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## Abstracts

### **Karl Heinz Roth, Their Wonderful War – Jenseits der Schmerzgrenze intellektueller Arroganz**

Karl Heinz Roth analyses the voices of German left-wing intellectuals supporting the US-led Gulf War between 1990 and 1991 taking Marc Bloch's approach on the history of mentalities as starting point. While opponents of the war were variously described as "appeasers", supporters of a new Hitler or involuntary subscribers to values propagated by "national socialists" by these intellectuals he criticizes them for completely failing to see the realist background of world politics with the US waging a war against a country in a destabilized region in order to maintain its economic and military grip on resources and geostrategical influence. He criticizes the arguments of these intellectuals who equate Saddam with Hitler, allege that pacifism had led to Hitler's (and Saddam's) ascension to power and liken the appeasement politics of European states in 1938 to the position of the peace movement in the 1990s. Against this Roth ascertains the necessity of the peace movement, of an immediate ceasefire and of a complete withdrawal of weapons of mass destruction amongst others.

### **Karl Heinz Roth, Krieg vor dem Krieg: Die Annexion Österreichs und die Zerschlagung der Tschechoslowakei 1938/39**

Up to now research has perceived those propagandist, diplomatic, "folksy," and military acts of aggression below war level by the NS-dictatorship against Austria and Czechoslovakia mainly as the prelude to World War II. The present contribution changes this perspective significantly. The author analyses the acts of violence in 1938/39 as a flight forward by the German ruling classes to evade an economic, social, and

mental crisis within their area of rule that had become a threat to the system. This situation forced them to give up their initial strategic plan which had scheduled a big European war for the time after 1942 and to enter an era of improvised outer and inner war of conquest instead. The spoils made during this time (gold and currency, commodities and semi-finished products, ordnance factories, economic potential and human labor) allowed them to produce constantly growing steps of escalation which led to war actions as early as 1939 and to a world war only two years later.

### **Karl Heinz Roth, Faschismus oder Nationalsozialismus? Kontroversen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Geschichtspolitik, Gefühl und Wissenschaft**

Research on the history of fascism finds itself in a paradigmatic crisis, defined by a very advanced asymmetry between the volume of empirical work and a weak methodological framework. Epistemological deficits, emotional barriers, and historic-political taboos slow the defeat of this crisis. The author argues for a transnational and comparative viewpoint of the fascist era, presupposing a theoretical model and renunciation of the phrase “National Socialism” as it has become unusable due to its demand for uniqueness. Thereby it is possible to compare fascism not only within its European variations but also as it relates to fascist systems worldwide.

### **Karl Heinz Roth, Empirie und Theorie: Die Marxsche Arbeitswertlehre im Licht der Arbeitsgeschichte**

Current developments of global labor relations demand a review of those theoretical premises, which have been the basis of labor historiography to date. For this purpose, this paper offers some initial hypotheses. After a critical examination of the Marxist labor theory of value and the historiography based on it, a new model is offered. This model is to do justice to the complexity of labor relations from a histor-

ical as well as a current perspective and includes an approach transcending the pure socio-economical but is a concept open to class formation and fragmentation.

In the second part of this essay, the author tests his new model of formation and fragmentation of the working class in their negotiation with the current global labor conditions. He attempts to bundle the essential moments of the restructuring of the capitalistic global system, which began in the 1970s, from a perspective from the ground up: universal expulsion from the land, continental and transcontinental migration processes, the emergence of slums and shadow economies, intensified exploitation processes in some threshold countries, the transcontinental shifting of the industrial working class with the implementation of unprotected labour conditions in the metropolises. This is an open process, whose outcome is unsure and in which we are complicit as active observers and actors.

### **Karl Heinz Roth, Die globale Krise: Bisheriger Verlauf – Entwicklungstendenzen – Wahrnehmungen und Handlungsmöglichkeiten von unten**

This article is the written version of a series of public statements by the author concerning the recent global economic crisis. Following a short summary of crucial events during the first period of this crisis, the author examines its likely further development, focusing in particular on the possibility that the crisis may lead into a protracted economic depression. The third section of the article considers the crisis “from below” and reflects on how the global working class might respond to the challenge. Local and global self-determination is discussed as a strategic option for the transformation of the capitalist world system.

### **Karl Heinz Roth, Griechenland und die Euro-Krise**

The prehistory of the Greece euro crisis goes back to the 1980s, when Greece became a member of what was then the European Community.

What proved decisive, however, was Greece's 2001 entry into the eurozone, for it eliminated the option of compensation for Greece's developmental lag vis-à-vis the European core states by devaluing the drachma. The subsequent boom in infrastructural investment coincided with the development of an increasingly unfavorable balance of payments and the deterioration of foreign trade. This unbalanced development was rendered openly visible by the world economic crisis of 2008/2009. Greece entered a recession that has continued to worsen to this day, and which has been accompanied by the accumulation of a massive public debt. Since May of 2010, Greece has been forcibly administered by the so-called troika (the EU Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund). In this way, Greece's bankruptcy has been – and continues to be – postponed until its effects on the eurozone and the world economy can be softened by the introduction of new containment instruments.

### **Marcel van der Linden, Der Anarchismus: Versuch einer sozialhistorischen Ortsbestimmung**

Anti-state tendencies have been around for thousands of years, since states behaved as protection rackets. This began to change during the “long nineteenth century” when states – while retaining their predatory characteristics – began to intervene in working conditions, education, poor relief, housing, communications, and transportation. These developments required a fundamental reorientation of the emerging labor movements and the socialists closely associated with them. Anarchism as an ideology is the product of the “hinge time” in which the receiving state was still strongly in everyone's consciousness and the giving state was not yet fully developed. Anarchism had its greatest influence in the international labor movement between about 1870 and 1940. Anarchist influences waned and eventually almost entirely disappeared: where the “giving” state prevailed, anarchism had no chance in the long run. Since the 1960s anti-state tendencies have returned, albeit in a different form. There is a gradual weakening of both the giving and the taking state,

because it is redefining its areas of intervention and having more and more tasks regulated supranationally. Under these conditions, (social) anarchism could well become an important stimulus for new social movements. However, a 100 percent return to classic anarchism will most likely only be of interest to marginal groups and alternative strategies will no longer be able to completely do without statehood.

**Christiane Rothmaler, „Die Kompanie bittet um eine exemplarische Bestrafung“ oder „Ich habe mir nichts dabei gedacht, ich habe es nicht mit Absicht getan“. Wehrmachthelferinnen vor der Militärjustiz**

In her essay on female helpers for the German armed forces in WW II, the “Wehrmacht,” Christiane Rothmaler sets out to analyse the accusations raised against these women in military tribunals. While there is an abundance of scientific literature on male soldiers being tried in military tribunals, comparatively little can be found on women exposed to these repressive institutions. The small number of studies on these accused women focus on offences such as “Illicit elopement from troops,” “Aiding and abetting of desertion,” “Subversion of the Wehrmacht,” thus concentrating on some form of subaltern resistance. Women tried for “Thievery,” “Document forgery” or “Abortion,” however, have thus far not had the same degree of attention, suggesting a “blind spot” of scientific and feminist research. By way of a close reading of the files of more than 100 women tried in military tribunals the author provides insights into how the Nazi military justice followed the fascist conceptions of Nazi ideology.

**Hartmut Rübner, Arbeiter/innen und Neue Linke im Protestzyklus um 1968**

The “phenomenon 1968” is usually interpreted as a “social movement.” Until now, workers have only marginally appeared as active subjects in the many publications on “1968” published in the decades following the

events. This absence, however, does not match up to the real significance of the “proletarian moment” during this period. Therefore, this article takes different groups of actors into consideration and establishes relations between them: Workers, the New Left and student activists. In so doing, it becomes evident that the worldwide cycle of protest was not limited to the immediate years before and after 1968, but must be considered in a larger time frame lasting from the beginning of the 1960s until around 1976. During this decade many interactions between actors belonging to both the Old as well as the New Left had taken place and a considerable overlap in common points of reference existed.

### **Rüdiger Hachtmann, Nazismus („Nationalsozialismus“)**

By tracing the origins and historical uses of the terms “nazism” and “national socialism” Hachtmann argues for a renewed scientific use of the first. While the term “national socialism” had been coined by the mid-19th century, it was employed by Nazis in Germany for their own use as of the 1920s. Today it is the dominant analytical term to grasp the specificity of Germany’s “national socialism.” Contrary to that approach Hachtmann argues that the term “Nazism” is less prone to the legitimizing content of the term “national socialism” thus focusing on the specificity of its true social and political content. It allows to analyse a movement and a state based on four ideological pillars: anti-marxism, racism and antisemitism, nationalism, warmongering.

### **Sergio Bologna, Gedanken zum Thema: Geschichte als Beruf**

Sergio Bologna’s research article focuses on the Italian “operaist/work-erist” militant journal *Primo Maggio*, its influence on both the Italian left as well as the historiography of the Italian labour movement. While embedding the journals’ creation, ascension and temporary demise in the social, political and economic history of Italy’s post-war development, Bologna ascertains that an unmediated reading of Marx’s writings as well as a thorough engagement with (inter)national historical and

current labour movements secured the journal's role in these movements. Taking the post-war "mass worker" as the figure that influenced much of Italy's social history as of the 1960s onwards, the author also shows the reasons for its demise as capital developed new forms of struggle against working class organization. Following the defeat of the "mass worker" in the 1980s and the rise of a new generation of "self-employed new professionals", the journal and Bologna's research went on to focus on the "autonomous labour of the second generation," thereby proving the richness of "militant historical writing" as forged by a theory-driven approach saturated with the experience of myriads of social struggles.

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