

WOLFRAM ADOLPHI

War Dictatorship

The war of the United States and Great Britain against Iraq, started on March 20th, 2003, is a war against the majority of the peoples, against the majority of States, against the United Nations and against international law. On April 9th, Bagdad is under US control. In looking back on the war, its short duration and the pictures of happy people tempt to justify it afterwards. But justifying this war means to prepare the next one. It obscures our view on peaceful alternatives and on the character of the new US strategy of omnipotent world rule. The author discusses the essentials of this strategy, its development since the Gulf war in 1991, the misuse of the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 in giving reasons for it, and the worldwide protest against what he calls the war dictatorship. Europe, he thinks, can break this dictatorship by exclusively peaceful, non-military means.

CHRISTOPH BUTTERWEGGE

Migrants, Multi-Cultural Society and Right-Wing Extremism in the Mass Media

The article reflects a concept of media theory that attempts to explain the role played by mass media in ›ethnicizing‹ society, in ›culturalizing‹ politics and in ›depoliticising‹ socio-economic conflicts. It analyses how immigrants and their descendents are portrayed as ›aliens‹, the picture painted by German journalists of the ›multi-cultural society‹ and their portrayal of organised right-wing extremism, racism and nationalism as concepts casting doubt on peaceful co-existence between German and ethnic minorities.

RONALD LÖTZSCH

Contradictions in Germany's Policy Toward Minorities

In the policies of the Federal Republic concerning minorities, there is a serious contradiction between the treatment of autochthonous minorities on the one hand and that of allochthonous minorities on the other. Only the former – the Sorbs, Danes, Frisians, Sinti and Roma – are officially acknowledged as ethnic or national minorities having their rights anchored in the constitutions of the Laender Brandenburg, Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein. The several million allochthonous minorities, consisting of immigrants, are pressured to assimilate.

FRITZ VILMAR

»... Nothing But a Pile of Cold Ashes«

The author deals with the concept of socialism which, for more than a century, was the centre of political and intellectual life, but now has become nothing more than a pile of cold ashes. He questions why this could happen and what caused the failure of socialism as a concept. He concludes by saying that the idea of a socially just and humane society should either be completely abandoned or entirely re-invented. He opts for the latter and makes a number of suggestions as to how to achieve this goal.

STEPHEN ERIC BRONNER From Leninism to Stalinism

»World history is the court for the world's verdict«, wrote Friedrich Schiller, and history has rendered a chilling verdict on the Russian Revolution. Stephen Bronner explores in his article why and how the Lenin's organizational theory presented in *What Is To Be Done?* shaped the development of socialism, not only in the Soviet Union but wherever Vanguard-Parties took power anywhere in the world. The Leninist concept of the »party of a new type« began as a tactical response to the needs of revolutionary activism in the imperial Russian context but it paved the way in the end for an autocratic dictatorship, that historically developed into totalitarianism – i. e. Stalinism. History provides every movement, or so it is said, with but one chance at success: the communists had their chance. Leninism is exhausted. Its heroes have been overtaken by militants – such as Gandhi, King, Mandela, and Havel – with a more democratic spirit and a more humanitarian vision.

STEPHAN WOHANKA Is the past responsible for the present? – History as an interpretation

The comprehension of what history is supposed to be, what it produces and whether it proceeds according to its own inherent rather than »objective« laws, is often debated. This article tries to furnish proof that »what was« cannot be conclusively and unambiguously discernible, but corresponds to subjective opinion. The same historical event is therefore judged variously by different observers. History is a process relevant only to itself. It can neither be anticipated nor held responsible in retrospect for alleged »failures«. History, in the final analysis, is »interpretation«. This is why debates about history can never be resolved.

FRANK RICHTER For a reconstruction of historical Materialism

In handling the relationship between historical materialism and the programmatic discussions taking place within the *Left*, the article attempts to arrive at a more precise description of what role such a historical materialism should play today. The author stresses the hypothesis that many explanations and predictions concerning capitalism and socialism are based on antiquated or inaccurate philosophical theses and notions about laws of society and history, in general, as well as in regards to particular social orders. The example logic of capital is used to discuss the theoretical possibility of modifying or »taming« objective social laws, e. g. the basic capitalistic laws of economy such as the law of value and its preponderance over all social areas. If we differentiate between law and the complexities of reality, the concepts of violation or abolition of objective laws takes on a new meaning: Human activity is always a constructive intercourse with laws.