

Summaries

Wolfgang Fritz Haug: Crisis Tsunami and Categorical Imperative

Haug examines the political-ethical repercussions of the crises that erupted in 2007/2008. These include not only the crisis of the Euro, but also the Arab uprisings. When the Japanese nuclear catastrophe overdetermined this complex crisis-situation, a tipping point was reached, at least in Germany: Transition became inevitable. The liberal-conservative government was forced abruptly to change its political course; and a new attitude toward high tech is emerging among opinion-leaders of the conservative daily, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. Because control can too easily be lost over nuclear reactions, the term »inevitable risk« no longer makes sense. The categorical imperative of the atomic age, put forward by Günther Anders over 50 years ago in *Das Argument*, has moved into the foreground: to sanction no technology that transcends the human scale in both time and space.

Tomaž Mastnak: Return of the People

In February 2011, Tunisia and Egypt witnessed what have been called revolutions against autocracies. The West should be aware that the »autocrats« were »its men«: leaders who, without Western arms and money, development aid, military cooperation, security expertise, diplomatic backing, and tourist consumption would not have lasted long; leaders who helped shape the world in the order the West made itself believe was in its best interest. People revolted against these policies, that is, against neo-liberalism. But will this revolution find support in the West?

Gilbert Achcar: Libya – a Necessary Debate

There are exceptions to the rule of non-intervention, and Libya is one. Gaddafi is not attacked by the West in order to gain control of his oil reserves. In the context of a global crisis and fragile recovery, the imperialist interests lie in guaranteeing the free flow of oil. This would have been jeopardized if the impending massacre in Benghazi had not been stopped, since sanctions would have had to follow. The demand of a no-fly zone, which is different from the stationing of ground troops, offers the left a remarkable ideological weapon to reveal the hypocrisy of imperialism in the future.

Bernd Röttger: Framework of the Old Society. On the Organization of Anti-Capitalist Transitions

Already in Marx we find the indication that socialist transformation strategies cannot be developed »on their own terms«, but emerge »from capitalist society«. The article discusses strategic and organisational problems for anti-capitalist transitions, in particular in times of economic crises, arising from this circumstance. It calls for a theory of »action pathways« in political economy that would have to be defined anew for each historical phase of capitalist development.

Erik Olin Wright: Towards a Socialism of Social Empowerment

In the face of the failure of statist models of socialism, the author argues for alternative criteria to gauge the nature of a socialist regime. The most important should be the degree of control the society is able to exercise over the economy and the state (social empowerment). Seven roads to social empowerment are examined. Finally, the paper reviews a range of transformational strategies for social empowerment, assessing their appropriateness for increasing the scope for gaining (or regaining) democratic control over ever increasing sectors of the economy, the institutional system and the political process.

Helmut Martens: New Processes of Democratization in the Economy

The article argues that new processes of democratization in the area of the economy are not only an answer to the double crisis of economy and ecology but also an answer to the crisis of democracy, defined as an unfinished project that began in modern times with the American and

French Revolutions. With ties to the best traditions of past labour movements, the new democratization processes are based on the mobilization of citizens, on their »doing it themselves«, using extended technological possibilities and thus strengthening their social citizenship through revitalizing and enlarging representative structures.

Wolf-Dieter Narr: Christmas Comes to Communism

Negri/Hardts »Common Wealth« fascinates, first of all, because they foresee and mould a radical democratic alternative to the human cost- and crisis-ridden global capitalism. It turns out that the fascination leads to a sprinkled desert – except of some minor thoughtful parts. The key terms – including the two ones of the title: common and wealth – prove to be as vague, as pretentious. One misses any decent description and analysis of present-day realities or societal imagination of future possibilities. Quite to the contrary the analytically poor book closes with a childish reasoning on violence.

Joachim Hirsch: »Crack Capitalism« – but how?

The article is a critical review of John Holloway's recent book, *Crack Capitalism*, an interesting attempt to reformulate critical Marxist theory and the dimensions of emancipative action. Hirsch's critique of Holloway's theoretical approach centres on two points: a misunderstanding of the dialectics that characterise the capitalist social form; and the fact of deriving all social contradictions from the capital relation. Given these false assumptions, the perspectives presented by Holloway for emancipative social change seem to be problematic.

Manfred Sohn: Great – with some ›Buts‹: A Review of Frigga Haug's »Four-in-one-Perspective«

Manfred Sohn sums up his review of Frigga Haug's »For-in-one« book by stating, »it is seldom that, while reading a book, moments of enlightenment and disappointment lie so close together«. Sohn's main criticism pertains to the degree of concreteness presented in the book. Why, he asks, is Haug unable to work out a 10-point program comparable to that proposed by the young Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*? On the other hand, the book emphasizes what should be clear since Christel Neusüß' work on Luxemburg: that the future development of Marxist theory urgently needs a feminist perspective.

Frigga Haug: The Four-in-one-Perspective as a Guideline for Left Politics

This essay intends to fill the gap for left politics that resulted from a loss of perspective after the fall of the state socialist countries. As a foundation, it is argued that gender relations are relations of production; the oppression of women is part of the social system and as such cannot be overcome by special politics for women but only by reconstructing the whole system. The four-in-one project bears on the very core of domination that reproduces the system. It is ultimately a struggle for time, or rather, against disposing over time.

Sabine Plonz: Globalization through the Lens of Gender

The article argues that economic globalization must be analyzed from a feminist perspective. This standpoint helps to reveal the gender biased power dynamics between globalised capitalist production and the local economy of reproduction. While this gendered process is a necessary prerequisite for capitalist accumulation, most mainstream and even many leftist approaches ignore it. The relevance of the feminist analysis of globalisation is shown for the areas of labour, free trade, finance and the welfare state. The issue also has an ethical dimension, because the global power structures reflect unjust economic and gender relationships with deep effects on the living conditions of concrete people all over the world.