### Abstracts der Beiträge

#### Dick Geary: Europe and Slave Protests in the Americas (1780–1850)

This contribution firstly analyses the extent to which the Revolutions in France and Haiti in the late 18th century transformed the nature of slave revolts, which, according to Eugene Genovese, now aimed at the destruction of slavery as a system and were based on a modern ideology of 'the Rights of Man' rather than an 'African call to holy war'. It disputes Genovese's claims on the grounds that slave revolts before 1789 were no mere attempt to restore Africa; that conversely many slave revolts after that date continued to be led by Africanborn slaves with non-European agendas; that the relationship between ideological models and the motives of rebellious slaves were at the very least unclear; and that this was even true of in the case of Haiti. Secondly comparisons are made between the various forms of individual and collective protest adopted by slaves and those pursued by European workers. Many similarities are established, particularly in the field of economic bargaining, yet the presence of cultural transfers from Africa in the case of slaves constituted a crucial difference.

#### Hans Erich Bödeker: Der europäische Frühsozialismus und die Menschenrechte. Umrisse einer Dehatte

Human rights play a decisive role in the history of early socialism and social movements between 1789 and 1848. The object of the article is to analyse the multifaceted debates on human rights among the early socialist theoreticians and political agents. The investigation focuses both on the diffusion as well as on the contents of the debates. Young Karl Marx is consciously conceived of as a participant in these debates. The article especially addresses the emergence of the "social rights" (soziale Menschenrechte) in addition to "political rights" (politische Menschenrechte) in these debates.

### Armin Owzar: Konfliktscheu und beredtes Schweigen. Die Kneipe als Kommunikationsraum im deutschen Kaiserreich

The Wilhelmine society was hit by a huge number of social, political, religious and ethnic conflicts. How did the people deal with these conflicts in their everyday life? Describing the different segments of an urban society (especially Hamburg) and their ways of face-to-face-communication in pubs the article tries to answer this question. A qualitative and a quantitative analysis of roughly 20.000 reports of investigation written by the Wilhelmine police, who over 22 years visited the pubs of Hamburg, shows that there was nearly no communication between the different segments of society. If they got into conversation, they normally did not talk about politics or anything else concerning their identity or their beliefs. There are different causes of this behaviour: anthropological causes like fear of isolation, and political reasons caused by the 'Obrigkeitsstaat'. One of the most important causes is the variety of conflicts in Wilhelmine Germany itself. The social, religious, political and ethnic problems

were increasing alarmingly, so that silence seemed to be the most appropriate and reasonable strategy of managing conflicts.

For the development of Weimar society the results turn out to be ambivalent. On the one hand this strategy of managing conflicts helped to stabilize the different 'Milieus' and, as a result, the republic of Weimar. On the other hand the same behaviour had serious consequences for the disintegration of German society and was responsible for a lack of empathy shown towards members of other 'Milieus' and 'Lager'.

#### Thomas Großbölting: Bundesdeutsche Jugendkulturen zwischen Milieu und Lebensstil

The 1960s and 1970s were decades of rapid social and cultural change. Many contemporaries considered the generation gap to be the cause of '1968' and the flash point of this development. Historians cast doubt on the idea of the student movement as a 'revolution' and the notion of the young generation as its mainspring.

The contribution presented here aims to analyse more deeply the roots and the consequences of this fundamental change in almost every part of society: According to sociological considerations and studies the history of young people and its shifts after the Second World War offers a vantage point for further research. In many respects during the 1950s public adolescent life was dominated by adult interventions and rules. Not until the last years of the Fifties young people started to create and to identify with (sub)cultural movements, new mental attitudes and varied lifestyles that, on the long run, influenced the whole society. The correlation is demonstrated by the example of catholic and socialist youth organizations and its development in the 1960s and 1970s.

### Holger Nehring: Die Proteste gegen Atomwaffen in der Bundesrepublik und Großbritannien, 1957 bis 1964 – ein Vergleich zweier sozialer Bewegungen

This article seeks to illuminate the connection between processes of social change and political protests by examining the British and West German protests against nuclear weapons in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the most important movements of their kind at the time. By using an approach which combines an awareness of social structures with a sensitivity to the use of language, this article claims that protests and social change are not as clearly related as recent historical and sociological research has argued. While it does not dispute the 'modern' character of the movements, the article highlights the importance of political and social traditions for the formation and maintenance of the movements. This is shown with respect to the ways in which the movements were organised, the social structure of the movements' supporters, their relationship with the respective social-democratic party, and the forms of protest. These findings have implications for the debate on social change during the 1960s. They show, firstly, that these changes started earlier than previously assumed, often hidden by the traditional forms they took. Second, it suggests that the role social and political conditions played in the protests of the 1960s needs to be examined in more detail.

# Frank Uekötter: Wie neu sind die Neuen Sozialen Bewegungen? Revisionistische Bemerkungen vor dem Hintergrund der umwelthistorischen Forschung

This essay discusses the notion of "new social movements" with regard to environmental issues. Going back to discussions about air pollution problems in the late 19th century, it shows that the current notion that associations in this field are a recent phenomenon is in large part due to a narrow focus on Germany. The essay discusses the differences between the USA, where an active, well-organized movement of upper-class citizens pushed towards a solution of pollution problems, and Germany, where civic activism was low. In the second part of the article, the essay shows how these traditions merged into current environmentalism, showing that the green movement is rooted much deeper in history than it is commonly thought. Notwithstanding significant differences in rhetoric and protest, the new groups that became a permanent presence in pollution discussions already in the 1950s were linked to earlier forms of protest in a number of respects. The essay closes with some reflections on how this changes conventional interpretations of the "new social movements".

# Ilse Lenz/Brigitte Schneider: Neue Frauenbewegungen und soziale Bewegungsforschung: Ansichten eines Forschungsprojekts

Since international research in New Women's Movements has evolved quickly through the last years the authors start off giving a short survey of recent publications of the sector. New theoretical approaches of research are portrayed, taking into focus problems of communication and internationalisation. The authors illuminate the situation of feminist archives throughout Germany and the relevant databases. By structuring the material and themes of the New Women's Movement into three periods the authors try to verify their assumption that the dynamic of the movement is considerably effected by three factors: the themes brought forward, the women's ability to organise themselves and recruit new activists, and the chances to build up networks in the political sector. The years 1968 to 1975 are presented as a time of gaining consciousness for the situation of women and finding means to articulate the problems, the late seventies to end-eighties were used by the movement to elaborate topics, to establish projects and find suitable institutions. Finally the period from 1989 until today was characterized by internationalisation and reconsideration. The article concludes that much more research is needed to get a grip on such complex developments.

### Tânia Puschnerat: Theorie und Strategie des islamistischen Diskurses – drei Beispiele

Based on the hypothesis that islamism/islamic fundamentalism is a modern phenomenon, an ideological result of the failed political, economical and social modernization in many parts of the muslim world, this essay tries to outline some fundamentals of the islamist discourse. Looking at three distinct examples of islamist theory – Sayyid Qutb's "Milestones" (1964), Necmettin Erbakan's "Just Order" (1991) and Ali Bulaç's "Globalization, Islam and the Future of the Muslims" (2001) – it shows the similarities between the former Egyptian chief ideologist of the *Muslim Brotherhood*, the former leader of the turkish islamist *Refah Partisi* and former Turkish Prime Minister and the independent Turkish modernist Bulaç, one of the most sophisticated islamist thinkers. Islamism as a whole rejects 'the West' as metaphor

for enlightenment and secularization, i.e. the sovereignty of mankind and the division of religion and the state/the political system. Regardless the different tactics to create an "islamic order" – the militant/revolutionary or the legalistic way to change the system from within – islamist ideology is generally based on the idea of Islam as a total order, which integrates individual belief as well as political and economical systems.

Jürgen Mittag: Mythos oder Realität? Demokratische Legitimität und die Formierung der europäischen Zivilgesellschaft seit 1945

In the history of the European Union, a gradual shift from national responsibilities to the European level can be observed: Due to the overall dynamics of the EU system, instruments and competences for actions have been transferred from the national capitals to 'Brussels'. In particular since 'Maastricht', this development has provoked a reinforced debate on democratic governance and public support for the European Union, raising the question whether or not the EU has a 'democratic deficit'. A democratic deficit can either be explained by the institutional arrangements and especially the limits of the European Parliament as a full fledged parliament. Or it might be described with the lack of a European civil society serving as a communicator between the EU and its national societies. Following this second approach, the article analyses – after having revealed the concept of civil society – several stages of public participation in the European Integration history, covering the integration process from the late 1940s up to the Laeken declaration and the European Convention in 2002/03. It scrutinizes in particular in how far the formation of a European civil society can be observed and discusses along the lines of public support if democratic legitimacy could be ensured by civil society actors.