

Summaries

Stuart Hall: A Permanent Neoliberal Revolution?

The current crisis is not only an economic one, but also marks another unresolved rupture within the Neo-liberal Revolution. The question to what extent neo-liberalism is still hegemonic is difficult to answer. On the one hand, the neo-liberal project is several stages further on. It is often understated how carefully the Conservative-Liberal Democratic coalition in the UK prepared a new political ›settlement‹ and in what speed it seized the opportunity to launch the most far-reaching privatisations with disastrous social consequences. Neo-liberalism is deeply engrained in a culture circulating around ›wealth‹ and dominated by care-of-the-self industries. It has created a ›disaffected consent‹ (Jeremy Gilbert) and a massive de-politicization. On the other hand, there is still a good deal of a Gramscian ›good sense‹ around, e.g. a scepticism with regards to official neoliberal ideologies combined with a reticent egalitarianism; but the protests remain fragmented and disconnected.

Daniel Atzori: Breivik – Between ›Crusader Nationalism‹ and Right-wing Gramscism

On the 22nd of July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik brutally slaughtered 69 people, mostly teenagers, in Oslo and in the island of Utøya. Breivik also wrote a document, a disturbing attempt at rationalizing his abominable massacres. This article explores Breivik's sinister misuse of Gramsci in the context of contemporary socioeconomic transformations as well as the inter-related emergence of new hybrid forms of social consciousness. In particular, his references to Gramsci and ›cultural Marxism‹ are put under scrutiny, showing to what extent right-wing uses of Gramsci are functional to re-defining the arenas of social struggle. The article asks whether Breivik's document can be read against the background of the development of a new form of Fascism, a sort of ›Fascism 2.0‹, qualitatively different from the Fascisms of the 20th century.

Richard Gebhardt: ›Fight over the Stadium‹ – Football and the Extreme Right

Professional and amateur football has traditionally been accompanied by racist and neo-Nazi tendencies. But for some years now a fundamental change has been noted. The once official policy of denying such phenomena is now followed by a condemnation of racist positions through the German Football League, the International Federation for Football Association and others. The reaction of the extreme right is to shift its activities from the professional to the amateur leagues. This article analyzes the societal background of this conflict, based on a presentation of the ›cosmopolitan‹ reality on the field, the result of a ›neoliberal‹, deregulated market for players as well as the commercialization of soccer.

Panagiotis Sotiris: The Limits of Alain Badiou's Ontology

This article attempts a Marxist critique of Alain Badiou's positions. The importance of Badiou's affirmation of the possibility of radical-historical novelty is stressed, but also the limits of his ontology. These have to do with Badiou's abandonment of a dialectical-relational conception of social reality, his refusal of any causal connection between social reality and political decision and event, and the absence of a theory of ideology and hegemony. Consequently, Badiou's notion of ›subtractive‹ politics cannot be considered an answer to the open questions of communist strategy.

Frigga Haug: Helpfulness as Survival Strategy: Hrdys Research on Child Raising and the Specificity of Becoming Human

The subject at hand is human evolution. Haug describes Hrdys research on human evolution with the following provocative argumentation: That what is specifically human is the cooperative raising of children; and that the existence of grandmothers had the decisive evolutionary advantage allowing

for a high fertility of humankind. Our social heritage: Helpfulness and social behaviour instead of the »egoistic gene«. Hrdys arguments are confronted with current questions, including those of Critical Psychology.

Udo Klitzke: On Trade-Union Engagement between Civil Society and Workplace: The Issue of Sustainability

The article traces the history of trade-union discussions on sustainability in Germany from the 1970s to the present. IG Metall's fourth international conference on »Quality of Life« (1972), and trade-union debates on the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* (1972) figure as prominent and influential events. These promising paths were gradually abandoned, however, and by the 1990s a previously strong focus on civil society engagement had changed in favour of an emphasis on workplace policy. Reasons for this decline, associated with a decline of trade-union environmental and sustainability concepts and policies, are discussed.

Nora Räthzel and David Uzzell: Jobs or Nature? Dilemmas and Perspectives of Trade-union Environmental Policy

The article discusses the ways in which international trade unions are conceptualising the relationship between jobs and the environment. On the basis of interviews with union representatives, four such ways are discerned: »technological fix«, »transformation of social identities«, »rearticulation of immediate interests« and »engagement for general interests«. All four ways of reasoning imply a re-invention of unions as social movements but reduce nature to an environment providing the conditions for human health/illness. The authors argue that Marx' notion of labour and nature as the two sources of wealth and of work as the process in which humans develop their capabilities can provide a point of departure for unions to conceptualise production as a process in which nature and labour form an alliance. This implies challenging the private appropriation of nature.

Bernhard Blanke: The 1960s: APO, Stasi, the Red Army Faction and »my socialism«

50 years ago, the radically democratic protest-movement sought a lasting transformation of West German institutions. Today, the formation of the APO (extra-Parliamentary Opposition), its causes and course remain relevant in a conflict-laden public debate. Opponents of the movement doubt its political independence and its search for a path on the left beyond the fronts of the Cold War; critics have tried to portray it as a West German annex of the East German State Security, attributing a totalitarian ideology to movement leaders. This article portrays a movement with an autonomous political life, typical for most of its members and resulting in a new independent public enlightenment and a genuine socialist position.

Maik Weißpflug and Richard Gebhardt: A Voice from Beyond. Alfred Schobert (1963-2006) – An Engaged Thinker and Illegitimate Intellectual

Alfred Schobert was »one of the brightest intellectuals in Germany, but also one largely unknown« (Moshe Zuckermann). A researcher at the Duisburg Institute for Linguistic and Social Research, Schobert was also a noted speaker and writer, active within groups of the left, in social centres and antifascist groups. His insights into politics of the far right, youth culture as well as German politics of memory had a deep impact on the radical left within Germany; his interpretations of Jacques Derrida's writings demonstrate the political dimension of deconstruction. On the 5th anniversary of Alfred Schobert's death, this essay reviews an anthology of his writings and commemorates his thinking and public commitment.

Buchhandlungen, die das Argument-Verlagsprogramm führen

Augsburg	Probuch, Gögginger Straße 34 (0821/579173)
Berlin	Argument-Buchladen, Reichenberger Straße 150 (030/611 39 83) Motzbuch, Motzstraße 32 (030/2115958) Schleichers Buchladen, Königin-Luise-Straße 40/41 (030/841902-0) Schwarze Risse, Mehringhof - Gneisenaustraße 2a (030/6928779)
Bielefeld	Eulenspiegel Buchladen, Hagenbruchstraße 7 (0521/175049)
Bremen	Buchladen im Ostertor, Fehrfeld 60 (0421/785 28)
Düsseldorf	BiBaBuZe, Aachener Straße 1 (0211/34 00 60)
Erfurt	Buchhandlung Contineo, Magdeburger Allee 90 (0361/7314536)
Essen	Heinrich-Heine-Buchhandlung, Viehofer Platz 8 (0201/820700)
Frankfurt/M	Unibuch, Jügelstraße 1 (069/775082) Karl Marx Buchhandlung, Jordanstraße 11 (069/778807) Herbert Bärsch Nachf. GmbH, Hostatostr./Albanusstr. 29 (069/314032-0)
Freiburg	Jos Fritz, Wilhelmstraße 15 (0761/26877)
Göttingen	Buchladen Rote Straße, Nikolaikirchhof 7 (0551/42128)
Hamburg	Buchhandlung im Schanzenviertel, Schulterblatt 55 (040/4300808) Buchladen in der Osterstraße, Osterstraße 171 (040/4919560) Heinrich Heine Buchhandlung, Grindelallee 26 (040/441133-0)
Hannover	Annabee, Stephanusstraße 12-14 (0511/1318139)
Heidelberg	Buchhandlung Schöbel & Kube, Plöck 65 (06221/26036)
Hildesheim	Amei's Buchecke, Goschenstraße 31 (05121/34441)
Kassel	ABC Buchladen GmbH, Goethestraße 77 (0561/777704)
Kiel	Zapata Buchladen GmbH, Wilhelmplatz 6 (0431/93639)
Köln	Der Andere Buchladen, Weyertal 32 (0221/416325)
Konstanz	Buchladen zur Schwarzen Geiß, Am Obermarkt 12 (07531/15433)
Mainz	Cardabela, Frauenlobstraße 40 (06131/614174)
Marburg	Roter Stern GmbH, Am Grün 28 (0542/24787)
München	Basis-Buchhandlung, Adalbertstraße 41b-43 (089/2723828)
Münster	Buchhandlung Rosta, Aegidiistraße 12 (0251/449026)
Stuttgart	Buch Weiss, Ebitzweg 44, Bad Cannstatt, (0711/4703388)
Nürnberg	Buchhandlung Libresso, Bauerngasse 14 (0911/225036)
Reutlingen	Jakob Fetzer Buchladen GmbH, Georgenstraße 26 (07121/239080)
Schweiz	Bern Münstergass Buchhandlung, Münstergasse 33 (031/3102323)
Österreich	Wien Buchhandlung Winter, Landesgerichtsstr. 20 (0043/1 405 12 34) Wien Lhotzkys Literaturbuffet, Taborstraße 28 (0043/1 276 47 36)
Niederlande	Utrecht De Rooie Rat, Oudegracht 65 (031-30-2317189)

Frauenbuchläden, die das Argument-Frauenprogramm führen

Augsburg	Frauenbuchhandlung Elisara, Schmiedgasse 11 (0821/154303)
Bochum	Frauenbuchladen Amazonas, Schmidtstraße 12 (0234/683194)
Düsseldorf	Buch am Dreieck, Blücherstraße 3 (0211/4644050)
Göttingen	Laura GmbH, Burgstraße 21 (0551/47317)
Idstein	Hexenbuchladen, Obergasse 11 (06126/6437)
Leipzig	Frauenbuchladen Tian, Könnerritzstraße 92 (0341/4797475)
Mannheim	Frauenbuchladen Xanthippe, T3, 4 (0621/21663)
München	Lillemor's Frauenbuchladen, Barerstraße 70 (089/2721205)
Nürnberg	Frauenbuchladen, Innerer Kleinreutherweg 28 (0911/352403)
Tübingen	Frauenbuchladen Thalestris, Bursagasse 2 (07071/26590)