

## FRIGGA HAUG Politically Sovereign in Neoliberalism

A primary effect of neoliberalism is atomization. Everyone is individualized and placed in competition to everyone else to the point where no one even arrives at the idea of solidarity and socialization, let alone think that it could be accomplished. A window of opportunity of approx. two years remains open for creating a strong, nationwide left force, capable of taking the initiative. For this it would be worthwhile remembering Antonio Gramsci and Rosa Luxemburg. Left policy must transform representative democracy's current crisis of legitimacy into a crisis of capitalism. Any solution that goes beyond capitalism must be imbedded in a socialist perspective. The task of the day is therefore the creation of a common socialist objective.

## MICHAEL WOLF Reforming the Hartz-IV-Reforms: excessive persecution mania

In many highly developed capitalist economies we are witnessing an unprecedented turn around in social politics over the past years. In academic discourses this is understood as a paradigmatic shift from the Keynesian Welfare State to a Schumpeterian Workfare State. In the Federal Republic of Germany a core element of the change to ›workfare politics‹ is the so-called modernisation of labour (market) and social welfare regulations which became notorious as the Hartz-IV Laws (named after the former manager and head of a government commission of inquiry Peter Hartz). While analysing these laws and the way they had been amended and ›reformed‹ recently the author shows that impoverishment has become a well calculated means which is deliberately used to force the unemployed as well as precariously employed workers to accept ›any kind of work at any costs‹. Michael Wolf construes these politics – in recourse to a concept of Carl Schmitt – as ›internal declaration of hostility‹ (›innerstaatliche Feinderklärung‹) meaning that administration and politicians no longer intend to combat unemployment but the unemployed.

## KARL-HEINZ GRÄFE Prague Spring 1968: A Last Socialist Regeneration Attempt?

The Prague Spring, an element of global upheavals taking place around 1968 and the climax of Eastern Europe's reform communist policy, was aimed at transforming state socialism into a society of democracy, emancipation, economic efficiency, social balance and solidarity. This complex attempt at socialist regeneration began in January 1968 with the election of Alexander Dubcek to the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party and the appointment of reform communists to posts at the most important levers of power. He had been supported by the Czech and Slovak mass movement and could only be thwarted by the military intervention of the Warsaw Treaty in August 1968.

AYHAN BILGIN

## The 1968 Movement in Turkey

This essay examines the 1968 movement in Turkey, tracing the movement's origins, formation, expansion and finally its decline. Applying theories of social movements, the author historically reviews the 1968 Turkish movement and sheds a critical light on its development and social-political impact. He arrives at the conclusion that the Turkish movement in 1968 bears the markings of a peripheral society and, unlike the cultural orientation of West European movements, was primarily politically oriented.

MARIO KESSLER

## Between Pariah Existence and Jewish Commonwealth.

### Hannah Arendt on Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) interpreted modern anti-Semitism as being intertwined with imperialism and totalitarianism. Her outlook was not confined to a particular »Jewish« viewpoint. In her reporting of the Eichmann trial she coined the phrase »the banality of evil« to describe this sort of Nazi bureaucrats. She was outspokenly critical of the way that Israel conducted the trial. Arendt's interpretation of how many Jewish leaders had acted during the Holocaust caused a bitter controversy.

ALFRED LOESDAU

## Thinking Politically and Seeing Historically Hannah Arendt's Relationship toward Left Intellectuals

Hannah Arendt was »independent«, meaning she was a non-conformist throughout her life. Like Rahel Varnhagen, Hannah Arendt always acknowledged being Jewish and followed the principle »if attacked for being a Jew, one must defend oneself as a Jew.« Her scholarly origins lie in German philosophy, but she did not see herself as a philosopher. Hannah Arendt wrote detailed analyses of outstanding left intellectuals – e. g. Bertolt Brecht and Walter Benjamin. To Hannah Arendt, the occurrences being treated in history, were merely conclusions with an obscure beginning, that must be brought to light.

ERHARD SCHERNER

The Frontlines became confused ...

Interview With Ludwig Kroeber-Keneth  
(Kronberg, Bavaria) on His Trip with Alfred  
Kurella to Soviet Russia in 1919

Leaving Munich in the Bavarian Council Republic, Ludwig Kroeber-Keneth (1899-1980) – accompanied by Alfred Kurella (1895-1975) – went to Moscow in Soviet Russia in 1919. Ludwig Kroeber-Keneth granted the wish to be interviewed about Alfred Kurella and their trip together to Russia of the Soviets in 1919. He agreed to the interview being recorded on tape. Kroeber described his impressions of the Bavarian Council Republic, his meeting with Paul Levi, the exertions of their trip and his contact with Lenin, Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution, whom he characterizes as »highly educated«. This text corresponds to the taped interview.

MARKO FERST

Plea for an Ecological Change of Course

Clear signs point to the dawning of a radical climate change that would lead to a human catastrophe. More than ever a decisive change of course must be quickly achieved, if we are to prevent humanity from crossing the point of no return, leading inevitably to the annihilation of civilisation as we know it. Therefore Marko Ferst sketches a plan of action – to be taken at various levels – for averting the impending disaster. He draws the conclusion that we can only be saved if we initiate an entirely new social approach that would break our addiction to economic growth and greed.

HUBERT FETZER

Climate Change and Socialism

After developing his view that it is capitalism that is primarily responsible for causing the threat of a climate change, the author elaborates the essential traits of a socialist transformation, which include the need to readjust the relationship between humans and nature. This relationship must be configured to end both exploitation and oppression, as well as, the destruction of nature.

DETLEF KANNAPIN

## In the Garden of the Arbitrary Crisis and Decline of Late-Imperialist Philosophy

What had once been called philosophy, no longer meets up to its own definition. Philosophy has also failed there, where the most pressing problems of our society are openly exposed for all to see. Banished to the marginal zones of esthetics, the necessary discussion of terms such as alienation, totality; fetishism is withering in the broom closet of regression and as long as it is held captive in that seclusion, we will continue to mosey down the path toward barbarism. Significant is the fact that many of the available critically intended "approaches" have, on the long path toward the executive Nirvana, been rendered inoffensive by the institutional philosophy business. It is high time to take rationality out of the garden of the arbitrary.