

Andreas Fisahn: Teaching the bull to dance? New challenges for Europe. The crisis of the European Union cannot be solved by austerity programs. Therefore a closer look at the reasons of the crisis seems to be reasonable, which includes a description of the development of the EU from 1951 to present times. The Union started as a tariff union and evolved through different steps to an order of competitive states. The main fields of competition between the states are taxes and social costs, which leads to tax dumping and a race to the bottom in social benefits. Starting in 1990 the EU achieved the status of an open financial market, with the duty of deregulation of capital movements being stipulated in Treaties. In the end the problem is not a debt crisis but a crisis of the structure of the European Union. The solution – which especially the German government prefers – may be the first step on the way to an authoritarian state.

Martin Konecny: The Establishment of a new Economic Governance in Europa as an Authoritarian Strategy of Crisis Management. In the context of the economic crisis and the European sovereign debt crisis in particular the dominant social forces and state apparatuses are pushing for a long term solution. Here I argue that relevant European class forces as well as national class factions established the so called Six Pack as a political strategy that aims to radicalize neoliberal policies via European regulations. While in the member states democratic structures are being minimized, more decisions are made on the European level, through which the executive apparatus, especially the European Commission, gains more influence. I analyze the way in which the dominant social forces shaped the Six Pack and examine similarities but also differences to the European Fiscal Compact. Finally I look at the meaning of these current reforms for a left strategy of rupture in Europe

Mathis Heinrich: Between Bank Bailouts and an Authoritarian Competition Regime. On the Dynamics of European Crisis Management. The global financial crisis did not only plunge the European Union into a deep recession, but also released remarkable contradictions within the organisation and regulation of the European economy. As complex as the structural causes of the crisis are, the diverse and disputed are the political struggles and policy reactions to it. In particular, the different spheres of activity in European crisis management are characterised by variegated compromises, however no progressive change in European modes of regulation and underlying transnational social and political power networks seems to take place. Rather, alternative approaches are getting constantly disarticulated by discursive and organisational means, while authoritarian European policy reactions do not only deepen the crisis dynamics in Europe, but also more and more point towards a major crisis of democracy.

Lukas Oberndorfer The Renaissance of Authoritarian Liberalism? – Reading Carl Schmitt and German Neoliberalism against the Backdrop of Subaltern Protest in the Crisis of Hegemony in Europe. The unfolding crisis of capitalism – the most severe since the 1930s – is taking the shine off those neoliberal projects that were implemented in the context of the European Union. As a result, the present, competition-state mode of integration, which is based on *consensus*, is sliding into an ever deeper crisis of hegemony. To maintain the *status quo*, coercion is, if necessary, substituted for the disappearing consensus. That the central EU crisis initiatives (Economic Governance and the Fiscal Compact) are eroding formal democracy and the rule of law in particular heralds the beginning of an authoritarian turn in Europe. Drawing on the theory of *Nicos Poulantzas* this turn can be described as *authoritarian competitive statism*. In a – to a certain extent – comparable crisis of hegemony in the 1930s Carl Schmitt and German neoliberal intellectuals developed a strategy of dominance which can be described

as authoritarian liberalism. In comparing this discourse with the present crisis mode of the European Union I try to sensitize the analytical framework for a counter-hegemonic strategy.

Andrés Musacchio: Restructuring of the Debt Position and Growth Conditions: Greece and Argentina in Comparison. After the crisis of 2001/2002 Argentina was confronted with similar problems as Greece is nowadays. Argentina, however, recovered quickly. The article discusses which chances Greece has to follow a similar path of development and which are the obstacles for such a path.

Nikolai Huke, Jan Schlemmer: Why so Supportive of the State? Crises of Representative Democracy as a Chance for Radical Reformism and Emancipation. In the Euro crisis, there is a significant shift in state-society relations and representative democracy: The European ensemble of state apparatuses 'hardens' due to authoritarian austerity measures and becomes less responsive to interests and conflicts within society. At the same time, social conflicts intensify especially in the European periphery as the precariousness of everyday life increases (e.g. evictions, unemployment, and poverty). The article argues that critical European integration research has been unable to develop strategic responses to this situation, because it neglects resistance as well as strategic and structural selectivities of state apparatuses. It in consequence develops a conservative stance: to defend 'really existing' democracy. Taking the Spanish protests against austerity and everyday crises (e.g. 15-M) as a case study the article shows that a more progressive answer to the current crisis is possible and necessary: a radical reformism that aims beyond state, capitalism and representative democracy.

Joachim Becker: White Spots: Uneven Development and Uneven Mobilisation in the EU. The article critically comments some of the conclusions by Alex Demirović and Thomas Sablowski in their article on the crisis in PROKLA No. 166. These two authors emphasise that it should be an aim of the left "to create the unity of the subaltern classes in Europe through joint struggles". According to the critical comment, these two authors underestimate the degree of uneven development which results in uneven patterns of mobilisation across the European continent. In Greece, the left wing alliance Syriza came close to government power. Syriza faces with renewed urgency the question whether to continue Greece's euro zone membership. The alliance is split on the issue. The majority of the alliance has come out in favour of staying in the euro zone. The article argues that economic recovery and the development of alternative economic policies in Greece are hardly compatible with a continued euro zone membership of the peripheral euro zone countries.

Michael Wendl: The Disenchantment of an Avantgarde. Among German economist a heavy struggle about economic policy and the role of the ECB is going on. In this quarrel some more traditional Marxists come rather close to neoliberal positions which shows a certain theoretical lack of traditional Marxism in the field of value and money theory.

Bodo Kahmann: Theory of Political Extremism as Coming to Terms with the Past. On the Politics of History of a Network of Political Scientists. "Extremismustheorie" is a theory of political extremism put forward by a certain group of political scientists in Germany. Besides their work on political extremism, these well financed scientists are also known for their problematic and simplifying views of Nazi-Germany and the way of dealing with it. This article examines the connection between these two topics within the work of these researchers. It argues that the theory of extremism is intrinsically linked to an interpretation of the end of the Weimar Republic which exonerates Germans and especially the elites from historical guilt.

Aaron Tauss: Argentina's Recuperaed Workplaces: The Emancipatory Potential and the Dilemmas of Workers' Control. The article examines the socio-economic and political-ideo-

logical context that provoked the renaissance of workplace recuperations in Argentina during the 1990s and in the immediate aftermath of the country's economic crisis in 2001-2002. In addition, it will discuss the emancipatory potential and the main obstacles and limitations of workers' control. While most initiatives quickly disappeared during Argentina's economic recovery in the years following the crisis, occupied and recuperated enterprises successfully emerged as the strongest and most organized form of popular protest. The workers' long-standing struggle for the recuperation of the means of production, in part, radically altered existing forms of representation and participation in the workplace.

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