

**Achim Brunnengräber and Felix Syrovatka: Confrontation, Cooperation or Cooptation?**

The establishment of a Commission for the Disposal of High-Level Radioactive Waste by the state puts the anti-nuclear movement into a new situation. In the past, the relationship between the movement and the institutions of the state was mainly characterized by confrontation. But the establishment of a Repository Search Committee changed the situation and raised the question of cooperation. Using the hegemony theory, the article analyses the developments and conflicts between the movement and the state in the case of the search process for a nuclear waste repository. Thereby the article mainly focuses on dynamics inside the anti-nuclear movement and the relationship between the different fraction of the movement and the state.

**Alex Demirović: Self-Reflection of Marxism. Fifty Years Negative Dialectics. The article**

**argues** that Adorno's book *Negative Dialectics* is a major contribution to the Marxist debate. Adorno's starting point is a critique of Marx' eleventh Feuerbach-thesis that the world should not be longer interpreted but changed. After all the defeats that the left and Marxist theory had to experience since the middle of the 19th century Adorno argues for a renewal of theory by a self-reflexive turn of Marxism. As an important moment of this self-reflection a critical assessment of dialectics itself is necessary. Adorno criticized the traditional idea of the negation of negation and the expectation of a positive result as well as the notion of totality. Critically approaching Hegel, he sees him as the affirmative theorist of the tendency of the bourgeois society to totalize itself. In opposition to this – and in difference to any Hegel-Marxism – Adorno conceive of dialectics as negative i.e. it has itself a temporal index and is a form of intellectual appropriation of the world only under conditions of domination. To think in an emancipatory way then has as a consequence to develop a non-systematic theory and to be sensitive for the movements and contradictions of concepts that attract themselves and form constellations.

**Kristina Dietz, Oliver Pye and Bettina Engels: The spatial dynamics of agrofuels: transnational networks, re-scaling, places and territorial struggles.** This article explores the spatial dynamics of agrofuels. Building on categories from the field of critical spatial theory, it shows how these categories enable a comprehensive analysis of the spatial dynamics of agrofuels that links the macro-structures of the global political economy to concrete, place-based struggles. Four core socio-spatial dynamics of agrofuel politics are highlighted and applied to empirical findings: territorialization, the financial sector as a new scale of regulation, place-based struggles and transnational spaces of resources and capital flows.

**David Döll : The Strategy of *Convergence des luttes* – Movement dynamic between democracy and class questions.** The movement against the *Loi Travail* pushes the line of anti-austerity and democracy struggles to the center of Europe. This paper reflects on the different steps of the "*Convergence des luttes*" (Convergence of Struggles) in the context of global movements and the crisis of neoliberal hegemony. It argues for *strategic* convergences of struggles on a European level. The coming "European left" has to form a transnational project against the neoliberal EU *and* the nationalist regressions.

**Tobias Haas: The Energiewende under pressure of (scalar) shifting relations of forces. An analysis of the EEG 2.0:** The article argues that there has been a transformation of the German Energy Turn (Energiewende) within the last couple of years. This transformation happens due to an offense of social forces that aim to slow down and push the Energiewende into

another, more centralized direction. This push to reconfigure the Energiewende is articulated and strengthened through the contested environmental and energy aid guidelines on the European scale. The multi-scalar shift of relations of forces are materialized in the Renewable Energy Act from 2014 (EEG 2.0).

**Ulf Kadritzke: Middle class as wishful thinking. Class studies of the past in the light of the present (Part 1):** The public and scientific discourse about the social structure in Germany is characterized by an absence of class categories and a peculiar attentiveness towards the middle classes - even the misleading term 'Mittelstand' is in use. This mode of thinking 'beyond classes' is criticized in a historical perspective. We reconstruct how several important social scientists of the 'Weimar Republic' (1919-1933) analyzed the socio-economic status and mentalities of the so called 'Neuer Mittelstand' (primarily consisting of private and public employees). These sociologists revealed the clear majority of white collar and service workers as 'hidden class'. In economic terms they are an essential part of the wage-dependent working class, albeit employed under specific conditions. Their position in the hierarchy of organizations and their (often merely pretended) prestige are the main causes of 'middle class' mentalities and their 'alienation' from working class values, habits and orientations. Referring to the Marx-related, but modified class studies of the past, the second part of the essay - coming up in the next PROKLA issue - will discuss the shortfalls of theories and conceptions of German middle classes in current sociology and politics, criticising their scientific approach as 'class-ignoring' ideologies.

**Hendrik Sander: The movement for climate justice and energy democracy in Germany: A historical-materialist movement-analysis.** This article argues that social movement research must be renewed by a historical-materialist perspective to be able to understand the emergence and effects of the relatively new climate justice movement in Germany. The previous research on NGOs and social movements in climate politics is presented and the recent development of the climate justice movement in Germany is illustrated. In a final step two cases of climate movement campaigns are explained by means of the historical-materialist movement-analysis proposed by the author.

**Ulrich Schachtschneider: Beyond citizens' investment: Energiewende needs Degrowth.** The German Energiewende (Energy Turn) in the electricity sector should be understood as ecological progress and as an example that current politics don't necessarily all follow the neoliberal paradigm. However, the way of financing the Energiewende has led to more inequality. Both the ongoing technological transformation following the idea of a Green New Deal and the paradigm „Bürgerenergie" are not in danger with the new EEG regulation scheme. But in order to achieve a wider energy transition covering other important consumption sectors like housing or mobility as well as facilitating a decline of the energy demand, less economical and social inequality beyond citizens' investment is needed.

**Markus Wissen: Between neo-Fossilism and a „green economy“. Development trends of the global energy regime.** Capitalism and the fossilist energy regime have been considered so closely interrelated that a crisis of the latter would inevitably raise a major threat for the former, resulting amongst others in growing geopolitical tensions. In critical (Marxist) debates such a crisis has been conceptualized as "peak oil" or "the end of cheap nature" (Jason Moore). However, the recent boom of unconventional fossil energies particularly in the USA has put such diagnoses in question. The article analyses recent development trends of the global energy regime. Its main argument is that the crucial problem is not so much the peak of scarce fossil resources. Neither is there simply a rising tension between the capitalist core

and its geopolitical competitors for reasons of energy supply. Rather, there are multiple energetic conflicts some of which criss-cross the line between the sphere of U.S. hegemony on the one hand and its competitors like China and Russia on the other. The major energetic threat arises from the socially and environmentally destructive power of the (neo-)fossilist patterns of production and consumption. This threat won't be overcome by a "greening" of capitalism. Instead, overcoming it requires a fundamental transformation of the mode of producing and consuming energy.

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