

## Summaries

### **Athanasios Marvakis: Neoliberal Construction of Crisis: Greece as an Example**

To understand the Greek-European »crisis« we must get rid of the notion of capitalism as a self-maintaining system, a notion that becomes an apotheosis of capitalism despite our personal critical intentions. We must look for »subjective« interventions and interests which contribute or even construct what we perceive as »crisis«. In regard to the particular Greek context it is necessary to recognise various interlocking *hinges* which mediate between dominant politics and resistances: citizens as »accomplices« or »enemies« of the state; the relationship between a rudimentary and a very unjust social state; the corruption of the Greek population as a strategic deal; and a particular political culture of the Left that is founded on »ideological territorialism« and sectarianism.

### **Wolf-Dieter Narr: Toward a Critique of Normative Enthusiasm. Habermas on Europe**

The European Union can be presently characterised as a compound of bureaucratically-organized capitalism, abounding with contradictions and inequalities. German philosopher Jürgen Habermas attempts to present a future path in which the EU will reach its pretentious promises. Yet he fails short of his goal due to an overload of normative statements lacking normative, let alone socioeconomic and organisational foundations. Indeed, Habermas reifies his normative abstractions like law, human rights, democracy with brutish givens. He idealises European reality, interpreting it as a cosmopolitan development. In this sense, his arguments are an almost classical example of what ideologies are all about.

### **Wolfram Adolphi: Litmus Test China**

The rapid growth of China's economic and political power is doubtlessly one of today's most challenging developments globally. Confrontation – with a possibly catastrophic outcome – or a new type of worldwide cooperation are the alternatives among which we must choose. Because of its sheer size and strength, China is a litmus test for the rest of the world. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century both, the imperialist West and the USSR/Comintern-dominated East failed to pass the test. It is high time to search for a new approach.

### **Wolfgang Fritz Haug: Master-Slave-Dialectics in »Chimerica«**

China's 2001 WTO ascension, with its harsh conditions, following sixteen tough years of negotiations, was initially understood as a »capitulation« to the demands of the United States. Ten years later the United States was partially deindustrialized and dependent on Chinese credit. China had become the motor of growth for the global economy. Haug examines, how the over-exploitation of the Chinese workforce together with the over-consumption of the United States brought forth this reversal in relations of forces, and inquires into the further dynamic of this development.

### **Ingar Solty: U.S. Foreign Policy Towards China Between Integration and Containment**

The Green New Deal, understood as a means to reestablishing US hegemony, has failed and given way to a global austerity turn. This has significant consequences for the ability of the US state to fully and hegemonically integrate China into the American Empire, because it enhances existing tensions regarding global trade and China's state-interventionist industrial and energy policies. US foreign policy faces a dilemma. On the one hand the financial dependence on China rule out direct confrontation, on the other hand the perpetuation of US hegemony depends on averting that the increasing regional integration in South East Asia emerges as a challenge to the

US-dominated world economy and its monetary configuration. The US are therefore pursuing a risky strategy that seeks to achieve its goals through utilizing existing tensions, most notably around the South China Sea, in order to increase US military presence in the region. This strategy, however, is facing difficulties and setbacks both from protectionism at home and China's clever economic diplomacy abroad.

**Karl Georg Zinn: China and India. On the Asymmetry of Western Horoscopes for Asia**

Western Media focus on either China or India, but generally avoid directly comparing the two most populated countries. While »communist« China is often contrasted with the West, Indian »democracy« is not seen as a great challenge to Western capitalism. For the past three decades, Beijing has managed economic prosperity; hundreds of millions no longer live in poverty. Although no single explanation can be offered for the diverging development of the two societies, important aspects include cultural differences between secular, atheist and centralised China; India's Hindu caste-system; and India's history of British colonialism ...

**Cora Jungbluth: »Dragons« in Germany: Delusions and Reality of Chinese Investment**

Since the promulgation of the »Going Global« Strategy by the Chinese government in 2000, foreign direct investment (FDI) from mainland China has been steadily increasing. Developed countries appear to be especially attractive for Chinese investors who are seeking technology, market access and brands. This paper focuses on Germany as a host country for Chinese FDI and sheds some light on the challenges and opportunities Chinese companies face when venturing abroad.

**Matthias Ebenau & Stefan Schmalz: Policy Responses to the Economic Crisis in Brazil, China, and India**

The article compares the impact of the current global economic crisis on the political and economic trajectories of Brazil, India and China. In each case, responses to the crisis consolidated and accelerated ongoing processes. In Brazil they were part of a broader shift to a social-democratic economic strategy; in India, they constituted a temporary, stabilising intervention while gradual neoliberalisation remains the dominant direction of regulatory change; in China, reactions occurred in the context of attempts to steer the economy towards a more social-corporatist direction. Whether these will be successful remains unclear.

**Thomas Heberer: On the Current Political and Social Situation in China**

The article examines six issues: How to assess human rights' violations in China?; What are the most pressing issues on people's minds?; Why did the rapid overcoming of the global financial crisis 2009/2010 generate larger legitimacy for China's political leadership?; What are the effects of establishing new social security systems in rural areas?; How are issues of political change and democratisation discussed within the Communist Party?; Will the Chinese leadership be challenged by a »Jasmine Revolution«?

**Li Qiang: The Evolution of Chinese Social Structure**

In this interview Li Qiang, a renowned Chinese sociologist reflects on how the policies of reform and opening of the past 30 years have changed social structure in China. He outlines political and economic reasons behind the colossal changes as well as the problems with the formation of a modern middle class; the difficult position of the masses of migrant workers; overcoming the development gap between the various regions of the country; as well as problems of social justice. Li Qiang, also an advisor to government institutions, trade unions and NGOs, describes the problems in this field with unusual frankness and suggests steps toward their solution.

**Sophie Dieckmann: The Return of Clan Power in Rural China**

Until the end of imperial China, clans were the most significant social unit in rural villages, fulfilling social, economic and religious functions. After 1949 the Communist Party took various measures to destroy the power and influence of the clans. However, since the policy of reform and opening in 1978, traditional beliefs and ways of organizing social life, including clans, have become increasingly important for the rural population. This article shows how clans regained power in rural China, examining the reasons for this development.

**Olivia Kraef: Playing with Fire – Chinas Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Protection of Minority Cultures, and the Liangshan Yi Torch Festival**

Since the 2006 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), China has been among the most enthusiastic countries to embrace the concept and associated opportunities for cultural and economic development. However, ever-expanding lists of items deemed worthy of protection have also triggered doubts regarding the ambitions of the Chinese central government and local applicants, as well as the policy's efficacy. The article discusses these developments through the lens of the Yi Torch Festival in the Province of Sichuan, nominated for inclusion in China's 2012 list of national ICH. Ethnic minority groups and local elites have a keen interest in including their cultures as ICH items, not only as a means of local economic development, but also to expand their control over their cultural and natural resources, reverse development-hampering ideology, and thus strengthen their position vis-à-vis the Chinese state.

**Kimiko Suda: Urban Informality, Social Mobility and the Emerging Chinese Middle Class: University Graduates in Precarious Working and Living Conditions**

In the context of current critical debates on the social stratification of the emerging Chinese middle class, this paper considers highly educated internal migrants situated in precarious working and living conditions in urban spaces. Debate about this group was prompted by sociologist Lian Si's coining of the derogatory term »ants« (*yizu*) to describe this social grouping 2008. The analysis is based on 15 interviews with graduates living in Guangzhou, in addition to Chinese materials from science and the media.

**Rolf Geffken: China – or Three Images of China?**

Whither China's future? In a critical review, Geffken analyses three different approaches to this question. While both Renate Dillmann and Hyekung Cho are certain of the country's capitalist future, Helmut Peters defines the conditions for a socialist perspective of mainland China. Dillmann's book demands a marxist approach but proves a lack of serious substantiality. Cho ignores the rising number of social conflicts as well as legal steps forward for workers' rights. Only Peters offers a sound scholarly analysis of the past and of the likely future. His central criticism of official Chinese policy is a long-lasting ignorance towards the Chinese working class itself, both in theory and as party policy.

**Anita Chan & Kaxton Siu: The Development of Class Consciousness of Chinese Migrant Workers, 1980-2010**

In May and June 2010 the strike at the Honda transmission plant in Nanhai city in South China caught the world's attention. The strike has been widely taken as symptomatic of rising class consciousness of a new generation of migrant workers in the Pearl River Delta. This new generation is seen as different from the first generation in self-identity and aspirations. By using the framework of a staged development of class consciousness and by comparing today's Chinese

migrant workers to the working classes in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> industrializing Europe, this paper argues that Chinese workers are at the stage of »embryonic trade union consciousness«, not yet developed enough to stage a sustained labour movement.

### **Ulrike Eifler: 1989 – An Important Year for the Chinese Working Class**

In 1989 thousands of students occupied Tian'anmen-Square during several weeks. All over the world this protest is known as a movement for democracy. In these demonstrations there was strong participation from Chinese working classes who demanded social justice. From today's perspective, the summer of 1989 was the beginning of powerful working class struggle against privatisation and unemployment.

### **Rebecca E. Karl: Mao Zedong and the Contemporary Global Conjunction**

The author excavates against the normative grain some moments of China's 20<sup>th</sup> century and of Maoist history, in order to think about some cultural and political issues for today. Her point is to stage an encounter in an historical register, as it were, between the 20<sup>th</sup> century and a seemingly post-philosophical, post-historical china or, in a different idiom, to restore the times of history to China and to the 20<sup>th</sup> century by insisting that any claim to the past, the present or the future must resist the displacement of politics by epistemological idealisms that temporal confluences inform and enable.

### **Hauke Neddermann: Mao passé? On the Contemporary Relevance of Chinese Socialism**

In recent decades, China seems to have become a land of boundless capitalist opportunities. Yet, many Chinese remain barred from the new wealth. Will the Boat Sink the Water? *The Life of China's Peasants*, is a lengthy report written by Chen Guidi and Wu Chuntao in 2004, highlighting the hardships of the country's rural majority. Through inter-textual allusions, the narrative of the book draws heavily on Mao Zedong's writings, resting upon the once-authoritative moral code of Chinese socialism. As Mao was never officially denounced, he still looms potentially large in Chinese political discourse. Echoing the times in which he lived, he tends, at times, to turn against the party state.

### **Georg Jansen: Kafka in Beijing**

This essay re-reads Kafka's *While constructing the Great Wall of China* in the light of contemporary China, in particular the city of Beijing. Given the fragmentary erection of the wall, the story's narrator, a contemporary of the construction, disbelieves the reason given at the time for building the colossal structure, namely that a Great Wall should provide shelter from the northern tribes. The essay understands the story as the narrator's ongoing search for the government's true reason behind building a wall that would take a huge toll in the whole country. The narrator concludes that, at the time of construction, the purpose of the Great Wall must have been an *intentionally purposeless* building designed to be capable to adopt any possible meaning in its future history. Referring to the story's great comparison of the Chinese Wall with the (European) Tower of Babel, the essay then examines a stunning coherence between Kafka's ideas of China and the Chinese, and the urban design of the city of Beijing. In this urban setting that has occasionally been labeled the capital of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Kafka's utopian vision of a fusion between the *western culture of the tower* and its Chinese counterpart, the *culture of the wall*, may already have come true.

## 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)
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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)
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Österreich	Wien Buchhandlung Winter, Landesgerichtsstr. 20 (0043/1 405 12 34) 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)
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Düsseldorf	Buch am Dreieck, Blücherstraße 3 (0211/4644050)
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München	Lillemor's Frauenbuchladen, Barerstraße 70 (089/2721205)
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