

## Summaries

### **Hauke Neddermann: Post mortem: Reflections on China during the Coronavirus Crisis**

Before the novel corona virus escalated into a global pandemic, the crisis hit China. History shows that epidemics have the potential to become important historical turning points: China's rapid development processes decelerated in the biopolitical/-capitalist state of emergency. However, the virus is unlikely to fundamentally alter the thrust of contemporary history in the People's Republic or in the international context. Rather, it seems to be accelerating tendencies that existed before the outbreak: China's global rise will likely continue, as will China's recent drift towards centralized high-tech authoritarianism. In view of Sars-CoV-2, competition between China and the ›West‹ appears to be intensifying worldwide: an existential crisis of the ›Chinese model‹ has turned into a crisis of the ›Western model‹.

### **Gerhard Schwepenhäuser: The Turning Point**

The term, ›Wende‹ (turning point) is commonly used to refer to the events of the autumn of 1989. However, it would be more appropriate to identify the events of the autumn of 2015 as the true moment of »Wende« in recent German history. For it was then that the highest representative of government power refrained from violently rejecting refugees at the German border. This marked a turning point: A part of the country's population turned away from the government whose hegemony they had subjected to. With Merkel's decision came a turn towards the national which was, at the same time, directed against people of other origins and convictions. Embracing *völkisch* elements, pseudo-conservatives who tend to slavishly submit to authority now stage themselves as rebels. However ›diffuse and semi-conscious‹, their objective goal remains ›the establishment of a dictatorship of the economically strongest group‹ (Adorno).

### **Alban Werner: The Return of the Repressed. A Different Interpretation of the New Complexity in German politics**

Various discussions of recent social upheavals offer deterministic explanations. In contrast, this article seeks to underline the importance of genuine political factors by re-examining the trajectory of the post-war and post-reunification German party system. First, the ›Volkspartei‹ is analysed as the crucial party type shaping German political development for decades. Essential to maintaining its position was the recurrent displacement of potentially-disturbing problems and crisis phenomena onto social constituencies with little disruptive potential. This method is shown to have been effective regarding immigrants (prior to 2015), local authorities, reunification as experienced in the GDR and the Euro Crisis. Its failure or non-application generated opportunities for ›political entrepreneurs‹ to appeal to a Volkspartei-clientele and thereby to establish new political parties.

### **Frigga Haug: Matricide and Restoration**

Vis-à-vis the multiple crises of capitalism, and at a time when a large German party accustomed to being in government faces a change in leadership, the article explores the possibility of a sustainable society. It draws on Marxist-feminist thought and focuses on gender relations.

### **Karen Ruoff/Cheryce von Xylander: Willfully Duped, or Kayfabe Unbound in Coronamerica**

Kayfabe is a term used in World Wide Entertainment wrestling to describe a *consensual* arrangement in a new sense of that word: the spectators agree to being *conned* in witnessing a ›sports‹ event whose outcome is pre-determined and which delivers a heightened *sensual* display of ring-bound rivalry. Two authors – Karen Ruoff and Eric Weinstein – have independently identified this analytic category as naming an increasingly dominant reflexive register of experience in contemporary political culture. While Weinstein rejoices in ›the crazy‹ of this development, Ruoff and von Xylander examine the enabling conditions within which primitive shows of force, demonstrably choreographed, could become the new normal of a de-ranged public sphere. Legacy journalism, political debate, cultural literacy: these critical corrective institutions of the pre-digital era are losing traction. The transformation has occurred in tandem with the rise of the world wide web – a privately owned infrastructure for publicly conveyed communication. We argue that mass messaging has occasioned an epistemic inversion of the *real deal* and its *double-dealing* simulacra. The digital citizenry is aquaplaning on the aggregate load of online ‘content’. On the example of a lockdown Netflix blockbuster, *Tiger King*, we examine the metonymic significance of the big cat against the backdrop of technology-facilitated shifts in individual/collective cognition that span Weimar Berlin and the contested cyberspace of Coronamerica.

### **Jan Rehmann: Flying High and Falling: Bernie Sanders’ Electoral Campaign from the Perspective of a Theory of Hegemony**

Against the backdrop of his engagement in the Sanders campaign, Jan Rehmann questions whether he overestimated Sanders’ chances of victory. On the one hand, it is obvious that Sanders was very skilled in shifting people’s common sense towards the left. Furthermore, he was able to translate his economic populist core message more effectively than in 2016 into the discourses of feminism and antiracism. Yet discourses are not to be confused with the materiality of the ideological. Sanders’ campaign was not able to make substantial inroads into the ideological apparatuses, in particular into the Democratic Party, whose centre remained stable and jeopardized any attempt of widening the Sanders coalition towards the ›middle‹. The neoliberal victory over Sanders is being paid for by a dangerous dyshegemony of the remaining candidate, Joe Biden. Despite the creation of joint policy task forces, the chances of a convincing ›historical compromise‹ between the two camps are slim. It is to be expected that the general election will be fought out between two dyshegemonic power blocs.

### **Wolfgang Fritz Haug: A Copernican Turn in Ecology? Jason Moore’s world ecological approach and the Philosophy of Praxis**

This study seeks a strategic collation of the philosophy of praxis as developed by Marx-Labriola-Gramsci and the world ecological position put forward by Jason W. Moore. It was to be presented at the XXIV. International InkriT-Conference, which had to be cancelled due to Covid-19. The programmatic title recalls Immanuel Kant’s likening of his own transcendental turn to the epistemological turn realized by Copernicus ›who, when he did not make good progress in the explanation of the celestial motions if he assumed that the entire celestial host revolves around the observer, [...] made the observer revolve and left the stars at rest‹ (CpR, W 3, B XVI, transl. Guyer and Wood). Yet Kant’s turn reverses the reversal by

claiming that ›objects must conform to our cognition‹ (ibid.), in Haug's view a throw-back to pre-Copernican geocentrism. Marx, by contrast, throws the spectator into world-transforming praxis and, thus, into the world of human-nature interagency. The starting point for Marx's implicit philosophy of praxis is, as Antonio Labriola argues, this situatedness within nature, a connection lost to Marxist-Leninist dogmatism while Western Marxism bracketed ›nature‹ altogether. Haug now associates what Labriola calls the ›practical reversal of the theory of cognition‹ (*capovolgimento pratico della teorica della conoscenza*) inherent in historical materialism with the turn performed by Moore in his treatment of the ›man/nature‹ relationship: instead of stipulating a binary opposition between ›man‹ and ›nature‹, Moore traces their mutual – though as Haug specifies: radically *asymmetrical* – implication. He lays bare the common ground of the two theories – namely that they cast us as thinking actors and acting thinkers from an imaginary vis-à-vis into the dynamic richness of real-world relationality – and shows that bringing them together completes the picture, and expands the field of praxis. Moore conceives his position as anti-Cartesian and takes Cartesian duality to be an ontological premise of Capitalism yet hesitates to explore the philosophical side of Cartesianism. Haug's Marxist deconstruction of Descartes' dualism opens the way for a critical renewal of both traditions: the philosophy of praxis overcomes its ›western‹ blindness to nature and the world ecological position foregoes its tendency towards anthropomorphic projectionism and spiritualistic myth making.

### **Timothée Haug: The Global History of Capitalism: Putting the Theory of *Oikeios* to the Test**

In their recent book, *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things*, Jason W. Moore and Raj Patel undertake a novel writing of capitalism's history from the vantage point of its ecological embeddedness in the *oikeios*. This essay focuses on Moore's key concept of ›cheap‹, expanding on his analysis in *Capitalism in the Web of Life*. It reconstructs the capitalist logics of appropriating human and non-human forces, as required by the accumulation of surplus value. Far from being reduced to a sheer economic procedure of devaluation, cheapness stands for an opposition of society and nature implemented in capitalist and colonial domination. In contrast to Moore and Patel, the article suggests adopting the crucial critique of this dualistic framework without rejecting all differentiation between society and nature.

### **Cheryce von Xylander: Karlsruhe Postmodernity. A Humanity-Nature-Faraway-Festival (ZKM Karlsruhe May 22-24, 2020)**

The mega-exhibition *Critical Zones: Observatories for Earthly Politics* had to be postponed due to social distancing requirements worldwide. The curatorial team – Peter Weibel (ZKM's artistic director), Bruno Latour (sociologist and philosopher) and other collaborators – decided to launch a ›virtual preview‹ of the Critical Zones project in the form of a three-day ›streaming festival‹, which took place in a nirvana of performative placelessness: a digitally orchestrated online get-together, readily accessible in video recordings. Through a montage of cosmological positions triangulating Wolfgang Fritz Haug's ›A Copernican Revolution in Ecology?‹ in this volume and the two distinct curatorial visions put forward by Weibel and Latour, respectively, this paper spotlights the political grammar of ontological depth perception in denial. What emerges is a dance of agency that is of critical urgency.

## 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 Osterort, 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 Buhecke, 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)
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 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)
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)
Tübingen	Frauenbuchladen Thalestris, Bursagasse 2 (07071/26590)