

HST3162/3163  
SOLIDARITY, SABOTAGE, STUDENTS:  
Protest in Europe, 1968–1989  
(HST3162)  
Instructor: Dr Andrew Tompkins



Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir distributing the banned Maoist periodical *La Cause du Peuple* on the streets of Paris, 16 October 1970. Photo by Gilles Peress (<http://pro.magnumphotos.com/image/PAR349263.html>)

## Overview

This course will examine the history of Europe in the second half of the twentieth century through the prism of those social movements that contested local, national, and international political decision-making throughout the period. It will thus engage with a variety of questions pertaining to protest and its relationship to democracy. These range from issues *behind* protest (how did people come to understand environmentalism as an urgent issue?) to issues *of* protest (when and why does protest take violent form?) and issues *in the study of* protest (which sources answer which questions?).

Further questions include:

- What causes protest? Which issues provoke protest? Why do some grievances go unexpressed for long periods?
- How have historians analysed protest movements? How does their work differ from that of sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, and others?
- What different forms can protest take? How important are demonstrations in tracking the history of protest?
- Who protests and why? Depending on the actors we choose to study, which sources are capable of answering which questions about them?
- How are protest movements in different countries related? Why does activism seem to accelerate and take on global dimensions at certain moments?

This course covers a long time range and multiple countries within Europe. As a result, we will be able to go into much greater detail on some topics than on others, and we will have some weeks where there are relatively few primary sources available.

### **Exam**

Within the framework of this course, two symbolic dates stand out: '1968' and '1989'. As a result, questions related to these two historical moments are likely to form an important part of your final exam. However, you will also be asked to make arguments about how protest has changed over time, how it has functioned in different contexts, what approaches exist to studying it, and how it has been conceived in history and other disciplines.

### **Class**

Always come to class with a copy of the reading in some form – printed or on computer/tablet. **Do not rely on your mobile phone** to look back at course texts or your own notes!

### **Plagiarism**

When you write something for class, you should develop and show your own original thinking. In order to do so, you will probably want to borrow ideas, arguments, or even phrases from other authors. Building on the work of others is a normal and necessary part of how our knowledge of history advances. However, you should not simply repeat or summarize the work of others: the point of any written work is to show what *you* think.

In any written work that you submit (whether it is assessed or not), you should be careful to indicate quotes and their sources properly (with footnotes in most cases). The Department of History maintains a style guide, accessible through MOLE ('History online' link → 'Style guide'), to which you may refer for details. Citations should always be specific, including the author and title as well as a page number or page range wherever possible. The most important thing is that you always make it clear where you are getting quotes, ideas, and arguments from.

The Department of History provides information about what constitutes plagiarism on the following web page:

[https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/history/current\\_students/undergraduate/submission/plagiarism](https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/history/current_students/undergraduate/submission/plagiarism)

Many students run into problems with plagiarism not because they intend to cheat, but because they are careless when writing or taking notes (i.e. they fail to distinguish between direct quotes and their own summaries). Unfortunately, this is not an excuse. Your work will be judged by what it is, not by what you intended it to be. **There is no excuse for plagiarism.**

### **Recommended reading**

There are many good books on protest movements that we will encounter during this course, but there are very few that attempt to cover the history *of* protest itself over a long period of time. One of the rare exceptions is:

- Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) [**eBook**]

If you do not feel familiar with post-war European history, you may want to spend a bit of time doing some extra reading up on it. There are several well-known textbooks that you could refer to. I strongly recommend something covering Eastern Europe *and* Western Europe, as we will cover both in class. Any of the following should do:

- Konrad Jarusch, *Out of Ashes: A New History of Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015) – Parts III and IV cover the period of our course.

- Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin, 1999) – worth reading as a counter-narrative to stories of democratization and liberalization.
- Tom Buchanan, *Europe's Troubled Peace, 1945–2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) [eBook].
- Richard Vinen, *A History in Fragments: Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Little Brown & Co, 2000).

In addition, there are two full books we will read and discuss together as a class in particular weeks, each focused on one of the two key dates for this course (1968 and 1989). If you will find it difficult to complete the reading in the weeks in question, it may be worth getting started earlier. You will also want to consult reviews where available to see how others have evaluated them. However, you should not simply rely on reviews alone. You will need to read these books. **Tentatively**, those books are:

- Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956 - 1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) [eBook] in 1<sup>st</sup> semester (week 10)
- Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002) [eBook] in 2<sup>nd</sup> semester (week 9)

These are definitely not the only good books on their topics! You will find references to many others throughout the syllabus, both among the required readings and the further readings. The latter can be especially helpful for bringing new and different arguments to class discussion (and ultimately to your exam essays). With academic monographs, you may want to skim the introduction and/or conclusion to get a feel for the authors' general arguments as well as what relates to a particular class.

We will be also look at a few items from other academic disciplines, including sociology, political science, and anthropology. You might find the following books helpful for understanding these perspectives:

- Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768-2008*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2009) – a good overview of the analytical tools of historical sociology.
- David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

Finally, there are a number of journals addressing protest-related research that you might find interesting.

- *The Sixties* (published by Taylor and Francis)
- *Mobilization* (<https://www.mobilizationjournal.org>) – mostly social science
- Special issues of the following journals:
  - o *American Historical Review* (Vol. 114, Nrs. 1 and 2) on 1968  
[online: <https://goo.gl/yXJ2JD> and <https://goo.gl/fVNokW>].
  - o *Journal of Contemporary History* (Vol. 50, Nr. 3, 2015) on 1968  
[online: <https://goo.gl/HRrbkr>].
  - o *Memory Studies* (Vol. 6, Nr. 1, January 2013) on 1968  
[online: <https://goo.gl/GWn6oy>].
  - o *Contemporary European History* (Vol. 18, Nr. 3, 2009) on 1989  
[online: <https://goo.gl/xQ4E7p>].
  - o ... and, with the recent/upcoming anniversaries of both 1968 and 1989, doubtless many more to come.

e-offprints for our class are linked via StarPlus (<https://find.shef.ac.uk/>) and MOLE.

## Participation

The special subject follows a very different format from the modules you will have had at Level 2. There are, generally speaking, no lectures (though I will occasionally give mini-lectures to provide background or set the scene for discussion). Instead, this class will be based overwhelmingly around seminar discussions. **You are expected to contribute to seminar discussions!**

Do not feel like you can only speak if you have something especially clever to say. We will be discussing texts that are difficult, topics that are unfamiliar, and approaches you may never have encountered. If you do not understand something, make sure to ask about it. Often the most helpful contributions to discussion are your questions. If you find it difficult to speak up in class, please email me or come to my office hours so we can talk about ways to make this easier.

This class will also involve **weekly presentations** of 10 minutes' length on a topic related to the readings. Further details will be provided in week 3.

## Seminar outline for the semester

Week	Tuesday	Topic	Thursday	Topic
1	25 Sept.	Protest: What is it good for? (Richard Roberts Building A85)	<del>27 Sept.</del>	<del>Rescheduled</del>
2	2 Oct.	Disappointing democracies and welfare dictatorships (Bartolomé House EG13)	<del>4 Oct.</del>	<del>Rescheduled</del>
*3*	<i>Monday</i> 8 Oct (1-3 pm)	Western marches against nuclear weapons ( <i>rescheduled class</i> ) (38 Mappin St, Room 205)		
3	9 Oct.	Altruistic (?) activism against the Algerian War (Bartolomé House EG12)	11 Oct.	Grumbling and rebellion in Eastern Europe (Jessop 116)
4	16 Oct.	The 'Third World' in Europe (Bartolomé House EG13)	18 Oct.	The emergence of a 'New Left' (Jessop 116)
*4*	<i>Friday</i> 19 Oct	Intellectual rebellion: Herbert Marcuse ( <i>rescheduled class</i> ) (38 Mappin St, Room 201)		
5	23 Oct.	'International' demonstrations in West Berlin (Bartolomé House EG12)	25 Oct.	Transnational 1968(s) (Jessop 116)
6	30 Oct.	Paris, May 1968 (Bartolomé House EG13)	1 Nov.	The Prague Spring and its Autumn (Jessop 116)
7	<i>Reading Week – no class</i>			
8	13 Nov.	The radical left and European Maoism (Bartolomé House EG13)	15 Nov.	Students, to the factories! (Jessop 116)
9	20 Nov.	Leaders and success stories (Bartolomé House EG12)	22 Nov.	'Armed struggle' in West Germany

				(Jessop 116)
10	27 Nov.	The ‘Spirit of ’68’, Chs. 1-3 (Bartolomé House EG13)	29 Nov.	The ‘Spirit of ’68’, Chs 4-5 (Jessop 116)
11	4 Dec.	French feminist ideas (Bartolomé House EG12)	6 Dec.	German feminisms in action (Jessop 116)
12	11 Dec.	Lesbian and gay liberation in the 1970s (Bartolomé House EG13)	13 Dec.	LGBT identities and the AIDS crisis in the 1980s-90s (Jessop 116)

## WEEK 1: PROTEST AND ITS HISTORY

### Tuesday (25 Sept.): Protest: What is it good for?

Is there such a thing as ‘protest history’? Most historians tend to write about a given social movement in a particular place over a specified time period. Social scientists are more likely to make comparisons between movements, but their analysis of the present moment can obscure long-term continuity and change. Activists often perceive themselves in relation to predecessors, contemporaries, or successors who might be very remote from their own situation, and with whom they may have no direct connection. Writing protest history therefore implies a challenge: how can we explain change over time in issues, practices, and patterns of protest that are often regarded as cyclical and discontinuous... but somehow interrelated?

In this class, we will discuss the scope of the course as well as how it might be shaped around your interests. As part of our initiation into the topic, we will discuss:

- Nathan Heller, ‘Is there any point to protesting?’, *New Yorker*, 21 Aug. 2017, available at <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/08/21/is-there-any-point-to-protesting> [or <https://goo.gl/7Q6zXJ>]
- Belinda Davis, ‘What’s Left? Popular Political Participation in Postwar Europe’, *The American Historical Review*, 113, 2 (2008), 363–390 [journal/online]

Thursday (27 Sept.): \*\*\* RESCHEDULED! (No class this date – see below) \*\*\*

## WEEK 2: DEMOCRACY AND PROTEST

### Tuesday (2 Oct.): Disappointing democracies and welfare dictatorships

In this class, we will consider the different situations of Eastern and Western Europe after 1945, thinking about what ‘democracy’ meant in each context. Conway asks us to question the idea that the ‘constrained’ form of democracy that reigned across Western Europe in the 1950s was as bad as many have come to see it—not least because of how this period contrasted with what came immediately before it. Jarausch’s text is more narrowly focused on East Germany, but it can help us think about how this particular illiberal regime sought and obtained some degree of popular support. These will form the backdrop for our thinking as we move forward to look at how protest emerged in East and West in the postwar period, and what effect it ultimately had.

#### *Questions*

- What is ‘democracy’ and how has its meaning changed since the 1950s?
- What role has protest played in re-shaping understandings of ‘democracy’? Has it always contributed to increasing or enhancing democracy?

#### *Primary Sources*

- De Gaulle’s Bayeux speech on constitutional reform [[Google Drive](#)]  
(There is also a video clip in French here: <https://goo.gl/UtyBmb>)



- Adenauer campaign poster 'No Experiments!' [**Google Drive**]  
(A larger image can be found here: <https://goo.gl/hrbcQR>.  
There is also a cartoon clip here: <http://www.kas.de/wf/de/71.5230/>)
- Article: 'Why is there no opposition in the GDR?' [<https://goo.gl/Bckfny>]

#### *Required Reading*

- Martin Conway, 'The Rise and Fall of Western Europe's Democratic Age, 1945-1973', *Contemporary European History*, 13, 1 (2004), 67–88 [**journal/online**]
- Konrad H. Jarausch, 'Care and Coercion. The GDR as Welfare Dictatorship', in Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-Cultural History of the GDR* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 47–69 [**Google Books**]

#### *Further reading*

- Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768-2008*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2009), 123-143 (Ch. 'Democratization and Social Movements') [**e-offprint**]
- Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), viii-xv, 3-12 (Preface and Introduction) [**eBook**]

Thursday (4 Oct.): \*\*\* RESCHEDULED! (No class this date – see below) \*\*\*

### WEEK 3: GROWING DISCONTENT IN EAST AND WEST

#### **Monday (8 Oct.): Western marches against nuclear weapons**

**\*\*NOTE: This rescheduled class will meet from 1 to 3 pm in 38 Mappin St, Room 205\*\***

One of the first issues to arouse significant public opposition during the 1950s was the question of nuclear weapons. This proved especially controversial in West Germany, where Cold War pressures led to rearmament plans that made many Germans (and non-Germans) deeply uncomfortable such a short period after the end of the Second World War.

When mainstream political backing for the anti-nuclear movement in Germany was rescinded, grassroots activists turned their eyes to Britain, where various groups including the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was turning into a significant force. The movement would become particularly strong in both Britain and West Germany, even linking the two by way of the similar marches undertaken in each country. Those marches themselves, and the practice of marching and demonstrating, will also form part of our discussion, as we think about how demonstrations are structured and how protesters relate to space.

The text by Nehring is useful for both its content (about British and West German anti-nuclear weapons protests) and for what it suggests about what these demonstrations represented. Finally, we will look at Barber as a point of comparison to think about how one of the world's best-known protests was organized in the urban space of the American capital.

#### *Questions*

- How does an urban demonstration differ from a rural one?
- What kinds of aims do different demonstrations have? What messages are communicated by particular forms of protest?

#### *Required reading*

- Holger Nehring, 'Demonstrating for 'Peace' in the Cold War. The British and West German Easter Marches, 1958-1964', in Matthias Reiss, ed., *The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 275–293 [**e-offprint**]
- Lucy G. Barber, *Marching on Washington: The forging of an American political tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 141-178 [**e-offprint**]

### *Further Reading*

Lawrence S. Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009) [eBook] – useful background, esp. pp. 52-112 (Chs 4 and 5)

Andrew Glenn Oppenheimer, 'Air Wars and Empire: Gandhi and the Search for a Usable Past in Postwar Germany', *Central European History*, 45, 04 (2013), 669–696 [online/journal] – a look at why West German pacifism might be much more morally complicated than it appears at first glance

### *Possible presentation topics*

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; Bertrand Russell; War Resisters' International

### Tuesday (9 Oct.): Altruistic (?) activism against the Algerian War

During the Second World War, European imperial powers were weakened to such an extent that many temporarily lost control of their colonies. After the war, empires accepted the need for decolonization of some territories but attempted to reassert control over others. Two of France's colonial wars became particularly messy: first in Vietnam, where the French army was decisively routed (and quickly replaced by American military 'advisors'), and later in Algeria, a settler colony that French leaders regarded as an integral part of the French state.

The Algerian War (referred to at the time euphemistically as the 'events' in Algeria) gave rise to a protracted conflict in which nationalist movements in Algeria employed increasingly violent methods against a French state that made systematic use of torture. The conflict and its repercussions divided French society as well, paving the way for De Gaulle to return to power but also leading some French people to take up or smuggle arms on behalf of the Algerian cause.

The Davey reading provides a good overview of the intellectual atmosphere of the day and gives useful context for understanding the text by Jean-Paul Sartre. Martin Evans' book explores why French citizens were willing to act 'against France' in support of Algerian independence. It includes short, biographical sketches of numerous activists, a selection of which we will discuss. When reading these biographies, try to look up unfamiliar events, people, and terms, but don't get too hung up on the details: read them with a view to understanding individuals' motivations.

### *Questions*

- What did anti-colonialism mean in metropolitan France?
- Why did anti-imperialism become such an important phenomenon in this period?
- What motivated French citizens to act in support of Algerian independence?

### *Primary sources*

- Excerpts from Martin Evans, *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (1954-1962)* (Oxford: Berg, 1997) [Google Drive]
  - o Ch. 2: 'The Historical Context', pp. 24-28
  - o Excerpts from remaining chapters about the following individuals: Madeleine Baudoin, Jean-Marie Boeglin, Bernard Boudouresque, Jean-Claude Paupert, Denise Barrat, France 'Anne' Preiss, Francis Jeanson, Guy Bourgeois, Jean Deprun.
- Jean-Paul Sartre's Preface to Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965) [online: <https://goo.gl/npKw1B>]

### *Required reading*

- Eleanor Davey, *Idealism beyond Borders: The French Revolutionary Left and the Rise of Humanitarianism, 1954-1988* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 50–77 (Ch. 'Aiding the Revolution') [e-offprint]

### *Possible presentation topics*

Front de libération nationale (FLN) in Algeria; Francis Jeanson

### Thursday (11 Oct): Grumbling and rebellion in Eastern Europe

Following the death of Stalin in 1953, there was considerable uncertainty about how Communist states in Eastern Europe might change (or not) as a result. Khrushchev's not-so-secret speech 'On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences' at the Twentieth Party Congress in February 1956 further raised expectations. Street protests and strikes in the period sometimes led to open revolt, as occurred most visibly on 17 June 1953 in East Berlin, in June 1956 in Poznań, and in October 1956 in Budapest. The latter uprising was put down by Soviet troops, with broad-ranging repercussions within and well beyond Hungary itself (as we will see later).

In this lesson, we will examine through secondary sources two different options for protest: the open revolts of the 1950s and the quiet grumbling that persisted for decades thereafter. We will also look at a set of primary sources on the largest of these revolts: the 1956

#### *Questions*

- Why was protest generally rare in Eastern Europe (especially in the 1950s)? What other ways did citizens find to express grievances?
- What kinds of actions count as 'resistance'?
- Why did certain protests escalate so quickly? When is it appropriate to label them a 'revolution'?
- What can available sources tell us about 'resistance' and what are their limits?

#### *Required reading*

- Mary Fulbrook, 'Popular Discontent and Political Activism in the GDR', *Contemporary European History*, 2, 3 (1993), 265–282 [[journal/online](#)]
- Kevin McDermott, 'Popular Resistance in Communist Czechoslovakia. The Plzeň Uprising, June 1953', *Contemporary European History*, 19, 4 (2010), 287–307 [[online/journal](#)]

#### *Primary Sources*

- **Interviews from the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary (CURPH) 1956.** These are accessible from the 1956 Digital Archive [<https://goo.gl/GS96ib>]. You should do four things with them:
  1. Read sections 'O' (PDF pp. 1-12) and 'R' (PDF pp. 46-56) of the **'interview guidelines** for "A" type interviews' [<https://goo.gl/nhZc6G>]. Come to class prepared to discuss the difficulties of using these sources.
    - What did the interviewers focus on? What were they likely to miss?
    - What are the strengths and weaknesses of this set of sources?
  2. Read section 'R' of **interview 106** [<https://goo.gl/HQ6WNM>]. Come to class prepared to discuss this person's case:
    - What were this person's initial motivations and expectations?
    - Why did the initial protests turn into an open revolt?
  3. Read section 'R' of **an interview of your choice** [using the 'search collection' function at <https://goo.gl/GS96ib>] and come prepared to explain that person's experiences to your classmates. Please try to avoid using the same interviews others have chosen – check the Google Doc to see which ones have already been taken!
  4. Add the number of the interview you chose to the Google Doc so others know to pick a different one.

#### *Background Reading (recommended)*

- Geoffrey Swain and Nigel Swain, *Eastern Europe since 1945*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), Ch. 4 (on 1956) [[Google Drive](#)]

#### *Further reading*

- James Sperber, '17 June 1953. Revisiting a German Revolution', *German History*, 22, 4 (2004), 619–643 [[online/journal](#)]



Tony Kemp-Welch, 'Khrushchev's 'secret speech' and Polish politics: The Spring of 1956', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 48, 2 (1996), 181–206 [online/journal]

#### WEEK 4: POLITICISATION OF THE 'NEW LEFT'

##### Tuesday (16 Oct.): The 'Third World' in Europe

By the late 1960s, decolonization was in full swing, and movements of national liberation around the world became an inspiration to European students—even if they did not always understand these foreign contexts well. Vietnam and China were some of the most visible outside influences, but recently scholars have begun focusing on other links between Europe and the so-called 'Third World', such as foreign students and immigrant workers. In this lesson, we will look at a few cases of European engagement with the so-called 'Third World' and reflect on how those shaped protest during and beyond the 1960s.

##### *Questions*

- How important was the agency of non-Europeans in fostering protest?
- How did Europeans decontextualize and reinterpret 'Third World' struggles?

##### *Required Reading*

- Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 17-50 (Ch. 1, 'Dissident Guests') [eBook]
- Robert Gildea, James Mark and Niek Pas, 'European Radicals and the "Third World". Imagined Solidarities and Radical Networks, 1958-73', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 4 (2011), 449–472 [online/journal]

##### *Primary Sources*

- Train scene from Jean-Luc Godard, *La Chinoise* (1967) [online: <https://goo.gl/goENAi>]
- translated excerpts from Rudi Dutschke and Gretchen Dutschke, eds., *Jeder hat sein Leben ganz zu leben: Die Tagebücher 1963-1979* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2003) [Google Drive]
  - o for background on this, see Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962-1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 21-26 [eBook]

##### *Further Reading*

Belinda Davis, 'A Whole World Opening Up. Transcultural Contact, Difference, and the Politicization of 'New Left' Activists', in Belinda Davis, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Carla MacDougall, eds., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the US in the 1960s and 1970s* (New York: Berghahn, 2010), 255–273 [eBook]

##### *Possible presentation topics*

Bahman Nirumand and the Confederation of Iranian Students; Francis Jeanson; Jean-Luc Godard and *La Chinoise*

##### Thursday (18 Oct.): The emergence of a 'New Left'

Historians have often struggled to explain why protest movements in many different countries often seem to resemble one another. One historiographic strategy has been to focus on overarching changes affecting many different countries at once. Across Western Europe (and to some extent Eastern Europe as well), the 1960s appeared to be a time of sweeping economic and social changes, with a new 'generation' coming of age in an era of unprecedented prosperity and consumerism. Youth culture was one prism through which these changes were particularly visible, including in the rebellious behaviour of subcultures and marginal groups. Cultural or artistic provocation became a strategy for some that ultimately fed into more overtly political protest. At the same time, protest came to be associated more and more closely with 'students' or 'youth' – in spite of important legacies from earlier protests (e.g. those against nuclear weapons or the Algerian War) and the continued involvement of older activists.

### Questions

- What was 'new' about the 'New Left'? Why did the political left change so dramatically during the 1960s?
- To what extent was 1968 a 'generational' phenomenon?

### Required Reading

- Detlef Siegfried, 'Understanding 1968. Youth Rebellion, Generational Change and Postindustrial Society', in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds., *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth cultures in changing European societies, 1960 - 1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 59–81 [eBook]
- Von der Goltz, Anna, 'Generations of 68ers. Age-Related Constructions of Identity and Germany's '1968'', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 4 (2011), 473–490 [online/journal]
- Arthur Marwick, "'1968" and the Cultural Revolution of the Long Sixties (c. 1958-c. 1974)', in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 80–94 [eBook]

### Further Reading

- Niek Pas, 'Mediatization of Provos. From a Local Movement to a European Phenomenon', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 157-176 [eBook]
- Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, 'Introduction', in Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–28 [eBook]
- Film:** Louis Malle, *Viva Maria!* (1965), 1h 59m.

### Possible presentation topics

Dutch Provos; Situationist International and Guy Debord; Fritz Teufel

### Friday (19 Oct.): Intellectual rebellion: Herbert Marcuse

**\*\*NOTE: This rescheduled class will meet from 1 to 3 pm in 38 Mappin St, Room 201\*\***

Another strategy for explaining 'transnational' developments such as those that fuelled the events of '1968' has been to look to the history of ideas. If Sartre and Fanon, for example, were particularly influential in the French context, Herbert Marcuse was another key intellectual with an international profile whose writings were widely received during the 1960s. A German citizen associated with the so-called 'Frankfurt School' of Critical Theory, Marcuse left Europe for the United States during the Nazi period and never returned permanently. A university professor after the war, he nevertheless maintained contact with German students and attempted to forge links between them and their American counterparts.

The two readings this week are excerpts from writings and talks given by Herbert Marcuse. The first is a chapter from his book *One-Dimensional Man*, which was extremely popular in the United States and Europe (with the notable and curious exception of France). The second is from a lecture (followed by questions from students) that he gave in July 1967 at the Freie Universität Berlin, a hotbed of student activism in Germany.

### Questions

- What does Marcuse think is wrong with 'advanced industrial society'?
- How does he think society can be changed, and by whom?

### Primary Sources

- Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London: Routledge, 1964), Ch. 1 ('New Forms of Control') [online: <https://goo.gl/6RvtNN>]
- Herbert Marcuse, 'The End of Utopia', in Herbert Marcuse, ed., *Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics and Utopia* (London: Allen Lane, 1970) with Questions and Answers [online: <https://goo.gl/Nwt2Rq>]

*Background reading (required)*

- Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 121–30 (final section of chapter, entitled ‘Internationalizing the Language of Dissent’) [e-offprint]

*Further reading*

- Herbert Marcuse, ‘Repressive Tolerance’, in Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore and Herbert Marcuse, eds., *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, vol. 36: Cape editions (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 95–137, including ‘Postscript 1968’
- Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the war home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), Ch. 1 (‘Agents of Necessity’) – on the reception of Marcuse’s essay ‘Repressive Tolerance’ by ‘armed struggle’/‘terrorist’ groups in the USA and West Germany
- Holger Nehring, ‘“Out of Apathy”. Genealogies of the British “New Left” in a Transnational Context, 1956-1962’, in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 15–31 [eBook] – treats Britain largely as a separate case

*Possible presentation topics*

- Herbert Marcuse (biography); Frankfurt School; Angela Davis

WEEK 5: TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Tuesday (23 Oct): ‘International’ demonstrations in West Berlin

‘1968’ itself was transnational in many respects, but one particular event was ‘transnational’ in and of itself: the ‘International Vietnam Congress’ that took place in West Berlin in February 1968 brought together activists from across Europe (and even from the United States) for a conference and demonstration in the centre of a city at the front lines of the Cold War. The International Vietnam Congress represented a moment when left-wing student activists (especially, but not exclusively, Trotskyists) met one another and perhaps exchanged ideas and tactics. In any case, they frightened West Berlin authorities, who were already on edge after a number of provocative demonstrations that had taken place over the preceding few years.

We will examine the International Vietnam Congress through the lens of both a memoir by one British participant as well as through police sources. In order to explore this latter, probably less familiar kind of source in a bit more detail, we will also read about an earlier protest on ‘International Vietnam Day’ the previous year (21 October).

*Questions*

- What was significant about the International Vietnam Congress in February 1968?
- What sorts of information can police sources provide about protest events? What do they leave out?

*Primary sources*

- Translation of police reports from 21 October 1967 and 18 February 1968 [Google Drive]
- Tariq Ali, *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1987), pp. 163–191 (Ch. 7: ‘The Year: 1968’) [Google Drive]

*Required readings*

- Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2010) [eBook], pp. 75–107 (Ch 3, Building the Second Front) – The whole chapter will provide useful orientation, but **only pp. 91-100 are required**

*Further readings*

- Ingo Cornils, ‘The Struggle Continues! Rudi Dutschke’s Long March’, in De Groot, Gerard J., ed., *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (London: Longman, 1998), 100–114 [eBook] – biographical sketch of one of the main figures behind the International Vietnam Congress

### *Possible presentation topics*

Rudi Dutschke; German SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund); Black Power in West Germany; Grosvenor Square demonstration against the Vietnam War

### Thursday (25 Oct): Transnational 1968(s)

Having looked at a series of ‘transnational’ aspects of 1968, we will now look at a few theoretical models for understanding transnational history. The first revolves mostly around 1968, approaching transnational connections among protesters from a sociological perspective based on the concept of ‘diffusion’. The second text is the attempt by a leading historian of 1989 to apply and expand on some of the insights of sociological and other social science approaches to transnational processes.

We will also use this lesson to examine other ‘1968’s that we have not been able to focus on in greater detail. Each of you will be assigned to a group which will present on 1968 in a particular country.

### *Questions*

- How do transnational connections vary in quality? What consequences do different kinds of connections have?

### *Required reading*

- Doug McAdam and Dieter Rucht, ‘The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528, July 1993 (1993), 56–74 [**journal/online**] – sociologists examining transnational connections
- Padraic Kenney, ‘Opposition Networks and Transnational Diffusion in the Revolutions of 1989’, in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 207–223 [**eBook**]

### *Activity*

Each of you will be assigned to a group, which will be responsible for preparing a short presentation (10 minutes, with a handout – much like your individual presentations) on ‘1968’ in another country. Your group might be assigned to research and present on one of the following cases:

- Italy
- Japan
- East Germany
- Poland

Try to explain to the rest of the class not only ‘what happened’ but how it fits together transnationally: How were these events related to phenomena elsewhere? Were there any direct connections linking people to other countries? How did what happened in this country have an effect elsewhere?

For basic information on most of these and many other cases, you could look at the country chapters in Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) [**eBook**]. Make sure to look elsewhere as well though, as these descriptions are somewhat limited.

### *Further reading*

- Richard I. Jobs, ‘Youth Movements. Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968’, *American Historical Review*, 114, 2 (2009), 376–404 [**online/journal**]
- Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, ‘Introduction’, in Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–28 [**eBook**]
- Robert Gildea, James Mark and Anette Warring, eds., *Europe’s 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) [**eBook**]

- Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, eds., special issue on “1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt”, *GHI Bulletin*, Supplement 6 (2009) [online: <https://goo.gl/qxALDH>]
- Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) [eBook]
- Von der Goltz, Anna, ‘Attraction and Aversion in Germany's '1968'. Encountering the Western Revolt in East Berlin’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50, 3 (2015), 536–559 [online/journal]
- Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, *Long March, Short Spring: The Student Uprising at Home and Abroad* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969) – American leftists’ observations of protest in West Germany, France, Italy, and the UK
- William Marotti, ‘Japan 1968. The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest’, *American Historical Review*, 114, 1 (2009), 97–135 [online/journal]

## WEEK 6: 1968S

### Tuesday (30 Oct): Paris, May 1968

In spite of the considerable activity that went on in West Berlin and elsewhere, the epicentre of protest in 1968 was undoubtedly Paris: here, the government of Charles de Gaulle came remarkably close to collapse in the space of a few short weeks before rebounding and roundly rolling back the protest movement. Little of this would have been foreseeable only a few months earlier though, when Paris seemed remarkably quiet in comparison to other major European cities.

For this class, we will explore the events of May–June 1968 mostly through the lens of primary sources. When reading these (and the short chapter by Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, a leading scholar of ’68), try to keep a chronology for yourself that includes key events before and after May as well as the day-by-day developments in the month of May itself.

#### *Questions*

- What issues and tensions contributed to the protests of May 1968?
- How did student protests escalate into a general strike?

#### *Required Reading*

- Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, ‘The Local, Regional and National in May–June 1968’, in Julian Jackson, Anna-Louise Milne and James S. Williams, eds., *May 68: Rethinking France's Last Revolution* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 178–187 [eBook]

#### *Primary Sources*

- Gabriel Cohn-Bendit and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, *Obsolete Communism: The Left-Wing Alternative* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), pp. 23-35, 41-53 [e-offprint – other pages optional]
- Hervé Bourges, ed., *The Student Revolt: The Activists Speak* (1968) [Google Drive]
  - o ‘March 22<sup>nd</sup> Movement’, pp. 67–81
  - o ‘Daniel Cohn-Bendit, interviewed by Jean-Paul Sartre’, pp. 97–107

#### *Feeling lost? (Optional background reading)*

- Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, ‘May 1968 in France. The Rise and Fall of a New Social Movement’, in Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 253–276 [eBook]
- Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), pp. 177-203 (Ch. 10: ‘The French May, 1968’) [e-offprint]
- Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 602–618

#### *Further reading*

- Raymond Aron, *The Elusive Revolution: Anatomy of a Student Revolt* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1969) – a conservative view of ’68
- Philippe Artières and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, *68: Une histoire collective, 1962-1981* (Paris: La Découverte, 2008) – encyclopaedic text on 1968 in France, full of short articles (good for practising your French!)
- Nicolas Daum, *Mai 68 raconté par des anonymes* (Paris: Amsterdam, 2008) – an excellent collection of oral history interviews with casual participants in May 1968 that has sadly not been translated into English



Bertram Gordon, 'The Eyes of the Marcher. Paris, may 1968 – Theory and its Consequences', in De Groot, Gerard J., ed., *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (London: Longman, 1998), 39–53

Rolf Werenskjold, 'Chronology of Events of Protest in Europe 1968', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 283–307

**Film:** G  b   and Jacques Doillon, *L'an 01* (1973), 1h 30m. – A film by 68ers showing aspects of a utopian vision [available subtitled online]

**Film:** Louis Malle, *May Fools: Milou en mai* (1990), 1h 47m – May 68 experienced as comedy in rural France

#### *Possible presentation topics*

Daniel Cohn-Bendit; Mouvement du 22 mars; Raymond Aron and *The Elusive Revolution*; Dominique Grange

#### Thursday (1 Nov): The Prague Spring and its Autumn

1968 was a momentous year not just in France and Western Europe, but also across Eastern Europe. However, developments there took a different turn. At first, the 'Prague Spring' initiated by Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek fueled hopes in both East and West that the authoritarian elements of Soviet-style communism might be reformed and replaced by 'socialism with a human face'. Those hopes dramatically brought to an end with the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia that began in the night during 20–21 August 1968. At the same time, the occupation of Czechoslovakia prompted widespread non-violent civil resistance, which itself would inspire pacifists on both sides of the Iron Curtain. However, 'non-violence' could also take extreme forms. The primary sources for this week's course will describe the self-immolation of Jan Palach in January 1969 and the responses it prompted among Czechoslovak society.

#### *Questions*

- When did the Prague Spring begin and when did it end?
- Why did people in Czechoslovakia rally in support of Jan Palach's self-immolation, even though hardly any would be willing to undertake such an extreme form of protest?

#### *Secondary reading*

- Kieran Williams, 'Civil Resistance in Czechoslovakia. From Soviet Invasion to 'Velvet Revolution', 1968-89', in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 110–126 [**eBook**]
- Paulina Bren, '1968 East and West. Visions of Political Change and Student Protest from across the Iron Curtain', in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 119–135 [**eBook**]

#### *Primary Sources*

- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reports on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the subsequent self-immolation of Jan Palach [**Google Drive**]

#### *Further reading*

Jonathan Bolton, *Worlds of Dissent: Charter 77, The Plastic People of the Universe, and Czech Culture under Communism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 1–18 (Introduction) [**eBook**] – includes a well-written section on the dramatic events of August 1968

Mary Heimann, 'The Scheming Apparatchik of the Prague Spring', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60, 10 (2008), 1717–1734 [**online/journal**] – argues that the 'Prague Spring' was an elite-driven process

Kieran Williams, *The Prague Spring and its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

**TV Miniseries:** Agnieszka Holland, *Burning Bush: Horici ker* (2013), 3h 51m – about the self-immolation of Jan Palach

#### *Possible presentation topics*

Alexander Dubcek and the Prague Spring

## WEEK 8: RADICAL TRAJECTORIES

### Tuesday (13 Nov): The radical left and European Maoism

This week, we will turn our attention to aftermaths of ‘1968’, starting with those affecting left-wing politics. Despite the near-collapse of the French government in May 1968, many activists quickly came to interpret the events of that month as a failure. Drawing inspiration from the Marxism-Leninism of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and/or more recent developments in Mao’s China, they argued that protesters needed to become more organised and to join up with more genuinely ‘revolutionary’ actors (in most cases the working class, but sometimes the peasantry). The upheavals that an unorthodox ‘New Left’ had created in 1968 thus oddly led to a return to orthodoxy for many, as activists drew the lesson that they needed to build up hierarchical organisations modelled on the Leninist vanguard party.

#### *Questions*

- What were the different factions of the radical left in 1968 and its aftermath?
- What did European ‘Maoism’ have to do with actual events in China?

#### *Required Reading*

- Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 88–119 (Ch. 4: ‘Who Were the Maoists?’) [eBook]
- Eric Drott, *Music and the Elusive Revolution: Cultural Politics and Political Culture in France, 1968-1981* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 70–110 (Ch. 2: ‘Genre and Musical Representations of May’) [eBook]

#### *Further reading*

- Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962-1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Ch. 2 (‘Time’) [eBook] – this chapter includes discussion of the West German Left’s relationship to the German past, a factor that radicalised certain protesters
- Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 170–199 (Ch. 6, ‘The Cultural Revolution in West Germany’) [eBook]
- Alexander C. Cook, ed., *Mao’s Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) [eBook] – a look at the impact of this ‘badge book’ in different countries; includes several chapters that might be worth reading
- James S. Williams, ‘C’est le petit livre rouge / Qui fait que tout enfin bouge’: The case for revolutionary agency and terrorism in Jean-Luc Godard’s *La Chinoise*, *Journal of European Studies*, 40, 3 (2010), 206–218 [online/journal]
- Film:** Jean-Luc Godard, *La Chinoise* (1967), 1h 36m.

#### *Possible presentation topics*

Gauche prolétarienne and *La Cause du Peuple*; West German ‘K-Gruppen’; International Marxist Group

### Thursday (15 Nov): Students, to the factories!

Among radical left ‘cadre organisations’, Maoist groups stood out in terms of their commitment to organise the working class. Some members of Maoist student groups even abandoned their studies entirely in order to ‘go to the people’ and work in the factories. The practice was perhaps most common in France, where it was known as *établissement* and its practitioners as *établis*. Among them was Robert Linhart, former leader of the UJC(ml) group at Nanterre, the university that had been the main hotbed of Parisian student activism.

#### *Questions*

- Why were students willing to give up privilege and promising careers for this form of political work?
- How were they perceived by the workers they aimed to support?
- What impact might their efforts have had?

#### *Primary source*

- song by Dominique Grange, *Les Nouveaux partisans* [Google Drive]

- Robert Linhart, *The Assembly Line* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981)
  - o Ch. 1: 'The first day: Mouloud' [e-offprint]
  - o Ch. 2: 'The lights of the Main assembly line' [e-offprint]
  - o Ch. 3: 'The shop floor committee' [Google Drive]
  - o Ch. 4: 'The strike' [Google Drive]

*Possible presentation topics*

UJCml; Robert Linhart; Revolutionärer Kampf in Frankfurt

WEEK 9: NARRATIVES OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Tuesday (20 Nov): Leaders and success stories

**\*\*\* NOTE: This class will start one hour later than usual! Room to be confirmed! \*\*\***

Particularly with regard to major upheavals such as occurred in 1968 and 1989, collective and individual memories of protest have become an important object of study in their own right. Memory is susceptible to change over time, making it a difficult tool for extracting objective facts or a singular 'truth', but an exceptionally good one for tracking the meanings people ascribe to protest as they construct narratives about themselves and their societies.

Commemorations of major protests have often been dominated by the memories of perceived 'leaders', the paradigmatic example being Daniel Cohn-Bendit in histories of (May) 1968. Leaders can be a valuable source of information about particular groups or hierarchical organisations, but their experiences may tell us less about the intentions, ideas, and involvement of others, especially in relatively amorphous social movements. In many cases, leaders are able to capitalise on their celebrity in later life, feeding the perception that protest led to personal and collective 'success'.

*Questions*

- How do people become 'leaders' in a protest movement? To what extent are their experiences exceptional? What can they tell us about broader movements?
- How have the collective memories and meanings attached to 1968 changed over time?

*Primary sources*

- translations of interviews from Daniel Cohn-Bendit, *Nous l'avons tant aimée, la révolution* (Paris: Barrault, 1986)
  - o with Jean-Pierre Duteuil [Google Drive]
  - o with Joschka Fischer [Google Drive]

*Required Reading*

- Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 182–215 (Ch. 4: 'Consensus and its Undoing') [eBook]
- Paul Hockenos, *Joschka Fischer and the Making of the Berlin Republic: An Alternative History of Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 95-128 (Ch. 4: 'Radical left') [eBook]

*Further reading*

Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) [eBook] – the rest of the book is also compelling, esp. Chs. 1 ('The Police Conception of History') and 3 ('Different Windows, Same Faces')

Paul Hockenos, *Joschka Fischer and the Making of the Berlin Republic: An Alternative History of Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) – here too, the rest of the book is a worthwhile read, not least because of how it approaches post-1945 West German history through the lens of an individual biography

Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman, *Génération* (Paris: Seuil, 1988) – the French 'success story' narrative to which Ross is so vehemently opposed

Richard I. Jobs, 'The Grand Tour of Daniel Cohn-Bendit and the Europeanism of 1968', in Julian Jackson, Anna-Louise Milne and James S. Williams, eds., *May 68: Rethinking France's Last Revolution* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 231–244 – a shorter version of the AHR article listed above (under transnational history), with more of a focus on Cohn-Bendit (and fewer of the broad arguments)

### *Possible presentation topics*

Serge July and *Libération*; 'Yippies' in America (Abbie Hoffmann, Jerry Rubin)

### Thursday (22 Nov): 'Armed Struggle' in West Germany

If radical left cadre groups decided that 'organisation' was the remedy for the shortcomings of 1968, a distinct and much smaller minority on the left held revolutionary *violence* to be the solution. Such groups existed in several different countries, including most visibly the *Rote Armee Fraktion* in West Germany and *Brigate rosse* in Italy, but also the Angry Brigade in Britain, the *Cellules communistes combattantes* in Belgium, the Japanese Red Army, the Weather Underground in the United States, and (starting later than elsewhere) *Action directe* in France. Taking their cue from guerilla movements such as existed in Vietnam and Latin America, members of these groups perpetrated sensational acts of violence which they believed would set an example that others would follow. They thereby hoped to usher in a revolution that would end what they perceived as the everyday violence of capitalism and imperialism against human beings, especially the poor and racially Other.

### *Questions*

- What radicalized individuals to the point that they were willing to commit such acts of violence?
- How much of a threat did these groups pose to the stability of representative democracies?
- Why did even those who disagreed with 'revolutionary' violence often refuse to condemn it?

### *Primary Sources*

- Texts by Ulrike Meinhof reprinted in Ulrike Meinhof and Karin Bauer, eds., *Everybody Talks about the Weather – We Don't: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhof* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008)
  - o 'Vietnam and Germany' (1966), pp. 157–160 [e-offprint]
  - o 'Open Letter to Farah Diba' (1967), pp. 171–177 [Google Drive]
  - o 'Setting Fire to Department Stores' (1968), pp. 244–248 [e-offprint; [online in German: https://goo.gl/KZ96SF](https://goo.gl/KZ96SF)]
  - o 'Everybody Talks about the Weather' (1969), pp. 184–189 [Google Drive]
- Ulrike Meinhof, 'From Protest to Resistance' (1968) [online: <https://goo.gl/upxcG3>]
- Anonymous [Klaus Hülbrock], 'Buback – an obituary' (1977) [online: <https://goo.gl/r4rX1C>]

### *Required reading*

- Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the war home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), Ch. 1 ('Agents of Necessity') [eBook]

### *Further Reading*

Karrin Hanshew, *Terror and Democracy in West Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014) [eBook] – esp. Ch. 5 ('The German Autumn'),

Karin Bauer, "'From Protest to Resistance": Ulrike Meinhof and the Transatlantic Movement of Ideas', in Belinda Davis, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Carla MacDougall, eds., *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the US in the 1960s and 1970s* (New York: Berghahn, 2010), 171–188 [eBook]

Sebastian Gehrig, 'Sympathizing Subcultures? The Milieus of West German Terrorism', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 233–250 [eBook]

Jacco Pekelder, 'The RAF Solidarity Movement from a European Perspective', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 251-266 [eBook]

Stefan Aust, *The Baader-Meinhof Group: The Inside Story of a Phenomenon* (London: Bodley Head, 1985) – one of the best-known books on the Red Army Faction and the basis for the 2009 film; a blow-by-blow telling of the events with a heavy dose of the author’s own judgements

Robert C. Meade, *Red Brigades: The Story of Italian Terrorism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990)

Michael Y. Dartnell, *Action directe: Ultra-left terrorism in France, 1979-1987* (London: Cass, 1995)

**Film:** Sam Green and Bill Siegel, *The Weather Underground* (2002) film, 1h 32m. – a thought-provoking look at ‘armed struggle’ in the USA, where militant activists backed away from violence against persons

#### *Possible presentation topics*

Brigate Rosse and the kidnapping of Aldo Moro; Action Directe; Japanese Red Army; Weather Underground; Angry Brigade

### WEEK 10: THE ‘SPIRIT OF ’68’

We will spend this entire week reading one full-length book on ‘1968’ together.

Gerd-Rainer Horn’s *Spirit of ’68* is not ‘the’ definitive, best, or most comprehensive book on its topic, but it is a solid overview that does a good job drawing in lesser-known examples from smaller countries.

If you’re interested in comparing this book to others on the topic, you might want to look especially at:

- Robert Gildea, James Mark and Anette Warring, eds., *Europe’s 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) **[eBook]** – a collectively written study of 1968 looking at Eastern and Western Europe, organized around different phases in the trajectories of activists’ lives as well as major themes that cut across them (e.g. gender, religion).
- Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962-1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) **[eBook]** – a book focused exclusively on West Germany, but very much about how ‘global’ impulses were taken up by ‘active transnational’ individuals; the whole book is very good, and the chapters on ‘Sound’ and ‘Vision’ especially so.

If you read French, you may want to have a closer look at Michelle Zancarini-Fournel’s work. (We have already looked at one of the few texts by her published in English.) If you want to try something short, you could look at the ‘encyclopaedia’-style entries in Philippe Artières and Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, *68: Une histoire collective, 1962-1981* (Paris: La Découverte, 2008). If you feel comfortable reading a whole book, take a look at Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, *Le moment 68: Une histoire contestée* (Paris: Seuil, 2008).

If you have some German reading ability, you could look at the work of Detlef Siegfried, including his key monograph on ’68: Detlef Siegfried, *Time is on my side: Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 60er Jahre* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006). (He has also published numerous shorter essays in English, including the one we read about the New Left as a ‘generational’ phenomenon.)

Tuesday (27 Nov.): *Spirit of ’68*: Chs. 1–3

Tuesday (29 Nov.): *Spirit of ’68*: Chs. 4–5

### WEEK 11: FEMINISM

Tuesday (4 Dec): French feminist ideas

If the 1960s are associated with sweeping cultural changes (producing a so-called ‘sexual revolution’) and the spread of protest to new domains, the later 1960s and especially 1970s were marked by an even further-reaching ‘politicization of everyday life’. In no domain was this more true than that of women’s lives. We will look at feminist groups later this week, but first we will examine a section of Simone de Beauvoir’s classic text, *The Second Sex*, as a key feminist text that had a broad impact on feminism.



### Questions

- How has feminist thinking affected women's political organizing?
- How much did the issues women face change between 1949 (Beauvoir) and 1981 (Picq)?

### Primary source

- Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp. 689–724 (Part VII, Ch. 1: 'The Independent Woman') [e-offprint]
- Françoise Picq, 'The MLF: run for your life', in Claire Duchén, ed., *French Connections: Voices from the Women's Movement in France: Explorations in feminism* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 23–32 [Google Drive]

### Background reading

- Claire Duchén, *Feminism in France: From May '68 to Mitterrand* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 27-47 (Ch. 2: 'Currents: Diversity and Conflict') [eBook]

### Further reading

- Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 133–74 (Ch. 'Pleasure and Rebellion' chapter) [e-offprint]
- Marlene LeGates, *In Their Time: A History of Feminism in Western Society* (London: Routledge, 2001), 327–376 (Ch. 10, 'The Origins of the Second Wave')

### Possible presentation topics

Simone de Beauvoir; Françoise Picq; Antoinette Fouque; Luce Irigaray; Christine Delphy; Julia Kristeva

### Thursday (6 Dec): German feminisms in action

Politically active women, many of whom had participated in the student movement and who identified with (aspects of) the 'New Left', sought to bring matters that had heretofore been dismissed as private into the public sphere, turning the supposedly personal into an object of political discussion. Prior experiences of leftwing activism were formative but not always positive, with the result that some currents within 'second-wave' feminism drew strongly on Marxist analyses or leftwing traditions, but nearly all also distanced themselves in important ways from them. As feminism came into its own, campaigns around abortion took on particular importance in many different countries at once.

### Questions

- Was second-wave feminism a leftwing movement? How did it redefine what was 'left' and what 'politics' meant?
- Why was abortion (rather than equal pay or another issue) so central for second-wave feminism?

### Primary Sources

- *Nouvel Observateur*, 'Manifeste des 343', translation [Google Drive]
- *Stern*, 'Wir haben abgetrieben', translation [Google Drive]
  - o What can you find out about the women who signed these appeals? Who were they, how many of them were well-known and why? Try to think also about the different layouts used for the French and the German campaigns. How effective are they?
- Frankfurter Weiberrat pamphlet, translation [Google Drive]
- excerpts from Edith Hoshino Altbach, Jeanette Clausen, Dagmar Schultz and Naomi Stephan, eds., *German Feminism: Readings in politics and literature* (Albany, N.Y.: State university of New York press, 1984) [e-offprint]
  - o pp. 102–104: 'I Have Had an Abortion'
  - o pp. 105–109: Alice Schwarzer, 'The Function of Sexuality in the Oppression of Women'
  - o pp. 307–310: Helke Sander, 'Speech by the Action Council for Women's Liberation'

- pp. 336–339: Sibylle Plogstedt, ‘Has Violence Arrived in the Women’s Movement?’

#### *Required reading*

- Myra Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 53–82 (Ch. 3 ‘Women Themselves Will Decide’) [eBook]

#### *Further Reading*

- Dagmar Herzog, ‘Between Coitus and Commodification. Young West German Women and the Impact of the Pill’, in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds., *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth cultures in changing European societies, 1960 - 1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 261–286 [eBook]
- Ute Kätzel, *Die 68erinnen: Porträt einer rebellischen Frauengeneration* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2002) – excellent collection of interviews with women activists of the 1960s, but sadly not translated into English

#### *Possible presentation topics*

- Helke Sander; Feminist movements in another country, incl. Britain; Sheila Rowbotham

### WEEK 12: LIBERATION

#### Tuesday (11 Dec): Lesbian and gay liberation in the 1970s

The challenges that the women’s liberation movement posed to traditional notions of ‘femininity’ and female roles opened up new possibilities for other groups as well, notably including gay men and lesbians, who had long been silenced, ignored, or oppressed. This is not to say though that all gay men were interested in challenging ‘masculinity’ (much less patriarchy), nor that lesbians were universally welcomed within the women’s movement. In the early 1970s, gay and lesbian groups staked out radical positions, made generous use of provocation, and connected their sexual practices and personal identities with radical politics. At the same time, there existed long-established ‘homophile’ movements whose activities were pushed to the margins by the new radicalism, at least for a time.

#### *Questions*

- Why was homosexuality seen as having ‘revolutionary’ potential in the 1970s? Why is this no longer considered the case today?
- To what extent was lesbian and gay liberation dependent on the feminist movement?

#### *Primary Sources*

- excerpts from Claire Duchon, ed., *French Connections: Voices from the Women's Movement in France* (London: Hutchinson, 1987)
  - pp. 84–90, ‘Letter to the feminist movement’ [Google Drive]
  - pp. 97–100, ‘Radical/lie natural/lie’ [Google Drive]
- Guy Hocquenghem, *Homosexual Desire* (London: Allison and Busby, 1978),
  - pp. 35–39 (‘Introduction’) [Google Drive]
  - pp. 119–133 (‘The Homosexual Struggle’) [e-offprint]

#### *Required Reading*

- Frédéric Martel, *The Pink and the Black: Homosexuals in France since 1968* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999)
  - pp. 13–31, Ch. 1: “‘My name is Guy Hocquenghem’” [e-offprint]
  - pp. 32–47, Ch. 2: ‘Women’s Liberation: Year Zero’ [e-offprint]

#### *Further Reading*

- Julian Jackson, *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009) [eBook] – esp. Chs. 7 and 8
- Julian Bourg, ‘Boy Trouble. French Pedophilic Discourse of the 1970s’, in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds., *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth cultures in changing European societies, 1960 - 1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 287–312
- Barry D. Adam, Jan Willem Duyvendak and André Krouwel, eds., *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999) – mostly social science

### *Possible presentation topics*

Stonewall riots (and their international impact); Guy Hocquenghem; Rosa von Praunheim; Peter Tatchell; gay liberation in another European country

### Thursday (14 Dec): LGBT Activism and the AIDS Crisis

The 1980s and 1990s led to sweeping changes in the lesbian and gay movement, connected with several different issues. First and most urgently, the AIDS crisis contributed to demands for much greater visibility of gay men especially, who were dying in disproportionate numbers from a disease whose stigmatization was closely tied to homophobia. In connection with this, the activism of HIV/AIDS patients in particular radicalized. Second, a different segment of what had been the lesbian and gay liberation movement pushed for visibility in other terms that were much more compatible with the commercialization of 'gay subculture'. As social acceptance increased while laws did not, marriage equality and the social acceptance of other queer identities became a rallying cry for other segments of the movement.

This lesson will explore some of the different directions queer activism took as it moved away from 'liberation' movement that had been very radical to an identity-based 'LGBT movement' that was more inclusive but made more modest demands.

### *Questions*

- How were radicalization and commercialization of this movement related?
- What problems were resolved and what problems were created by demands for 'visibility' as a form of social acceptance?

### *Required Reading*

- Frédéric Martel, *The Pink and the Black: Homosexuals in France since 1968* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 285–309 (Ch. 14: 'Act Up: The History of a Political Movement') [**Google Drive**]

### *Primary Sources*

- Naomi Klein, *No Logo: No Space, No Choice, No Jobs* (London: Flamingo, 2000), 106–24 (Ch. 5: 'Patriarchy Gets Funky: The Triumph of Identity Marketing') [**e-offprint**]

### *Further Reading*

Jan Willem Duyvendak, 'Gay Subcultures between Movement and Market', in Hanspeter Kriesi, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Marco Giugni, eds., *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 165–180