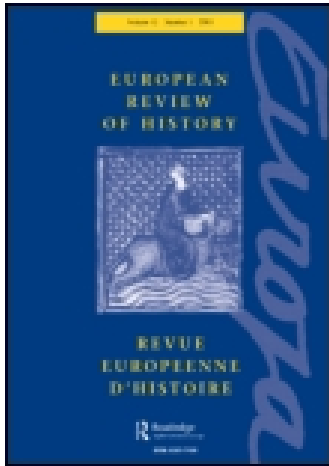


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The spectacle of the hunger-stricken body: a German–Italian terrorist, Swiss prisons and the (ir)rational body politic

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In Central Europe, terrorist attacks by Communist and anarchist groups were a common occurrence in the 1970s. Many of them existed ‘underground’, robbing banks and carrying out bombings of symbolic places, as well as kidnapping high-profile public figures. Arguably some of the most publicised terrorist acts happened in prison. In Switzerland, it was the hunger strikes of Italian-German anarchist Petra Krause that unsettled the Swiss state and its citizens. Not only did her prison resistance manage to confound the gendered power relations between the rational, sane body politic and the unsavoury, emaciated body of the irrational hunger striker, she also upturned the gendered differentiation between the masculine perpetrator and the feminine victim. Finally, her hunger strikes garnered much attention and support among the radical Left and feminists alike. Her body politics thus point to the vulnerability of the citizen-subject, and more importantly, to weaknesses of the state. Indeed, imagery of the prisoners’ feminised bodies broke out of the confines of the prison to cause more than just a public spectacle.

Keywords: left-wing terrorism; hunger strike; Switzerland; West Germany; gender; body; 1970s; Red Army Faction; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Introduction

In 1970s Central Europe, terrorist factions and radical cells emerged from the radical periphery of the waning student movement of the 1960s.¹ The mission of many of these groups was to expose what they were convinced was a democratic state’s capitalist, imperialist and ultimately Fascist agenda, which in the case of West Germany referred to the state’s support of the Vietnam War and its collaboration with the Shah of Iran, as well as the silence around the Nazi past. Many of them existed ‘underground’, robbing banks and carrying out bombings of symbolic places, as well as kidnapping high-profile public figures. Arguably some of the most publicised terrorist acts happened in prison. In this essay I discuss the ways in which 1970s terrorist factions used their bodies as weapons in prison. By staging hunger strikes in prison, they continued the armed struggle by other means. In West Germany the hunger strikes by the Red Army Faction (RAF), and to a lesser extent the Movement Second June, became the focus of public debate and state-security measures. In Switzerland, home to its own set of left-wing terrorists, it was the hunger strikes of Italian-German anarchist Petra Krause that unsettled the Swiss state and its citizens in unexpected ways.² While feminists and other left-wing activists supported Krause’s body politics with fervour, high-profile politicians, the daily press and regular citizens decried Krause as a ‘virago’³ who dangerously violated the Swiss national body.⁴

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One explanation for the threat that hunger strikes posed may be that the 'spectacular putting to death of the self', as Achille Mbembe calls it,⁵ undermined the legitimate state monopoly over the means of violence and death. As I will proceed to unpack in this article, the mobilising force of hunger strikes and the heated debates they spawned may also be attributed to the way they destabilised the body politic and the set of gendered dichotomies it is built on. The aim of this essay is to shed light on the relationship between the state and the terrorist body in resistance. Theorising resistance in prison as body politic(s) is to conceptualise hunger strike as an embodied, gendered performance of state violence, a performance that garners substantial socio-cultural force.⁶ This understanding of hunger strike challenges simple cause–effect explanations of resistance, violence and terrorism. What is more, it calls for the contextualisation of said violence. I thus argue that the ways in which Krause's hunger strikes impacted Swiss society were contingent on Switzerland's relationship to the Woman Question.

In what follows, I will concentrate on different interventions by the imprisoned Petra Krause, state actors and activists, drawing on hunger-strike declarations, prison correspondence, petitions and pleas by activists and newspaper articles, as well as prison and federal police files. While the core of this essay is devoted to the case of German-Italian anarchist Petra Krause's hunger-strike interventions between 1975 and 1977, there were other hunger strikes in Swiss prisons that this article will also point to. The first section discusses the mediation of the hunger strike in relation to the Swiss body politic in a discussion of the media representation of members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in a Swiss jail in 1969. I will then devote several sections to Petra Krause, first concentrating on her critique and demands in prison, then discussing the different activist groups mobilising on her behalf. It will be shown that Petra Krause's avid exchange with Swiss feminists, especially when it came to prison conditions, was antithetical to the contested relationships between feminists and female terrorists in West Germany. Finally, I will focus on the pervasive attention the case garnered in the mass media, and how different techniques tied to the body ultimately managed to change Krause's position *vis-à-vis* the state.

Mediated hunger strike and the Swiss body politic

Switzerland became a site of international terrorism in 1969 when three members of the PFLP attempted to hijack an airplane flown by the Israeli company El-Al. The perpetrators – two men and a woman – were gunned down by an Israeli security guard at Zurich Airport. While the three members of the PFLP were awaiting trial in a Zurich jail, Swiss newspapers were particularly interested in the female member, Amena Dahbor, a teacher from Gaza. At first it was assumed that Dahbor was but the girlfriend of one of the perpetrators. However, the cards soon turned against her when the media framed her as the leader of the group. Dahbor had become a 'nationalist of the purest kind',⁷ and a 'mean ghost'⁸ who had put a spell over the other perpetrators. The liberal newspaper *National-Zeitung* wrote: '[Amena Dahbor] gave her colleagues orders to start the hunger strike. Whereas El Heiga and Yousef took her order seriously and fasted, Amena continued to drink her daily cocoa. But at night she would call across the courtyard of the prison motivating her colleagues to persevere.'⁹ On the one hand Dahbor was portrayed as a manipulating, deceiving female; on the other, she was conceded to exhibit masculine traits such as strategic planning, keeping a cool head, deciding over her comrades' bodies and other leadership qualities. This last point also played into the way the Swiss press described Dahbor as a heavy smoker, taking intense drags from her cigarettes.¹⁰

The newspapers' interest in Dahbor's smoking habits might be a mere detail. It was, however, depicted as a practice that did not seem completely appropriate for a woman. The threat that the female terrorist exuded, it seems, was the disconcerting mix of an ostensibly masculine mind guiding her own and her co-perpetrators' feminised bodies. In the end, the PFLP trio was convicted to 12 years in prison. Their goal had been met, El Heiga claimed in an interview in 2012, since 'during and after the trial the whole world came to know the Palestinian cause.'¹¹ The three convicts were released from a Swiss prison in 1970 in exchange for hostages taken by the PFLP.

The representation of the PFLP members' hunger strike honed in on the gender-atypical activities of the group – the woman giving orders, the men following orders. This goes to show that it was not the terrorist acts alone that caught the attention of the public and the state. Their actions must be viewed as inseparable from those who perpetrated them. The fact that women were active in the PFLP and other terrorist groups was received with great discomfort. Journalists on high-circulation German and Swiss newspapers labelled the female perpetrators of the RAF 'irrational'¹² 'female supermen'.¹³ One Swiss daily even dehumanised the female perpetrators by calling them 'hyenas'.¹⁴ Shaping media representations of the terrorist became a powerful tool for the established liberal and conservative press, activists and terrorist factions alike. When the most prominent members¹⁵ of the so-called first generation of the RAF were behind bars, it was the representation of their hunger strikes and RAF member Holger Meins' hunger death in 1974 that turned out to be an important mobilising force for the second generation of the RAF.¹⁶ In the Swiss context, it was the hunger strikes of Italian-German anarchist Petra Krause that garnered unexpected media attention.

Foucault observed how state power seemed to be withdrawing from certain legal arenas in the early 1970s, whereas power was making its presence felt in other areas.¹⁷ He expressed alarm at the state's denial of rights to members of the RAF, while using mass media as its second arena to bolster its position.¹⁸ As Jacco Pekelder points out, the economic and political crisis of the 1970s, the women's and other minority movements' struggle for legal recognition, and the already mentioned prominence of mass media in the everyday lives of citizens, contributed to making state power more diffuse and heterogeneous.¹⁹ Against this background it seems paramount that analyses of terrorism and hunger strikes expand their analytical scope to include seemingly non-state governing techniques.²⁰ Indeed, in a semi-direct democracy like Switzerland, the state may not be easily divorced from its citizens. By launching and voting on initiatives and referenda, by being involved in politics on a communal, cantonal and federal level of government, and by being a part of the conscript army, Swiss citizens were actively involved in directing the Swiss people. Until 1971, the year women gained suffrage, this privilege was only granted to Swiss men, however. The head of the family or rather the father figure is attributed a key role herein; as a Swiss citizen he is supposed to not only care for himself and manage the family, but also contribute to governing the state.²¹ Indeed, governing a state or a community, taking care of the family and taking care of the self are mechanisms built on one another. In this perspective the so-called private – matters of the family and the self – normally thought of as opposites of the state, reveals itself as a constitutive part of government.²²

The metaphor of the body politic seems a particularly salient lens to get a better understanding of the relationship between the governing bodies and the individual bodies subsumed to it.²³ Ever since the Lockean-Kantian idea of individuals 'coming together to create social structures and political institutions that safeguard their interests and respect their natural rights' took hold in Western culture, the nation has been likened to a human

body.²⁴ The concept of the body politic gains traction in late eighteenth-century Central Europe, when “the study and cultivation of the body politic” became a matter of state policy.²⁵ As Isabel Hull writes: ‘Stripped of social status and regional inflection, the citizen had to be based on universal principles adhering to the only distinguishing feature he had left: his body.’²⁶ Of course the mind was still believed to be the body’s guiding light, but as ‘states, medical professionals, and social reformers began to wield new knowledge of health and hygiene, “the new body assumed a central place in the self-image of the bourgeoisie.”’²⁷ Anchoring the mind in a healthy and clean body was critical for the nascent social body and for the concepts of citizenship and nation in Central Europe. It went hand in hand with the construction of messy, irrational bodies of women or terrorists of the likes of Petra Krause. What follows is a discussion of the case of Petra Krause based on police and prison records as well as newspapers.

Petra Krause and her hunger-strike demands

Petra Krause was born in Berlin in 1939 to an educated and well-to-do German family.²⁸ Court documents detail that her father Heinz Krause, a journalist for the *New York Times*, had been of ‘Jewish descent’, while her mother came from the German aristocratic family von dem Bussche. According to Krause’s testimony to Swiss officials, a lieutenant of the von dem Bussche family had been involved in the first assassination attempt on Hitler in 1940²⁹, after which his entire family including Krause’s parents and siblings were detained in the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. She claimed that aside from her, only her mother and one of her sisters survived, but she never saw them again. Krause further indicated that during her detention in the concentration camp Nazi doctors had performed medical experiments on her. According to the legal judgement against her, she professed to have scars on her body to show for it, and that one of these scars tore open when giving birth to her son in 1959. The French newspaper *Libération* reported that the Nazis had implanted plastic intestines in Krause’s body, though it remains unknown who had given them this information.³⁰ In 1943 or 1944, Petra Krause purportedly came to Sweden as part of an exchange of child detainees in German concentration camps.³¹ She reports to the Swiss authorities that once the war was over, she was sent to an International Red Cross camp in Bavaria, and eventually, after three transfers, ended up in an orphanage in Munich. Krause further claims that in 1950 she was assigned a custodian, Hermann Waldmann, whose Berlin-based family she moved in with. In 1953, at the age of 15, Krause spent nine months on a Kibbutz in Israel. She returned to her foster family, only to run away one year before completing her secondary-school and university-qualification exams. As a young adult she married an Italian medical doctor with whom she had the already-mentioned son, Marco. Through marriage she became an Italian citizen. As soon as divorce became legal in Italy, she divorced again. She named political differences as the main reason for the divorce, which coincided with her growing involvement with the Italian extra-parliamentary Left. Due to her language skills she served as a contact person with the German radical Left. When Italian prosecutors issued a warrant of arrest in conjunction with a 1974 arson attack in Milan, she escaped to Switzerland where she went ‘underground’.³² It is then that Krause met the young men of the Swiss anarchist group and decided to participate in their actions, only one year prior to their arrest in 1975. The press referred to them as ‘the Petra Krause group’; the group members themselves never decided on a name. The group robbed the Swiss military and dealt weapons and explosives with the RAF and other left-wing groups in different parts of Europe. They also blew up minor buildings in solidarity with the West German RAF or the Italian Brigade Rosse. When in

jail and awaiting trial, Petra Krause, the only non-Swiss member of the group, went on three hunger strikes, two in 1975 and one in 1976. Each strike was accompanied by specific demands directed at the Swiss prison authorities, as well as by extensive media coverage.³³

Krause went on her first hunger strike after enduring six months of isolation. It lasted from 17 September to 3 October 1975.³⁴ Four other detainees followed suit. According to Krause, it had been a rather spontaneous decision to go on hunger strike.³⁵ Krause claimed that at the time she could not find a Swiss support network or social movement attuned to her plight and those of other prisoners. Hence, one goal of her first hunger strike was to sensitise, instigate and mobilise the Swiss radical Left on issues of incarceration, most notably the customary pre-trial solitary confinement. Through her lawyers she managed to pass a declaration to her son. It expressed solidarity with the political prisoners in Spain and the death sentences they'd received, denounced isolation as a form of torture, and demanded better prison conditions, describing the excrement, blood and vomit she had found in her cell. Finally, the declaration called for the formation of a support committee with delegates of left-wing groups such as the radical feminist Frauenbefreiungsbewegung (Swiss women's liberation movement, FBB), the Rote Hilfe (whose mission was to protect those persecuted for political reasons) and the Prison Action Group (devoted since 1973 to improving prison conditions in Switzerland).³⁶

The hunger strike led to the amelioration of Krause's jail conditions, even if the results did not reach the prison population at large. To give but two examples: Krause was accorded half an hour of fresh air each day.³⁷ Also, the jail warden put up house rules and a guide to daily routines in every cell of the jail.³⁸ This victory was only temporary, though. Krause later found out that other prisoners were never informed about the prison rules. Eventually she broke off her hunger strike because she was disconcerted by the fact that the growing support on the outside was entirely focused on her person, instead of the deplorable prison conditions more generally.³⁹ The support committee had turned into a 'Free Petra Krause' group.

Little is known about Krause's second hunger strike, which lasted from 7–11 November 1975.⁴⁰ Petra Krause documented her third hunger strike in detail, however. To her this hunger strike was an entirely different, more empowering experience than her previous hunger strikes.⁴¹ The strike took place from 19 June to 16 July 1976⁴², during a time when the Swiss prison movement was in full bloom. In the meantime, a 'Committee against Isolation Torture' had been founded in Zurich, which not only enjoyed the support of Swiss-German and Swiss-French Prison Action Groups, the Red Help and Swiss feminists. It was also assisted by the Democratic Lawyers who were privy to much-needed legal knowledge.⁴³ This time Krause decided to smuggle the hunger-strike declaration to these groups clandestinely, so as not to incriminate her lawyers. The strike was not to begin until the declaration had gone public. The declaration demanded the abolition of solitary confinement for all inmates awaiting trial. Furthermore, it asked that all inmates were allowed at least one hour per day of outdoor walking, as well as the right to consult with a doctor of one's confidence.

Krause's third hunger strike inspired activists to organise demonstrations and start petitions. Five thousand people signed a petition expressing their sympathy with those in solitary confinement.⁴⁴ Sympathetic lawyers and doctors appeared on radio and television to describe the conditions in Swiss jails and prisons. Throughout her third hunger strike, Krause feared hospitalisation and was grateful to the doctors who respected her will not to be force-fed. When a member of the Zurich city council paid her a visit in jail and assured

her that her declaration would be discussed at the next city council meeting, she felt a sense of accomplishment and ended the hunger strike.⁴⁵

Prison correspondence and the power–knowledge–body nexus

The Swiss prison officials anticipated her hunger strikes. They read all her prison correspondence, be it to her worried son or to fellow activists in solidarity with her. Indeed, one of her hunger-strike demands had targeted this censorship. She had found out that not only were the prosecutors reading her mail, which of course was their legal duty, but that the prison officers were doing the same, even though the law did not allow them to do so.⁴⁶ One of the people she corresponded with when in prison was an artist who helped found the radical feminist FBB.⁴⁷ Krause exchanged her thoughts about feminist politics with the Swiss feminist, and shared her experience and views about the Swiss prison conditions for women. Indeed, at one point she offered an eight-page-long scathing critique of the Swiss practice of pre-trial custody in complete isolation.⁴⁸

Krause gave several examples of how RAF members had been driven to insanity in prison. ‘They wanted to cut open Ulrike’s head to prove that counter-violence could only be committed by the mentally handicapped,’ she wrote indignantly.⁴⁹ Indeed, Ulrike Meinhof endured brain surgery due to a tumour in 1962. Even before Meinhof’s death in 1976, it was rumoured that it was her brain damage that had caused her to commit such irrational terrorist acts. This line of argument often served to ridicule members of the RAF for having followed a crazy person’s orders. Krause referred to the polemic around Meinhof’s brain surgery by way of analogy in order to show how similar, even systematic, the counter-terrorist techniques by different states were.⁵⁰ In essence, comparing Swiss prison conditions to those of the RAF allowed Krause to point to the ways in which the plight of political prisoners might have been worse in West Germany, but that in Switzerland the conditions in custody were unsupportable for all.

In her letter to the Swiss feminist she quoted a West German collective of left-wing physicians’ research on prisons. Their results showed that six months of solitary confinement was equivalent to a patient’s state of health after a complicated surgical intervention, and to be in solitary confinement for three years was like having a limb amputated. The damage was permanent.⁵¹ The left-wing medical doctors, Krause mentioned, were part of an independent line of psychiatry that in the 1970s had founded ‘Committees against Isolation Torture’ throughout Central Europe.⁵² At the time of her critique of solitary confinement, she did not know that she herself would be held in solitary custody for two and a half years.

In jail Krause found it particularly hard to watch her own bodily disintegration. In her letter to the FBB member she described her body coming undone.⁵³ Regular physical exercise prevented her from breaking down completely. She described the dreadful feelings of powerlessness when faced with problems menstruating, circulation issues or noises in the head, just to mention a few of the ailments she endured. When she asked for tampons because she finally did get her period, the prison guard on duty reportedly refused her demand with the words: ‘Terrorists have to perish in their own blood.’⁵⁴ Krause underscored how traumatising it was to be forced to see a prison doctor. Her health was suffering, she stressed, but prison officials refused to grant her the right to consult a medical doctor of her choice.⁵⁵ After a tuberculosis relapse and eight surgical operations – without naming the concentration camp explicitly, she was referring to the surgeries that were conducted on her at Auschwitz – she dreaded anyone experimenting on her body again – especially a prison doctor.

Krause spoke of human-rights violations in custody and pointed to gender discrimination in jail. For a start, she problematised the fact that female prisoners were being kept in men's jails.⁵⁶ Here women were denied two hours of fresh air per week, a right that was granted to all male prisoners. The reason given for the differential treatment of male and female prisoners was that there was no such space for women prisoners, it being a men's facility. It took a hunger strike to be granted daily walks in the courtyard: a hard-earned gain that did not turn out to be the victory it seemed at first. Whenever she and the two other women detained in the jail entered the courtyard, they could see and hear the lecherous male prisoners masturbating fervently at the rare sight of women.⁵⁷ Krause described the humiliation for female detainees at being subjected to the gaze of both male inmates and male guards.⁵⁸

Petra Krause also pointed to the discriminatory treatment of inmates in the actual women's prison, and encouraged her pen-pal, the FBB activist, to do something about it. Krause had heard that there was a rule that female inmates were only granted two packs of cigarettes per week whereas the consumption of cigarettes in men's prisons was not regulated.⁵⁹ An earlier passage in her letter to the feminist activist gives some clues as to why the cigarette issue might have incensed her so much.⁶⁰ She had previously worked as a secretary and translator in an Italian company where the women were forbidden to smoke. Krause claimed that she had been the only one to disobey the orders. The right to smoke, one might surmise, was closely tied to her own experience of liberation and possibly to her notion of women's liberation more generally. Indeed, Krause's hunger-strike demands did not just extend to her own fate or that of political prisoners. Her goal was to instigate a broad movement that fought for better prison conditions for all imprisoned women and men. However, the media cared more about constructing the elusive yet fascinating figure of the female terrorist.

Feminist and Foucauldian theories lend themselves to the analysis of the relationship between the individual body of Petra Krause, the hunger striker, and the different arms of the body politic. Foucault shows how knowledge about the body in the shape of demographic studies, scientific scrutiny, statistical inquiry and self-inspection is an integral part of the state.⁶¹ Prison surveillance and censorship of Krause's correspondence is one way that the state produces knowledge about individual bodies in order to control the populace.⁶²

Krause's body does not seem to be easily controlled, however, which may not be surprising given the fact that constitutional democracies initially conceptualised the citizen's body as that of a male landowner and protector of the nation. Women, non-white and working-class men were believed to be incapable of using their minds to govern their own bodies and those of others. One may count the figure of the terrorist in these irrationalised bodies. As a matter of fact there is a long tradition of imagining both the individual body and the nation as penetrable and vulnerable, thereby aligning them with the feminine.⁶³ The feminised notion of the nation as an open womb and wound was what once propelled the male citizen to train his body for national combat.⁶⁴ In Switzerland, the persistence of the idea of the citizen-soldier was one of many reasons why citizenship was not granted to women until 1971.⁶⁵ In this understanding, the (male) citizen-subject only constitutes itself as autonomous and free once he complies with the law and learns to delimit a part of himself – his body – to be observed, analysed and controlled by himself.⁶⁶ The citizen is paradoxically conceptualised as independent and sovereign on the one hand, and as serving the *Vaterland* (fatherland, nation) on the other.⁶⁷ This complicity in one's own subordination to the social body tends to be disavowed. Some even argue that this silenced dependence is the condition of possibility of the male citizen-subject.⁶⁸

Against this background it becomes clear that the hunger striker posed a symbolic threat. S/he made the otherwise silenced vulnerability of the citizen, her or his dependence on the protection of the state, visible. Indeed, the depersonalised hunger striker might be read as a reminder of the feminised position of the masculine citizen-subject. As a terrorist Petra Krause came to symbolise the dangerous forces penetrating Switzerland; as a woman she stood for the penetrated nation in need of protection. As we will see in the next section, her struggle to 'depersonalise' the campaign remained in large parts unsuccessful as it stood in stark contrast to the activists' strategies to publicise her struggle.⁶⁹

National and international mobilisation to free a woman terrorist

Petra Krause's hunger-strike actions managed to create a huge wave of solidarity in Switzerland, Italy and beyond. During the two and half years that Krause was detained, there had been numerous demands to free Krause from jail. To give a few examples found in the Swiss Federal Police files: in August 1975, the police received a press release by the FBB calling for the release of Petra Krause and another female activist.⁷⁰ The Zurich police conferred with the Federal police as to whether there was need to be alarmed. They agreed that the women of the FBB were neither armed nor schooled enough to help Krause break out of jail. What was more is that the police did not believe that the press release had been sent by the FBB. They suspected the Rote Hilfe to have used the name of the FBB as a decoy to camouflage their action. It is likely that the police could not imagine Swiss women, even feminist ones, to come across as so assertive and militant. Yet, the FBB's involvement in the campaign to free Petra Krause could well have marked the beginning of the Swiss women's organisations' more systematic mobilisation for prisoners' rights, a movement that would peak in 1977 with the petition by inmates of the only Swiss women's prison and a 1978 report by the Swiss Federal Commission for Women's Issues on female imprisonment in Switzerland.⁷¹ Regardless, the police were certain that any Swiss group would be incapable of such drastic actions, unless they were supported by the Brigade Rosse or the RAF.⁷²

Numerous activist groups organised in solidarity with Krause, some asserting that the prison conditions and her hunger strikes left her body incredibly weakened. She was said to weigh only 35 kilograms.⁷³ The most publicised call to free Krause was issued in June 1976 during Krause's third hunger strike. The hijackers of an Air France plane with the destination of Entebbe Airport, Uganda, demanded the release of a large number of Palestinians held in Israel and a smaller group of non-Palestinian detainees imprisoned in other countries, among them Petra Krause in Switzerland. The hijackers were members of the German Revolutionary Cells and the PFLP.⁷⁴ Different narratives circulated in the aftermath of the Entebbe hijacking, the most dominant of which focused on the anti-Semitism of the West German terrorists who reportedly separated the Jewish passengers from the non-Jewish ones.⁷⁵ As the story goes, the latter were released quickly while those of Jewish descent were kept as hostages. Historians Sedlmair and Anders' comprehensive investigation of 'Enterprise Entebbe' paints a more nuanced picture. In fact, they underscore that it cannot be ascertained what exactly happened at Entebbe. What is known is that the passengers who were released immediately did not hold an Israeli passport, while most of the 102 hostages liberated by the Israeli military did.⁷⁶ It is against this background that Sedlmair and Anders problematise the dominant narrative of anti-Semitic selection, or rather the way it was subsequently used to analogise the Entebbe hijackings with the Holocaust. A highly publicised example of such an analogy was drawn by Revolutionary Cells member Hans-Joachim Klein.⁷⁷ Learning of the Revolutionary Cells'

1976 airplane hijacking to Entebbe, Uganda, and the dominant selection narrative⁷⁸, Klein purportedly said: ‘This is “Auschwitz” all over again, “barbarity pure and simple”’.⁷⁹ Sedlmair and Anders argue that such comparisons trivialise the Holocaust.⁸⁰

The Swiss Federal Council took two days to decide against the demands of the Entebbe hijackers. Six years earlier their decision had been a different one: on 6 September 1970 the PFLP had hijacked four airplanes almost simultaneously from different airports and airlines all over Europe. They forced the pilots to land at Dawson’s Field in Jordan. One of the planes was a Swissair machine. The hijackers posed an ultimatum: the three PFLP convicts who had attempted to hijack an El-Al plane from Zurich Airport in 1969 were to be freed within 72 hours or the Swissair plane with all its passengers would be blown up. One hundred and fifty three mostly Swiss people waited enclosed in a DC-8 until the Swiss government came to its decision. It took the Federal Council all but six hours to decide. The hijackers’ demands were met and Dahbor, Yousef and El Haiga were freed immediately.

In June 1976, the Swiss government did not give in to the demands of the hijackers. It is possible that they had known about the Israel Defense Force’s operation to liberate the hostages and were confident that it would succeed. Interestingly, the Swiss Federal Council’s unwillingness to negotiate paralleled the West German government’s reaction to terrorist hijackings and kidnappings. While it granted the demands of the Lorenz kidnapers in 1975, it decided against entering into negotiations with the Schleyer kidnapping in 1977. At the time of the Revolutionary Cells’ and the PFLP’s demands, Krause was still in custody, waiting to be convicted of a crime.⁸¹ A memo circulated by the Federal Council made it clear that Krause was not to be released.⁸² According to the memo, Krause posed a particular threat to the Swiss people because of her extensive international network, meaning her intimate ties to Italy and Germany, but also her contacts to ‘top terrorist’ Carlos in Paris.⁸³ It mentioned the ‘fact’ that Krause had provided the Carlos group with anti-tank mines and had rented them a car in Geneva.⁸⁴ The extent of Krause’s connection to the Carlos people was, however, still under investigation. The memo concluded with a message to the hijackers: ‘The Federal Council and the *Schweizervolk* (Swiss people) appeal to you, as an act of humanity, to free the hostages without difference and exception.’⁸⁵ This last statement alluded to the dominant narrative of selection. In the files regarding Petra Krause the Swiss government never referred to it explicitly.

The greatest pressure to free Krause came from Italian activists and politicians, and it had recourse to an entirely different narrative⁸⁶: the Swiss oppression of women. The Red Help Italy accused the ‘neutral’ nation of having been a close collaborator with the Nazis during World War Two.⁸⁷ The activists posited that the horrid prison conditions in Switzerland ‘expedited the murder of Petra Krause in prison relentlessly’.⁸⁸ In the summer of 1977 feminist Italian playwright Franca Rame and her husband Dario Fo started to mobilise for her cause, and appealed to the Swiss Federal Council directly.⁸⁹ Their core message was that Krause was being subjected to physical and psychological torture in the Swiss prison.⁹⁰ An invigorated anti-prison movement circulated photographs of an emaciated Petra Krause.⁹¹ Finally, a committee of Italian women deputies arranged a visit to the Swiss prison in late July 1977.⁹² The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reported that the deputies were convinced that Krause was being punished, not for her terrorist crimes, but for being a woman transgressing gender norms.⁹³ Again, a controversial public debate ensued, this time not just about prison conditions, but about violence against women.⁹⁴

The Italian deputies’ politically powerful visit might have been the last straw for the Swiss officials. Consequently, the Swiss Supreme Court Judges felt pressured to inspect

the Zurich prison situation themselves.⁹⁵ Petra Krause never stood trial in Switzerland. In August 1977, a very weak Petra Krause was extradited to Italy after 28 months in Swiss jails.⁹⁶

Recoding the female terrorist as a victim of violence against women

The support for Krause and her cause from the Italian feminist Franca Rame and the Italian committee of women deputies, as well as from members of the Swiss Women's Liberation Movement, paint a picture of alliance and solidarity between feminism and terrorism, which was quite unusual for the time. Few feminists fought for the liberation of the female members of the RAF or the Movement Second June. Many of them were busy defending their own reputations, after mainstream media and state officials started putting them in the same box as terrorists.⁹⁷ Female terrorists, too, were often asked about their relationship to feminism and about their specific role as women in a terrorist faction, questions they often declined to answer. Suffice it to say that the relationship between feminists and female terrorists was complicated, and most female terrorists did not want to be called feminists.⁹⁸ Indeed, feminists' strong allegiance to Krause is exemplary.

The affinity clearly went both ways. Krause explicitly called attention to women's discrimination in Swiss prisons, observations that must be seen within the larger context of 1970s Swiss gender politics. Given that Swiss (male) citizens only granted women the right to vote in 1971, it is safe to assume that women had yet to become a naturalised 'limb' of the Swiss body politic, when Petra Krause was arrested in March 1975. Indeed, Swiss women's relationship to citizenship and to the state more generally was still an indirect one, one that was mediated through the father or husband, or one that was legitimated by women's 'natural' role as mothers and wives.⁹⁹ This may explain why newspapers described female terrorists as phallic women. The spectre of the foreign terrorist woman was effectively used to praise Swiss women's nature as docile and domestic housewives. It may also illuminate why the political violence perpetrated by women was quickly attributed to male-dominated radical groups such as the Red Help. The inception of a binary between the liberated, irrational and foreign terrorist and the contained and restrained Swiss woman gives testimony to the contested state of women's (political) participation in Switzerland. Once Swiss women entered institutional politics, the sense of masculine fraternity that underwrote the collaboration among state officials and individual (male) citizens was severely called into question.

Women's presence in parliamentary politics was not the only disconcerting change to the body politic. Another destabilising factor was the ubiquity of representations of nude and semi-nude bodies since the Sexual Revolutions of the 1960s and since fashion models like Twiggy popularised the scantily clad, extremely thin body. There was a new emphasis on pleasure and desire, and an increasing use of sex to sell products.¹⁰⁰ At the time many feminists such as Germaine Greer aligned less clothing with more liberation for women: 'The women kept on dancing while their long skirts crept up, and their girdles dissolved, and their nipples burst through like hyacinth tips and their clothing withered away to the mere wisps and ghosts of draperies to adorn and glorify, and at last the cunt lay open like a shining seapath to the sun.'¹⁰¹ Other feminists, however, problematised the new prevalence of 'private parts' in public – be it on billboards or on the cover of news magazines. In so doing, they called common understandings of politics into question intensely. What once used to be relegated to the private was now discussed or exhibited in public. Clearly, the boundaries between the private and the public had become very blurry in less than a decade. The female body had become a politically charged issue.

The spectacle of the feminised hunger-stricken body in prison contributed its share to destabilising the Swiss body politic. 'By starving themselves slowly the hunger striker [sic] makes public the very private act of dying and their suffering becomes a source of power eliciting strong emotions in supporters as well as observers.'¹⁰² Indeed, the media representation of Krause's feminised body reached the public on a seemingly private, emotional level. The Italian women deputies' reaction to Krause's emaciated body shows that representations of the self-starving female body had a gendered effect, which is to say that it triggered feelings of empathy and solidarity that a man's body would not have elicited.

Krause's stick-thin body gestured toward concerns about women's oppression more generally. Indeed, Krause's hunger-strike campaign was informed and shaped by dominant gender norms, for example, the commonly held notion that the small and fragile body of a woman is more susceptible to suffering than that of more robust men.¹⁰³ The depiction of her petite figure provoked strong reactions in the viewer. In a sense her interventions depended on the visualisation of her emaciated body. They were informed by the dominant idea that the objectivity or 'truth' of the camera not only captures the deviant's body and facial expression, but that the face and body were also windows into the soul. In short: Krause's hunger-stricken body blurred the lines between victim and perpetrator.¹⁰⁴ Her feminised body raised questions about the state's abuse of its powers. In essence, what happened is that activists, politicians and Krause herself managed to re-codify and transfer power by shifting the attention from the violent body of the terrorist to the violated body of the imprisoned victim. Arguably Krause's body, because it was coded as female, was readily imagined as a frail victim's body. Representations of Krause's hunger-stricken body revealed the slipperiness of Krause's embodied gender¹⁰⁵: 'Krause's body image left the consumers of media with uncertainty as to the terrorist's status – was this the body of an enemy of the state, the body of a victim of state violence or both?'¹⁰⁶ Krause's hunger strikes thus pointed to the instability of dominant binaries such as the state and the terrorist, the perpetrator and the victim, which was exploited with particular fervour by the mass media.

The next section's gender analysis will shed light on the intricate relationship between the individual body of the hunger striker and the dominant West German post-war imagery of the Holocaust survivor. It will give me the chance to underscore the significant differences to the Swiss imaginary, and the ways in which it shaped its body politic.

Gendered media representation and the spectre of National Socialism

For over two years, Krause's hunger strikes had held the press' attention captive. The moderate and conservative media tended to criticise Petra Krause's strategic use of her health to blackmail the Swiss government.¹⁰⁷ One of the most dominant voices was that of American journalist Claire Sterling, whose translated articles appeared in different German-language newspapers. She also devoted a chapter to Krause in her book *The Terror Network*, published in the early 1980s. Sterling held that Krause used her body to trick the Italian people into believing that Swiss prisons were torture chambers.¹⁰⁸ Others accused leftist anti-prison groups for opportunistically and maliciously exploiting a highly visible prison victim to further their own goals, namely to put an end to solitary confinement (isolation wards) in Swiss prisons. They claimed that Krause was being used as a 'show object', manipulating the compassion of the public with the self-induced fate of a likeminded comrade.¹⁰⁹

Practically every Italian daily of importance dwelt on Krause's precarious state of health as a result of Swiss prison policy. The Italian public hailed her a heroine and martyr.¹¹⁰ Lengthy reports in the Italian press spoke of her 'slow death [...] under the psycho-physical tortures of rigorous isolation' in the Zurich jail, which in turn infuriated the moderate and conservative press in Switzerland and elsewhere.¹¹¹ They objected to Krause's Italian 'halo of a Martyr' legitimising a smear campaign against Switzerland.¹¹² The daily newspaper *Basler Zeitung* expressed great shock at the supposed comparison of the Swiss prison conditions with the 'torture of the Nazis'.¹¹³ This Swiss journalist criticised Krause's body politics for motivating such analogies in the foreign press. Even so, his and others' coverage of the case had been quite opportunistic as well. The never-ending threats and demands to extricate Krause from prison had been like a suspense movie, and this, of course, is what sold newspapers.

To gauge the reactions of newspaper readers, the letters to the editor are quite informative. Many of them explicitly discussed Petra Krause's female body in relation to the Swiss body politic. One letter even expressed unfiltered disgust with the Swiss media's endless coverage of Petra Krause, as well as the Italian press' admiration of her. He lamented that 'a modest Swiss woman who quietly and correctly passes a day's work and who holds together well the family as a cell of our state, wouldn't be worthy of representation.'¹¹⁴ The author of the letter described the bourgeois family situation in which a 'modest Swiss woman' cares for the family and secures the welfare of the state as the antithesis of the German-Italian terrorist who in his view was celebrated as a 'national saint' by the mass media.¹¹⁵

In all of this time, the Swiss mainstream media only picked up on Krause's traumatic past in a concentration camp when accusations were launched against Switzerland by the Italian press and activists.¹¹⁶ Police files hardly ever mention this particular 'detail' of her biography. Given the dominance of left-wing accusations of Fascism in West German rhetoric and imagery at the time, this is more than surprising. Indeed, the 1968 generation and the RAF invoked their literal and/or political fathers – the National Socialist legacy – with great frequency. Criticism of Fascism was a mobilising factor for many terrorists. West German left-wing activists made direct comparisons between prison conditions and Nazi concentration camps. RAF founding member Gudrun Ensslin famously said in 1967: 'This is the Auschwitz generation, there is no arguing with them.'¹¹⁷ Later Gudrun Ensslin compared the *tote Trakt* (death wing) to solitary confinement saying that the difference was Auschwitz to Buchenwald.¹¹⁸

After Holger Meins's hunger-strike death in 1974, young people in West Germany took to the streets. Protesters carried large posters depicting on the left an enlarged autopsy photo of Meins's skeleton-thin body, and on the right, the image of a haggard and weak concentration-camp survivor.¹¹⁹ Barbed wire, a trope intimately tied to the concentration camp, conjoined both images.¹²⁰ As Melzer points out, images of abused, starved Jewish prisoners 'visually defined the meaning of hunger in post-war Germany'.¹²¹ The two images looked eerily similar, an effect that was of course intended. The photos were mounted on black billboards. In this light the corpses took on the quality of x-rays, reminding the viewer of the Nazis' medical experiments at Auschwitz. Placing Meins's body next to the image of a hunger-stricken Holocaust victim analogised the state's 'murder' of Meins to the atrocities committed by the Nazis. The visual message was only exacerbated by the words accompanying the photos – 'This man "blackmailed" the German state' – written in big innocent-white letters. This alignment of Holger Meins's corpse with that of the camp survivor intended to make the accusation against Meins seem preposterous. The RAF's visualisation of Holger Meins's corpse presented him as a

victim, and ‘the postwar Federal Republic as a continuation of the fascist Third Reich.’¹²² Similarly to the representation of Krause’s slight body, this image shifted the public’s understanding of the terrorist as perpetrator to the terrorist as victim.

Notably, the only political activity Petra Krause allowed herself to engage in while living in the Zurich ‘underground’ in 1974 was to join the Swiss Holger Meins Committee.¹²³ One year later Krause was on her first hunger strike, when fellow inmate and sympathiser Werner Schlegel warned the public: ‘Don’t let Petra Krause become a Swiss Holger Meins.’¹²⁴ Petra Krause’s body was a Holocaust survivor’s body, physically marred by medical experiments in a concentration camp in the early 1940s, the kind of medical ‘research’ that underscores the significance of the individual body to the body politic. However, her fight for the collective body of Swiss prisoners prevented her from calling attention to her traumatic past. In jail, there were only a few rare moments when Krause alluded to her experiences in a concentration camp. It was medical treatment in prison that seemed to trigger memories of concentration-camp experiments on her body.¹²⁵ However, Krause’s opposition to the medical treatment was also informed by the West German authorities’ treatment of the RAF hunger strikers and political prisoners more generally. Furthermore, her suspicions of the medical gaze implied a feminist critique of the state and medicine’s authority over women’s bodies. All in all, Krause’s body politics in Swiss jails point to how deeply personal the political was for her, if on many different levels. One can only surmise that the prison officials, who of course recorded her every move, were aware of the centrality of her body as a signifier for women’s oppression, anti-Semitism and left-wing activism.

The Nazi spectre haunted West Germany but was hardly ever invoked by Swiss activists who fought for Krause’s freedom. As I will show in the next section, the Nazi spectre did not need to be mobilised in the case of Switzerland. Indeed, the way in which Krause troubled the bourgeois gender order proved menacing enough. The figure of the foreign female terrorist unsettled the Swiss body politic.

A gendered body navigating the Swiss body politic

How a state could feel blackmailed by an individual prisoner’s hunger strike may only be understood against the backdrop of Krause’s ‘armed masculinity without man’¹²⁶, which was perceived as an assault on dominant understandings of masculinity and nation. Indeed, public attention to Krause’s combat put the belief that masculinity was synonymous with the male body to the test. In addition, Krause’s hunger strike pointed to the feminised space of the prison. What is more, Krause’s prison struggle demonstrated that the female/feminised body could become a site of the production of nation.

Petra Krause and her Italian and Swiss allies attacked Switzerland’s prison policy by comparing them to those of other European states, and more disturbingly – if only on the very rare occasion – to Nazi concentration camps. In addition, those defending the Swiss national body saw Krause’s popularity in Italy to be a direct attack on Switzerland. Krause was either styled a terrorist or openly hailed a martyr – subject positions that generally speaking were reserved to men.¹²⁷ To be entering the masculine sphere of combat is one thing; to alienate combat from its legitimate intent – to defend the *Vaterland* – is another.

The reports on Krause produced masses of crime stories, where she came across as both mysterious and familiar; due to her constant presence in the high-circulation media she became something of a household fixture.¹²⁸ The daily media coverage of Petra Krause’s hunger-stricken body brought the terror home by localising it in the body of a woman who looked no different to the girl next door.¹²⁹ At the same time, she was clearly

represented as alien to the Swiss body politic, her German-Jewish heritage and her Italian citizenship status reasons enough to distrust her (national) loyalties, the foreign elements in her body proof of her alien status. The rare mention of her past in a Nazi concentration camp reinforced the image of the 'terrorist' as foreign and alien, only aided by the extensive international calls to free Petra Krause.¹³⁰ It is in this way that Petra Krause remained both inside and outside of the Swiss body politic.

Still, the daily recording of her health shook the public's confidence in the state's right doings, even if Swiss citizens' loss of 'faith' in the state must be seen as a more general trend in 1970s Central Europe.¹³¹ Driven by the goal of exposing the violence of the state, hunger strikers like Petra Krause forced the state into the uncomfortable role of the passive onlooker while the public got to witness the slow death from hunger of a human being. This made the state's lack of control over its own subjects most apparent. If Foucault is right that the 'disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed', then the state failed at exerting either.¹³² Indeed, it revealed a state dependent on favourable media representation to regulate its citizens.¹³³ Krause's prison performance reversed the preordained roles of the state and the prisoner. By rejecting the imperative interest of personal survival, she and other hunger strikers' turned the tables on the state monopoly over power and violence. Hence, hunger strikers' strategic subversion of the state's sovereign power over their bodies may be viewed as yet another mode of resistance. As Allen Feldman puts it: 'No other action more eloquently demonstrated the condition and image of the human body infested with the state apparatus.'¹³⁴

Prison was and is of course a disciplinary institution and by no means a gender-neutral one. For one, the stripping away of sovereignty over one's body in prison was perceived as a form of feminisation. In addition, modern prisons are sex-segregated institutions, dividing the suspects and convicts into two sexes, which actively contributes to constructing and upholding the gender binary. The existence of prisons for men and for women tends to be attributed to the biological fact that there are two different sexes and that these sexes are inherently distinct from one another. The case of Petra Krause showed that it might well be the other way around: the gender-specific setting of the prison and the institutionalised gender roles within the prison instantiated and naturalised core gender differences.¹³⁵ As Jill McCorkel underlines: 'Bodies are actively gendered within institutions whose stated mission is directed to other goals.'¹³⁶ Indeed, the jails in question were designed for male inmates and implemented gender-specific disciplinary measures.

In the 1970s the European prison was constituted through its interaction with inmates, with the law, state medicine, prison research and reform, the new social movements' prison activism¹³⁷, and of course the publicly visible actions of terrorist prisoners. One may argue that prison walls became particularly porous in the 1970s, with information about prison conditions flowing in and out of the institution more readily, and the subsequent increased politicisation and visibility of incarceration. The Swiss case of Petra Krause reveals a deep fear of the figure of the liberated female terrorist in a nation-state that had just granted its women the right to vote. At the same time, it highlights the productive exchange and mutual support of feminists and female terrorists, a relationship that seems to have been more contentious in West Germany.

Due to the information shared by (political) prisoners and the surveillance of the state, historians know that in the early and mid-1970s there had been ways of negotiating and shaping the terms set by prison regulations and the body politic more broadly. Left-wing terrorists gained intimate knowledge of the workings of the prison. This allowed them to dispose of their bodies as an effective negotiation tool, if only for a certain time span in the

1970s.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the prisoners managed to subject their bodies to a set of rules different to those of the prison, namely the rules of representation, with the effect that their demands were seen, heard and feared. They seemed to have a grasp on how to make use of gendered symbolism in order to evoke specific emotional responses such as empathy, solidarity, shock or disgust, and to plant a seed of doubt where the state broadcast certainty and inevitability. It points to how the terrorist prison resistance and the state's counter-terrorism were inextricably interwoven. For one, the imprisoned terrorists implemented some of the same strategies as the state or the media. One prominent strategy was the feminisation of the hunger-stricken body in mass media. The eyes of the spectator might have been conditioned to observe and objectify both the female body and the incarcerated body. It might have already internalised the notion that visible frailty also meant inner weakness and helplessness. Hence, it was this overdetermined body that produced an ambiguity around the violent and the violated body, the victim and the perpetrator, the state and the terrorist. Not only did Petra Krause's body manage to confound the gendered power relations between the rational, sane body politic of the Swiss and the unsavoury, emaciated body of the irrational hunger striker, but it also blurred the gendered differentiation between the masculine perpetrator and the feminine victim. Finally, her actions pointed to the vulnerability of the citizen-subject, and more importantly to weaknesses of the state. Indeed, imagery of the prisoners' feminised bodies broke out of the confines of the prison to cause more than just a public spectacle. Hence, to define terrorism as the violent acts of a terrorist group is misleading if not to say wrong. The same goes for the neat differentiation between terrorism as the cause and counter-terrorism as the effect. This definition of terrorism misses the point that the resistant terrorist and state power are constitutive.

Notes

1. Melzer, "Death"; Kraushaar, *Die RAF*.
2. In the literature, hunger strike is often defined as a "passive" mode of resistance, closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi. To categorise this act as "passive" might be read as an implicit feminising and orientalisating strategy of hunger-strike resistance. See Simanowitz, "The Body," 325; also Anderson, *So Much Wasted*, 127.
3. See BAR E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 264, 758; 6 September 1978, 4.
4. *Tages-Anzeiger*, "Der Fall Petra Krause."
5. W., "Eine schweizerische Nationalheilige;" also Jakob, "Petra Krause;" Meierhans, "Ärgerliche Beiträge."
6. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 38.
7. *Volksrecht*, "Vor Geschworenengericht in Winterthur."
8. *National-Zeitung*, "Die Kassationsbeschwerde."
9. *National-Zeitung*, "Die Kassationsbeschwerde."
10. Messerli, "El-Al-Prozess;" *Tages-Anzeiger*, "Das Zürcher Geschworenengericht."
11. Zarzar, "Mohammed Abul-Haija."
12. *Der Spiegel*, "Frauen im Untergrund," 22.
13. *Der Spiegel*, "Frauen im Untergrund," 22; German Psychoanalyst Margarete Mitscherlich-Nielsen referred to them as "phallic women." Mitscherlich-Nielsen, "Hexen oder Märtyrer," 19.
14. *St. Galler Tagblatt*, "Frauen der Gewaltszene." For a contemporary feminist discussion of media representations of women terrorists, see: Paczensky, *Frauen und Terror*.
15. Arrest and prison photos of Gudrun Ensslin and Ulrike Meinhof, founders of the RAF, gained notoriety well beyond West Germany. For a thorough discussion, see Bielby, *Violent Women*.
16. Sack, "Staat," 204; also Jander, "Isolation," 141–2.
17. See Foucault, "Die Sicherheit," 501.
18. See Foucault, "Wird Klaus Croissant," 473.

19. Pekelder, "Towards," 64–5.
20. See Foucault, "Die Sicherheit," 500; Foucault, "Vorlesung 3. Sitzung," 120.
21. See Foucault, "Vorlesung 4. Sitzung," 158, 143.
22. Foucault defines the term government as conducting the behaviours of individuals and groups. Foucault, "Subjekt," 287.
23. Balz locates the West German hunger strikes within larger body discourses; Balz, *Von Terroristen*, 136.
24. Mills, "Body Politic," 584.
25. Canning, "Body," 504.
26. Hull, *Sexuality*, 5. Hull stresses that "the body as property was a foundation for civil rights in the liberal schema;" Hull, *Sexuality*, 352.
27. Canning, "Body," 504.
28. OZH, file ref. 174/1980, 1146–48. If not indicated otherwise, Petra Krause's biography detailed below is based on the information found in the judgement text of the cantonal court of Zurich dated 9 March 1981.
29. Her testimony does not line up with what is known about the date of the von dem Bussche Hitler assassination.
30. *Libération*, "De Auschwitz a l'isolement."
31. Whether such a Swedish–German exchange indeed happened in this time period has not been verified.
32. OZH, file ref. 174/1980, 1148.
33. For example BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 19, 1975, Petra Krause, Bezirksgefängnis Zürich, Hungerstreik; BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 255, 630, Rote Hilfe 1974–1975: October 13, 1975; BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 24, 1976.
34. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 19, 1975.
35. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 48.
36. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 20, 1975.
37. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 48.
38. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 48.
39. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 49.
40. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 621, Petra Krause 1978–1987: European Commission of Human Rights, 6. The decision of the European Commission of Human Rights gives dates for all three hunger strikes. However, its dates for the first and the third hunger strike did not match the dates given in the police records.
41. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 49.
42. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 24, 1976.
43. There were numerous prison activist groups like it in West Germany, Italy, France and Switzerland. Foucault co-founded the *Groupe d'information sur les prisons* in 1971. For Swiss examples see BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 264, 758: Early 1979.
44. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 51.
45. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 50.
46. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 24, 1976.
47. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975.
48. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975, 5.
49. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 20, 1975.
50. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 20, 1975.
51. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975, 5.
52. *Komitee Gegen Isolationshaft: Todesstrafe auf Raten: Isolationshaft in der Schweiz*, Zürich: Eco Verlag, 1976.
53. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 13, 1975, 3, 5.
54. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 36.
55. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975, 6.
56. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975, 5.
57. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 42.
58. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'Isolement," 36.
59. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975, 8.

60. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 13, 1975, 3.
61. See Foucault, *The History* vol. 1, 139.
62. See Foucault, *The History* vol. 1, 140–3; also Foucault, *The History* vol. 2, 81.
63. Puar, *Terrorist*, 47; Grosz, *Volatile*, 3; Butler, *Bodies*, 31.
64. Frevert, *Ehrenmänner*, 120; Frevert, *Kasernierte*.
65. Wecker, “Ehe”; Ludi, “Gendering Citizenship”.
66. Maihofer, *Geschlecht*, 114.
67. Kreisky, “Der Staat,” 217; Frevert, *Ehrenmänner*, 119–21, 131.
68. Kreisky, “Der Staat,” 217. See also Butler, *Psychic Life*, 102.
69. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: September 29, 1975.
70. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 255, 630, Rote Hilfe 1974–1975: August 21, 1975.
71. Schwarzpeter, “Frauen im Gefängnis;” Emanzipation, “Frauen hinter Gittern, 1–2;” Eidgenössische Kommission für Frauenfragen, *Der Strafvollzug*.
72. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 255, 630, Rote Hilfe 1974–1975: August 21, 1975.
73. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 255, 608: July 12, 1976, 1–2.
74. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 30, 1976.
75. Vowinckel, “Der kurze Weg.”
76. Sedlmair and Anders, “‘Unternehmen Entebbe’,” 268.
77. Since the Entebbe hijackings the role of Anti-Semitism in 1970s left-wing terrorism and analogies of the RAF and Nazi Germany remained heated topics of discussion in West Germany. See Becker, *Hitler’s Children*; Broder, “Antizionismus;” also Kraushaar, “Antizionismus.”
78. The events are recounted by journalist Becker and many others. Becker used it to aliment her narrative of the RAF as recalcitrant, spoiled children imitating their Nazi fathers. Becker, *Hitler’s Children*, 17.
79. Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 251.
80. Sedlmair and Anders, “‘Unternehmen Entebbe’,” 269.
81. The Palestinian prisoners before her had been convicted of their deeds at the time of their release.
82. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 30, 1976, 3.
83. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 30, 1976, 4.
84. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 30, 1976, 1.
85. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 30, 1976, 1.
86. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 23, 1976.
87. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 23, 1976.
88. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 308, 621, 1976, Petra Krause: June 23, 1976.
89. Fo and Rame, “L’agghiacciante caso.”
90. Rame, “Dott. Kurt Furgler;” Rame, “Libertà per Petra Krause;” Rame, “Lettera.”
91. I am aware of appeal letters sent in June 1977, and on 17 July 1977 and 29 July 1977, and three telegrams during that same time. See Archivio Cartaceo di Franca Rame.
92. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, “Weibliche Solidarität.”
93. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, “Weibliche Solidarität.”
94. *Volksrecht*, “‘Solidarität unter Frauen’.”
95. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, “Weibliche Solidarität.”
96. Valsangiacomo, “Schweizer Glied;” Meier, “Prozess;” Meier, “Der Rumpfprozess;” Häslar, “Im Schatten Petras.”
97. Journalists and criminologists wondered aloud whether the existence of female terrorists had to be considered the flipside of women’s liberation, which in turn led to many feminists distancing themselves explicitly from terrorism.
98. On the relationship between feminism and West German female terrorism, see Grisard, “History of Knowledge,” 87–8; also Melzer, *Death*.
99. Grisard, *Gendering*, 270.
100. Sauerteig, “Die Herstellung,” 159; Herzog, *Sexuality*, 134; Clark, *Desire*, 205–7.
101. Greer, *The Madwoman’s Underclothes*, 7.
102. Simanowitz, “Body Politic,” 325; Scheerer, “Hungerstreik und Normalvollzug;” Winiger, “Hungerstreik und Zwangsernährung.”
103. see Groebner, “Schock.”

104. Meinhof, "Revolting Women," 143.
105. See Bielby, "Attacking."
106. Grisard, *Gendering*, 154: "Holger Meins' Körperbild ließ die MedienkonsumentInnen im Ungewissen über den Status des Terroristen – war dies der Körper eines Staatsfeinds, der Körper eines Opfers von Staatsgewalt oder beides?"
107. *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*, "Wie krank ist Petra Krause wirklich?;" *Finanz und Wirtschaft*, "Eine 'krause' Geschichte."
108. Sterling, *The Terror Network*.
109. For example, *Finanz und Wirtschaft*, "Eine 'krause' Geschichte."
110. Grisard, *Gendering*, 70.
111. Sterling, *The Terror Network*, 80. See for example Fo and Rame, "L'agghiacciante caso."
112. *Der Bund*, "Märtyrerschein;" also Sterling, "Die Presse feiert die Terroristin."
113. Labhart, "Zwiespältige Aktion."
114. W., "Eine schweizerische Nationalheilige;" also Jakob, "Petra Krause;" Meierhans, "Ärgerliche Beiträge."
115. W., "Eine schweizerische Nationalheilige."
116. The only times I noted that the Nazis or Auschwitz were referred to in a Swiss newspaper: Labhart, "Zwiespältige Aktion."
117. Becker, *Hitler's Children*, 41, also 58.
118. Passmore, "The Art," 52.
119. See also Passmore, "The Art," 53.
120. See Passmore, "The Art," 53; also Melzer, *Death*.
121. Melzer, "Death;" also Knoch, "The Return of the Images: Photographs of Nazi Crimes and the West German Public in the 'Long 1960s'."
122. Passmore, "The Art," 52.
123. Colectif d'Auteurs, "L'isolement," 46.
124. Schlegel, *Das ist oberfaul*, 44.
125. BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/392, 307, 621, July – Dec. 1975, Petra Krause: August 29, 1975, 6.
126. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*.
127. Aretxaga, *Shattering*, 80; Passmore, "The Art," 46;
128. On the relationship between crime and mass media see Foucault, *Discipline*, 324–5.
129. See W., "Eine schweizerische Nationalheilige."
130. See Libération, "De Auschwitz a l'isolement."
131. Pekelder, "Towards," 64, 79.
132. Foucault, *The History*, vol. 1, 139.
133. Analytica, "Am Hungern hindern?"
134. Feldman, *Formations of Violence*, 236; also Foucault, "Subjekt;" Foucault, *The Government*.
135. Goffman called this process "institutional reflexivity." Goffman, "The Arrangement," 114; also Maihofer, *Geschlecht*, 37.
136. McCorkel, "Embodied Surveillance," 45; also Britton, *At Work*.
137. See BAR, E 4320 (C), 1995/390, 264, 758: 1979.
138. 138 Passmore, "The Art," 32.

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