

Summaries

Stefanie Börner, Dynamics of Solidarity. Practices of Solidarity within the Statutory Health Insurance and Its Predecessor Organisations

This article examines changes in solidarity practices within the statutory health insurance and its predecessor organisations, describing these changes as the transition from solidarity among friends to solidarity among strangers. While solidarity practices of redistribution basically remained unchanged at instrument level, a growing need for professionalisation and, associated with this, a change in both solidarity practices and the scope of solidarity occurred with increasing organisation size. The comparative examination of these practices demonstrates that debates on distribution, which initially took place within the insurance organisation, gradually shifted towards the political arena, while conflict lines moved from the horizontal dimension of affiliation to the vertical dimension of distribution. Solidarity for social security purposes increasingly becomes a matter of public action. Historical solidarity practices differ from modernised ones through a more pronounced emphasis on the community which was created by emotional language, symbolism and rituals. At a theoretical level, the analysis of this contribution is based on a dynamic understanding of solidarity, as suggested by Émile Durkheim and developed further by Hauke Brunkhorst. The analysis draws on primary sources such as insurance statutes, internal publications and minutes of general assemblies of the insurances as well as draft legislation and parliamentary debates.

Sophia Dafinger, Aid, Charity, Solidarity? The French OSE and the Rescue of Children Fleeing from the »Third Reich«

Taking the activities of the Jewish organisation »Oeuvre des Secours aux Enfants« (OSE, Children's Aid Society) in 1930s and 1940s France as an example, the article draws attention to the interface of aid, charity and solidarity, advocating a more gendered debate on the notion of solidarity. Building upon an understanding of solidarity as social practice, it defines the concept in an analytically more precise way for looking at hitherto overlooked or marginalised forms of social affiliation. It becomes evident that caritative practices of solidarity afforded changed possibilities of participation in political life, in particular for the women involved. Everyday life with children and young people and the aim to maintain alternatives to a fascist social order rather than temporarily relieve the distress initiated a process of partly deliberate, partly implicit forms of solidarity among those who invested time and energy in solidarity practices regardless their backgrounds, religion and gender. The contribution explores motivations and forms of solidarity, but also its pitfalls.

Marc Drobot, *Vagueness as Function. Remarks from a Conceptual History Perspective on the Emergence and Present of the Concept of Solidarity*

The current interest in »solidarity« and its concept resembles the nineteenth-century French discourse on solidarity. In a similar vein, back then the popularity of the newly coined notion of »solidarité« corresponded directly with experiences of multiple crises, which could no longer be conceptually compensated by traditional semantics based on natural law which oscillated between dependence and independence. The self-evident plausibility that provided the catalytic contingency formula »solidarity« for multiple discourses of the nineteenth century no longer exists in the twenty-first century. A crucial difference between the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries is the fact that the term »solidarity« initially was a transition semantics that was able to represent the extensive societal transformation and, connected with this, the gap between the space of experience and the horizon of expectations. In order to grasp the history of the functionality of the term »solidarity« regarding its effects as a catalyst within the nineteenth-century knowledge system, this contribution comprehensively distinguishes between the term and the phenomenon that the term denotes. The aim of this functionalist approach informed by conceptual history is to examine the self-evidence of semantics in different societal contexts by drawing on early conceptual history. In so doing, it sheds light on differences and similarities of the present use of the term. The article concludes with some remarks on the current status and divergent relevance of the term in the political and the scientific fields.

Sebastian Garbe, *Solidarity Newly Interwoven: Decolonial Challenges of the Mapuche Movement for International Solidarity in the Twenty-First Century*

This article takes as a starting point the fact that political and social movements of the twenty-first century require a new understanding of (international) solidarity. This understanding is based on historical experiences of emancipatory internationalism and, at the same time, recognises the challenges of relations of difference within these solidarity movements. Building upon this diagnosis, the contribution sheds light on the possibilities and limits of international solidarity in the early twenty-first century against the backdrop of decolonial criticism and decolonial resistance. The example of decolonialisation efforts of the Mapuche serves as its empirical point of reference. I argue that, in the context of international solidarity with the Mapuche, different understandings of solidarity and different solidarity relations between the actors involved become newly interwoven with one another. The metaphor of weaving is inspired by practices of the Mapuche and emphasises both their agency and their cosmological and philosophical ideas of solidarity. Departing from this, this contribution critically discusses racialised (post-)colonial and gendered relations of difference within solidarity movements and suggests understandings of solidarity that are not derived from Eurocentric genealogies but influenced by indigenous cosmologies and epistemologies – in this case those of the Mapuche.

Hermann-Josef Große Kracht, Social Fact, Key Value or Virtue? On the Conceptual History of Solidarity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The notion of »solidarity« is one of the most important social philosophical guiding concepts of the present time. It has many different layers of meaning, serving largely as a moral term of virtue or a political base value. The fact that originally solidarity was a social scientific rather than a political and moral term often takes a back seat. »Solidarity« is a creation of the late European modern era, which emerged over the course of the nineteenth century, particularly in France. This contribution describes central stages of the conceptual history and the history of theory of the concept of »solidarity«. In so doing, it first concerns itself with the French February Revolution in 1848 and the sociology of solidarity by Auguste Comte and Émile Durkheim. It then focuses on the social philosophy of French solidarist thinkers such as Alfred Fouillée, Charles Gide and Léon Bourgeois. It finally examines the reception of the French concept of solidarity within Catholic solidarism and German Social Democracy of the twentieth century. The article concludes with the plea for more attention to the largely forgotten beginnings of French solidarism.

Yoshihiro Iida, No Federal Principle in the Federal State. The Organisation of Social Insurances in Imperial Germany in the 1880s

In the 1880s, Imperial Germany, founded as a federal state in 1871, introduced health insurance (1883), accident insurance (1884) as well as invalidity and retirement insurance (1889). During the conception stage of the social security system, the governments of the single states showed great interest in organisational issues, as Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck considered a nationwide solution and a rigid centralisation of the insurances. The Reich Chancellor's efforts to strengthen the Reich level in this policy area could potentially shift the precarious relation between Reich and single states in favour of the former. The single states were keen to maintain the federal principle regarding the new institutions. However, Imperial Germany's social security system was by no means organised exclusively based either on the single states or the Reich. In practice, it was shaped by local and regional references as well as non-territorial and professional forms of organisation. This contribution examines why the organisation of the 1880s social security system did not follow a federal concept, or rather why different organisational principles were chosen respectively. As Bismarck's involvement and efforts differed regarding the three insurances, the article examines every insurance branch separately.

Jan Neubauer, A Solidary »People's Community«? Collegiality, Comradeship and »Shop Floor Community« in the »Third Reich«

This contribution examines first how the Nazis attempted to recode the notion of »solidarity« and exploit it for their purposes. Second, it uses the analytical approach of solidarity understood as a distinct form of social relations to gain a better grasp of the social practice and dynamics of the »people's community« (*Volksgemeinschaft*). For this purpose, the article focuses on the »shop floor community« as a sub-form of the »people's community« and sheds light on grey areas of Nazi society that cannot be analysed

using the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion by exploring the relationship between collegiality, comradeship and solidarity. This is the only way to explain the astonishing stability and destructive power of the Nazi dictatorship even during its last days. This particularly involves the investigation of possibilities of conformist and solidary behaviour. Implicitly, the contribution builds on current social scientific debates on »exclusive solidarity« within the »New Right«. Is »solidarity« a sustainable analytical tool to better understand *völkisch* and radical right-wing authority?

Dominik Rigoll, Communist Politics of Solidarity in a democratic, nationalist and colonialist France, 1920–2010

The example of the member of the French Communist Party Pierre Kaldor (1912–2010) is used in this article to probe into the conditions, forms and effects of Communist politics of solidarity in France and to analyse the breadth of their variation, across many decades, places and different political regimes. First, the article reconstructs, in a classic biographical approach, the reasons why Kaldor engaged in the politics of solidarity, and how his endeavours in this respect shaped his approach to being a Communist. Second, the changing practices and ideologies of Communist solidarity are investigated from Kaldor's perspective. Third, the repercussions of Kaldor's solidarism in democratic, nationalist and colonial France are traced. The aim of the article is to explore the contours of a transnational history of Communist solidarism and to encourage further research in this field. The findings of the article are not only of interest for research on Communism and Socialism, they are also relevant for the history of democracy, as Communist solidarism always conceived of itself as democratic, adjusted itself according to the societal conditions that democratic regimes within a capitalist economy provided, but also shaped these regimes. The development of Communist politics of solidarity in France thus also provides a mirror of the changing relations between democracy and Communism in this country. Finally, the contribution also relates to recent research on human rights and humanitarianism, as both were entwined in solidarism, before subsequently moving in different directions.

Dominik Rigoll/Yves Müller, The Contemporary History of Nationalism. For a Historicisation of National Socialism and Right-wing Radicalism as Forms of Political Nationalism

Political nationalism has only scarcely been researched as it developed into a fourth major political current throughout the twentieth century, alongside political liberalism, socialism and conservatism. This is because until recently it was assumed that nationalism as a successful political force had expired in (divided) Germany and in the so-called West from 1945. The article provides a sketch of the development of this political nationalism from the defeat in the battle of Stalingrad in 1943 to the beginning of the end of the de-nazification process in 1948. It argues that it is fruitful to situate political nationalism within an integrated history of radical nationalism rather than regard it as either »National Socialism« or »right-wing radicalism«. A focus on the years from 1943 to 1948 is apt because in this period the course for important developments was set – both by those on the right as well by their adversaries –, a course that has shaped political nationalism, at least to a certain extent, right up to the present. The article undertakes a re-

reading of key texts on the history of nationalism and of a sample of studies in contemporary history that discuss political nationalism without describing it as such but rather as the post-history of National Socialism. Special attention is paid to studies that chart political and societal responses to the political right in both German states post 1945.

Christopher Seiberlich, »Conciliation at Home and Abroad«. The Rhetoric of Solidarity and New Designs in West German and Swedish Foreign Policy during the 1970s

Governments of the left translated and applied »solidarity« in the context of foreign policy formulations and hence changed the presence and the substance of »solidarity« as a foundational formula of foreign policy. This article aims to historicise the notion of solidarity in the foreign policy of governments that were led by Social Democratic parties and analyses their new conceptions in this field. Using »solidarity« as a prism allows to focus on three important shifts in the foreign policies of governments of the left. First, it illuminates conceptions for international coexistence in a world that was conceived of as increasingly interdependent and as undergoing fundamental change. Second, it allows to chart how these governments sketched out their own role in the international community, thereby developing concepts such as peace and stability and extending them with additional social and economic dimensions. Third, it can be shown how traditional social democratic ideas were transferred and applied to the post-colonial world and how arguments that were based on morality were embedded in foreign policy. One example for this trend is the way in which Social Democracy and the socialist labour movement were conceptualised as a parallel to emancipatory movements in the global South.

Paul Sprute, The Afterlife of Solidarity. Ideas and Practices of the »Solidarity Service International« in Reunited Germany

The contribution is concerned with the history of the »Solidaritätsdienst International« (SODI, Solidarity Service International) as the successor organisation of the GDR Solidarity Committee from its foundation in 1990 until the mid-2000s. It firstly focuses on actual practices of solidarity under the changed circumstances of development cooperation in reunified Germany. It secondly discusses the ideas that the proponents of SODI associated with the continuation of solidarity. The first section of the article gives an overview of the organisation during the time of the GDR and during 1989. The contribution then explores the debate on donations between SODI and the Treuhandanstalt – the agency founded by the GDR prior to unification to privatise state-owned enterprises – as a turning point. The third section describes the continuation of humanitarian aid by SODI, which shifted towards Eastern Europe. At the same time, it established itself as a development organisation, demonstrated by example of Namibia. Moreover, the SODI became increasingly politically active, for instance in a campaign against landmines or in adopting ideas of globalisation critical movement. The contribution concludes by discussing the meaning of international solidarity, which, on different levels, served as a political and moral confirmation and as an activating factor at the same time. For instance, solidarity activists could regard themselves both as benefactors or as part of a global coalition of disadvantaged people.

Stefan Wannenwetsch, A-solidaric Solidarity? Linguistic and Organisational Policies within the West German Trade Union Federation (DGB), 1945–1990

For Eugen Loderer, chairman of the West German Confederation of Metalworkers (IG Metall) during the 1970s and early 1980s, »solidarity« was valued as the »highest imperative of trade union work«. Yet in many academic studies on the history of the trade union movement, solidarity often only features as a buzzword without any added analytical value. This discrepancy raises two questions: how can solidarity be transformed into a category for critical analysis? And what is the potential for critical insight that can be achieved by this transformation? However, the strong normative underpinnings of the concept of solidarity impede its use as an analytical category. Thus, this article defines solidarity as a catalyst for convergence, assuming that the aim of convergence needs a normative justification. Hence, the normative dimension is limited to the subject of the analysis (i. e. a specific trade union policy), and does not include the concept itself. This analytical approach is applied to the history of the West German Trade Union Federation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB). In this perspective, the policy of the DGB to convert both blue-collar workers and white-collar workers into the unified status of being employees (Arbeitnehmer) can be understood as a project of solidarity, as convergence was the aim. Yet from the beginning, the DGB paid much more attention to the deficits in regard to convergence on the side of white-collar workers. Henceforth, blue-collar workers were only ever conceptualised and addressed as employees, whereas white-collar workers gained a separate status in semantic categories and organisational policies of the DGB. During the 1960s, this led to a paradoxical a-solidaric solidarity: blue-collar workers encountered a refusal of the DGB to reduce their deficits in convergence, only to remove those of the white-collar workers. In the 1970s, however, the grassroots base of the trade unions that were represented by the DGB secured, against the resistance of the leadership, an equalisation of blue-collar workers in trade union organisation, manifesting tensions between solidarity and democracy in the trade unions. In the mid-1980s, a considerable rift in the trade union project of solidarity became apparent. White-collar workers were released from the postulate of convergence, and blue-collar workers were blamed for the low degree of trade union membership among white-collar workers. Using solidarity as a concept for critical analysis can, the article demonstrates, facilitate crucial insights: it shows that a-solidaric policies were a legitimate option in trade union work; it opens up a distanced gaze at the relations between blue-collar workers, white-collar workers and the trade union leadership; it reveals the inherent power structures within projects of solidarity; and it increases the analytical sensitivity for the tensions and frictions between solidarity and democracy.

Stefan Weispfennig, Political Consumerism and Solidarity. Contours and Contexts of a Key Category in the Late Twentieth Century

Politics and consumption are already deeply connected in social science that analyses contemporary society, specifically from the perspective of consumerism. The article follows on from this connection in a historical approach, focusing on groups in civil society which have shaped the understanding and use of solidarity as a key term of a

consumerism that focuses on developmental and environmental issues. Within a short period around 1990, it is argued, the normative-ethical dimension of solidarity in a politicised consumerism was replaced by a more sociological-descriptive understanding of solidarity. To demonstrate this point, groups of actors that were primarily engaged in developmental politics and their understanding of solidarity in the context of political consumerism are highlighted. Within these groups, changes in the international political and societal context – widely received by these groups – were relevant for the shift in understanding solidarity. As a consequence, the normative and ethical dimension of solidarity became an intellectual notion with many contours, but also a rather low profile. Instead, a sociological and rather descriptive way of observing the market for consumer products became increasingly important from the early 1990s, also because the trade in products with ecological and social responsibility credentials had already become more driven by market imperatives and competitiveness.