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LIT

# HARD BODIES

edited by

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Susanne Wegener

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LIT

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CLARE BIELBY

## THE HARD BODY OF THE VIOLENT TERRORIST WOMAN IN THE WEST GERMAN PRINT MEDIA OF THE 1970S

There is a striking moment in Uli Edel's and Bernd Eichinger's film on the Red Army Faction (RAF), *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (2008), which foregrounds the notional hard body of the woman terrorist to dramatic effect. I am thinking of the scene which shows Hanns-Martin Schleyer's kidnapping, an event which took place on 5 September 1977. Schleyer was an industrialist and president of the Arbeitgeberverband (BDA), the German employers' federation, and his kidnapping was the prelude to what has become known as the German Autumn. The film shows Schleyer's chauffeur-driven car stopped by another car which reverses onto the street in front of his own. Both cars jolt and the camera focuses in on Schleyer's startled face – and Schleyer would have been startled because he knew he was a leading target for West Germany's terrorists. This is why his car is followed by police officers. The camera switches to a point-of-view shot. The viewer sees, with Schleyer, through the windscreen of the car. A meter or so in front of the car, a woman with her back to us bends over her pram, lifting the blanket to pick up her baby. The camera switches back to a close-up of Schleyer. His startled face gives way to the beginning of an, albeit nervous, smile. Schleyer is momentarily reassured as he beholds this maternal idyll. "All must be well if woman is tending her child," are his unvoiced thoughts. The camera quickly switches back to a point-of-view shot and we see the woman reach down to pick up her baby. She turns round slowly, almost in slow motion. Instead of a baby she holds a rifle, which she immediately starts to fire at Schleyer's entourage. This is a signal for other terrorists to join her. A brutal blood bath ensues.

According to Edel and Eichinger, the camera was taken inside the car and the point-of-view shot was used to give a voice to RAF victims and to show events from their perspective.<sup>1</sup> This, they presumably hoped, would prevent

<sup>1</sup> This was reported in numerous newspaper articles and reviews of the film. The film was nonetheless criticised by many for being a perpetrator film.

the film from being branded a perpetrator film which glorifies the terrorists. Their assertions ring somewhat hollow. Whenever the camera does linger on a RAF victim or shows the viewer his or her perspective, this seems to serve voyeuristic ends.<sup>2</sup> Scenes such as these appeal to prurient interests. The scene of Schleyer's kidnapping – one of the climaxes of Edel's and Eichinger's already highly dramatic film – takes full advantage of the titillating appeal of the violent woman and of the troubling notion that, instead of giving life, she takes it. The filmmakers sadistically stage Schleyer's momentary reassurance so that her brutality appears the more extreme. Schleyer and the camera focus on her alone – other accounts of the event accord less significance to the role played by the woman terrorist. In *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (1985), the book upon which the film is based, Stefan Aust claims that the pram was standing alone when Schleyer's car was stopped (see 486).<sup>3</sup>

Instead of picking up her baby, the violent woman picks up a rifle. Freud famously asserted that 'normal' women overcome their penis envy when they have a child. Instead of a child, this woman has a gun. A Freudian reading would understand the gun as a phallic weapon and the woman as a failed woman. Instead of a soft, fertile maternal body she has a hard, sterile, phallic body with gun as penis replacement. She is the clichéd phallic woman. In 2008, ten years after the Red Army Faction disbanded and thirty years after the notorious German Autumn, considered by most to be the climax of West Germany's terrorist period, there is still a desire to highlight the brutality of the woman terrorist and her phallic body. Even if her threat is contained in part by history, the terrorist woman still provokes unease and still titillates.<sup>4</sup> This article will go back to print-media representations of violent women terrorists of the 1970s to account for the continued interest in the virile body of the violent woman. As I hope to show, little has changed in terms of the representation of politically violent women, even though the cultural work they perform might be different.

<sup>2</sup> Chris Homewood made this point in a research seminar paper.

<sup>3</sup> For more on representations of the pram used in this kidnapping, see Bielby, "Remembering."

<sup>4</sup> One reason why there might be renewed interest in the woman terrorist is because of Western media's preoccupation with the woman suicide bomber.

## THE BABY-BOMB

In August 1977, a photograph of a woman with a bomb attached to her stomach appeared in the respected left-liberal German newsmagazine, *Der Spiegel* (fig. 1). It was titled "Baby-bomb" ("Frauen" 29).<sup>5</sup> The caption to the image states that the photograph was taken during a police training demonstration. The wider context of this image is a *Der Spiegel* cover story on "Frauen und Gewalt," following the RAF's failed kidnapping, which became the murder, of the Chief Executive of the Dresdner Bank, Jürgen Ponto.<sup>6</sup> This took place on 30 July 1977, a few weeks prior to the kidnapping of Schleyer. The RAF murder of Ponto provoked because it had been carried out by two women (and one man) and one of these women was Ponto's close family friend, Susanne Albrecht. The episode led to a proliferation of discourse on the so-called phenomenon of women and political violence. According to the same feature, in 1977 almost two thirds of 'wanted' terrorists were women ("Frauen" 22).



Kampfmittel Baby-Bombe, Training  
, Klasse, einfach besser als Männer"

Fig. 1: "Baby-Bomb" (*Der Spiegel* 1977)

<sup>5</sup> On this, see also Melzer 46-47; Terhoeven 444-45; Bielby "Attacking"; Bielby "Remembering" 140.

<sup>6</sup> On this feature, see Colvin *Ulrike Meinhof* 194-99, Melzer 44-48, and Vukadinović 57-59.

The "Baby-Bomb" image seems to be used in a deliberately provocative way: the journalist does not mention the "Baby-Bomb" contraption in the main article, and I have found no evidence that it was ever used by RAF women terrorists. Usage of the photograph starts to appear gratuitous. The spectacle of the woman terrorist's weaponised body, it would look, is being instrumentalised.

Whilst the device itself is not mentioned in the 12-page feature, the notional hard body of the woman terrorist is certainly evoked. In an attempt to explain the high incidence of political violence in women, *Der Spiegel* consults the sociologist Erwin Scheuch: "Sie [terrorist women, C.B.] produzieren sich, meint Soziologe Scheuch, als 'weibliche Supermänner'" (25). Women terrorists, he seems to be suggesting, want to be more masculine, to have harder, more super-human bodies than men. Scheuch's words "weibliche Supermänner" are reproduced in bold font in the article's subtitle (22). *Der Spiegel* also calls upon psychoanalytical discourse. The psychoanalyst Friedrich Hacker is cited: "Nur mit der Waffe, dem klassischen Symbol der Männlichkeit, und nur mit besonderer Härte hätten die weiblichen Gruppenmitglieder die Vorstellung verwirklichen können, 'gänzlich emanzipierte Frauen' zu sein" (25). The idea is that these women have grotesquely misunderstood feminism, wanting to be like men, or rather to better men, to have more deadly bodies. The woman terrorist's disciplined body and mind contrast with the construction of the unreliable, cowardly body of the male terrorist. Geoffrey Jackson, British ambassador to Uruguay from 1969 until 1972 and captured by Tupamaros guerrillas in 1971, is cited: "unter seinen uruguayischen Bewachern [waren] 'Frauen die besseren Spieler [...] – durchweg 'kühler und berechnender' als die 'aggressiven und emotionalen' Männer" (25). Stereotypically gendered behaviour has been reversed: it is usually women who cannot control their emotions. *Der Spiegel* quotes the terrorist Hans-Peter Konieczny who describes Gudrun Ensslin as "gelassen, ruhig, beherrscht, ungemein cool" (25). Andreas Baader, by contrast, is represented as "feige," "a coward" and somebody who screams ("schreien") (25) and seemingly cannot control his emotions nor his body.

We start to get a sense of how the body of the woman terrorist is being constructed in this feature and to what possible, albeit subconscious,<sup>7</sup> ends. Günther Nollau, former president of the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, is cited both in the article's subtitle and then later. He famously attributed the phenomenon of women and violence to an "Exzeß der Emanzipation." The final sentence of the subtitle, printed in bold, reads "Kriminologen rätseln über die Motive femininer Militanz: 'Weibliche Supermänner' – 'Exzeß der Emanzipation?'" (22). He is quoted again on the following page: "Für den ehemaligen Verfassungsschutz-Chef Günther Nollau ist 'irgendetwas Irrationales in dieser ganzen Sache.' Vielleicht, meint Nollau, ist das ein 'Exzeß der Befreiung der Frau'" (23). The *Der Spiegel* feature suggests that women's political violence can be blamed on second-wave feminism, at least in part. This was a commonly held view at the time and subsequently.<sup>8</sup> The woman terrorist's weaponised body comes to stand for the excesses of feminism and of terrorism, and as a warning that 'normal' women should steer well clear of both. What is more, this construction of the body seems to go hand in hand with an effeminisation or softening of the male body.

In Foucauldian terms, the hard body of the woman terrorist becomes an "objet du savoir" (*L'Archéologie*), constructed by the authoritative masculine discourses of psychoanalysis, sociology and what prominent West German feminist Alice Schwarzer terms the "Männerpresse" in an 1977 editorial on women terrorists in the feminist publication *Emma* ("Terroristinnen" 5). This body becomes a space where various interests, anxieties and fantasies about womanhood are projected and played out. I want to look briefly at some of these possible interests and give a sense of the cultural moment. This makes it possible to speculate on the cultural work that the body of the violent woman might be performing.

Like many other Western countries, West Germany of the sixties and seventies experienced great social change. The anti-authoritarian protest movement played an important role in that. After 1968, what has come to be known as the student movement splintered off into various autonomous groupings and initiatives. The second-wave women's movement as well as

<sup>7</sup> I do not claim that the journalist consciously represents the body of the terrorist woman in this way. That it is a subconscious impulse surely makes the strategy all the more insidious and worthy of scrutiny.

<sup>8</sup> For a critical engagement with this idea, see Schwarzer "Terroristinnen" and von Paczensky. See also Vukadinović, Terhoeven, Colvin *Ulrike Meinhof* 188-224, Balz 228-33 and Bandhauer-Schöffmann "Emanzipation."

left-wing terrorism tends to be understood as arising from this context. The student movement and especially left-wing terrorism and second-wave feminism were perceived by many to pose a threat to the West German establishment. This was not least because they involved young, educated people from largely middle-class backgrounds. The *Der Spiegel* article, cited above, repeatedly draws attention to the social background of the women terrorists whom it describes as "höhere Töchter aus feinen Familien zumeist" ("Frauen" 22). West Germany's sons and daughters were understood to be turning their backs on everything that the Federal Republic of Germany stood for, which became a source of great anxiety.

Elsewhere I have argued that women terrorists and the feminist movement were threatening because of woman's role as both literal and cultural reproducer and representation of the nation (see "Attacking" and "Remembering"). If woman is not seen to be behaving, something is deeply amiss in society. The particular context of the postwar Federal Republic is of importance. After the Second World War in which millions had died, Germans had literally needed to be replaced. Hence motherhood was vital to the nation on both a literal and symbolic level, particularly in the fifties and sixties.



Fig. 2: "Sterben die Deutschen aus?: Mehr Sex, weniger Babys" (*Der Spiegel* 1975)

This context elucidates why demands made by the feminist movement in the seventies were highly disruptive for many. Women's demands for a right to choose – seen most spectacularly in the 1971 *Stern* magazine campaign "Wir haben abgetrieben!" – were provocative.<sup>9</sup> The campaign led to high-profile debates and demonstrations where women demanded changes to the notorious paragraph 218. At the same time, there was a growing sense that West Germans were not having enough children. A *Der Spiegel* cover story in March 1975 asks in rather alarmist terms: "Sterben die Deutschen aus?: Mehr Sex, weniger Babys" ("Sterben") (fig. 2).

The following rhetorical questions are asked in bold font by the journalist of this article: "In 300 Jahren keine Deutschen mehr?" ("Sterben" 41); "Die Deutschen der Zukunft – 'reich, emanzipiert und ausgestorben?'" (52). "Emanzipiert" does not refer specifically to women here, but the adjective tends to be associated with women in the 1970s. Hence it evokes female emancipation which is, in turn, linked to the notion of the German race dying out. What is more, even though the journalist does not mention the pro-choice campaign in the main article, an image of a pro-choice demonstration, depicting a placard with the rallying slogan of the second-wave women's movement, "Mein Bauch gehört mir," is reproduced. This photograph is juxtaposed with a photograph of a woman receiving the Nazi "Mutterkreuz," positioned directly above. The captions to the two images are written in mirroring syntax. "Gebär-Propaganda (1941): Mutterkreuz für Fleißige" is juxtaposed with "Gebär-Prottest: Spottworte für Kinderreiche" ("Sterben" 44). The demands of the women's movement and feminists' investment in the space of the woman's body are placed in direct parallel with National Socialist investments in the woman's body.<sup>10</sup>

#### HARD MATERNAL BODIES: A BOMB NOT A CHILD

What is most striking about the "Baby-Bomb" image is that the woman is pregnant, or rather she pretends to be pregnant. Her body carries a bomb not

<sup>9</sup> 374 famous and non famous women declared "Wir haben abgetrieben!" in a *Stern* cover story and feature published on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1971. The idea came from a French feminist initiative. Alice Schwarzer, who organised the campaign in Germany, had spent some years working and studying in Paris and was influenced by the French feminist movement.

<sup>10</sup> The article also trades on xenophobic fears, juxtaposing Germany's "Baby-Baisse" with the "Baby-Boom der Gastarbeiter" ("Sterben" 41).

a baby, which defies expectations. As I suggested above, mothers and motherly love play more than just a private role in society. According to Alice Schwarzer, writing in an *Emma* editorial of 1977: "Liebe, und insbesondere Mutterliebe, ist ein Grundstein, dessen Erschütterung das gesamte patriarchalische Gebäude ins Wanken bringen würde." She continues: "Nicht zufällig ist die 'Mutterliebe' eines der großen, unantastbaren Ideale unserer Kultur" ("Mutterliebe" 5). In light of Schwarzer's comments and in the context of this *Der Spiegel* cover story, I want to suggest that women terrorists, in collusion with the feminist movement, are represented as unnatural and perverse. They have the audacity to undermine such a sacrosanct cultural ideal as motherhood, and that in a country which supposedly needs more children.

It is useful to reflect upon the slogan of the second-wave feminist movement: "Mein Bauch gehört mir." I am not trying to establish direct causalities, just to capture a sense of the cultural moment. According to the feminist historian Kristina Schulz, activism centred on a woman's right to the determination of her body galvanized the women's movement in the seventies. In *Der Spiegel* coverage of this movement and its politics, it is seldom that the slogan "mein Bauch gehört mir" does not crop up in some prominent way. In a sense, the words come to stand for the movement itself, or at least for the pro-choice campaign, in *Der Spiegel*. The following quotation is taken from a 1975 *Der Spiegel* cover story, titled "Frau '75: Zurück zur Weiblichkeit."<sup>11</sup> This feature is in the spirit of what Susan Faludi would diagnose years later as "feminist backlash":

An der Frankfurter Universität bewarfen Apo-Mädchen ihre autoritären Genossen mit Tomaten. Seitdem, zusätzlich politisiert durch jahrelangen Kampf um die Reform des Paragraphen 218 ('Mein Bauch gehört mir'), gibt es auch in der Bundesrepublik eine feministische Bewegung. ("Frau '75" 30)

The journalist recounts the origins of the movement, and the words "Mein Bauch gehört mir," placed in parenthesis, serve as a sort of shorthand for the campaign.

This cover story, which essentially argues that women are turning their backs on feminism, juxtaposes the sterile, hard feminist womb with the soft, fertile womb and body of the 'normal' woman and mother. The article itself has a different title to that on the front cover: "Frau '75: Grosse [sic] erotische Mutter." The writer Karin Struck and her 1975 novel *Die Mutter* is

<sup>11</sup> The year 1975 had been declared international women's year by the United Nations.

cited here and then later. The journalist comments: "Kaum denkbar wäre vor drei Jahren noch ein Roman wie *Die Mutter* von Karin Struck gewesen, der von der Sehnsucht handelt, 'fruchtbar wie ein Acker' zu sein, und Schwangerschaften als Stationen auf dem Weg zur Freiheit preist, zur 'Großen Erotischen Mutter'" ("Frau '75" 31). *Der Spiegel's* front cover also foregrounds the soft, maternal body of the 'normal' woman and mother, at least at first glance (fig. 3).



Fig. 3: "Frau '75: Zurück zur Weiblichkeit" (*Der Spiegel* 1975)

The woman is naked and her femininity and soft skin are emphasized – the image strongly appeals to the sense of touch. The photograph bears an uncanny resemblance to the "Baby-Bomb" image which will be published two years later. Both photographs are taken from the side and display the woman from her hips to her head, which is partly cut off. What is more, the profile of the child's head and shoulders form the shape of a pregnant womb. This woman is very much with child rather than with bomb. She is a 'normal' mother with a soft body. But the image is more complex than that. The 'mother' is evidently a model and, on closer inspection, it is apparent that there is nothing maternal about her, except that she has been photographed with a child. That this model has a tanned body and strikingly white breasts

means that the breasts become an object for male consumption. They function as sexual commodity rather than as a signifier of the maternal – they are breasts for the fashion photographer and the male reader, not for a baby. This arguably creates a chain of associations where "zurück zur Weiblichkeit" means accepting femininity both in its reproductive and sexually submissive functions. The feminine woman is the woman who keeps herself sexually available to German men (rather than having a sexually lethal impact) and who is happy to become a mother (who will of course lose her fat immediately after childbirth).<sup>12</sup>

There is great investment in the space of the woman's stomach or womb. In some ways the "Baby-Bomb" image functions as a 'logical' extension or warning of what might happen if women are given the right to determine their own bodies and sexualities. Women cannot be trusted, it seems to suggest. They are monsters, more deadly than the male given half the chance. The caption to the "Baby bomb" image reworks a quotation from the terrorist Beate Sturm in a way that emphasizes the supposed ruthlessness of the woman terrorist: "Klasse, einfach besser als Männer" ("Frauen" 29).<sup>13</sup>

A photograph published in an article in the right-leaning newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* after the kidnapping of Schleyer contributes to this construction of the woman terrorist's body. This is if we understand the feminine-connoted object of a pram to be part of the notional hard body of the violent woman (see Cordes 3) (fig. 4).<sup>14</sup>

Anticipating Edel's and Eichinger's scene, described above, this article focuses on the role played by the pram. That the image is designated "Bild der Woche" demonstrates how offensive yet titillating the use of a pram to take life is perceived to be. Although the gendered connotations of the object are not discussed, they are implicit. The author refers to the pram as "das Symbol menschlicher Liebe und Nestwärme" which evokes a mother hen on her nest (Cordes 3). The image is described as a "Schreckbild." That terrorists used a pram in an operation which took life so brutally provoked indignation.

<sup>12</sup> Thanks to Ann Heilmann for her ideas on this image.

<sup>13</sup> Beate Sturm's actual words read: "Eines fand ich damals Klasse – daß man als Frau wirklich emanzipiert war, daß man manche Sache einfach besser konnte als die Männer. Wir haben uns einfach stärker gefühlt" ("Frauen" 25).

<sup>14</sup> On this, see also Bielby "Remembering" 140-41.



Fig. 4: "Bild der Woche" (*Welt am Sonntag* 1977)

Like the woman terrorist herself, the use of the pram was considered to undermine motherhood and maternal love, ideas which, according to Schwarzer, play a crucial role in the West German cultural imagination. The terrorists are even associated with Judas, in the article's title, and then later with Satan and fascism: "Sie [die Terroristen, C.B.] zielten auf das Herz. Und zeigten sich selbst als Genies eiskalter Herzlosigkeit, die ein satanisches Kalkül für die Logistik ihres Angriffs nutzten"; "Fanatismus trieb diese Menschen zu faschistischer Gesetzlosigkeit, die jeden und alles der eigenen Idee opfert" (3). The pram carrying weapons rather than a child, and the female terrorist who bears a bomb rather than a foetus are visual demonstrations of the inhumanity of the woman terrorist. In both instances, the baby has been replaced by a violent weapon. The soft, natural woman's body and has been fused with hard weapons, infiltrated by technology; her 'natural' maternal instincts have been replaced by murderous intent.

### HARD VIRILE BODIES

This question of nature and technology requires contemplation. Should we read the woman's body in figure one as a hard body as such, or is it rather a soft, feminine, natural body, unnaturally juxtaposed with a deadly weapon, which would make it no hard body at all? Should we read this body as a cyborg where technology fuses with the natural? According to philosopher Kelly Oliver, women's bodies themselves tend to be understood as always already potential weapons: the binary between hard weapon and soft body starts to collapse.

In her recent study, *Women as Weapons of War: Iraq, Sex and the Media*, Oliver discusses "the condensation between the rhetoric of technology and of nature in the construction of women as weapons" (32).<sup>15</sup> Oliver refutes the idea that (female) nature and bodies are always understood as soft and malleable, invoking the age-old notion of female sexuality as itself a weapon: "Women's sex is an especially lethal weapon," she claims, precisely "because it is natural" (31). She refers to the "familiarity of this connection between women, sex, and weapon" (5): "If in the past women were figured as 'bombshells' [she cites the example of the *femmes fatales* of film noir, C.B.] and their sex imagined as a deadly weapon, the literal explosion of women onto the scene of war [or terrorism] should not be a surprise" (5). According to Oliver, then, women's bodies are, of their very nature, weapons or have the potential to be so if that dangerous sexuality is not tamed – usually through motherhood and marriage. The hard body of the violent woman comes to stand for what might happen if dangerous female sexuality is not held in check, if women are allowed free reign over their bodies and sexuality.

A *Der Spiegel* feature on the subject of women and the military in 1978 suggests this understanding of 'natural' female sexuality as weapon. Women and the military was a controversial topic which arose in the late 1970s in West Germany at the initiative of Alice Schwarzer. The article is titled "Etwas anderes als Sex" and opens with the clichéd notion of women's sexuality and bodies as weapons: "Mit den Waffen einer Frau: Läßt sich mit denen, außer im guten alten Lustspiel, noch etwas anfangen?" (Barth 38). The caption to an image of women soldiers in Zaire refers to "Blitzmädel" and "Flintenweiber" (39). Through a lexical slippage these women have become the

<sup>15</sup> Oliver refers to representations of Palestinian women suicide bombers in the Western media here.



weapon themselves. With Oliver, we can say that if women's sexuality is always already imagined as a potential weapon, it is a logical step that women's bodies start to be understood as that weapon. The "Baby-Bomb" image and the scene from *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* are not quite as unexpected or unfamiliar as they initially appeared to be. Oliver refers to that as "uncanny" in the Freudian sense of "unheimlich"—familiar yet unfamiliar (5).

In the *Emma* article which launched the debate on women and the military, Alice Schwarzer makes an interesting observation:

Es ist also kein Zufall, dass das Thema Frauen und Waffen so tabuisiert ist. Unsere Ausschaltung aus diesem Bereich ist nicht etwa Galanterie, sondern eine reine Machtfrage. Das signalisiert schon die Art der Argumentation. Frauen und Waffen? lächerlich. Flintenweiber. Und was wäre grotesker? (Die Spezifizierung "Flintenmann" existiert bezeichnenderweise gar nicht erst und wenn es sie gäbe, wäre sie wohl als Kompliment gemeint. ("Frauen" n.p.)

As Schwarzer points out, the fetishistic reduction to one's weapon only tends to occur in association with a woman. It is perhaps surprising that Schwarzer declares the topic of women and weapons "lächerlich," "tabu" and "grotesk." One year before this article was published, Schwarzer wrote the *Emma* editorial "Terroristinnen." In reaction to media preoccupations with the topic of women and violence, she critiqued the pervasiveness and the misogynistic nature of media discourse on women terrorists and the focus on their weapons. What Schwarzer means in her 1978 article is that the topic is grotesque when applied to nurturing and soft women. It is absurd to think that the state might sanction women to bear arms in the name of their country. The logic of war dictates that it is women who must be fought for and protected.

Not surprisingly, the terrorist woman's body is often imagined as a weapon — designations such as "Revolver-Mädchen," "Flintenweiber" and "Terrormädchen," where the body becomes fetishised as a weapon, occur frequently, particularly in the right-leaning tabloid *Bild*, but also in more respected publications, such as *Der Spiegel*. In the 1977 cover story on "Frauen und Gewalt," for example, the journalist alludes to "die gängigen Assoziationen vom Flintenweib" ("Frauen" 22). Characteristically, *Der Spiegel* distances itself from such associations whilst perpetuating these in the process. Labels such as "Flintenweib" go hand in hand with a sexualisation or even pornographisation of the woman terrorist's body where her criminality is represented as inextricably linked to an aberrant, usually virile sexuality. These ideas are rooted in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century

criminology, for example in the 1893 study of the Italian criminologists Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero: *La donna delinquente: La prostituzione e la donna normale* (*Woman as Criminal and Prostitute*). Here Lombroso and Ferrero identify the prostitute as the quintessential female criminal. Since women become prostitutes, they claim, because they have libido and want to have sex (libido being understood as something always already masculine), virile sexuality in women must equate to crime.<sup>16</sup>

Women terrorists are often represented as pornographised and virile *femmes fatales* or are infantilised as *Mädchen* who have failed to negotiate their Freudian Oedipal complex successfully and who suffer from penis envy. Their bodies are sexualised, imagined as hard and often fused with weapons. Represented in this way, they constitute the other side of the virgin and vamp dichotomy which reaches back through Western culture. They serve as a canvas onto which male desires and fantasies of woman can be projected.<sup>17</sup>

When the violent woman is infantilised, her investment in the phallic weapon is brought to the fore. Iconic images of the American Patty Hearst with black leather jacket and gun, and of the Palestinian Leila Khaled cradling a Kalashnikov rifle are continually reproduced in German print media publications of the 1970s. The *Der Spiegel* cover story on "Frauen und Gewalt" features an image of both Hearst and Khaled with the caption: "Militante Frauen: 'Nicht nur gleichberechtigt, sondern prägend'" ("Frauen" 24).<sup>18</sup> The phallic weapon is sexualised in an article in the glossy magazine *Quick*. It focuses on Ulrike Meinhof and her supposedly brutal *Mädchen*. In the lengthy description of Astrid Proll, the journalist claims: "sie war stolz darauf, daß sie bald, wie alle Mädchen um Ulrike Meinhof, eine große schwarze Waffe unter der Bluse im Hosenbund trug — so wie die richtigen Männer in 'Bonanza'" ("Die Saat" 74). The weapon is imagined as a sexual supplement, worn like a replacement penis "im Hosenbund." In *Bild* coverage of the prison break of the terrorists Inge Viett, Gabriele Rollnik, Monika Berberich and Juliane Plambeck in 1976, Freudian penis envy is projected onto the terrorist woman. A description of Gabriele Rollnik is titled "das Mädchen mit dem Revolver im BH" ("Die vier" 3). The phallic weapon takes the place

<sup>16</sup> For more on the influence of criminology on representations of West German terrorists, particularly of Ulrike Meinhof, see Colvin "Ulrike Marie."

<sup>17</sup> For more on the representation of terrorist women as phallic, see Balz 214-20.

<sup>18</sup> *Der Spiegel* also reproduces images of the Japanese terrorist Fusako Shigenobu and the IRA terrorist Maire Drumm here.

of the breasts here. The short article on Rollnik mentions that she liked to dress boyishly ("sich gern lässig-burschikos gab"), lest we doubt her putative masculinity ("Die vier" 3).

An article published in *Bild* in February 1974 demonstrates how female criminality tends to be linked to virile sexuality. The article is titled "Das Leben der Terrormädchen: Potente Männer, scharfe Waffen" and is the designated "Thema des Tages" (3) (fig. 5).<sup>19</sup> Visually dominant in this article is the photograph of an almost naked Gudrun Ensslin. It is taken from the short, experimental film *Das Abonnement*, which is invariably referred to as a porn film in German newspapers. The film was released in 1967, three years before the formation of the organisation which would later call itself the Red Army Faction. The caption to the image reads "Szenen aus dem Leben einer Terroristin: Pfarrerstochter Gudrun Ensslin als nackte Darstellerin in einem Pornofilm" ("Das Leben" 3). Ensslin's role in the film is conflated with 'real' life, which is described as made up of "Szenen." The journalist also conflates the 'pre-terrorist' period of her life with the terrorist period. Ensslin's life, identity and body are sexualised, made pornographic, in order to undermine her agency and the radical politics which she represents. Topless, with long, blonde hair and a seductive gaze, she appears as phallic woman. The photograph evokes nineteenth- and early twentieth-century constructions and iconography of the *femme fatale* in art and literature, for example in Franz von Stuck's *Der Kuß der Sphinx* of 1895 (Eschenberg and Friedel 75) (fig. 6).

The man who lies in front of Ensslin looks dead. The image calls to mind those referred to by Bram Dijkstra as "idols of perversity," after a painting by the Belgian symbolist painter Jean Delville. A close analysis of the *Bild* article raises a number of important questions. The journalist asks: "Potente Männer und scharfe Waffen – zufällige Bettgenossen einer Terroristin?" ("Das Leben" 3). That these women supposedly sleep with weapons 'proves' that criminality in women is tied to phallic sexuality, and that these women are violent because they derive sexual pleasure from being so. The journalist suggests that women terrorists' behaviour is motivated by insatiable and uncontrollable sexual desires. The subheading, "Befriedigung durch Sex – und Gewalt," summarises Ensslin's supposed motivation. The violent woman's alleged investment in the weapon takes us close to Freud's ideas on the fetish and the "Männlichkeitskomplex."

<sup>19</sup> See also Bielby "Remembering" 142.



Fig. 5: "Das Leben der Terrormädchen: Potente Männer, scharfe Waffen" (*Bild* 1974)

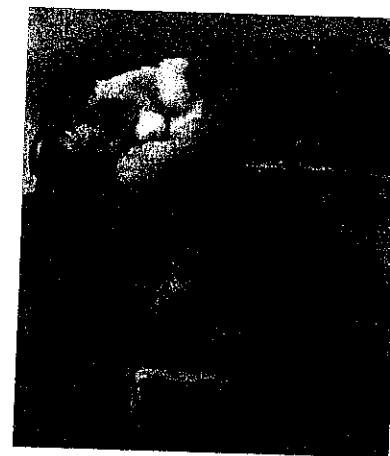


Fig. 6: *Der Kuß der Sphinx* (Franz von Stuck 1895)

In another paragraph, the woman terrorist is fetishistically reduced to her weapons: "Handgranaten [...] Terror [...] Tellerminen" are "der Stoff, aus dem die Terrormädchen sind" ("Das Leben" 3).

### THE FEMINIZING BODY

The phallic woman is perhaps best characterised by her capacity to feminise, to make others, and especially men *hörig*, often to the point of their death. She seduces others with her virile sexuality. In newspaper representations of violent women, there are many examples of women who make men *hörig*.<sup>20</sup> On occasion, Ulrike Meinhof is shown to make particularly younger men *hörig*. This can be seen in tabloid representations of Gerhard Müller. After Müller's trial in 1976, *Bild* reports that he was given ten years in prison "aus höriger Liebe zur BM-Bandenchefin Ulrike Meinhof und aus Abenteuerlust"; "Meinhof machte aus dem naiven Schwärmer Gerhard Müller, was sie wollte. Er war wie Wachs in ihren Händen" ("10 Jahre" 1). Not only does Meinhof emasculate Müller, she also makes his body soft. He becomes wax – soft and mouldable in her hands. It is arguably Gudrun Ensslin who is represented as the Red Army Faction's *femme fatale*.<sup>21</sup> Numerous articles assert that she made Andreas Baader, her partner, and other men, *hörig*. In a *Bild* series following the capture of Baader, the journalist claims that Ensslin made Baader into a terrorist: "Ohne die blonde Pfarrerstochter Gudrun Ensslin wäre aus Andreas Baader nicht einmal ein 'Kaufhaus-Brandstifter' geworden, geschweige denn ein Bandenchef und Bombenleger" ("Nach" 6). Ensslin is represented as culpable and Baader is stripped of his agency and feminised. The construction of Ensslin as sexually voracious *femme fatale* is afforded through an image of her with long blonde hair and kohl-pencilled eyes which dominates the page.

A *Stern* article written during the high-profile Stammheim court case conducted against the so-called core group of RAF terrorists also suggests that Ensslin made a terrorist of Baader: "Zum Terroristen wurde er durch seine

<sup>20</sup> Just as often, journalists use a different representational strategy, which posits the woman terrorist as sexually in thrall to the male terrorist. As is acknowledged in the *Der Spiegel* feature "Frauen und Gewalt": "Sexuelle 'Hörigkeit' steht als Motiv besonders hoch im Kurs – umstritten ist allerdings oft, wer wem verfallen ist" ("Frauen" 25). For more on representations of relationships of dependency between terrorists, see Balz 224–25.

<sup>21</sup> This is also the case in Edel's and Eichinger's film.

Freundin" (Kuby 18). The article features full-page glossy headshots of Meinhof, Baader, Raspe and Ensslin, and the photograph of Ensslin is noteworthy (Kuby 20) (fig. 7).



Fig. 7: Stern Article (1975)

The image is a close-up of the photograph taken from *Das Abonnement*. Ensslin's heavily made-up eyes with their seductive gaze are striking, as is her long hair worn loose. Notable, too, is the inclusion of the smaller photograph of a dead Benno Ohnesorg, the first-time demonstrator who was shot dead by a policeman at a demonstration in 1967. Although the journalist states in the blurb that the police-shooting of Ohnesorg led to the political radicalisation of Ensslin,<sup>22</sup> the implications of including the photo of a dead Ohnesorg go beyond that. Visually, there seems to be some sort of link between Ensslin's seductive gaze, her fatal sexuality and the death of Ohnesorg. Ohnesorg's body is represented as flaccid. The way in which it is carried

<sup>22</sup> In 2008 it was discovered that the policeman who shot Ohnesorg, Heinz Kurtas, was working for the GDR secret police.

evokes representations of the Pietà in which Jesus's soft, penetrated, bleeding body is held by Mary.<sup>23</sup>

I have argued elsewhere that there is a certain tendency to feminise male terrorists, especially Andreas Baader, in the West German print media; a strategy which serves to defuse the threat that they pose (see "Revolutionary").<sup>24</sup> The authors of *Der Baader-Meinhof-Report*, a study on terrorists commissioned by the government in 1972, claim that Andreas Baader is not very well endowed,<sup>25</sup> the implication being that his sexual deficiency is the cause of his terrorism. Matthew Grant has even argued that Baader and Ensslin tend to be represented in the media as a perverse heterosexual couple involving a femme gay man and a butch lesbian (see 201).

## CONCLUSION

I want to suggest that the construction of the woman terrorist's hard, virile body enables terrorism to be blamed on women, at least in part. The effeminate male terrorist with his soft body who fails to stand up to the violent woman is no match for her untamed sexuality as weapon. Masculinity fails in the face of unbridled female sexuality that is not kept in check.

This projection of failed masculinity is reflective of more general anxieties about masculinity failing in West German society, in the context of the second-wave women's movement and changing views on female bodies, sexuality and changing family constellations. Anxieties about feminism are certainly evident in the *Spiegel* cover story of 1975. This is apparent in the insistence that women are turning their backs on feminism and in the construction of the soft, fertile maternal body of the "Grosse erotische Mutter" who is "fruchtbar wie ein Acker" ("Frau '75," 31). An essay written by Wilhelm Bittorf, also part of this *Spiegel* feature, argues that women should not try to fight against biology, and hence against their maternal bodies. It evinces anxieties about the effects of feminism on society and men: "Fordernde Frauen und verunsicherte Männer zermürben einander mit Ansprüchen, die sie nicht erfüllen können, verstricken sich in Ego-Fehden, bei denen der Mann außer seinem Überlegenheitsgefühl oft auch seine Potenz einbüßt und

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank Andreas Kraß for this interpretation.

<sup>24</sup> See also Balz 220-23.

<sup>25</sup> Colvin refers to this in *Ulrike Meinhof* 191.

die Frau all den Zauber, der einstmals Leidenschaft und Liebe zu erwecken pflegte"; "das Streben nach Selbstbefreiung, nach Selbstfindung und einer neuen Identität jenseits der tradierten Rollen hat in eine nicht mehr zu übersehende Verwirrung geführt, in Selbstzweifel und Verhaltensunsicherheit, in Identitätskrisen und psychische Überanstrengung" (Bittorf 41). The body of the violent terrorist woman is a space onto which fears, anxieties and desires about women and the nation are projected and played out. It also functions as a cultural tool to discipline and punish – in the Foucauldian sense – 'normal' maternal women through negative example. The hard body acts as a warning of where a woman's self-determination and control over her body and sexuality could lead.

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JÜRGEN MARTSCHUKAT

## ÜBER DIE MODELLIERUNG DES KÖRPERS UND DIE ARBEIT AM SELBST IN DEN USA DES SPÄTEN 19. UND FRÜHEN 20. JAHRHUNDERTS

### I. EINLEITUNG: KÖRPERKULTUR UND SUBJEKTBILDUNG – "SO ESTABLISHED AS TO BE UNRECOGNIZED"

Im Jahr 1860 druckte das amerikanische Magazin "The Living Age" einen Artikel mit dem Titel "mind and muscle", der zu bestimmen suchte, wie die beiden Seiten menschlichen Seins interagierten. Seit einigen Jahren, so der Text, seien athletische Übungen und Wettkämpfe sehr beliebt. Der Autor war von den positiven Effekten des Sports auf die körperliche wie geistige Verfassung der Individuen sowie auf das Kollektiv insgesamt voll und ganz überzeugt, und er wagte für die nächsten Jahre die Prophezeiung: "The fashion of athleticism will become so fashionable that it will cease to be a fashion, and become a custom so established as to be unrecognized" (14-16).

Der "Living Age"-Artikel und seine Prophezeiung verweisen in mehrerer Hinsicht auf das Erkenntnisinteresse des folgenden Beitrags. Dieser wird erstens diskutieren, wie sich Sport und "athleticism" bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert tatsächlich etablierten und die amerikanische Kultur und Gesellschaft durchdrangen, genau wie es "Living Age" vorhergesagt hatte. Dabei interagierten Sport und Körperkultur mit zahlreichen weiteren kulturellen Feldern und Mechanismen sozialer Ordnung.<sup>1</sup> Sie waren Teil einer biopolitischen Ordnung, die sich um die Jahrhundertwende verfestigte und um einen kulturell wie biologisch definierten Drang zur vermeintlichen Perfektion effizienter Individuen sowie biologisch gedachter Kollektive kreiste.<sup>2</sup> Innerhalb dieser Zusammenhänge soll der folgende Beitrag vorführen, wie ein

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. insgesamt Martschukat 2011. Für Perspektiven auf eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Sports siehe Stieglitz, Martschukat, und Heinsohn; sowie Schiller, und Young 313-30.

<sup>2</sup> Ich beziehe mich hier auf das Konzept von Biopolitik, wie es entworfen wurde von Foucault, *Verteidigung*.