

## JÖRN SCHÜTRUMPF

### The June-Insurrection of 1953. Problems with the Class. Theses

Retrospectively discussing the relations between the working class and the party, in the context of the past 150 years, the author views the June 17, 1953 workers rebellion in the GDR as a climax. The working class was confronted with a social system, characterised by the author as a Soviet type State monopolism, having nothing to do with the government of, or even in the name of the working class. On the contrary, who really held the power was a ruling bureaucracy, produced by the »avant-garde« which dominated the society by despotic means, in the name of socialism. The June 17th uprising was suppressed, but the working class of the GDR did not go home empty handed. A relatively high living standards was guaranteed, as well as a tolerable work stress maintained. In the aftermath of the June 17th rebellion, the entire political and social system of the GDR was determined by compromise: Compromise between the working class and the ruling bureaucracy.

## KARL-HEINZ GRÄFE

### 1953: the Crisis of the Empire and the »New Course« in Eastern Europe

For the first time in German speaking countries, the author analyses the effects Stalin's death had on different countries in Eastern Europe. Discussing the protest movement in Czechoslovakia in early June 1953, he finds many parallels to the rebellion of the workers in the GDR on June 17th. Romania is seen as an example for the continuity of Stalin's policies. The development in Hungary from 1953 – 1955 stands for an early attempt at reform-communism brought abruptly to a halt by Moscow in 1956. With a comparison of methods developed by Moscow to strengthen its grip on the Eastern European Party leaders – each reacting differently, the author broadens the comprehension of the crisis that ensued Stalin's death, as a crisis of the entire communist block.

## HANS JÜRGEN KRYSMANSKI

### Who's directing the new wars?

It is misleading to say that »America« is trying to establish a new world order and that »Europe« should counteract this effort. Both continents team up with different groups and positions in their competition for power and influence. And the Left certainly has more in common with American democratic and humanitarian traditions than with European nationalism. The author argues in this paper that a particularly unsavoury faction of the American power elite is attempting to hijack the globalisation process. Some aggressively assert that this is a joint effort by Pentagon and Wall Street (Thomas P. M. Barnett, James Woolsey). Others remind us of Dwight D. Eisenhower's warnings of the military-industrial-complex. Therefore it is essential to take a closer look at the global interplay between private wealth, corporate and military elites, political directorates, the media etc., all of which are chipping away at the foundations of democracy everywhere.

## PEER HEINELT

### Only German wars are the good wars

The essay emphasizes the fact that most journalists working for German media organs, even though critics of current US war propaganda, have learned no les-

sons from their own behaviour during the war against Yugoslavia in 1999. In 1999, German journalists were themselves war propagandists – and will probably revert to this role, when Germany again becomes an active combatant. The struggle for information on the news market, makes journalists dependent upon declarations made by members of the political elite, transmitted by professionals PR agencies. In wartime, only the »embedded correspondent«, in the broadest sense of the term, receives access to inside information giving him/her a head start in the competition against other journalists. But at the same time, (s)he becomes a mouthpiece of the political elite – if (s)he had not already been.

**HELGE MEVES**

## The Self-Image of the PDS party, Neoliberalism and Middle-Down-Alliances

The on-going discussion taking place in the PDS following the electoral defeat in September 2002, presupposes different views of how the party sees itself, sees neoliberalism and middle-down-alliances. To demonstrate her point, Meves describes the German cartel party or party state, the ideals vs the reality of, what Susan George refers to as the hegemonic Gramscian right and the middle-down-concept in social science. Through the inter-relationship between these points, one can show how the protagonists of various positions in this debate presuppose the positions held by the others, thereby determining their presentation of the PDS as a whole. The author points to specific problems in public relations, dead end streets in the forms of criticism and suggests that for a coherent policy, left socialists need their own realm in which to develop their specific projects.

**SAHRA WAGENKNECHT**

## What Purpose does the Program of a Socialist Party have?

The author makes a comparison between the most recent draft of the party program and the draft presented in 2001. She places four demands on a program of a socialist party: 1) an analysis of the current stage in capitalist development, 2) the strategies of those in power and the current balance of power relations; 3) a description of socialist society as an alternative to the existing system; 4) the objectives the socialist party is presently struggling to reach – by which it's progress will be judged – and explanations as to how this struggle under the prevailing conditions could be waged in order to be most effective in changing the present situation. Alongside its presentation of analyses and objectives, a program, should outline the party's bridge from today to tomorrow.

**ANNELIESE BRAUN:**

## In search of a feminist economic theory

Feminisation of economy is one of those projects, which would cause a necessary shift of paradigms, creating cornerstones for (non-patriarchal, non-capitalist) alternatives and emancipation. Therefore it is of concern, to examine particular feminist concepts as to the contributions they make toward the feminisation of economy and to clarify their alternative demands, as well as their challenges in favour of wider ranging building blocks of emancipation. The objective – contrary to earlier feministic discussions of classical Marxism – is to take contributions of both orientations to arrive at a more comprehensive perspective on the question of the reproduction of life. The crystallisation of a rapprochement in criteria for non-patriarchal and non-capitalistic alternatives will be a result.