

ROSA LUXEMBURG BY J.P. NETTL (1871-1919)

Vol. I covers the period from 1898 to 1911. The subjects are treated in chronological order, except that Germany and Russia have separate chapters. There is no special chapter on philosophy.

Chapter 1, pp. 1 to 40: What, Who, What and Why? (glad to see that the very first page attacks Bertram Wolfe's gratuitously titled Leninism or Marxism? which is the 1904 article that RL entitled The Organizational Question of Social Democracy. P. 16. "Self-consciously a woman. No one ever saw her in a sarraf." P. 37 regarding RL's Accumulation of Capital: "Altered both method and impact." P. 40 "Probably ~~the~~ single most remarkable contention of the socialist collapse of 1914 ... in this he was alone." This is the only place where JPN fully understood Lenin in the fact that the great divide on this question was not only with the Social Democracy but with RL (and) his own Bolsheviki.

Chapter 2, pp. 41 - 62: "The Early Years, 1871 - 1890". In 1886 when she was a Warsaw student came her first activity and by 1889 her arrest was so imminent that she escaped to Switzerland.

Chapter 3, pp. 63 - 111: "Switzerland - Study and Politics, 1890 - 1898". Meets Plekhanov whom Engels knew and considered an authority. P. 66. (fn 1 gives the pseudonyms for Leo Jogiches and once against attacks Bertram Wolfe. RL meets Jogiches who had a great reputation as organizer of workers and who was arrested. The four Polish leaders who had first organized the PPS in 1892. In 1894 RL takes over the editorship of the paper Worker's Cause and it's in opposition to the original leadership of the PPS, because the SDKP will definitely become the international and revolutionary party. P. 80. As the party becomes the SDKP and the four leaders besides Rosa and Jogiches are: Dzierzynski, Hanecki, Radek, Unzlich, Leder.

In 1893 RL also gains the friendship of Christian Rakovsky, the only Bulgarian Socialist at the Second Int'l Congress, but he didn't succeed in bring RL/IT together (See Deutcher, vol. 1, p. 207). P. 89 May Day celebration Australia is given the honor of being the first.

P. 86 RL at once incurred "the anti-Semitic outburst which were never far below the surface of Polish and Russian life and which many genuine revolutionaries unconsciously shared with their enemies."

P. 92 The National Question, RL turns the words of Marx upside down and begins to develop her original thesis, so much so that in 1903, though she was alike with the Bolsheviki on almost every question, refuses to let the SDKPIL join the Russian party.

P. 108 Parvus becomes close collaborator of RL's for in fact 10 years (1898 - 1907) It's in May 1898 that RL moves to Germany.

May 1898 in Germany

14709

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Main body of text with various annotations, underlines, and circled words.

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Chapter 4, pp. 112-162: "1st Battles in the New Arena, 1898-1899"  
1st Party Congress (after the end of the anti-Socialist laws  
takes place in Erfurt in 1891). P. 136, fn 2 -- fn on Kant.  
P. 137 becomes editor of Parvus' paper, Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung.

THE GREAT THING, OF COURSE, HERE IS THE DEBATE WITH THE  
REVISIONISTS AND ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF HER REFLIES TO  
BERNSTEIN IS DETAILED ON P. 138 and on P. 140 there is another  
reference to anti-Semitism: "She learned to live with it."

P. 133-4 deals with the relations with ~~some~~ Hortches and  
P. 151 is important for the first meeting with Zetkin and  
H. Leichter.

Chapter 5 (rd: NB: the title is ~~the content~~ of this  
chapter) It is called "The Dialectic as a Career, 1899-1900"  
P. 164 he called Franz Mehring "the awe-inspiring, sage" who  
took "a firm liking to the self-confident young woman".  
1900 Jogiches joins RL in Germany.

P. 169 "I feel in a word, the need, as Heine would say, to 'say something  
great' It is the form of writing that displeases me, I feel  
that within me there is maturing a completely new and original  
form which dispenses with the usual formulas and  
patterns & breaks them down and which will convince people --  
naturally through force of mind & conviction not just  
propaganda. I badly need to write in such a way as to act  
on people like a thunderclap, to grip them by the head --  
not of course through declamation, but by the breadth of outlook  
the power of conviction, & the strong impressions that I make  
on them. But how, what, where? I don't know yet, but I tell  
you that I feel with utter certainty that something is there,  
that something will be born."

P. 188 First fight with Mehring, with Mehring writing: "Her  
dirty power-grabbing attitude."

P. 193 Beginning of friendship  
with CZ, whom she had known since the first Congress in 1898.

P. 195 1904 highwater mark of RL's position and prestige as  
both German and Polish delegate to (ISB) meeting (plus  
cf. point on Jaures)

P. 196 I have no idea what JPM means by  
"Rosa's own dialectic" P. 198 Rosa begins (jail sentence)  
out of jail in 6 weeks because of coronation amnesty; + relation-  
ship with Henrietta Roland-Host.

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Chapter 6, pp. 202-250: "Defending The Fortress: The Battle Against Revisionism" P. 209-210 takes up both revisionism and her revolutionary methodology. Her criterion of the relationship was qual., not quan., with principles of a definitely higher order than practice. Theory was the life force, which really is a summation of RL's view itself.

P. 217 From Reform or Revolution: "The prol. is not capable of seizing power in any sense other than 'prematurely'. Once or even several times it must inevitably take power 'too soon' in order to capture it permanently & so the opp. to such premature seizures is nothing else than opp. to the very notion of seizure of power on the part of the proletariat."

JFN does very clearly understand that she was not opposed to Nov. 1917 and definitely her criticism was of a different nature saying about the Bolsh. attempt to retain power was (not a specific criticism of the Bol. Rev. at all, but a LOGICAL continuation of her entire thinking on this matter." (P. 214) (In Vol 2 on pp 583-686 JFN will further develop this thought at the time of the 1917 rev. and quotes extensively from RL)

P. 226: JFN for some reason I cannot understand brings in Marx's Theory of Alienation as if that is RL and in fact hers being "a more sophisticated version of Marx's doctrine of alienation. It allowed for the existence of self-instruction... whereupon, or rather it was all preceded by a quotation from Lenin which was to have proved that he was not interested in such subjects, but concentrated everything on organization.

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1898-1904 this is  
the Bolshevik Party preceded

Chapter 7, pp 251-294: "Russians, Jews and Poles -- The Emigre View of Revolution 1898-1904" This is a very interesting chapter bringing in some very different attitudes to revolution stemming from different national backgrounds. The fact that both the Bund & the Polish party preceded by a year the formation of the Russian Soc. Dem. should be worked out. ~~especially~~ especially, is very sharp on this point because the Germans very obviously always looked at her as a Russian and there is no doubt at all that on the concept of revolution RL was unmistakably Russian. That is certainly true beginning with the 1905 rev. and up to her death.

Fully 20 pages, 274-294, really revolve around this concept of revolution in the Russian sense and indeed Jogiches, who couldn't stand Lenin, and v.v., as early as 1903 (Jan. 26, 1903) wrote to Iskra that the Poles "ideologically and politically belong to one party with the Russians"

Pp 276-277 begins the whole debate on the National Question and really proves how much more both principled and yet flexible Lenin was, who wrote that the SD position on the NQ in Russia "in no way prevented the Polish proletariat from making a separate and independent Poland their slogan, even though there might be little or no chance of realizing such a thing before the coming of Socialism itself"

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RL on the other hand, lost all interest. "Tell Zasulich" that after the Iskra article I'm not in the least bit interested in affiliation & that I have advised that no further concessions be made." (p. 277) And of course that explains that the Polish party as well as the Bund had walked out of the 1903 Congress thereby not only making Lenin the majority, but creating that magnificent, unique, revolutionary number into a great philosophic category. Bolshevik. The essence of the division on the AQ is sharper and more total than any division on organization. In fact, JPN is right, 200 when he says that under Lenin the division was (not organization, but class consciousness. But it is not a division of

This difference in the cognitive appraisal of class consciousness (p. 291) do not consider a philosophic difference unless what is meant as a lack of philosophic appraisal of what was involved. On p. 292 there is a quotation from that sharp debate on organization that Wolfe entitled "Leninism or Marxism" on the "likeness" of 2 dangers: Loss of mass character and loss of goal. JPN is quite good here and much more sympathetic to Lenin than RL, & at the end, in fact, referring to the actual revol. 1905-6 days "the distinction bet. going rather than talking, which ultimately brought RL and Lenin together on the same side did not even exist in 1904." (1905/1906)

Chapter 8, pp. 295-365: "Revolution overtakes the Revolutionaries: 1905-6" Good quotations on p. 309 and also on 316, when RL travels to Poland as Anna Matschke. And it's certainly clear (p. 321) that she recognizes that she is disagreeing with Marx himself on the AQ, while exposing the contradictions of Marx as she writes to Jogiches. "The fear that I make too much play of our contradiction of Marx seems groundless. The whole thing should in fact be taken as a triumphant vindication of Marxism."

The interesting part that naturally got them all excited if overnight, each one became a mass party, including the Polish (see especially pp. 323-25) quotation

P. 333 is a good quotation on the General Mass Strike by RL and as great by Lenin on transition point from strike to revolution: "The prol. understood the dev. of the obj. circumstances of this struggle which demanded a tr from strike to uprising, earlier than its leaders." (See also pp. 334-336 on the "whirlwind of Rosa's activities" P. 337 mentions that from a couple of 100 people the Polish party had in Feb. 1906 gained 30,000 members, mainly prol. P. 338 JPN stresses again that RL's analysis of rev. "was very similar to that of the Bol."

P. 340, especially on the 1905 concept as forerunner to 1919 Spartacus, and moreover this is one of the few places where the fight for freedom spells out "full emancipation of women."

RL gets released from jail on July 8, 1906, & in 1906 is when there was a brief unity of Polc, Russian, Bol. and Mensheviks, but with the Polish and Russian remaining far beyond that single yr.

END OF CHAPTER 8, p. 364 IS SENTENCE I WANT USED FOR BOOK. IT IS BY RL:  
"The revolution is magnificent, and everything else is bilge." \*  
*1907/1908* *Brilliant* *1906-1909*

It is the period also when RL goes to meet Lenin as soon as she is released from prison. She arrives in Finland Aug. 1906  
*p. 356-57* *with Lenin all the time* *1906-1909*  
P. 360 RL leaves Finland Sept 1906. Work out p. 361 where JPN nevertheless still refers to the fact that she had made no original contribution to the tactic or methods of revolution.

P. 360-64 which ends the chapter brings in the new things of relationships to Clara Zetkin  
*1906-1909* *it should have been 1907*

Chapter 9, pp. 365-413: "The Lost Years, 1906-1909" This is the most stupid as well as ~~the~~ wrong title for a chapter, when you realize that that 1) is the very period of the Party school, the very period RL is not only "teaching" but what she is teaching will become both her book on political economy and her book on Accumulation of Capital. 2) that that is the period (1907) when the absolutely most famous Congress of all international congresses (Aug. 18-24) and it is at that Congress that Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg combine, with RL the sole speaker-representative, & indeed, RL considered this chief political event of the year (see p. 399) and 3) that is the period (though only the eve of its closest relationship to Clara Zetkin.

It is true that the Russians consider 1906-08 and in fact until 1912 the period of counter-rev. because 1) that's exactly what is was in Rus. and 2) as a party they also get exactly nowhere but splintering of all tendencies, but it just isn't true for Germany, not even when you consider that's when she began disputing the leadership to such an extent that THE BREAK, 1910 would follow these so-called lost years. It must mean a purely subjective attitude because the leadership didn't want to hear her application of 1905 to Germany. Thus, p. 366, first she turns against the f.u. leader Karl Legien, and then Bebel, who was still very much top of the heap.

Personal plus party school. P. 388-389

P. 391-2 beginnings of study of imperialism, which was to become Acc. of Cap. P. 396: In Rosa's Calendar

STUTTGART 8/8-24/1907 INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, RL spoke on Wednesday (Aug. 21) in the name of the Russian and Polish delegation.

with Lenin in Stuttgart. 3) JPN recognizes that part of her speech "our agitation in case of war is not only aimed at ending that war, but at using the war to hasten the general collapse of class rule." It was under the influence of Lenin and stresses again that the last two para. of the resolution offered was a joint effort of VIL and RL, & indeed calls it "the Luxemburg Lenin addition" (pp 399-401 reproduces the resolution)

thru that Congress RL introduced CZ to VIL. 4) CZ stayed with RL

refers to VIL's Coll. Work Vol. 3, pp 67-68 under "calendar for the year 1908" in which he relies very heavily on CZ's articles in her women's paper Gleichheit, "to which Rosa had drawn his attention." JPN insists that VIL never understood the SPD. 5) P. 403 ftd.





RL VOL. I - Ch. XI, pp. 451-487 - IN OPP, 1911-1914, incl. appendix on her Address to Judges  
 Ch. XI, pp. 451-487 - IN OPP, 1911-1914, incl. appendix on her Address to Judges  
 RL had become esp. interested in Acc. of Cap., say "all, when she was teaching economics at SD school; but that is only background. "Objectively & Subjectively" in the sense of break with KK, it was General Strike & Moroco which are spurs. (RL's expression) swept into a wholly new & strictly scientific analysis of imp. & its contradictions."  
 & to Hans Diefenbach, 5/12/1917 she writes: "Do you know that I wrote the entire 30 galleries in one go in 4 mos. incredible performance sent it off to printer without so much as a further glance through"  
 p. 476: Rosa consistently refused to participate in internal debates like party reg. etc.  
 pp. 485-487 JPN does understand that "the world that ended in Aug. 1914 was essentially Rosa's world as much as Bebel's, Victor Adler's and the Emperor's."  
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 pp. 491-492 return to the Offensive  
 Ch. XII, THE TRANSITION TO A NEW THEORY  
 p. 493 JPN is wholly wrong when he writes "RL neither was nor pretended to be profound pol. thinker." -- only 2 exceptions: Party School -- Acc. of Cap. "visionary, inspiration about imp." "instead", she wants to save General Strike from exclusive possession of anarchists. p. 496-7  
 p. 501 correctly emphasizes General Strike as leading to armed uprising  
 pp. 512-513 as against previous stress on unity & cohesion  
 REVOLUTION, RUSSIAN REV. 1905 - TURNS EVERYTHING AROUND  
 "any mass action once unleashed must move forward" was written  
 Only she seems to conclude that masses must act on leaders rather than phil. coming both of masses AND theory  
 p. 517 -- JPN does see that what she elaborated 1910 was dropped, & not pursued  
 pp. 520-523 IMPERIALISM, as Hilferding & VII saw it  
 1st criticism of party on China -- 1900\*  
 2nd " 1905 -- 1st Morocco crisis; again, 1911 2nd Morocco  
 3rd " 1907 -- Luxemburg-Lenin amendment, to discussion of war & imp.  
 4th " 1911 -- Militarism, imp. (Vol. III, p. 527) "The ques. of imp. are the central axis of today's pol. life. We are witnessing not a recession but an enormous boom of imp. with it a sharpening of class contradictions."  
 p. 530: Acc. of Cap. subtitled "A contrib. to the clarification of imp." Letter to Konstantin Zetkin, 11/1911. "I want to find the cause of imp. I am following up the eco. aspects of this concept. It will be a strictly scientific explanation of imp. & its contradictions." continued to economics, history, POLITICS  
 MISSING & SO ON

Handwritten notes at the top of the page: "FH Hudes", "V/Q-NT", "Seaborn", "10", "1911", "Diefenbach".

Chapter 13: "Poles and Russians ; 1907-1914" (pp 548-601)

This chapter develops the different attitudes of the Polish and Russian Marxists even during those periods when they collaborated the most, like the 1906 unity Congress. Their collaboration at Stuttgart culminated in the Luxemburg-Lenin amendment to the Resolution on War. P. 558: "Traces of Lenin's hand appear in some of RL's activities in these years." And then there is a quotation from a letter (to RL, May 18, 1909, Vol 34, p. 342):

"We were all very pleased with your articles, ... pity that you're writing so little for the Russians, that you prefer the rich Social Democracy to the poor Social Democracy of Russia. None the less, all the best. Greetings to Rosa Dyshka, Zamu-zuku."

Then of course comes all the bad parts about the disputes over the financial legacy and all Rosa's attempts to unite the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, even though clearly, as JPN notes (p. 581) "To the Mensheviks, RL was quite simply Lenin's most active partisan in Germany, and for all practical purposes she also drew the naive CZ in her wake." And when she was breaking from Kautsky and especially on the Morocco incident, she did not have Lenin's support on the break in discipline.

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Various times against Imperialism should be noted on p. 514, 517, 518, and 521-23, which will give the following series of oppositions. 1st instance, when Rosa's strike was again becoming part of the dispute all over again in 1910. 2nd, the struggle for its application as an anti-imperialist concrete thing in the Morocco crisis. 3rd, the struggle against the party leadership. Actually, this was preceded by 2 other instances: (1905 1st Morocco crisis; (1907) the Stuttgart resolution against Imperialism; (1911) the 2nd Morocco crisis.

On the written notes, I had skipped here to the end of the book, in order to have both the appendix on Accum of Cap and Appendix on the Nat. Question. -- note especially the quotation from p. 855 from VII on "no Russian Marxist ever thought of blaming the Poles, but Russians must continue to be for their independence."

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Chapter 14: "The War" pp. 601-653  
Note p. 603 when Rosa writes Hans Diefenbach 6/23/1917, where she notes that she had never gotten together with Huysmans and asks: "Why? Had to say. Perhaps he could not abide politically active women; as for me, his impertinent Flemish face probably got on my nerves ... the 10 year old hatred was transformed into a glowing friendship within an hour. Laughable in a way. I suppose he finally saw in me a moment of weakness." It's funny these things happen just before the war.  
P. 606 The anti-war agitation ~~was~~ started long before the war and indeed she was sentenced in (1913). It's fantastic (see p. 609) but evidently there was physical collapse at the very idea of war: "Both RL and CZ suffered nervous prostration, and were at one time near to suicide."

P. 614 See the handbill illegal issued by the Spartacus Bund in the summer of 1914, entitled "A policy for dogs". P. 618 The March Conference, International of women in Holland, to which she was to accompany CZ, whereupon on 2/18/15, she was arrested and taken to the women's prison.



On p. 624, JPN really sees that Lenin alone was not just against the war, but against the International. It was here that RL differed from VII. He saw the collapse not only in terms of a few treacherous leaders -- though that, too -- but because the whole loose federal structure of the International had contributed to its undoing.

p. 631-33 Relates to the Junger pamphlet and Lenin's criticism.

(Note p. 637 about friends, mostly women)  
p. 649 On 5/28 there broke out the first general political strike of the war.

p. 651 She did serve out her sentence, was freed & in a few months rearrested & transferred to the women's prison in the Barrin Strasser. Perhaps this transfer to harsher conditions was due to an incident in which she threw an inkpot at a Gestapo and told him 'you're just a common spy and Schweinhund. Get out of here'.

Chapter 15 pp 653-705 "Prison in Germany, Revolution in Russia"

On p. 672, Ftn 2, appears CZ's favorite quotation from Engels: "He is the bourgeois in the family, the woman represents the proletariat." This was preceded on several problems in relationship to women & on p. 662 is the famous letter of RL to Mathilda Wurm: "I swear to you, let me once get out of prison and I shall hunt and disperse your company of singing toads with trumpets, whips and bloodhounds -- I wanted to say like Parthenissa, but then by God you are no Achilles. Had enough of my New Year's greeting? Then see to it that you remain a human being. To be human is the main thing, and that means to be strong and clear and of good cheer in spite and because of everything, for tears are the preoccupation of weakness. To be human means throwing one's life 'on the scales of destiny' if need be..."

On p. 670 RL not only does accept the request to write on Korolenko, but she brings in a quote from Virginia Wolff: "Korolenko is almost unique in Rus. lit. -- in that arid waste where, as V.W. says, the writer has to fall back on the illumination of the soul & upon the brotherhood of man." (See R.F. Christian, *vs Korolenko (1853-1921)* A Centennial Appreciation in the Slavonic and EE R. view (vol. 32 (1953-4) p. 452.

p. 672 is a further development of the question of women. "Rosa had undertaken a campaign for the possession of the souls of her women friends, especially against those husbands who were also her pol. opponents" (on p. 411 appears the separation between Karl and Luise Kautsky. Rosa herself says of Karl at that point that he "hates my influence on Luise who is increasingly emancipating herself from him."

The whole position on Rus. has, of course, been greatly misrepresented -- see especially p. 689, RL's letter to Luise Kautsky on 11/24. "Are you happy about the Russians? Of course they will not be able to maintain themselves in this witch's sabbath, not because the statistics show econom. dev. in Rus. to be too backward, as your clever husband has figured out, but because Soc. Dem. in the highly dev. west consists of miserable & wretched cowards who will look quietly on and let the Russians bleed to death. But such an end is better than 'liging on for the fatherland'; it's an act of historical significance whose traces will not have disappeared until many ages have passed."

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Continuation of Ch. 17, beginning with p. 770, where there are those horrible counter-revolutionary jingles against RL. Note also the triplet on p. 775 where JPN meets the ~~murdered RL~~ <sup>in the second WW</sup> who hastens to inform me of the significant role he played in freeing Europe from Bolshevism. Evidently Capt. von-Pflugk-Hartung was very proud and wanted to be freed.

The last para. of the Ch., "Irresistible Force and Immovable Object", (end. p. 865-86) JPN writes: "The long process of litigation over RL's intellectual and political heritage is itself a history of distortion..." The alternative that RL represents according to JPN, that is, both revolutionary and non-Leninist, ... Only RL was actively concerned with both the great division of modern Marxism & partly helped to create them. That is her role in history and the reason for this book.

Perhaps p. 827 which completes the next and final chapter is what JPN tries to leave as Rosa's heritage: "Her influence extends beyond Marxism..."

Chapter 18 pp 787-827 (Luxemburgism, Weapon and Myth)

Begin with p. 794, where JPN quotes and considers the greatest contribution on Rosa, George Lukacs' "RL as Marxist", evidently on dialectics. And note also ftn. 2, p. 795 where JPN tries to work out an affinity between RL and Gramsci.

On p. 813 he denies the theory of permanent rev. as being in any way RL's.

On p. 827 is where he concludes the whole work, but is again quite ambivalent on the expression of "beyond Marxism" though correct when he says: "No uncommitted student of pol. thought can afford to ignore a corpus of ideas which combines without equal a complete loyalty to dialectical materialism, with absolute insistence on the humanistic & self-liberating aspects of rev'n democracy." And as if that were not enough, JPN throws upon RL some relationship to Mao, just as Rosa connected directly to Marx in 1918, so the Rus. leaders or Mao & their successors may one day reconnect to an early or even pre-Leninist conception in which the process as well as product of socialism is functionally related to the emancipation of humanity.

Not only process vs. ~~totality~~ <sup>totality</sup>, RL AS NEW BEGINNING

The irreparable break, which transformed possibilities into irreconcilable alternatives, took place in 1910 with RL and KK holding the two sawn-off ends. (The revisionist controversy was about how, not what, about the small present, not the great future. A really a second-rate dispute.) From this first break derived the second variable: Socialists making the revolution, or leading it. The pull of the Russian October revolution prevented any intermediate positions from developing and produced a new break right away. Only RL's death prevented her from developing and defending her leadership of an alternative revolutionary Marxist tradition against other claimants. But none the less, the position was rightfully hers -- not the reward of those, including Trotsky, who broke out of the Bolshevik collectivity, but of the forceful, perpetually foreign woman who belonged to many socialisms and no none. Only RL was actively concerned with both the great divisions of modern Marxism, and partly helped to create them. That is her role in history and the reason for this book.

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1902  
1906

1912  
1914 P. 100-15

P. 411 - Not state  
any influence

NETTL references to women:

1919 - spec  
1907  
increasingly  
more

p. 59 is the reference to Switzerland allowing women into the university. "Rosa never wanted either to claim women's privileges or to accept any of their disabilities."

p. 125 is a reference to Clara Zetkin, who organized the socialist women.

p. 136 is the reference to how sex was "irrelevant" to RL; she indignantly refuted the official suggestion that, like CZ she might find her natural habitat in the women's movement. (This was all in the period 1898-99 when she first came to Germany.)

p. 151 is again a ref. to CZ, who had been attracted to RL's contributions and it's definitely because they were revolutionary.

pp. 193-4 is the relationship of RL and CZ, which from the start 1898 and throughout was because they both did stand in the left wing on every single issue.

p. 340 on the 1905 revolution there is a single phrase that it is a demand for the emancipation of women.

p. 618 JF Nettl mentions that RL was planning on attending an 1915 International women's conference in Holland. "Even a women's conference was no longer to be despised. But on Feb. 18 she was suddenly arrested and taken to prison." ... But how does it happen that we slip all the way to 1915 when we last spoke on 1905 rev'n and when we know that 1912 RL made speech on women?

The same thing is true of not singling out references that were really cogent on women when it comes to Luxemburg's correspondence with women comrades, particularly in this case, Mathilda Wurm when it is not only a question of a ref. to a living person, but a reference to the Queen of the Amazons (Penthesilea) p. 662 - 3

p. 672 JFN does here take in the question that both on women and on anti-Semitism, while disregarded because it would be solved by the future socialist society, it is nevertheless very present in her mind; "But disinterest in public did not mean private indifference, since the breakup of her marriage to Leo Jogiches in 1907 Rosa had undertaken a campaign for the possession of the souls of her women friends, especially against those husbands who were her political opponents." JFN refers back to p. 411 to show that RL began to "take a subtle hand in the marriages of her friends, encouraging wives to assert themselves against their husbands, especially when the husbands also happened to be political opponents." And then mentions the year 1908 that RL had made a reference to Karl as one who "hates my influence" on Luise who is increasingly emancipating herself from him in spirit.

in the  
hand  
me  
JFN

6003  
Karl + Rosa  
in Holland  
P. 13  
Anti Sem  
act (once)  
Wrote  
JFN

630  
614  
432  
Hall  
Chauvinist  
Victor Adler



P. 2 Nettie references to Women

P. 601 even though JPN didn't single it out as anything  
referring to W. H. L. actually quotes a letter from RL to  
Hans T. 6/21/1917 in which she calls an incident from the  
1912 congress of the Int'l bureau: "For  
10 years, we (Huysmans and I) were both members of the Int.  
Bure. & for 10 yrs we hated one another. Why? Hard to say.  
Perhaps he could not abide politically active women." Be sure to use

*Add to ch  
with*

(1907)  
P. 372 there is a letter of RL to CZ, which could be considered  
on the question of rel. of party to mass and yet talks about  
such isolation that if they "want to lead the masses on" it  
really cannot be done unless the whole situation changes. JPN  
says that extracts from it are also in Erlich p148-9  
of the Handbook, it is not on this page in pb. of 72.  
1939 or 40 edition

*173*

*Ch 3/20/1902 to CZ  
1907 - Schol*

*It is also in  
Perr when she  
became  
known as  
Party Schol*

*Let after  
great history  
Q.C.*

*THEN As for H  
dramatic expansion  
of French  
Josephes*

*(17)*

On p. 310 his analysis is quite superficial evidently based on the fact that he allocate any governmental role to the Soviets, that the programme instead stressed freedom of speech, press, assembly, conscience and full emancipation of women, and makes it as if it were only an appendix that they called for the emancipation of the standing army.

Pp. 352 where he does ~~it~~ raise the question of revolutionary theory and we see how very much opposed to Menshevism, whereas instead both the Bolsheviks and the Poles committed themselves on armed uprising. And on p. 3656, or more correctly, p. 357, is HL's getting out of prison and going to Kuokkala.

R The phrase I'm so crazy about on "the Revolution is everything" appears in the Briefe an Freunde, p. 44, dated 18 July 1906.

RL by Nettl

p.1 of notes

*Nettl's view of Lenin's concern*

*Since Rosa Luxemburg would be*

The 2 interesting points that weren't taken up sufficiently before in my notes deal with the 1905-06 RR, which, it turns out, is here taken up in part in Ch. 7, 1898-1904, on "Russians, Jews and Poles--the Enigme View of Revolution". For example, as early as 1899, she is disagreeing with Jogiches: "I never liked the way you ~~put~~ off every Russian that tries to approach you. You can boycott or banish the odd individual or even a group of people, but not the whole movement" (p.253.)

*Phil  
must be  
seriously  
displayed*

it is true, (to 1905), but it is actually on the 1st period in Berlin at the beginning of 1900. On p.253, he again jumps, to 1907 this time, that even then she had kept a rigid separation between German activities and Polish, but "many Germans saw her as unmistakably Russian for the first time."

ORGANIZATION is on p.267, definitely related to a "philosophy of life" though technically she confronted Lenin in German, the cognitive experience had a strong Polish accent -- as did all Rosa's works.

On p.286-7, the question of organization questions in RSD: "The working class demands the right to make its mistakes and learn in the dialectic of history. Let us speak plainly. Historically, the errors committed by a truly revolutionary movement are infinitely more fruitful than the infallibility of the cleverest Central Committee."

Nettl correctly says that that debate should not be seen "though it usually is" as a "collision between two fundamentally irreconcilable concepts of organization of the revolution". On p.288 he quotes the famous statement of Lenin's about heading the stick in the opposite direction, and it was said right at the 4th Congress, and not as is usually stated, including me, after.

On p.290 Nettl then ~~gives~~ shows that rather than organization the question is one of attitude to class consciousness. On p.291: "We have three separate factors to consider. First, the Polish-Russian background and style of debate. Second, the real philosophic difference between Lenin's elite effort and Rosa's elite influence -- due to the difference in the cognitive appraisal of class consciousness."

Ch. 8 on "Revolution Overtakes the Revolutionaries, 1905-06" Again separates the question on national grounds, the 1st taking up Germany, and that includes the Jera Congress, where "supposedly" they accepted RL's position on the general strike. The 2nd takes up Poland. However, the 2 critical pp are:

p.309, the "conceptual": "What, shouted Rosa at Bernstein, 'do you know about the mass strike. Nothing.' Far from ~~making~~ organization making mass strikes possible. ORGANIZATION ITSELF COMES INTO EXISTENCE THROUGH MASS ACTION: "When will you finally learn from the Russia Revolution. There the masses were driven into revolution; not a trace of union organization.. strong organizations are born during struggle, in the very process of clarifying the class struggle. In contrast to all that small-mindedness..." From the Protocols, 1905.

*Nettl's cognitive appraisal of class consciousness*

On p.315 is the question of the whole pressure put on RL not to return to Poland: "She was woman -- though pointing this out to her merely made obstinacy more certain... But whatever the underlying cause, the final decision was a sudden one, not taken earlier than mid-December."

The 2nd portion of this Ch. is on Poland, when RL gets into Poland at the height of the revolution. On May 20, 1905, she wrote to Jogiches that there must be a "veritable shower of publications" and that she would write "until her eyes fell out with tiredness." She wrote first a work on the Polish question, the nati. question, because she was criticized by Jogiches and here is how she defended herself: "The fear that I make too much play of our contradiction of Marx seems groundless. The whole thing should be taken as a triumphant vindication of Marxism. Our clear 'revision' will impress our youngsters all the more... P.S. At worst any impression of direct disagreement with Marx could be altered with a little re-touching" (letter of May 7).

Follow very carefully the next 3 pp. esp. p. 325 "Today every single question comes straight from the front lines. To limit this war purely to fighting the FRS in the old manner is an anachronism. Each and every movement has to be taken into account..." It is at this point that she was obsessed with the idea that they were trying to "put her on ice" and that Jogiches had a deliberate plan to reduce her influence. By Oct. 1905 when the Russian events came to a climax, she decided that she simply must go without any discussion with Jogiches about it. She departed on Dec. 28, and she arrived on Dec. 30. It is magnificent (on Jan. 2, 1906, p.330) when she writes to Kautsky "A more general strike by itself has ceased to play the role it once did.. Now nothing but a general uprising on the streets can bring about a decision..."

(p.331) Despite martial law, we are again putting out our daily Sztandar, which is sold on the streets... For the present, the production and printing of Sztandar has to be carried out in bourgeois presses by force, with revolver in hand. (All this is to be found in her letter to K, p.98-100).

On p.332-3, there is a "theoretical transformation of the mass strike into the next stage of armed uprising." She analyzed first the 2 general strikes: Jan. Oct and Dec. 1905. And on p.343 is quoted the 3 stages. NB carefully the expression: "For the masses as usual at any turning point of the battle, only push the leaders spontaneously to more advanced goals" and Nettl then brings out very nearly the same expression from Lenin: "The proletariat understood the development of the objective circumstances of the struggle which demanded a transition from strike to uprising earlier than its leaders". Nettl refers you to Vol. II, p.147, but says that that sentence was left out.

And finally pp.335-6 when RL really believes in 1906 armed uprising, and on p.336, is a beautiful description of the "whirlwind rush to take the manuscript down to whatever printers could be inveigled or forced into producing it, and Nettl does see though later he seems to disregard his own insight on the personal relationship between RL and Jogiches, "The bacillus which was to lead to the inward death of their relationship a bare twelve months later may have already been at work in their collaboration."