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AUTHORS' ABSTRACTS



POLITIKA PRELOMA IN DOLGOROČNE POSLEDICE NOB

Prispevek aktualizira prelomnost partizanskega gibanja tudi za današnji čas; protislovja tržnega socializma v Jugoslaviji so bila povezana prav z dejstvom, da povojni jugoslovanski sistem ni bil dovolj zvest partizanskim prelomnim idejam. Razčlenjena so ključna vprašanja, zakaj in kako je bil poražen jugoslovanski socialistični projekt; kako so se transformirale ideje iz časa partizanskega gibanja do prve tranzicije v obdobju 1965–1971 ter druge po sistematični razrušitvi Jugoslavije; kakšno je bilo razmerje med novim kot posledico in ciljem partizanskega preloma ter reprodukcijo, ki se je izražala v ideologiji in državi; kakšna je bila dialektika med delovnimi razredi in narodi, med socialno revolucijo, narodno osvoboditvijo in širšim protiimperialističnim bojem.

NOB je praktical politično načelo, ki se ne navezuje le na eno ljudstvo ali eno nacijo, ampak na vse nacije in ljudstva znotraj represivnega monarhičnega reda in na vse ljudi, ki v sebi nosijo sledi dominacije, naj bo ta razredna, spolna, nacionalna ali verska. Partizansko gibanje predstavlja prelom, ki se postavlja na pozicijo »neizvršenega dejstva«, tistega, kar v takratni situaciji in Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, ki je kapitulirala, ni obstajalo. Jugoslovanski NOB predstavlja tudi enega redkih primerov protifašistične politike, če ni kar edini, ki je razvil pozitiven program. Vprašanje NOB zato ni le vojaška zmaga nad tujo okupacijo ali razglasitev konca diktature Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Ključnega pomena je prav pojav »dolgega trajanja« NOB (kot ga zastavlja Althusser), ki se ukvarja z dolgoročnimi učinki novih kulturnih in političnih oblik množične ljudske demokracije, kar po vojni nadaljujeta socialistična revolucija in Federativna ljudska republika Jugoslavija, ki pa prav na tej točki tudi spodletita s prehodom v kapitalizem znotraj socialističnega sistema.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *NOB, Jugoslavija, razredni boj, socializem, tranzicija, trg, revizionizem, Louis Althusser.*

GAL KIRN

POLITICS OF RUPTURE AND LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF PLS

The article reflects upon actuality of the Yugoslav partisan struggle (People's Liberation Struggle – PLS) from the perspective of its rupture; the contradictions of market socialism in Yugoslavia were in close connection to the very fact that the post-war Yugoslav system was not faithful enough to the partisan breakthrough ideas. The following crucial questions will be analysed: why and how the Yugoslav socialist project was defeated? What was the course of transformation from partisan ideas and movement to the first market transition in the period of 1965–1971 and to the second one that took part after the systematic destruction of Yugoslavia? What was the relation between novelty (as a consequence and a goal of partisan rupture) and reproduction (as manifested in ideology and the state), what was the dialectics between the working class and nations, between the socialist revolution, national or people's struggle, and the wider anti-imperialist struggle?

The political conduct of PLS was against the reduction of liberation struggle to one nation; it included all the nations and peoples within the repressive monarchical order, all the people who bore the stamp of oppression, whether class, national, sexual, or religious. The partisan movement represents a rupture that takes a position of a fact yet to be accomplished, not yet existing in the situation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (it capitulated in 1941). It also represents one of the rare examples of anti-fascist politics – if not the only one – with a positive programme. The significance of PLS is therefore not only in a military victory over foreign occupiers, or in a declaration of the end of dictatorship of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but in the very phenomenon of partisan struggle as a “lasting encounter” (as Althusser had put it) that produced effects materialized in new cultural and political forms of mass democracy, and that was continued after the war with the socialist revolution and a new state – Federative people's republic of Yugoslavia. However, in the end, both of them failed precisely on that very point of lasting encounter; the road of this failure was paved with transition to capitalism within the socialist system.

KEYWORDS: *NOB (PLS), Yugoslavia, class struggle, socialism, transition, market, revisionism, Louis Althusser.*

DAVIDE CONTI

ZDA, VELIKA BRITANIJA IN VATIKAN: PROTIKOMUNISTIČNA FRONTA IN VPRAŠANJE ITALIJANSKIH VOJNIH ZLOČINCEV

Prispevek je poglavje iz obsežne študije mladega italijanskega zgodovinarja (*Italijanski vojni zločinci: Obtožbe procesi in nekaznovanje po drugi svetovni vojni*, Založba Sophia, 2014, 462 str.), ki je na podlagi večletnega proučevanja italijanskih in tujih arhivov podrobno dokumentiral celoten potek odnosa zahodnih zaveznikov do vprašanja nekaznovanja italijanskih vojnih zločincev. Razčlenjuje pogosto prezrto tematiko druge svetovne vojne in političnega dogajanja po njej, zajema tudi v mednarodnem okviru večinoma še neobjavljeno arhivsko gradivo.

Po drugi svetovni vojni bi morali visoki častniki italijanskih oboroženih sil odgovarjati za vojne zločine, ki so jih italijanske enote zagrešile v Albaniji, Jugoslaviji, Sovjetski zvezi in Grčiji, a se to ni zgodilo; pred izročitvijo državam, ki so jo zahtevale, in sodnimi postopki jih je rešilo vojaško-politično ravnotežje v času hladne vojne, ki je z odločilno podporo zahodnih zaveznikov italijanski vladi omogočilo politiko, s pomočjo katere se je vrh italijanske vojske izognil vsaki sodni kazni. Preiskovalna komisija pod vodstvom Luigija Gasparotta je bila instrument, ki je zagotavljal to nekaznovanje. Pripadnost zahodnemu bloku je Italiji omogočila, da je sklenila tajne sporazume z Grčijo, medtem ko so se Združene države Amerike, Velika Britanija in Francija odpovedale sojenju pripadnikom italijanskih oboroženih sil in podpirale zavlačevalno in izmikajočo politiko italijanske vlade do zahtev držav, denimo Sovjetske zveze, Jugoslavije in Albanije. Konec hladne vojne je po odkritju »omare sramote« omogočil odprtje novih procesov proti krivcem za nacistične pokole v Italiji in obenem prvi, čeprav previdni dostop do dokumentarnega gradiva o ravnanju pripadnikov italijanskih oboroženih sil.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *II. svetovna vojna, italijanski vojni zločinci, zavezniki, antikomunizem, hladna vojna, Vatikan.*

DAVIDE CONTI

USA, GREAT BRITAIN, AND VATICAN: ANTI-COMMUNIST FRONT AND THE QUESTION OF ITALIAN WAR CRIMINALS

The article is a chapter from author's extensive book *Criminali di guerra italiani: Accuse, processi e impunità nel secondo dopoguerra* (Slovene translation: Sophia Publishing House, 2014, 462 pp.) based on his many years' exploration of the Italian and foreign archives in order to present and to prove by documents the transformation of standpoints of Western Allies regarding the question of impunity in the case of Italian war criminals. These topics from the period of WWII and from the post-war era are often being overlooked or even purposely ignored; the research brings forth archive materials which remained mostly unpublished up to now.

After WWII, the high-ranking officers of the Italian armed forces should be trialled for war crimes committed in Albania, Yugoslavia, USSR, and Greece. However, this has never happened due to military-political balance during the Cold War and decisive back-up of Western Allies who undermined the quest for justice by supporting Italy's efforts made by its highest authorities to avoid any of the alleged war criminals to be extradited and taken to court. The key instrument to avoid extraditions and prevent punishment was a commission of inquiry led by Luigi Gasparotti. Italy was part of the Western Bloc, which enabled secret settlements between Italy and Greece, while USA, Great Britain and France resigned from trials and supported the politics of the Italian government that tried to gain time and avoid answering requests of USSR, Yugoslavia and Albania for extradition of criminals. As a consequence of the end of Cold War and after military prosecutor Antonino Intelisano had accidentally uncovered the "armoire of shame", some new legal proceedings were initiated against the Nazi criminals who committed massacres in Italy, but also some steps, no matter how slowly and cautiously they are, toward revealing the documents about the crimes committed by Italian armed forces.

KEYWORDS: *WWII, Italian war criminals, Allies, anticommunism, Cold War, Vatican.*

JANEZ IVAN PAJK

SPOMINI NA VOJNE DNI

Spominski zapis Janeza Ivana Pajka, ki ga uvaja predgovor Urške Pajk, opisuje dogajanje med drugo svetovno vojno v Hočevju na Dolenjskem in bližnji okolici. Namen avtorjevega zapisa ni bil kazati s prstom na ljudi in jim soditi, čeprav je skozi pripoved njegovo stališče jasno, ampak prikazati človeško naravo v ključnih eksistenčnih in zgodovinskih situacijah, kako se ljudje takrat različno odločajo in ravnavajo, in kako jih vojna zaznamuje; ta razsežnost prevladuje v zapisu.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Hočevje na Dolenjskem, Janez Ivan Pajk (1927–1993), vojna, NOB, kolaboracija.*

JANEZ IVAN PAJK

RECOLLECTIONS OF WAR TIMES

Memoirs written by Janez Ivan Pajk with an introduction by his daughter Urška Pajk present the events during WWII in the Dolenjska countryside, in the first place in Pajk's native village of Hočevje and its vicinity. The purpose of his writing was not to tread on traitors' toes, although a reader can get a clear picture of author's standpoints, but to present human nature in crucial existential and historical moments, when people take different decisions and actions. The most prevailing dimension in the narrative is that of being marked by war experiences.

KEYWORDS: *Hočevje na Dolenjskem, Janez Ivan Pajk (1927–1993), war, NOB (PLS), collaboration.*

PRIMOŽ KRAŠOVEC

EVROPSKA POLITIKA IN (NEO)FAŠIZEM

S pregledom zgodovinskih in aktualnih oblik fašizma ter zgodovinskih sprememb evropske politike članek pojasnjuje današnji (neo)fašizem, ki ni zgolj preprosta ponovitev zgodovinskega fašizma, in razčlenjuje iztočnice, na katerih bi lahko temeljil antifašistični boj za 21. stoletje. Ugotavlja: prvič, da alternativa lokalnemu nacionalnemu neofašizmu ali protoneofašističnim težnjam ne more biti ideja domnevno demokratične in kozmopolitske Evrope, saj je realno obstoječa Evropa ravno izvajalka systemskega rasizma in omejevanja demokracije. Drugič, boj proti fašizmu danes ne more biti medijski ali propagandni boj, saj neofašizma ne omogoča domnevna splošna dovzetnost množic za fašistično propagando, temveč naša asocialna, privatna eksistenca, privacija možnosti političnega delovanja, redukcija ljudstva na skupek zasebnih posameznikov, ki politiko spremljajo pred televizijskimi ekrani. Šele depolitizirani, zasebni posameznik je idealni naslovník politične propagande – in če zamenjamo le vsebino propagande, s tem ne rešimo ničesar. Boj proti (neo)fašizmu je hkrati boj za nove javne prostore, možnosti političnega govora in delovanja, boj za možnost neposredne politične socializacije posameznikov, kar hkrati pomeni tudi boj proti trenutni Evropi omejene demokracije. Fašizem niso le njegove najbolj skrajne in nasilne manifestacije oziroma so te le občasni izraz protislovja med množičnimi političnimi težnjami po dobrem življenju – ki se lahko udejanjijo s povečanjem političnih zmožnosti množic – in kapitalistično stvarnostjo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Evropa, zgodovinski fašizem, neofašizem, antifašizem.*

PRIMOŽ KRAŠOVEC

EUROPEAN POLITICS AND (NEO)FASCISM

On the basis of an overview of historical and recent forms of fascism as well as of historical changes in the European politics, the article deals with recent forms of (neo)fascism, claiming that they are not simply a repetition of historical fascism. Anti-fascist struggle for the 21st century could be constructed on the two major starting-points: 1., an alternative to local, national neo-fascism or to proto-neo-fascist tendencies is not the idea of supposedly democratic and cosmopolitan Europe, because the existing Europe is precisely an executor of systemic racism and restriction of democracy; 2., it is insufficient to claim that the anti-fascist struggle of today could be a media fight or agitprop, because neo-fascism is not generated by supposedly general responsiveness of masses to the fascist propaganda, but rather by our self-seeking private existence, by privation of the possibilities of political engagement, by reduction of people to a bunch of private individuals who are acquainted with politics only by watching it on television. Only a depoliticized, private individual is the one who can be an ideal addressee for political propaganda, and if the only thing we can do is to change the content of that propaganda, then we can do nothing. The struggle against (neo)fascism is also a fight for new public spaces, for the possibility of political discussions and political actions; it is also a fight for the possibility of direct political socialization of individuals, and with this, a fight against the recent European politics that demands restrictions of democracy. Fascism can manifest itself in many forms, not only in the most extreme and violent ones – they are only a temporary expression of the contradiction between mass political tendencies to well-being that can be accomplished with increased political capacities of masses – and the capitalist reality.

KEYWORDS: *Europe, historical fascism, neo-fascism, anti-fascism.*

SAŠO FURLAN

ZAPISKI O ANTISEMITIZMU

Konspirativni diskurz o Izraelu, ki je razširjen tako v Evropi kot na Bližnjem vzhodu, in to ne le na desnici, marveč tudi na levici, najpogosteje izhaja iz identifikacije Juda in Izraelca in je po obliki podoben ali celo identičen antisemitskemu diskurzu, ki se je v zgodnjem 20. stoletju (še pred vzponom nacizma) razširil v Nemčiji. V luči zgodovinske izkušnje (ne)odziva klasične socialistične levice na antisemitizem pred holokavstom in vidne vztrajnosti antisemitizma po holokavstu je potreben ponovni razmislek o antisemitizmu. Avtor skozi zgodovinski pregled sovraštva do Judov od srednjega veka do danes in teoretskih koncepcij judovstva razgrinja stalnice in razlike v antisemitskih in rasističnih diskurzih, in opozarja na dvojno nevarnost: tako pred tem, da bi se v imenu grožnje antisemitizma odrekli kritiki očitno rasističnih politik izraelske države – takšna logika implicira, da je dobro pasivno ali celo aktivno sprejeti »manj slabši« ali »še sprejemljivi« rasizem nad Arabci in muslimani, da bi preprečili »slabšega« ali »nesprejemljivega« nad Judi –, kot tudi pred tem, da bi se zaradi rasističnih politik izraelske države odrekli kritiki antisemitizma oziroma ga celo poskušali upravičevati kot legitimni odziv na te politike.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Judje, Izrael, antisemitizem, rasizem, antirasa, diskurz zarote.*

SAŠO FURLAN

SOME NOTES ON ANTI-SEMITISM

A conspiracy discourse on Israel, widely spread in Europe and in Near East, among leftists and rightists, derives from identification of Jews with Israelis. Its form happens to be similar or even identical to the prevailing anti-Semitic discourse in the early 20th century Germany (even before the rise of Nazism). In the light of historical experience of (non)responsiveness of the classical socialist left to anti-Semitism before the Holocaust and of evident persistence of anti-Semitism after the Holocaust, a new reflection upon anti-Semitism is a matter of urgency. Through a historical overview of hatred against Jews from the Middle Ages onwards and on the basis of theoretical concepts of Jewry, the article presents both the persistent and the changing anti-Semitic and racist discourses in order to point at two danger spots: an urge to avoid criticism of evidently racist politics of the State of Israel in the name of threats of anti-Semitism – according to this logic of choosing the lesser of two evils, it is good to accept inertly or even actively “least bad” or “still acceptable” racism against the Arabs and Muslims in order to prevent “the worse” or “unacceptable” racism against the Jews; and, secondly, an urge to avoid criticism of anti-Semitism because of racist politics of the State of Israel; the next step here would be an aspiration to justify anti-Semitism as a legitimate response to that very racist politics of Israel.

KEYWORDS: *Jews, Israel, anti-Semitism, anti-race, conspiracy discourse.*

ISHAY LANDA

MNOŽIČNA HISTERIJA ALI RAZREDNO DEJANJE? MARKSISTIČNA IN LIBERALNA SVARILA PRED FAŠIZMOM

Uvodoma bom zastavil osrednje vprašanje članka: Ali je šlo pri glavnem sunku fašizma za običajni odgovor na pritisk od spodaj ali dejansko za upor množic? Pri obravnavi pripovedi o upor množic se bom skliceval na nekaj njenih klasičnih in sodobnih predstavnikov, od Hannah Arendt do Petra Sloterdijka. V nadaljevanju bom pretehtal stališče Alexa de Tocquevilla, enega velikih junakov liberalne pripovedi, ki mu pripisujejo malodane edinstveno sposobnost predvidevanja tveganj, ki jih prinaša množična demokracija. Razprave ne bom omejil na Tocquevillovo teorijo, ampak bom naslovil tudi njegovo *politiko*, saj občudovalci tega francoskega pisca radi pozabljajo, da takratnega dogajanja ni opazoval od daleč, temveč je bil med kratko in burno kariero druge francoske republike politično dejaven; slednjo je razvpito uničil bonapartistični režim, ki je bil za marsikoga protofašističen. Natančnejša raziskava Tocquevillove vpletenosti v omenjene dogodke bo razkrila nekaj bistvenih teoretskih pomanjkljivosti, a tudi presenetljivo praktično *afiniteto* med protofašizmom in liberalizmom. Naleteli bomo tako na nevaren konceptualni problem, problem na ravni liberalne teorije, kot tudi na problem liberalne prakse in politike. Na koncu bom znova premislil Marxov odgovor na iste dogodke in s tem zaokrožil svojo primerjavo med omenjenima razlagalnima možnostma.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *fašizem, liberalizem, marksizem, razredni vidik, množice, elita.*

ISHAY LANDA

MASS HYSTERIA OR A CLASS ACT? PREMONITIONS OF FASCISM BETWEEN MARXISM AND LIBERALISM

The introduction will raise the core question of the paper: was fascism, in its main thrust, a class response to pressure from below? Or was it, rather, a 'revolt of the masses' themselves? The claims of the latter narrative will be evoked, with reference to some of its classical and contemporary representatives, from Hannah Arendt to Peter Sloterdijk. Subsequently, I will consider the position of one of the great heroes of the liberal narrative, credited with a nearly unique foresight of the perils of mass democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville. The discussion, however, will not remain limited to Tocqueville's theory, but will also address his *politics*: admirers of the French writer tend to forget that he was not an aloof observer of contemporary developments but an active political agent during the short and turbulent career of the French Second Republic, famously abolished by a Bonapartist regime, which many have regarded as 'proto-fascist'. A closer inspection of Tocqueville's involvement in these affairs will reveal fundamental theoretical shortcomings, but also a surprising practical *affinity* between proto-fascism and liberalism. Uncannily, we will witness not only a conceptual problem, a problem at the level of liberal theory, but also a problem at the level of liberal practice and politics. Finally, Marx's response to the same events will be re-visited, allowing us to round up the comparison between the two interpretive possibilities.

KEYWORDS: *fascism, liberalism, Marxism, class struggle, masses, elite.*

BRIAN PETERSON

REGIONALNE ELITE IN VZPON NACIONALSOCIALIZMA, 1920–1933

V osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so zgodovinarji pogosto razpravljali o razredni sestavi članov in volivcev nacionalsocialistične stranke v času Weimarske republike. Danes se večina med njimi strinja, da je bilo malomeščanstvo, kamor prištevamo tudi obrtnike, trgovce in kmete, družbeni razred, ki se je najbolj nagibal k pridružitvi in glasovanju za naciste. Kot se je pokazalo, so ti imeli veliko podporo tudi v višjih družbenih slojih. Po izsledkih nedavnih raziskav so za Nacionalsocialistično nemško delavsko stranko (NSDAP) glasovali tudi prebivalci premožnih sosesk, počitnikarji, potniki na križarkah, javni uslužbenci in rentniki, torej nedvomno elita. Po drugi strani pa velika podjetja in junckerji – jedrne skupine vladajočega razreda v weimarski Nemčiji – niso bili naklonjeni včlanitvi in glasovanju za naciste, čeprav so jih nekateri med njimi neposredno ali posredno podprli.

Tale raziskava se v prvi vrsti ukvarja s podporo, ki jo je elita izkazovala s članstvom v nacistični stranki in glasovanjem zanjo. Razvija tezo, da so bile glavne skupine višjega razreda, ki so nacizem dejavno podpirale, periferne elite, del provincialne aristokracije in meščanstva zunaj nadzora osrednjega aparata vlade in gospodarstva. Zanje je bil nacizem način, kako upravljanje z aparatom nacionalne vlade prevzeti iz rok velikih korporacij in junkerskega razreda, hkrati pa možnost, da bi se vlada otresla vpliva organiziranega delavskega razreda. Njihova želja je bila, da bi bile vladne politike bolj naklonjene mali do srednje veliki industriji, bankam in trgovini. Hkrati pa periferne elite niso nikoli postale osrednja odločujoča skupina v nacistični stranki, kot so to bili militantno-politični intelektualci etatistične in totalitarne usmeritve. Igrale so zelo pomembno vlogo posrednika med strankarskimi ideologi in malomeščanskimi množicami: prispevale so k nenadnemu porastu glasov za NSDAP maja 1924 in nato še leta 1930. Ta podpora je jedrnim elitam zagotavljala, da nacizem v resnici ni socialistično gibanje, in tako olajšala Hitlerjev prevzem oblasti leta 1933.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *nacionalsocializem, regionalne elite, periferne elite, Weimarska republika, NSDAP.*

BRIAN PETERSON

REGIONAL ELITES AND THE RISE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, 1920–1933

In the past decade, historians have actively debated the social composition of the Nazi party's membership and electorate during the Weimar years. Most now generally agree that the social class most inclined to join and vote for the National Socialists was the petty bourgeoisie, including artisans, shopkeepers, and peasants. Substantial support, however, has been shown to have come from higher social strata. Recent studies have demonstrated that residents of affluent neighbourhoods, vacationers, cruise ship passengers, civil servants, and rentiers – all arguably elite – supported the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP). On the other hand, big business and Junkers – the core groups of the ruling class in Weimar Germany – were generally disinclined to join or vote for the Nazis, although some of them gave various other kinds of direct and indirect support.

The present study is primarily interested in elite support manifested by membership in and voting for the Nazi party. The thesis here is that peripheral elites, that is, provincial aristocratic and bourgeois elements that lacked control of the central machinery of the government and economy, were the main upper-class groups giving active support to Nazism. Nazism represented to these peripheral elites an aspiration to remove control over the machinery of the national government from the hands of the large corporations and the Junker class, as well as to free the government from influence by the organized working class. They desired government policies more favourable for small-to-medium-size industrial firms, banks, and commercial enterprises. These peripheral elites never became the central decision-making group within the Nazi party, a part played by military-political-intellectuals of a statist and totalitarian orientation. The peripheral elites, however, played a very important role as a bridge between the party's ideologues and the petty-bourgeois masses: peripheral elites contributed to the voting surges of the NSDAP in May 1924 and again in 1930. This elite support represented an assurance to the core elites that Nazism was not truly a socialist movement and thus served to ease Hitler's accession to power in 1933.

KEYWORDS: *National Socialism, regional elites, peripheral elites, Weimer republic, NSDAP.*

MLADEN ZOBEC

O SOHN-RETHLOVI TEORIJI FAŠIZMA

Članek obravnava zlasti nemški fašizem, opira se na Sohn-Rethlovo raziskavo *Ekonomija in razredna struktura nemškega fašizma*. Najprej oriše pogoje Sohn-Rethlovega delovanja, nato razčlenjuje ekonomsko dinamiko v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ki je bila ključna za vzpon fašistov na oblast. V razdelku o množični podpori prikaže Sohn-Rethlov poskus razredne analize, da bi ugotovili, kako se je fašizem ukoreninil v množicah. V naslednjem razdelku analizira razvoj odnosa fašistične stranke do buržoazije. Zaključni s kritiko Sohn-Rethlove analize fašizma in pokaže, da specifične ekonomske logike fašistične države Sohn-Rethlu ne uspe dokazati, da pa daje nastavke za splošno marksistično teorijo države.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *fašizem, država, ekonomija, Alfred Sohn-Rethel, marksizem.*

MLADEN ZOBEC

ON SOHN-RETHEL'S THEORY OF FASCISM

The article deals with German fascism on the basis of Sohn-Rethel's research *Economy and Class Structure of German Fascism*. In the first place are presented the conditions in which Sohn Rethel had worked. Then the economic dynamics in the period of 1920–1930 is described, especially its crucial role in the rise of fascism and fascist usurpation of power. In the chapter on mass support, Sohn-Rethel's attempt of class analysis is presented in order to find out how fascism was able to strike roots with masses. The next chapter deals with the relation between the fascist party and bourgeoisie. In the final chapter, a critique of Sohn-Rethel's analysis is elaborated, which demonstrates that in spite of the fact that Sohn-Rethel had failed to prove a specific economic logic of the fascist state, he had laid the foundation for a general Marxist theory of the state.

KEYWORDS: *fascism, state, economy, Alfred Sohn-Rethel, Marxism.*

LEV KREFT

V PRIČAKOVANJU MARKSISTIČNE ESTETIKE

V marksistično estetiko je bilo vložena veliko truda; eni so vzeli za izhodišče Marxovo neizpolnjeno željo, da se po kritiki politične ekonomije posveti estetiki, in so jo poskušali sestaviti po načelu *clippinga* ali *copy/paste* iz njegovih odlomkov; druga, plodnejša smer, je poskušala marksistično estetiko izpeljati iz Marxove filozofske podstati, do katere je prišla tako, da je Marxa obrnila na glavo: Marx kritike politične ekonomije je postal predhodnik Marxa kritične filozofije. Na ta dva načina je nastala cela pahljača marksističnih estetik, ki so bile na tak ali drugačen način ujete v protislovja modernistične, avantgardne ali postmodernistične estetike, in so bile zamejene v okvirih filozofije umetnosti. Namesto teh dveh pristopov predlagam, da se vprašamo, kakšna je esteza (*aisthesis* – čutnost/zaznava), razkrita v kritiki politične ekonomije, in kakšen je proces razlastitve, ki poteka v umetniškem delu. V *Kapitalu* je najti dve potezi, ki določata, kako zaznavamo pod poveljstvom kapitala: fetišizem in mistifikacija. In če sta fetišizem in mistifikacija temeljni določili estetike vsakdanjega življenja kapitalizma, se lahko dodatno vprašamo še, ali sta ti določili na delu tudi v filozofski estetiki. S takim vprašanjem se je najbolje nasloviti kar na Immanuela Kanta in štiri momente sodbe okusa, ki jih v eno ne povezuje le analiza sodbe »To je lepo«, ampak tudi stremljenje k čistosti, ki ga je Bourdieu imenoval »čisto estetsko«. »Čisto estetsko« pa ni nič več nekaj zaznavnega, kar bi bilo na stvari, niti ni nekaj subjektivnega, kar bi bilo na človeški vrsti, ampak je socialni postopek očiščenja necivil(izira)nih načinov užitka in ugodja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *filozofska estetika, politična ekonomija, fetišizem, mistifikacija, aisthesis, Karl Marx, Immanuel Kant, Pierre Bourdieu.*

LEV KREFT

IN EXPECTATION OF MARXIST AESTHETICS

A lot of effort was put into Marxist aesthetics. One starting point developed around Marx's unfulfilled wish that after finishing his critique of political economy he would devote himself to aesthetics; so there were attempts to collect his aesthetics with clipping or copying and pasting adequate fragments from his works. The other, more fruitful line tried to derive Marxist aesthetics from Marx's philosophical foundations, to which it came by turning Marx upside down: Marx of the critique of political economy was turned into a forerunner of Marx of the critical philosophy. One way or another, these two paths burst into a whole horizon of Marxist aesthetics that were trapped in contradictions of modernist, Avant-garde, or postmodernist aesthetics and were captured within philosophy of art. Instead of these two approaches I suggest that we should ask ourselves, what is the *aesthesis* unveiled in the critique of political economy and what is the process of expropriation that is going on in the work of art. We can find two features in *Capital* that determine our perception when being under the command of capital: fetishism and mystification. If these two are fundamental determinants of everyday life in capitalism, then we can ask ourselves another question, namely, are they operating in philosophical aesthetics as well? Such a question should be posed directly to Immanuel Kant and to four moments of the judgment of taste which are not bound up only by the analysis of the judgment "This is beautiful", but also by longing to purity, that is, according to Bourdieu, "pure aesthetical". But the latter is neither empirical, something on the thing itself, nor subjective, something on the human race itself, but rather a social process of purification from uncivil(ized) ways of pleasure and well-being.

KEYWORDS: *philosophical aesthetics, political economy, fetishism, mystification, aesthesis, Karl Marx, Immanuel Kant, Pierre Bourdieu.*

JERNEJ KALUŽA

»NARAVNA SELEKCIJA« V SVETU UMETNOSTI

Osredotočili se bomo na specifično obliko družbene vezi, ki je produkt ideje svobodnega trga, na idejo boja vsakogar proti vsakomur, ki se jo poskuša znotraj kapitalizma povsem naturalizirati in dehistorizirati. Sledeč Malthusovi politični ekonomiji, že Darwin ugotavlja: boj za preživetje je najhujši med tistimi, ki se potegujejo za isto strukturno mesto. Identično tezo postavlja tudi Bourdieu glede sveta umetnosti. Kot ugotavlja Franco Berardi - Bifo, tovrstno idejo, ki bližnjika spremeni v tekmeča in sovražnika, spremljata pojav splošne desolidarizacije in imperativ konkurenčnosti. Kako bi bilo torej mogoče znotraj sveta umetnosti misliti nasprotne prakse notranje solidarnosti?

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *svet umetnosti, naravna selekcija, svobodni trg, konkurenčnost, solidarnost.*

JERNEJ KALUŽA

“NATURAL SELECTION” IN THE ART WORLD

The paper will concentrate on a specific social relation or a product of the idea of free market, that is, a perpetual fighting by everyone against everyone. Within capitalism, this idea has been almost completely naturalized and dehistoricized. Following Malthus's principles of political economy, Darwin claimed that struggle for life was most outrageous among those who are striving for the same structural position. Similar claimed Bourdieu in the context of the art world. According to Franco Berardi - Bifo, a result of such an idea, when one's neighbour becomes one's rival and enemy, brings forth a phenomenon of general desolidarization and the competitive imperative. Is it possible to think about any counter-praxis of inner solidarity?

KEYWORDS: *art world, natural selection, free market, competitiveness, solidarity.*

MIŠKO ŠUVAKOVIĆ

SIVE CONE – POLITIČNA EKONOMIJA SKOZI OBLIKE ŽIVLJENJA

Članek razčlenjuje teoretske obravnave modernih in sodobnih umetniških praks, ki se ukvarjajo z antagonističnim odnosom med ekonomijo in oblikami življenja. Osnova razprave je analiza in uporaba fragmentarne Engelsove trditve iz enega od njegovih pisem: »Po materialističnem pojmovanju zgodovine sta v zadnji instanci odločujoča momenta v zgodovini produkcija in reprodukcija resničnega življenja [...]. Če pa zdaj kdo to prevrača tako, češ da je ekonomski moment edini odločujoči moment, tedaj spreminja to trditev v prazno, abstraktno, absurdno frazo.« Pokazali bomo na razliko med umetniškimi praksami, ki a) potencirajo krizo, b) ponujajo subverzijo, c) iščejo alternativo, d) prezentirajo potencialnost projekta, e) se ukvarjajo s taktikami preživetja, itn. Pokazali bomo na diferenciacije znotraj sodobne umetniške levice, in sicer med nostalgično, neoliberalno, nacionalno, fundamentalistično ter »novo« levice. V žarišču bo problem umeščanja znotraj sivih con dejanskosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *politična ekonomija, umetniške prakse, oblike življenja, subverzija, levica, alternativa.*

MIŠKO ŠUVAKOVIĆ

GREY ZONES – POLITICAL ECONOMY THROUGH THE FORM OF LIFE

The article will analyse some theorizations of modern and contemporary art practices which are dealing with antagonistic relations between economy and the forms of life. The basis of this discussion will be an analysis and elaboration of Engels's fragmentary claim expressed in one of his letters: "According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. [...] Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase." The focal point of the discussion will be differences among those art practices that a) intensify the crisis, b) offer subversion, c) look for alternative, d) present the potential of a project, e) elaborate survival tactics, etc. Furthermore, differentiations within contemporary art left will be discussed, including neo-nostalgic left, national left, fundamentalist left, and "new" left. The central problem of the analysis will be positioning within grey zones of actuality.

KEYWORDS: *political economy, art practices, forms of life, subversion, left, alternative.*

DARKO ŠTRAJN

KAJ ŠE LAHKO POMENI DISKURZ AVRE?

Vprašanje, ali obstaja marksistična estetika, je sčasoma postalo odvečno, četudi je bilo nekaj nepotrebnih dokazovanj, da obstaja, zelo plodnih. Vsaj od dvajsetih let 20. stoletja se opredeljevanja umetnosti vpisujejo v polje, ki ga označujeta kritika politične ekonomije in umetniška kritika družbe. Mattickova retematizacija Benjaminovega pojma avre in njegova opažanja o umetnosti v kapitalizmu prinašajo izhodišča za razumevanje povezav med proizvodnjo umetnosti in družbeno neenakostjo. Če je Mattickovo opozorilo, da se Benjamin še ni ovedel, kako so tradicije izmišljene, pomenljivo, pa v ostalem razpravljanju o problematičnosti avre vendarle ne spodbija ključnega učinka Benjaminovega besedila, ki pomeni deklaracijo o prelomu znotraj estetike in s tem o zgodovinskem prevratu v odnosu med umetnostjo in njeno družbeno »funkcijo«. Pri tem je Benjamin reafirmiral, reformuliral in kreativno predelal Marxovo formulo o protislovju med proizvodjalnimi silami in proizvodnimi odnosi ter o razmerju med bazo in nadstavbo. Poleg vprašanj o umetnosti v množični reprodukciji se posredno odpre vprašanje o družbeni neenakosti, ki se zrcali v predpostavki o elitni umetnosti – tudi v luči teorij Pierra Bourdieuja in Thomasa Pikettyja. Kapitalizem v oblikah, kakor jih je opredelil Karl Marx, je zdaj realnejši, kot je bil v Marxovem času.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *estetika, umetnost, neenakost, kapitalizem, avra.*

DARKO ŠTRAJN

WHAT A DISCOURSE ON AURA STILL CAN MEAN?

The question of whether there is a Marxist aesthetics eventually became superfluous, even though a few unnecessary attempts to answer it were very fertile. At least from 1920s onwards, several identifications of art have been inscribed in the field which is marked by the critique of political economy and artistic criticism of society. Mattick's re-thematisation of Benjamin's notion of the aura and his observations on the art of capitalism help us to understand the links between the production of art and social inequality. In spite of significance of Mattick's warning that Benjamin did not realise how traditions were in fact imagined, the rest of discussing the problem of aura does not contest the crucial effect of Benjamin's text, which was a declaration on the turn within aesthetics and thus on the historical upheaval in the relationship between art and its social "function." Benjamin reasserted, reformulated and creatively reworked Marx's formula of the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations, as well as of the relationship between base and superstructure. In addition to the question about the arts in mass reproduction, the question of social inequality is raised indirectly, as it is reflected in the assumption of the elite art – in the light of theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Thomas Piketty. Capitalism in its forms, as defined by Karl Marx, is now more real than it was at the time when Marx himself had been alive.

KEYWORDS: *aesthetics, art, inequality, capitalism, aura.*

REBEKA VIDRIH

MARKSISTIČNA ZGODOVINA UMETNOSTI: KAJ JE Z NJO?

V prispevku postavljamo tezo, da se marksistični zgodovinarji umetnosti problema umetnosti doslej še niso lotili dovolj radikalno, da namreč vprašanje, kaj umetnost sploh je, še vedno čaka na historičnomaterialistični odgovor. V nadaljevanju poskušamo opredeliti pojem umetnosti in njegov specifični *raison d'être*. Trdimo, da je umetnost treba obravnavati kot zgodovinski pojav, in pokažemo, da je bila umetnost vzpostavljena v točno določenem zgodovinskem trenutku (italijanske renesanse) in v specifični družbeno-politični situaciji (florentinske republike). Pokažemo, da je bila vzpostavljena – s teoretizacijo slikarstva in arhitekture pri Leonu Battisti Albertiju – kot sestavni del te družbeno-politične situacije s svojo humanistično ideologijo, da je bila vzpostavljena kot politično sredstvo in da si je precejšnje veljavo in določeno avtonomijo lahko pridobila ravno zato, ker je dobro služila pri uveljavljanju tedanjih oblastnih razmerij.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *marksistična zgodovina umetnosti, Leon Battista Alberti, teorija umetnosti, arhitekturna teorija, teorija slikarstva, Firenze, renesansa.*

REBEKA VIDRIH

MARXIST HISTORY OF ART: WHAT ABOUT IT?

In this contribution, we propose that Marxist historians of art have not yet tackled the problem of art radically enough, and that the question what art is at all, still awaits its historical-materialist answer. We therefore proceed with an attempt to define the concept of art and its specific *raison d'être*. We propose that art needs to be considered as a historical occurrence, and we demonstrate that art has been established in a particular historical moment (of Italian Renaissance) and in a specific social and political situation (of Florentine republic). We demonstrate that art has been established – by the theory of architecture and painting, as proposed by Leon Battista Alberti – as a constituent part of this social and political situation with its own humanist ideology, as a political means, and that its considerable value and its certain autonomy were recognised precisely because it could serve well in asserting the power relations of the time.

KEYWORDS: *Marxist history of art, Leon Battista Alberti, theory of art, theory of architecture, theory of painting, Florence, Renaissance.*

O DIALOGU KOT ČLOVEŠKOSTI

Avtorica v prispevku ob desetletnici slovesa Vekoslava Grmiča poudarja, da je naša sposobnost za sporazumevanje z drugimi stvar razumevanja naših potreb in upanj. Vera je po Grmiču med drugim tudi razvit občutek za pravičnost ter protest proti nasilju in zatiranju. Tudi zdajšnjega popularnega načela strpnosti po njegovem ne moremo dojemati drugače kot resnično solidarnost. Te seveda nikdar ni brez razvitega občutka za socialno pravičnost, zato je Grmič večkrat opozarjal na pojem solidarnega človeštva. Vse govorjenje o etiki je prazno brez upoštevanja konkretnega socialnega konteksta, zato članek zelo poudarja ta vidik.

Pražna misel vseh Grmičevih del je etična in z njo bo pri nas vedno imel zelo posebno in priznano mesto, in sicer znotraj teologije, filozofije in socialnega nauka. Do konca je vztrajal pri vrednoti solidarnosti, ki je zelo vplivala na duhovnost naše dobe in ki zahteva tudi spoštovanje, priznavanje in ohranjanje narave. Ne glede na razvoj dogodkov še posebej proti koncu prejšnjega stoletja je verjel v trdnost in trajnost vrednot, čeprav so te zgodovinsko premakljive. Prav vsakemu človeku – ne glede na nazor – je dosegljiv presežek dobrega in humanosti; vrednoto strpnosti med nami lahko kljub vsem razlikam razvijamo na podlagi dejavne, praktične resnice.

Grmič se je zavzemal za sožitje med vernimi in nevernimi in poudarjal, da ne razpravlja o ljudeh, ki jim vera ali nevera predstavljata ideologijo, prav tako ni govoril »o verskih in ne o brezverskih fanatikih, temveč o iskreno vernih in nevernih ljudeh«. V vseh svojih delih je poudarjal, da so meje med vero in nevero krhke, težko, če sploh določljive in zato je o sožitju med obojimi smiselno in nujno govoriti.

V sklepnem delu članka je poudarjeno, kako zelo dosledno, povsem odločno in nepopustljivo pozitivno je škof Grmič vrednotil izročilo narodnoosvobodilnega boja. Partizanstvo je bilo dejanje silobrana, do katerega je imel slovenski narod vso pravico in celo moralno dolžnost. Naša pot skozi zgodovino je bila »pot uporništv v službi naroda in njegovih pravic«, zato moramo biti na to ponosni in ne smemo podlegati trenutnim političnim, predvsem strankarsko naravnanim interesom, kajti v naši narodni zgodovini »predstavlja uporništv naravnost preroško poslanstvo«. Z njim smo ohranili svoj obstoj, svojo kulturo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Vekoslav Grmič, dialog, etika, NOB, ateizem, teizem.*

ON DIALOGUE VIEWED AS HUMANITY

The article observes that our ability to communicate with others is a matter of understanding our needs and hopes. That is why according to Bishop Grmič, faith is, *inter alia*, a developed sense of justice, a protest against violence and oppression. He believes, moreover, that the popular present-day principle of tolerance cannot be conceived of in any other way but as *genuine solidarity*. This, of course, never exists without a developed sense of social justice, which is why he repeatedly stressed the concept of a *supportive humanity*. All the talk about ethics is empty unless one takes into account a specific social context, which is why the article is at pains to highlight this aspect of the matter.

A proto-initial thought pervading all of Grmič's works is ethical, and it is thanks to it that he will always maintain a very special and acclaimed place among us, within theology and philosophy as well as social teaching. He kept insisting until the end on the value of *solidarity* which exerted a profound influence upon the spirituality of our age and which calls also for respect, recognition and preservation of nature. Regardless of the development of events especially toward the end of the last century, he believed in the firmness and permanence of values even though they are historically movable. Every single human being – regardless of their views and beliefs – can attain a surplus of the good and of the humane, and despite all the differences, we can nurture the value of tolerance existing among us on the basis of active, practical truth.

Grmič stood up for the coexistence of believers and non-believers, emphasizing that he was not referring to those to whom faith or non-faith represented ideology, and that neither was he talking about “religious rather than irreligious fanatics, but about honestly religious and irreligious people.” He was at pains to repeatedly point out in all his works that the boundaries between faith and non-faith were blurred, if at all determinable; for this reason, talking about the coexistence of the two both made sense and was imperative.

The concluding part of the article points out that it was with the utmost consistency, outright resolution and unwavering goodwill that Bishop Grmič looked at the tradition of the National Liberation Struggle, regarding the partisan resistance as an act of self-defense that the Slovenian nation was not only fully entitled to – it was even its moral duty. Our path through history was “a path of revolt at the service of a nation and its rights”, and this is why we must be proud of it rather than yielding to some political, especially party-oriented interests of the day because “revolt stands for an outright prophetic mission” in our national history. It was instrumental in the preservation of our existence, of our culture.

KEYWORDS: *Vekoslav Grmič, dialogue, ethics, Partisan movement/cause, atheism, theism.*

