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English summaries

Xavier Vigna:

68 in France: Event, Conflicts and Movements

May/June 68 must not be considered only as a Parisian and student event. On the contrary, the movement involves workers, teachers, writers, nurses, etc. and takes place in the whole country. Moreover, as the social space was being decompartmentalized, unlikely meetings expressed themselves in three main groups who gathered around the workers: first students, then technicians and executives, and peasants, to finish with. And revolt continues and develops itself after 68, with three main topics: equality, liberation and autonomy. These movements challenge the trade unions and the political parties, which try to collect part of these aspirations and militants.

Wolfgang Kraushaar:

Theories and Ideologies of the 68-Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany

For the West German student movement of the late 1960s, which favored non-parliamentarian politics, the issue of theoretical self-understanding was of paramount importance. The movement's neo-Marxist approaches to theory building were an expression of utopian leanings and a strong emphasis on change, whereas its political program was less developed. The 68-movement, as it is generally referred to in Germany, lacked both explicitly formulated concepts and a coherent theory. Instead, it highlighted a broad critique of society, interspersed with only a few concrete ideas about political alternatives. Key elements of the movement's critique were antifascism, which targeted German society's failure to address the legacy of the Nazi past; anti-capitalism, which attacked the economic roots of social injustice and profit orientation; and anti-imperialism, which criticized the first and second worlds' exploitation of Third World countries. Theories of the authoritarian state and the authoritarian character, sociological and socio-psychological models adopted from the work of the Frankfurt School, were essential to the self-understanding of the student movement. As the movement lost momentum, however, increasingly rigid and ideologically charged doctrines took the place of a mode of theory building that was capable of self-reflection. It was not until environmentalist issues entered the political arena that theoretical models began to emerge that went beyond an abstract stance of opposition.

Christina Späti:

1968 in Switzerland: Revolt or Reform?

Compared to its counterparts in other West European countries, "1968" in Switzerland was a relatively marginal phenomenon. It had its predecessors since the late 1950s in the peace movement, but also in student organisations which already in the early 1960s demanded democratisation of universities and engaged in solidarity actions with students from countries of the so-called Third World. The eruption of activism in the years of 1968 and 1969 in the French-speaking part of Switzerland mainly arose at the universities, whereas in the German-speaking part protests were principally taken to the streets. The so-called *Globus-Krawall* in Zurich was the most violent confrontation between activists and the police. But also several other cities witnessed demonstrations and disruptive actions, most of them directed against policies of local authorities. In some ways, "1968" in Switzerland was a local phenomenon. Yet, many demands of the Swiss 68-movement were very similar to those expressed in other West European countries. For example, opposing the US-American war in Vietnam was an important mobilising factor. In addition, we find more general themes, such as anti-capitalism or anti-fascism. The 68-movement in Switzerland, however, also put forward its own claims that referred to specific aspects of the country's cultural and political context. Among others, criticism of the Swiss Army and the xenophobic climate against immigrant workers was at the heart of the movement's agenda.

Jean-Yves Camus:

The Nouvelle droite in France and its Relationship to May 68

The so-called Nouvelle droite in France has been dominated by the Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne (GRECE) which has its origins in the time directly preceding the events of Mai 68. Its genesis, however, should be seen to a large extent in the context of the traditional extreme right in France. In the late 1960s, a new generation of young intellectuals sought to renew the ideology of the extreme right based on radical nationalism and classical racism. In some ways, this shows the generational connection to the New Left, which itself rose up as a challenge to the Old Left and its orthodox Marxism. The Nouvelle droite developed an intellectual program: which rejected egalitarianism on the grounds that it supposedly reduces the diversity of peoples and cultures; which repudiated economic models based only on growth and productivity; and which strongly opposed Judeo-Christian traditions as well as Marxism, socialism and liberalism. In addition, while the Nouvelle droite represented a fierce critique of the 68-movement and denounced its followers for shifting their anti-authoritarian beliefs into hedonism

and individualism, the Nouvelle droite itself still took up some of the issues of "1968", such as the resistance against US-American imperialism, the emphasis on communitarian concepts, and the rejection of bourgeois values and the consumer society.

Rainer Benthin:

Attacks from out of the Niche: The Meaning of "1968" for the Cultural Struggle of the New Right in Germany

Forty years after 1968, the public debate in Germany is not only dominated by romantic-nostalgic reminiscences and heated discussions among former activists and followers, but also by attempts of intellectuals from the New Right to position themselves with their distinct points of view. In this article, New Right is defined as a communication network of individuals, media and discussion forums, as an intellectual and cultural actor that seeks to form a "counter-public". For the New Right, "1968" represents a foundation myth in order to present itself as an "anti-68-movement" and operates therefore as means to strengthen its own identity and internal cohesion. From this perspective, "1968" is not considered as a historical event but rather used as a metaphor for a range of problems that society is supposedly facing. Moreover, as the article shows, in contrast to the egalitarian and post-national conceptions that are usually connoted with "1968", the New Right takes the debates on the 68-movement as an opportunity to disseminate its ideas of inequality and *völkisch* nationalism.

Damir Skenderovic:

The New Right in Switzerland: The Long Journey of a Counter-Movement

In a similar way to that seen in other Western European countries, Switzerland witnessed the emergence of a New Right in the late 1960s, which has diversified over the course of the following years into a number of various intellectual currents composed of study groups, associations, periodicals and publishing houses. While some followers of the New Right were mainly interested in the world of culture and ideas and pursued a "metapolitical" strategy, others were deliberately involved with party politics. The development of the New Right in the respective German-speaking and French-speaking parts of Switzerland shows significant differences in terms of organizational variation and variety in the sources of intellectual inspiration. In order to shape its profile as an intellectual counter-movement, the New Right needed to present "1968" as a drastic event in the history of post-war societies and sought to denounce the 68-movement and its epigones for holding a hegemonic position in society, culture and academia. While the 68-generation was made responsible in a

very concrete manner for all kinds of social and political problems, the answers to any questions relating to who it is that belongs to this generation and exactly what "1968" represents, have remained very diffuse. This kind of interpretation has allowed the New Right to promote its own cultural-political counter-agenda based on exclusionist, anti-egalitarian and authoritarian ideas.