

## Summaries

### **Jan Rehmann: Bernie Sanders and the Hegemonic Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism**

Looking at the Bernie Sanders campaign from the perspective of a Gramscian theory of hegemony, the author demonstrates that the astonishing appeal of the Sanders campaign is both an outcome of neoliberalism's hegemonic crisis and a case in point of how to intervene effectively into its contradictions and to shift people's »common sense« to the left. Sanders' »economic populism« has nothing to do with a romanticized notion of a homogenous »people«, but is based on a multifaceted »historic bloc« of different subaltern classes and groups. How can his focus on class (in the broadest sense of the »99%«) be connected to the intersectionality of different forms of oppression? How can the different components of the »Sanderist movement« stay together when Hillary Clinton gets the nomination?

### **Gal Kirn: The Withering Away of the State: from Partisan Ruptures to Market Socialism in Yugoslavia**

In light of right-wing historical revisionism, the article offers an alternative dialectical approach based on three »partisan ruptures« in the Yugoslavian project: The national liberation struggle that moved from an anti-fascist organization to revolutionary transformation; a second rupture after the split with Stalin in 1948 in which Yugoslav socialists called for »workers' self-management«; and a rupture after 1955 creating a non-aligned movement in the context of the Cold War. This affirmative core of the project was destabilized within Yugoslavia itself in the mid-1960s with the introduction of market reforms. The later were a clear indicator of a new hegemonic constellation and the strengthening of capitalist elements that consequently exhausted partisan ruptures and led to a class convergence between technocracy and bureaucracy. Meanwhile, despite formal progress in law and social welfare, the working class was excluded from the self-managed institutions as unemployment became a major blind spot within the »withering away« of state.

### **Miklavž Komelj: Partisan Art and Surrealism**

The essay is a critical reexamination of the art of the partisan revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia during World War II. Komelj argues that in essence, partisan art was not an adaptation of art to the revolutionary situation via politicization. Rather, it emerged out of the incompatibility between art and war and the incommensurability between art and politics. Only forms of art that were aware of their own development despite the situation were able to correspond with the highest inner tensions of the revolutionary situation as such.

### **Krešimir Zovak: Contradictions of Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia**

In the 1960s, first signs of serious structural deficits in Yugoslav workers' self-management were revealed as rising inequality and unemployment as well as massive economic emigration. The article argues that these problems were partially a consequence of theoretical shortcomings in the Yugoslav model. Its main architect, Edvard Kardelj, largely underestimated problems deriving from a market regulation of the economy in a nominally socialist society. His theory was based on a reductive definition of self-management as worker's control of individual units of production. He thereby ignored the persistence of the accumulation imperative of capital, which even in the absence of a capitalist class continued to determine the position of workers through competitive markets and had a negative impact on solidarity within the Yugoslav working class.

### **Ankica Čakardić: Women's Struggles and Political Economy: from Yugoslav Self-management to Neoliberal Austerity**

Čakardić maps women's struggles from the period of Yugoslav self-management to the current austerity regimes that dominate Balkan societies. In the first part of the article she discusses the importance of the Women's Antifascist Front (AFŽ) as the single most important organization of women during World War II and the Yugoslav self-management period. The second part offers a scheme for the systemic analysis of 1990s during the »transitional« period after the breakup of Yugoslavia. The author then considers feminist responses to the crisis during neoliberal austerity policies and their overall consequences. Without a serious historical-materialist analysis of the position of women in the post-Yugoslav region during the financialization of capitalism, it is difficult to provide a basis for anti-capitalist feminist struggle which would ally itself with contemporary leftist movements.

### **Krunoslav Stojaković: From Socialist Founder of the State to National Traitor? – Josip Broz Tito and His Biographers**

The history of socialist Yugoslavia is inseparably linked to that of Josip Broz Tito. In the Yugoslav successor states a banal and aggressive anti-communism emerged along with the development of an aggressive and largely discrediting engagement with Tito. Among Croatian nationalists, Tito is considered responsible for the alleged suppression of Croatian aspirations to independence, while Serbian nationalists consider him to be the cause for a divided territory and of a failed Greater Serbian project. The article outlines some of the most evident problems in current scholarship on Tito, taking Jože Pirjevec's biography (recently been translated into German) as an example.

### **Ishay Landa: True Requirements or the Requirements of Truth? The Nietzschean Communism of Alain Badiou**

Badiou developed a distinctive understanding of »communism« that differs largely from a Marxist one. Several scholars have noticed the striking differences between Badiou and Marx, but have generally failed to go beyond describing them. Here an attempt is made to trace these differences back to the largely Nietzschean footing of Badiou's philosophy. The article argues that beyond tactics, differences are based on distinct projects and their strategic goals. Marxist communism posits a dialectical overcoming of the capitalist present as predicated on the social, political and cultural transformation brought about by capitalism itself. By contrast, Badiou's project aims at achieving a clean break with history. Nietzsche is useful for Badiou in providing a critique of mass society and aiming to create a new man, the Overman. To analyze the two projects, the nature of capitalism, the meaning of revolutionary subjectivity and attitudes towards history and historical possibilities are discussed. Marx's political project is vindicated vis-à-vis the elitist and anti-humanism that characterize Badiou's approach. A dialogue with Badiou's position, however, is not foreclosed.

### **Lucien Sève: Towards a Science of Biography. Preface to the Fourth German Edition of *Changing the World – Changing Life* (Selections)**

Lucien Sève explains in this preface, how, starting with Sartre's understanding of the subject as »not given«, he developed his specific approach to a Marxist theory of personality. Inspired by Georges Politzer and based on Marx' 6th Thesis on Feuerbach regarding the »essence« of the human, he read the Critique of Political Economy and Lenin's political writings in the sense of a »science of biography« that took the societal forms of individuality, the everyday practices and the experienced meanings of the personality seriously. This brought him in opposition to Althusser's »antihumanist« interpretation. Is a non-speculative and non-reductionist Marxist psychology and anthropology possible, and what is at stake?