

GERHARD WAGNER

»I know, that we will win, just this once«

Hollywood, Casablanca and the Liberation Of Paris

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the disembarkation in the Normandy and the liberation of France, this article deals with the legendary movie »Casablanca« (1942). It discusses several important relations: between Franco-American history during the forties (the Vichy Regime, the Free France Movement, la Résistance, the attack on Pearl Harbor, the combat of the Allies in North Africa) and the movie's plot, its authentic dimensions and locations. The author underlines that »Casablanca« is an important part of Hollywood's meritorious anti-Nazi series, and not just a romantic, love story.

MARIO CANDEIAS

Education of the Labour Force

The neo-liberal attack on the last – and already eroded – bastions of the fordist welfare state is not only a deregulation and downsizing of the state. Moreover it has to do with a re-articulation of the functions of social welfare as new forms of workfare. This kind of re-regulation and strengthening of specific state policies focuses on a re-education of the labour force according to the requirements of a high-technological mode of production and flexible labour markets. In this sense a social democratic »activating state« seems to be more effective, although the contents of these policies deeply roots in neo-liberal conceptions. Nevertheless, the new mode of production develops contradictions which are difficult to handle by the ruling power block. This leads to a crisis of representation.

WOLFGANG WEISS

Bearing Capacity –Regional Demographic

Terminology with Political Implications

The term »bearing capacity« plays a central role in demography and related sciences. Even the first attempts at demography were inspired by the search for answers to the question of how many people could possibly live on the earth. This is often the exclusive perspective. Various approaches to this issue are over-generalized and even analyzed without taking into account either historical developments or geographic/regional circumstances. In current discussions of demographic change, the term »bearing capacity« has become politically functionalized. Its inherent Malthusianism is being used to justify reducing social expenditures – as if this were the functioning of a law of nature.

RICHARD SAAGE

What about the Future of the Classical Term »Utopia«?

There is no consensus around the term »Utopia«. In the social sciences, alone, three »schools« have been formed around the term: the intentional, the totalitarian and the classical term. Looking into their development – and discussing positions of Landauer, Mannheim, Bloch, Popper et al. – the author prefers

the Elias proposal of returning to the roots of the classical tradition, which began with Morus. He points out the advantages of this approach, shows its development in its nearly 400-year history and draws the conclusion that the future of utopian thinking depends on its ability to take the consequences of its own learning processes. The author finds the reasons for and the necessity of utopian thinking are more numerous today, than ever before.

## Heinrich Vogeler and the Utopia of The New Man

The text reflects a discussion that took place on December 4th, 2003 between Jan Vogeler and Heinrich Fink at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Jan Vogeler, born in 1923 in Moscow, son of Heinrich Vogeler, the famous painter and founder of the artist's colony, Worpswede near Bremen, lived and worked in the Soviet Union – first as an interpreter for the anti-fascist National Committee »Free Germany«, later (until 1990) as Professor of Philosophy at the Lomonossov University in Moscow. Heinrich Fink was Professor of Theology at the Humboldt University in Berlin. The conversation produced a unique perspective on the life, ideas and tragic end of Heinrich Vogeler, who, after having given all his power and abilities to the construction of what he hoped would be a socialist society, died in 1942, starving in Soviet exile.

MICHAEL BRIE

## Which Marxism and Which Politics? A Critical View of Uwe-Jens Heuer's Book »Marxismus und Politik«

Marxism arose historically to establish socialist and communist strategies for overcoming Capitalism. This is also the course followed by Uwe-Jens Heuer in his new book »Marxismus und Politik« (Marxism and Politics). However, his idea of capitalism reduces it to the economic aspect. An opinion emerges, where essential changes are seen as impossible without a political revolution imposing a socialist economic system. The barbaric characteristics of Soviet state socialism are almost unavoidable consequences of this approach to overcoming capitalism. The question is whether a viable humane basis for socialist politics would thereby be possible.

WOLFRAM ADOLPHI

## Like a Trite Club and an Intellectual Self-Mutilation. Two New Books Developing a »Leftist« Anti-Americanism-Reproach

Discussing two books published in Germany immediately following the beginning of the war by the United States and Great Britain on Iraq in 2003 – »Nichts gegen Amerika. Linker Anti-Amerikanismus und seine lange Geschichte« (Nothing Against America. Leftist anti-Americanism and Its Long History) and »Amerika. Der »War on Terror« und der Aufstand der Alten Welt« (America. The »War on Terror« and The Rebellion of the Old World) – the author criticizes an approach using the accusation of »anti-Americanism«

without first considering what would be called »Americanism«. He compares the anti-Americanism-Reproach to the anti-Sovietism-Reproach that had been used by the Soviet leadership – and the leadership of the GDR – to suppress any criticism of the Soviet Union. The author rejects the consideration that »anti-Americanism« is a »higher level of anti-Semitism«.

**MAX BRYM**

## The Serbian Chetniks Before and Today

Criticizing the approach of what he calls »certain sectors of the German ›Left‹« toward Balkan history, the author rejects the view that sees Serbs as the only ones to have fought Hitler while equating all Croats with the Ustasha fascists and all Albanians with the small SS- Skanderbeg Division. This view ignores, for instance, that there were two marionette regimes in Yugoslavia under Nazi occupation: the Ustasha in Croatia and the regime of General Nedic in Serbia. The author says, that there are reasons for the serbophilic attitude of these German »Leftists« – but these are of a purely German nature and have nothing to do with an objective approach to history.

## In Memoriam Franz Fühmann (1922-1984)

In November 1977, the well-known writer Franz Fühmann wrote an Open Letter to the Director of the Head Office for Publishing and Booksellers, located in the Ministry of Culture of the GDR, Klaus Höpcke. His letter criticized the practice of censorship and demanded an open, non-dogmatic, creative approach to the development of the arts in the socialist society. The text presented here is a reprint of that letter, whose publication was suppressed until 1990. This open letter is, still today, of importance in the discussions of a period, where the crisis of »real-existing socialism« was becoming more apparent from year to year. Also included here is a remark written by Klaus Höpcke in 1990 as well as a short biographical outline. Fühmann died July 7, 1984.

**DIETMAR WITTICH**

## The Society in Which We Live

Reflections on the transformation of society must begin with a clear picture of reality. What are the basic characteristics of the present society? What are its latest trends and developments? What causes a basic stability despite all its contradictions? What stand does public opinion take concerning the state of the society in which they live? The following is apparent: capitalist ownership, in its present guise of globalized capitalism and imperialist political rule, form the core of today's order of the world. The neo-liberal zeitgeist has succeeded in propagating its idea of society, and the role of the individual within it, thereby legitimizing the preservation and proliferation of this world order. The predominance of this neo-liberal economic policy does not have to continue.

**Thomas Falkner**

## Pre-Conditions for Socialist Policies

Against the background of current economic, social and cultural developments in structure in the Federal Republic of Germany, as on the internatio-

nal level, the author examines the strategic possibilities of socialist politics and its spheres of action. He refers to a series of closely connected »difficulties« pertaining to the current model which the system strives to tackle. In no way is everything predetermined. On the contrary, there are times when socialist politics can and should intervene. Populism is not a responsible political reaction to social needs. Social and democratic opposition, as well as a demand to participate in and change politics, all result from this situation. This should be adopted as the »strategic triangle« of socialist politics.

## KATINA SCHUBERT, ELKE BREITENBACH

### Opposition and Government – Party and Movement – Contradictions?

In Germany, and on the international level, protests are growing against the abolition of social protection. The PDS, while members of the government in two federal laender, is part of this. What is the relationship between the PDS and these protest and social movements? On matters of agreement, the PDS must cooperate, without merging with them. It is currently the only political party in Germany advocating a change toward left-wing politics. An ally in parliament is clearly necessary. Under these circumstances, how should the PDS handle its role in government? Another focus of the authors' attention is PDS' competence in East German affairs and its weight for PDS politics in general.

## FRIEDRICH W. SIXEL

### The PDS and the Crisis of the Society

Since democracy is undermined by the structural conditions of globalized capitalism, socialist politics should not be limited to winning elections. It has to focus on overcoming these conditions. To the extent that knowledge has become a force of production, thus transcending the traditional forces of labor and capital, to a point where even perception and understanding of reality have been perverted into means of (mental) exploitation. This situation transforms an analysis of knowledge into a task similar to that of the traditional analysis focused on capital. Dimensions of this task are outlined and its political consequences are briefly sketched in this paper.

## ULI SCHÖLER

### The Unknown Paul Levi?

In an answer to an article published by Jörn Schütrumpf in *UTOPIE kreativ* No. 150, April 2003, (Open Questions – Deliberations of the Political Positions of Paul Levi) the author exposes a wide range of research results concerning Paul Levi, brought to light over the last few decades by West-German historians, and thereby calling into question some of the basic views developed by Schütrumpf in his article. This is also stimulating further discussion of the role and merits of Levi, a contemporary of Rosa Luxemburg and V. I. Lenin.