

## Summaries

### **Karl-Heinz Götz: The Price of a Lie. Kleists Mobilization for a Total People's War**

The article is a study of the »price of a lie« in the context of struggle for freedom. The intent is not to question the act of lying from a moral standpoint, but to explore its political consequences. The dialectic of the lie is analysed through a close-reading of Kleist's *The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest (Die Hermannsschlacht)*. In this drama, written only 20 years after Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the act of lying is total. It encompasses not only political relations with the enemy, but also relations of friendship, family and love.

### **Wulf D. Hund: Predestination in the Desert? Marginalia to a Fata Morgana of Walter Benjamin**

Using both primary and secondary literature, the paper discusses elements of repression and concealment in Walter Benjamin's frequently cited advertisement for »Bullrich Salts« [a brand of German stomach anti-acid pills]. It is argued that Benjamin withholds the colonial and racist aspects presented by the advertisement. Although his may be attributed to personal memories of his youth, a remarkable and pivotal blind spot is certainly the fact that, in this study of Paris as the capital of the nineteenth century, Benjamin examines phantasmagorias of time and space, urbanity and interior, of culture and world exhibitions without referring to the phantasmagorias of colonialism and racism.

### **Helmut Peitsch: »I come from the place where I was actually destined to die«. Günther Anders' Visit to Hades**

Günther Anders' travelogue of his 1966 journey to Auschwitz-Breslau, his birthplace, was praised by a contemporary critic as a »great piece of German commemorative literature«. However, it has not been canonized. Anders' contribution to linking the memory of the murder of European Jews and the expulsion of Germans from Auschwitz-Breslau was not in the form of a debate on West German recognition of the Oder-Neisse border. It was instead an autobiographical reflection on a universalist interpretation of Auschwitz that has not lost its present relevance.

### **Robert Cohen: The Slippery Anti-Semitism of the Postwar Years. On Paul Celan's »Correspondence with Friends from the Rhein«**

The correspondence between Paul Celan and his German writer friends from the Rhine valley, Paul Schallück, Rolf Schroers, and Heinrich Böll, reveals much about West German mentality as it relates to anti-Semitism. Celan's sensitivity and vehement reaction to anti-Semitic incidents tend to get ascribed to his supposed hypersensitivity (an attribution familiar to other minorities). Where Celan, whose leftist political engagement dates back to his youth, locates postwar anti-Semitism in a social and political context his German friends see only misguided »stupid« individuals. The three writers' public stand against a return of anti-Semitism in the late 1950s is not in question. But the chasm between their formative experiences during the war years – all three were in the German army – and Celan's experience as a Holocaust survivor could not be bridged.

### **Werner Schmidt: The Importance of Antonio Gramsci for Peter Weiss' *Aesthetics of Resistance***

The »Trotsky-defeat« of the early 1970s thrust Peter Weiss into an existential crisis. He was forced to critically re-examine his path in the preceding two decades in order to regain a coherent stance and thus find renewed creative energy. The article shows the important role that Gramsci's »philosophy of praxis« played in this process, without which Weiss' principal work, *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, would have been impossible.

### **Ruth May: Backwards into the Future. On the (Im)Possibility of a Socialist City in Germany**

The article analyses the founding of a new industrial town in the early German Democratic Republic circa 1950. The planning history of Stalinstadt – renamed Eisenhüttenstadt in 1961 – is reconstructed, and its political, ideological and aesthetic context considered. May depicts how Stalin's motto to »build socialism in one country« influenced the planning of Stalinstadt, particularly by way of the *Sixteen Principles of Urban Development*. Instead of a holistic, industrial and residential city, two competing planning concepts were realised: Whereas city planning was oriented towards the slogan »socialist in content – national in form«, industrial planning followed its own requirements.

### **Ingar Solty: Beyond Deception and Betrayal: On Thomas Frank's Critique of Right-Wing Populism**

Thomas Frank's new book on the tea party marks a step forward in his theorization of right-wing populism (RWP) in the United States. While previous books explained RWP's rise resorting to problematic explanations such as »deception« and »betrayal«, *Pity the Billionaire* identifies the old petty bourgeoisie (OPB) – those most heavily affected by »Obamacare« – as RWP's class base. Frank's identification of two kinds of neoliberal deregulation for big and small businesses is crucial for a theoretical understanding of middle-class right-wing libertarianism. Yet his account of the crisis of RWP is empirically problematic, since the OPB directly affected by the new health-care regulations amounts to less than ten thousand <sup>small</sup> businesses. In the 2010 elections four out of ten voters declared themselves tea party sympathizers, showing RWP's hegemonic appeal. In order to identify the tea party as merely an agent of big business and finance and due to the lack of a deeper understanding of neoliberal transnationalization and financialization, Frank denies the oppositional character of RWP and relapses into old notions of false consciousness.

### **Jan Rehmann: Occupy Wall Street and the Question of Hegemony – A Gramscian Analysis**

Using Gramsci's theory of hegemony this essay analyses strengths and weaknesses of the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement. OWS was able to break into the predominant hegemonic framework, to effectively intervene in the symbolic order, and to shift the composition of people's common sense in a way that effectively counteracted the populist appeal of the Tea Party. The famous »we are the 99%« slogan contained a bold claim to construct a new historic block. This claim was, however, not backed up by a corresponding political effort: The movement was not yet able (and willing) to construct its own political formation of a new network type. It thus remained stuck at the corporatist level of identity politics. OWS must not be fetishized as the promising alternative to other forms of leftist politics, to parties, trade unions, traditional social movements, etc. Yet it (or one of its successors) has the chance to become a revitalizing part of a new »mosaic left«.

### **Knut Henkel: Kuba between Transformation and Decline**

In July 2006 Raúl Castro became head of the Cuban government. Since then, most Cubans have been waiting for reform. The 81 year-old head of state is known as a pragmatic man who introduced western business practices into the armed forces to make them self-sufficient. This is also the central aim of the »Lineamientos« – the reform agenda of the Cuban communist party, as presented at the end of 2010. Two months later, first steps to expand self-employment were considered a great success and today 370.000 Cubans are self employed. A central goal of the government is to transfer up to 40% of the workforce until 2015 into the private sector and a second major goal to reactivate agriculture, for which some reforms have been announced. Yet the reform process as a whole has lost speed during the last eighteen months. Raúl Castro has often stated that reforms will resume without haste – but is there enough time?