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Abstracts

Mineke Bosch, The Meaning of a Kiss. Different Historiographical Approaches to the Sixties in the Netherlands

In this article the famous kiss in 1969 that was exchanged between the first public gay writer in the Netherlands, Gerard Reve, and the first female state Minister of Social Affairs, Marga Klompé, is the starting point for a discussion of different historiographical interpretations of the Sixties in the Netherlands. On the one hand this era is understood to be the product of a double generation crisis, or a clash of generations in the centre of which was the post war protest generation. On the other hand the lack of violence in the 'clash of generation' in the Netherlands is explained by Dutch Calvinism that reacted with sympathy rather than with anger to the rebellious acts of young people as somehow 'in God's plan'. In the first interpretation the light falls on Reve who bravely trespassed boundaries of bourgeois decency. In the second interpretation it is Klompé who sympathetically 'endured the act'. Bosch points out that the popularity of the concept and theories of the clash of generations is reinforced by the terminology of the Sixties, so that much of the historiography is stuck in Sixties' discourse about angry young men. But perhaps the Sixties was more of a process, or more of a succession of small, sometimes individual or even private revolutions, such as the use of the contraception pill, or the General Assistance law issued by Klompé that made it easier for women to divorce. Such interpretation is perhaps less courageous, but leaves more room for women and their agency in this era.

Laurie R. Cohen, Across a Feminist-Pacifist Divide. Baroness Bertha von Suttner's Tour of the United States in 1912

Baroness Bertha von Suttner's published appeal to American women to engage in peace activism in opposition to the Italo-Turkish war of late 1911 triggered a branch of the *General Federation of Women's Clubs* to discuss inviting this nearly seventy-year-old and sole woman Nobel Peace Prize laureate to their eleventh biennial convention in mid-1912. Ultimately Suttner spent six months in the United States, lecturing coast-to-coast and meeting great numbers of American feminists (particularly suffragists) and peace activists. This transatlantic interaction – at times a confrontation – has largely been ignored by Suttner biographers and historians of feminism alike. In revisiting it I examine specific technicalities, expectations – such as Suttner's desire "to put in motion a new and great force in the uplifting to good all mankind, and that force is found in the federated American women" – and results. Most importantly, this exchange allows us to observe Suttner's late feminist positioning. Indeed, by October she was advocating women's enfranchisement alongside universal peace. In this way her pacifism-feminism paved the way for so-called new organized suffragist-pacifists, such as

Rosika Schwimmer, Frida Perlen, Chrystal Macmillan, Aletta Jacobs and Jane Addams, cofounders of the *International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace* (1915).

Hana Havelková, Threefold Expropriation and an Interrupted Chance: the Prague Spring and the Women/Gender Discussions in Czechoslovakia

In general historical perspective, the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia were a result of a process of new negotiation between the power and the society which had become more liberated since about 1963. The violent interruption by military invasion in August 1968 meant an end to this process. The paper raises the question as to whether similar processes can be identified with regard to gender relations and discourses. Indeed, in the sixties, experts started to play an important role in both the discursive and decisive sense, and elements of alternative discourses appeared in the sphere of art and intellectual debates. The invasion interrupted these processes as well; in the following period, none of the characters, i. e. the authorities, the experts and the political opposition, who tried to substitute the voices of women from below, whose activism was legally banned, were unable to do so and were all sharing a position of enlightenment and paternalist attitude to the target groups, both women and men.

Klaudia Kraft, The Contemporary of the Non-Contemporary: the Role of the Category Gender in Processes of Democratisation in Eastern and Western Europe since 1968

The text takes a closer look at the year 1968 and its aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe and places the different political and social protest movements in a broader transnational perspective. In doing so, it aims at a reinterpretation of this year for the history of Eastern Europe. "1968" is not so much seen in a diachronic perspective (as the forerunner of the processes of democratisation in 1989) but analysed with regard to the contemporary framework of political and social programmes. Thus it stresses synchronous developments and similar political concepts which allow a comparison between the generations of "1968" in East and West.

The text especially focuses on gender equality as well as on gender as a symbolic marker of power relations. It argues that gender equality had played an important role in the reform concepts of 1968 – shaping discussions about the relationship between liberty and equality. During the 1960s, gender equality was discussed not only in regard to women's emancipation but also in a broader understanding that evaluated the possibility of equality in difference and called for new concepts – especially that of a new masculinity. The meaning of gender equality however differed a lot during the two decades following "1968".

Whereas in Western societies the second women's movement developed into one of the most important new social movements, the category of gender in the oppositional movements of Eastern Europe disappeared behind the allegedly more important struggle for 'universal' political and civil rights. Here the private did not become political but the private sphere was more and more regarded as a specific sphere that had to be protected against the intrusion of official politics. It was not least for this reason that feminism did not develop into an accepted political strategy until today.

Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann

Emancipation via Bombs and Pistols? Feminists and Terrorists in German Discourses on Safety in the 1970s

In the early 1970s, German administration and crime reporting in the media created an exceedingly sexist representation of left-wing terrorism. Female members of the *RAF* were depicted as “phallic women”, “amazons”, dangerous lesbians; and the “terror girls” were seen as a sign of an exaggerated and “perverted” emancipation. Linking the phenomenon of left-wing terrorism to women’s emancipation presented the women’s liberation movement at large as a dangerous issue and as a threat for homeland security.

By analysing the major feminist journals in Germany and Austria (“AUF” has been published in Vienna since 1972, “Courage” from 1976–84, “Die schwarze Botin” from 1976–87, and “Emma” since 1977), the article shows how the women’s movement dealt with the public representation of female terrorists and with the fact that they were put into proximity of feminists. The text will demonstrate that the coupling of feminism and terrorism was twofold: firstly, administration and the media depicted the feminist fight for equality as the actual political background for women’s participation in terrorism, and secondly, the life of female terrorists being against the law was interpreted as being an experience of real emancipation. The topic of an “emancipation through illegality” – being in existence since 1972 when a young female student and short-time terrorist claimed that in the guerilla warfare, existing gender roles between men and women would be waived – was widely discussed in the feminist movement. As a matter of fact, some feminists were fascinated by female terrorists, and there are positive reports in the feminist journals on terrorists (for example on Ulrike Meinhof), but overall the feminists distanced themselves clearly from terrorism and renounced political violence. The article analyses which arguments against the linking of terrorism and feminism were brought forward by feminist journals and demonstrates the variety of counter-arguments within the feminist movement.