
Abstracts

Sarah Graber Majchrzak, Kniefall ohne Aufstand. Erinnerungen an den Dezember 1970 in der VR Polen

In December 1970 two events of importance for European history occurred in Poland: On December 7, West-German Chancellor Willy Brandt knelt down in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial, thus publicly apologizing for the crimes committed by Germans during World War II, and signed the Treaty of Warsaw in the aftermath. One week later, on December 14, workers inside the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk protested against the increase in food prices announced by the Polish government. Their uprising, which was joined by many other workers in the weeks and months that followed, and which was bloodily suppressed by the state, ultimately resulted in the fall of the government. While in 2020 the fiftieth anniversary of the ‘kneeling of Willy Brandt’ and the signing of the Treaty of Warsaw received widespread coverage in German mass media, the uprising of the shipyard workers seems to have been forgotten. The author discusses the immediate relation between the two events and emphasizes the significance of the workers’ protests in December 1970 for the emergence of Solidarność and the subsequent historical developments.

Felix Kłopotek, Amadeo Bordiga: Revolutionärer Marxismus und „Invarianz“. Anmerkungen zu Christian Riechers‘ Verteidigung Bordigas gegen dessen Schüler Jacques Camatte

The author gives an introduction to Amadeo Bordiga and the political current formed within Marxism by adherents of his thought. He fo-

cuses on the anti-stalinist, anti-liberal and highly theoretical nature of Bordiga's thinking intent on re-establishing the invariant features of Marx' revolutionary theory. Likewise he discusses Jacques Camatte's critique thereof and shows the limits of his understanding of Bordiga in the light of Camatte's own writings. While Bordiga clearly focused on Marx' critique of political economy, Klopotek shows the limits of Bordiga's approach in the latter's insistence on a Jacobite model of the communist party.

Christian Riechers, Der imaginäre Bordiga

In his essay 'The imaginary Bordiga' the late political scientist criticises Jacques Camatte, a former disciple of the Italian communist Amadeo Bordiga, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, for his interpretation of the writings of his teacher. In his introduction to a collection of writings by Bordiga, entitled *Testi sul comunismo* [Texts on communism], Camatte develops an interpretation of capitalism that sees all forms of resistance to its system devoured by capital itself, leaving no other option but a complete exit from this world. Against this interpretation Riechers holds that Bordiga presented a coherent communist world view allowing future communist party activists to reinstate the true pillars of Marxism, i. e. its invariance, to overcome capitalism and construct communism.

Peter Birke, Die halbierte Reform. Eine Studie zur Regulierung der Arbeitsbedingungen in der Fleischindustrie

In May 2020, the German government announced a new law aiming at a prohibition of the use of subcontracted, outsourced and/or temporary labour in the core parts of abattoirs and meat processing plants. Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the industry saw repeated plant closures, as in many countries worldwide, due to both mass infections of workers, given the lack of health and safety regulations in the workplace, and dismal accommodation provided to the predominantly mi-

grant workforce. Based on interviews conducted as part of a larger research project at the Sociological Research Institute Göttingen (SOFI), this article examines the labour disputes and social conflicts impinging on the German meat industry during the COVID-19 crisis.

Hauke Harden, Eine Fabrik in Weiß. Ökonomisierung, Segmentierung und Arbeitskampf im Krankenhaus

The German health care system has been subject to an increase in economic pressure and competition following changes introduced in the early 2000s which make hospital funding largely dependent on payments for diagnosis-related groups. As a result hospitals introduced measures to reduce labour costs by increasing workloads and worsening nurse-patient ratios. Additionally, large numbers of formerly publicly-owned hospitals were privatised. This case study investigates the successful strike of workers employed by the privatised service provider of a university hospital and explores the possibilities of solidarity within a precarious and highly segmented workforce.

Torsten Bewernitz, „Die Gilets Jaunes brauchten nicht den ,kommenden Aufstand‘ zu lesen“

Initial reactions in Germany to the protests of the Gilets Jaunes in France were characterised by fear of a surge of a right-wing movement. However, soon numerous publications appeared showing the movement to be considerably different. In his omnibus review Torsten Bewernitz presents an overview of the main arguments brought forth in these publications by NGOs, anarchist and syndicalist initiatives as well as trade unions and left-wing parties. Focussing on the specificity of the Gilet Jaunes' protests the author criticises the traditional position of left-wing parties attempting to exert influence on new social movements and instead prefers the option of a participatory perspective.

Gerhard Hanloser, „Nicht rechts, nicht links“? Ideologien und Aktionsformen der „Coronarebellen“

Based on observations of demonstrations by the so-called ‘Corona rebels’, the author explores the question of where this movement against the lockdown measures is to be situated in the political spectrum. The campaign’s newspaper *Demokratischer Widerstand* [Democratic Resistance] is analysed with regard to this question. By way of participatory observation the author describes habitus and attitudes of the demonstrators and discusses a range of socio-psychological explanations for the more irrational behaviour and expressions shown by parts of the movement. Despite their proclaimed liberalism, the ‘Corona Rebels’ seem to be creating a movement clearly gravitating to the right.

Wolfgang Hien, Corona-Pandemie: Gesundheitsschutz, Arbeitsverhältnisse, Pflegearbeit

The paper discusses current health policies in Germany in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic from a medico-epidemiological, sociological and political viewpoint focusing on labour relations and, more specifically, nursing work in general hospitals and in care homes. Based on empirical research by the author that took place in hospitals and nursing homes after March 2020, his findings signal to urgently needed changes both in occupational health policies as well as ownership structures of healthcare institutions. In order to improve workers’ occupational health the author argues for workers to take back control over their immediate working conditions. Past experiences of social struggles for such improvements, such as Italian experiences in ‘workers’ medicine’ or similar shop-floor based experiments in Germany should be taken into account for such a renewed attempt to ameliorate workers’ occupational health.

Jacques Rancière, Die Verrückten und die Weisen – Reflexionen über das Ende der Präsidentschaft Trumps

Is Trump really gone? After the failed storm on the US Capitol the author looks into the abysses of reason which had made Trump's reign feasible and highlights the conditions needed for a new way of thinking which helps overcome this topsy-turvy form of reason.

Autorinnen und Autoren / Contributors

Torsten Bewernitz, political and social scientist. Editor of the labour monthly *express.Zeitung für sozialistische Betriebs- und Gewerkschaftsarbeit* since 2018.

Peter Birke, Dr. phil., works at the University of Göttingen.

Sarah Graber Majchrzak, Dr. phil., member of the editorial committee of *Sozial.Geschichte Online*.

Gerhard Hanloser, lives and works in Berlin as an author and teacher. Latest publication as editor: *Linker Antisemitismus?* Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna 2020.

Hauke Harden, student of sociology at Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.

Wolfgang Hien, Dr. rer. pol., independent researcher in the areas of labour, public and occupational health, medical sociologist, biographical researcher, lecturer in Public Health at the University of Bremen.

Felix Klopotek, editor of the book series *Dissident:innen der Arbeiterbewegung* [Dissidents within the labour movement] published by Unrast-Verlag. Latest publication: *Rätekommunismus. Theorie und Geschichte* [Council Communism. Theory and History], Stuttgart 2021.

Jacques Rancière, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at the Université Paris VIII where he taught from 1968 to 2000. His research centres on intellectual and social emancipation and the modern revolutions in art, literary fiction and aesthetics. He has authored around forty works in these fields.

Christian Riechers, 1936–1993, German political scientist, worked in Italy as a teacher of German while also teaching at the University of Bologna. Editor of *Antonio Gramsci, Philosophie der Praxis. Eine Auswahl*, Frankfurt/M. 1967, author of *Antonio Gramsci. Marxismus in Italien*. Frankfurt/M. 1970. Lecturer at the University of Hanover from 1973 to his early death.