sustained historical research on the social history of protest in 1960s Britain’, 133. According to

- Gerd-Rainer Horn, leftist thinking in Northern Europe and Britain has been explored whereas ‘the pre-1968 “Mediterranean” new left remains understudied’. He therefore focuses on South Western Europe and the USA, and gives little attention to Britain. G.-R. Horn. 2008. *The Spirit of '68. Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4, 32ff., 144–46, 160. For a thorough survey about research on protest movements in postwar Europe, see B. Davis. 2008. ‘What’s Left? Popular Political Participation in Postwar Europe’, *The American Historical Review* 113(2), 363–90.
7. See, for example, I. Cornils and S. Waters (eds), 2010. *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*, Oxford: Peter Lang; G.-R. Horn and P. Kenney (eds). 2004. *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield; T. Judt. 2007. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, London: Pimlico; C. Fink, P. Gassert and D. Junker (eds). 1999. *1968: The World Transformed*, Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press. Early comparative studies focusing on protest in the U.K. are: Fraser, 1968; and D. Caute. 1988. *Sixty-Eight*, London: Hamilton.
 8. A. von der Goltz (ed.). 2011. *Talkin' 'bout my Generation: Conflicts of Generation Building and Europe's '1968'*, Göttingen: Wallstein; H. Kundnani, ‘No Place for Street Fighting Man’, *Goethe-Institut 1968–2008 worldwide – Western Europe – Great Britain*, <http://www.goethe.de/ges/pok/prj/akt/wlt/eur/grb/en2997058.htm> (3 Mar 2009); Horn, *Spirit*; N. Frei. 2008. *1968: Jugendrevolte und globaler Protest*, Munich: dtv, 180–87; A. Schildt and D. Siegfried (eds). 2006. *Between Marx and Coca Cola: Youth Culture in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, Oxford: Berghahn Books; A. Marwick. 2004. “1969” and the Cultural Revolution of the Long Sixties (c.1958–c.1974), in Horn and Kenney, *Transnational Moments of Change*, 81–94; A. Marwick. 2003. *British Society since 1945*, London: Penguin Books, 94ff., 123ff.; T. Mergel. 2001. *Großbritannien seit 1945*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 140ff.; B. Masters. 1985. *Swinging Sixties*, London: Constable, 217ff.
 9. S. Bruendel. 2005. “1968” in England – ein vergessener Erinnerungsort?, *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (IWK) 41(3), 346–65. Martin Klimke recently emphasized the ‘unbroken fascination of “1968” as a cross-border lieu de mémoire and a central turning point of the twentieth century’, in M. Klimke. 2010. ‘1968 als transnationales Ereignis’, in Rathkolb and Stadler, 1968, 21–30, 30 (my translation).
 10. Horn, *Spirit*, 4, 228. See also Klimke, ‘1968 als transnationales Ereignis’; Klimke. 2010. ‘Revisiting the Revolution: 1968 in Transnational Cultural Memory’, in Cornils and Waters, *Memories*, 25–47; M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds). 2008. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan; J. Suri. 2007. *The Global Revolutions of 1968*. New York: Norton.
 11. R. Cohen. 1998. ‘Transnational Social Movements: An Assessment’, *WPTC-98-10*, University of Warwick, 9. This paper was a contribution to the research programme on Transnational Communities directed by the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology (ISCA) at the University of Oxford 1997–2003, URL: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/research.htm> (30 Dec 2011).
 12. A. Iriye. 2007. ‘The Transnational Turn’, *Diplomatic History* 31(3), 373–76. See also P.-Y. Saunier. 2009. ‘Transnational’, in A. Iriye and P.-Y. Saunier (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1047–55; P. Gassert. 2010. ‘Transnationale Geschichte, Version 1.0’, *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, URL:

- http://docupedia.de/zg/Transnationale_Geschichte (16 Feb 2010); D. Cohen and M. O'Connor. 2004. *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*. New York: Routledge; H. Kaelble and J. Schriewer (eds). 2003. *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus; H. Kaelble, M. Kirsch and A. Schmidt-Gernig (eds). 2002. *Transnationale Öffentlichkeiten und Identitäten im 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus; M. Werner and B. Zimmermann. 2002. 'Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der *histoire croisée* und die Herausforderung des 'Transnationalen', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, 607–36.
13. R. Keohane and J. Nye (eds). 1971. 'Transnational relations and world politics', *International Organisation* 25(3), xi, xii. It has to be stressed, however, that the term 'transnational' today signifies what the activists themselves called 'international' or 'internationalist' when describing ideas, activities, movements and relationships of individuals or groups that transcended national borders. Technically speaking, 'international' today means inter-state relations.
 14. Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) 584: The Political as Communicative Space in History: [www.uni-bielefeld.de/\(en\)/geschichte/forschung/sfb584/research_program/index.html](http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/(en)/geschichte/forschung/sfb584/research_program/index.html) (1 Jan 2012).
 15. P. Bourdieu. 1998. 'Staatsgeist. Genese und Struktur des demokratischen Feldes', in P. Bourdieu, *Praktische Vernunft. Zur Theorie des Handelns*, Frankfurt a. M.: edition suhrkamp, 96–139; P. Bourdieu. 1999. 'Sozialer Raum und symbolische Macht', in P. Bourdieu, *Rede und Antwort*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 135–54.
 16. F. Neidhardt (ed.). 1994. *Öffentlichkeit, öffentliche Meinung, soziale Bewegungen*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
 17. D. Apter. 1997. 'Political Violence in Analytical Perspective,' in D. Apter (ed.), *The Legitimization of Violence*, New York: NYU Press, 1–32, 4ff., 10f. (quote 5).
 18. Nehring, 'Great Britain', 127, 131f., and Thomas, 'Protest', 344, 347, link both papers to the International Marxist Group. However, Thomas, 'Myths', 281, refers to 'any edition of *The Black Dwarf*' in stating that the protests were also 'part of a wider revolutionary struggle' and that students were 'the possible vanguard of a future workers revolution', at least 'for some people'.
 19. Klimke, '1968 als transnationales Ereignis', 26 (my translation).
 20. A. Peck. 1991. *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press*, New York: Carol Publishing Corporation, xivf., 21f.; T. Roszak. (1968) 1995. *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
 21. M.A. Lee. 1991. 'Introduction to the Citadel Underground Edition', in Peck, *Uncovering*, iii–vi, iv.
 22. H.M. Enzensberger. 1967. 'Unsere weißen Hände. Eine Nacherinnerung,' in B. Nirumand, *Persien. Modell eines Entwicklungslandes oder Die Diktatur der Freien Welt*, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 149–54. Being a famous author and the founder of the influential journal *Kursbuch* in 1965, Enzensberger was one of the leading critical intellectuals in Germany. See H. Marmulla. 2011. *Enzensbergers Kursbuch. Eine Zeitschrift um 68*, Berlin: Matthes & Seitz.
 23. Klimke, '1968 als transnationales Ereignis', 27 (quotation ibidem, my translation).
 24. Bourdieu, 'Staatsgeist', 96–139; Bourdieu, 'Sozialer Raum', 135–54.
 25. Peck, *Uncovering*, 28 (activist's quote).

26. Ibid., 291.
27. Lee, *Introduction*, v. To many activists this was even more important.
28. Gareth Stedman Jones in a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009. See also T. Ali. 1998. *Street Fighting Years: Autobiographie eines '68ers*, Cologne: Neuer ISP Verlag, 199–201 [English version: 1987. *Street Fighting Years*, London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd.].
29. Thomas, 'Protests', 342–44; Nehring, 'Great Britain', 130; G. DeGroot. 2008. *The Sixties Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade*, London: Harvard University Press, 361.
30. A big left-wing newspaper was impossible 'until the un-free press [was] taken into public ownership', the editors wrote in *The Black Dwarf* [hereafter: BD] Pre-issue, 1 May 1968, 1–2. About half a year later the task of the Dwarf was confirmed by the editors calling it 'our newspaper', a 'paper of and for the revolutionary Left in this country', BD 13(9), 10 Jan 1969, 3.
31. P. Hoch. 'All in the Family', BD 14(34), 25 May 1970, 10.
32. T. Ali. 'For a revolutionary journal . . .', BD 14(18), 1 Jun 1969, 2 (Quotes). 'Knowing what we know we hope to be increasingly dangerous as the years roll by', he wrote. F. Halliday, 'For a red black dwarf . . .', in *ibid*.
33. Peck, *Uncovering*, 71. D. Armstrong. 1981. *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America*, Boston: South End Press, 105–7; R. Dahrendorf. 1995. *LSE. A History of the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1895–1995*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 443–85.
34. T. Dreyer and V. Smith, *The Movement and the New Media, Liberation News Service 1.3.1969*, URL: <http://www.nuevoanden.com/rag/newmedia.html> (24 Jan 2009).
35. BD 14(23), 1 Oct 1969, 3; BD 14(29), 20 Feb 1970, 3. Only in the late Dwarf issues was Ali named as the sole editor, while the others were listed as belonging to the editorial board.
36. Wilson was usually presented as a fat, ugly and mean man, BD 14(15), 18 Apr 1969, 1; RM 1(3), 15 Apr 1970, 1, whereas Heath was given the role of a capitalist puppet, RM 1(11), 16 Oct 1970, 1; RM 2(4), 16 Feb 1971, 1. Furthermore, issue RM 2(2), 16 Jan 1971, 1, showed six sketches of Nixon transforming into Hitler. The BD pre-issue of 1 May 1968, 2, depicted Powell in SS uniform, and RM 1(4), 1 May 1970, 1, sketched Barbara Castle as a skinhead. BD 14(34), 25 May 1970, 10, featured caricatures of British press magnates.
37. RM 3(40), 17 Apr 1972, 1; RM 3(54), 30 Oct 1972, 1.
38. BD 14(29), 20 Feb 1970, 3; RM 2(14), 14 Aug 1971, 1; RM 2([not noted]), 1 Sep 1971, 1; RM 2(29), 5 Oct 1971, 1; RM 2(30), 20 Oct 1971, 1; RM 3(34), 10 Jan 1972, 1; RM 3(45), 10 Jul 1972, 1; RM 3(46), 24 Jul 1972, 1.
39. Halliday, 'For a red black dwarf . . .', 2.
40. Dreyer and Smith, *Movement*. See also A. Mitchell. 'Loose Leaf Poem', in BD 14(18), 1 Jun 1969, 12 (full page); M. Darwish. 'Identity Card', BD 14(27), 30 Jan 1970, 4.
41. Sheila Rowbotham in a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009. See also S. Rowbotham. 2000. *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties*, London and New York: Verso 175–78.

42. Rainer Winter in a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009.
43. Ali, *Street Fighting Years*; R. Blackburn and A. Cockburn (eds). 1969. *Student Power: Problems, Diagnosis, Action*, London: Penguin; Fred Halliday – Obituary, *The Telegraph*, 28 May 2010, URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/religion-obituaries/7779594/Fred-Halliday.html> (3 Jan 2012); Rowbotham, *Dream*.
44. M. Kustow. 'Poet Adrian Mitchell dies, aged 76. Inspirational poet, playwright and performer who was a natural pacifist', *The Guardian*, 21 Dec 2008, URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/dec/21/adrian-mitchell-obituary/print> (3 Jan. 2012); M. Rosen. 'Adrian Mitchell 1932–2008', *Socialist Worker Online*, 20 Dec 2008, URL: <http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/art.php?id=16758> (3 Jan 2012); D. Walsh. 'To the memory of Adrian Mitchell', *World Socialist Web Site*, 24 Dec 2008, URL: <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2008/dec2008/mitc-d24.shtml> (3 Jan 2012).
45. M. Espiner. 'Christopher Logue Obituary. Poet whose War Music was a Stark Rendition of Homer's Iliad', *The Guardian*, 3 Dec 2011, URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2011/dec/03/christopher-logue> (3 Jan 2012); A. Gribbin. "I Shall Vote labour". Christopher Logue, whose Poems were published by the New Statesman in the Fifties and Sixties, dies at the Age of 85', *New Statesman*, 6 Dec 2011, URL: <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/cultural-capital/2011/12/shall-vote-labour-logue> (3 Jan 2012).
46. David Mercer – Museum of Broadcast Communication, URL: <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=mercerdavid> (3 Jan 2012); W. Triplett. 1995. *Man They Loved to Hate: A Biography of Kenneth Tynan*. London: Hodder & Stoughton; P. Moorhouse. 2006. *John Hoyland: The Trajectory of a Fallen Angel*. London: Tate Publishing; M. Williamsen. 'John Hoyland: Artist whose vibrant vivid style made him one of Britains greatest abstractionists', *The Independent*, URL: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/john-hoyland-artist-whose-vibrant-vivid-style-made-him-one-of-britains-greatest-abstractionists-2331335.html?printService=print> (3 Jan 2012).
47. R. Taylor. 1988. *Against the Bomb: The British Peace Movement 1958–1963*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 336.
48. M. Davis. 2008. 'The Origins of the British New Left', in Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, 45–56, 51.
49. P. Sedgwick. 'The Two New Lefts', in D. Widgery (ed.). 1976. *The Left in Britain, 1956–68*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 131–53; P. Anderson. 1980. *Arguments within English Marxism*, London: Verso; L. Chun. 1993. *The British New Left*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; D. Dworkin. 1997. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.
50. S. Bruendel. 2008. 'Gewaltlosigkeit und Gewalt im politischen Raum. Die Übernahme antikolonialer Proteststrategien durch die Britische Antiatomwaffenbewegung 1957 bis 1963', in N. Bulst, I. Gilcher-Holtey and H.-G. Haupt (eds), *Gewalt im politischen Raum. Fallanalysen vom Spätmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 288–316.
51. Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 43–45, 87; Nehring, 'Great Britain', 126–29; I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2001b. *Die 68er Bewegung. Deutschland – Westeuropa – USA*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 12, 14–16. See also Chun. *British New Left*, 8–19, 55, 86–99.

52. Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 149ff.; Rowbotham, *Dream*, 175–76, 183; N.N. ‘Why the Black Dwarf’, BD Pre-issue, 1 May 1968, 1.
53. BD 13(1), 1 Jun 1968, 8.
54. Rowbotham, *Dream*, 172.
55. Marquand, *Britain*, 216.
56. Alain Krivine in a discussion at the conference *1968 and All That*, Conway Hall, London, 10 May 2008.
57. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2008b. *1968. Eine Zeitreise*, Frankfurt a. M.: edition suhrkamp, 19–27; Fraser, *1968*, 180; KD Wolff in a discussion at the conference ‘*Wreckage of Modernity*’ or ‘*Revolution of Perception*’? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony’s College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009.
58. Klimke, ‘1968 als transnationales Ereignis’, 28; Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 224–27. See also: BBC, URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/1968/week13/?june> (30 Dec 2011).
59. Klimke, ‘1968 als transnationales Ereignis’, 26f.
60. Micheal Vester in a discussion at the conference ‘*Wreckage of Modernity*’ or ‘*Revolution of Perception*’? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony’s College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009.
61. Gareth Stedman Jones in a discussion at the conference ‘*Wreckage of Modernity*’ or ‘*Revolution of Perception*’? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony’s College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009.
62. Horn, *Spirit*, 146–48; Marquand, *Britain*, 218; Judt, *Postwar*, 404; I. Gilcher-Holtey. (1998) 2008. ‘Kritische Theorie und Neue Linke’, in I. Gilcher-Holtey (ed.). 2008a. *1968. Vom Ereignis zum Mythos*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 223–47.
63. BD 13(7), 27 Oct 1968. Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 237–46; Thomas, ‘Protests’, 338, 345–47. See also DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 361; Nehring, ‘Great Britain’, 131.
64. Peck, *Uncovering*, 38.
65. BD 13(9), 10 Jan 1969, 3 (quote); Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 232. See also BD 14(18), 1 Jun 1969, 2; *Black Dwarf* Editorial, BD 14(24), 26 Oct 1969, 2.
66. The International Marxist Group was a Trotskyist political body in Britain from 1964 to 1987, founded by Pat Jordan and Ken Coates. It was the British section of the reunified Fourth International whose membership rose from approximately forty members in 1968 to about a thousand members in the late 1970s. *Red Mole* is generally seen as the main organ for IMG. Nehring, ‘Great Britain’, 127.
67. RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970. “‘We recognize our old friend, our old mole, who knows so well how to work underground, suddenly to appear: the revolution’ – Marx’, quoted in *ibid.*, 12.
68. RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 12. For Teresa Hayter, see Oxford Brookes University, URL: http://www.brookes.ac.uk/about/honorary/profiles/teresa_hayter (3 Jan 2012). M. Glenny. ‘Peter Gowan: Scholar of international politics who led support for eastern bloc opposition groups’, *The Guardian*, 17 June 2009, URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jun/17/peter-gowan-obituary/print> (3 Jan 2012).
69. Besides the question of organization, dissent grew also about a critical report on the South African ANC in 1969. However, John Hoyland, Adrian Mitchell and Vinay Chand were increasingly appalled by ‘Tariq’s tendency to slip in International Marxist Group propaganda’ (Rowbotham, *Dream*, 248).
70. The remaining Dwarf editors – now calling themselves ‘Editorial Collective’ – were Anthony Barnett, John Hoyland, John McGrath and Mike Newton; see Ali, *Street*

- Fighting Years*, 271; Rowbotham, *Dream*, 248–54; BD 14(33), 10 May 1970, 16; BD 14(29), 20 Feb 1970, 12. John McGrath: Obituaries: Clive Goodwin 1932–1977, History Workshop No. 5, 1978, 234.
71. N.N. 'Where to begin', RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 2.
 72. Ibid.
 73. Ibid.
 74. Michael Vester in a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: Consequences and Echoes, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009.
 75. F. Halliday. 'Report From Berlin', BD 13(11), 14 Feb 1969, 8; D. Widgery. 'We're All Revolutionaries Now [Report from SDS conference in Frankfurt]', BD 13(6), 15 Oct 1968, 6.
 76. See, for example, T. Ali. 'Pakistan Today: The Revolution begins', BD 14(15), 18 Apr 1969, 6–7; G. Hussein. 'Pakistan: Yahya's Martial Law', BD 14(21), 30 Aug 1969, 7; N.N. 'Bernard Reaney reports from Derry', BD 14(21), 30 Aug 1969, 8; N.N. 'Clive Goodwin in Belfast', *ibid.*; N.N. 'Dave Kendall reports from Dublin', *ibid.*
 77. RM 1(4), 1 May 1970, 2. See also: N.N. 'Crush Imperialism. Mozambique, Guinea, Angola', RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 6–7; N.N. 'Nigeria. Toll of Imperialism', BD 14(29), 20 Feb 1970, 8.
 78. R. Dutschke. 'Students and Capitalism', BD 13(6), 15 Oct 1968, 6; A. Moravia, 'Why the Cultural Revolution', *ibid.*, 7; A. Krivine. '235,000 Say Revolution Now', BD 14(19), 14 Jun 1969, 4; E. Mandel. 'A Year of the Black Dwarf', BD 14(18), 1 Jun 1969, 6. See also M. Sanchez. 'Mexico – Gold Medal for Brutality', BD 13(6), 15 Oct 1968, 5; and M. Sanchez. 'The New Brazilian Coup: A Case for Optimism', BD 13(11), 14 Feb 1969, 10.
 79. 'Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries. Introduction by Fidel Castro', *Autumn Sixty Eight Special Issue*, first U.K. Edition, 8/9 Oct 1968, 1. See also *El Diario del Che in Bolivia* (La Habana, 2004), also containing the 'introducción necesaria' by F. Castro.
 80. Within two months, Ali recalled, some twenty-five thousand copies of the Dwarf Special Issue were sold; see Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 231f.; P. Black. 'Ramparts', *Folio: The Magazine for Magazine Management*, 1 Apr 2004, URL: http://findarticles.com/pl/articles/mi_m3065/is_/ai_n6077583?tag=artBody;col1 (17 Jan 2009).
 81. N.N. 'Bertrand Russell's Political Testament', BD 14(37), 5 Sep 1970, 7–10.
 82. RM 2(5), 8 Mar 1971, 4; Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 272–73.
 83. N.N. 'Across Five Continents In More Than Thirty Countries Students have Invaded the Political Arena', BD 13(11), 14 Feb 1969, 6–7.
 84. J. Osterhammel and N. Petersson. 2003. *Geschichte der Globalisierung. Dimensionen, Prozesse, Epochen*, Munich: C.H. Beck [English version: 2005. *Globalization: A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press], 112 (quotation), 108.
 85. See, for example, BD 14(1), 14 Mar 1969, 3; RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 9; and RM 1(3), 15 Apr 1970, 10–11 on Palestine; BD 14(1), 14 Mar 1969, 4; and RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 2, on South Africa; BD 14(29), 20 Feb 1970, 8, on Nigeria; and RM 1(1), 17 Mar 1970, 6–7, on Mozambique, Guinea and Angola.
 86. M. Burke and J. Goldstein, 'Learning From My Lai: A Proposal on War Crimes', *The New York Times*, 2 Apr 1976, 26; 'Murder in the Name of War – My Lai', in BBC, 20 Jul 1998, URL: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/64344.stm> (23 Nov 2009);

- J. Stein. 1992. *Murder in Wartime: The Untold Spy Story that Changed the Course of the Vietnam War*, New York: St Martin's Press, 60–62.
87. S. Karnow. 1983. *Vietnam, A History: The First Complete Account of Vietnam at War*, New York: Viking Press.
88. P. Buchanan. 'Spontaneity or Organization', BD 13(7), 27 Oct 1968, 6.
89. Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalisierung*, 7f., 11f.; D. Harvey. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 240.
90. I.R.G. Spencer. 1997. *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, London and New York: Routledge, 53f., 98–102; Mergel, *Großbritannien seit 1945*, 125ff.; I. Sturm-Martin. 2001. 'Liberales Tradition und internationales Image: Regierungspolitik in der Dekolonisationsphase,' in K. Schönwälder and I. Sturm-Martin (eds), *Die britische Gesellschaft zwischen Offenheit und Abgrenzung. Einwanderung und Integration vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Vienna: Philo Fine Arts, 112–32, 119ff., 126; N. Deakin. 1970. *Colour, Citizenship and British Society, based on the Institute of Race Relations Report*, London: Panther, 195, 202.
91. Britain's First Race Relations Act, URL: http://www.cre.gov.uk/40years/act_one.html (12 May 2006); Britain's Second Race Relations Act, URL: http://www.cre.gov.uk/40years/act_two.html [Callaghan quote *ibid.*], (12 May 2006); K. Schönwälder. 2001. 'Abgrenzung und Integration: Die Politik der Labour-Regierungen zwischen 1964 und 1970', in Schönwälder and Sturm-Martin (eds), *Die britische Gesellschaft*, 133–53, 141, 145. See also E. Bleich. 2003. *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
92. S. Taylor. 1982. *The National Front in English Politics*, London: Macmillan; M. Walker. 1978. *The National Front*, 2nd edn, Glasgow: Fontana Collins.
93. Gareth Stedman Jones in a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009. See also Gerard DeGroot. 2010. *The Seventies Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic Look at a Violent Decade*, London: Macmillan, 222–24.
94. H. Kidd. 1969. *The Trouble at L.S.E. 1966–1967*, London: Oxford University Press; P. Hoch and A. Genest. 1969. *LSE: The Natives are Restless. A Report on Student Power in Action*, London and Sydney: Sheed and Ward; C. Crouch. 1970. *The Student Revolt*, London: The Bodley Head; T. Blackstone, K. Gales, R. Hadley and W. Lewis. 1970. *Students in Conflict: LSE in 1967*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
95. Quoted in Dahrendorf, *LSE*, 448. See also Caute, *Sixty-Eight*, 314–17.
96. Nehring, 'Great Britain', 128–31; Thomas, 'Myths', 278–79, 285–87; Marquand, *Britain*, 218. See also B. Wilson. 1970. *The Youth Culture and the Universities*, London: Faber and Faber.
97. Thomas, 'Myths', 295.
98. Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 226, 247; DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 361. See also R. Winder. 2004. *Bloody Foreigners – The Story of Immigration to Britain*, London: Little, Brown.
99. DeGroot, *Seventies Unplugged*, 223. Powell was an eloquent speaker who, in 1965, had even impressed Tariq Ali with his intelligence and his competence on India (Marquand, *Britain*, 225–29); A. Marr. 2008. *A History of Modern Britain*, London: Macmillan, 302–3; Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 60–61.

100. On 20 April 1968, Powell delivered a speech in Birmingham that caused a public outcry and has since been known as the *Rivers of Blood* speech: E. Powell. *Speech to the Annual General Meeting of the West Midlands Area Conservative Political Centre*, Birmingham, 20 Apr 1968, URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html> (12 Dec 2009). See also R. Shepherd. 1998. *Enoch Powell*, London: Pimlico; T. Stacey. 1970. *Immigration and Enoch Powell*, London: Tom Stacey Ltd.; Paul Foot. 1969. *The Rise of Enoch Powell: An Examination of Enoch Powell's Attitude to Immigration and Race*, London: Cornmarket Press.
101. Patrick Cosgrave. 1989. *The Lives of Enoch Powell*, London: Bodley Head, 252f.; Foot, *The Rise of Enoch Powell*, 116f.; Spencer, *British Immigration Policy*, 142f.
102. T. Ali, 1978. *1968 and After: Inside the Revolution*, London: Blond & Briggs, 192. In a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009, Gareth Stedman Jones confirmed the importance of racism in the political debate of the late 1960s, and Sheila Rowbotham recalled that many workers indeed were infected by Powell's speech. See also Rowbotham, *Dream*, 172–74.
103. N.N. 'Birth of a Small Dark Stranger', BD pre-issue, 1 May 1968, 1.
104. N.N. 'Who is Enoch Powell', BD pre-issue, 1 May 1968, 2 (Thompson quote *ibid.*).
105. N.N. 'Who is Enoch Powell', BD 14(1), 14 Mar 1969, 2 (a similar text to that of the pre-issue). See also D. Mercer. 'Respectable Man', BD 13(1), 1 June 1968, 2; D. Clark. 'Plastic Bosses. Manchester', BD 13(4), 14 Aug 1968.
106. N.N. 'Combat racism', BD 14(21), 30 Aug 1969, 2; T. Hayter. 'Pakistanis', RM 1(4), 1 May 1970, 4; 'What is a skinhead?', *ibid.*
107. DeGroot, *Seventies*, 67–68 (quotation). Legal and practical discrimination was widespread, notably in the allocation of public housing and the distribution of jobs. Social, national and religious conflicts caused the 'troubles', P. Arthur and K. Jeffrey. 1996. *Northern Ireland since 1968*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 5–12; Prince, *Northern Ireland's 68*, 114–25; S. Prince and G. Warner. 2012. *Belfast and Derry in Revolt: A New History of the Start of the Troubles*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 85–132; C. Kennedy-Pipe. 1997. *The Origins of the Present Troubles in Northern Ireland*, London and New York: Longman.
108. The city was called Londonderry by Protestants, and Doire by the Irish.
109. Quoted in Fraser, 1968, 238.
110. Prince, *Northern Ireland's 68*, 149–67, 213–15; N. ó Dochartaigh. 2008. 'Northern Ireland', in Klimke and Scharloth (eds), *1968 in Europe*, 137–51, 140, 143.
111. Quoted in Prince, *Northern Ireland's 68*, 161.
112. Fraser, 1968, 231–44; Prince, *Northern Ireland's 68*, 195–211; ó Dochartaigh, 'Northern Ireland', 139–41; Marquand, *Britain*, 224; B. Devlin. 1969. *The Price of My Soul*, London: Random House. See also N.N. 'Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign', BD 14(21), 30 Aug 1969, 9.
113. See for example: N. Lyndon and D. Allinson. 'People's Democracy Easter March', BD 14(15), 18 Apr 1969, 2–3; N.N. 'Ulster: Turn the Civil War into into a Revolutionary War', BD 14(21), 30 Aug 1969, 8.
114. Marquand, *Britain*, 224; M. Mulholland. 2002. *Northern Ireland: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 50–55, 53, 58–60.

115. N.N. 'Ireland Smash British Imperialism', BD 14(23), 1 Oct 1969, 1; N.N. 'Imperialism versus Irish Self-Determination', *ibid.*, 6–7; N. N. 'Ireland . . . Withdraw all British Troops now!', RM 1(3), 15 Apr 1970, 2; N.N. 'For the IRA. Against British Imperialism', RM 2(14), 14 Aug 1971, 1. The headline of RM 2([not noted]), 1 Sep 1971, declared 'Ireland: The Acid Test for British Socialists', and the paper later called to 'Defeat British Imperialism in Ireland', RM 3(34), 10 Jan 1972, 1.
116. RM, Special Irish Broadsheet, 31 Jan 1972, 1. For the Bloody Sunday incident, see E. McCann. 2006. *The Bloody Sunday Inquiry – The Families Speak Out*, London: Pluto Press; P. Pringle and P. Jacobson. 2000. *Those Are Real Bullets, Aren't They?*, London: Fourth Estate Ltd.; Mulholland, *Northern Ireland*, 79–83.
117. G. Paul (ed.). 2011. *Bilder, die Geschichte schrieben. 1900 bis heute*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 164–71, 166–67; A. Grönert (ed). 2008. *Politik Pop und Afri-Cola. 68er Plakate. Ausstellungskatalog des Deutschen Plakat Museums im Museum Folkwang*, Bottrop: Pomp, 17f., 28.
118. F. Castro, ['A Necessary Introduction'], *Autumn Sixty Eight Special Issue*, 8/9 Oct 1968, 2–4, 2.
119. T. Ali, BD Special Issue, 8/9 Oct 1968, 1.
120. For protest movement in 'Third World' countries, see A. Dirlik. 1999. 'The Third World in 1968', in Fink, Gassert and Juncker, *The World Transformed*, 295–317.
121. Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalisierung*, 92f., 101–3.
122. B. Davis, 'Left', 374.
123. J. Osterhammel. 2006. *Kolonialismus. Geschichte – Formen – Folgen*, 5th edn, Munich: C.H. Beck, 22. See also Marquand, *Britain*, 222–25.
124. N.N. 'Black Dwarf Editorial', BD 14(27), 16 Jan 1970, 2. 'The link between Saigon and Paris', Ali recalled, had 'led to worldwide radicalisation', Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 223.
125. Marquand, *Britain*, 224.
126. Judt, *Postwar*, 406.
127. Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 238, 240.
128. BD 14(21), 30 Aug 1969, 1. A revolutionary handbook edited by Tariq Ali, also in 1969, even pictured an instruction on how to make a Molotov Cocktail on the first pages, T. Ali. 1969. *New Revolutionaries: Left Opposition*, London: Peter Owen.
129. Ali, 'For a revolutionary journal . . .', 2; Halliday, 'For a red black dwarf . . .', *ibid.*
130. Ali, 'Pakistan Today', 6–7.
131. John Hoyland, Sheila Rowbotham, Adrian Mitchell and Vinay Chand.
132. N.N. 'Africa Debate', BD 14(26), Christmas 1969, 4. See also Rowbotham, *Dream*, 249–54.
133. N.N. 'Africa Debate', BD 14(26), Christmas 1969, 4.
134. Buchanan, 'Spontaneity or Organization', 6. See also P. Mercer. 'Autumn Offensive', BD 13(1), 1 Jun 1968, 8.
135. Edmonds, 'Viet Nam War', 5.
136. Cover headline of BD 13(11), 14 Feb 1969, 1.
137. To create 'many LSEs' was also an adaption of Tom Hayden's slogan for Columbia University, Washington of April 1968.
138. N.N. 'March 16th at Heathrow', BD 13(11), 14 Feb 1969, 12.
139. B. Robinson, '1968: Vietnam Solidarity and the British Left', URL: www.workers-liberty.org/story/2008/03/20/1968-vietnam-solidarity-and-british-left (10 Jan 2009). Others, e.g. David Horowitz, who is now a far-right polemicist, criticize the activists'

- 'double standard' when making moral and political judgements, in David Horowitz, 'My Vietnam Lessons', URL: www.discoverthenetworks.org/articles/My%20Vietnam%20 (4 Jan 2009).
140. BD 14(26), Christmas 1969, 4.
 141. Peck, *Uncovering*, 292.
 142. Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68*, 153.
 143. Thomas, 'Myths', 295.
 144. I. Wallerstein. 1989. '1968, Revolution in the World System: Theses and Queries', *Theory and Society* 18, 431–49, 431 (quotation), 439, 440 (quotation), 442–45.
 145. Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalisierung*, 92f. (my translation).
 146. M. Castells. 2000. 'Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society', *British Journal of Sociology* 51, 5–24.
 147. Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalisierung*, 55 (my translation).
 148. Ibid., 10 (my translation).
 149. Judt, *Postwar*, 407.
 150. Sheila Rowbotham in a discussion at the conference 'Wreckage of Modernity' or 'Revolution of Perception'? 1968: *Consequences and Echoes*, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 27 Feb 2009.
 151. Ali, *1968 and After*, xxvii, 207. See also T. Ali. 1972. *The Coming of the British Revolution*, London: Jonathan Cape.
 152. Klimke, '1968 als transnationales Ereignis,' 29 (my translations).
 153. Lee, *Introduction*, iv.
 154. Peck, *Uncovering*, xv.
 155. Lee, *Introduction*, iv.

Letters from Amman

*Dieter Kunzelmann and the Origins of German
Anti-Zionism during the Late 1960s*

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The role of internationalism in the transformation of oppositional protest during the 1960s hardly needs to be emphasized any further. Collective memory as well as picture archives of the late 1960s are dominated by icons of international revolutionary movements and their leaders, and the self-image of the protest generation has always been one of exceptional international awareness and worldwide oppositional networking. In this sense, the protest movements across the globe since the 1960s can be regarded as a prime example of a revolution of perceptions in political as well as social and cultural terms, sometimes compared to the ‘peoples’ spring’ of 1848 when the radical internationalism of the post-Napoleonic generation challenged the status quo throughout Europe.¹ During the 1960s, oppositional perceptions of Vietnam, Latin America and Africa became a key feature in the political doctrines of the New Left in Western Europe and the United States, and served as a touchstone for the politics of protest and subversion along the lines of ‘international solidarity’.² Much of this oppositional interest survived into the following decades in the form of solidarity committees, trade co-operatives and cultural internationalism, and can be regarded as one of the lasting and celebrated achievements of a protest movement which, after all, aimed at revolutionizing political consciousness and political culture.

However, one aspect of this revolutionary internationalism, though it figured prominently during the late 1960s, has been remembered only reluctantly and, in Germany at least, remains something of an embarrassment, if not an outright scandal among veterans and commentators alike: the protest movement’s support for the Palestinian cause in the wake of Israel’s Six-Day War against its Arab neighbours in June 1967. The coalition of Western left-wing protesters and

Palestinian liberation groups quickly produced a new ingredient for revolutionary internationalism: anti-Zionism or, as the New Left's opponents perceived it, a new variety of left-wing anti-Semitism.³ While during 1967/68 this new alliance never moved beyond paying revolutionary lip service at solidarity meetings and in related publications, the following year of 1969 saw a dramatic turn of events which culminated in the first direct contacts between Palestinian guerrilla groups and members of the increasingly militant West German subversive underground. A number of leading left-wing activists from Germany underwent military training with Palestinian units in the Jordanian desert, and returned with the ideological baggage of militant Anti-Zionism. Since then, the so-called 'Palestine Connection' figured as one of the main logistical foundations of German left-wing terrorism during the 1970s, culminating in the RAF/PFLP (West German Red Army Faction / Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) cooperation in October 1977, the so-called 'German autumn'.⁴ Both the origins and the legacy of this logistical connection had already been the topic of Stefan Aust's best-selling account *The Baader-Meinhof-Complex* of 1988, which many years later has now been turned into a blockbuster feature film.⁵ But it was not until 2005, when Wolfgang Kraushaar published his investigative study of the failed bomb attack on the Jewish community centre in West Berlin in 1969, that the anti-Zionist signature of German left-wing extremism took centre stage in the discussion of left-wing radicalism since 1968.⁶ Kraushaar maintained that the original motive for left-wing militancy since 1968 had been anti-Semitic from the start, and that the origins of German postwar terrorism can be understood along the lines of a specifically German 'guilt-denying anti-Semitism' (*Schuldabwehr-Antisemitismus*). In essence, his analysis resulted in the claim that the most radical parts of the protest generation of 1968 had – in a mysterious, subconscious process of inadvertent cultural appropriation – reproduced the right-wing anti-Semitism of their parents' generation of Nazi followers, and therefore fallen into the same ideological pitfalls as had the interwar youth movements that were heavily influenced by the anti-Semitism of the German Conservative Revolution of that time.⁷ Other commentators, such as Micha Brumlik, extended this argument towards a radical indictment of the political left in general and went as far as to claim a continuous and inextricable connection between left-wing political thought and anti-Semitism since the days of Utopian French Socialism during the early nineteenth century.⁸ The anti-capitalist revival among the New Left of the 1960s, so he argued, had inherited a tradition of anti-Semitic resentment towards capitalism, and hostility against the state of Israel was therefore to be understood as a direct result of the quintessentially anti-Semitic character of Socialist thought. Instead of entering this highly charged ideological debate about the nature and characteristics of left-wing protest and its metaphysical implications, a close reading of the chronology of events as well as the contemporary arguments on both sides of the political conflict may yield a better historical understanding of the origins of left-wing anti-Zionism and its political implications.

A Close Chronological Analysis

The chronology of the emergence of the pro-Palestinian solidarity movement among German students suggests no long-term agenda of left-wing anti-Semitism among the New Left. Subversive radicalism as it was conceived by the anti-authoritarian fringe of student politics during the mid-1960s did not pick up anti-Semitic undertones from the early socialist thought that was then fashionable, but instead was acutely aware of the legacy of Nazism among the political elites of the Federal Republic. As far as revolutionary internationalism was concerned, the focus of attention remained on Cuba, Africa and – above all – Vietnam.

Until 1967, the canonized subversive literature contained only a short reference to the situation in the Middle East in Guevara's famous *Letter to OSPAAAL*, the Havana conference of 1966, which had been translated and provided with a commentary by Rudi Dutschke and Gaston Salvatore in the following year:

The Middle East . . . finds itself in utmost tension. It is impossible to foresee which direction this Cold War between Israel, supported by the imperialists, and the progressive nations of the region may take. The Middle East is another one of the volcanoes threatening the world.⁹

Until the Six-Day War of June 1967, this inconspicuous remark by the revered revolutionary idol had passed largely unnoticed, although Moshe Dayan's visit to South Vietnam had not. For the time being, Israel remained just one of many U.S. allies which the radical left wing of the German student movement certainly identified as part of the 'imperialist camp' but which necessitated no special attention.¹⁰

This relative lack of interest came to an abrupt end during the first week of June 1967. It is important to establish a day-to-day chronology of the course of events, above all in West Berlin, in order to locate the emerging anti-Zionist sentiment among the German protest movement. At first, the mounting tension between Israel and its neighbours only trickled into German student politics during the last week of May. After the Egyptian blockade of the Tiran Straits on 23 May, the Arab Student Union in West Berlin issued a propaganda leaflet which, in tune with the prevailing Arab political discourse, characterized the 'establishment of "Israel" as a launchpad for imperialist actions against the Arabs'. Israel's *raison d'être* was labelled as 'the racist ideology of National Zionism' – a term that skilfully evoked German associations with 'National Socialism', even though the Arab Student Union was careful not to touch the raw nerve of the unresolved legacy of the Nazi era in German society directly. The text of the leaflet culminated in a statement that sounded as profound as it was vague: 'Peace in the Middle East can only be secured by eliminating the reasons for it being threatened and by restoring the lawful state of affairs in Palestine'.¹¹ The Arab Student Union was no more specific as to what precisely the notion of the 'lawful state of affairs' was meant to refer.¹²

Such statements provoked a reaction from among German-Jewish and Christian groups of intellectuals. On 31 May an appeal to the public by the Committee of Jewish Student Organizations posed the question of 'the moral duty of the world and therefore the German students' with regard to the crisis in the Middle East. The authors warned against 'parroting Communist arguments' if support for Israel would be denied 'just because the U.S. might step in on the Israeli side'. To condemn genocide in Vietnam, they argued, would have to be accompanied by a rejection of Nasser's rhetoric of annihilation, and they asked the students for unconditional support for Israel's right to exist.¹³ In a similar vein, the German-Israeli Society launched an appeal for donations which was signed by leading Social Democrats, the writer Günter Grass, the rector of the Free University Joachim Lieber, and others:

'WE CANNOT REMAIN SILENT, while the Israeli nation is being threatened with genocide. The state of Israel is the last refuge for many people who have their origins in our country and narrowly escaped the genocide instigated by Germans against European Jewry.'

The signatories – utilizing a vocabulary which, like the Arab Student Union's a few days earlier, evoked memories of Nazi crimes – called for solidarity 'with all who are to be incinerated by bombs and missiles or to be exterminated by hunger'. In their view, it was the task of the young generation to expose the way in which 'the mighty of the world artificially create hotspots of crisis'. In both parts of Germany the young generation was called upon to unite in support of Israel.¹⁴ Christian student organizations and the Aktion Sühnezeichen joined such efforts, asked for donations and advertised voluntary work placements in Israel. At the beginning of June, in academic circles and among the still nascent extra-parliamentary opposition of West Germany, the prevailing attitude towards the Middle East was still dominated by postwar intellectual philo-Semitism, but the discussion appears to have been limited to those who displayed a personal or historical interest. For the time being, they represented a minority.

When, on 3 June, Günter Grass joined the Students' General Meeting at the Free University of Berlin to campaign on behalf of the appeal of the German-Israeli Society, he encountered a different political atmosphere altogether. The previous day, Benno Ohnesorg, a student of German literature at the Free University, had been shot dead at point-blank range by a Berlin police officer after a day of student protest against a state visit of Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran. The peaceful demonstrators had not only encountered brutal police assaults but were also attacked by a contingent of the Iranian secret police who were let loose on the students under the sympathetic eyes of the West Berlin police.¹⁵ The Students' General Meeting had been scheduled for 3 June as a regular student body meeting, but now it turned into an occasion of mourning and agitated outrage. Many of those present had been brutally attacked and beaten by the police, and the mood of the meeting was not helped by the fact that during the night the city mayor, Heinrich Albertz, had endorsed the police's actions

and the conservative mass circulation papers of the Springer publishing house were blaming 'student terror' for the death of Ohnesorg. Many interpreted the police action as a rehearsal for measures that would be facilitated by the proposed changes to the German constitution to enable emergency laws under a possible state of siege (*Notstandsgesetze*), and the military coup in Greece in April suggested an ominous blueprint for such authoritarian measures.¹⁶

The Shah had become the target for student protest because of the deprivation and oppression faced by his own people, while Iran held some of the richest oil reserves in the world and – as an important U.S. ally in the region – maintained staggeringly high levels of military armaments. On this 3 June 1967, the student opposition in West Germany believed itself to be faced with a consistent 'imperialist' front which manifested itself in worldwide U.S. hegemony, the war in Vietnam, the authoritarian regime in Iran, the military coup in the NATO member state Greece, German plans to introduce a contingency constitution for emergency measures, and most recently the outrageous police brutality in Berlin which aimed at suppressing any protest against these scandalous political facts – even at the cost of a student's life. The perceived omnipresence of this multifaceted machinery of Western (i.e. capitalist) hegemony across the globe as well as on the doorsteps of the Free University in West Berlin may easily have contributed to a slightly paranoid notion of 'Western imperialism' which, for Berlin students, had become a matter of life and death overnight. International solidarity, at this moment, had taken on a very tangible meaning, and within hours many students were won over to the cause of radical left-wing politics of protest. When Günter Grass proposed a motion calling for solidarity with Israel, he was defeated by a plenary vote.¹⁷ This was less an expression of the supposed long-standing traditions of anti-Semitism in left-wing politics than the result of a sudden shift of priorities in favour of the victims of the U.S.-led military hegemony of Western capitalism. The mainstream of philo-Semitism, which had so far marked student politics during the 1960s, had not been replaced by anti-Semitism, but by an unconditional solidarity with Arab anti-Americanism, even though few of those present may have had any clear idea of the situation in the Middle East. Any allies of the United States, however, were from now on regarded with the utmost suspicion, to say the least. Among the most radical student groups, this new set of priorities could take on a rather vicious guise of radical anti-Zionism. Ulrich Enzensberger was among the subversive anarchists of the Berlin Commune and remembers group discussions during the time of the Six-Day War with disarming honesty:

Among the Berlin communards, too, voices were raised that cast doubt over Israel's right to exist, and this was no less abominable than the collective hoorays of West German ex-Nazis who in this way wanted to smudge over the issue of German guilt of the mass-murder of six million Jews and many more millions of other victims of German National Socialism, while they were dreaming of the German borders of 1937. The unfathomable German crimes against humanity started to vanish from our souls, too.¹⁸

Indeed, the West German press had reacted to the swift Israeli victory with praise for Israel's '*Blitzkrieg*', regarded Moshe Dayan as a 'second Rommel', and commented on German blood donations for Israel: 'Aryan Blood runs for the Jews'.¹⁹ Among the more critical commentators of current affairs, Sebastian Haffner took up a figurative way of speaking that had been utilized in similar fashion by Isaac Deutscher in an interview for the *New Left Review*.²⁰ While the recent police brutality in Berlin reminded him of pogroms staged by the SA, Haffner employed a controversial formula that emphasized a neutral point of view which came to be seen as essentially a pro-Arab statement.

When a group of shipwrecked people are forcing their way into a lifeboat that is already occupied, one cannot condemn them for that; but when the original occupants then want to throw them back into the ocean, one cannot condemn them for that either. No one has less of a right to do so than those who are responsible for the ship going down in the first place.²¹

This line of argument resulted in the formula of the Palestinians as the 'the victims' victims', implying a special German responsibility for the fate of Palestinian refugees, which circulated among left-wing opposition groups for several decades.

It was for the anarchist circle of the Berlin Commune to develop this theme further and to include anti-Zionism in their arsenal of subversive provocations. By July, the group had been charged with incitement to arson after they had published a series of leaflets containing satirical variations of the mass media coverage of the fatal Brussels department store blaze in April. During the trial, Fritz Teufel – by that time the most prominent figure of the group – was asked in court about the alleged complacency and self-righteousness of German society which the group claimed to campaign against. Teufel used the Middle East as a backdrop for his satirical talent when he explained with a straight face:

The Germans are a democratic, freedom-loving, industrious little people. Sure, they have killed a lot of Jews, but in return German weapons are now being used to kill Arabs – that is a way of making good (*Wiedergutmachung*). It is like this: the more black or yellow people are dying like dogs down there, the better it is for us.

Visibly shocked, the judge enquired whether he was serious, which prompted laughter from among the audience while Teufel maintained his stance: 'Sure, certainly!'²² The subversive radicals of the Berlin Commune developed anti-Zionism into a rhetorical weapon against what they perceived as the guilt-denying philo-Semitism of the German media and the political and administrative establishment which, after all, contained a high proportion of former Nazi party members. Their target was the perceived hypocrisy of German political discourse, which appeared to promote public support for the Israeli cause as a cover for a lack of self-critical reckoning with the legacy of the Nazi era. Far from

buying into a subconscious tradition of German anti-Semitism, the subversive-radical faction of the protest movement openly rejected the legacy of (and the responsibility for) the Nazi past, while accusing the older generation of historical and political double standards.

During the summer of 1967, the Middle East developed into a standard theme of student radicalism. International conflicts took up a large part of discussions as well as protest activities, and in September the Middle East figured – alongside the military coup in Greece – as one of the main discussion items for the 22nd Delegate Conference of the Socialist Student League (SDS) in Frankfurt. The SDS groups of Heidelberg and Frankfurt drafted proposals for the conference which developed a conventional Marxist analysis of the Middle East, and labelled Israel a ‘bridge head of Western imperialism’ that depended on foreign financial aid for survival. The Six-Day War, in their view, had ‘removed the last remaining doubt over Israel’s reactionary character’.²³ The status of this text is not entirely clear, as it appears to have been discussed but not adopted by a vote.²⁴ SDS delegates were asked to condemn both the ‘Israeli aggression against the anti-imperialist powers in the Middle East’ and the ‘petit bourgeois character of the Ba’ath parties and Nasserism’.²⁵ It is likely that this text may have been a paraphrase, or even a direct translation, of a statement of Yasser Arafat’s Fatah movement. With regard to the Jewish population in the region, acknowledging the existence of the state of Israel was deemed ‘meaningless’ while the Arab world, on the other hand, would have to guarantee and safeguard the presence of the Jews in Palestine. The conclusion presented the long-term goal of anti-Zionism which was no less hostile towards the post-colonial order of the Arab world:

Only the construction of a revolutionary Socialist movement aiming at overcoming imperialism and the borders drawn by it, only the establishment of a universal Arab Socialist Republic which, by way of common policies, will arrive at a territorial integrity with a socialist Israel, can bring lasting peace to the Middle East.²⁶

This vague notion of ‘territorial integrity’ was, thus, directed against both Israel and the Arab nation-states, and appears to have envisaged a multi-ethnic and socialist super-state from northern Africa to Iraq. Even though the student movement by this time had clearly aligned its ideological and rhetorical frame of reference with radical anti-Zionism, this commitment did not, for the time being, move beyond verbal protest and purely political solidarity. Neither can this text as yet be taken as a proof for the alleged anti-Semitism among the New Left. The Middle East appeared on the agenda of the German protest movement as one of many international issues which were all interpreted as case studies in the consequences of U.S. American ‘imperialism’. The death of Benno Ohnesorg contributed to the heated atmosphere in which radicalism flourished, and anti-Zionism became part of the bigger general framework of revolutionary internationalism.

Intellectual References for Radical Internationalism

Among the major intellectual references for this radical internationalism was Frantz Fanon's best-selling analysis of anti-colonial violence, *The Wretched of the Earth*.²⁷ Already in August 1965, Fanon's chapter *On Violence* had been translated and published in Hans Magnus Enzensberger's political journal *Kursbuch*.²⁸ Fanon had presented a social psychology of the armed struggle of the colonized peoples against Western political, social and economic dominance. He argued that the colonized aspired not to compete with the West, but to annihilate completely the global structures of colonialism in order to replace Westernization with emancipation from the influence of the West. Violence, in this context, represented to him the re-appropriation of humanity for the oppressed, 'and in precisely the same moment when he discovers his humanity, he starts cleaning his weapons to let his humanity triumph'.²⁹ Such notions of violent anti-imperialism in the so-called 'Third World' attracted the attention of an obscure subversive group centred on the Munich-based protest activist Dieter Kunzelmann.³⁰ The group carried the name 'Subversive Aktion', and promoted an anarchistic protest style inspired by French Situationism and the tactics of the Dutch Provos.³¹ Among its members was a sociology student from Berlin, Rudi Dutschke, who would later become the most prominent spokesman for the West German student movement. During the mid-1960s, however, it was still Kunzelmann who directed the group's actions and intellectual curiosity. He wrote to Dutschke that Fanon's text was 'excellent' and should be regarded as a basis for group discussions.³² Fanon appeared to provide an intellectual key to the question of how a Marxist understanding of class struggle could be developed into a psychology of resistance of the oppressed around the world.

The emerging interest in anti-colonial struggles around the world also received inspiration from an entirely different source. Early in 1966, Louis Malle's new feature film *Viva Maria!* had appeared in German cinemas, and the group around Kunzelmann fell under the spell of this Italo-Western comedy.³³ The film tells the story of two European women, played by Jeanne Moreau and Brigitte Bardot, who become leaders of a peasant revolt during the Mexican revolution. While Malle presented a parody of the contemporaneous political fashion of Guevarism, Kunzelmann and his friends went to see the film again and again with, apparently, little sense for irony. Their enthusiasm resulted in theoretical evaluations, published by group member Bernd Rabehl, who declared the story line of *Viva Maria!* to be an interpretation of Frantz Fanon's writings, a piece of revolutionary propaganda in disguise. The two women, he argued, were representing the two ideological wings of Marxism and anarchism which had to form a strategic union in order to act as an effective theoretical as well as practical threat to the worldwide dominance of capitalist imperialism. The entertaining format of the film he understood as simply a marketing strategy, ensuring that the widest possible audience would be exposed to implicit anti-imperialist

propaganda.³⁴ Rabehl's interpretation of Malle's film may have been curiously distorted; his take on Fanon, however, was a serious misunderstanding – Fanon had never envisaged a solidarity movement from inside industrialized societies. The story line of *Viva Maria!* would have met with his clear disapproval, as he would have regarded the leadership of two European women in an anti-colonial social revolution as a continuation of Western political and cultural hegemony. The film, nevertheless, left a mark on the politics of the group Subversive Aktion, and played an important part in forging close imaginary ties with a larger context of anti-imperialist struggle among the most radical parts of the protest movement. Kunzelmann remembered the effect the film had on his subversive collective:

At the end, that was our epiphany, they appear in Paris, they return to Europe. That was, after all, precisely our problem . . . and during the 'Viva Maria' phase, already before but especially after the film, this was the omnipresent question: [s]hould we not move to the Third World? The film served as a confirmation that we should in every way support the guerrilla movements in Third World countries according to our capabilities and means in the [Western] metropolises . . . The film served as a confirmation that we should seek opportunities for our revolt here, that we were indebted to our society which we knew.³⁵

This close identification with a global anti-colonial struggle was the decisive ideological background for the pro-Palestinian turn that occurred during the summer of 1967 among the German protest movement. The appropriation of anti-Zionism into the 1960s' politics of protest had therefore little to do with any long-standing tradition of left-wing anti-Semitism, but understood the Middle East – however mistakenly – as yet another example of violent resistance against Western imperialism. A guiding theme for this radical conception of world politics was an unconditional solidarity with the perceived victims of Western political and military dominance. If a secret link to Germany's Nazi past can be detected, then it is probably this collective urge among the German New Left to side with the victims of oppression, war and genocide in Vietnam, Africa, Iran and Palestine. The unresolved legacy of the Nazi dictatorship may have resulted in a belated attempt to resist what soon came to be labelled 'Fascist' practices of authoritarian rule, exploitation, racism and violence around the globe. Specifically 'left' about this frame of mind was the identification of 'Fascism' with Western-style capitalism and the hegemony of the United States, and it is this intellectual shortcut that directed the indictment of 'Fascist' political practices against the state of Israel.

As if this radical logic of left-wing anti-imperialism had not been peculiar enough, the militant fringes of the protest movement also appropriated a vocabulary that reflected the memory of political violence during the 1930s, specifically the Nazi pogroms against the German Jews of 1938. The conservative press had suggested parallels between Nazi storm troopers and left-wing militant violence during 1968, and while the militant underground rejected such views,

some articles by those groups who began to embrace the idea of political violence played into the hands of such a radicalization of militant rhetoric. An article in the underground paper *linkeck* consciously employed the term ‘Crystal Night’ (*Kristallnacht*) to develop its own understanding of the relative desirability of political violence:

What we should learn: to assess correctly crystal nights and terror, to work out the qualitative difference between a little frightened Jewish shopkeeper who got beaten up and a policeman including his pre-Fascist superiors and their politicians. The crystal nights of today should terrorize shareholders, factory owners and prison guards.³⁶

This terminology was consciously provocative and still reflected the subversive communicative practice of the early days of the protest movement during 1967, when the attacks by the conservative press had been answered by the explicit and ironic appropriation of terms such as *Bombenleger* (bombers). But by the autumn of 1968, the playful provocation of the mainstream public had been replaced by an open call to political violence against the police, the judiciary, and other representatives of the so-called ‘pre-Fascist’ state.

A similar transformation of militant rhetoric can be traced for the term ‘terrorism’. In September 1969, the underground paper *agit 883* – a discussion forum for radical militant politics in Berlin³⁷ – published an article by the Berlin Palestine Committee which conflated a new understanding of legitimate terror with the conflict in the Middle East. No longer would it be of relevance whether the Palestinian guerrillas were labelled as ‘freedom fighters’ or as ‘terrorists’. This, the authors argued, would only reflect the political position of the speaker but not infringe on the legitimacy of the armed struggle against the state of Israel. To illustrate this argument, they pointed to the fact that ‘the National Socialist *blitz* victors and occupiers also used to call the resistance of patriotic guerrillas terrorism’. Apparently, the goal here was to reframe the accusation of political terrorism back onto those who were suspected of passing all too easily over their own Nazi past. The aims of militant anti-Zionism were spelled out in all their radicalism and placed into a worldwide context: ‘The goal must be to aim by all means for a state of affairs – in the Middle East, in Rhodesia, in South America, and everywhere – in which every human being can live and work in social, economic, and political freedom’. The state of Israel, predictably, did not have a place in this vision of global liberation:

All institutions and ruling apparatuses which are opposed to this goal have to be done away with, and the choice of means is determined solely by their behaviour. The only alternative for a humane future is a revolution until victory, in close connection with a determined anti-imperialist struggle. In Palestine it has started.³⁸

Palestinian anti-Zionism was, thus, conceived within a worldwide armed conflict between militant anti-imperialism and a ‘pre-Fascist’ West. And it is this combination which, during the summer of 1969, prompted a number of radical

students to travel to the Middle East and visit Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement in Jordan.

A 'Trip to the Orient' and its Consequences

Such contacts came in two varieties – either in the form of so-called 'study trips' by members of Frankfurt SDS in July 1969, or as a deliberate move into the illegal armed underground, as in the case of the so-called *Umherschweifenden Haschrebellen* (Wandering Hashish Rebels) led by Dieter Kunzelmann and Georg von Rauch via Italy in October.³⁹ It is important to note, however, that at this point during the summer of 1969 the plans of the latter were still somewhat vague, and the Middle East presented only one of several opportunities to join the armed struggle against Western imperialism. While still in Italy in September, Georg von Rauch, Kunzelmann's close friend and co-leader of the group, acknowledged their failure to join a group of Italian anarchists in Sicily and described their perspectives thus: 'The whole Sicily expedition has failed for us, i.e. because of "serious ideological differences" with the Italians'. Instead, the Wandering Hashish Rebels were planning a 'trip to the Orient (El Fatah, Kurdistan + and perhaps even further into China), the route will depend on the connections to El Fatah in Frankfurt and the Kurds in Berlin'. The group had received news about the academic 'study trips' in July and concluded from newspaper reports that students had been trained '1. for the struggle there, 2. for terror attacks abroad + 3. in issues of organisation'. Von Rauch added: 'For me personally, the second point is one of the most important'.⁴⁰ In October, Kunzelmann's group joined the Palestinians' training camps and received superficial instructions in guerrilla combat and bomb making, and even met Yasser Arafat in person. Albert Fichter, another member of this group, observed that, after shaking hands with Arafat, 'Kunzelmann was so taken by the encounter, he would have preferred never to wash his hands again. Georg [von Rauch] responded with similar awe'.⁴¹

In late October the Wandering Hashish Rebels returned to Berlin at about the same time that the PLO launched their annual campaign against the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917. They observed a strict code of conspiracy, after having changed their appearance and renaming the group *Tupamaros West-Berlin* after the metropolitan left-wing guerilla movement in Uruguay.⁴² The origins of German left-wing terrorism in autumn 1969 lay in an amalgamation of several different examples of international guerilla activities across the globe.⁴³ The first target of Kunzelmann's *Tupamaros West-Berlin*, however, would soon focus all attention on the radical left's attitude towards the Middle East conflict and, in particular, the state of Israel. On 9 November 1969 the heads of the Jewish community assembled in the Jewish Community Centre in *Fasanenstraße* in the district of Charlottenburg to commemorate the 31st anniversary of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany in 1938. Among those attending the occasion

was also Albert Fichter who had been among the small group of Hashish Rebels trained by the Fatah in Jordan a few weeks earlier. He hung his coat in the locker room and exited the building almost immediately, leaving behind a timed arson-bomb in one of the coat pockets. Fortunately the bomb never went off, and was only discovered the following day by cleaning personnel. The scandal of this act of obvious left-wing anti-Semitism left commentators – and indeed the majority of left-wing activists – speechless and baffled.

In the days after the failed arson attack on the Jewish Community Centre, the group published a number of explanations and propaganda articles trying to justify their action. They claimed their failed attack to be an act of pro-Palestinian, anti-Zionist militancy in protest against the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories two years earlier. Furthermore, they insisted on the difference between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, and the Tupamaros's rhetoric tried to implicate the present West German political elite in the Nazi crimes of thirty-one years earlier:

We'll see to it that the shame will destroy you. Twenty-five years after the Fascist dictatorship these gentlemen's past is returning. It's far too late to get over it. They all were in it back then, except one: Georg Elser. From among the older generation no one else may talk to us. We know by ourselves where to place our bombs.⁴⁴

It is significant that in their accusation of the older generation, the Tupamaros West-Berlin referred to Georg Elser. On the eve of the 9 November 1939, Elser had placed a bomb in the Bürgerbräukeller, a beer hall in Munich where Hitler and other National Socialist party grandees staged their annual celebration of their failed coup d'état of 1923. Elser's bomb did go off, but it failed to kill Hitler who had left the beer hall minutes earlier. Evidently, the Tupamaros saw their action in this tradition of anti-Fascist anarchism, and they highlighted the fact that it was West German former members of the National Socialist party who, as the political and administrative elite of the FRG, were now allies of the state of Israel and provided financial support as well as weapons technology. In reality, however, the anti-Semitic character of this failed bomb attack on the Jewish Community Centre in West Berlin was all too obvious: Whoever pretended to fight the state of Israel by planning an attack on the German Jews in Berlin was evidently under the spell of the traditional anti-Semitic notion of the 'eternal Jew' – the delusion that Jewry presented a uniform and omnipresent worldwide network throughout the ages and across all continents. The academic distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism was thus rendered meaningless.

The radical left-wing Berlin underground reacted to the Tupamaros's attempted bomb attack on the Jewish Community Centre with a controversial debate on the nature and ideological significance of anti-Semitism.⁴⁵ This critical assessment of recent ideological pitfalls occurred alongside an open discussion of the strategic situation and possible success of an armed struggle against the West German state under the banner of a Red Army Faction.⁴⁶ Kunzelmann himself saw his activities in precisely this context as he tried to explain in two articles

for the Berlin underground press, which he entitled 'Letters from Amman', as if he were still in the Middle East and commented on the events in Berlin from a distance. In his first article he praised the combat experience among the Fatah fighters as a transformation of consciousness and the birth of a new revolutionary mindset that would supersede earlier psychological limitations and create the new anti-imperialist universal soldier:

Everything is very simple here. The enemy is clear. His weapons are open to view. It is not necessary to demand solidarity. It emerges on its own. For the first time I have understood the meaning of the people's revolutionary transformation in a 'long-lasting popular liberation struggle'.⁴⁷

Such enthusiasm for the formative function of revolutionary violence echoed Fanon's observations of the rebirth of the humanity of the colonized through resistance and violence. Kunzelmann responded to the charge of left-wing anti-Semitism by accusing the political establishment of West Berlin and West Germany of mindless pro-Semitism – in his words, 'the Jewish tick'. He denied the association of anti-Fascism with political support for the state of Israel, and campaigned for a revolutionary solidarity movement with Fatah instead of the prevailing West German philo-Semitism. It is important to see this radical statement in its strategic context. Kunzelmann intended to use the conflict in the Middle East as a propagandistic launch pad for his plans of an armed anti-imperialist resistance movement in Europe because, as he put it, 'for the FRG and Europe, Palestine represents what Vietnam represents for the Americans'.⁴⁸ It is this simple equation which brought the Middle East to the attention of the radical left-wing underground in West Germany rather than a secret or subconscious tradition of right-wing anti-Semitism. And the domestic function of anti-Zionist militancy in the Middle East was conceived as a mobilizing force in support of the militant counterculture in Germany. The example of the Fatah movement was, in this context, chosen rather arbitrarily, as the notion of 'anti-imperialist struggle' took centre stage within the narrow perspective of increasingly militarized confrontation in Germany. 'Everything we wanted to achieve through the so-called counter-society', Kunzelmann worried, 'is constantly in danger of disintegration'. The German militant underground, so he believed, had 'forgotten that "opposition" is linked to "opponent", and "opponent" to "struggle"'. Without struggle', he argued, 'we get stuck in the liberal morass which is taking hold of our counter-society'.⁴⁹ The ultimate goal of his understanding of anti-Zionist violence was, therefore, to be understood as anti-liberal rather than anti-Semitic.

During the winter of 1969/70, however, it became clear that very few left-wing comrades were prepared to follow this radical logic. The international terrorist activities of the pro-Fatah groups in Europe had forfeited any sympathies that might have still been present among the most radical elements of the former protest movement of the late 1960s. This became crystal clear after a bomb attack

on the Israeli airline El Al in Athens, where a child was among the victims. This incident could not, in the words of the pro-Palestinian journal *Free Palestine*, 'be condoned by anyone wishing the Palestinian cause well'. The militant activism of Fatah and their European followers threatened to destroy the moral credit of the Palestinian cause among the European left, and the leadership of the PLO was eager to dissociate its political agenda from the threat of militant anti-Semitism: 'While granted that Zionism and Imperialism have a worldwide presence, the base for Zionism is in the Palestinian homeland and that is where, ultimately, it must be defeated'. The journal deplored the 'adventurist bravado' with which self-proclaimed pro-Palestinian forces around the world would deflect from 'the necessity of confronting their direct imperialist enemy, Zionist Israel'. Their 'individual hero-worship' was accused of dangerous 'escapism', and would also 'constitute a windfall for Zionist propagandists who eagerly jump at the chance of exploiting these incidents in order to damage the Palestinian cause in the eyes of world opinion'. The 'Palestinian revolution' would be the 'product of revolutionaries, not of adventurers'.⁵⁰

In April 1970, Kunzelmann responded to this new situation with a second 'Letter from Amman' which significantly modified his earlier position. While he still regarded Jewish communities across the globe as agents of Zionism, he now identified Jewish emigration to Israel as the main threat to the Palestinian cause. Any violent action against German Jews he now saw as a dangerous justification for their emigration to Israel, and again Kunzelmann came up with a simple parallel that illustrated his crude perspective on a globalized context of U.S.-led 'Western imperialism': 'Every immigrant into Israel can be compared to a French settler in Algeria and, by tendency, to a G.I. in Vietnam'. Any attack on Jews in Germany would only increase the pressure on the Jews outside Israel to regard the Jewish state as their national safe haven and should therefore be regarded as counter-productive for the Palestinian cause. While he deplored the fact that the Vietnam campaign of the late 1960s had never attacked U.S. bases in Germany, he now envisaged a new pro-Palestinian campaign that would aim for the 'liberation of arrested Palestinians, agitation among the German Jews, a fight against the Jewish emigration to Israel, the prevention of any support (weapons, goods, capital) [for Israel]'. But the ultimate goal for his revolutionary activities remained domestic, because 'never before did we have such a good chance to promote the revolution in our own country by supporting a people's war of liberation'.⁵¹ The latter half of his Letter from Amman was concerned entirely with questions of internal organization and the emerging ideological differences among the militant underground in West Berlin. Kunzelmann recommended organizing a revolutionary party after the Chinese model, with a parallel political structure alongside the clandestine military groups so that political and military requirements would inform each other and maintain the popular foundation of his militant liberation movement.⁵² Again, anti-Zionism served only as a lever for the establishment of a German militant revolutionary movement.

Conclusion

In this way, militant anti-Zionism entered the political grammar of German left-wing terrorism during the 1970s. The ideological demarcation between the support of the Palestinian liberation movement in its various military guises on the one hand, and outright violent anti-Semitism on the other, got blurred in more than one instance. In 1972, the Palestinian terror group Black September kidnapped eleven members of the Israeli Olympic team during the games in Munich, all of whom died either during the attack or as a result of a later attempt to free them. Some members of the German militant underground, such as the Revolutionäre Zellen (Revolutionary Cells) boasted their logistical support for the Palestinians.⁵³ In 1976, a mixed commando consisting of members of the PFLP and the German terror group 'Bewegung 2. Juni' (Movement of 2 June) hijacked an Israeli passenger plane en route to Paris and diverted it to Entebbe in Uganda, where the most infamous scene of this German-Palestinian cooperation took place: the passengers were 'selected' into Jews and non-Jews – the latter were free to go. An Israeli Special Forces unit succeeded in freeing the hostages.⁵⁴ In 1977, the PFLP repaid their loyal German comrades by supporting the Red Army Faction in their attempt to free their leading members from prison during the so-called 'German Autumn' by hijacking a Lufthansa jet. The infamous 'Palestine connection' of German terrorism has recently attracted considerable attention among the relevant scholarship, and continues to serve as an argument for the charge of anti-Semitism against the German militant Left.⁵⁵

The origins of this cooperation, however, should be seen in a longer-term context since the mid-1960s, when the German New Left was completely oblivious (and rather ignorant) of the situation in the Middle East. The globalization of revolutionary militancy had been promoted by accounts such as Fanon's and by the mobilizing rhetoric of Guevara, Debray and others. Popular media such as the cinema contributed to the canonization of revolutionary theory and aesthetics as icons of pop culture. The protest movement's political quest for international solidarity was centred on resistance movements in Latin America, Vietnam, Iran, and, to a lesser extent, Africa. The guiding ideology of anti-imperialist internationalism thereby proved abstract enough to incorporate each and every international conflict into a simple opposition between U.S.-led imperialism and progressive anti-imperialist revolution. As well informed and internationalist as this global consciousness may have appeared, it also operated by a number of rather crude simplifications. Every ally of the United States was invariably categorized as 'imperialist', no matter what the historical or regional circumstances. It is this logic which led to the pro-Palestinian swing of student opinion in West Berlin, just hours after the killing of Benno Ohnesorg at the hands of the Berlin police. The 'enemies' appeared, in Kunzelmann's later diction, quite clear: Lyndon B. Johnson's war in Vietnam, the Shah's oppressive regime in Iran, and the Berlin police who appeared to follow the Greek example of establishing a militarized authoritarian state and who evidently did not shy away from killing

an unarmed peaceful protester. In this heated atmosphere the news of the war in the Middle East could only have one effect – unconditional solidarity with the Arab world in general, and the Palestinian cause in particular. This identification was spontaneous and proved lasting. When genuine anti-Semitism appeared on the agenda, it originated from a suspicion against pro-Western international networks. Students at the Free University were already alarmed by the clandestine activities of the CIA on campus, and staged protests against U.S. foreign policy in front of cultural centres, such as the Amerikahäuser. When the Jewish communities were targeted as international agents of Zionism, this paranoia turned into genuine anti-Semitism along the notion of the ‘eternal Jew’. But this form of left-wing anti-Semitism was not the cause but rather the result of the radical political turn of the summer of 1967. While the legacy of this anti-Zionist swing ultimately manifested itself in an abominable descent into the darkest practices of German anti-Semitism (such as the ‘selection’ at Entebbe) and proved, at times, murderous, it originated from an ill-digested internationalism which was unable to cope with the complexities of a worldwide ideological conflict and its historical context. The German protest generation of the late 1960s showed little interest in discourses of guilt or responsibility for the Nazi crimes, and presented the older generation with a fresh and de-historicized challenge against the postwar settlements in East and West. The naïveté of their challenge became clear in the case of the Middle East, which proved too complex a terrain to be navigated by simple friend–foe oppositions. And the new Palestinian friends of the German anti-Zionist militants contributed a good deal to the protest movement’s disintegration into blind radicalism and political violence.

Notes

1. Many recent international histories of the 1960s continue to transport this somewhat romantic notion of an international generational event; see e.g.: G.-R. Horn. 2007. *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and Northern America, 1956–76*, Oxford: University Press; N. Frei. 2008. *1968. Jugendrevolte und globaler Protest*, Munich: dtv.
2. See e.g.: M. Klimke. 2008. ‘1968 als transnationales Ereignis’, *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 14/15, 22–27; on the relation of anti-Zionism and terrorism see: D. Hauser. 2008. ‘Terrorism’, in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 269–80. A typical reflex of this new and globalized political consciousness is: G. DeGroot. 2008. *The Sixties Unplugged: A kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
3. This development has already been studied in detail by M.W. Kloke. 1990. *Israel und die deutsche Linke. Zur Geschichte eines schwierigen Verhältnisses*, Frankfurt a. M.: Haag + Herchen; see also Kloke. 2004. ‘Antizionismus und Antisemitismus als Weltanschauung? Tendenzen im deutschen Linksradikalismus und –extremismus’, in Bundesministerium des Innern (ed.), *Extremismus in Deutschland. Erscheinungsformen*

- und aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin: Bundesministerium des Innern, 2004, 163–96; Kloke. 2007. “Das zionistische Staatsgebilde als Brückenkopf des Imperialismus”. Vor vierzig Jahren wurde die neue deutsche Linke antiisraelisch’, *Merkur* 61(6), 487–97. See also the earlier and more essayistic verdict of H.M. Broder. 1986. *Der ewige Antisemit. Über Sinn und Funktion eines beständigen Gefühls*, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch.
4. The best analysis is: A. Vowinckel. 2004. ‘Der kurze Weg nach Entebbe oder die Verlängerung der deutschen Geschichte in den Nahen Osten’, *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 1/2, URL: <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Vowinckel-2-2004>.
 5. S. Aust. 1988. *Der Baader-Meinhof-Komplex*, Munich: Droemer Knauer; the feature film (produced by Bernd Eichinger) appeared under the same name in 2008.
 6. W. Kraushaar. 2005. *Die Bombe im Jüdischen Gemeindehaus*, Hamburg: Hamburger Edition; the public controversy following his book may be explored through: <http://www.isioma.net/sds050803.html>.
 7. See a more general attempt to connect the student movement of the 1960s to the conservative opposition of the interwar period by M.M. Payk. 2008. ‘Faszination der Gewalt: Konservative Revolution und Neue Linke’, in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 5(1), URL: <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Payk-1-2008>.
 8. M. Brumlik, ‘Die Overture. “Die Bombe im Jüdischen Gemeindehaus”’, Wolfgang Kraushaars Studie über den Anschlag in Westberlin am 9. November 1969 erhebt den Vorwurf des “linken Antisemitismus”’, in *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 Jul 2005, 15.
 9. E. ‘Che’ Guevara. 1967. ‘Schaffen wir zwei, drei, viele Vietnam. Brief an das Exekutivsekretariat von OSPAAAL’, in *Kleine Revolutionäre Bibliothek*, vol. 1, intr. and transl. by Gaston Salvatore and Rudi Dutschke, Berlin: Oberbaumverlag, 10 (trans. A.R.).
 10. Cf. the memoirs of Ulrich Enzensberger who remembered that *after* June 1967 Dayan’s visit had ‘fitted the picture’: U. Enzensberger. 2004. *Die Jahre der Kommune I, 1967–69*, Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 158. Dayan had gone to Vietnam as a war correspondent for the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*.
 11. Arabische Studentenvereinigung e.V., ‘Erklärung der arabischen Studenten zum Frieden im Nahen Osten vom 25.5.1967’, Archiv APO und Soziale Bewegungen, Otto-Suhr-Institut FU Berlin: ‘Presse- und Informationsdienst der FUB, Flugblätter und -schriften FUB, sonstige Dokumentationen, Schah-Besuch (Mai/Juni 1967)’, fol. 157 (trans. A.R.).
 12. See the attempt to clarify the ‘lawful state of affairs’ by a PLO conference in Algiers in late July, the proceedings of which were only available to German readers much later: Kolloquium arabischer Juristen über Palästina (eds). 1969. *Die Palästina-Frage. Kolloquium arabischer Juristen über Palästina, Algier 22.-27. Juli 1967*, Beuel: Seidl.
 13. F. Stern, M. Wolffsohn and D. Metzger (representing the Committee of Jewish Student Organisations), ‘Israelische Aggression?’, *ibid.*, fol. 160 (trans. A. R.).
 14. Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft, ‘Spenden für Israel’, Archiv APO und Soziale Bewegungen, Otto-Suhr-Institut FU Berlin: ‘Nahost, Palästina 2’ (trans. A.R.).
 15. See the thorough account of the events of 2 June by U. Soukup. 2007. *Wie starb Benno Ohnesorg? Der 2. Juni 1967*, Berlin: Verlag 1900. Later revelations that Karl-Heinz Kurras, the police officer who killed Ohnesorg, had been a card-carrying member of the East German Communist Party and an agent for the Stasi were unknown at the time,

- and it is unlikely that East German authorities had been involved in this incident which catapulted Kurras into the media limelight and rendered him useless as an eastern agent within the West Berlin police apparatus.
16. See, for example, a manuscript for the 22nd delegate conference of the SDS in Frankfurt in September: 'Die Militärdiktatur in Griechenland und die Parallele zur Notstandsgesetzgebung in der BRD', Archiv APO und Soziale Bewegungen, Otto-Suhr-Institut FU Berlin: 'BV, 22. DK, 1967 (Frankfurt), SDS', 20–23; the German Interior Ministry and the Social Democrat Friedrich Schäfer had suggested 'the Greek emergency laws as a model for a German emergency constitution'. *Ibid.*, 23.
 17. Cf. earlier accounts of Berlin student politics that ignored this vote: T. Fichter and S. Lönnendonker. 1977. *Kleine Geschichte des SDS. Der Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund von 1946 bis zur Selbstauflösung*, Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 106–7; H. Häußermann, N. Kadritzke and K. Nevermann (eds). 1967. *Die Rebellen von Berlin. Studentenpolitik an der Freien Universität, Dokumentation von Jens Hager*, Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 156–72. In 2002, Lönnendonker, Bernd Rabeahl and Jochen Staadt dedicated only a short reference to this key moment: S. Lönnendonker, B. Rabeahl and J. Staadt. 2002. *Die antiautoritäre Revolte. Der Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund nach der Trennung von der SPD, vol. 1: 1960–1967*, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 337; by contrast, see the far more critical and honest recollections of Enzensberger, *Die Jahre*, 156–57.
 18. *Ibid.*, 158–59.
 19. This is explored in detail by Vowinkel, 'Der kurze Weg nach Entebbe', esp. 6–7. Cf. e.g. the article N.N. 1967. 'Blitz und Blut', *Der Spiegel* 25, 30.
 20. Cf. the interview with Isaac Deutscher in *New Left Review* 1(44), Jul/Aug 1967, 30–45, esp. 36.
 21. S. Haffner. 1967. 'Hände weg vom Nahost-Konflikt!', *Stern* 26, 25 Jun 1967 (trans. A.R.). See also Kloke's analysis of neutralism in Kloke, *Israel*, 68–71.
 22. R. Langhans and F. Teufel. 1968. 'Einlassung zur Sache: Teufel', in B. Vesper, *Klau Mich!*, Frankfurt a. M. and Berlin: Edition Voltaire, 76 (trans. A.R.).
 23. 'Der Konflikt im Nahen Osten, Materialien der 22. DK des SDS in Frankfurt', Archiv APO und Soziale Bewegungen, Otto-Suhr-Institut FU Berlin: 'BV, 22. DK, 1967 (Frankfurt), SDS', 48–53, here: 49 (trans. A.R.).
 24. See, however, Kloke, *Israel und die deutsche Linke*, 77, who believes this document was passed as a formal resolution. Rabeahl, Lönnendonker and Staadt, in their history of the SDS, do not mention this text at all: cf. Lönnendonker, Staadt and Rabeahl, *Die antiautoritäre Revolte*, 372–99.
 25. 'Der Konflikt im Nahen Osten', 50 (trans. A.R.).
 26. *Ibid.*, 53 (trans. A.R.).
 27. F. Fanon. 1965. *The Wretched of the Earth*, pref. by Jean-Paul Sartre, London: MacGibbon and Kee.
 28. F. Fanon. 1965., 'Von der Gewalt', *Kursbuch* 2, 1–55.
 29. *Ibid.*, 7 (trans. A.R.).
 30. On Kunzelmann, see A. Reimann. 2009. *Dieter Kunzelmann. Protestler, Avantgardist, Radikaler*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
 31. The activities of the group are well documented: F. Böckelmann and H. Nagel (eds). 1976. *Subversive Aktion. Der Sinn der Organisation ist ihr Scheitern*, Frankfurt: Verlag Neue Kritik.

32. Letter by Dieter Kunzelmann to Rudi Dutschke of 21 Sep 1965, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung: RUD 151, 06, fol. 2.
33. On the close link between protest culture and the media after 1945, cf. M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds). 2007. 1968. *Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, Stuttgart: Metzler; on Kunzelmann's appropriation of media inspirations, see A. Reimann. 2008. 'Dieter Kunzelmann, die Revolte und ihr Medium', in S. Grampp et al. (eds), *Revolutionsmedien und Medienrevolutionen*, Konstanz: Uvk, 651–76.
34. B. Rabehl. 1967. 'Viva Fanon! Die Revolution der Dritten Welt und der Revuefilm *Viva Maria*', *Kino (Berlin)* 4, 23–29.
35. Interview with Dieter Kunzelmann, in W. Dreßen, D. Kunzelmann and E. Siepmann (eds). 1991. *Nilpferd des höllischen Urwalds. Situationisten, Gruppe Spur, Kommune I, Ausstellungskatalog des Werkbund-Archivs*, Gießen: n.a., 194–95 (trans. A.R.).
36. Berlin: 'Leistungsbeweise der Gewalt', *linkeck* 6, Dec 1968, 3 (trans. A.R.). See also the complete reprint of all *linkeck* editions between 1967 and 1969: R. Halbach (ed.). 1987. *Linkeck – Erste antiautoritäre Zeitung. Jedes Urteil wissenschaftlicher Kritik ist mir willkommen*, Berlin: Kramer-Verlag. The paper figured as a partner publication of the student movement for subversive groups among Berlin high-school students. Alongside political radicalism it also employed consciously provocative pornographic elements. It was originally edited by the so-called *linkeck*-Commune.
37. See a somewhat apologetic characterisation by K. Andresen, M. Mohr and H. Rübner. 2006. 'Unruhe in der Öffentlichkeit. Agit 883 zwischen Politik, Subkultur und Staat', in K. Andresen, M. Mohr and H. Rübner (eds), *Agit 883. Bewegung, Revolte, Untergrund in Westberlin 1969–1972*, Berlin: Assoziation A, 17–44. This volume also contains a complete digital reprint of all editions. Between 1969 and 1972, *agit 883* aimed at a combination of lifestyle revolt and the promotion of militant radical politics. The scope of political discussions conducted through its pages ranged from the subversive activism of the so-called '*Spaß-Guerilla*' (guerrilla of subversive fun) to open support for terrorist violence and the eventual dogmatism of the emerging German Maoist groups. Its circulation peaked at about ten thousand copies.
38. 'Palästina-Problem. Für ein revolutionäres Palästina! Für einen antiimperialistischen Nahen Osten!', *agit 883* (30), 4 Sep 1969, 2–3, 3 (trans. A.R.).
39. Cf. M.W. Kloke. 1994. 'Zwischen Ressentiment und Heldenmythos. Das Bild der Palästinenser in der deutschen Linkspresse', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 3, 227–53, esp. 235–36; Kraushaar, *Die Bombe*, 116–22, 138–41, 244–47; Reimann, *Dieter Kunzelmann*, 265–70.
40. Letter by Georg v. Rauch to 'Hannibal' (i.e. Kurt Lietsch), probably in September 1969, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung: SAK 270, 05 II (trans. A.R.).
41. On the group's training in Jordan, see Albert Fichter's account in Kraushaar, *Die Bombe*, 245–46, 245.
42. The Tupamaros' activities have later been popularized in Germany by R. Debray. 1972. 'Was wir von den Tupamaros lernen können', in *Sozialistisches Jahrbuch* 4, ed. by W. Dreßen, Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 144–76. Cf. German translations of the Tupamaros' own texts in: 1974. *Wir, die Tupamaros* (= *Antiimperialistischer Kampf Nr. 8, Materialien und Diskussion*), Frankfurt: Roter Stern.
43. Cf. on this appropriation of international guerrilla activities in Hans Magnus Enzensberger's journal *Kursbuch*: Kraushaar, *Die Bombe*, 144–46.

44. Text of a recorded propaganda tape of the 'Tupamaros West-Berlin' published in *agit 883* (41), 20 Nov 1969, 7.
45. Cf. e.g. Tilman Fichter's article 'Was ist Antisemitismus?' in *agit 883* (41), 20 Nov 1969, 4–5.
46. Cf. 'Imperialismus und Terror' in *agit 883* (42), 27 Nov 1969, 4–5.
47. D. Kunzelmann, 'Brief aus Amman', *ibid.*, 5.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. 'A Misguided Act', *Free Palestine* 2(7), Dec 1969, 4.
51. Kunzelmann, 'Brief aus Amman', in *agit 883* (55), 3 Apr 1970, 11.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Cf. W. Kraushaar. 2004. 'Zwischen Popkultur, Politik und Zeitgeschichte. Von der Schwierigkeit, die RAF zu historisieren', *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 1(2), URL: <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Kraushaar-2-2004>, part 5.
54. Cf. Vowinckel, 'Der kurze Weg nach Entebbe'.
55. Cf. e.g. Kraushaar, *Die Bombe*, 117–22.

PART II

Re-orienting Visions and Classifications

Politically Relevant or ‘Carnival’?

Echoes of ‘1968’ in German Public Broadcasting

Meike Vogel

In the 1960s, the importance of television as a medium of information experienced a tremendous rise in West Germany. Therefore it seems only logical to relate the activities of the protest movement, which culminated in 1968 and generated considerable media attention, to a growing importance of television at that time. The existence of a link between television and the 1968 movement was recognized by many participants in these events, not only at the time of their occurrence but also in retrospect. It was also reflected in academic literature devoted to this topic. Hence, it could be claimed that, apart from the much-trumpeted ‘myth of 1968’, there emerged a certain ‘media myth’ surrounding these events.¹

In the past, discussions on the role of television focused mainly on the question of whether the mass media in general were for or against the demonstrations, and to what extent television in particular was supportive of the protesters.² Such an approach, however, does not consider television coverage of the protests in its own right, and thus ignores a significant part of what ‘1968’ was about. The fundamental thesis of this chapter is that, in order to comprehend the phenomenon of 1968 in its entirety, one should not be tempted to separate contemporary debates about the protests from the protests themselves. It is important to bear in mind that the media coverage of these events was at the same time part of the phenomenon, so that, analytically speaking, ‘1968’ can be conceived of as a political communication event.³

Over the course of the 1960s, television gradually replaced print media as the leading medium. While the first TV channel in Germany went on air in 1953, by the end of the 1960s there were already three of them: from 1963

the first TV channel of the federally structured ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [German Association of Public Broadcasters]) was accompanied by the centrally managed ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* [Second German Television]), as well as by a third channel with programmes produced by regional broadcasters who were members of the ARD. In their statutes all broadcasters followed the principle of impartial public service broadcasting. As a result, broadcasting councils – the supervisory bodies of the broadcasters – included representatives of influential groups in society (e.g. members of parliament, churches and trade unions). Owing to this specific structure, subject to public law, the broadcasters enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, provided that they acted within democratic limits.

Statistically, it was not until 1974 that every German citizen gained access to a television, but even in 1970, fifteen million German households owned a TV set. In 1967, the share of viewers in the adult population of West Germany stood at 73 per cent.⁴ Therefore it seems justified to conclude that by the time the violent protests in the streets of Berlin and elsewhere appeared on TV screens for the first time, television had already become an important source of information and entertainment in society. German media devoted considerable attention to the demonstrations of 1967/68, and reported on them on a regular basis. Extensive features on the leading figures, replete with background information, found their way to numerous magazine programmes, while representatives of the student movement were regularly invited to talk shows to present and discuss their points of view. The study which forms the basis for this paper,⁵ examines 380 TV features (partly in audio-visual, partly in written form), including 117 news reports, 43 features from magazine programmes as well as a number of talk shows, all of which centred on student protests – and this represents only a partial sample of the available reporting.

Taking this broad news coverage into account, it is easy to see that public debates about the protests generated an array of reports, comments and reactions in all kinds of mass media. In this respect, television played a particularly important role since it enjoyed a high degree of credibility among the audience, but also – by means of moving images – provided new sensory impressions.

The following analysis is based on the premise that the impacts of the TV coverage lay not so much in promoting a stance for or against the protests, but rather in propagating certain patterns of perception which positioned the protests in the political sphere. In order to identify these patterns, I will make use of the concept of ‘framing’ and will examine how the news coverage of protests contributed to defining political reality by means of images, designations and interpretations.⁶ The aim of this analysis is to show that TV coverage promoted a number of dominant interpretive frames which exerted a strong influence on the public debate. Instead of concentrating solely on which issues and topics were put to public discussion by the protest movement, the focus will be placed on *how* these topics and issues were addressed and (medially) communicated. One important conclusion is that a (quantitative) content analysis, which examines

merely the issues dealt with in the media, is simply not sufficient. By scrutinizing the news coverage of the protest movement, it will be demonstrated that the influence of the media consists above all in their capacity to form and shape ideas and interpretations.

Frames of the Protests

By using the methods of frame analysis, it is possible to discern two central frames which informed the news coverage of student demonstrations.⁷ On the one hand, the protests were placed in the context of *Ruhe und Ordnung* ('peace and order' or 'law and order'); on the other they were seen either as political or non-political phenomena.

Ruhe und Ordnung is a catchphrase with a long tradition in German history.⁸ As West Germany struggled to come to terms with the protests in the 1960s, this political catchphrase resurfaced once again.⁹ In TV broadcasts from 1966 to 1969, references to the protests (and the entire movement) as 'unrest' as well as the catchphrase *Ruhe und Ordnung* were omnipresent. In several reports the general tone was that the protesters disturbed public order. It should be emphasized, however, that the presentation of protests as 'unrest' in a negative light was by no means dominant in TV commentaries. Far more often, contemporary TV reports embraced the protest as a positive, productive 'unrest', and used the old German catchphrase of *Ruhe und Ordnung* in a derogatory sense.

The majority of journalists and commentators distanced themselves explicitly from the maxim of *Ruhe und Ordnung* and criticized the state's responses to the protests. Criticism flared up with particular vehemence in the summer of 1967, after the shooting of the student Benno Ohnesorg by a Berlin police



Figure 4.1 'For the sake of order that must be upheld.'¹⁰

officer on 2 June during the protests against the Shah of Persia, Reza Pahlavi. This event not only triggered a closing of ranks among students, but also induced a wave of criticism in the media directed against the Berlin police and the state's reaction to the protest. One extremely radical example of a critical take on the principle of *Ruhe und Ordnung* can be found in *Jahresrückblick 1967*, a round-up of the year's events. Commenting on the image of Benno Ohnesorg dying on the street, Joachim Fest, prominent publicist and anchorman of one of the most important TV magazines, used the word 'order' in the ironic manner given in the caption to Figure 4.1.

It is evident that in many reports 'order' had a negative connotation, which was conveyed in both words and images. 'Unrest' on the other hand – as represented by the protesters – was presented as a positive concept. In fact, literal references to 'productive' or 'salutary' unrest were not uncommon at that time. Much along the lines of these interpretive frames of 'order' and 'unrest', other interpretive models can be identified which suggested readings of protest that entailed differing political ideas, and which represented these with the aid of images and words. A large number of TV journalists endorsed the notion of 'productive unrest' because their idea of democracy was based not on consensus, but on discourse and exchange.

By establishing interpretive models, as well as providing key images and concepts, TV coverage not only had a considerable capacity to influence discourse about the protests in the 1960s, but also enduringly shaped public debate on the protests and on political order in the years that followed. The basic construction of the frame *Ruhe und Ordnung* implies that in TV coverage the protests were presented in a binary framework, either as posing a threat to, or engendering reinvigoration of, the democratic system. In reality, however, the roles and evaluations attributed to student demonstrations were much more diverse. Instances of yet another pervasive scheme of interpretation can be found, which often contrasted with the frame of peace and unrest.

This second scheme, defined by the pair of antonyms 'political / non-political', focused on the question of whether or not the protests and their participants were perceived as a political phenomenon. In order to outline the development of this scheme, a closer look will be taken on the way student protests were presented in the media. As a second step, the analysis will focus on the strategies of positioning the demonstrators in the political sphere.

Protesters as a Political Force?

Clips of the demonstrations typically formed the backdrop to reports on the student movement. These images showed crowds of people in motion, carrying Che Guevara placards and waving Vietcong flags, as well as human chains advancing arm in arm, chanting the name of Ho Chi Minh. Rapid cuts and frequent shifts of camera perspective created a series of agitated images which were associated

with the student protests in a stereotypical fashion.¹¹ These images constantly recurred and closely resembled one another, and were integrated into a filmic dramatization replete with verbal categorizations. While the majority of TV images showed swarming masses of anonymous demonstrators, camera close-ups and zooms focused as a rule on individuals who were familiar to the viewers. The range of roles and functions assigned to these individuals was very broad. For instance, as of late summer 1967, the media spotlight turned to Rudi Dutschke, one of the leading figures within the protest movement, who was severely injured in an assassination attempt in April 1968. Dutschke's function was confined solely to that of an agitator and speaker whose determination was a source of inspiration for others. Furthermore, he was portrayed as a person responsible for the ideological underpinning and activities of the whole movement. It remains debatable, though, to what extent TV coverage helped to establish – or at least reinforce – Dutschke's reputation as a brilliant speaker.

Seen in this light, members of Commune I (Kommune 1) were given quite a different task to fulfil. Commune I was the first politically motivated commune in Germany, created in January 1967. Its members were interested in exploring new forms of living as well as new forms of protest. One of the actions that brought them wide publicity was the so-called 'pudding attack' against U.S. Vice President Hubert Humphrey in April 1967, which was prevented by the police. In the majority of TV reports, the members of Commune I were associated with playfulness and deviation from the norm. In this vein, a number of reports used the same characteristic sequence, showing the communards taking part in a demonstration in Berlin in June 1967. Clad in white bed sheets, they claimed themselves to be a procession of repentant sinners.

Extremely flashy clothes and provocative gestures and postures were simply means of creating a specific look for the group. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that contemporary documentaries with similar imagery of actions by Commune I were abundant. The reports tended to focus on one specific aspect of the protests, captured best in the off-camera commentary in *Berliner Abendschau*, the regional news broadcast for Berlin, which accompanied the images of the penitents: 'The most peculiar part of the demonstration was formed by the leftist student group Commune'.¹²

Whether the focus was on students in suits and ties engaged in serious discussions or on those wearing extravagant clothes depended also on the overall perception of the student movement. Some documentaries primarily showed students sitting or lying on the floor in no particular order, dressed in casual or unusual clothes which stood out from what was considered to be normal. In a report by Herbert Hausen, for instance, which was part of the programme *Bessere Demokraten oder Anarchisten?* [Better Democrats or Anarchists?],¹³ and which was used to support the case against the protest movement, demonstrators were put in the category of communist rowdies who were at odds with the social order. The first take showed Dutschke and a group of other students with their fists raised, singing the '*Internationale*'. The ensuing sequence was dubbed with a



Figure 4.2 Members of Commune I

recording of the melody and words of the '*Internationale*' in the original.¹⁴ This way the report unmistakably suggested a certain political orientation of the students, namely close affiliation to communism. All in all, they were presented as members of a radical opposition who took a certain degree of pleasure in provocative behaviour. Apart from scuffles with the police, the report made extensive use of images of students with long hair, wearing 'sloppy clothes' (i.e. turtleneck sweaters). On the verbal level, the commentary was full of explicit references to this kind of attire. It was said, among other things, that these gloomy uniforms were symptomatic of 'herd instincts'.¹⁵

Such a detailed analysis, however, should not be taken to imply that these images and frames were dominant in the media. Members of Commune I appeared on TV much less frequently than in magazines.¹⁶ Parallel to that, there were often broadcasts of press conferences and interviews with the president of the General Students' Committee (*Allgemeiner Studentenausschuss* or AStA) of the Free University of Berlin or with Horst Mahler, the AStA's lawyer and some years later one of the founding members of the terrorist group Red Army Faction. The protesters, it appears, were categorized into two groups – a fact aptly reflected in the title of one of the programmes of the *Forum* series from December 1967: 'Revolution of 1967 – Student Prank or a Necessity?'¹⁷ This discussion considered whether student protests should be taken seriously and perceived as legitimate, necessary and therefore politically relevant events or whether they were nothing but a joke. The question recurred later – implicitly and explicitly – in countless reports about the protests.

The frame 'political / non-political' was constituted by two opposing poles. By portraying students as actors involved in serious political discussions and genuinely interested in issues of general concern, TV reports suggested a strong political quality to their protests. One example is a report which focused mainly

on the positive impact of the protests on the political situation in the Federal Republic. Walter Jens, a recognized journalist, writer and member of the influential literary association 'Group 47', insisted that there were serious political forces among the protesters. Later, he went on to differentiate between serious students on the one hand and the 'fun crowd' on the other, who in his opinion had simply not realized that all they were doing was giving conformist citizens 'a good excuse' to treat the demonstrations with contempt.¹⁸ A similar statement by Jens can be found in the weekly magazine *Die Zeit*: 'Will the zest crystallize into a programme that leads to change? Or will this noise – as bad as it may seem to all of us – which is an expression of the untamed emotional protest, turn into resignation? Students are at a crossroads'.¹⁹ Such categorizations and differentiations were common at that time.

The limits of respectability and political seriousness were frequently tested against Commune I. In the report mentioned above, the existence of the frame 'political / non-political' was implied by means of images and off-camera commentary. But even without the commentary it was often possible to discover this frame in many TV broadcasts, as it emerged from images and recorded audio. This can be clearly observed in a documentary from August 1967 which portrayed SDS members and 'radicals' as politically relevant leading figures, whose dedication and commitment were perceived as positive, even if somewhat unrealistic.²⁰ In the final part of the report, a sequence showed students, including members of Commune I with whom the viewers were familiar, blowing soap bubbles, laughing and talking indistinctly with one another.

Soap bubbles at the very end of the report unfolded their effect primarily on the visual level, and called into question the political seriousness of the students. Interestingly enough, the editorial team of *Jahresrückblick 1967*, which was broadcast on ARD, also chose these images as a closing sequence of their report on the student protests. The images were shown in the background, while at the same time the presenter Dieter Gütt spoke at his desk. In his commentary he distinguished between students who questioned traditional values and social order, and the 'dressed-up bubble blowers'.²¹ As a result of this visual and verbal arrangement, the latter group was denied any political objectives or seriousness. Soap bubbles stood for lightness and playfulness. At the same time they could easily be construed as a metaphor for pursuing unrealistic, Utopian aims. This symbolism is even more striking when the images of students were set against the dark suit that Gütt was wearing that evening.

Similar practices of comparing students to 'unrealistic pranksters' were also reflected in labelling strategies used by some journalists. Commenting on student demonstrations, Hans Heigert described them in his programme as 'silly carnival'.²² Hans-Jürgen Wiessner, editor in the ZDF studio in Berlin, claimed that Fritz Teufel, one of the members of Commune I, is 'a small muddle-head . . . and by no means a representative of the extra-parliamentary opposition who should be taken seriously'.²³ This is how the frame was used to depoliticize the students. The fundamental distinction underlying these statements was very clearly put



Figures 4.3–4.5 Stills from the sequence at the end of the documentary. No off-camera commentary. Recorded audio: babble of voices and laughter.²⁴



Figure 4.6 Presenter Dieter Gütt in *Jahresrückblick 1968*

into words by Joachim Fest. He categorized the protesters into two groups: one composed of serious political leaders, and the other of 'political clowns' who, as he claimed, gained increasing prominence among the protesters in the course of 1968.²⁵ Fest accused protesters of having no vision of the future. He also claimed that they became slaves of 'romanticism'.²⁶ Speaking in *Jahresüberblick 1967*, he added: 'They [the protesters] have retired from the world into their Utopias'.²⁷ Even though Fest and many other commentators perceived the protests as an important means of breaking away from *Ruhe und Ordnung*, at the same time they often emphasized that, in order to achieve a political transformation of society, more efforts were needed. 'The society of the future', said Fest in his commentary in *Jahresrückblick 1968*, 'does not come into being on its own, as its leaders maintain. It is not a dreamland to which the doors stand wide open at the end of a long march through the institutions of our society . . . One of the catchy slogans of the new Left', he continued, 'is that the truth is revolutionary. There is no doubt about it, but finding the truth requires rationality and reason'.²⁸

Rationality and reason – in Fest's eyes two preconditions for political responsibility – were in his opinion reduced to absurdity by the 'happening'-like nature of the movement. Thus, the attributes of 'political' and 'intellectual' were positioned in direct contrast to 'emotional' and 'aesthetic': 'The criticism expressed by the young generation does not come from the analysis of society, but is a result of feeling disgusted by it. It is not an intellectual, but merely an emotional issue taking place not in the realm of politics, but in the realm of aesthetics'.²⁹ Serious political commitment on the one hand and emotions and aesthetics on the other came to represent two mutually exclusive sides of one and the same phenomenon.

The emotionality of protesters was emphasized in other reports as well. One of them, concerning the Berlin International Vietnam Conference in February

1968, showed a group of participants with their fists raised forcefully in the air and chanting 'Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi-Minh'. The voice-over commented on these images in the following manner:



Figure 4.7 Television scene still – International Vietnam Congress 1968

The wave of enthusiasm starts spilling over when a flesh-and-blood Vietnamese steps onto the stage. Sometimes it can be really frightening when one is confronted with so much emotion and so much idealism, so much striving for world improvement and for universal happiness.³⁰

Unlike in Fest's comments, the reference to emotionality made in this report was not meant to accentuate a supposed lack of the political virtue of reason, but rather to point to the dangers lurking behind this 'wave of enthusiasm'. In the ideal world imagined by contemporary journalists, emotionality and politics did not go together. According to the 1960s media, the world of politics was supposed to be characterized by matter-of-factness and objectivity. Furthermore, any form of exaggerated emotionality was inevitably set against the backdrop of Nazi aesthetics, and as such perceived as a great threat.³¹ Hence, emotional and aesthetic elements were seen as factors disqualifying serious and 'objective' politics. In general, student protests were presented either as a necessary or as a dangerous political force. On the other hand, however, they were often framed as partly non-political. The latter was achieved by depicting demonstrations as an expression of the wish for 'coarse amusement'.

The debate about whether student protests should be perceived as a political phenomenon was a recurrent theme present in numerous TV reports and documentaries. The frame 'political / non-political' offered a pattern of interpretation without automatically prescribing or imposing a specific evaluation. Within the frame, multiple different foci could be identified, all of which followed one

central question, namely whether student demonstrations may be interpreted in terms of a political phenomenon. Interestingly, this question was asked and answered directly only in extremely rare cases. More often, certain categorization and classification techniques were used which took on very different forms. While in some reports the inter-generational conflict came to the fore (youthful exuberance versus defying any form of social authority), others focused on the question of the seriousness of the protest movement (student prank versus serious commitment). Similarly, differences on how to respond best to the demonstrations (seeking dialogue versus using police force) relied ultimately on the differing perceptions and evaluations of the political quality of the protests.

The Journalists' Engagement in the Political Sphere

Even though the reflections so far have centred on frames which were said to permeate TV programmes, it is equally important not to lose sight of the journalists involved in public broadcasting, and their role in shaping the general perception of the student movement. Although their self-image by no means directly generated the interpretations embedded in TV reports, the role of their political concepts should not be underestimated. Many of the journalists working in this still young medium saw themselves as decidedly political actors. They believed that both they themselves and TV journalism as a whole should play a part in the political sphere. They worked towards an expanded concept of politics and wished to become a political force in their own right. What they envisaged was a participatory democracy, which was also a key demand of the students.³²

The journalists distanced themselves from 'educational journalism' teaching the viewers in a pedagogical way, which was very common in public broadcasting directly after Second World War. Instead of that they wanted to empower TV viewers to become responsible citizens who actively engaged in political events. One key aspect of their self-image, and of those responsible for public service broadcasting in general, was thus the goal of allowing every voice to be heard. This way, all politically active citizens were given a chance to formulate a considered opinion.

Even though highly respected journalists such as Joachim Fest, Hans Heigert and Claus Hinrich Casdorff (all of them anchormen in current affairs programmes) were sceptical about the demonstrators, they used student protests as an opportunity to propagate their own views and ideas. The broadcasters also used the chance presented by the movement of 1968 to firmly establish their position in the political sphere. Their distanced attitude towards the state was to a large extent a reaction to the West German public broadcasting system which forced the journalists to walk a tightrope between independence within the state and the aspiration to serve the public.

In the shape of the medium of television, a new actor entered the political sphere, endowed with considerable authority. Analogically to protesters, TV

journalists also questioned the patterns of perception prevailing in the political system of the Federal Republic. By establishing key images and concepts, and providing narrative models and imagery, television contributed to the polarization of society and exerted a strong influence in the political sphere.

In many documents, critical ('*zeitkritische*') journalists³³ positioned themselves as members of the opposition outside the parliament, striving to expand their influence. Any assaults from the outside only reinforced them in this conviction. Evidence of this process can be found in one of the articles in the weekly *Der Spiegel* which discussed the issue of attacks on television in the context of the news coverage of the student protests: 'Forsaken by Bonn and the rest of the world, pestered by the Left and Right, these TV gentlemen suddenly see themselves as a piece of what is missing in Bonn, namely the opposition'.³⁴ Even though TV journalists were denied any aspirations to this role by representatives of the state, their attitude implies an important shift of the boundaries of the political, along the lines of demands for more participation voiced by the extra-parliamentary opposition. Seen in this light, discussions about the role of political journalism on the one hand and the classification of student protests on the other exhibit interesting parallels.

The frames supplied by television shaped contemporary perceptions of the protest movement in society, and brought its 'political' quality as well as its claim to legitimacy to the fore. The central issues in the debates (which constitute the communication event of '1968') revolved not only around how to handle the protests, but also how to achieve greater political participation, how to devise a new political order and how to redefine the role of the state in the political sphere. Since that time, '1968' has turned into a code word for these negotiation processes in Germany. The images broadcast on TV, which circulated in many copies and were subject to constant reproduction and re-contextualization, not only enduringly shaped the contemporary debates of the protest movement but also influenced how this phenomenon was remembered and discussed in the following decades.

Notes

1. Cf. A. Eichler. 2005. *Protest im Radio. Die Berichterstattung des Bayerischen Rundfunks über die Studentenbewegung 1967/1968*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 52. Bernd Weisbrod points out that the movement developed in a 'television mode'. Cf. B. Weisbrod. 2001. 'Medien als symbolische Form der Massengesellschaft. Die medialen Bedingungen von Öffentlichkeit im 20. Jahrhundert', *Historische Anthropologie* 9(2001/2), 281. For an analysis of the situation in the USA, see T. Gitlin. 1987. *The Whole World is Watching: The Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
2. In this sense Wolfgang Kraushaar divided the mass media into 'aggressive attackers, critical defenders and more or less unconditional supporters'. Cf. W. Kraushaar. 2001. '1968 und Massenmedien', in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 41, 331.

3. The concept of a communication event is broader than that of a media event, as it incorporates political debates taking place in other public domains. In the context of the 1968 movement, this included parliamentary debates, intellectual statements, book publications, and flyers distributed by the protest movement. A more in-depth analysis of this concept has been conducted by Jürgen Wilke, who suggests that the role of mass communication should be taken into consideration more strongly when examining certain historic events; cf. J. Wilke. 1989. 'Geschichte als Kommunikationsereignis, Der Beitrag der Massenkommunikation beim Zustandekommen historischer Ereignisse,' in M. Kaase and W. Schulz (eds), *Massenkommunikation. Theorien, Methoden, Befunde, Sonderheft der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 58f. In his essay, Wilke refers to a relation between structure and event, which is also valid for communication events. His view that communication events are preceded by certain communication relations in a structured form is shared by the author of this chapter.
4. For a comprehensive review of the history and development of television in Germany, see K. Hickethier. 1998. *Geschichte des deutschen Fernsehens*, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler.
5. Cf. M. Vogel. 2010. *Unruhe im Fernsehen. Protestbewegung und öffentlich-rechtliche Berichterstattung in den 1960er Jahren*, Göttingen: Wallstein. Parts of this chapter are based on translations of excerpts from this publication. I would like to thank Wallstein-Verlag for their permission.
6. This chapter makes extensive use of the concept of 'framing' developed by Erving Goffman. Cf. E. Goffman. 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Boston: Northeastern University Press. For audiovisual communication, see B. Scheufele. 1999. 'Visual Media Framing und Politik,' in W. Hofmann (ed.), *Die Sichtbarkeit der Macht. Theoretische und empirische Untersuchungen zur visuellen Politik*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 91–107.
7. For a more detailed analysis, see Vogel, *Unruhe im Fernsehen*.
8. For an extensive analysis of various usages of this phrase, see W. Frühwald. 1976. 'Ruhe und Ordnung'. *Literatursprache – Sprache der politischen Werbung. Texte, Materialien, Kommentar*, Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag.
9. For an analysis of discourse on the unrest in the 1960s in other social spheres, as well as in contemporary literature on the protest movement, see F.-W. Kersting. 2003. "Unruhediskurs". *Zeitgenössische Deutungen der 68er Bewegung*, in M. Frese, J. Paulus and K. Teppe (eds), *Demokratisierung und gesellschaftlicher Aufbruch. Die sechziger Jahre als Wendezeit der Bundesrepublik*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 715–40.
10. Joachim Fest speaking off-camera in *Jahresrückblick 1967*, broadcast on 29 Dec 1967 on Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR).
11. For an analysis of the impact of media representations on the 1968 movement, see K. Fahlenbrach. 2002. *Protest-Inszenierungen. Visuelle Kommunikation und visuelle Identitäten in Protestbewegungen*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
12. Still frame and voice-over in a report on a demonstration against the Vietnam War; *Berliner Abendschau* broadcast on 27 Oct 1967 on SFB.
13. Broadcast on 20 Feb 1968 on SFB.
14. Hausen borrowed the arrangement of images, which formed the backdrop to the melody of the *Internationale*, from the report 'Zwischen Revolte und Promotion. Studentenrevolte an der FU Berlin' in *Im Gespräch – Politik in fünf Ländern* broadcast on 10 Dec 1967 on SFB.

15. Cf. report by Herbert Hausen (SFB) in the programme 'Bessere Demokraten oder Anarchisten?' broadcast on 20 Feb 1968 on SFB.
16. For more information on the presentation of Commune I in magazines, see Fahlenbrach, *Protest-Inszenierungen*, 217f.; S. Reichardt. 2007. 'Inszenierung und Authentizität. Zirkulation visueller Vorstellungen über den Typus des linksalternativen Körpers,' in H. Knoch (ed.), *Bürgersinn mit Weltgefühl. Politische Moral und solidarischer Protest in sechziger und siebziger Jahren*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 225–50.
17. Cf. 'Revolution 67 – Studentenulk oder Notwendigkeit?', discussion round with Knut Nevermann, Rudolf Augstein, Rudi Dutschke, Ralf Dahrendorf, Jens Litten and Harry Ristock, broadcast on 5 Dec 1967 on NDR.
18. Walter Jens speaking in 'Stunde der Politik – Politisches Engagement der Studenten,' broadcast on 4 Aug 1967 on Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR).
19. W. Jens. 1967. 'Zweierlei Sicht. Über die Sendung "Studenten an der Freien Universität"', *Die Zeit*, 30 June.
20. 'Revolte der Studenten oder Vom Auftrag eines Hochschulbürgers', broadcast on 10 Aug 1967 on NDR.
21. Dieter Gütt in *Jahresrückblick 1967*, broadcast on 29 Dec 1967 on NDR.
22. Hans Heigert, according to the script of the programme *Report*, broadcast from Munich on 2 Oct 1967 on BR; Historisches Archiv BR, *Report* script archive FS 11978, episode 177, 27.
23. Hans-Jürgen Wiessner in a report on the acquittal of Teufel; *Heute – Themen des Tages*, broadcast on 22 Dec 1967 on ZDF.
24. Ibid.
25. Joachim Fest in *Jahresrückblick 1968*, broadcast on 30 Dec 1968 on ARD (NDR production).
26. Ibid.
27. Joachim Fest in *Jahresrückblick 1967*, broadcast on 29 Dec 1967 on NDR. Cf. also J. Fest. 2007. 'Das Dilemma des studentischen Romantizismus (1968)', in J. Fest, *Nach dem Scheitern der Utopien. Gesammelte Essays zu Politik und Geschichte*, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 95f.
28. Fest in *Jahresrückblick 1968*. The alleged lack of a sense of reality among students was conveyed not only by means of images and commentaries in the TV news coverage. Jürgen Habermas, for example, accused the movement of not being able to deliver practical interpretations of reality which could be used 'to derive guiding principles from them'. Cf. J. Habermas. 1970. 'Die Scheinrevolution und ihre Kinder,' in J. Habermas, *Protestbewegung und Hochschulreform*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 194f.
29. Fest in *Jahresrückblick 1968*.
30. 'Vietnam-Konferenz in Berlin' from *Report* series, broadcast from Munich on 19 Feb 1968 on BR.
31. Cf. T. Mergel. 2003. 'Der mediale Stil der "Sachlichkeit". Die gebremste Amerikanisierung des Wahlkampfes in der alten Bundesrepublik', in B. Weisbrod (ed.), *Die Politik der Öffentlichkeit – Die Öffentlichkeit der Politik. Politische Medialisierung in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 29–53.
32. Cf. Meike Vogel. 2010. *Unruhe im Fernsehen. Öffentlich-rechtliches Fernsehen und Proteste in den 1960er Jahren*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 52–76, 295ff.
33. For an analysis of a critical public sphere, see also C. von Hodenberg, 2006. *Konsens und Krise. Eine Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienöffentlichkeit 1945–1973*, Göttingen:

- Wallstein, 293f; and C. von Hodenberg. 2006. 'Mass Media and the Generation of Conflict: West Germany's Long Sixties and the Formation of a Critical Public Sphere', *Contemporary European History* 15(3), 367–95.
34. N.N., 'Handlanger unter uns', *Der Spiegel*, 27 May 1968, 68.

The Transnational Dimension of German Left-Wing Terrorism in the 1970s

The View from Italy

Petra Terhoeven

The Rise of a New European Counter-Public after 1968

During the 1960s, within the parliamentary democracies of Western Europe, ‘new social movements’ (NSMs) began to develop. They had common roots and shared points of reference while at the same time having distinct national features, as recent scholarship has increasingly pointed out.¹ Leaving aside these national peculiarities, probably the most important thing the movements in question had in common was their massive distrust of, and scepticism towards, Western-style parliamentary democracies. The new social movements harshly criticized them from an anti-authoritarian and libertarian socialist perspective. Their discontent with the status quo – often more emotionally than intellectually based – was accompanied by a demonization of the existing order and a pronounced thinking in terms of friend and foe. This diagnosis was also shared by contemporaries who originally thought favourably about these new movements. As far as the Federal Republic is concerned, it was above all Jürgen Habermas who fiercely criticized them for their surplus of utopianism, which according to him resulted in a missing sense of the chances of cooperating with other reform-minded forces.² And indeed, the distance towards the ‘establishment’ – which all these ‘generationally marked protest movements’³ in Europe had in common – was quite distinct, especially in Germany with the long shadows of its Nazi past. One part of the movement cultivated this fundamental rejection beyond the change of government in 1969, when Willy Brandt became the leader of a coalition of social democrats and liberals; a small minority even radicalized themselves up to the point where they endorsed the use of physical violence against functionaries of the hated ‘system’.

All over Europe the experience of 1968 permanently changed 'the political, social and symbolic order' of the affected societies as well as the 'attitudes, perceptions and social identities' of those directly or indirectly involved in the event – here I am addressing directly the main questions raised in the introduction of this book. These changes also affected the sensitivity of many '68ers with regards to incidents and developments beyond their country's borders, which were now set in relation to one's own life situation – a process sometimes riddled with misunderstandings and misinterpretations. To put it differently: 1968 has contributed massively to the construction of new political identities beyond the national context – setting an ideal international 'Us' against an equally international 'Them' with negative connotations. As I hope to point out, the active participation of the West European left in the German debate on terrorism, especially in 1976/77, cannot be understood without the images of oneself and others which had developed during the preceding 'red decade'.⁴ However, it should go without saying that this does not mean that there was a direct and unavoidable path leading from 1968 to 1977.⁵

First of all I would like to start with some general observations concerning transnational communication after 1968 and the Federal Republic's special role within it. In this context I will tackle the propagandistic exploitation of this newly emerging European counter-public by the Red Army Faction (RAF) and its supporters. The last and most extensive part of my contribution will deal with events during the so-called 'German Autumn' in Italy – events which are being interpreted at least partly as a result of the exploitation mentioned above.

Right from the start the activists of 1968 were interested in the fate of their fellow protesters in neighbouring countries – and, measured by traditional standards, to an unusual degree. Waves of cross-border solidarity spread, especially in cases where the common 'enemy' – the institutions of the capitalist state and the mass media – obviously seemed to have violated existing rules. So after the assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke in Berlin and the French authorities' decision to ban Daniel Cohn-Bendit from the country, but also in the wake of the railway worker Pinelli's mysterious death by defenestration during an interrogation at Milan police headquarters in 1969, a wave of solidarity with the affected comrades hit the neighbouring countries: demonstrations and critical reporting, sometimes (though less often) criminal damage directed towards the agencies abroad representing the country concerned.⁶

However, in 1968 such active demonstrations of solidarity still remained relatively rare, and Michael Schmidtke is probably right when he is talking about a 'short rush of international solidarity'.⁷ Knowledge of the particular situation in neighbouring countries remained sketchy for most activists – despite the internationalist rhetoric of the International Vietnam Congress in Berlin and similar media events.⁸ The personal contacts too seem to have been rather sporadic in the beginning, although it is true that the leaders and 'fellow travellers' of the movement already invested much time in travelling abroad in order to strengthen the ties with foreign comrades, as Richard Ivan Jobs has pointed out.⁹ The left-wing

publishers that mushroomed everywhere before, during and after 1968 were strongly interested in foreign affairs – but in practice they were primarily concerned with national issues. Nevertheless, during the following years the number of articles and publications with an international focus, contributions by foreign comrades and translations of relevant texts began to increase remarkably. The newly awakened interest in cross-border exchange expanded, while the personal and media channels of communication grew stronger.¹⁰ In this context, they became more aware of the strategic possibility of mobilizing foreign comrades in order to strengthen national movements with their specific aims – which in 1968 had occurred in a more or less spontaneous way. This closing of ranks was at least partly motivated by the impression that one had to fight back against a hostile environment, in which one's enemies were also joining forces. Significantly it was above all the Federal Republic, which, rightly or wrongly, became the centre of attention of an increasingly interconnected European Left.

The change of government from Willy Brandt to Helmut Schmidt in 1974 was perceived by many observers, those from abroad included, as a shift in policies and not just a change in individuals – and not without good reason. Instead of Willy Brandt, a former expatriate who had honoured the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising by falling to his knees in front of the monument commemorating them, the cool northerner Helmut Schmidt had taken charge. Fiercely anti-communist, he was a former soldier of the Wehrmacht whom the French soon nicknamed '*le feldwebel*'. In November of the same year, Holger Meins, who in 1968 had been a student of film studies at Berlin Free University, a participant of the International Vietnam Congress in Berlin and an early member of the RAF, died in prison as a consequence of a hunger strike.¹¹ He was the first imprisoned member of a left-wing terrorist organization to die under the supervision of West German authorities. As a result, many left-wing critics saw the Federal Republic as a hotbed of repression – if not a hotbed of a newly ascendant fascism, as some claimed, linking their claims to similar discourses from 1968.¹² This development, so it seemed, posed a danger for the whole of Europe. Inspired by a Marxist outlook, many observers drew the conclusion that West Germany, because of its economic weight, played the pioneering role in this process. Accordingly they projected their anxiety about the future onto the Federal Republic. When the Social Democrats fought the 1976 election under the self-confident slogan '*Modell Deutschland*', these fears seemed to be coming true. The German activities in favour of a European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism – which was finally signed by the ministers of foreign affairs of 17 European states on 27 January 1977 – were interpreted by many left-wing critics in the same way.¹³

The New Left's intensified interest in the politics of the Federal Republic, accompanied by a feeling of apprehension, was above all the result of intensifying transnational communication, which had its origins in the Federal Republic itself. However, the particular interests of the partners abroad became part of that communication and gained momentum. All this happened against the

backdrop of persons and public interest groups to the Left of the ruling Social Democrats, groups who were rather marginalized within the Federal Republic, but who increasingly used the transnational counter-public to get more publicity for their own concerns.¹⁴ As Dominik Rigoll has pointed out, this applies for example to the opponents of the so-called ‘*Radikalerlass*’, which had been pushed through by Brandt and the minister-presidents of the German federal states in 1972.¹⁵ It was the activities of left-wing opponents that made the term ‘*Berufsverbot*’ known all over Europe during the second half of the 1970s. Their greatest triumph in giving that topic a European dimension was reached when the leader of the French Socialists, François Mitterrand, joined an *Anti-Berufsverbot* committee.

Transnational Communication Strategies of the Red Army Faction and its Sympathizers

Not surprisingly, left-wing terrorists of the Red Army Faction and their sympathizers also started attempts to involve the non-German public in their propaganda efforts, not least due to their own political socialization within transnational contexts, including contacts with Dutschke, the radical Italian publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli and others.¹⁶ It was the defence lawyer Klaus Croissant who proved himself best suited to the task; quite rightly he was called the best PR manager the RAF ever had.¹⁷ Croissant’s strategy of letting his clients appear as innocent victims of political persecution, and reversing the relation between perpetrators and victims as completely as possible, had a considerable mobilizing effect. The message, spread in leaflets and books both in German and other languages and at press conferences in Germany and abroad, worked quite well, especially amongst those belonging to the recently emerging alternative milieu with its pronounced distrust of the authorities. The situation of the RAF members held in solitary confinement was described in the most drastic terms, with conscious recourse to the language of National Socialist perpetrators to describe the discourse of the government (i.e. imputing that the state was Nazi in its methods).¹⁸ This strategy, intended to heighten the pressure exerted on German authorities, worked especially well in those countries which looked back to traumatic experiences during their occupation by the Nazis and whose national identity was founded to a high degree on an ostentatious anti-fascism: the Netherlands, France and Italy.¹⁹ Quite understandably, in these societies the German self-image of the exemplary democrat steeled once and for all against any right-wing temptation had not been internalized as fast as by the majority of Germans. Moreover, in these countries, the divide between a libertarian left-wing milieu and a liberal public was not as clear cut as in the Federal Republic, with its harsh anti-communism; also, thanks in part to the activity of famous intellectuals, the presence of ‘left-wing’ topics in the mass media was higher in those countries than in the Western part of divided Germany.

When, in December 1974, the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, the incarnation of European anti-capitalist intellectual thought, visited Andreas Baader at Stammheim prison, it constituted a remarkable success for the Red Army Faction in terms of international public attention.²⁰ The visit became part of the 'old' Federal Republic's collective memory, probably mainly because of the fact that Sartre's intervention was much more than a verbal comment: the philosopher physically crossed the border in order to 'check' the democratic validity of German institutions on the spot, as several frequently shown photographs made visible to everyone.²¹ This action had a very important symbolic meaning. After the discussion with Baader, which had been arranged by Croissant and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Sartre held a press conference at which called for the foundation of international committees for the protection of political prisoners in the Federal Republic – an idea of the RAF defence lawyers that was soon taken up by left-wing lawyers in neighbouring countries and even in the USA who were eager to cooperate. After Sartre's visit and before the opening of the trial against the founders of the RAF at Stuttgart-Stammheim in spring 1975, the West German government founded an inter-ministerial team to elaborate a strategy to improve the image of the FRG abroad, providing German embassies all over the world with informational material about the character of the terrorist attacks on the state and the correctness of the institutional response under the rule of law. One and a half years later, in summer 1977, Klaus Croissant himself fled to France and asked for political asylum in the motherland of the revolution. The request for extradition by the Federal Republic's government caused a long debate in the French public sphere, which continued even after Croissant was finally extradited in November. In a way, the dramatic escalation of events during these months, generally remembered as the 'German Autumn', can be considered as a test case for the validity of the transnational communication strategies that had been established by each side in the course of the preceding years.

Indeed, in their fight against 'solitary torture' and general 'repression', RAF sympathizers did not look only to France. This was a fight in which the activities of legal supporters and group members who had gone underground were closely interconnected, as the RAF drop-out Volker Speitel would later point out.²² In 1975, shortly before the trial in Stuttgart-Stammheim started, representatives of the German anti-torture committees visited Italy.²³ Their aim was to gain support for their cause among a very diverse Italian Left. In addition to distributing leaflets and information brochures to demonstrators in public places, they also visited local branches of the 'Red Help' as well as the editorial staffs of the most important newspapers and magazines of the Italian New Left which had sprung up in those years. These ranged from *Lotta Continua* to *il manifesto* to *Rosso* and *Controinformazione* (which shortly thereafter became the organ of the Red Brigades). These newspapers, regularly supplied with further 'information', became willing mouthpieces trumpeting the message that the Federal Republic was turning (semi-)fascist, while hailing the urban guerrillas as something very close to heroic resistance fighters.

The Italian side took great interest in German affairs, not least because of their own debate on terrorism which had grown increasingly bitter, especially since 1974, when the Red Brigades abducted the examining magistrate Sossi and declared war 'on the heart of the state'.²⁴ For the Italian extra-parliamentary Left that was fighting against its government's plans to tighten existing laws, the 'negative' example of the Federal Republic played an increasingly prominent role in its political struggle. '*Evitiamo la germanizzazione*' the catchphrase ran: 'Let's avoid Germanization'.²⁵ The sinister-sounding news, spread for example by the much-read book *Return of the Leviathan* by the legal historian Christoph Schminck-Gustavus, fell on fertile ground with many Italian intellectuals.²⁶ Of course, the impression of a de-liberalization going on within the borders of the Federal Republic was not completely wrong, but the complex forces and responsibilities behind it were as obscure to many observers as its real impact and meaning. Some of the most critical commentators had been fighting in the *Resistenza* and their image of Germany resulted directly from the memory of the crimes of the German occupiers against Italian civilians in 1944. The approach of viewing events in the Federal Republic through brown-coloured glasses had been noticeably reinforced by the mysterious escape of the war criminal Herbert Kappler from a Roman military prison a few months earlier: German responses had massively confirmed Italian suspicions regarding the latent complicity of German society with Nazis and neo-Nazis. A public outcry followed.²⁷ It could thus be said that in Italy (and partly in France, where left-wing observers watched the Kappler affair indignantly as well) 'German Autumn' had already started in August 1977.

Moreover, for the mentors of the Italian hard Left, the Western model of society in general (ideologically sentenced to death long before) lost its last shreds of credibility in these years.²⁸ This was due less to events in the Federal Republic, and more to numerous political scandals and irregularities during the fight against terrorism in Italy itself, above all the bomb attack on the Piazza Fontana in Milan in December 1969 and the aforementioned violent death of the innocent railway worker Pinelli, but also the fate of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, whose violent death in the outskirts of Milan in March 1972 (where he had been trying to blow up a pylon) had given way to all kinds of suspicions and conspiracy theories within the Left milieu.²⁹

In the following pages, I would like to briefly describe how the developments outlined above culminated in the second half of 1977, when Italy almost experienced its own 'German Autumn'. I want to confine myself to one key event, which received massive attention abroad: the suicides of the imprisoned RAF founders Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe at Stuttgart-Stammheim during the night of 17/18 October. This act was a response to the failed attempt by an allied Palestinian terrorist group to force the prisoners' release by abducting a Lufthansa passenger plane. If the German authorities failed to meet their demands, the hijackers had threatened to blow up the plane along with its passengers. After the plane's five-day odyssey, the Federal

government finally ordered its anti-terrorist squad, GSG 9, to storm the Boeing at Mogadishu airport. All but one of the hijackers were killed.³⁰ Despite the fact that Irmgard Möller – the only survivor of the so-called ‘Stammheim night of death’ – still denies attempting suicide, all the evidence clearly proves that Baader, Ensslin and Raspe had already been planning to kill themselves in case all attempts by comrades outside to free them should fail.³¹ Former leading members of the RAF have not only confirmed that the prisoners took their own lives, but also admitted to consciously suppressing this knowledge within the group in order to exploit the event politically.³²

The collective suicide, staged to look like a massacre, became a perfidious propaganda weapon.³³ In the coming years this political lie served two purposes: it helped to recruit new members, and it was also used as a justification for new terrorist crimes, the first of which was the murder of Hanns Martin Schleyer, the abducted president of the German Employers’ Association, on 19 October 1977. The propaganda efforts of RAF sympathizers focused on the accusation that Baader, Ensslin and Raspe had been murdered, in order to disguise the fact that the RAF had actually suffered a defeat in the ‘German Autumn’. ‘Without the Stammheim myth’, as Andreas Elter has put it, ‘the RAF most probably would not have been able to survive.’³⁴

‘German Autumn’ in Italy

It soon turned out that this strategy worked even better abroad than in Germany, and especially in Italy, where the ‘Stammheim night of death’ made the greatest waves.³⁵ South of the Alps, the social-liberal government’s counter-strategy did not seem to be very successful, despite frantic attempts by German authorities to dissipate all doubts about the suicides by calling in international experts to autopsy the three bodies and allowing the defendants’ attorneys to attend. It is a main thesis of this article that the strong reactions in Italy can only be explained properly by taking into account factors of both *longue durée* and, especially among the Left, the effects of short-term political developments.³⁶ Generally and almost regardless of the observer’s political attitude, the Federal government’s arguments met with distrust because of the deeply rooted Italian belief in German efficiency and thoroughness, especially in military matters – a belief quite often intermingled with subliminal fears.³⁷ The successful operation in Mogadishu had confirmed this conviction and therefore caused little surprise, whereas the government’s declaration that the prisoners had killed themselves with weapons of hitherto unknown origin sounded rather implausible – precisely because of that prejudice. Furthermore there was the habitual distance most Italians keep to their state, a distrust which undoubtedly belongs to the enduring features of that mentality as well. Whereas in the Federal Republic, inconvenient questions by relatives and lawyers of the dead terrorists were quickly rejected as irresponsible because they supposedly contributed to the creation of a legend, in

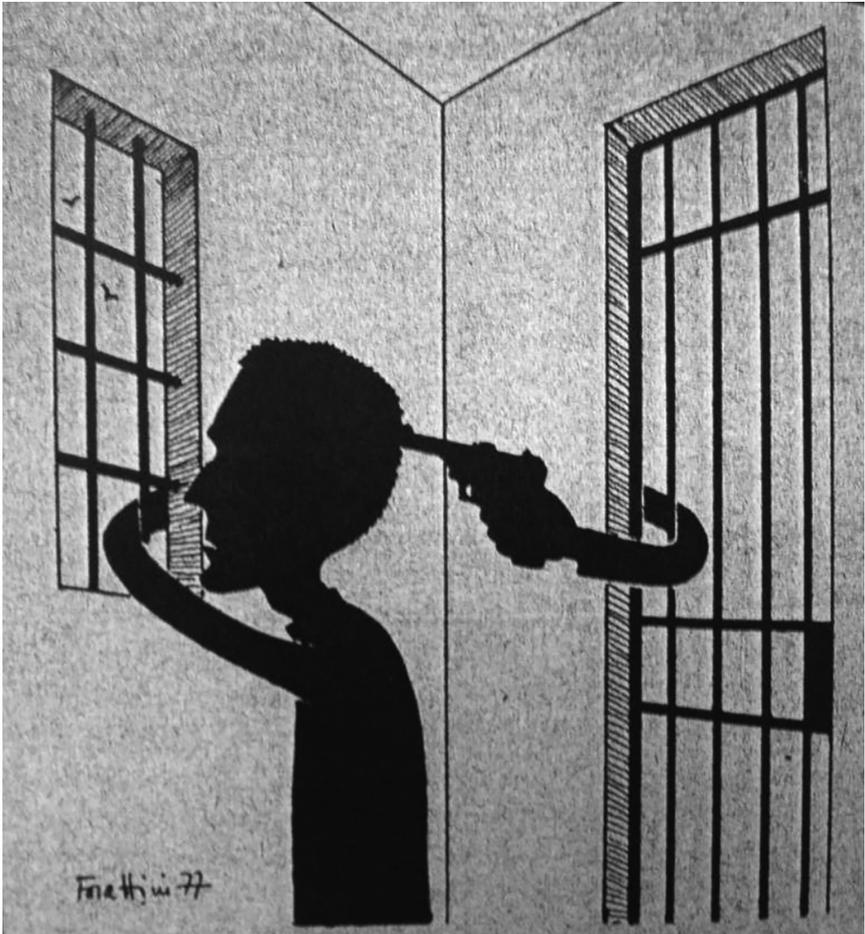


Figure 5.1 *La Repubblica*, 21 Oct 1977, reprinted with permission

Italy things were different: here, relatives and lawyers were perceived as counterbalancing the official sources of information, which were generally suspected of being biased and lacking objectivity.³⁸ In Italy, the doubts regarding the events in Stammheim, eloquently articulated by Otto Schily, Heinz Heldmann and especially the Dutchman Bakker Schut, were generally shared. This was clearly indicated by the fact that the leading Italian newspapers put the term ‘suicide’ in quotation marks, even after the autopsy had produced no indications of any involvement by a third party. Frequently the word *suicidarsi* (to commit suicide) was used in a transitive fashion (*essere suicidati*, ‘to be suicided’) thereby indicating that the prisoners had in fact been murdered. The latter phrase had already entered the country’s political vocabulary after Pinelli’s mysterious death

at Milan police headquarters, which had troubled many political observers, especially those belonging to the Left. A visual version of this theory was created by Giorgio Forattini, cartoonist of the Roman daily *La Repubblica*.

In the same newspaper the renowned columnist Giorgio Bocca linked the Stammheim case with other 'suicides' in German history, above all during the Third Reich.³⁹

Whereas the left-liberal public and even the communiqués of the PCI (which by then was already heading for the political centre) voiced doubts and dark suspicions – probably best represented by Forattini's caricature – the radical Left explicitly spoke of murder by the authorities. When dealing with the Federal Republic, the word 'democracy' was put in quotation marks. Left of the Communist Party, the Nazi link was not subtly invoked, rather it was made explicit. On 19 October, *Lotta Continua* headlined: 'Baader, Ensslin and Raspe murdered in their cells – Schmidt administration pursues final solution of the RAF problem with Nazi methods'. This version of events found its visual representation too, as proven by the rather drastic drawing printed in a special issue of the Florentine extremist newspaper *Nuovo Impegno*.⁴⁰

Helmut Schmidt was shown in Superman's clothes, his head a grenade, returning from Mogadishu to personally execute a defenceless, almost childishly innocent-looking Andreas Baader. Although similar images occasionally turned up within the German Left, few were as certain as their Italian comrades about what had happened in the 'night of death'.⁴¹ The Italians were obviously projecting their own ideas and terminology, which mainly derived from their political struggles at home, onto the German case. In a joint communiqué for example, three left-wing splinter parties declared that the events in Stammheim were reminiscent of 'Pinelli's incredible suicide', and many political commentators from the Left felt the same. In a piece for the pages of *Lotta Continua*, the later Nobel prize winner Dario Fo went so far as to describe the 'night of death' from the perspective of its sole survivor, RAF member Irmgard Möller.⁴² The text worked as an analogy of Dario Fo's play *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*, which he had dedicated to Pinelli. But unlike in his famous play, in the text about Stammheim he did not change the names of persons or places. The story itself was a drastic horror scenario about a threefold murder committed by the state. In its introduction the editorial team declared that the text was not only meant to do justice to the three dead, but should above all help 'to save the lives of the other 8 RAF prisoners'.⁴³ The *manifesto* group too showed itself eager to prevent further cases of judicial murder in the Federal Republic. Under the headline 'Germany is today the ill heart of Europe', their newspaper published an appeal teeming with allusions to the Nazi era and demanding the rescue of 'those imprisoned RAF survivors daily awaiting their suicides'.⁴⁴ Within a week the appeal found more than a hundred signatories. The list of signatories, headed by the Florentine historian and expert on Germany, Enzo Collotti, reads like a contemporary 'Who's Who' of Italy's cultural and social elite. The list also contained two French names: Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. Collotti himself became the



Figure 5.2 'Extraordinary deed of the super-heroes'. Supplement to *Nuovo impegno* 34. Rivista trimestrale marxista-leninista (1977), 62

co-founder of an Italian–German Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the FRG, which became quite active in the public arena.⁴⁵

Despite the fact that *manifesto's* appeal conveyed a rather distorted picture of reality, it has to be pointed out that the group's protest was purely verbal and, despite its sharp tone, did not constitute a call for the use of violence but rather a polemic against the alleged violation of human rights by the opposing side. But such a perspective could only too easily be used as a justification for counter-violence and it displayed remarkable ignorance towards the *proven* victims of terrorism.⁴⁶ It nevertheless clearly differed from those voices which, without further ado, called for the use of counter-violence. To a third category belonged those violent attacks on objects and, above all, persons that actually

took place. It is this relation between verbal and physical violence that poses a special challenge for historical analysis. In retrospective it is not easy to decide whether the obvious rhetorical aggressiveness of a newspaper like *Lotta Continua* functioned as a kind of safety valve for the outrage that 'Stammheim' had caused within Italy's extremist Left or whether the demonizing of the Federal Republic on the one hand and the allegations of victimization of the RAF on the other did not in fact further escalate the situation. *Lotta Continua's* attitude remained ambivalent, in autumn 1977 as before: they distanced themselves from political violence, but without withdrawing their solidarity with the perpetrators of violence (the famous 'comrades that fail') or denying the legitimacy of their struggle on principle.⁴⁷ The radical elements of *movimento '77* – a heterogeneous protest movement dominated by students, which had already shocked the Italian public in the first half of 1977 – used the events in Germany as an opportunity to stage a last violent upheaval before the movement imploded.⁴⁸ The Stammheim dead were, as a matter of course, included in the list of their own martyrs who had died in violent clashes with the Italian police, and were 'revenged' through a wave of assaults on German facilities.⁴⁹ Despite a ban on demonstrations by the minister of the interior, parts of the movement took to the streets everywhere, fighting the police under slogans like '10, 100, 1000 Schleyers', 'Baader is alive!' and 'Schmidt executioner'. During the demonstrations, leaflets with the slogan 'Andreas is alive and fighting with us' were distributed. The same leaflets had already circulated before, but then carrying the names Francesco (Lo Russo) and Walter (Rossi), two militants of *Lotta Continua* that had been killed in the same year. On the campus of the Sapienza University of Rome, the news of Schleyer's murder was greeted with cheers by the five thousand assembled students. In nearly all major Italian towns, German consulates and cultural facilities, company headquarters and franchises, tourist buses and private cars were attacked – sometimes with petrol and other bombs, sometimes only with graffiti. This wave of assaults not only caused substantial damage, it also considerably upset the German community in the country – especially because it was accompanied by massive threats. Several German authorities and Italian news agencies received an ultimatum by phone demanding that the German ambassador Johann Arnold and his staff leave the country within forty-eight hours if they wanted to escape 'death by shooting'. Other 'German fascists', regardless of their function, had to reckon with the death penalty as well.⁵⁰ The Florentine press agency ANSA received a phone call addressing 'all Germans: We cannot let you perish, as you have done with us in your camps, but we will try hard'.⁵¹ As a precaution, German schools in Milan and Rome were closed. After death threats against its staff, the Goethe Institute closed down as well. Helmut Schmidt's state visit, which had previously been cancelled because of the Kappler affair, had to be cancelled for a second time. Even intellectuals like Rossana Rossanda had threatened the chancellor with a 'hot reception'.

Paolo Franchi, analysing these outbreaks of violence for *Rinascita*, the platform of the PCI intellectuals, interpreted the events as an attempt by the

autonomous groups to cover their lack of a vision for the future and their growing isolation by:

behaving as if they were the only real opposition against the Historic Compromise and the Germanization of Italy. But not only that: In the eyes of 'the armed party' [*partito armato*], Stammheim has confirmed their political theory as well as their policies on the ground. For an ever-growing number of people, the rule of law turns out to be mere fiction, in actual fact revealing itself as a terrorist state against which armed resistance becomes a necessity. So in the moment of its defeat, the RAF is being presented as a model to follow.⁵²

Instead of realizing the hopelessness of terrorist action, the milieu in question drew the fatal conclusion from the events in Stammheim that there was really no alternative to terrorist action because the state had completely discredited itself. For some militants of the crumbling *movimento '77*, the never-questioned belief in the 'murders' of Stammheim possibly meant a further stage on their way into terrorist violence. The climax of this violence against the Italian state in winter 1977/78 was still to come.

The Red Brigades themselves responded to the death of their comrades by trying to exploit it for their own purposes. In November 1977, their Strategic Leadership devoted many pages of an extensive 'resolution' to the 'massacre' of Stammheim.⁵³ In a transparent manoeuvre, the two failed attempts to blackmail the state were reinterpreted as a victory. The authors invoked the spirit of transnational solidarity amongst Europe's urban guerrillas and spoke of the coming united front fighting international imperialism. The brutal assault on the *Stampa* journalist Carlo Casalegno in Turin was justified with the campaign he had allegedly led 'against the comrades of the RAF and in favour of the Schmidt government'.⁵⁴ After two weeks of agonizing pain, Casalegno, who had been shot in the face, died on 29 November 1977. There had already been two prior assaults in Milan and Turin, where local councillors from the Christian Democrats had been shot in the leg in actions to support 'the honour and glory of the murdered German comrades'.⁵⁵ The perpetrators also aimed to profit from the quickly established Stammheim myth.

In recent years, Italian researchers have increasingly called attention to the links existing between German and Italian left-wing terrorists, although this aspect of mutual relationships for the most part remains to be seen.⁵⁶ In a similar fashion, cooperation and transfer of information between German and Italian activists can be verified for nearly all the aforementioned responses.⁵⁷ In this place, I would like to mention only the Congress against Repression staged by *Lotta Continua* and other extra-parliamentary groups in Bologna in September 1977, because during those months it served as an important venue for transnational contacts and encounters. Here Karl Heinz Roth, a former SDS functionary and close friend of the Italian left-wing ideologist Toni Negri, and Arndt Müller, Gudrun Ensslin's lawyer, appeared on stage. In a meeting attended by two thousand Italians and two hundred Germans discussing '*germanizzazione*',

Müller took the opportunity to rant about ‘solitary torture’ in German prisons and its destructive consequences (*‘Vernichtungshaff’*).⁵⁸ As it later turned out, it had been Müller who smuggled into the high-security wing of Stammheim prison the very weapons which Baader and Raspe used to commit suicide.⁵⁹ Some Germans present in the assembly later criticized Müller’s performance in Bologna. In the pages of an alternative left-wing paper from Berlin, they accused him of openly promoting the RAF: ‘What was sickening was the way he listed incidents of state repression in the Federal Republic in order to finally present the only effective solution: the urban guerrilla. . . . He tried to convey the image of a united German Left headed by the RAF’.⁶⁰ Another participant remarked that it had been the speaker’s intention to maintain ‘the ignorance of the Italians regarding the reality of the Federal Republic. . . . The stronger the simple – and false – image of brown Germany is supported and confirmed amongst the Italian Left, especially the militant ones, the more plausible they find the necessity of armed struggle here and now’. The ‘great applause’ Müller received from the Italian comrades made our observer feel awkward; he thought it could ‘only be explained by their enthusiasm for militant action. . . . I felt as if for many Italians we were the Chileans of Europe. It went so far that gaiety was not well received. How could a German still be cheerful?’⁶¹

The movement of 1968 brought in its wake a transnationally interconnected ‘leftist’ subculture, united less by common aims than by a shared stereotype of a common enemy. Behind it stood the assumption that there existed a global imperialist power structure led by the United States, with the Federal Republic at its European centre. This assumption was nurtured by the shadows of the Nazi past which were melting together with neo-Marxist economist theories and general fears of German economic superiority. When crossing borders, the polemics from within Germany, directed against the government’s anti-terrorist measures, turned into an important vehicle of transnational solidarity. This solidarity, however, rarely functioned as an end in itself. It resulted from highly selective interpretations and, in the final analysis, served nationally defined aims and interests. Above all it ran the risk of being exploited by advocates of violence for their own ends. There are plenty of good reasons not to write the history of the perception of German left terrorism in Europe as a history of the Federal Republic ‘persecuted innocence’, although the myths of systematic *Vernichtungshaff* and murder at Stammheim and other German prisons in the meantime have been deconstructed. Critical historiography of the limits and mistakes of the institutional response to the challenge of terroristic violence in Germany and elsewhere still remains urgently in need of historical research. There cannot be any doubt, however, that the echo of West Germany’s conflict with left-wing violence within the European public was also a history of political instrumentalization and irrational fears, sometimes reflecting more the polarization of the societies in question than the situation in the Federal Republic itself. The perception of ‘German Autumn’ as the autumn of democracy was a clear misunderstanding intended and welcomed by the enemies of the West German state.

Notes

1. See, inter alia, M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds). 2008. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan; I. Gilcher-Holtey (ed.). 2008a. *1968. Vom Ereignis zum Mythos*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
2. See, for instance, J. Habermas. 2008. 'Die Scheinrevolution und ihre Kinder', in R. Sievers (ed.), *1968–Eine Enzyklopädie*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 318–28.
3. S. Hemler. 2003. 'Soziale Bewegung oder Generationskonflikt? Ein Schlichtungsvorschlag im Deutungskampf um "1968"', *Vorgänge* 42, 32–40, here 37.
4. G. Koenen. 2001. *Das rote Jahrzehnt. Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967–1977*, Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch.
5. Such a necessary continuity was suggested by many contemporary German conservative intellectuals during and after the 'German Autumn' of 1977, see esp. H. Lübke. 1978. 'Endstation Terror. Rückblick auf lange Märsche', in H. Geissler (ed.), *Der Weg in die Gewalt. Geistige und gesellschaftliche Ursachen des Terrorismus und seine Folgen*, Munich and Vienna: Olzog, 96–162. The conservative party tried to make political use of the terrorism topic throughout the 1970s, blaming social democrats for paving the way for political violence through their 'weak reaction' towards the challenge of the '68ers. The manifold fatal consequences of this political strategy are too often overlooked by scholars of German left-wing terrorism. As an exception, see K. Hanshew. 2010. 'Daring More Democracy? Internal Security and the Social Democratic Fight against West German Terrorism', in *Central European History* 43, 117–47.
6. M. Schmidtke. 2002. '1968 und die Massenmedien – Momente europäischer Öffentlichkeit', in J. Requate and M. Schulze Wessel (eds), *Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 273–94; M. Klimke. 2008. '1968 als transnationales Ereignis', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 14/15, URL: <http://www.bpb.de/publikationen,4HXZHN.html>, 1–9.
7. Schmidtke, '1968', 294.
8. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2002. 'Der Transfer zwischen den Studentenbewegungen von 1968 und die Entstehung einer transnationalen Gegenöffentlichkeit', in H. Kaelble et al. (eds), *Transnationale Öffentlichkeiten und Identitäten im 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 303–25.
9. See R.I. Jobs. 2009. 'Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968', *American Historical Review* 113(2), 376–404. Jobs interprets 1968 as 'a significant moment in the cultural history of European integration', stressing the naissance of an 'international identity' based upon 'transnational travel and a voluntary shared purpose'; for the quotations see 376, 403.
10. An important precursor and motor of this development was the famous *Kursbuch* magazine edited by Hans Magnus Enzensberger – see H. Marmulla. 2007. 'Das Kursbuch. Nationale Zeitschrift, internationale Kommunikation, transnationale Öffentlichkeit', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), *1968. Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 37–47.
11. For an astute analysis of the hunger strikes practised by the RAF as 'performative moments' within a strategy of continuing their political fight from within the prison walls, see L. Passmore. 2009. 'The Art of Hunger: Self-Starvation in the Red Army Faction', *German History* 27, 32–59.

12. Already in August 1973, *Kursbuch* had published an issue entitled ‘Torture in FRG’ which Enzensberger retrospectively called ‘one of the worst things’ of his personal political past, and one he still felt extremely uneasy with; see W. Kraushaar. 2006. ‘“Sie hatten nie eine politische Forderung . . .” Ein Gespräch mit dem Schriftsteller Hans Magnus Enzensberger über die Hintergründe der RAF’, in W. Kraushaar (ed.), *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols, Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, vol. 2, 1392–411, 1399.
13. As an example of German criticism, see Antifaschistische Gruppe Hamburg (ed.). 1977. *Europäische Konvention zur Bekämpfung des Terrorismus. Arbeitsmaterial*, Hamburg: Selbstverlag.
14. The appealing to a broader public beyond national borders can be regarded as typical strategy of relatively weak groups in order to overcome their isolation within the national context – see J. Requate and M. Schulze Wessel. 2002. ‘Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Realität und Imagination einer appellativen Instanz’, in Requate and Schulze Wessel, *Transnationale Kommunikation*, 11–42.
15. D. Rigoll. 2006. ‘Die Demokratie der anderen. Der Radikalenerlass von 1972 und die Debatte um die “Berufsverbote” – International vergleichende und transfergeschichtliche Aspekte’, in J. Calließ (ed.). *Die Geschichte des Erfolgsmodells BRD im internationalen Vergleich. Loccumer Protokolle 24/05*, Rehburg-Loccum: Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 173–77; see also G. Braunthal. 1990. *Political Loyalty and Public Service in West Germany: The 1972 Decree against Radicals and the Consequences*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press. Retrospectively, Willy Brandt as well as Helmut Schmidt considered the introduction of the ‘*Radikalenerlass*’ to be a political mistake. In the following years it led to about 1.4 million calls to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution for information (‘*Regelanfragen*’) about candidates for public service, creating a strong feeling of uncertainty among young university graduates. From 1976 onwards, the decree was only applied in those federal states that were ruled by Christian Democrats.
16. The transnational dimension of the complex communication processes generated by terrorism has so far been almost completely neglected by researchers. Robert Gerwarth and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt recently spoke of ‘a surprisingly understudied field of historical research’, see Gerwarth and Haupt. 2007. ‘Internationalising Historical Research on Terrorist Movements in Twentieth-Century Europe – Introduction’, *European Review of History – Revue européenne d’Histoire* 14(3), 275–81, 275. As a last example of the complete ignorance of the international factor in the history of the Red Army Faction, see the generally inspiring study of A. Elter. 2008. *Propaganda der Tat. Die RAF und die Medien*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Other scholars have reduced transnational communication between and about left-wing terrorists to a mere criminological problem, neglecting its important political dimension. Very helpful, however, are the considerations of M. Dahlke. 2007. ‘Der blinde Fleck. Transnationaler und nationaler Terrorismus auf dem Weg zum “Deutschen Herbst”’, in J.-H. Kirsch and A. Vowinckel (eds), *Die RAF als Geschichte und Gegenwart*, URL: http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/zol/portals/_rainbow/documents/pdf/raf/dahlke_dbf.pdf.
17. Elter, *Propaganda*, 192.
18. The conditions experienced by the RAF prisoners varied considerably over the course of their incarceration, from prison to prison and from inmate to inmate. Whereas it is evident that the members of the so-called ‘first generation’ imprisoned in

- Stuttgart-Stammheim enjoyed remarkable privileges inaccessible to other inmates from 1975 onwards, Ulrike Meinhof and Astrid Proll had suffered terribly under earlier prison conditions in the cells of the so-called 'dead wing' of the prison in Cologne-Ossendorf, conditions that were moderated only after harsh public protest – see M. Jander. 2006. 'Isolation. Zu den Haftbedingungen der RAF-Gefangenen', in Kraushaar, *RAF*, 973–93. Speculations about systematic medical experiments ('white torture') to which the prisoners were allegedly subjected turned out to be mere fantasies – see G. Koenen, 'Camera Silens. Das Phantasma der "Vernichtungshaft"', in *ibid.*, 994–1010.
19. On the Dutch case, see J. Pekelder. 2007. *Sympathie voor de RAF. De Rote Armee Fraktion in Nederland, 1970–1980*, Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt.
 20. See, however, W. Kraushaar. 2008. 'Sartre in Stammheim. Zur Genese eines deutsch-französischen Mißverständnisses', *Lettre International* 80, 50–56, who stresses the negative response of the German public.
 21. The world wide web is full of photographic material illustrating the visit. For the latest citation in the mass media, see *Der Spiegel*, 4 Feb 2013, p. 44. For another example, see B. Peters. 2007. *Tödlicher Irrtum. Die Geschichte der RAF*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 330.
 22. V. Speitel. 1980. 'Wir wollten alles und gleichzeitig nichts', *Der Spiegel* 31, 36–49; 32, 30–39; 33, 30–36.
 23. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, RAF Collection, 1st generation, RA 01/009, 002.
 24. D. Moss. 1989. *The Politics of Left-Wing Violence in Italy, 1969–85*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
 25. Among the many examples, see *Lotta Continua*, 25 Mar 1978, Evitiamo la Germanizzazione.
 26. C.U. Schminck-Gustavus. 1977. *La rinascita del Leviatano: crisi delle libertà politiche nella Repubblica Federale Tedesca*, Milan: Feltrinelli. The book had been preceded by several articles of the same tone.
 27. On the reactions of the Italian public to the Kappler case, see J. Staron. 2002. *Fosse Ardeatine und Marzabotto. Deutsche Kriegsverbrechen und Resistenza. Geschichte und nationale Mythenbildung in Deutschland und Italien*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 285–308; E.S. Kuntz. 1997. *Konstanz und Wandel von Stereotypen. Deutschlandbilder in der italienischen Presse nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 291–309. On German–Italian relations in that period in general, see A. Missiroli, 'Italia-Germania, le affinità selettive', *il mulino XLIV*, Dec 1995, 26–40; G. Corni. 2004. 'Il modello tedesco visto dall'Italia', in A. Giovagnoli and G. Del Zanna (eds), *Il mondo visto dall'Italia*, Milan: Guerini e Associati, 34–54.
 28. M. Tolomelli. 2006. *Terrorismo e società. Il pubblico dibattito in Italia e in Germania negli anni settanta*, Bologna: Il Mulino, esp. 176–81.
 29. On the effects of the Piazza Fontana bombing on the Italian extra-parliamentarian left, see L. Manconi. 2008. *Terroristi italiani*, Milan: Rizzoli, 27–44; on Feltrinelli and the reactions to his death, see A. Grandi. 2000. *Feltrinelli. La dinastia, il rivoluzionario*, Milan: Baldini & Castoldi.
 30. On the course of events, see K. Pflieger. 2007. *Die Rote Armee Fraktion – RAF – 14.5.1970 bis 20.4.1998*, 2nd edn, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 87–178.
 31. S. Aust. 2008. *Der Baader-Meinhof-Komplex*, 3rd edn, Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 768–871. Aust has provided circumstantial evidence that the prisoners could have

- been the object of bugging by the authorities within their cells, a presumption that can neither be confirmed nor disproved so far.
32. See T. Wunschik. 1997. *Baader-Meinhofs Kinder. Die zweite Generation der RAF*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 278–82.
 33. *Ibid.*, 278–284.
 34. Elter, *Propaganda*, 183.
 35. There were strong reactions in France and Greece as well, but of much lower intensity than in Italy. See, for instance, ‘Gewalttaten und antideutsche Demonstrationen in mehreren Ländern’, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 Oct 1977.
 36. It goes without saying that this short article cannot offer more than a rough survey in need of further contextualization and differentiation. For an updated and more detailed reflection, see P. Terhoeven. 2014. *Deutscher Herbst in Europa. Der Linksterrorismus der 70er Jahre als transnationales Phänomen*, Munich: Oldenbourg.
 37. On images and stereotypes of ‘the’ Germans in Europe at that time see M. Koch-Hillebrecht. 1977. *Das Deutschenbild. Gegenwart, Geschichte, Psychologie*, Munich: C.H. Beck; on the Italian case, see 43–55.
 38. On the pages of the *Kursbuch* of March 1978, Peter Schneider published a text of great interest, confronting the reactions to the ‘Stammheim night of death’ in the Federal Republic with the ones in Italy (his adopted place of residence), sharply criticizing both of them. According to Schneider, north of the Alps no one dared to question the official version, whereas in the South no one accepted it as a matter of principle – see P. Schneider. 1978. ‘Der Sand an Baaders Schuhen’, *Kursbuch* 51, 1–16.
 39. G. Bocca, ‘Una fosca tragedia tedesca’, *La Repubblica*, 19 Oct 1977.
 40. *Straordinarie imprese dei super-eroi*, drawing by F. Mariniello, in *La notte che salvò la democrazia. Stammheim – Mogadiscio 1977. La grande stampa informa e commenta. Supplemento al n. 34 del ‘Nuovo impegno’. Rivista trimestrale marxista-leninista* (1977), 62.
 41. In 1980, Gerhard Schmidtchen examined the persistence of the ‘Stammheim myth’ among West German youth. According to his numbers, only 9 per cent among the 16 to 35-year-old Germans did not believe in the suicide of the Stammheim inmates – see Schmidtchen. 1983. ‘Jugend und Staat. Übergänge von der Bürger-Aktivität zur Illegalität’, in Bundesministerium des Innern (ed.), *Analysen zum Terrorismus. Gewalt und Legitimität*, vol. 4/1, Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 314. Immediately after the Stammheim deaths, the federal government asked the Infas Institute to hold a survey on public opinion about the events. According to this survey based on eight hundred people questioned between 24 October and 13 November, the number of ‘doubters’ was 14 per cent. See Archiv der Sozialen Demokratie der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Helmut-Schmidt-Archiv, box 10018. Of course, the murder version found believers inside the German Left as well. Doubts were spread particularly by some of the RAF’s lawyers – see P. Bakker Schut. 1986. *Stammheim. Der Prozess gegen die Rote Armee Fraktion. Die notwendige Korrektur der herrschenden Meinung*. Kiel: Neuer Malik-Verlag; K.-H. Weidenhammer. 1988. *Selbstmord oder Mord? Das Todesermittlungsverfahren: Baader, Enslin, Raspe*. Kiel: Neuer Malik Verlag.
 42. D. Fo, ‘Accadde domani’, *Lotta Continua*, 23–24 Oct 1977.
 43. *Ibid.*, Introduction of the editors. The play *Morte accidentale di un anarchico* itself was translated into German by Peter Chotjewitz, a close friend of Klaus Croissant, just a few weeks after the death of the Stammheim inmates (probably not by chance).

44. 'L'appello del manifesto', *il manifesto*, 26 Oct 1977.
45. See the archives of the Roman Fondazione Basso, Serie 19, fasc. 28.
46. This was pointed out by several Italian observers of different political orientations as well; see for instance the articles 'Giudizi ambigui', in *Il Popolo*, 21 Oct 1977; and 'Dove porta il riflesso anti-tedesco', in *La Voce Repubblicana*, 27 Oct 1977.
47. The most convincing reconstruction of the history of *Lotta Continua* is A. Cazzullo. 2006. *I ragazzi che volevano fare la rivoluzione. Storia critica di Lotta Continua 1968–1978*, Milan: Sperling & Kupfer.
48. On the 1977 movement and its place within a history of the Italian Left, see L. Annunziata. 2007. *1977. L'ultima foto di famiglia*, Turin: Einaudi; and M. Grispigni. 2006. *1977*, Rome: manifestolibri.
49. On the history of these events generally, see the detailed reporting of all Italian newspapers of the time. The particularly severe incidents in Rome immediately after the suicides in Stammheim are described in 'Guerriglia a San Lorenzo, molotov, colpi di pistola, pullman in fiamme', *Il Messaggero*, 21 Oct 1977.
50. A. Ferrari, 'Quelli che sui muri inneggiano a Baader', *Corriere della Sera*, 23 Oct 1977.
51. 'Attentati anti-tedeschi in Italia', *Corriere della Sera*, 22 Oct 1977.
52. P. Franchi, 'Il ,movimento' dopo Stammheim', *Rinascita*, 4 Nov 1977.
53. 'Risoluzione della direzione strategica delle BR, novembre 1977', in L. Ruggiero (ed.), 2007. *Dossier Brigate Rosse. Le BR sanguinarie di Moretti, documenti, comunicati e censure*, Milan: Kaos edizioni, 130–61; for the references to the German comrades, see 147–61.
54. 'Comunicato diffuso dalle BR il 16 novembre 1977', quoted in Ruggiero, *Dossier Brigate Rosse*, 168–72, here 169.
55. 'A due giorni dall'attentato dal milanese Arienti sei colpi di rivoltella a Torino contro un altro consigliere dc', *Corriere della Sera*, 26 Oct 1977.
56. See esp. V. Satta. 2007. 'I collegamenti internazionali del terrorismo rosso italiano', *Nuova Storia Contemporanea* 6, 23–52.
57. For details, see P. Terhoeven. 2010. 'Deutscher Herbst in Italien. Die italienische Linke und die "Todesnacht von Stammheim"', in P. Terhoeven (ed.), *Italien, Blicke. Neue Perspektiven der italienischen Geschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 185–208.
58. For the numbers, see ID-Informationsdienst no. 197, 23.
59. See Speitel, 'Wir wollten alles', *Spiegel* 32, 37; Pflieger, *Rote Armee Fraktion*, 75.
60. ID-Informationsdienst no. 197, 20–27, 23.
61. *Ibid.*, 22.

6

Feminist Echoes of 1968

Women's Movements in Europe and the United States

Kristina Schulz

What was the legacy of '1968' with regard to gender relations? Was it a turning point in the history of gender roles and gender identity in the Western world? If so, does this turn support the idea of 1968 as a 'revolution of perception'? This is the main question of this chapter. There are a variety of perspectives on the legacy of 1968 as to gender relations. Whereas some commentators insist on the influence of 1968, others deny the catalytic effect of the protest wave in this area.¹ Such divergent accounts result from different ideological standpoints but may also reflect an analytical problem. It is difficult to differentiate between changes that can be attributed to the action of protest movements and those changes that must be imputed to other factors of social transformation. In order to reflect on the consequences and echoes of 1968 with regard to gender relations, the focus of this chapter is on the impact of the 1968 protest movement on a subsequent social movement, the women's liberation movement. But what exactly was the importance of the 1968 protest movement for the emergence of the women's movement? Two approaches dominate the historiography of this relationship. The first assumes that female activists' transition from one movement to another was self-evident. This position views the women's liberation movements as one of the most visible (positive) outcomes of the 1968 protest movement. The second position denies that the 1968 protest movement had any impact on the emergence of the 1970s women's liberation movement. In contrast to such absolute opinions (which, as we shall see, also determine feminist memories of 1968), this chapter will highlight the fundamentally ambivalent character of the relationship between 1968 and the women's liberation movement.

The chapter will begin by outlining the analytical frame of the exploration, which is influenced by social movement theory, especially by reflections about the end of social movements. Based on findings from research on the French, West German, Swiss and North American cases, I will treat three aspects related to the relationship between New Left thought, the New Left student movement around 1968 and the women's liberation movement: first of all, the cognitive orientation of the 1968 protest movement with regard to gender relations; secondly, the contribution of the 1968 protest movement to the women's movement's remarkable dynamics of mobilization in the early 1970s; and thirdly, the role that 1968 played in the narratives of women's movements.

Analytical Frame: 1968 as Micro-Mobilization Context

What happens with movement organizations, groups and individuals once they cease being part of a 'network of mobilized networks'?² Joachim Raschke distinguishes between three possible types of movement decline:³ (1) dissolution of movement organizations to a large extent and absence of non-organized movement behaviour, (2) institutionalization of a movement, or (3) transformation into a subsequent movement. With regard to 1968 we might add (4) terrorism or, in the Weberian sense, 'sects' as a fourth type. As to our question, it makes sense to consider type three. Whereas institutionalization is characterized by a voluntary self-limitation of movement activists to organizational and inter-organizational behaviour and to a programmatic agreement, transformation into a subsequent movement may be connected to the building of new informal organizational structures and a thematic amplification of claims. This is, so goes my argument, what happened in the case of the emerging women's liberation movement.

Analytically speaking, the women's movement and the 1968 protest movement can be seen as 'social movements': groups and networks characterized by a collective identity, which challenge the political and/or societal order in order to produce, prevent or reverse social change by the means of public protest.⁴ For the present reflection on the consequences and effects of 1968 with regard to the women's movement, one observation is crucial: 'There are more reasons for social movements than social movements themselves'.⁵ So why and when do social movements occur? Social movement scholars have given different answers. With respect to the women's movement, three approaches seem to be fruitful. *First*, the structural change approach: there is no doubt that changes on the labour market (or, as Jane Jenson, Elisabeth Hagen and Ceallaigh Reddy put it, 'the feminization of labour force')⁶ and the expansion of the education system since the late 1950s have strongly influenced women's conditions of life in Western societies. These developments favoured the emergence of a new generation of well-educated women with aspirations beyond a lifelong existence as mothers, spouses and housewives. The first feminist activists came precisely

from these milieus; not all, but many pioneering women's groups met in or close to universities, before the movement spread out into rural areas and beyond academic middle-class activism. This does not deny the existence of preceding working-class or black activism,⁷ it only shows that the core groups of the 1970s women's liberation movement in the formative phase of the social movement were dominated by women who, by their civil status and their educational background, belonged to a social avant-garde. *Second*, the socio-psychological approach: the concept of 'relative deprivation', developed in the 1960s and differentiated since,⁸ is still useful in order to understand women's growing and collective discontent with the fact that neither the feminization of labour nor the feminization of higher education had put an end to ongoing discrimination against women. The structural change approach and the concept of 'relative deprivation' contribute therefore to explaining the emergence of new women's movement.⁹

But if such macro-sociological perspectives allow one to explain the social composition of the women's liberation movement in its formative phase, they do not give an explanation as to its organizational forms and action strategies. So there is a *third* approach. Assuming that the 1968 protest movements profoundly influenced the women's liberation movement, then an actor-centred approach seems to be the most apt. When historians take this point of view, they put the accent on the fact that the outcome of specific historical situations is not predetermined (though affected) by structural conditions, but action arises in the course of a series of more or less random encounters. Thus, such outcomes can be rather contingent. Applied to social movement research, an actor-centred perspective focuses on the dynamic side of protest. It does not disclaim the structural reasons for collective protest but, when trying to explain why it occurs concretely, it takes into account social processes and interpersonal encounters, especially when it takes the forms of a conflict or of identity formation processes.¹⁰ In my view this is exactly the perspective we need in order to understand why women's groups emerged within the 1968 protest movement and why they opted for an autonomous, women-only mode of organization. But how can historians analyse such processes?

At the end of the 1980s, Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald put forward the idea of developing 'conceptual bridges' in order to overcome the strict separation between, on the one hand, macro-sociological explanations concerning the emergence of collective protest phenomena and, on the other hand, perspectives on micro-level processes.¹¹ They suggest studying the link between macro processes and individual actors by analysing mobilization contexts in small, clear units. These 'micro-mobilization contexts' are defined as 'any small group setting in which processes of collective attribution are combined with rudimentary forms of organization to produce mobilization for collective action'.¹² The concept aims at determining the structural space for protest activity. It focuses on social formations, allowing one to identify the dynamics of structured group processes, such as socio-psychological mechanisms, repartitions

of competences and roles, modes of communication, and even elements of positive reinforcement 'rewarding' actors for their participation in protest activities.

However, collective mobilization is encouraged not only by the presence of local group structures or milieus providing rudiments of organization but also by the circulation of ideas and elements of an interpretative framework. The concept of micro-mobilization context also opens up a second dimension: that of collective consciousness and its transformation through collective mobilization. Following McAdam, collective interpretative patterns of reality develop preferentially in small group settings. Here the concept of micro-mobilization context can be connected with the overall question of a possible 'revolution of perception'. We then have to ask to what extent the 1968 protest movement offered a cognitive frame for women to think their own liberation.

The Place of Women in New Left Thought and Praxis

Dissident left intellectuals began to criticize old left positions in many countries, starting in the second half of the 1950s. These intellectuals, who C. Wright Mills in 1960 addressed with foresight as the 'New Left',¹³ entered in communication with a wider public and with each other through newly created journals such as *Das Argument* and *Neue Kritik* in West Germany, *Arguments* in France, and the *New Left Review* in Great Britain. New Left criticism of the traditional left parties was manifold.¹⁴ Recently, Timothy Brown pointed out again that one of the central aims of the New Left was to overcome the separation between the private and the political.¹⁵ But if women's emancipation only occasionally entered the political agenda, that was also the case of the New Left, where the situation of women only rarely became a subject of concern. This was, for example, the case in the German *Das Argument*, which already in 1962/63 published a series of articles about the '*Emanzipation der Frau*' (Women's Emancipation).

If the *Argument* series on women was exceptional, another issue related to gender relations was instead all the more central to New Left thinking: the revolutionary potential of sexuality. New interpretations of psychoanalysis and sexual revolution circulated. The psychoanalytical paradigm had become the object of post-structuralist and New Left criticism since the late 1950s. French heterodox psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1991) and his disciples contributed to the expansion of psychoanalysis as a therapeutic practice. Elements of it were largely popularized and took the form of small group discussions about sexuality.¹⁶ Reimut Reiche and other leaders of the West German 1968 protest movement, especially what became its anti-authoritarian wing, studied and developed further the ideas that Wilhelm Reich had developed in his famous book on the *Sexual Revolution*.¹⁷ Both (post-)structuralist and New Left thought influenced the theoretical conceptualization of social transformation present in New Left movements from the late 1960s onwards. Of course, movement activists were not passive recipients of those texts. They were instead involved in

creative processes in which theoretical elements of the early Frankfurt School, of classical socialist thinking, of surrealism, situationism, and psychoanalysis were – sometimes in very different ways – combined.

There is another very important precondition for the question of gender becoming conceivable in connection to New Left transformation strategy: whereas for the Old Left socialist and communist parties revolution was a long-term objective to be reached by means of mass instruction and organization through party intervention, New Left activists believed in the convincing power of direct, provocative actions and experimental anticipation of a future society's organization. The new transformation strategy was connected to new modes of organization, favouring decentralized and informal forms of organization 'from below' over party organization 'from above'. In this way, the 1968 protest movement constituted an alternative to traditional political engagement in parties or unions, a form of engagement that for so long had excluded female citizens.

But the link between New Left ideas and women's liberation is more complex than just having opened an intellectual space that allowed seeing women as potential actors in the transformation of society. Around 1968, a so-called 'revolutionary practice' within the protest movement also gave women more room for manoeuvre (*Handlungsräume*). This will now be explored with respect to three aspects of New Left transformation strategy: the 'revolution' in everyday life, the 'revolution' in child-rearing, and the question of women's emancipation. The following aspects are essentially drawn from the West German context. Against the backdrop of the Nazi past, works on the 'authoritarian personality' especially were intensively discussed in the German student movement.¹⁸ These ideas of the so-called 'anti-authoritarian' wing became the dominant faction in the West German protest movement during 1967/68 and were, for a short time, successful in defining the direction and the means of protest.¹⁹ The anti-authoritarian activists believed that society could only be changed by breaking a 'chain of reproduction' of what they called (referring to Adorno) the 'authoritarian personality'. Given this, they criticized institutions that were classified as repressive, including (amongst others) family and marriage, and realized different forms of self-organization in counter-institutions.

From the anti-authoritarian point of view, communes were the ideal setting for a 'revolution of everyday life', because they would allow one to establish anti-repressive relationships beyond traditional family structures and 'to undermine repression of the state'.²⁰ The communes were seen as an element of a transformation strategy that realized 'the future in the present'.²¹ They were part of a network of counter-institutions, such as the 'critical university', that aimed at practising an anti-authoritarian style of communication and cohabitation in order to anticipate 'new forms of social life', to change 'interpersonal relationships' and to overcome the 'gap between private life and political engagement'.²² The new forms of cohabitation were perceived as a big change from what leftist student activists had experienced so far:

Before, when I wanted to dance, I went to someone who wanted to throw a party. It is known that leftists cannot party, because planning a party from A to Z is repugnant to them. . . . In the commune, dancing, hanging out, talking, moving, not to mention mutual tenderness, is part of everyday life, arises out of the general atmosphere.²³

The communes criticized the bourgeois family as a pure 'unit of consumption'²⁴ and tried to give as much importance to overcoming exploitation and alienation in the arena of reproduction as in the arena of production. They stood for the attempt to combine revolutionary theory and practice in life and work. From the commune's perspective, the 'revolution of the present conditions' (*Revolution der Verhältnisse*) had to take place not only in the realm of state politics but also in the 'private space, in family life and in education'.²⁵ One of the first communes was 'Kommune 2', founded in 1967 in West Berlin. Members of Kommune 2 openly criticized the situation of the female members of the Socialist Students' League (*Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*, SDS), pointing out that they would have no more than a 'decorative function' within it. The commune's goal was to avoid a 'division of tasks and duties according to age and sex',²⁶ because its members were convinced that by assigning specific roles to men and women, important 'forms of perception, possibilities of expression and productive faculties'²⁷ would get lost. Members of Kommune 2 discovered that 'there is no biological difference between men and women when it comes to pleasure and the ability to cook, to dance, to pick a dress, to express a need for tenderness'.²⁸ An alternative division of responsibilities in the shared household was one starting point of this commune's attempt to realize a radical change in gender relations. Another was to overcome the dogma of monogamy. Against the model of classical marriage, Kommune 2 propagated forms of living together where each commune member could express his or her need for tenderness, security and sexuality in an open way and independently from couple constellations. Couples tried to avoid a retreat into 'bourgeois' tête-à-tête intimacy. From that arose the idea of collective dorms and open bedrooms without doors. To summarize: the commune's understanding of a revolutionary practice was based on the idea that the changing of roles and the abandoning of fixed, monogamous partnerships were able to induce a broader change in the relationship between men and women. These ideas affected other flats and shared living communities of this kind.

The second aspect where New Left thought affected gender relations was the idea of a 'revolution' in child-rearing. The communes developed a substantial theoretical standpoint with regard to this. This was especially the case of Kommune 2, which served as an example for similar experiments. Its point of departure was the critique of the bourgeois family model (*bürgerliche Zwangsfamilie*).²⁹ Family was perceived as the 'most important agent of the capitalist regime' because of its 'authoritarian and prudish (*lustfeindlich*) style of raising children'.³⁰ Members of Kommune 2 outlined: 'The average nuclear family produces affectionate individuals that are fixated on infantile needs and irrational authorities'.³¹ In contrast,

the commune's major goal of child-rearing was the autonomy of the child. This aim was to be reached by new forms of collective everyday life that would break with the idea of the father–mother–child unit as the primary institution of education. Instead, all community members were to have the same responsibility for childcare. This should provide the opportunity for the children to build up 'close relationships with several adults' and to share 'desires and fears'³² with other individuals as well as their own parents. Based on basic psychoanalytical findings as provided by Sigmund and Anna Freud as well as the works of Wilhelm Reich, Vera Schmidt and Reimut Reiche, the commune developed ideas that were opposed to traditional principles of child-rearing such as obedience and order. The commune pleaded for a relationship between adults and children that was free from aggression and moralization, especially concerning the child's sexual development. In contrast to the bourgeois family that, following the commune, had become an instrument of capitalism, the commune refused to buy toys. The abundance of playthings in children's rooms, they argued, 'correlates with the ban on using objects from the adult world as material to play with'.³³ The 'revolution in child-rearing' towards which the commune strove embraced both the educating person and the child. A child's deviant behaviour was not judged as 'wrong' and punished, but interpreted as the expression of desires. As such they had to be taken seriously. This was also one of the education principles of the alternative day-care projects that developed within the 1968 protest movement.

Day-care centres for early childhood education existed not only in Germany, where the *Kinderläden* became a real 'movement' in the 1970s – the so-called '*antiautoritäre Kinderladenbewegung*' (anti-authoritarian child day-care movement). They developed also in other countries such as France.³⁴ 'Anti-authoritarian' in this understanding meant, in the first place, being out of reach of the authorities in charge of early childhood education: the church, the state and, of course, the bourgeois family. Furthermore, the kindergartens were conceived as part of a greater project of social transformation. From the anti-authoritarian point of view, rigidity and repression in traditional child-rearing severely compromised the free development of an individual by causing a lack of willpower and promoting voluntary subordination. Against this nefarious development, the *Kinderläden* defended pedagogical principles emphasizing the child's autonomy and freedom.

The *Kinderläden* are especially interesting with regard to the women's movement, because they were, in the German case, invented by a women's activist group, the Committee for Women's Liberation (*Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen*). Its goal was to 'overcome the isolation of mothers'³⁵ and to politicize women:

The *Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen* . . . is trying to change, on a practical and on a theoretical level, the reactionary role that women have played so far in class struggles. As one very important element, we became aware that we have to fight against the bourgeois family, and to do so at any place that confirms and strengthens ideologically the structure

of the contemporary family: kindergartens, schools, training centres. To fight against the bourgeois family means at the same time to develop new forms of education which liberate children from the family.³⁶

The fact is that when the women's movement emerged a couple of years after the decomposition of the 1968 protest movement, questions of childcare were hardly at the centre of feminist considerations, the ubiquitous theme being abortion. But it is also true that the Committee for Women's Liberation brought together questions of child-rearing and women's control of their own bodies by means of abortion and contraception, and perceived both aspects as fundamentally political questions. The questions of childcare and education made it necessary to reconsider socialist theory from a feminist point of view. Moreover, it was within the scope of the rising *Kinderladenbewegung* that fathers started to become interested in concrete questions of child-rearing, and asked to be part of it. Recent research on fatherhood and parenting in West Germany has shown that paternal authority had been questioned in progressive lay Christian circles as early as the late 1950s.³⁷ But it has also revealed that rethinking fatherhood 'in the shadow of man-made mass death'³⁸ remained within the limits of the traditional monogamist, heterosexual and patriarchal model of the bourgeois family. Referring to preceding attempts to reconceptualize parent-child relations in a radical manner, such as Wilhelm Reich's and Vera Schmidt's psychoanalytical approaches from the interwar era, the anti-authoritarian day-care centres criticized this bourgeois family ideal and offered alternative modes of child-rearing³⁹ that would eventually affect gender relations. Finally, the women's group organizing the first *Kinderläden* in Berlin in 1968 supported very actively the struggle for free abortion in 1971. Revolution in everyday life and revolution in child-rearing were part of a bigger project of the 1968 protest movement: to overcome the separation of the private and the political, and to declare the private political.

There was a third aspect where the 1968 protest movement also opened up an intellectual space for the new women's movement: the question of women's emancipation. The aforementioned 1962/63 series of articles on 'Emancipation of the Woman: Sexuality and Power'⁴⁰ shows particularly well how New Left thinking combined the selective reception of orthodox Marxist positions with the appropriation of new intellectual orientations.⁴¹ The topic brought together more than twenty contributions. The authors, young (male) leftist intellectuals, made use of contemporary concepts such as Herbert Marcuse's notion of 'repression' or the notion of 'authority' of the Frankfurt School, and linked them to classical socialist theory. *Das Argument* offered different points of departure for the analyses of women's repression in modern society. Most of them followed the position of historic materialism by pointing out the role of capitalism in women's oppression. Their argument was that whereas, a priori, industrialization had provided the conditions for women's emancipation, in fact it created a situation of double submission for women: in the hierarchical relationship between man and wife and in the powerlessness of the employee against the employer,

the superior, the (male) co-worker. Thus the authors operationalized the Marxist notions of ‘exploitation’ and ‘alienation’ for analysing aspects of the women’s situation in public and private life, such as the double burden of family and housework on the one hand, and wage earning on the other – not to mention legal inequality, discrimination at the workplace and in the university, and sexist presentations of women in publicity and the media. Some authors also draw on psychological and psychoanalytical knowledge by arguing that men’s repressive behaviour towards women results from a feeling of inferiority and the wish to compensate general male weakness.

Does the *Argument* series testify that New Left activists supported the idea of women’s emancipation? Despite of the critical attitude towards women’s submission in society, none of the authors was advocating a women’s liberation movement. On the contrary, several authors distanced themselves from the point of view of the historical women’s movement by pointing out that feminism – in spite of some of its progressive aspects – had rather stabilized bourgeois society. Feminist attempts to struggle against women’s oppression were suspected of obscuring the more important contradictions of modern society. From this point of view, women’s liberation within a repressive society would never be more than a partial liberation (*Teilbefreiung*), ‘because the emancipation does not go beyond the repressive structures of society as a whole’.⁴²

All in all, exploring the idea of a revolution in everyday life, child-rearing, and women’s emancipation reveals in an exemplary way the ambiguous message that New Left thought and practice addressed to women. On the one hand, by according a central place to sexuality, New Left transformation strategy imputed much importance to interpersonal relationships (not only, but centrally, between men and women). On the other hand, New Left thought and practice was not sensible for women’s special needs and problems in a society that was not only structured by power relations between rich and poor, employer and employee, powerful and marginal, but also by power relations between women and men. From a New Left point of view, women’s liberation was secondary to a transformation of society as a whole.

Studying the micro-mobilization contexts and the micro-mobilization processes of the first women’s groups within the 1968 protest movements reveals another rather ambiguous impact of 1968 on women’s liberation.

Micro-Mobilization of Feminist Groups within the Context of 1968

In many countries, women’s groups appeared in the course of the student movement and benefited from the context of mobilization. The contacts women established with other women during movement activities were crucial for the creation of autonomous women’s groups within the 1968 protest movement. The following case studies of four countries provide a picture of the impact of

micro-mobilization contexts on the building of women's groups that were, in many cases, early cells of the future women's movement. I first turn to the case of the United States.

American radical feminism arose within the political student movement and the Civil Rights movement. The leading organization of the students' protest, Students for a Democratic Society (also abbreviated SDS, though distinct from the German organization with the same acronym), followed a New Left transformation strategy aimed at 'participatory democracy'.⁴³ In order to revitalize basic democratic traditions, which should not be limited only to political decisions but should also encompass social and economic ones, SDS practised forms of political participation and communication that allowed a more symmetric communication between speaker and audience – the 'teach-in'. Another attempt to win people on the local level for participatory democracy was to found local groups against the Vietnam War and to do social work in urban districts of big cities. Those 'community organizing projects' were inspired by the rising Civil Rights movement and its protest practices. In fact, the Civil Rights movement was the second source from which radical feminism arose.⁴⁴ In 1960, black students – among them some women – founded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Whereas traditional Civil Rights organizations had tried to win the battle for equal rights through legal change or at the most through boycotts, the SNCC used direct actions like 'sit-ins' and other forms of non-violent civil disobedience.⁴⁵ In order to strengthen the Afro-American community in a durable way, the Civil Rights movement also established counter-institutions such as 'Freedom Schools', autonomous medical infrastructures and cultural projects. Female activists – black and white – participated in all of these movement activities. Hundreds of young, white, middle-class women spent some time working in community projects and gaining know-how that, afterwards, they could use to organize autonomous women's groups and projects.⁴⁶

However, along with their political activism, female activists experienced sexist behaviour, discrimination, and exclusion in the student and Civil Rights movements that became more and more dominated by a radical minority. In 1964, Mary King and Casey Hayden, two women out of a handful of white female activists on the SNCC staff, wrote a paper on the situation of women within the organization.⁴⁷ They blamed the growing bureaucratization of the movement and its increasingly hierarchical structure which discriminated against women in the movement. In December 1965, SDS organized a conference on 'Women in the Movement'. The conference participants – women and some men – agreed to Hayden's and King's analyses.⁴⁸ They also knew from experience that, in spite of the dominant rhetoric of participation and emancipation, the transformation of gender relations was not on the agenda of SDS. Against this background, women began to build autonomous women's groups, such as the New York Radical Women, the Women's Liberation group in Berkeley, and the Boston collective Bread and Roses. One of the central figures of New York's feminist scene was Shulamith Firestone. Born in 1945 in Ottawa (Canada),

Firestone studied in Washington and Chicago, where she participated in one of the first women's groups. In 1967 she moved to New York. From that moment on she instigated discussion of provocative assumptions about the relation between women's liberation and sexual revolution.⁴⁹ Her reflections resulted in a widely circulated book appearing in 1970 and soon translated into French and German, *The Dialectic of Sex*.

Concerning France, two circles are of interest, which developed independently and were unaware of each other's existence. I will start by concentrating on a group that was created in 1967 as a subgroup of the social-democratic women's organization Movement of Democratic Women (*Mouvement Démocratique Féminin*, MDF). Two young women, Anne Zelensky and Jacqueline Hogasen, met during an MDF meeting through the intermediary of the professor of sociology, Andrée Michel.⁵⁰ They were interested in the women's question because they had become aware of the fact that women were not only discriminated against in the labour market and in legislation, but also in their very intimate face-to-face relations with men. Assuming that a traditional women's organization like the Movement for Democratic Women was not the place where personal experiences could be analysed in an adequate way, Zelensky and Hogasen decided shortly after to launch a circle meant to reflect on gender relations. A dozen people – women and some men – began to meet regularly under the name Feminine, Masculine, Future (*Féminin, Masculin, Avenir*, FMA). FMA was influenced by the mobilization dynamics of May 1968 in Paris. The members decided to organize a debate on 'Women and Revolution' in a lecture hall of the occupied Sorbonne. Actually, that meeting took place on 6 June 1968 and was a great success. Many people joined FMA, which changed its name to express a new, more radical standpoint: Feminism, Marxism, Action (*Féminisme, Marxisme, Action*). The chosen name announced a new programmatic point of view: the productive amalgamation of a feminist analysis of society and a historical materialist interpretation of repressive structures in gender relations. In 1968 Christine Delphy, today one of the best-known French feminist theorists, also joined FMA. Other members, especially the few males, left the group after the demobilization of the student movement. The group met as a small circle until spring 1970.

A second group appeared in the course of the events of 1968. It was in the intellectual and political climate of the new established experimental University of Paris-Vincennes,⁵¹ where female students met in order to discuss works of Marx, Freud, Lacan and Derrida. Two women led this group: the lecturer and Ph.D. student Antoinette Fouque, who was very much influenced by the theories of psychoanalysis, and the writer Monique Wittig, who had recently translated Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*⁵² into French. As much as the women's self-conception was based on central ideas of the leftist movement, when it came to conflicts with male students from left political student groups who wanted to 'teach' them how to organize 'revolutionary' activities, the women distanced themselves from the revolutionary project of their male comrades.⁵³ In

summer 1970 they stood up against 'male terrorism'⁵⁴ and declared 'Women's Liberation: Year zero'.⁵⁵ At that moment the two groups finally met. Together they planned an event that would later be perceived as the 'birth' of the French women's movement: a demonstration that took place in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris in August 1970 commemorating the 'unknown wife of the unknown soldier'. With this demonstration, French feminists expressed their solidarity with American feminists who commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage on the very same day. The French activists distributed flyers calling a 'strike at work, strike in the household, strike in bed'.⁵⁶ After this key event, reported widely in the national press (although only a couple of activists participated), the Women's Liberation Movement (*Mouvement pour la liberation des femmes*, MLF), as it was called thereafter, accelerated its rhythm of public interventions and strengthened its internal structure. Taking radical American feminists as their example, French feminists created discussion and consciousness-raising groups. The formative phase of the French women's movement ended in spring 1971: the main social movement organization MLF had been constituted, the potential recruitment basis (well-educated, mostly Parisian women of the middle classes, stemming from the postwar baby boom generation) and the aim of the movement ('women's liberation') had been defined, and the adversary ('male oppressor') had been identified. Of course, all these elements were outlined in a very general, imprecise way – but they got clearer in the course of the free abortion campaign that opened the mobilization phase of the French women's movement in 1971.

In the German Federal Republic, the first women's groups emerged in 1968 in the surroundings of the Free University of Berlin. Eighty to a hundred interested women met in an event initiated by two women, Marianne Herzog and the filmmaker Helke Sander. Both sympathized with oppositional student groups close to (German) SDS, which constituted the organizational centre of the extra-parliamentary opposition. The aforementioned Committee for Women's Liberation was born during this meeting, and grew rapidly. Its members organized several work and discussion groups. On a theoretical level, they worked on a variety of themes, such as 'marriage and family', 'women's economic dependency', 'feminine sexuality' and 'femininity and fascism'. On a more practical level, they were occupied with planning the anti-authoritarian *Kinderläden*. For male student movement participants, the Committee for Women's Liberation was relatively invisible during the first six months of its existence. Those whose female friends went to the meetings did not take the activities very seriously. But when the first day-care centres opened in May 1968, male comrades recognized them as an important element of a transformation strategy that was based on the idea of counter-institutions as an effective means of changing society. In August 1968 male movement activists formed the *Zentralrat der Kinderläden*, a 'Central Committee responsible for the coordination of the *Kinderläden*'. As for the critique of the bourgeois family model, the central committee's position was close to that of the Committee for Women's Liberation. But with regard to gender

relations it did not subscribe to the critique of women's oppression that was, for the Committee for Women's Liberation, inseparably linked with the problem of childcare.

Shortly after the foundation of the central committee, Helke Sander, founding member of the Committee for Women's Liberation, went to participate in the annual meeting of the German SDS. The congress took place in the main hall of the University of Frankfurt on 12 and 13 September 1968. In a speech addressed to the (overwhelmingly male) delegates, Helke Sander explained the action strategy of the Committee for Women's Liberation. She emphasized that, based on the assumption that 'the private was political', they aimed at transforming everyday life. At present, Sander stated, the revolutionary movement was reproducing the 'bourgeois separation between public and private life'. Under these circumstances, even revolutionary men would maintain an 'identity based on patriarchy'.⁵⁷ She blamed SDS for totally ignoring the problem of women's exploitation and asked the delegates to discuss the propositions of the women's committee. When the president of the Students' League refused to allow debate on the propositions, her friend Sigrid Damm-Rüger threw tomatoes at him. The Committee for Women's Liberation gained a lot of publicity with this performance, as the press covered the event. By this, women in cities other than West Berlin got to know of the existence of the first women's committee within the student movement. In numerous other cities women's groups were founded in autumn 1968.⁵⁸ They mostly worked on a theoretical level, reflecting on women's place in revolution, in society, and in the student movement.

So far my analysis has dealt with formative processes in countries where a strong 1968 protest movement undoubtedly existed. Now I turn to a country where overarching national protest dynamics were less visible: Switzerland. For this country the question of the extent to which the events of 1968 can be described as a social movement remains open.⁵⁹ The Swiss case is nevertheless interesting because, on the local level, women's groups had already appeared in the course of protest events in 1968. Swiss society transformed into a consumer society from the mid-1950s onwards, with social and economic developments similar to those in other Western societies.⁶⁰ A system of social compromise was established during the war, reconciling progressive economic liberalism with cultural and ideological conservatism. In this consensus-orientated society in which the living standard improved considerably during the 1960s, it was difficult to express opposition. The critique of social conditions was often seen as part of a communist-instigated conspiracy. Nevertheless, inspired by the French New Left, oppositional groups were founded in the French-speaking part of Switzerland (Geneva and Lausanne), and then in the Zurich area and in other cities. They combined reflections on the 'Third World' (*Tiers-mondisme*), student syndicalism and pacifism. Due to the lack of interest in the events of 1968 until quite recently,⁶¹ we do not know about the events and developments in places beyond the urban centres. But research reveals that in the later leftist groups and networks came together with non-conformist and artistic milieus in various

types of action. They broke with the rules of a society based on political consensus and the supposed accessibility of direct democracy. In light of this, what can we say about the emergence of the new feminist movement in Switzerland?

Like in other countries, women's groups emerged at first in a social and cultural milieu of students in university towns, the first being Zurich.⁶² In November 1968 a group of women related to the Progressive Student's Association (*Fortschrittliche Studentenschaft*) attracted interest by disturbing an assembly of the women's voting rights association. With this 'go-in', the women challenged the traditional women's movement to make more radical demands. Moderate requirements such as women's suffrage – which was only achieved in Switzerland in 1971 – or improvements to civil law would not help to achieve equality between women and men. Three months later, in February 1969, the group appeared again, now named the Women's Liberation Movement (*Frauenbefreiungsbewegung*, FBB). It was soon recognized as a distinct current within the extra-parliamentary left. After Zurich, groups began to meet in Geneva in autumn 1970, calling themselves Front of Good Women (*Front des bonnes femmes*), then (as in France) the Women's Liberation Movement (*Mouvement de libération des femmes*, MLF).⁶³ MLF and FBB participated in a citizens' initiative in 1971, instigated by a non-partisan committee and calling for 'exemption from punishment for abortion'. The initiative was finally withdrawn, but from then on the women's movement spread all over the country: women's groups were established in many cities, especially university towns, and rudimentary structures of a national coordination developed, as well as a vivid feminist counter-culture.⁶⁴

What do micro-mobilization contexts tell us about the relationship between the 1968 protest movement and the new women's movement? They point to an ambivalent finding, embracing transitional elements as well as explicit break-ups. Regarding the transitional elements, it appears that, in all four countries, women's groups were formed that emphasized their autonomy from the traditional Left, as did the New Left groups in 1968. 'Society's transformation', they argued, 'cannot wait for the socialist revolution';⁶⁵ it had to take place here and now, in everyday life and in intimate interpersonal relationships. In pointing out everyday life as a strategic starting point for changing society, the women's movements' activists were following the New Left transformation strategy that suggested consciousness-raising through action rather than through organization (like the Old Left).⁶⁶ Other similarities can be observed on the level of action forms (provocative, symbolic, demonstrative) as well as on the organizational level (informal, anti-hierarchical, decentralized).

However, the women's movements in all four countries not only took a critical view of society's patriarchal structure, they also criticized repressive mechanisms in the movements from which they stemmed. The New Left theoretical insight about the necessity of changing power relations between men and women did not concretely affect the way male activists of the protest movement treated female activists. In leading movement organizations such as German

SDS, chauvinistic patterns of behaviour were no less common than in the rest of society. Hence, the rhetoric of change could not hide the problems that arose for many women: they had less experience in political work and were often relegated to auxiliary activity. That is the reason why, according to the *ex post* judgment of feminists, attempts of the 1968 protest movement to change gender relations failed: ‘The comrades wanted to act as liberators of the human being, but they wanted just as much to remain women’s oppressors’.⁶⁷ It is true that, in the short term, the communes did not succeed in profoundly changing everyday life or in completely abolishing traditional gender roles and power relations between men and women; and nor did the *Kinderläden* immediately alter the way that responsibilities for childcare and education were dispatched between men and women.

This last point shifts the emphasis away from continuities and towards the explicit rupture from which tensions resulted: the tomatoes thrown at the annual meeting of German SDS were nothing more than the expression of women’s spontaneous and individual feelings of disgust and powerlessness within the German student movement. But they rapidly became the symbol of a strategy of distinction and demarcation in relation to the 1968 protest movement. ‘Your sexual revolution is not ours’, and ‘A revolutionary’s steak takes as long to be done as a bourgeois steak’ were slogans that expressed French women’s vehement opposition to the male chauvinism within the 1968 protest movement. The message of their ‘sisters’ in the United States was similar: alongside a report on a Women’s Liberation Workshop, they published a cartoon showing a young woman holding a sign reading ‘We Want Our Rights and We Want Them Now’ in the July 1967 issue of the SDS review *New Left Notes*.⁶⁸ In terms of demarcation, Switzerland presents an exception, as the first public appearance of the women’s movement in Zurich was not addressed to the 1968 protest movement but to representatives of the old suffragist women’s movement. From the radical point of view of the FBB, women’s liberation had to be claimed on all levels of society, and not only on the level of women’s suffrage.

Remembering ’68: Feminist Narratives on 1968

The last section of this chapter is not so much about studying ‘what really happened’ but to stress the importance of the events by working out the integrating and – as we shall see – excluding functions of 1968 as a myth, symbol or point of reference in the formation of social groups.⁶⁹ Who remembered 1968 (how, where and why?) and who did not?⁷⁰ My focus here is on France and West Germany. These cases show particularly well the polarization within the women’s liberation movement with regard to the 1968 protest movement. I first turn to France.

At the end of the 1970s, two stories about the origins of the movement competed within the French women’s movement. One of the most famous personalities who saw 1968 as a founding event was the previously mentioned

Antoinette Fouque. She worked as a journalist and lecturer in Paris, started to study in the late 1960s, initiated the first women's bookshops in France and became a Member of the European Parliament in the 1980s. Fouque was very much inspired by the first postwar debates about female sexuality that took place in the psychoanalytical community. In the 1960s she discovered the work of Jacques Lacan. By 1969 she had heard lectures by Lacan and had started psychoanalysis with the 'enfant terrible' of the French psychoanalytical community.⁷¹ Fouque's version of French MLF's founding story started in 1968: 'In the beginning, in October 1968, there were three of us: . . . three women, daughters of the anti-authoritarian revolt of May 68'.⁷² The circle soon became the group *psychanalyse et politique* (Psychoanalysis and Politics). In the 1980s, Fouque defended her version against interpretations that emphasized 1970 as the starting point of the women's liberation movement. She returned to this theme in other texts from the late 1970s and 1980s, distancing herself from those who were in favour of a different dating, for example Christine Delphy.

Christine Delphy studied social science at the Sorbonne and the Ecole normale supérieure.⁷³ She stayed in the United States at the end of the 1960s and got to know the Civil Rights movement. After coming back to France she assisted in the protest movement of May 68 and joined FMA. Delphy's interpretation of 1968 differed strongly from that proposed by Antoinette Fouque. In an article published in the feminist revue *Questions féministes* in 1980, Delphy announced: 'Women's liberation: the tenth year'.⁷⁴ She thus referred to 1970 as the founding year of the MLF as well as the year in which its first collective work, *Libération des femmes: année zéro*, was published.⁷⁵ From Delphy's point of view, the MLF had been the product of a fusion between different groups and individuals since spring 1970.

How do both women refer to '1968'? What is their position concerning the impact of this event on the formation of the women's movement? Defending the idea that '1968' brought the women's movement to life, Antoinette Fouque described the protests as 'revolution', the beginning of a 'new era'.⁷⁶ For her, the two years between 1968 and 1970 were a period of fruitful reflection after the 'awakening', the 'explosion', the 'cry' and the 'rebirth' that was '1968'. Fouque emphasized the meaning of '1968' as 'symbolic revolution'. According to her, this symbolic revolution made it possible to overcome the dominant phallogocentric paradigm in the 1970s in favour of new images about femininity and feminine sexuality. Christine Delphy did not completely deny that there was a connection between the outcome of the MLF and '1968'. Indeed she mentioned the group FMA, which she belonged to in 1968. But Delphy seemed to be much more in favour of the idea that the women's movement developed *against* the spirit of 1968. In particular she stated that the project of a so-called 'sexual revolution' had been a 'trap for women'.⁷⁷ From her point of view, the sexual revolution proclaimed in 1968 was nothing more than a 'hygienic, simplistic, masculine conception of sexuality' in which women served as 'receptacles'.⁷⁸

How did German feminists evaluate their own past? How did they tell the story of the movement? Like their French sisters, German feminists disagreed over the beginnings of ‘women’s lib’. Two narratives in particular have dominated since the 1970s. The first assumes that the women’s liberation movement emerged out of the battle against abortion policy in 1971. In contrast, others declared ‘1968’ as the birth of the social movement. Helke Sander was one of the latter. Looking back to the origins of what later became the women’s liberation movement, she tied those activities together with the beginning of a national women’s movement. She emphasized, ‘It is not true that the German women’s movement emerged only with Alice Schwarzer and the story of abortion in 1970 [*sic!*]’.⁷⁹ Sander elaborated on her story of the movement’s beginning in several interviews. She also made use of the instrument of expression she was most familiar with: film. In 1980 she produced the film *Der subjektive Faktor* (The Subjective Factor). It focused on the activities of the first women’s action committee in Berlin in 1968. *Der subjektive Faktor* was not a historical reconstruction of the events but was rather meant to be understood as a ‘specific representation of those events’.⁸⁰ Sander did not claim that this represented objective truth, only her own subjective truth – a truth from her personal point of view. As such, Sander was implicitly targeting the ‘star feminist’ Alice Schwarzer and her politics of memory.

In the 1960s Alice Schwarzer worked as a journalist at different places in Germany, and in Paris – and it was there that she came into contact with feminist activism for the first time. She assisted in the preparation of the *Nouvel observateur* manifesto of 343 prominent French women who advocated free abortion on demand and admitted that they themselves had had abortions. Their signatures were published in *Nouvel observateur* in April 1971. In the spring of that year, Schwarzer organized a similar action in Germany and, in June 1971, a manifesto signed by 374 German women appeared in *Stern*. Being the initiator of this scandalous publication, as well as a journalist and the author of the best-seller *The Little Difference and its Big Consequences* (1975), Schwarzer became one of the most famous feminists in Germany. What was her opinion about the relation between 1968 and women’s liberation? For her the events of 1968 and the emergence of some women’s groups were only a ‘deceptive appearance’.⁸¹ The revolt of the SDS women had been nothing more than a short, furious flare-up, but in no way represented ‘the first step toward a revolutionary women’s movement’.⁸² Schwarzer explained that she regarded the events from a distant point of view and did not feel concerned personally. Over and over again she emphasized that feminism only became one of the dominant public themes in 1971, after the publication of the self-denunciations of over three hundred women confessing ‘We had an abortion’.

To sum up: when studying debates within the women’s liberation movement about 1968, I was surprised to see how much the founding story of what became the women’s liberation movement was contested. This became even more obvious when I analysed the frequent conflicts that arose on the occasion

of 1968's anniversary.⁸³ These conflicts reflected deeper differences about the direction, strategies and targets of feminism. By accepting or denying continuity with the events of 1968, different currents in the women's liberation movement negotiated the form and content of feminist engagement: the modes of mobilization (mass or elite), the instruments of struggle (consciousness-raising through psychoanalysis or provocative actions) and its direction (individual consciousness or material/legal advances). The meaning of '1968' was in this context a symbolic meaning. The historical event as such did not matter.

Conclusion

Unlike many accounts that deny a direct relation between 1968 and the women's liberation movement, stressing 1968's male chauvinism and ignorance towards women's oppression, this chapter has highlighted the fundamentally ambivalent character of the 1968 protest movement with regard to women's liberation by studying New Left ideas about interpersonal relationships and attempts to implement them in 'revolutionary' practices, group-building processes in micro-mobilization contexts, and memory politics. Against this backdrop, what can be said about the importance of the 1968 protest movement for the emergence of the women's movement?

First, on the level of cognitive orientations, the 1968 protest movement provided a new organization and action strategy that was very important for the women's groups founded within and in the aftermath of the 1968 protest movement. The 1968 protest movement had prepared the terrain for themes (in particular sexuality) and cognitive frames (analysis of oppression) on which the women's movement could reflect. The cognitive orientation of the 1968 protest movement was based on an interpretation of society inspired by socialism, psychoanalysis and elements of situationism. The works of the intellectual New Left, reflected within this movement – and, as is often forgotten, also by the women involved – contributed to an interpretation of revolution that went beyond the classic scheme of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an inevitable stage of the revolutionary process. It thus allowed women to see themselves as subjects of change.

Second, studying the events of 1968 from the point of view of micro-mobilization contexts reveals that the 1968 protest movement did not just simply precede the women's movement in terms of chronology. In fact, the 1968 protest movement contributed largely to the emergence of women's liberation movements in Western industrial societies. Even if the very first women's groups within the 1968 protest movement disintegrated at the end of the 1960s, the women's groups of the 1970s could rely on organizational resources such as pre-existing networks, potential allies, means of communication, and recruitment potential that had developed around 1968. They could also rely on the activist experiences of women in the 1968 protest movement. The regularly

held meetings from 1967 to 1969, the friendships and contacts established on the micro-mobilization level, and the discussions and activities, all served as background for a successful and nationwide mobilization against the abortion legislation in all four countries.

Third, exploring the place of women in New Left thought and practice reveals the difficulties female 1968 activists had obtaining acceptance on an equal footing with their male comrades. In so far as interpersonal – and especially sexual – relationships were included in New Left transformation strategy, they were integrated from a man's point of view, denying women's special needs and experiences.

Fourth, 1968 played an important role in the narratives of the women's movements. In fact, the importance of 1968 for the emergence of the new women's movement is still today a subject of controversial debate. 1968 has become a founding myth, sometimes in the form of a counter-myth, since many radical feminists refuse to see themselves in continuity with the male-dominated 1968 protest movement. Therefore 1968 is a positive point of reference for some, whereas for others it is a negative one. Either way, the question of the 'birth' of the new women's movement is a constitutive one within the women's movement's self-construction.

In sum, the women's liberation movement became a fundamentally *new* experience for many women. However, the women's liberation movement was – in a very ambivalent way – tied to the 1968 protest movement. The latter was a male-dominated movement that, as concerns its scepticism towards feminism, was still located in old socialist traditions. However, in the intellectual space opened up by the 1968 protest movement as well as in the forms of protest experienced, there was a great deal to learn for women in search of change.

Notes

1. See A. Marwick. 1998. *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1985–c.1974*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; E. Maleck-Léwy and B. Maleck. 1998. 'The Women's Movement in East and West Germany', in C. Fink, P. Gassert and D. Junker (eds), *1968: The World Transformed*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 373–95. For a more sceptical view: U. Frevert. 1990. 'Frauen auf dem Weg zur Gleichberechtigung – Hindernisse, Umleitungen, Einbahnstraßen', in M. Broszat (ed.), *Zäsuren nach 1945: Essays zur Periodisierung der deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte* (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte No. 61), Munich: Oldenbourg, 113–30.
2. F. Neidhardt. 1985. 'Einige Ideen zu einer allgemeinen Theorie sozialer Bewegungen', in S. Hradil (ed.), *Sozialstruktur im Umbruch*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 193–204, 197.
3. J. Raschke. 1985. *Soziale Bewegungen. Ein historisch-systematischer Grundriß*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 122f.

4. Social movement research has become a vast field of political and social sciences, dealing with various aspects of collective protest action. For a conceptual framework, see Raschke, *Soziale Bewegungen*; R.J. Dalton and M. Kuecheler. 1990. *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and recently, A. Pettenkofer. 2010. *Radikaler Protest. Zur soziologischen Theorie sozialer Bewegungen*, Frankfurt a. M.: Campus.
5. Raschke, *Soziale Bewegungen*, 147.
6. J. Jenson, E. Hagen and C. Reddy (eds). 1988. *Feminization of the Labor Force: Paradoxes and Promises*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
7. Black feminism is not so much a subject of European women's movements, although some work has been done on black feminism in the case of the U.K., which is not treated here. In contrast, it is a very important issue in the context of the United States. Recently, several studies have shown the important influence that black women's groups and their claims had on radical feminism altogether. See e.g. W. Breines. 2006. *The Trouble Between Us: An Uneasy History of White and Black Women in the Feminist Movement*, New York: Oxford University Press; K. Springer. 2005. *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations 1968–1980*, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.
8. H.-U. Wehler. 1989 [1987–2008]. *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 5 vols, Munich: Beck, vol. 2: *Von der Reformära bis zur industriellen und politischen 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution'*, 695.
9. I go along with Anna von der Goltz' criticism of a naturalistic use of the concept of 'generation'. Growing up in similar socio-economic conditions (economic growth and the baby boom) does not make individuals into members of a generation, and it does not determine 'the behaviour and experiences of a "generation"'. This is not only the case for what she calls 'the student protesters' of 1968 but also for women's movement's activists. But there is empirical evidence that socio-economic factors had an influence on whether women became women's lib activists or not, and if so, in which phase of the movement. This has less to do with 'being prone to rebel' but much more with the fact that students were part of social networks and therefore easier to mobilize. Cf. A. von der Goltz. 2011. 'Generational Belonging and the "68ers" in Europe', in von der Goltz, *'Talkin' 'bout my generation': Conflicts of Generation Building and Europe's '1968'*, Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 7–28, citations 16.
10. Cf. K.P. Japp, 'Selbsterzeugung oder Fremdverschulden. Thesen zum Rationalismus in den Theorien sozialer Bewegungen', in *Soziale Welt. Zeitschrift für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung und Praxis* 35 (1984), 313–29.
11. D. McAdam, J. McCarthy and M.N. Zald. 1988. 'Social Movements', in N.J. Smelser (ed.), *Handbook of Sociology*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 695–737, 698.
12. *Ibid.*, 709.
13. C. Wright Mills, 'Letter to the New Left', in *New Left Review* 5 (1960), 18–23.
14. Cf. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 1995. *'Die Phantasie an die Macht'. Mai 68 in Frankreich*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 44–104.
15. T. Brown. 2011. 'A Tale of Two Communes: The Private and the Political in Divided Berlin 1967–1973', in M. Klimke, J. Pekelder and J. Scharloth (eds), *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and Revolt in Europe, 1960–1980*, Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 132–40.

16. Cf. E. Roudinesco. (1925–1985) 1986. *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France*, 2 vols, Paris: Seuil, vol. 2.
17. R. Reiche. 1968. *Sexualität und Klassenkampf. Zur Abwehr repressiver Entsublimierung*, Frankfurt: Neue Kritik; W. Reich. 1945. *The Sexual Revolution: Toward a Self-governing Character Structure*, New York: Orgone Institute Press (German 1936, new edition 1966).
18. Cf. D. Herzog, “Pleasure, Sex, and Politics Belong Together”: Post-Holocaust Memory and the Sexual Revolution in West Germany’, in *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1998), 393–454. The most important works were T. Adorno et al. (eds). 1950. *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper and Brothers; M. Horkheimer et al. (eds). 1936. *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, Paris: Alcan.
19. P. Richter. 2008. ‘Die Außerparlamentarische Opposition in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1966 bis 1968’, in I. Gilcher-Holtey (ed.). 2008a. *1968 – Vom Ereignis zum Mythos*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 47–74.
20. F. Wolff. 1968. ‘Organisation: Emanzipation und Widerstand’, *neue kritik* 9, 4–9, 9.
21. R. Dutschke, B. Rabehl and C. Semmler. 1968. ‘Ein Gespräch über die Zukunft’, *Kursbuch* 14, 146–74, 146.
22. N.N. 1968. ‘Kommunen in Deutschland. Ein Bericht von Wolfgang Röhl und Detlef Schneider’, *konkret* 12, 20–25, 20.
23. Kommune 2. 1971. *Versuch der Revolutionierung des bürgerlichen Individuums. Kollektives Leben mit politischer Arbeit verbinden!*, Cologne: Kiepenhauer, 52.
24. *Ibid.*, 147.
25. H. Berndt. 1969. ‘Kommune und Familie’, *Kursbuch* 17, 129–45, 132.
26. Kommune 2, *Versuch der Revolutionierung*, 66.
27. Kommune 2, 1969, ‘Kindererziehung in der Kommune’, in *Kursbuch* 17, 147–78, 152.
28. *Ibid.*
29. H. Berndt. 1969. ‘Kommune und Familie’, *Kursbuch* 17, 129–45, 132.
30. Kommune 2, *Versuch der Revolutionierung*, 147.
31. *Ibid.*, 149.
32. *Ibid.*, 156.
33. *Ibid.*, 160.
34. Cf. M.A. Burnier. 1970. *La France sauvage*, Paris: Editions publications premières, 38ff.
35. H. Sander. 1969. ‘Projekt Betriebskindergärten’, *Rote Presse Korrespondenz* 27/28, 19–23, 21.
36. Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen. Ca. 1968/69. *Die politische Ökonomie*, Archiv APO und soziale Bewegung, University of Berlin, Handapparat Träger.
37. T. van Rahden. 2010. ‘Fatherhood, Rechristianization, and the Quest for Democracy in Postwar Germany’, in D. Schumann (ed.), *Raising Citizens in the ‘Century of the Child’: The United States and German Central Europe in Comparative Perspective*, New York: Berghahn Books, 141–66.
38. T. van Rahden. 2011. ‘Clumsy Democrats: Moral Passions in the Federal Republic’, *German History* 29, 485–504, 487.
39. See M.S. Baader and U. Herrmann (eds). 2011. *68 – Engagierte Jugend und Kritische Pädagogik. Impulse und Folgen eines kulturellen Umbruchs in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik*, Weinheim and Munich: Juventa Verlag; M.S. Baader (ed.). 2008. ‘Seid realistisch. Verlangt das Unmögliche’. *Wie 1968 die Pädagogik bewegte*, Weinheim: Beltz.

40. N.N. 1962/1963. 'Emanzipation der Frau. Sexualität und Herrschaft', *Das Argument* 22–24.
41. Gilcher-Holtey, 'Die Phantasie an die Macht', 94.
42. H. Marcuse. 1962. 'Emanzipation der Frau in der repressiven Gesellschaft. Ein Gespräch mit Herbert Marcuse', *Das Argument* 23, 2–11, 5.
43. Port Huron Statement. Cf. M. Schmidtke. 2003. *Der Aufbruch der jungen Intelligenz. Die 68er Jahre in der Bundesrepublik und den USA*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 44.
44. Cf. S. Evans. 1979. *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, New York: Vintage Books.
45. Schmidtke, *Der Aufbruch*, 59f.
46. Evans, *Personal Politics*, 82; M. Aikin Rothschild. 'White Women Volunteers in the Freedom Summers: Their Life and Work in a Movement of Social Change', *Feminist Studies* 5 (1979), 466–95; Carol Giardina. 2010. *Freedom for Women: Forging the Women's Liberation Movement 1953–1970*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
47. Casey Hayden was married to one of the leaders of the American New Left, Tom Hayden. The SNCC Position Paper ('Women in the Movement') can be found in I. and D. Unger. 1988. *Turning Point 1968*, New York: Scribner, 433.
48. Schmidtke, *Der Aufbruch*, 248.
49. Marwick, *The Sixties*, 684.
50. See A. Tristan and A. de Pisan. 1977. *Histoires du MLF*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy; K. Schulz. 2002. *Der lange Atem der Provokation. Die Frauenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik und in Frankreich 1968–1976*, Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus.
51. The University of Paris-Vincennes had been built in only a few months in late 1968 in order to respond to the crises of the higher education system in France. Cf. G. Lapassade. 1976. 'Chronique de Vincennes', in M. Debauvais (ed.), *L'université ouverte: Les dossiers de Vincennes*, Grenoble: Presses Universitaires, 219–52.
52. H. Marcuse. 1964. *The One-Dimensional Man*, Boston: Beacon.
53. Cf. F. Picq. 1993. *Libération des femmes: Les années-mouvement*, Paris: Seuil; F. Rochefort. 2008. 'L'insurrection féministe in: Une histoire contestée', in P. Artières and M. Zancarini Fournel (eds), *Une histoire collective*, Paris: La découverte, 538–49.
54. N.N. 1970. 'Contre le terrorisme mâle. La Révolution fera le ménage', *L'Idiot International*, Jul/Aug 1970, 10.
55. That is the title of a special number of the review *Partisans* designed entirely by women of the MLF: 'Libération des femmes: Année Zero', *Partisans* 45–55 (1970).
56. *Femmes en grève*. Flyer, Bibliothèque Marguerite Durant, Volume MLF.
57. H. Sander. 1988. 'Rede des "Aktionsrates zur Befreiung der Frauen", gehalten am 13.9.68 bei der 23. DK des sds', in A. Anders (ed.), *Autonome Frauen. Schlüsseltexte der neuen Frauenbewegung*, Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum, 39–47. English translation published as 'Speech by the Action Council for Women's Liberation,' in E. Hoshino Altbach, J. Clausen, D. Schultz and N. Stephen (eds). 1984. *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 307–10.
58. Recently for Munich: Elisabeth Zellmer. 2011. *Töchter der Revolte? Frauenbewegung und Feminismus der 1970er Jahre in München*, Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag.
59. B. Studer and J.M. Schaufelbuehl. 2009. 'Die 68er Bewegung und ihre Auswirkungen in der Schweiz – Einleitung', in J.M. Schaufelbuehl (ed.), *1968–1978. Ein bewegtes Jahrzehnt in der Schweiz*, Zurich: Chronos, 9–33; J. Batou, 'Quand le monde s'invente

- en Suisse. Les années 68 au pays de Guillaume Tell', in Schaufelbuehl, *1968–1978*, 297–333.
60. J. Batou and J.M. Schaufelbuehl. 2008. 'Suisse', in J. Capdevielle and H. Rey (eds), *Dictionnaire de Mai 68*, Paris: Larousse, 399–403; N. Peter. 2008. 'Switzerland', in J. Scharloth and M. Klimke (eds), *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 229–37.
61. Cf. K. Schulz. 2009. 'Der Vorteil der Arrière-garde: Die 68er Forschung und die Frauen in der Schweiz', *L'Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 20(2), 143–46.
62. Although the interest in the women's movement has developed within the historical discipline in recent years, the Swiss women's movement has so far not been studied in its totality. But a couple of local studies allow a first review. See Schulz (ed.). 2007. 'Neue Frauenbewegung in der Schweiz', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 57(3); and recently, B. Studer. 2011. *1968 und die Formung des feministischen Subjekts*, Vienna: Pinctus.
63. Cf. J. de Dardel. 2007. *Révolution sexuelle et mouvement de libération des femmes à Genève (1970–1977)*, Lausanne: Antipodes; C. Villinger. 2009. 'Notre ventre, leur loi!' *Le mouvement de libération des femmes de Genève*, Neuchâtel: Editions Alphil.
64. About the campaign for free abortion, cf. K. Schulz, L. Schmitter, 'Skandalisierung – Enttabuisierung – Politisierung. Mobilisierung für freien Schwangerschaftsabbruch in Großbritannien und der Schweiz', *Ariadne. Forum für Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte* 60 (2011), 28–35.
65. Sander, 'Rede des "Aktionsrates zur Befreiung der Frauen"', 70.
66. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2008. 'Kritische Theorie und Neue Linke', in Gilcher-Holtey, *1968 – Vom Ereignis zum Mythos*, 223–47.
67. EMMA (ed.). 1991. *Schwesternlust/Schwesternfrust. 20 Jahre Frauenbewegung – eine Chronik*, Cologne: EMMA Verlag, 47. See also C. Delphy. 1998. 'La révolution sexuelle, c'était un piège pour les femmes', *Libération*, 21 May.
68. Evans, *Personal Politics*, 192.
69. D. Harth. 1992. 'Revolution und Mythos. Sieben Thesen zur Genesis und Geltung zweier Grundbegriffe historischen Denkens', in D. Harth and J. Assmann (eds), *Revolution und Mythos*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 9–35.
70. What I am about to say is based on the evidence provided by primary sources: first of all, retrospective statements (after 1979) of well-known representatives of the women's movements; second, the feminist press of the 1970s; and third, other publications from the women's movements such as pamphlets, almanacs and year books. Having concentrated my research on the characterization of the movements as collectives, I did not use autobiographical material. Work on the memories of 1968 has become an important means for historians to think about the events and their importance for different groups and different national contexts – mostly without considering gender aspects of memory. Cf., recently, P. Gassert and M. Klimke (eds). 2009. *1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt*, Washington, DC: German Historical Institute; I. Cornils and S. Waters (eds). 2010. *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*, Bern et al.: Peter Lang. Women have been given a voice in some works, such as L. Passerini. 1996. *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy 1968*, Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press; U. Kätzel. 2002. *Die 68erinnen. Porträt einer rebellischen Frauengeneration*, Reinbek: Rowohlt. To my

knowledge, memories of 1968 have scarcely been analysed with respect to subsequent social movements and their internal conflicts.

71. E. Roudinesco. 1986. *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France*, Paris: Seuil, vol. 2 (1925–1985).
72. A. Fouque. 1982. 'Le mouvement des femmes: Féminisme et/ou M.L.F.', in A. Touraine (ed.), *Mouvements sociaux d'aujourd'hui. Acteurs et Analystes. Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle 1979*, Paris: Editions ouvrières, 225–49.
73. S. Jackson. 1996. *Christine Delphy*, London: Sage Publications.
74. C. Delphy, 'Libération des femmes an dix', *Questions Féministes* 7 (1980), 3–13.
75. *Partisans* 54–55 (1970).
76. A. Fouque. 1995. *Il y a 2 sexes. Essais de féminologie 1989–1995*, Paris: Gallimard, 15.
77. C. Delphy, 'La révolution sexuelle, c'était un piège pour les femmes', *Libération* 21 May 1998.
78. Ibid.
79. R. Fischetti. 1992. "Die Anstrengung besteht im Grunde darin, nicht so festgelegt zu werden . . ." Renate Fischetti im Gespräch mit Helke Sander', in R. Fischetti, *Das neue Kino. Acht Porträts von deutschen Regisseurinnen*, Frankfurt: Tende, 40–59, 47.
80. A. Smelik. 1995. 'In Pursuit of the Author: On Cinematic Directorship', in A. Smelik, *And the Mirror Cracked: A Study of Rhetoric in Feminist Cinema*, Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 31–67, 39.
81. A. Schwarzer. 1971. *Frauen gegen den § 218. 18 Protokolle, aufgezeichnet von Alice Schwarzer*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 153.
82. Ibid.
83. K. Schulz. 2002. *Der lange Atem der Provokation. Die Frauenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik und in Frankreich 1968–1976*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 185–90.

The Politics of Cultural Studies

The New Left and the Cultural Turn in the Social Sciences and Humanities

Rainer Winter

The issue I am addressing is the significance of 1968 to Cultural Studies, which arose from the New Left and which contributed decisively to the cultural turn in social sciences in recent decades. Its successful institutionalization as a transdisciplinary research centre in Birmingham in the 1970s came about in the context of 1968 and its aftermath. This centre critically investigated social and political problems in order to show the possibility of social critique, of empowerment, of social transformation and of the processes of radical democratization. Therefore I will also deal with the (after-)effects of 1968 in the social science debate over culture.

Before I turn to the development of Cultural Studies in the context of the New Left, I firstly show that the spirit of 1968 still continues today. Then I examine how Cultural Studies has intensively dealt with the ideals of 1968 and has brought them into academic debate. The worldwide success of Cultural Studies since the 1980s shows how ideas of the New Left and of 1968 continue and have been further developed. Finally I discuss the central motive of Cultural Studies which I call the art of *Eigensinn*,¹ which is doubtless due to 1968.

'68 as an Event

In recent debates on social movements, the 1999 protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization have been accorded significance comparable to 1968. This is because worldwide resistance symbolically took place against neoliberal globalization and because, to some extent, a partly anti-capitalist movement took

shape. 'If Paris in May stands in for a larger politics across space and over time, Seattle plays an analogous role in more recent politics of global resistance, one that is constituted by the kind of "formal and informal networks of communication and collaboration"² that were emergent from the movements of 1968'.³ In Seattle, protest groups from different countries met, and people and groups from across the world showed their solidarity by means of the internet.⁴ This event, whose significance should not be underestimated, takes up from 1968, which was a national and international, even global, phenomenon of greater relevance because, worldwide, people and political processes were set into action.⁵ It arose from a combination of cultural practices, artistic events and theoretical actions. Daniel Bensaïd and Alain Krivine for example think that this combination shows a political challenge,⁶ which has never been repeated since. Rosi Braidotti agrees when she says, 'I consider 1968 as the fundamental political myth of my generation, namely as the event that defined the political ontology of the times and regulated social interaction in a variety of realms, ranging from sexuality and kinship systems to religious and discursive practices'.⁷ She celebrates the 'politics of radical immanence' which leads to processes of becoming political and to an activism that expresses utopian hope.

All three authors show that 1968 has various (media) legacies. Braidotti in the end defines it as a 'complex multiplicity' – an event which, as a consequence of its internal paradoxes and contradictory methods of reception, is not finished.⁸ Thus '68 has also become a key term for the categorization of political activism and utopian militancy. Up to the present, Cultural Studies is a form of critical thinking and analysis which is closely connected to the ideal of radical democracy, to social movements and political activism. Before I discuss the importance of 1968 for Cultural Studies, I shall consider its formation in the context of the New Left.

The New Left and Cultural Studies

The founders of Cultural Studies – Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, Edward P. Thompson and Stuart Hall – were all connected, albeit to different degrees, with the British New Left. This group was formed as a political organization because of the crisis and the disintegration of historical-political Marxist projects in the mid-1950s. Above all, two political events and trouble spots were a trigger for this. The first was the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt and the associated debates in Great Britain known as the Suez Crisis. The second was the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, followed by the Soviet invasion, which revealed the political as well as moral bankruptcy of Stalinism which caused a crisis in the international communist movement. Both were events, as Stuart Hall wrote with hindsight,⁹ which could not be tolerated by socially minded intellectuals and which led to the constitution of a New Left, which decisively rejected Stalinism and Western imperialism. Its supporters felt that Marxism,

as it was known in Great Britain at that time, in no way presented a satisfying answer for the analysis of power relationships, the relationships between classes, and of capitalism in general. As Hall argues,¹⁰ this form of Marxism, which uncritically accepted a deterministic conception of the historical process and belief in the communist party, was a problem and even a danger because of its simplistic models of explanation. This led to the following way of dealing with it: 'Working within shouting distance of Marxism, working on Marxism, working against Marxism, working with it, working to try to develop Marxism'.¹¹ For this reason the protests over the Soviet invasion of Hungary did not diminish belief in the radical traditions of Marxism, but led to a deeper examination of the role and function of ideas, culture and human agency in history. The Hungarian uprising began as a student demonstration and culminated in a nationwide revolt. It made obvious that critical thinking had to understand the cultural conditions of a revolution and to criticize the authoritarian regime of the communist party.

Considered institutionally, the New Left was a relatively loosely organized form of intellectual opposition, based around a few publishers and research institutions in which different trends of Marxist thinking converged. The radical and refreshingly vital criticism of social relationships, which put trust in the working class as a counter-power to capitalist domination for most representatives of the New Left, created intellectual solidarity and was the basis for the development of progressive social thinking. This version of the Left was developed in the 1950s in the further context of the Cold War and American consumer culture. The novelty of this Left lay not only in decisively distancing itself from Stalinism and the varieties of Eastern Marxism, but even more so in the intensive study of the cultural dimension of politics and social change, as well as in the social relevance of criticism. As Lin Chun rightly observes,¹² Cultural Studies placed cultural discourse at the centre of political discussion for the first time. The decisive rejection of economic determinism, which Cultural Studies shared with the Frankfurt School, led to the development of a cultural Marxism whose aim was a socialist understanding of postwar England.¹³

The New Left did not see culture and politics as separate realms. Quite the contrary, they placed cultural analysis and cultural politics at the centre of their activities. They supported the view that changes to socialism would only be possible if they came from the everyday culture of people and their actual experiences, their concerns, their needs but also their pleasures. By rejecting the idea that culture is only a pale reflection subordinate to economic relationships and politics, they laid the foundations for Cultural Studies as a theoretical movement and an academic 'discipline' or engagement. In the political context of the New Left, culture was defined as a central process and an arena for the social and political struggle¹⁴ into which one should intervene. The debate about culture became an essential component of the political discussions of the New Left. Soon, the increased significance of the power of mass media also became a central concern. As Chun points out,¹⁵ the value of the New Left lies in it having

been the first to realize 'the power of communication systems as a political institution' in Britain.¹⁶

Within the intellectual field of Great Britain, Cultural Studies, as it emerged from the New Left, filled the gap left by the absence of a strong institutionalized sociology such as existed in France and Germany. 'The culture of British bourgeois society is organized about an absent centre – a total theory of itself that should have been either a classical sociology or a national Marxism'.¹⁷ The particular intellectual situation on the island was that sociological thinking and criticism of industrial capitalism had been elements of English art and literary criticism since the nineteenth century, from Wordsworth, Coleridge and Ruskin to Matthew Arnold as well as F.R. Leavis and his *Scrutiny* circle.¹⁸ However, they were not part of an independent discipline called sociology. Literature and literary criticism were closely connected with a cultural critique of a civilization; axiomatics have a long tradition and high prestige in English intellectual history. In this tradition the criticism of economic-reductionist versions of Marxism alongside the emphasis on the tense relationship between culture and civilization leads into Cultural Studies, which, according to Wolf Lepenies, is 'a mix of sociology and literary criticism'.¹⁹ This hybrid position between literary criticism and sociology connected to the movement of the New Left and made Cultural Studies an influential way of thinking in Britain and later elsewhere. This began mainly with the writings of Richard Hoggart, Edward P. Thompson and Raymond Williams. Cultural Studies was different to English sociology, which remained colourless for so long and concentrated on empirical and statistical research, and did not dare to give totalizing interpretations as in Germany or France.²⁰ It had a great effect on intellectual debates in Britain and abroad. The sociology of culture in Great Britain did not develop from the work of social theorists but from scholars who were trained in the analysis of literary or historical texts as well as simultaneously having an interest in political questions and the analysis of society as a whole.

In the view of Perry Anderson, with the New Left, the socially critical tradition of English literary criticism could also be embedded in society for the first time.²¹ In contrast to the elitist ideas of the *Scrutiny* circle, it was committed to adult education, which meant an extension of the texts they examined and the experiences these dealt with.²² Culture was examined and analysed in all its facets. Williams writes here in hindsight: 'This was the social and cultural form in which they saw the possibility of reuniting what had been in their personal histories disrupting: the value of higher education and the persistent educational deprivation of the majority of their own original or affiliated class'.²³ Not only personal reasons, but also deep political convictions defined this view. They did not believe in the revolutionary power of an avant-garde party. On the contrary, they thought that socialist transformation must be asserted 'from below'. For this, it was necessary to alter the workers' awareness. Members of the New Left took up the function of an 'organic intellectual' in the Gramscian sense, wanting to make the unions and workers understand their theoretical analysis and ideas so they could be put into practice.

In its first phase, Cultural Studies was associated with a political movement and theoretically represented a position which can be described as Culturalism. It was shaped by the attempt to develop a culturally consolidated socialism on the basis of the moral tradition of English social critique. This socialism became an independent intellectual tradition.

The Institutionalization of Cultural Studies and the Meaning of '68

The 'structure of feeling' of the New Left corresponded to the events of '68²⁴ and was strengthened by them, even if New Leftists had not predicted this. For example, the *May Day Manifesto*,²⁵ first published in 1967, discussed the condition of the British Left but did not at all foresee the protests against the Vietnam War or the utopian militancy of 1968. It criticized the Labour government and called for a socialist transformation, but it did not have an important effect on the student demonstrations. The events of 1968, especially the idea of a cultural revolution, exceeded the imagination of the *May Day Manifesto*. A new world seemed to be possible and came into existence through the performances and life-experiments of the students.

After the worldwide and intensive period of activism from 1968 to 1972,²⁶ however, the New Left in Britain still failed to affect public policy. They were not embedded in elections, state institutions, parties, unions or the media. Thus Katsiaficas concludes: 'The New Left proved itself incapable of consolidating a popular base'.²⁷ Their hopes could not be fulfilled; rather, facing a new peak in the consumerist boom, the conservative restoration began.

In the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), which was founded in 1964 in Birmingham, numerous influences of 1968 can be seen, for example the anti-authoritarian and counter-cultural attitude, as well as the victory of the Right in politics. In the 1970s under the leadership of Stuart Hall, Cultural Studies was successfully established and developed into a new, exciting, interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and above all interventionist research tradition, which criticized the dominant ideological structures of society and tried to change them. They had not given up the struggle for meaning but rather turned to academic reasoning which was, however, also understood as political. Parallels to the Soviet invasion of Hungary and to the situation of Marxism in the 1930s were drawn, as the failure of the left-wing movement and the success of fascism had to be explained. Jeremy Gilbert's view in his topical study does not seem to be an exaggeration: '... it was the defeat of the radical promise of the 1960s which was motivating some of the most creative minds of the British Left to reactivate this tradition in the 1970s'.²⁸ For this reason the work of the CCCS can be interpreted as a successful attempt of the New Left to create its own radical counter-culture and gain a wider public audience.

While Hoggart made the implicit sociological relevance of literary criticism explicit by highlighting the relationship and the affinity between these two disciplines, Hall grounded his work from the very beginning on sociology and cultural theory. Through him, the work at the centre underwent a critical sociological change; it became in addition more theoretical and more political. Thus, Andrew Milner states: 'Hall can claim credit for the successful institutionalization of academic Cultural Studies in Britain'.²⁹ Hall was interested in developing a new conceptualization of the relationship between structure and agency because he wanted to understand the emergence of radical practices and social transformations. For this reason, he tirelessly adapted radical approaches from the Continent, which shed new light on the role of culture and agency in history and society, introduced these in the British context, stimulated discussions and arranged a theoretical basis for research. Such research concentrated on marginalized, socially underprivileged and ethnically constituted groups as well as on social conflicts. The centre tried hard to bridge the gap between theoretical and empirical research, and the 'experience' of everyday life and everyday culture.

In his summary of the intellectual and theoretical development in Birmingham,³⁰ Hall shows that the institutionalization of Cultural Studies, the development of its discursive form, cannot be seen as an absolute beginning but rather as the filling of a break by coming to a new organization of knowledge amongst other questions and ultimately to the development of a new research paradigm. Further development is also marked by breaks, which not only result from the development of intellectual work but are also dependent on the reaction to, and the analysis of, historical and social developments and transformations. 'What is important are the significant *breaks* – where old lines of thought are disrupted, older constellations displaced, and elements, old and new, are regrouped around a different set of premises and themes'.³¹ 1968 and its consequences showed such significant breaks.

Subsequently, under the leadership of Stuart Hall in Birmingham, the critical analysis of cultural and social change in Britain and in other developed, industrial societies became the declared aim. What were its causes, its development and its significance? Hall illuminates this in the introduction to the first edition of the centre's journal *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*:³² 'The intention was not to establish one more compartment in the already fragmented "map of knowledge", but rather to attempt to view the whole complex process of change from the vantage point of "culture"; and thus to make intelligible the real movement of culture as it registered in social life, in group and class relationships, in politics and institutions, in values and ideas'.³³ The relationship of cultural and social theory became the central theme of the centre, which concentrated empirically most notably on subcultures (in particular the subculture of young workers) and media.

These definitions were deepened by taking up Antonio Gramsci's ideas of the dominant or ruling culture. It is the aim of the power block in any society to integrate the cultures, thoughts and experiences of subordinate groups and

classes so that these construct and see their world and their experiences in a way predefined by the dominant culture. Gramsci emphasizes the never-ending struggle for cultural power. This struggle is one between social classes, which are the fundamental groups in modern societies and thus also the most important cultural configurations (according to the premises in the work of the centre at that time). Gramsci's approach influenced work at the centre, for example in its empirical studies on young subcultures and their resistance to the dominant culture through rituals and symbolically expressed behaviour.³⁴ Paul Willis examined in thick descriptions both the school and the social situation of young working-class people.³⁵ In the field of media studies, Stuart Hall developed his encoding-decoding model, which has since become so well known.³⁶

At the same time that Gramsci and structuralist authors like the early Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes, Claude Lévi-Straus and Jacques Lacan were read and appropriated, members of the centre significantly adapted post-structuralism (the so-called 'French Theory'), which was described by many as the thinking of 1968.³⁷ Culture was defined by Stuart Hall as a relatively autonomous field of signifying practices. Thus, the practices are the meaningful means by which individuals and groups construct their world. While human agency does not play an important role in structuralism (because deep social and cultural structures determine human behaviour), 1968 led to the formulation of the slogan 'Structures don't march in the street!' Therefore seriously debating post-structuralist texts became important for Cultural Studies. The primary example of this is *Anti-Oedipus* by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari,³⁸ which was very strongly inspired by 1968. It showed a fundamental criticism of the authoritarian structures of Marxism and psychoanalysis, and of structuralist thoughts in general. These criticisms have been taken up in particular by the leading American scholar Lawrence Grossberg.³⁹

For John Fiske's analytics of popular culture,⁴⁰ Jacques Derrida's deconstruction and *The Pleasure of the Text* from late Barthes⁴¹ became important in order to show the subversive potential of media texts. In his analytics of popular culture, he links the microphysics of power by Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*⁴² in order to analyse popular practices of resistance. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe also gained central significance for Cultural Studies,⁴³ which above all in debate with Althusser, Derrida and Foucault renewed radical democracy – an important theme within Cultural Studies as early as the days of Raymond Williams. Furthermore, the anti-essentialism of post-structuralist theory became central to Cultural Studies. Social and political identities have no fixed or stable meaning, but rather are the result of struggles and debates.

At first sight it is very surprising that the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, which was very popular around 1968 on the Continent, did not have a remarkable influence on the formation of Cultural Studies. But many works were not yet translated, and the popular and popular agency were not important topics in this tradition. However, the reception of thought from '68 in the form

of post-structuralist texts led to a new version of Cultural Studies which has succeeded since the 1980s in becoming a transnational academic project, whose central motive can be described as an ‘art of *Eigensinn*’.⁴⁴ By taking up Greil Marcus’s study of punk,⁴⁵ I will briefly explain what I understand by this. In doing so it should also become apparent how this form of research was a crucial part of what has been termed ‘the cultural turn’.

The Art of *Eigensinn* in Everyday Practice

What does punk, a contradictory revolt incensed by passionate rage, have in common with Dada, the anarchist nonsense activities that happened at *Cabaret Voltaire*? And why do Guy Debord and the Situationists, this secret association of French avant-garde artists and intellectuals, serve as an important link between punk and Dada? Questions like these are dealt with in Greil Marcus’s fascinating book *Lipstick Traces*.⁴⁶ Marcus has written the history of a twentieth-century cultural underground movement whose rhizomatic shape was hidden beneath the surface, growing in secrecy. This movement aimed at a reorganization of everyday life, a transformation of the ordinary and, above all, a change of life. The changes aimed at were neither revolutionary nor were they meant to realize the potential of communicative reason; rather, they consisted of short acts of self-empowerment confined in space or time – alignments with a capacity to change people and their lives. Marcus is interested in the shifts of meaning within popular culture, shifts of self-interpretation or shifts of identity as much as shifts in social relations, in desires or perceptions of the world. In establishing new contexts, Marcus is exploring the productive and creative potentials of a social life which, starting with epiphanies, critical events and transformations of fundamental meaning structures in personal lives, lead to sub- and counter-cultural practices directed against a dominant culture, and finally to an art of living – to the more or less systematic creation of an existence of one’s own.

The point I want to make is that this is also the basic idea of the Cultural Studies project and movement. Cultural Studies can be defined in much the same terms. It is a discipline dealing with trivial everyday changes of meanings, attitudes and value orientations; with the development of productive and creative lifeworld potentials; with a critique of power structures; and with moments of self-empowerment which may be short and fleeting, but are formative and influential nonetheless. Popular culture is a central subject of Cultural Studies, which is neither condemned after the manner of *Kulturkritik* (cultural criticism) nor celebrated uncritically. Rather, it is understood as an obvious aspect of modern or postmodern life, as a familiar *Erfahrungshorizont* (horizon of experience) and as a medium for the creation of a personal life. It is through popular media resources (which is to say, through images, symbols, discourses, stories, etc.) that many people shape their identities, form their political opinions and collectively create different cultures. Also, a new pervasive and global culture is

based upon such resources. However, popular culture is not only a medium to be used for symbolic integration into prevailing conditions; it is also a form of counter-power – an area in which the interests of marginalized and subordinate people can find adequate expression. For Cultural Studies, culture is an embattled field in which several competing social groups fight for the implementation of their claims, interests and ideologies. In doing so, these groups are interested in a cultural transformation rather than the reproduction of prevailing conditions.

From a Cultural Studies perspective, culture is not to be equated with objects, nor is it reduced to the creations produced and distributed by specialized institutions. Instead, the focus is on the creative process of culture, on the circulation of meanings and energies, on the mobility and opportunities of everyday life, on the development of the creative aspects of culture as well as on the creation of a common culture. It is not the finished cultural object which determines the research interest of Cultural Studies, but the product of a reception process and of the potential creativity of ensuing moments. This emphasis on agency – against the foil of social efforts to establish a fixed order – is the dominant theme of Cultural Studies.

The main interest of Cultural Studies is not in the lonely, creative and solipsistic experience of producing or enjoying a work of art. Rather, since Raymond Williams, Cultural Studies as a discipline explores the embeddedness of productivity in mundane practices and everyday usage – it has developed a strategy of reading symbolic forms, cultural objects and technologies against the grain and of using objects against the operating instructions, both in the manner of deconstructivism. Creativity in its profane form serves as a challenge to dominant social ideas and values. As described in Marcus's book and broadly explored in Cultural Studies, individuals, groups and cultures are creatively and collectively working for cultural change. Such processes are neither conditioned by a given programme nor are they consciously initiated by groups like the Situationists or the Surrealists. The development of this creativity and productivity in social practices is the goal of the Cultural Studies project. According to Paul Willis,⁴⁷ life itself is a research laboratory in which experiments are being conducted with uncertain and open results. Meanings are fluid, they circulate and are constituted by social practices; they create realities. Culture is a contingent process which includes, as Raymond Williams has shown,⁴⁸ both dominant and oppositional, residual or subaltern meanings. The focus is on cultural change, on conflicts, struggles and shifts in power structure. Special attention is paid to subordinate, marginalized and excluded people who reject the integration offered by those in power, or subvert things in various ways. That is why Cultural Studies as a discipline is concerned with subcultures, counter-cultures, minorities and alternative movements, and with their forms of resistance and stubbornness; it is concerned with symbolic objections and small changes in everyday practices that often go unnoticed. The subject of Cultural Studies is, to borrow a phrase from Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge,⁴⁹ the 'block of real life' as expressed in various cultural forms. It is not the history of domination that is of interest, but all sorts

of oppositional processes emerging in multiple forms – processes which tend to disturb, question and transform the context of power and dominance.

The discipline of Cultural Studies tries, in the words of Michel de Certeau,⁵⁰ to understand the ‘murmur of societies’; its subject is ‘common people’, especially in situations and practices in which they are acting as anonymous heroes. Such situations involve processes of a cultural shadow economy in which, through the handling of preformed and prefabricated items, something new and individual is created – something which (at least initially) escapes the logic of subsumption. This creative way of dealing with the dynamics of everyday conflicts relies on a culturally legitimized stubbornness – it is insisting on and negotiating a position of one’s own. In other words, it is insisting on the art of *Eigensinn* – an art which does not primarily manifest itself in contentions and arguments, nor in a rationality of universals, but often in corporeal dimensions and mundane practices. According to Maurice Merleau-Ponty,⁵¹ this is an emergent, socially embodied rationality producing unique meanings and expressions. This kind of generalized creativity is aiming at a critique of power and a transformation of prevailing conditions. Such progress, however, is often achieved in small steps that can easily be overlooked in structuralist or intentionalist explanations of social action. In this context, Michel de Certeau speaks of specific tactics in the jungle of functionalist rationality, of poaching and bricolage, of the art of ‘sitting between two chairs’.⁵² Henri Lefebvre too, in his reflections on the transformation of everyday life,⁵³ anticipated much of what is central to Cultural Studies, for instance the possibilities of an art of living. For both de Certeau and Lefebvre, culture is a creative process that is constantly changing and developing. In sociological definitions of culture, traditions (the traditional patterns of meaning and values) are more important than the processes transforming and reshaping these traditions and patterns; but it is precisely these processes that are central to Cultural Studies, to its thinking and research.

From the perspective of cultural sociology, a perspective first developed by Raymond Williams, the project of Cultural Studies can be defined as the elaboration and development of an art of *Eigensinn* whose aim is the analysis, critique and transformation of power. Cultural Studies is guided by the insight that culture (like agency) is productive and must not be subordinated to social structures. This central motive, which defines Cultural Studies to the present, is doubtless due to 1968.

The aim of Cultural Studies is to demonstrate that culture neither simply mirrors the social structure nor determines the behaviour of subjects. Its research is not concerned with integration into a traditional culture, but with interaction; the focus is on interaction with cultural forms, on processes of ‘making’ and ‘staging’, of negotiation and fabrication – in short, a focus on the cultural processes of postmodernity. Ever more subtle strategies of power are counter-vailed by ever more refined tactics of resistance. As has been shown in many studies, for example in the work of Lawrence Grossberg, through the inclusion of post-structuralist approaches and through an ethnographic view of cultural

contexts, popular culture in particular is redefined as a field of struggle and contention. In view of the 'Gramscian turn' in Cultural Studies initiated by Stuart Hall, the discussion of such (micro-) struggles is combined with analyses of the struggle for hegemony in society, politics and social life, as well as in language, cultural texts and systems of representation. It is a never-ending fight between unequal powers – powers and counter-powers. Foucault, in the final pages of *Discipline and Punish*, metaphorically speaks of the 'thunder of battle', of the noise of everlasting power struggles.⁵⁴ This metaphor reminds us that, in an analysis of historical facts and social phenomena, the cultural and social conflicts which have found expression in those facts and phenomena must be clarified and pointed out. Since its beginnings in the context of the New Left, the field of Cultural Studies has endeavoured, through micrological investigation of the specifics of particular everyday life contexts, to indicate points of resistance. Cultural Studies proceeds from the particulars and specifics, usually taking an example from common everyday culture which is being contextualized in its social and historical contexts. Analysis then proceeds to the conflicts, struggles and power structures determining this particular social context. Cultural Studies is not primarily interested in television or pop music as such, but in their role and function in the production and circulation of social meanings, relationships and subjectivities. Cultural Studies does not seek comprehensive knowledge of the respective subject matter; rather, it takes extracts from social events and shows how cultural texts and processes are embedded in power structures and social conflicts. Thus, following Raymond Williams, Cultural Studies creates contexts and connections across different 'fields of experience' and discloses contexts which are at work in a society. Here, culture is understood radically as a process, as a series and sequence of practices, rituals, conversations and so on, located in space and time, in the course of which meanings and affective energies are being circulated and produced.

Like the classical discipline of cultural sociology, Cultural Studies is devoted to the interpretation of the contemporary; however, in view of its roots in the context of the New Left, its interpretation is thoroughly political with a practical moral purpose. This aspect of social commitment, which stresses the role and significance of culture in the maintenance and challenge of social inequality (in fields such as class, gender or ethnicity), must be preserved – especially in view of current attempts to colonize Cultural Studies. Since Raymond Williams, one of the most important aims of Cultural Studies has been to help individuals and groups with their efforts to articulate their everyday experiences, especially those experiences which have not yet found expression and space in the existing culture. Culture is understood as communication and hence as a process which, through the interaction of historically given, shared meanings on the one hand and individually or collectively created meanings on the other, leads to new common frameworks of meaning. This process, which is characterized by change, creativity and transformation and which is grounded in the common quality of everyday life, was called 'the long revolution' by Raymond Williams.⁵⁵

My analysis of the art of *Eigensinn* as a critique of power was meant to show that, to the present day, Cultural Studies is obliged and committed to this idea.

Radical democracy, empowerment, agency and *Eigensinn* – these central ideas of Cultural Studies – are reminiscent of the radical imagery of 1968. The institutionalization of Cultural Studies in Birmingham and in other places has led to a further development of these concepts and a continuation of the political battle. To this extent, 1968 is not yet at an end.

Translated by Andrew Terrington

Notes

1. The German word *Eigensinn* ('unique forms of meaning and expression') is difficult to translate because possible English equivalents such as 'stubbornness' and 'obstinacy' have a less nuanced and more negative meaning.
2. C. Fink et al. (eds). 1999. *1968: The World Transformed*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3.
3. F. Tonkiss. 2008. 'New Manifestations: Paris, Seattle and After', *New Formations* 65, 70.
4. Cf. R. Winter. 2010. *Widerstand im Netz: Zur Herausbildung einer transnationalen Öffentlichkeit durch netzbasierte Kommunikation*, Bielefeld: Transcript.
5. I. Gilcher-Holtey. 2001a. 'Die Phantasie an die Macht'. *Mai 68 in Frankreich*, 2nd edn, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
6. D. Bensaïd and A. Krivine. 2008. *1968: Fins et Suites*, Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Lignes.
7. R. Braidotti. 2008. 'The Politics of Radical Immanence: May 1968 as an Event', *New Formations* 65, 19.
8. *Ibid.*, 21.
9. S. Hall. 1987. 'Gramsci and Us', *Marxism Today* [June 1987], 16–21.
10. S. Hall. 1992. 'Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies', in L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P. Treichler (eds), *Cultural Studies*, New York and London: Routledge, 277–86, 279.
11. *Ibid.*
12. L. Chun. 1993. *The British New Left*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
13. D. Dworkin. 1997. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 3.
14. R. Williams. 1980. 'Beyond Actually Existing Socialism,' in R. Williams, *Problems in Materialism*, London: New Left Books, 255.
15. Chun, *The British New Left*.
16. Cf. R. Williams (ed.). 1962. *Communications*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
17. P. Anderson. 1965. 'The Left in the Fifties', *New Left Review* 29, 3–18 according to M. Green. 1974. 'Raymond Williams and Cultural Studies', *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 6, 37.
18. W. Lepenies. 1985. *Die drei Kulturen: Soziologie zwischen Literatur und Wissenschaft*, Munich: Hanser, 185–236.
19. *Ibid.*, 236.

20. Cf. P. Anderson. 1992. *English Questions*, London and New York: Verso.
21. Anderson, 'The Left in the Fifties'.
22. Cf. T. Steele. 1997. *The Emergence of Cultural Studies 1945–65: Cultural Politics, Adult Education and the English Question*, London: Lawrence & Wishart Limited.
23. R. Williams. 1989. 'The Uses of Cultural Theory,' in R. Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, London: Verso, 163–76, 170.
24. Gilcher-Holtey, 'Die Phantasie an die Macht'.
25. R. Williams (ed.). 1968. *The May Day Manifesto 1968*, London: Penguin.
26. G. Katsiaficas. 1987. *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968*, Boston, MA: South End Press.
27. Ibid.
28. J. Gilbert. 2008. *Anticapitalism and Culture: Radical Theory and Cultural Politics*, Oxford: Berg, 26.
29. A. Milner. 1993. *Cultural Materialism*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 77.
30. S. Hall. 1980. 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms', *Media, Culture and Society* 2, 57–72.
31. Ibid., 57.
32. S. Hall. 1971. 'Introduction', *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 1, 5–7.
33. Ibid., 5.
34. S. Hall and T. Jefferson. 1975. *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, New York and London: Routledge.
35. P. Willis. 1977. *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, Farnborough: Saxon House.
36. S. Hall. 1973. 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse', *CCCS Stencilled Occasional Paper* 11.
37. Braidotti, 'The Politics of Radical Immanence', 19–33.
38. G. Deleuze and F. Guattari. 1972. *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia 1*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
39. L. Grossberg. 1992. *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture*, New York and London: Routledge.
40. J. Fiske. 1989. *Understanding Popular Culture*, London and Boston: Routledge.
41. R. Barthes. 1975. *The Pleasure of the Text*, New York: Hill and Wang.
42. M. Foucault. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage;
43. M. de Certeau. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
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45. R. Winter. 2001. *Die Kunst des Eigensinns: Cultural Studies als Kritik der Macht*, Weilerswist: Velbrück.
46. G. Marcus. 1989. *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the 20th Century*, Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.
47. Ibid.
48. P. Willis. 1978. *Profane Culture*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
49. R. Williams. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
50. O. Negt and A. Kluge. 1992. *Maßverhältnisse des Politischen*, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer.
51. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.
52. M. Merleau-Ponty. 1968. *The Visible and the Invisible*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

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52. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.
 53. H. Lefebvre. 1991. *Critique of Everyday Life*, London and New York: Verso.
 54. Foucault. *Discipline and Punish*.
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Revolution in a Word

*A Communicative History of Discussion in the German
1968 Protest Movement*

Joachim Scharloth

1968 and Language

Every revolution aims for more than just political changes. Instead, it cuts deep into the rituals of everyday life and seeks to alter everyday forms of interaction. Revolutions turn not only against the ruling class but also against its symbolic practices. The 1968 movement also sought radical change in the conditions of the German Federal Republic. It sympathized with the Cultural Revolution initiated in China by Mao and his Red Guards. Instead of taking violent action against those individuals with power and institutions, activists attacked those rituals in which societal power relations were, in their opinion, at once reflected and reproduced. This meant lectures and seminars in which knowledge was proclaimed and not treated discursively; matriculation celebrations in which the students did not have the right to speak; meetings of parliament in which activists were talked about but not talked to; apparently biased investigative committees that served to condemn those protesting, though not to figure out the societal causes behind their protests; church services in which freedom was preached while the grotesque Vietnam War went unmentioned; and court cases in which the accused were forced into the behavioural norms that reigned in courts.

In most of these rituals, speech played a central role and became the central object of criticism. In lectures, students began to pose questions and demand discussion of the political themes of higher education and politics in general. In parliamentary discussions, protesters broke in demanding, 'We want to discuss'. In investigative committees, activists began to respond to the queries of committee members with queries of their own. To protest against examination methods,

they came up with questions of legal instruction of such length that the hearing degenerated into farce. During church services, they ascended the pulpit to draw the congregation into discussion of the Vietnam War. During court cases, the accused would sit with their back to the court, and begin discussions with the public or themselves in the middle of proceedings, or mock the judge and public prosecutor. All this shows the particularly asymmetrical forms of communication, in which free speech and response were circumscribed by tradition or power, and which became objects of criticism during the 1968 movement.

What differentiates the 1968 movement from its antecedents is the fact that this criticism was not only theoretically formulated and articulated but above all effectively made a reality. The protest was put into action exactly where its intended targets felt most at home. To begin a discussion in a lecture was clearly not just to critique the asymmetrical structures of communication in an institution saturated by power. It was also at the same time an attempt to alter communication rituals in the here and now, and to reshape them according to one's own imaginings.

The years around 1968 were, then, less a revolution of language than a revolt in the medium of language and a new treatment of the forms of its use. The central communicative practice of the 1960s was discussion.¹

Discussion: Between Buzzword and Symbolic Practice

Discussion was a practice of highly symbolic social value. For the activists of the 1968 movement, discussion meant the exercise of democracy. To discuss was to critique the opinions of others. The rationality of political negotiation was to be evidenced in criticism and counter-criticism. Erika Schneider, author of a pamphlet dated 15 June 1967 that intended to explain to the Berlin public why the students of the FU were demonstrating, shared this opinion:

[I]f democracy is to become reality as formulated in the substance of the constitution, controls need to be put in place; this means that the political expressions, actions and decisions of those representatives chosen by us in the federal government and House of Deputies are to be investigated and criticized as to their correctness, appropriateness and democratic content . . . democracy does not function through prohibitions but through argument and counter-argument – even when these impulses are occasioned by a minority.²

This insistence on the power of the superior argument became the signature of a modern political style with which the 1968 movement defined itself. As the aforementioned pamphlet puts it, 'we want discussion – we refuse the outdated authoritarian style – we seek the democratic style'. In addition to a commitment to the authority of the superior argument, openness was an essential condition of successful discussion in the eyes of the activists. As such, in June 1968 student representatives of the German Department of the Freie Universität Berlin came

to a general assembly with a pamphlet entitled *‘Die Diskussion geht weiter’* (The Discussion Continues), which promoted the public character of discussion: ‘The professors and assistants of the seminars are invited. This time they will be prepared. Let’s use the opportunity to discuss with them! Discussion is not to take place in small groups. Openness is the condition of every effective criticism! Public criticism is the condition of every change in institutions of higher education!’³

This specific explanation of discussion as a democratizing and civilizing practice with which activists supported their demands for discussion was clearly not always consistent with the political discussions of the late 1960s. After the riots of Easter 1968 that followed the assassination attempt upon Rudi Dutschke, the Minister for Inter-German Affairs Herbert Wehner reflected on the bifurcation of communicative ideal and communicative practice with an eye to the 1968 movement: ‘Discussion needs to be learnt. One part of discussion is wanting to listen and being able to listen. It is also a part of discussion to want to be able to place oneself in the perspective of others, so that one can finally come to the heart of a matter. It’s this area that’s lacking the most’.⁴ Apparently it was difficult for many to discuss and then draw conclusions. Most, instead, were seen to enter into discussions with preconceived opinions, and attempted to convince their interlocutors of their validity. Yet even after all this, the distortions applied to the principle of discussion are not yet adequately described. Wehner complained, ‘This is a time when shrill outcries find favour. The attempt is made to cry out at speakers. Claims count for more than arguments. *Schadenfreude* at the “trashing” of others occurs for all to see . . . Democracy is discussion. But discussion presupposes respect for others’.⁵

Yet this totalizing ‘discussion of discussion’ is imprecise in that the concept of discussion sharply expanded over the course of the 1960s. Forms of conversation such as the meeting or the clear-the-air talk were subsumed within the concept of ‘discussion’, as the following quote from the German newspaper *Die Welt* – critical of ‘discussion’ – testifies: ‘Everything which claims to speak in the name of progress at our institutes of higher education is intent on discussing. However, this kind of discussion no longer aims at a real discussion, but at forcing through one’s own viewpoint.’ Due to this misuse of the word, the author pleads that the word ‘discussion’ should no longer be used. ‘Please let’s not talk about discussions but about rational, mutual counsel between all branches of our universities, from holders of chairs to student representatives.’⁶

The high symbolic value of the prestige word ‘discuss’ is manifested in the language usage of the 1968 movement. Fundamentally, the verb *‘diskutieren’* (to discuss) has two values. To form a grammatically correct sentence utilizing the verb, at least two sentence components are required, a subject and an object. It is unimportant if this is an accusative object (to discuss something: *‘etwas diskutieren’*) or a prepositional object (to talk *about* something: *‘diskutieren über’*). In a passive form, a sentence without a subject is also possible (something is discussed: *‘etwas wird diskutiert’*). Whereas when the use of ‘discuss’ with a prepositional object denotes the prototypical face-to-face interaction, in which disputed objects

are put to discussion, the use of ‘discussion/*diskutieren*’ with an accusative object is semantically ambiguous. This can indicate a controversial debate or an unhurried exchange of views. On the other hand, the passive use of ‘discussion’ with an accusative object refers mostly to ‘debating over’ and frequently occurs in texts (e.g. ‘In Chapter 2 the question will be discussed’) or to a public debate (e.g. ‘In the 1970s, the theme of sexuality was intensively discussed’).

In addition to these syntactical contests, there exists a further manner of usage that goes unexplained in dictionaries, namely the absolute usage of the verb ‘discuss’ with only one object. In this, the subject position of the sentence is taken whereas in the accusative, the accusative object or prepositional object goes missing. In the pamphlet of the Berlin Red Guards, the following sentence can be found: ‘The student collectives that are springing out of the ground like mushrooms at the moment shoot, discuss, read and learn, but they keep the principle of Mao Zedong in mind at all times: Reading is learning, but practical activities are also learning and indeed a still more important form of it.’⁷ Just as reading and learning are activities that can be named without specifying what is being read or learnt, this usage places discussing as an activity that is justified in itself and does not need to be further described or justified. In absolute usage, ‘discussion’ names, without accusative or prepositional object, a face-to-face interaction in which the process, the formal execution, is at the fore. This is in contrast to its goals or results.

Analyses of corpora show that the absolute use of ‘*diskutieren*’ makes up a quarter of all usages in the pamphlets of the 1968 protest movement. It is as such five times more common as in a comparable contemporary corpus.⁸ This highly significant difference is an essential feature of the language usage of the 1968 movement. Strictly speaking, a change in the valency structure of the verb ‘*diskutieren*’ cannot be observed – nonetheless, the frequent appearance of the absolute use can be interpreted in cultural-historical terms. Its formal usage also shows that the word ‘*diskutieren*’ also names a practice that possessed strong symbolic associations. Discussion, in the sense of an argumentative and controversial debate, had become a practice whose symbolic value was at least as significant as its communicative function. Just the business of having a discussion already fulfilled a purpose. Clearly, this does not mean that the subjects discussed were chosen at random. Yet the fact that the theme of reaching argumentative goals was often not specified in usage indicates that ‘*diskutieren*’ had become in 1968 valuable in itself, a ritual by which a social movement defined itself. The absolute use of the word ‘*diskutieren*’ gave this symbolism its linguistic form.

The Radicalizing of the Movement: A History of Communicative Practice in Discussion around 1968

Beyond doubt, ‘discussion fever’⁹ raged in the Federal Republic of Germany in the years around 1968. The activists of the 1968 movement were a fierce

embodiment of permanent discussion as a means of criticizing societal relations and as a means of self-criticism aimed at the optimization of their own political practice. However, it must be borne in mind that even in the presence of such desire to discuss, there was debate from the very beginning regarding what, with whom, in what conditions and in which form discussion was to take place. Not everybody was recognized by all activists as being worthy of discussion. The prevention and refusal of discussion was, to some activists, a legitimate political statement. The following reconstruction of the history of discussion in the 1968 movement formulates the hypothesis that two camps already existed in its early phase. To one of these camps, discussion with people of a different political persuasion appeared to be a democratic practice in which argument might convince those of conflicting opinions. To the other camp, discussion with political opponents appeared to be a practice of appeasement, one which would only mask the real power structures. For this reason, discussions were either to be conceived with the goal of revealing these power relations or destroying and disturbing them. In the following section, the attitudes of both camps will be reconstructed through two examples from the early period of the movement – their subsequent development will be described and evaluated thereafter.

Between Convincing and Wrecking: Discussion in the Anti-Authoritarian Phase of the 1968 Movement

On 26 November 1966, Hans-Joachim Lieber, Rector of the Freie Universität Berlin, left Hall A (the theatre auditorium of the Henry Ford Building) through the stage exit, pale with fury. Around six hundred students remained, along with many unanswered questions, before (hesitantly) leaving the lecture hall. During the sit-in on 22/23 June, the Rector had granted the students time to discuss the themes of student reform, limitations to terms of study, and the forced relegation of students. He had even allowed himself to be quoted as saying he was ready to discuss ‘in public, seven days a week, seven times a day’.¹⁰ In any case, this discussion only came about in November at the invitation of the General Student Committee (AStA). The Rector explained right at the beginning that he was participating as a private individual and that his opinions were not to be understood as those of ‘the Rector’.¹¹ The students felt that this utterance called into question the very sense of the discussion. In the end, the discussion, moderated by AStA chairman Knut Nevermann, was not to be without consequence. As the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported, the discussion proceeded calmly at first, and the majority of students expressed no displeasure at radical interjections.¹² After around two hours, however, it came to a scandal. ‘After it had become clear’, as a pamphlet of the Humanistic Student Union (HSU) described it, that the divergent understanding of the significance had ‘reduced the discussion ad absurdum, certain students distributed a flyer with the title “We can expect nothing of this exchange”, took the microphone from the Rector and read the

text of the pamphlet out loud. During the tumult that followed, the Rector left the lecture hall'.¹³ Eike Hemmer had prepared the action, along with Rudi Dutschke, Bernd Rabehl, Hans-Joachim Hameister and Manfred Hammer, all members of a group within the Socialist Student Union (SDS) that discussed the founding of communes. He had been chosen to read the pamphlet due to his largely unknown status. Now he sat in the assembly and barely listened as the 'professional idiots tried to play the students for dumb by answering all concrete questions about study reform in only the vaguest manner'. When his friends from the Commune group began to distribute pamphlets, he had his signal:

The starting pistol that set a process in motion that had already been drawn up. I stood up, entered through the exploding tumult to the stage, took the microphone from under His Highness's nose. (Later, it was claimed that it had been torn and stolen from him; at that time, the professors were too shaken by such acts of rebellion against their sacrosanct authority to be physically able to react.) I read out the text of the pamphlet in mechanical fashion. The microphone was cut off, I roared out the text. Someone shoved me, I read, roared, emphasized every word, read until the last sentence – like a pre-programmed automaton. In chaos, I left the hall.¹⁴

The pamphlet that Hemmer read out offered harsh criticism of the conditions at the Freie Universität and about Hans-Joachim Lieber, who presented himself as a sympathetic individual but, in his role as Rector, made decisions of detriment to the student body.

For us students, the conditions at the Freie Universität are unbearable. We are enveloped by poor working conditions, lamentable lectures, tedious seminars and absurd exam regulations. If we refuse to allow ourselves to be educated by over-specialized idiot professors into over-specialized idiots, we have to pay the price of ending our studies without a qualification.

Five months ago, we had had enough of the narrow-minded arrogance with which the university administration and senate disregarded our problems. *Five months ago, it also seemed clear that the student body could now only expect a solution from itself.*

After five months of collaboration, the AStA calls us to this discussion with the Rector, during which Lieber, the official, waits in the corner in shame.

WE CAN EXPECT NOTHING OF THIS EXCHANGE.

Our situation will not change as long as those to whom it is directly relevant do not organize themselves.¹⁵

After the reading of the pamphlet, Fritz Teufel offered a speech that apparently no one remaining was interested in hearing. Due to the tumult, Knut Nevermann declared the assembly to be ended.¹⁶

For this investigation, this act of disturbance is interesting because it is an early example showing that discussions with representatives of institutions pursuing goals other than those of the 1968 movement were considered to be useless

by certain activists and were, for this reason, sabotaged. In the case of the discussion with the Rector, the inconclusiveness of the discussion is anticipated in the pamphlet ('We can expect nothing of this exchange'). Instead of dialogue with authority, revolutionary practice is recommended. This rejection of a consensus-orientated dialogue was the impetus behind the Berlin commune group from the very beginning.

This is also the case in the first series of pamphlets issued by Commune I in 1967, in which it took a position demanding the resignation of the AStA. On 5 May, a full assembly of all faculties had the opportunity to discuss the politics of the AStA. Instead of a discussion, the commune recommended that students 'turn the assembly on 5 April into an announcement of protest against the inequities of the administration'. For 'while the student body is discussing the AStA, the SDS was banned, its money cut off, its every right to democratic expression undermined in a final manner'.¹⁷ The discussion is characterized as a means of politically 'chloroforming' the student body. The neutralization of their vital powers through discussion is present in a witticism of the second pamphlet, reading 'Only rational discussion prevents general copulation'.¹⁸

The commune also insisted on the primacy of action over words in the dialogue with political opponents. The disturbance and prevention of discussion was an appropriate means of revealing the apparently repressive character of discussions and of translating discussion into action. As a consequence, the members of the commune never actually featured as discussants. When they were present at discussions with representatives of the 'establishment', they featured more as 'disrupters'.

Yet this attitude to discussion was by no means the attitude of the majority of those who participated in political events. At the beginning of the revolts, a clear majority of activists believed that they could effect change through discussion and negotiation with university and state authorities or enlighten the public through discussions. Through the actions of Commune I, they felt that their negotiating position was threatened and their room for manoeuvre in discourse limited. In the next section, their position will be reconstructed from their critique of the communicative style of the 'disrupters'. Alongside this, the example of the events after the shooting of Benno Ohnesorg will show the extent to which they hoped to win influence in order to shape the political climate.

Criticism of the behaviour of the radical opponents of discussion often came from the more moderate student groups. They wished to work constructively on university reform. For example, the Social Democratic Student Union (SHB) expressly disapproved of the disrupting action of the commune group during the discussion with Rector Lieber. 'Through these authoritarian disruptive measures, the course of a discussion led in an exceptionally critical manner was disturbed and, finally, destroyed.' Through this action, the well-founded protests of those studying against forced matriculation and the shortening of study time were apparently 'almost completely robbed of their effectiveness'. At the same time, the SHB defended the politics of constructive dialogue led by the AStA and its

chairman (who was incidentally also a member of the SHB). The SHB found the reproach ‘absurd that open discussion that the AStA engaged in and will continue to engage in with partners of the university [could be labelled] as conspiracy’. In the future too, ‘further open discussions must be guaranteed to ensure that the problems of student reform at the Freie Universität remain problems of the entire student body’.¹⁹ In all its critical distance from the university management, the SHB trusted in constructive dialogue between students and university administrators as a method shaping study and university reform in students’ interest.

In the context of the subsequent strike ballot on the politics of the AStA, the many advocates of reform-orientated politics expressed their opposition to more radical forms of protest. Thus Wolfgang Kummer, a student affiliated to any political organization, made the following appeal in a pamphlet:

Forceful, objective discussions do not need to be realized by insulting the other side . . . Take care that the FU does not become an apolitical university – but also not an academic wasteland. Create the foundation for a new, relevant and democratic collaboration within the frame of the Berlin model!²⁰

The attitude that discussion with those of a different political opinion was a relevant means of triggering political change was widespread in the early phase of the 1968 movement. The majority of the student body were of the opinion that a change of attitude could be effected through discussions. After 2 June, as the student body saw themselves threatened by the apparatus of the state, limited in their fundamental democratic rights and endangered by the one-dimensional nature of reporting in the press, they took up discussion as a means to combat these ills. In this, on 5 June, members of the board and the convention directed a joint resolution at the university:

- For at least one week, regular teaching activity will be replaced by teachers and students through discussions.
- Over the next week, members of the university will discuss with the public, in all areas of the city, the events of last Friday along with their origins and consequences. For these discussions, the students are making pamphlets. For its part, the AStA has pamphlets at the ready.
- The experiences that have been gathered in these street discussions and also in those of the previous weekend will be brought into the politicization process within the university.²¹

Through discussions within the university, a process of ‘self-enlightenment and the development of a political practice’ was to be initiated that ‘presented theoretical as well as practical answers. They represented a declaration of war by the Freie Universität on all political trends that threatened to destroy the second German democracy (after the Weimar Republic of 1918 to 1932)’.²² From discussions (in which not only students but also teaching staff were to take part), recognizable progress and consensus about future political strategies were

anticipated. In addition, the students were hoping for an exchange of opinion with the public and attempted to enlighten it with the help of public debate.

With the promise of the seriousness of interest and the will for objective debate, those studying addressed the public directly. An example of this is a flyer that was distributed during the build-up to a '*Spaziergangsdemonstration*' (Walking Demonstration).

We are grateful to you for not just relying on newspaper reports during these days but also taking the time to listen to our arguments and speak to us. We are not avoiding your criticism. How do we conduct ourselves? You will have more time [to see] on Saturday. We will print and distribute more pamphlets for you. More people will speak with you. We will not cross the road from you: we will stand and talk with you on the pavement. That is not against the law. Last week, the police let us talk with each other peacefully.²³

According to this, discussion with the public was to serve the purpose of correcting a picture of reality conjured up by newspapers. In this, however, the students showed themselves to be absolutely open to criticism on the part of the Berliners, and saw value in presenting themselves as law abiding – certainly not the 'scourge of society' the Berlin press had been presenting them as. In June 1967, the majority of students still trusted the political effectiveness of discussion with its (self-)enlightening effect and ability to create consensus. At the same time, 2 June also represented a turning point, not only in the history of the 1968 protest movement but also in the history of discussion within the movement. From this point the end of the anti-authoritarian phase was in sight.

Professionalization of Discussion: From Discussion to Agitation

As demonstrations were banned in the Berlin inner city after the shooting of Benno Ohnesorg and activists attempted to come to terms with it by means of discussion, groups were formed within the student body that proposed professionalizing the pursuit of discussion. The moderate student organizations also made demands for university funding for communication with the public. For example, the Social Democratic Students' Union made the following demand in a pamphlet: 'Parallel to continuing discussion, a programme has to be developed that develops new long-term methods for communicating with the Berlin public'. The SHB counted new methods of discussion among this. Their development has to be supported by an 'extensive and wide-ranging empirical investigation of the structure of the Berlin public'. A committee of research fellows, assistants and students was to receive 'reports about the ongoing discussion'.²⁴

The SHB itself also offered some hints as to how the students should appear during the 'discussion campaign': 'Discussions and demonstrations have to proceed in a strictly rational and non-violent manner. It is important that political insights are furthered in the public; it is damaging if students only serve to

confirm their isolation in person'.²⁵ The naming of discussion with the public as a campaign, its targeted organization and the attempt to organize its form is a hint that, from the second half of 1967, the external communication of the 1968 movement became more professional. In Berlin, the Arbeitskreis für studentische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit (Working Group for Student Public Relations) had coordinated this. The group presented a proposal to make communication with the public effective in a brochure entitled 'What is to be Done? An Analysis and Model for Action for Student Public Relations Work'.²⁶

Writing for the group, Karl-Peter Arens criticized the lack of choice in selection of discussion partners and ignorance of the results of communications research regarding the significance of selective mechanisms of perception for influencing the formation of opinion. According to this, the goal of the study was to explain why the public often had a negative reaction to the students 'and how these barriers can be dealt with in the process of communication with a new propaganda technique'. The students should at last bring themselves to the 'heavy business of empirically supported propaganda' instead of allowing themselves to be forced into the role of the 'revolutionaries'. The unfettered usage of the word 'propaganda' makes clear that discussions were no longer concerned, as at the beginning of the 1968 movement, with fostering a shared perspective on the matter in question through discussion. Rather, the matter at hand was convincing the populace or, to be more precise, communicating a message that had already been determined in advance. A discussion was no longer a process of shared understanding but rather – if carried out correctly – a strategy aimed at indoctrination. It became an attempt at targeted ideological influence with a view to the creation of a particular opinion or attitude.

Instead of speaking to passers-by at random, the students were to specifically target the 'opinion shapers' of the community and not just those who were politically close to them in any case. As the basic attitude of most Berliners was considered to be conservative, it was assumed that even the remaining 'opinion shapers' would tend not to be congenial to student demands. As such, conservative disseminators of opinion were to be personally addressed 'so that they – from the point of view of student expectations – are no longer effective as negative disseminators of opinion'.²⁷

From these considerations, Arens proposed the following strategy for action: first of all, the target groups for action should be selected in a precise fashion by means of an empirical survey. In addition, in contrast to what had until then been the practice, the 'opinion shaper' should be called on at home rather than addressed on the street. In addition, the action should not remain isolated but be continued over a long time, and during multiple conversations. Only when the opinion shaper had been targeted over a long period were students to turn again to a wider public. With the help of the support of the opinion shapers, campaigns of mass communication would then be more successful than the current pamphlet and discussion campaigns on the Kurfürstendamm, West Berlin's main boulevard.²⁸

Even though this broadly laid out programme for making public relations work effective was clearly not put into practice in this form, these considerations influenced the students' pursuit of discussion. For example, participants were issued with 'Recommendations for Discussions with the Public' that, in addition to references to the choice of interlocutors and about the form of discussion, also included a list of typical utterances which those discussing could expect.²⁹ At the top of the list of recommendations was, here too, the choice of discussion partners that could count as disseminators of public opinion: 'Do not speak to passers-by at random, but to people who you expect could carry opinions further and have influence on other people'. In addition to the targeted address of suspected 'opinion shapers', the paper offered further hints as to the typology of interlocutors. Discussions with those reacting emotionally were apparently of particular difficulty. With them, students were to 'discuss quietly, without reacting ironically or polemically to insults'. Listeners who were reluctant to get involved in the conversation were to be 'included via targeted questions'. The most pleasant group would be those 'ready to discuss', the primary target for discussion.

In addition, certain strategies were recommended that would help to break down barriers in communication. For example, the writer of the 'Recommendations' warned of the dangers of appearing to be a know-it-all. 'Do not immediately shock your partner by indicating that you know better. The person who denigrates their partner due to inadequate knowledge cannot expect a further sympathetic ear'. In fact, it was much better to locate 'commonalities (even if banal) first of all' and to pose questions 'to which assenting answers would necessarily follow'. In this manner, the negative prejudices against the students could be easily evaded. Furthermore, a potentially very successful method was to bring forward arguments 'where possible in the form of confirmations . . . so that your interlocutor believes that he himself had come up with them (for example, you read the same newspaper that I do, so we can talk about it . . .)'. Yet the danger existed that large groups could form in which students were no longer discussing but functioning 'as public speakers'. 'Groups of excessive size or discussions that had become stuck' should, for this reason, be quickly abandoned.

The documents quoted offer evidence that the caesura marked by the shooting of Benno Ohnesorg represented in Berlin and West Germany alike also gave rise to a discernible new professionalizing of discussion. Student groups such as the Working Group for Student Public Relations or the Committee for Public Relations of the FU (Ausschuß für Öffentlichkeitsarbeit der FU) were trying to develop guidelines for discussion with people of other political opinions on the basis of academic analysis. What is significant about this document is that discussion is described less as an exchange of political standpoints with the aim of enlightening those participating and more as a means of political action. The goal of student communication with the public had become to convince and indoctrinate, conceived as communication of an opinion or indeed of a

worldview that was in place before the discussion. This change in function also had consequences for the form of discussion to be looked at next.

From Discussion as Revelation to Discussion as Happening

If one examines the premises of anti-authoritarian discussion on which the 'teach-in' or the collective work of a student seminar are modelled, it quickly becomes clear that these rules were not for use in discussions with political opponents. The norms of anti-authoritarian discussion were formulated in pointed fashion by the 'Phrase Book for the Revolution':

An anti-authoritarian discussion seeks to follow these rules: 1. Every participant has equal rights. 2. The assembly has at all times the right to decide the theme and form of the discussion. 3. The leader of the discussion can be deselected. 4. Speech should be followed by counter-speech in the most direct manner possible. 5. The assembly decides the length of the discussion.³⁰

These five norms allow for high flexibility with regard to the distribution of roles, the choice of themes, the sequencing, the attribution of the right to speak and the length of the discussion. Over repeated attempts, discussions with representatives of the 'establishment' had not affected this. This is because discussions within institutions with complex structural differentiation are of a highly schematic nature in order not to endanger proceedings within the institutions. In addition, those participating in no way enjoyed equal rights. While the anti-authoritarian discussion was based on the premise that the result of discussions was binding for all those participating, students had, during consultations in university committees about study reform for example, the right of consultation but not that of decision.

This structural asymmetry led as a rule to disappointment amongst activists. This finally led to a turning away from discussion as a form of attainment of democratic consent. Many pamphlets expressed frustration with the lack of consequences of university internal discussions and political debates. For example, during the 'Active Strike' at the end of 1968, Frankfurt students offered the following comments about a professors' preparedness for discussion about study reform:

It's certain: The Professors constantly offer us discussions. For years? But unfortunately: just discussions! There have been no discussions up until now with real practical implications – neither in relation to the new exams regulations nor a fundamental restructuring of teaching and research activity in accordance with our needs: namely in accordance with the experiences as we live these out in our society and attempt to turn these into an adequately compensated working practice.³¹

Until now, the discussions had been articulated only theoretically and had shown practical consequences only in cosmetic corrections of the customary

teaching system. It was now time they became practice once and for all. The strike was an expression not only of the growing discomfort with individual seminars and lectures ‘but of the fundamental set-up and repressive total structure’. In order to demonstrate distance from customary practice, it was important to ensure ‘the binding [nature] of the results that had now been won’ by the working groups.³² Frankfurt sociology students interpreted their professors’ offers of dialogue as a form of repressive tolerance: ‘If department leaders offer to speak with us only to cripple us, it is only for the sake of turning our power of resistance back into those forms of protests that are necessary as a “lively contribution” for the continued existence of their system’.³³

The same frustration came to be heard in the pamphlet of the Strike Council of the Philosophy Department of the FU Berlin (*Streikrat des Philosophischen Seminars der FU*), distributed during a strike opposing the enactment of emergency laws in May 1968. ‘Two years of discussion in the Philosophy Department have not brought study reform into being. More than two years of arguments have not prevented the emergency laws. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?’³⁴ The notable connection here of local institutional politics and federal politics showed how much experience had occasioned a general conclusion of not being able to realize changes through discussions. The quote from Lenin’s ‘What is to be done? Burning questions of our movement’ (1902) at the end of the pamphlet indicates a reorientation from a tactic of discussion to a non-specific practice.

SDS explicitly propounded this change, with Karl Dietrich Wolff calling for a general strike upon enactment of the emergency laws:

For more than eight years, appeals, petitions, discussions and parliamentary hearings have been the deciding forms of opposition against the emergency powers. Eight years of laborious, objective discussion . . . The power cartel of the large coalition has decided to force through, whatever the price, dictatorial laws . . . For this reason, we appeal to meet the challenge of the planned 2nd reading of the emergency powers on the 15 May with a general strike on all universities and schools.³⁵

The insight that no influence could be won through the process of political decision making did not just mean a transition to other tactics of political protest, such as the lecture strike or the occupation of institutes. It also had an effect on the practice of discussion itself, one shown in the reports of those that represented opinions in assemblies that did not reflect the opinions of the majority. For example, representatives of the National Democratic Further Education Union (NHB) – closely allied to the NPD, Germany’s postwar party of the far right (not known for its democratic tendencies) – complained that dissenting opinions could not be articulated in a general assembly of the medical faculty on the occasion of the enactment of emergency laws:

And what do the medical students expect in place of the lecture? FACTUAL DISCUSSION about emergency laws? NO! They are urged to take part in a general assembly beneath the Red Flag, during the course of which acts of violence and “go ins”

are planned. Students that took the liberty of having another opinion did not speak and were booed.³⁶

From 1968, debates within the university had long ceased to hesitate about the ideals of anti-authoritarian discussion quoted at the beginning of this essay. They seemed rather more to serve the dramatization and confirmation of the majority opinion.

The Circle of Christian Democratic Students (RCDS) concerned itself intensively with the discussion methods of the radical left. The Heidelberg RCDS published pamphlets following the patterns of personality tests, in which the discussion behaviour of SDS activists was placed in a satirical light. Then the RCDS Federal Board issued a brochure by Cornelius Schnaber with the title 'How Do I Discuss with Ideological Leftists? 18 Opinions and 15 Ground Rules'.³⁷ The political publicist Andreas von Weiss, close in spirit to the CDU, devoted a chapter of his book *Key Words of the New Left* to the methods of discussion and argument of the 1968 movement and their political legacy.³⁸

The fact that satire was possible and capable of offering a kind of 'advisory literature' is already evidence per se that communicative practice had become more severe in terms of form and content. The increased severity of the discussions affected the arguments exchanged, the rhetorical means and also those ruptures of the civility within the exchanges. The radical left was accused by the conservatives of manipulating the communicative category of discussion. A satirical quiz about political consciousness by the RCDS posed the question 'What is a discussion?' with the following answers as options:

A conversation that employs objective arguments to clarify what is unclear: 0 points.

A conversation that employs subjective arguments to 'clear up' something in a fashion that has been determined by one or many participants in advance: 10 points.

A monologue with split roles that, in order to convince oneself, persuades another through continual repetition of simplified, subjective arguments: 20 points.³⁹

The fact that no points were offered for the first answer, which offered a then-current definition of the word '*diskutieren*/discuss', shows that from the point of view of the RCDS, the linguistic reality did not conform to the ideals of discussion. The two remaining answers emphasize the one-sidedness, predictability and lack of objectivity of argumentative discussion.

In the opinion of the authors of the guide to discussion, the main goal (in addition to persuasion and manipulation of listeners) was to reveal and disqualify the political goals of those thinking differently as immoral. For this reason, it seems appropriate to choose the term '*Entlarvungsdiskussion*' ('De-masking Discussion') for this type of discussion.⁴⁰ The guide to discussion offers a list of argumentative strategies by which the radical left sought to attain its goals:

- one-sided causal analysis of reality in accordance with Marxist structures of thought⁴¹
- manipulative use of language by means of euphemistic or dysphemistic usages (an 'attack' becomes a 'liberation action')⁴²

- drawing together facts for the formulation of causal relations ('The aggression of American imperialists in Vietnam was the inevitable consequence of an acute economic crisis within the permanent economic crises of capitalism.')
⁴³- polemical manners of arguing that cater to the public's tendency to sympathize with simple arguments⁴⁴
- arguments with idealistic demands, their 'hallmark' being 'that no objection is possible against them': for example, demands for eternal freedom, equality and justice⁴⁵
- the creation of taboos about particular themes as an indicator that Utopian fundamentalism leads to an ignoring of reality (as an example, Weiss names the area of the inherited constitution of humans and, within this, their natural differences and the semantic field related to the word *Volk*, 'people')
⁴⁶- the influence of rhetorical tricks that impede the formation of a representative picture of opinion and thus create advantages in elections⁴⁷
- personal attacks (for example accusations of fascism)⁴⁸ and the employment of 'dirty jokes, crude rhymes and lavatory verses against the opponent', with the goal of 'denigrating opponents, leaving them ridiculous and undermined'.⁴⁹

This inception of practices of personal insult and mockery marks the transition from '*Entlarvungsdiskussion*' to 'Discussion Happening'.⁵⁰ The 'Discussion Happening' became the dominant practice in discussions between the 1968 protest movement and representatives of the 'establishment'. The 'Discussion Happening' began in the form of a plenary discussion. Yet the exchange of arguments was impeded through rhythmic clapping, ostentatious coughing, loud laughing and choruses in reaction to unpleasant utterances of political opponents. Police whistles, firecrackers and tomatoes functioned as objects of disturbance that finally served to fully block communication. The 'Discussion Happening' normally ended with the dissolution of the assembly and the labelling of political opponents as unworthy of being discussed with.

This was illustrated in the example of a lecture and discussion by the Mayor of Berlin, Klaus Schütz, with students of Berlin Colleges of Higher Education on 19 December 1967. Around 2,500 students had found their way to the Auditorium Maximum. When the mayor stepped up to the lectern, he was greeted with whistles and hisses, but also demonstrative applause.⁵¹ Schütz discussed the government's foreign policy. When he claimed that peace in the Middle East was endangered by threats to Israel, the reactions of the public were once again divided; some whistled, others applauded.⁵² As Schütz spoke in favour of an end to the bombing in North Vietnam, he received applause that washed into calls of 'Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi-Minh', accompanied by rhythmic clapping.⁵³ Parts of the auditorium booed this.⁵⁴ If the boos and whistles had until then been interpreted as a rejection of Schütz's political opinions, they turned later into attacks of a personal nature. Also, Schütz's tendency to repeat half and whole sentences led to the audience heckling him as a 'blabber' and an 'idiot'.⁵⁵ In addition to the calls of 'blabber', soap bubbles were blown into the hall as a symbol that what Schütz said consisted of empty phrases in the view of the

public.⁵⁶ From the floor, his critics accused him of violating the conversational maxim of relevance essential to the communicative genre of the lecture and discussion. Other listeners named Schütz a ‘weakling’ and a ‘fascist’,⁵⁷ calling ‘Get lost already!’, and even threatening ‘Don’t think you’re getting out of here intact!’⁵⁸

As soon as Schütz had finished, a student sprang up with a two-part placard that he held above Schütz’s head, reading ‘These idiots govern us’ and ‘Club-thrashing phrases in our necks, that’s Berlin’s sniper [German: *Schützen*] politics’. The situation escalated. Günter Struve, Schütz’s assistant, attempted to tear the placard away from the student. This was greeted by deafening whistles and boos from the floor.⁵⁹ As debate about Struve’s behaviour erupted, Wolfgang Lefèvre petitioned for his expulsion. Just as the mayor was about to be draped with a Father Christmas outfit, a new scuffle broke out. Schütz threatened to put an end to the discussion if his assistant was forced to leave. After all this, Struve remained in the chamber and the discussion about foreign policy continued, interrupted time and again by cries of ‘Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh’ and rhythmic clapping. Fritz Teufel, just released from detention for avoiding trial, turned up fashionably late to the lecture and discussion, and was greeted with applause. With his appearance, the discussion took a further turn. It became a signal for the continuation of the disturbing actions of Commune I. Teufel proposed choosing Schütz to be Father Christmas. Teufel had brought the beard with him and Schütz was pelted from all sides with tinsel and scraps of beard.⁶⁰ During this, members of the commune shouted out slogans such as: ‘*Knusper Knusper Knäuschen / der Schütz ist aus dem Häuschen*’ [Nibble nibble gnaw / Schütz has broken through the door] and ‘*Oh du lieber Weihnachtsmann / schau uns nicht so böse an / wir wollen auch immer artig sein / stecke deinen Knüppel ein*’ [Oh you dear Santa Claus / Don’t look at us like we’ve lost a screw / We always want to behave well / Shove your truncheon out of view].⁶¹ The repeated references to Schütz’s truncheon, as already found on the placard, recalled the brutal manner of the Berlin police when dealing with student demonstrators. The audience held the mayor responsible for this. However, the truncheon metaphor was also cruelly used by the commune members to denote the mayor’s stiff arm: ‘*Oh seht den armen Krüppel / sein Arm ist nur ein Knüppel*’ [Oh look at the poor cripple / his arm is just a truncheon].⁶² These simple lines contain an outing: with them, the members of the Commune I publicly emphasized that Klaus Schütz, due to a wartime shoulder injury, had only limited use of his right arm. The Berlin press was apparently in tacit agreement not to report on the lame arm. In the chanting of these rhymes, the legal usage of state violence against radical demonstrators was rewritten into the consolation of a personal shortcoming. In addition, members of Commune I had learnt that Schütz’s wife had been married before and that it was unclear whether Schütz or her first husband was the biological father of her children. Insinuating that he was not the biological father, the commune members chanted ‘Impotent Father Christmas / Turns empty phrases if he can’.⁶³ Schütz was thus mocked as a Father Christmas figure who ‘blabbered’

when left without recourse to his ‘truncheon’. His authority – one based on intimidation – is seen to disappear as soon as he is forced to enter into discussion. What is interesting here is that the criticism of the ruling style of the mayor is correlated with criticism of his communicative behaviour. The presentation of the government as illegitimate was presented as evidence of its inability to discuss, while at the same time giving the appearance of wanting to discuss. Through the action of the commune, Klaus Schütz and the office of mayor that he embodied received their final devaluation. Through countless performative actions, the discussion was presented as unworthy: through boos and hisses, soap bubbles, and cries of ‘chatterer’. The last speaker said, ‘His good will was only a feigned phrase’, adding the explicit accusation that he was ‘not capable of rigorous discussion’.⁶⁴

These deformations of a democratically intended practice were the spark that ignited the criticism of liberal and conservative student organizations. They were a factor that meant the radical left could be criticized and their method refused as activities of terror. This was the spirit in which the Heidelberger RCDS asked, in a satirical test of knowledge, ‘What are tomatoes?’ and identified the answer as ‘means of building political consciousness’, mocking the position of the radical left. In response to the question ‘What is tolerance?’, the author Heinz Christmann offered the following answers:

- An indispensable fundamental attitude for human co-existence?
- A capitalistic relic that will be removed by the forces of socialism.⁶⁵

Summary: Discussion as Indicator and Motor of the Radicalizing of the 1968 Protest Movement

The enquiries of the previous sections have shown that the communicative practice of discussion developed rapidly over the course of the 1968 protest movement. This development received an essential impulse from the fundamental opposition of the Berlin commune group to discussion with those of different political opinions. From the beginning, they were of the opinion that discussions with representatives of university or political administration would not bring any substantial progress as long as they served only to appease activists. For this reason, they propagated other forms of action such as effective disturbance and provocation that were also carried over into events of university discussion. In the early period of the 1968 movement, this group was a contrast to the majority of students who were interested in politics and hoped to exercise influence over decision makers by participating in committees and public discussions. In the early period of the 1968 movement, ‘*diskutieren*’ (to discuss) meant to lead a discussion in the hope of finding a binding consensus.

From 2 June 1967 at the latest, this began to alter. After this date an extensive discussion campaign aimed at the enlightenment of the public began. In order

to offset press reporting, that was considered to be disinformation, with explanation to the public about the true goals of the 1968 movement, the activists carried out a professionalizing of discussion. Working groups were also formed that used the academically formed models of future student public relations and at the same time supplied 'discussion soldiers' with concrete instructions for negotiation. These writings no longer show concern for an open discussion through which the interlocutors form their opinions through the exchange of arguments. Rather, words such as 'agitation' or 'propaganda' were used in order to name the goals of communicative practice.

Within this professionalizing, the origin for the hardening of discussions with political opponents is to be found in the movement into fixed argumentative patterns that also occasioned a professionalizing of the exchange with the radical left. In guides to rhetoric and argument, typical forms of radical left discussion manner were analysed and counter-strategies recommended.

With the '*Osterunruhen*' (Easter Disturbances) of 1968 and the emergency strike, a disappointed turning away from discussion as a means of exerting influence can be observed. This was not just true for Berlin but for many university towns in the Federal Republic. In pamphlets and circulars, complaints mounted that discussions were being held but remained non-binding, and as such were without consequence. Frustration and professionalization combined for the 1968 movement to make discussion primarily a means of making political opponents appear ridiculous and gaining the status of a majority opinion for the protesters' opinions. For all these reasons, calls for alternative political strategies resonated, finding expression in the occupation of institutions, blockades and increased disruptions of lectures. At the same time, the tendency can be observed that discussions with representatives of the 'establishment', which had previously served to de-mask the immoral implications in the attitudes and behaviour of political opponents, were turned into 'Discussion Happenings'. In them, the content of debate was sacrificed for the sake of the performative devaluation of the person and office of political opponents. The portrayal of failure in discussion had become a sign that agreement was neither possible nor desirable, a sign of radical opposition that had broken with the norms of a majority community. It had become a sign of large-scale refusal.⁶⁶

Reconstructed in this fashion, the history of '*diskutieren*' about 1968 can read as that of a gradual approach by the majority of the 1968 movement's activists to the position of the Berlin commune group. The commune had relied on disturbances and refusals of discussion from the beginning. Accordingly, the story of discussion is the story of the canonization of the 1968 movement. The development of discussion from consensus-orientated discussion to 'Discussion Happening' was clearly not just an indicator of this radicalization. Rather, the development was itself one of its factors. The ritual disturbances of the 1968 movement always had a polarizing and mobilizing effect.

Notes

1. In reference to the language of, and use of language by, the German 1968 movement, see B. Brunotte. 1973. *Rebellion im Wort: eine zeitgeschichtliche Dokumentation; Flugblatt und Flugschrift als Ausdruck jüngster Studentenunruhe*, Frankfurt a. M.: Dipa-Verlag; H. Dietz. 1975. 'Rote Semantik', in G.-H. Kaltenbrunner (eds), *Sprache und Herrschaft. Die unfunktionierten Wörter*, Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 20–43; U. Hinrichs. 1984. 'Studentensprache, Spontisprache', *Muttersprache* 94, 404–16; A. Czubayko. 1991. *Der Zusammenhang von Sprache und Erfahrung. Am Beispiel der Konventionalität der Verständigung in Studenten- und Alternativbewegung*, Wuppertal: Dissertation Universität-Gesamthochschule Wuppertal; G. Koenen. 1994. 'Rotwelsch und Zeichensprache. Die Neue Linke von 1968 und der Marxismus', in H. Fleischer (ed.), *Der Marxismus in seinem Zeitalter*, Leipzig: Reclam, 77–93; M. Wengeler. 1995. "'1968" als sprachgeschichtliche Zäsur', in G. Stötzl and M. Wengeler (eds), *Kontroverse Begriffe: Geschichte des öffentlichen Sprachgebrauchs in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 383–404; M. Wengeler. 2002. "'1968" öffentliche Sprachsensibilität und political correctness. Sprachgeschichtliche und sprachkritische Anmerkungen', *Muttersprache* 112, 1–14; J. Kopperschmidt. 2001. "'La Prise de la Parole" oder über den Versuch der Befreiung des Wortes', in U. Ott and R. Luckscheiter (eds), *Belles lettres, Graffiti. Soziale Phantasien und Ausdrucksformen der Achtundsechziger*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 95–113; K.J. Mattheier. 2001. 'Protestsprache und Politjargon. Über die problematische Identität einer "Sprache der Achtundsechziger"', in U. Ott and R. Luckscheiter, *Belles lettres, Graffiti*, 79–90; N. Verheyen. 2007. 'Diskussionsfieber. Diskutieren als kommunikative Praxis in der westdeutschen Studentenbewegung', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), *1968. Ein Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 209–21; J. Scharloth. 2007. '1968 und die Unordnung in der Sprache. Kommunikationsstrukturelle und sozialstilistische Untersuchungen', in S. Pappert (ed), *Die (Un)Ordnung des Diskurses*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 11–36; J. Scharloth. 2007. 'Die Sprache der Revolte. Linke Wörter und avantgardistische Kommunikationsstile', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), *1968. Ein Handbuch*, 223–34; J. Scharloth. 2007. 'Ritualkritik und Rituale des Protests: Die Entdeckung des Performativen in der Studentenbewegung der 1960er Jahre', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), *1968. Ein Handbuch*, 75–87; J. Scharloth. 2008. 'Kommunikationsguerilla 1968. Strategien der Subversion symbolischer Ordnung in der Studentenbewegung', in B. Kutschke (ed.), *Musikulturen in der Revolte*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 187–96; J. Scharloth. 2010. *1968. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte*, Paderborn: Fink.
2. Pamphlet by Erika M. Schneider: *Warum wir demonstrieren – Warum wir diskutieren*, 15 June 1967, APO Archive, Folder: Berlin, FU Allgemein, 10–20 Jun 1967.
3. Pamphlet of the Institutsvertretung des Germanistischen Seminars der FU: *Kommilitonen! Die Diskussion geht weiter*, 19 Jun 1968, HIS-Archive, Folder: Germanistik FU 1968–69.
4. H. Wehner, 'Demokratie ist Diskussion', in *Telegraf* No. 94 on 23 Apr 1968, 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. See H.-E. Bilges, 'Reformieren – nicht nur diskutieren', in *Die Welt* on 17 Oct 1968, 2.
7. Pamphlet of the Berlin Red Guards: *Zum Schulkampf*, winter 1968/69. APO Archive, Folder: Berlin FU Allgemein E0702 FU Pamphlets, Jun–Dec 1968.

8. See Scharloth, 1968.
9. See Verheyen, 'Diskussionsfieber'.
10. See the pamphlet of the student representative of the philosophical faculty of the FU Berlin: 2. *teach-in*, from 29 Jun 1966, APO Archive, Folder: Berlin FU Allgemein 1966.
11. Compare S. Lönnendonker, B. Rabehl and J. Staadt. 2002. *Die antiautoritäre Revolte. Der Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund nach der Trennung von der SPD*, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 163.
12. Compare the article: 'Studenten-Tumult in Berlin', in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Nr. 284 from 28 Nov 1966, 5.
13. Compare the pamphlet of the HSU Berlin: *Ein Wort zum Samstag* from 28 Nov 1966, APO Archive, Folder: Berlin FU Allgemein 1966.
14. Kommune 2. 1969. *Versuch der Revolutionierung des bürgerlichen Individuums*, Berlin: Oberbaum Presse, 28.
15. Kommune 1 (1968): *Quellen zur Kommuneforschung*. Berlin: [Non-verified], APO Archive, Folder: KI.
16. See U. Enzensberger. 2004. *Die Jahre der Kommune I. Berlin 1967–1969*, Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 83.
17. Pamphlet no. 1 of Kommune 1: *Muss sich der AStA ändern? Damit diese Universität errträglich wird?*, ca. end of Apr 1967, APO Archive, folder K I. The pamphlet was still signed 'SDS'.
18. Pamphlet no. 2 of Kommune 1: *ALLE MAL AUFPASSEN*, APO Archive, folder: K I.
19. Pamphlet of the SHB (Social Democratic Student Union): *Stellungnahme des Sozialdemokratischen Hochschul-Bundes zu den Vorfällen am Sonnabend, 26.11.66*, of 28 Nov 1966, APO Archive, folder: Berlin FU Allgemein 1966.
20. Wolfgang Kummer, *Wählen Sie den dritten Weg*, 6 May 1967, APO Archive, folder: Berlin, Hochschule FU – Serie 2 – 1967.
21. *Resolution der a.o. Sitzung des XIX. Konvents vom 5. Juni 1967, Vorlage des AStA und des Konventsvorsitzenden*, APO Archive, folder: Berlin, FU Allgemein 1–9 Jun 1967: 2.
22. Ibid.
23. *Was heißt Spaziergangsdemonstration?*, of 9 Jun 1967, APO Archive, folder: Berlin, FU Allgemein 1.
24. Pamphlet of the SHB at the FU Berlin: *Liebe Kommilitonen!*, of 10 Jun 1967, APO Archive Berlin, folder: Berlin, Hochschule FU – Serie 2 – 1967.
25. Ibid.
26. Karlpeter Arens and Arbeitskreis für studentische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, *Was tun? Analyse und Aktionsmodell zur studentischen Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* of June 1967, APO Archive, folder: Berlin, Hochschule, FU – Serie 2 – 1967, 2.
27. Ibid., 10.
28. Ibid., 16f.
29. *Empfehlungen zur Diskussion mit der Bevölkerung*, Jun 1967, APO Archive, folder: Berlin, FU Allgemein 10–20 Jun. The following quotes are taken from the first page.
30. Koplin. 1968. *Sprachführer durch die Revolution*, 20f.
31. Anonymous discussion paper of striking students at Frankfurt University: 'Entwurf einer verbindlichen Interpretation der Ziele unseres Streiks, des sogenannten Negativkatalogs als einer Antwort auf die Ordinarien', 17 Dec 1968, printed in P. Zollinger. 1969.

- Aktiver Streik: Dokumentation zu einem Jahr Hochschulpolitik am Beispiel der Universität Frankfurt am Main*, Darmstadt: J. Melzer.
32. Ibid.
 33. See the anonymous pamphlet *Die Universität ist gestorben!*, from May 1968, APO Archive, folder: Frankfurt paper 1967–1969.
 34. Pamphlet by the Streikrat am Philosophischen Seminar der FU Berlin: *Ist Philosophie Resignation?*, 24 May 1967, APO Archive, folder: Berlin FU Allgemein E0702 FU Flugblätter, Mai 1968 (Notstandsgesetze, Institutsbesetzg).
 35. Pamphlet of Karl-Dietrich Wolff for the SDS Federal Board: *Streik*, 11 May 1968, APO Archive, folder: Frankfurt Papiere 1967–1969.
 36. Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund (NHB): *Zwangsstreik an der Medizinischen Fakultät*, 21 May 1968, APO Archive, folder: Berlin FU Allgemein E0702 FU Flugblätter, Mai 1968 (Notstandsgesetze, Institutsbesetzg).
 37. C. Schnauber. 1973. *Wie diskutiere ich mit Linksideologen? 18 Gesichtspunkte und 15 Grundsätze. Herausgegeben vom RCDS-Bundesvorstand*, Herford: RCDS.
 38. A. von. Weiss. 1974. *Schlagwörter der neuen Linken: die Agitation der Sozialrevolutionäre*, Munich: Olzog.
 39. RCDS Heidelberg: *Bitte testen Sie Ihr politisches Bewußtsein*, ca. spring 1969, Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg.
 40. See here also U. Schlicht. 1980. *Vom Burschenschaftler bis zum Sponti: studentische Opposition gestern und heute*, Berlin: Colloquium-Verlag, 78. Representatives of the ‘establishment’ clearly felt themselves reminded in the meantime on the communicative practice of a tribunal. That can be deduced, anyway, looking at a pamphlet of the Frankfurt AStA in which was stated: ‘In the debate with the students, the professors appear infuriated that they, like the accused before a tribunal of their victims, must answer according to their will and word’. See the pamphlet by the AStA of the Universität Frankfurt: *Das Monopol der Gewalt hat der Staat! Argumente zum Widerstand*, undated [potentially January 1969], APO Archive, folder: Universität Frankfurt Papiere 1967–1969, 3f.
 41. See Schnauber, *Wie diskutiere ich mit Linksideologen?*, 6f.
 42. Ibid., 21.
 43. Ibid., 9. See here also Weiss, *Schlagwörter der neuen Linken*, 74.
 44. See Schnauber, *Wie diskutiere ich mit Linksideologen?*, 16.
 45. See Weiss, *Schlagwörter der neuen Linken*, 79.
 46. Ibid., 80.
 47. As Inga Buhmann remembers, ‘The teach-ins were . . . often pre-constructed to the last detail: the order of speakers, what they had to say, what roles and which potential actions were on offer. I took part in some of these conversations where a small circle of authoritarians negotiated how the needs of the masses were to be taken into account, manipulated and steered along the “right” lines’. See I. Buhmann. 1987. *Ich habe mir eine Geschichte geschrieben*, Frankfurt a. M.: Zweitausendeins, 291f.
 48. See Schnauber, *Wie diskutiere ich mit Linksideologen?*, 22.
 49. Ibid., 14.
 50. Both names taken from Schlicht, *Vom Burschenschaftler bis zum Sponti*, 78.
 51. See the article: ‘. . . dann geht auch der Regierende Bürgermeister – Oppositionelle Studenten diskutieren mit Klaus Schütz’, in *Die Welt*, 21 Dec 1967, 3.
 52. See *ibid.*

53. See 'Politik im Audimax' in *Der Tagesspiegel*, No. 6774, 20 Dec 1967, 9.
54. See also '. . . dann geht auch der Regierende Bürgermeister', 3.
55. See 'Mit Rowdys nicht mehr', in *BILD*, No. 297, 21 Dec 1967, 2.
56. '. . . dann geht auch der Regierende Bürgermeister', 3.
57. D. Cramer, 'Radikale Studenten randalieren in Berlin. "Diskussion" mit dem Regierenden Bürgermeister', in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 296, 21 Dec 1967, 7f.
58. See H. Rabbow: 'Wo blieb an diesem Abend das Gastrecht?', in *Berliner Zeitung*, Nr. 297, 21 Dec 1967, 2.
59. 'Riesen-Debakel für Schütz vor 2500 Studenten', in *Die Wahrheit*, Nr. 197, 21 Dec 1967, 1 and 3.
60. D. Cramer: 'Radikale Studenten randalieren in Berlin', 7f.
61. Kommune I. 1968. *Sources for Research of the Commune*. Berlin: [o.S.], APO Archive, folder: KI.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. See H. Rabbow, 'Wo blieb an diesem Abend das Gastrecht?', 2.
65. RCDS Heidelberg: *Testen Sie sich selbst*.
66. See here also Schlicht, *Vom Burschenschafter bis zum Sponti*, 78.

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Index

- activism 6, 82, 87, 126, 133, 140, 149, 152
Adams, Walter 48
Adelstein, David 49
Adorno, Theodor W. 31, 34, 128, 144
Africa 21, 25, 37, 47, 48, 57, 67, 69, 71,
77, 83
African National Congress (ANC) 53, 55,
63n69
agit 78, 87, 88
Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen
(Committee for Women's Liberation)
130, 144, 145, 146
Aldermaston 42
Alexander, Sally 5
alienation 3, 29, 45, 129, 132
Alzheimer, Georg 23
alternative media 37, 56
Amman 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 88
ANC *see* African National Congress
Anderson, Perry 44, 151, 159, 160
Angola 37, 47
anti-authoritarian 4, 71, 106, 127, 128,
130, 131, 135, 139, 152, 170, 173,
175
anti-Semitism 70, 71, 73, 75, 77, 80, 81,
82, 83, 84
anti-Zionism 9, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80,
82, 83, 84
apartheid 48, 49, 53, 57
APO (*Außerparlamentarische Opposition /*
Extra-Parliamentary Opposition) 21,
26, 28, 35, 37, 72, 102, 135, 137
Apter, David 56
Arab Student Union (West Berlin) 71, 72
Arafat, Yasser 75, 79
ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-*
rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der
Bundesrepublik Deutschland/German
Association of Public Broadcasters 92,
97, 104n25
Arendt, Hannah 10, 14
Argentina 53
Arguments 3, 127
Asia 47, 57
AStA (*Allgemeiner Studenten Ausschuss /*
General Student Committee) 96, 166,
167, 168–9, 181n17, 181n21, 182n40
Baader, Andreas 110, 111, 112, 114, 116,
118, 122, 123
Barthes, Roland 154
BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) 45
Belfast 50
Bensaïd, Daniel 44, 149
Berkeley 37, 45, 133
Berlin 9, 18, 20, 72, 78, 79–80, 95, 118,
129, 131, 163, 170–71
anti-Zionist sentiment in 71
Berlin Commune 73–4, 168–9, 178, 179
Berliner Gemeinplätze (Berlin
Commonplaces) 22
bomb attack on the Jewish community
centre in West Berlin (1969) 70
conference on 100 years of atonality held
in 26
International Vietnam Congress in West
Berlin (1968) 44–5, 99–100, 107–8
Mayor Schütz, lecture and discussion in
Auditorium Maximum (1967) 176–7
Red Guards 165
Shah of Persia, demonstration against visit
of 21–2, 93–4
underground movements in 80–81, 82–3
violent protests in streets of, media
coverage of 92
women's action committee in 140

- Berufsverbot* 109, 120n15
 'Bewegung 2. Juni' (June 2. Movement) 83
 Birmingham 10, 148, 152, 153, 159
The Black Dwarf 9, 35–8, 40–41, 43–5, 51,
 54–8, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67
 Black Panthers 50
 Black September 83
 Blackburn, Robin 39, 44, 46, 47, 62
 Bloody Sunday (1972) 50
 Bloom, Marshall 38, 49
 Bologna 117, 118, 121
 Bourdieu, Pierre 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 21, 36,
 37
 bourgeois family model 129, 136
 Brandt, Willy 106, 108, 109
 Brazil 53
 Brecht, Bertolt 30
 Britain *see* United Kingdom (UK)
 Buchanan, Peter 48, 55
- Callaghan, Jim 48
 Cambodia 48
 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
 (CND) 41, 42, 44, 45
 capitalism 18, 37, 38, 45, 49, 57, 70, 73,
 77, 130, 131, 150, 151, 176
 Castro, Fidel 24, 52, 53
 CCCS (Centre for Contemporary Cultural
 Studies) 10, 11, 152, 160
 central committee for child-care (*Zentralrat
 der Kinderläden*) 135
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 84
 Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
 (CCCS) 10, 11, 152, 160
 Certeau, Michel de 154, 157, 160, 161
 Chand, Vinay 39, 46, 47, 57, 63, 67
 Char, René 20
 Chimutengwende, Chanhamo 39, 46, 47
 China 53, 57, 79, 162
 CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) 84
 Circle of Christian Democratic Students
 (RCDS) 175, 178, 182, 183
 Civil Rights Movement 49, 50, 57, 133,
 139, 145
 class struggle 21, 46, 76, 130
 CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)
 41, 42, 44, 45
 cognitive orientation 125, 141
 Cohn-Bendit, Daniel 44, 45, 107, 110
 Cold War 8, 71, 150
 colonialism 50, 76
 colonies 48, 53, 57
- Committee for Women's Liberation
 (*Aktionsrat zur Befreiung der Frauen*)
 130, 131, 135, 136
 'Committee of 100' 42
 Commonwealth 48, 49, 53, 57
 Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962,
 1968) 48, 49
 Commune I (Kommune I) 95, 96, 97, 168,
 177
 Commune II (Kommune II) 129
 communism 3, 96
 Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) 24
 conscious-raising 10, 135, 137, 141
 counter-culture 137, 152, 156
 counter-institution 4, 128, 133, 135
 counter-power 150, 156, 158
 counter-public (*Gegenöffentlichkeit*) 9, 107,
 109
 Croissant, Klaus 109, 110
 Cuba 2, 9, 52–3, 57, 71
 Enzensberger and 17–32
 Cultural Studies 10, 62, 148, 149, 150,
 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157,
 158, 159, 160, 161
- Debray, Régis 2, 11, 24, 83
 decolonization 48
 Decree Concerning Radicals
 (*Radikalenerlass*) 109, 120
 Deleuze, Gilles 154
 Delphy, Christine 134, 139
 Derrida, Jacques 134, 154
 Derry (Londonderry) 50
 Devlin, Bernadette 50
 direct action 4, 38, 44, 133
 Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear
 War (DAC) 44
 discourse community 36, 56, 57
 discrimination 48, 49, 126, 132, 133
 Dutschke, Rudi 37, 47, 71, 76, 95, 104,
 107, 109, 164, 167
- Easter Disturbances (*Osterunruhen*)
 179
 Easter-March Movement 3
École Normale Supérieure (ENS) 139
 Ekelöf, Gunnar 20
 Elser, Georg 80
 emergency laws (*Notstandsgesetze*) 3, 73,
 86, 174
 ENS (*École Normale Supérieure*) 139
 Ensslin, Gudrun 111, 112, 114, 117

- Enzensberger, Hans Magnus 1–2, 4, 5, 8–9, 17–34, 37, 76
 Cuba and, story of self-censorship 17–32
 Enzensberger, Mascha 23
 Enzensberger, Ulrich 73–4
 Essex 49
 Europe 27, 37, 50–51, 53
 anti-bureaucratic struggles in Eastern Europe 35
 avant-garde in 9, 126, 151, 155
 British protest movement 36, 49, 57
 Cuban liberation art in 26
 European counterpublic, rise of 10
 extra-parliamentary opposition in, role of 21
 protest movements in Western Europe 57–8, 69–70, 71–2, 75, 77–8, 81–2, 91, 92–3, 95, 101–2, 106–7, 162–79
 Third World and 8, 17–32, 47
 women's movements in US and 124–41
 exploitation 9, 37, 38, 47, 55, 57, 77, 107, 129, 132, 136
 Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO) 21, 26, 28, 35, 37, 72, 102, 135, 137
- Farrell, Michael 50
 Feltirrelli, Giangiacomo 50
 feminism 132, 133, 140, 141, 142, 143
Féminisme, Marxisme, Action 134
 Fest, Joachim 94, 99, 100, 101
 Fichter, Albert 79, 80
 Firestone, Shulamith 133, 134
 Foucault, Michel 154, 158, 160, 161
 Fouque, Antoinette 134, 139, 147
 France 3, 19, 35, 47, 53, 57, 109, 111, 151
 anti-authoritarian child day-care movement 130
 Arguments in 3, 127
 feminist narratives on 1968 in 138–41
 French New Left 136–7
 motherland of revolution 110
 Movement of Democratic Women (*Mouvement Démocratique Féminin*, MDF) in 134
 Women's Liberation Movement in France (*Mouvement pour la libération des femmes*) 134, 135, 137
 Frankfurt School (*Frankfurter Schule*) 45, 128, 131, 150, 154
Frauenbefreiungsbewegung (Women's Liberation Movement in Germany) 137
- Free Speech Movement 3
 Free University of Berlin 72, 73, 84, 96, 108, 135
 French Theory (post-structuralism) 154
 Freud, Anna 130
 Freud, Sigmund 130, 134
- García Lorca, Federico 20
Gegenöffentlichkeit (counter-public) 9, 107, 109
 gender relations 10, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 134, 138
 Geneva 136, 137
 'German Autumn' 83, 107, 110, 111, 112, 118, 119
 Germany, Federal Republic of 3, 5, 9, 10, 19, 21, 35–6, 47, 53, 57, 81, 151
 day-care centres for early childhood education in 130–31, 135, 138
 'discussion fever' in 165–78
 feminist activism in 140
 German Association of Public Broadcasters (ARD) 92, 97, 104n25
 German-Israeli Society 72
 German New Left 77, 83
 Italy, 'German Autumn' in 112–18
 journalists' engagement in political sphere 101–2
 militant counterculture in 81
 Nazi legacy in 77, 79–80, 106, 111
 Neue Kritik in 127
 Palestinian cause, support for 69–70, 82
 politics of, New Left interest in 108–9
 press in, role of 37
 protesters as political force in 94–101
 public broadcasting in 91–102
 Ruhe und Ordnung catchphrase 93–4, 99, 103n8
 Shah of Persia, visit to 22, 73
 Ghandi, Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) 4
 globalisation 48, 56, 83, 148
 go-in 137
 Goodwin, Clive 46
 Gowan, Peter 46
 Gramsci, Antonio 153, 154, 159
 Grass, Günter 72, 73
 Green Beret Affair 48
 Grosvenor Square 39, 50
 Guattari, Félix 154
 Guevara, Ernesto (Che) 2, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 64, 71, 83, 85, 94

- Habermas, Jürgen 104, 106, 119
 Haffner, Sebastian 74
 Halliday, Fred 39, 46, 47, 55
 Hameister, Hans-Joachim 167
 Hammer, Manfred 167
 Havana 9, 18, 23, 24, 29, 71
 Hayden, Casey 133
 Hayter, Teresa 46
 Heath, Edward 39
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 5
 Hemmer, Eike 167
 Henze, Hans Werner 18, 19, 25, 26
 Herzog, Marianne 135
 Hikmet, Nâzım 20
 Hogasen, Jacqueline 134
 Hoggart, Richard 149, 151, 153
 Hoyland, John 43
 HSU (*Humanistische Studenten Union*/
 Humanistic Student Union) 166
 Hungarian Uprising 149, 150
- il manifesto* 110
 IMG (International Marxist Group) 46
 immigration 48
 imperialism 37, 47, 50, 55, 73, 75, 76, 77,
 78, 79, 82, 83, 117, 149
 International Marxist Group (IMG) 46
 International Situationist 87, 155, 156
 International Vietnam Congress 37, 44,
 100, 107, 108
 internationalism 44, 52, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76,
 83, 84
 IRA (Irish Republican Army) 67
 Ireland 47, 53
 Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign 50
 Irish Republican Army (IRA) 67
 Israel 9, 20, 69, 70, 71–5, 77–8, 79–82,
 176
 Italy 3, 13, 19, 35, 79, 142, 146
 fascist legacy in, memories of 111
 ‘German Autumn’ in 112–18
 Italian New Left 110
 left-wing terrorism (1970s), transnational
 dimension of 106, 107, 109, 110, 111,
 112–18, 122n38
- Johnson, Lyndon B. 83
 Johnson, Uwe 20
 Jordan 79, 80
 Judt, Tony 53
 June 2 Movement (‘Bewegung 2. Juni’)
 83
- Kavafis, Konstantinos 20
 Kinderladenbewegung 130, 131
 King, Mary 133
 Kolakowski, Leszek 5
 Kommune I (Commune I) 95, 96, 97, 168,
 177
 Kommune II (Commune II) 129
 Korda, Alberto 50
 Krivine, Alain 44, 47, 63, 64, 149
Kursbuch 2–5, 18, 19–22, 29, 30, 60, 76,
 86, 87, 119, 120, 122, 144
- Labour 38, 42, 55, 65, 152, 160
 Lacan, Jacques 127, 134, 139, 154
 Laos 48
 Latin America 21, 25, 37, 44, 47, 57, 69,
 83
 Leeds 49
 Lefebvre, Henri 157
 Lennon, John 47
 Liberation 2, 8, 21, 47, 53, 55, 57, 124,
 141
 liberation movements 2, 8, 21, 47, 53, 55,
 57, 124, 141
 Liberation News Service (LNS) 38, 61
 Logue, Christopher 40, 42, 57, 62
 London 5, 49, 50
Black Dwarf, launch in 38
 race riots in 48
 Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC),
 march in 38, 44–5
 London School of Economics and Political
 Sciences (LSE) 38, 39, 48, 49, 55, 61,
 65, 67
 London School of Oriental and African
 Studies (SOAS) 39
 Londonderry (Derry) 50, 66
 Lotta Continua 110, 114, 116, 117, 121,
 122, 123
 LSE (London School of Economics and
 Political Sciences) 38, 39, 48, 49, 55,
 61, 65, 67
- Mandel, Ernest 47, 64
 Manifesto of the 121 19
 Mao Zedong 53, 165
 Marcuse, Herbert 45, 131, 134, 145
 Marx, Karl 45, 46, 59, 63, 134
 Marxism 45, 56, 62, 76, 134, 149, 150,
 151, 152, 154, 159, 160, 180
 May Day Manifesto 152, 160
 Mead, George Herbert 9, 14

- Meinhof, Ulrike 23, 121
 Meins, Holger 108
 Mercer, David 42, 62, 66
 Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 157, 160
 Mexico 53, 64, 185
 Michel, Karl Markus 22, 24, 30, 32, 33, 34
 Middle East 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 176
 Milan 107, 111, 114, 116, 117, 121, 123
 Mills, C. Wright 127, 143
 Mitchell, Adrian 40, 41, 46, 57, 61, 62, 63, 67
 Mitterand, François 109
 Mogadishu 112, 114
 Möller, Irmgard 112, 114
 Molotov cocktail 53
 Montejo, Esteban 24, 25
 Moravia, Alberto 47, 64
 Mosch, Ulrich 26
Mouvement de Libération des Femmes
 (Women's Liberation Movement in Switzerland) 146
Mouvement Démocratique Féminin
 (Movement of Democratic Women) 134
Mouvement pour la libération des Femmes
 (Women's Liberation Movement in France) 134, 135, 137
 Movement of 22 March 4
 Movement of Democratic Women
 (*Mouvement Démocratique Féminin*, MDF) 134
 movimento '77 116, 117
 Mozambique 47, 64
 My Lai massacre 47, 64

 National Liberation Front (NLF) 55
Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands
 (NPD) 174
Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund
 (NHB) 174, 182
 nationalism 57
 Nationality Act (UK, 1948) 48
 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 73
 Negt, Oskar 156, 160
 neo-colonialism 57
 network society 56
 Nevermann, Knut 86, 104, 166, 167
 New Left 2, 8, 10–11, 28, 31, 46, 56, 75, 125
 British New Left 152
 cultural studies, New Left and politics of 148, 149–52, 158
 establishment of 44–5
 French New Left 136–7
 German New Left 77, 83
 global focus on students, minorities and liberation movements 57
 intellectual New Left, rise of 3–4
 interpersonal relationships, ideas about 137–8, 141–2
 Italian New Left 110
Key Words of the New Left (Weiss, A. vion) 175
New Left Review (NLR) 3, 44, 74, 86, 127, 143, 159
 political doctrines of the New Left in Western Europe 69–70
 politics of Federal Germany, New Left interest in 108–9
Ramparts, American New Left magazine 47, 64n80
 subversive radicalism of 71
 transformation strategy aimed at 'participatory democracy' 133
 transformation strategy of 26
 women in New Left thought and praxis 127–32
 New Social Movements 143, 188
 New York 45
 New York Radical Women 133–4
New York Review of Books 23
 NHB (*Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund*) 174, 182
 NICRA (Northern Irish Civil Rights Association) 49, 50
 Nigeria 47, 53, 64
 Nirumand, Bahman 21, 23, 32, 60
 NLF (National Liberation Front) 55
 NLR (*New Left Review*) 3, 44, 74, 86, 127, 143, 159
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 73
 Northern Ireland 39, 47, 49, 50, 57, 58, 66, 67, 68
 Northern Irish Civil Rights Association (NICRA) 49, 50
Notstandsgesetze (emergency laws) 3, 73, 86, 174
 Nottingham 48
Nouvel Observateur Manifesto 140
 NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) 174

- Ohnesorg, Benno 21, 72, 73, 75, 83, 85, 93, 94, 168, 170, 172
- Old Left 3, 4, 46, 128, 137
- OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America) 71, 85n9
- Osterunruben* (Easter Disturbances) 179
- Oxford 5, 9, 11–13, 33, 39, 40, 45, 49, 58, 59, 61–6, 68, 84, 142, 143, 160, 184, 185
- Student Union 39
- Padilla, Heberto 24
- Pakistan 47, 53, 55, 64, 67
- Palestine 9, 47, 64, 70, 71, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 88
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 79, 82, 85
- Paris 11, 12, 20, 45, 50, 53, 67, 77, 83, 134, 135, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 159, 184, 187
- Paz, Octavio 20
- PCC (Communist Party of Cuba) 24
- PD (People's Democracy) 50
- People's Democracy (PD) 50
- peripheries 53
- Persia 21, 22, 23, 37, 94
- Pessoa, Fernando 20
- PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) 79, 82, 85
- Poland 45
- politics of perception 7
- Port Huron Statement 45, 145
- postmodern 5, 29, 30, 34, 155
- Powell, Enoch 49, 61, 65, 66
- Powell, John Enoch 49
- power relations 132, 137, 138, 150, 162, 166
- Prague 4, 143, 185
- proletariat 3, 8, 10, 56, 141
- Provos (Provisional IRA) 76
- psychoanalyse et politique* (Psychoanalysis and Politics) 139
- psychoanalysis 127, 128, 134, 139, 141, 154
- Psychoanalysis and Politics (*psychoanalyse et politique*) 139
- Quaderni, Piacentini 3
- Quaderni, Rossi 3
- Rabehl, Bernd 76, 77, 86, 87, 144, 167, 181
- race riots 48
- racism 48, 49, 50, 57, 66, 77
- Radikalerlass* (Decree Concerning Radicals) 109, 120
- RAF (*Rote Armee Fraktion*/Red Army Fraction) 10, 13, 70, 88, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122
- Ramparts 47, 64
- Raspe, Jan-Carl 111, 112, 114, 118, 122
- Rauch, Georg von 79, 87
- RCDS (*Ring Christlich-Demokratischer Studenten*/Circle of Christian Democratic Students) 175, 178, 182, 183
- Red Army Fraction (RAF) 10, 13, 70, 88, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122
- Red Brigades 110, 111, 117
- Red Guards 162, 165, 180
- The Red Mole* 9, 35, 36, 37, 42, 46, 56, 57, 58, 63
- Reich, Wilhelm 127, 130, 131, 144
- Reiche, Reimut 127, 130, 144
- revolution 10, 30, 46
- anti-imperialism and 78–9, 83
- child-rearing, idea of revolution in 129–32
- Conservative Revolution 70
- Cuban revolution 52–3
- cultural conditions, idea of cultural revolution and 150, 152, 158
- Cultural Revolution in China 53, 162
- desire for 22
- in everyday life, New Left and 128–33
- France, motherland of 110
- hopes for, decline of 17, 27, 28
- interpretation of 141
- language of 162–3, 163–5
- Mexican revolution 76
- Old Left, long-term objective for 128
- Palestinian revolution 82
- permanent revolution, concept of 57
- 'Phrase Book for the Revolution' 173
- of the present conditions (*Revolution der Verhältnisse*) 129
- Revolution of 1967, student protests and 96
- sexual revolution 127, 134, 138, 139

- social (and socialist) revolution 3, 77, 137
- success in, Cuba as model for socialism and 18, 23–4, 31
- symbolic revolution 139
- Thompson's approach to, criticism of 44
- 'Women and Revolution' 134–6, 138–9
- worldwide revolution 9, 56
- revolution of perception 8, 26, 69, 124, 127
- Rhodesia 48, 78
- Richter, Hans Werner 30, 34
- Rinascita 116, 123
- Rokeah, David 20
- Rome 116, 123
- Roth, Karl-Heinz 117
- Rowbotham, Sheila 5, 39, 44, 46, 57, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68
- Russell, Bertrand 42, 47, 64
- Sander, Helke 135, 136, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147
- Sartre, Jean -Paul 4, 12, 26, 86, 110, 114, 121
- Schleyer, Hanns-Martin 112, 116
- Schmidt, Helmut 108, 114, 116, 117, 120, 122
- Schmidt, Vera 130 131
- Schütz, Klaus 176, 177, 178, 182, 183
- Schwarzer, Alice 140, 147
- Scotland 53
- Scrutiny* circle (F.R. Leavis) 151
- SDS (*Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*) 4, 37, 45, 64, 75, 79, 86, 97, 117, 129, 133, 135, 136, 138, 140, 167, 168, 174, 175, 181, 182
- SDS (Students for a Democratic Society in US) 4, 23, 45, 133
- Seattle 148, 149, 159
- Second German Television (ZDF) 92
- Seferis, Giorgos 20
- self-determination 10, 50
- self-organization 128
- sexuality 127, 129, 132, 135, 139, 141, 149, 165
- Shah of Persia 21, 22, 94
- SHB (*Sozialdemokratischer Hochschulbund*) 168, 169, 170, 181
- sit-in 4, 37, 133, 166
- situationism 128, 141
- Six -Day War 9, 69, 71, 73, 75
- SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee) 4, 133, 145
- SOAS School of Oriental and African Studies 39
- Social Democratic Student Union (SHB) 168, 169, 170, 181
- socialism 3, 4, 18, 31, 35, 44, 47, 52, 58, 141, 150, 152, 178
- Socialisme ou Barbarie* 3
- Socialist Student Union in Germany (SDS) 167
- solidarity 9, 35, 36, 38, 50, 66, 67
see also transnational solidarity
- South Africa 48, 49, 53, 55, 63, 64
- Stammheim 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123
- Stedman-Jones, Gareth 5, 45, 61, 63, 65, 66
- Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC) 4, 133, 145
- student protest 3, 10, 72, 73, 92, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 133, 143
- Students for a Democratic Society in US (SDS) 4, 23, 45, 133
- Subersive Aktion 76, 77, 86
- Suez Crisis 149
- surrealism 128
- Switzerland 5, 136, 137, 138, 146
- Tariq Ali 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55, 57, 63n69, 65n99, 67n128
- teach-in 133, 173, 181, 182
- terrorism 83, 84, 107, 111, 115, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125, 135, 145
- Teufel, Fritz 74, 86, 97, 104, 167, 177
- Third World (*Tiers-mondisme*) 8, 136–7
- Thompson, Edward Palmer (E.P.) 44, 49
- Der Untergang der Titanic* (Enzensberger, H.M.) 1, 5, 19, 27–30, 31
- Trafalgar Square 38
- transformation of society 5, 30, 99, 128, 132
- transnational solidarity 9, 48, 53, 55, 56, 58, 117, 118
- Tupamaros 79, 80, 87, 88
- Ulster 49, 50, 57, 66
- Umherschweifende Haschrebellen* (Wandering Hashish Rebels) 79
- underground media 58, 60
- United Kingdom (UK) 5, 9, 13, 58
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 45
- British Imperialism 47, 50, 55, 57, 67

- United Kingdom (UK) (*cont.*)
 British New Left 149–50, 152
 Cultural Studies in 153
 New Left Review in 127
 public protest and quest for transnational
 solidarity in 35–58
 United States 3, 12, 18, 21, 23, 27, 33, 37,
 38, 45, 49, 57, 58, 59, 62, 102, 110,
 145
 imperialism of 47, 82
 Universität Frankfurt 182
 University of Paris-Vincennes 134, 145
 Unseld, Siegfried 17, 19, 24, 30, 32, 33

 Venezuela 53

 Wallerstein, Immanuel 10, 56, 68
 Wallraff, Günter 22
 Wandering Hashish Rebels
 (*Umberschweifende Haschrebellen*) 79,
 80
 Warsaw Ghetto 108
 Warwick 49, 58, 59
 Wehner, Herbert 164, 180
 Western Europe 12, 21, 57, 59, 69, 84, 106
 Williams, Raymond 44, 149, 151, 154,
 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161

 Williams, William Carlos 20
 Wilson, Harold 39
 Wittig, Monique 134
 Wolff, Karl-Dietrich (K.D.) 5, 45, 63, 174,
 182
 woman's emancipation 127, 128, 131,
 132
 Women's Liberation Movement in France
 (*Mouvement pour la libération des*
 femmes) 134, 135, 137
 Women's Liberation Movement in Germany
 (*Frauenbefreiungsbewegung*) 137
 Women's Liberation Movement in
 Switzerland (*Mouvement de libération*
 des femmes) 137
 World War 48, 53, 101

 xenophobia 48, 49, 57

 ZDF (*Zweites Deutschen Fernsehen*) 92, 97,
 104
 Zelensky, Anne 134
Zentralrat der Kinderläden (central
 committee for child day-care)
 135
 Zimbabwe 39, 47
 Zurich 136, 137, 138, 145

