# **ANNUAL REPORT 2010**

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## **EDITORIAL**

Dear readers,

new political developments, the movements for democratic change in many Arab countries, or the natural and nuclear disaster in Japan all point to one thing: we must be careful about assumed certainties.

The developments in the Arab World in particular show us how little stability there is in some systems that might appear well established. We must monitor these processes in a careful and discerning way, and we must seek a dialogue with those involved in the processes of change themselves. Patronising, no matter from which political camp it stems, is certainly the wrong way to go. The developments in the Arab World, and in many other regions, underline the importance of political foundations in providing support based on solidarity rather than an analysis driven by the politics of the day.

The work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in 2010 centred on involvement in the pluralistic Left's thematic debates, and within this context, also the debate on the political programme of DIE LINKE. Other issues during the reporting year included once again dealing with the «crisis» and finding alternative solutions to it, as well as sustainability and socioecological restructuring.

In a series of «socio-political forums» in Leipzig, Erfurt, Berlin, Wiesbaden and Nuremberg in 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and federal state foundations dealt with issues of a left-oriented political programme: peace policy, economic democracy and forms of collectivisation, strategies to move from a capitalist system dominated by financial markets to 21<sup>st</sup> century socialism, projects of a utopian character and, not least of all, the issue of the lines of tradition in the history of a democratic socialist current in society. With Sahra Wagenknecht, Christine Buchholz, Heinz Vietze, Dieter Klein, Michael Brie and Oskar Lafontaine at the head of the programme commission of the party DIE LINKE, six voluntary or salaried members and employees of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation were involved in the programme commission's debates.

2010 was a year in which Germany appeared to emerge from the profound economic crisis; it was also a year when unemployment fell. But how stable was this development? What social and global problems – for example the further increase in involuntary part-time and temporary jobs and/or generally precarious working conditions – are hidden behind this apparently positive development? 2010 was, after all, also the year of the profound euro zone crisis, that hit Greece and Ireland particularly hard.

Despite the economic recovery in a series of EU and other countries, the causes of the profound crisis of 2008/2009 in the financial and other sectors undoubtedly still remain. Indeed, the immense public debt taken on to bail out the bank-



ing and other sectors, among other things, threatens to end up being shouldered by the weakest in society. The policy of redistributing wealth upwards continues even after the crisis. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's intensive work on the complex crises is far from outdated and remains current. The Foundation now increasingly goes beyond analysing current capitalism-based societies to come up with alternative development options. An example of this was the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's largest event in 2010, our «Auto.Mobil.Krise.» conference in Stuttgart in October. It was complemented by a series of studies and events organised together with federal state foundations, for example in Lower Saxony.

We successfully managed to build on existing, but widely dispersed, conversion debates. The event was attended by Hans-Jürgen Urban, not only an Executive Board Member of the IG Metall metalworkers union, but also the creator of the term «the mosaic Left». This term is a central concept for the orientation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation focussed on its third key political issue for 2010 with its «RLS on green tour» – a nationwide series of events organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and many federal state foundations dealing with a wide range of environmental and sustainability issues, and with an international conference «Power to the People» on issues of energy policy in autumn in Berlin. The speakers included many international guests, scientists, activists and politicians from DIE LINKE, SPD and the Greens, but also perhaps the best known advocate of a change in energy policy, Hermann Scheer. His sudden death in October 2010 is a great loss for everyone, including the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

«Politics needs knowledge» was the motto chosen by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation for the events, publications and a ceremony in November 2010 to celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its establishment. Politics and political education need knowledge, consultancy, debate and networking.

That is why the Foundation also actively promotes external projects, including smaller-scale projects, but also some

empirical studies. We would like to mention two of these studies in particular: «Crisis without conflict?», a study carried out by the Institute for Sociological Research (ISF) and WissenTransfer investigating the effects of the crisis in the metalworking industry on works councils and union representatives. Another study «Being Left» carried out by the Labour and Society Institute (INAG) dealt with political practice and orientations in «Left-leaning everyday environments» in Germany.

In 2010, many, sometimes unexpected, protests arose or resurfaced in Germany. «Stuttgart 21» was probably the protest with the most remarkable result because it mobilised many people from a more middle-class, and certainly not left-wing background. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was present with publications («The autumn of the angry citizen?») and various events. It supported these processes with its own means of political education and analysis. The same is true for the resurgence of the anti-nuclear movement.

2010 saw a milestone in the process of achieving equality for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation compared to the other political foundations. The decisions of the German Bundestag concerning the funding of foundations in 2011 and setting the framework for the following years placed the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation within the pluralistic system of foundations which reflects the broad democratic currents in German society. By being involved in this pluralistic system, accepting differences in political dialogue and opening them up to discussion by asking question which do not necessarily need to lead to clear answers and which go beyond the politics of the day, the foundations represent a model for dealing with political differences which is of interest beyond Germany's borders.

In this way they make an important contribution to the development and formation of political culture. Today, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is an emancipatory-democratic leftwing institution with a permanent influence in the entire Federal Republic of Germany, in Europe and in the world. The opening of our Regional Offices in Dakar, Quito, Belgrade and New Delhi highlights this.

Here's hoping you enjoy reading what follows.

HEINZ VIETZE Chairman of the Executive Board

**DR. FLORIAN WEIS** Executive Director

# 20 YEARS OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

#### **BUILDING BRIDGES**

Important anniversaries often demand the right amount of appreciation – and this entails a great deal of preparation. This is also true of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. And so it is no surprise that the preparations for the anniversary celebrations began months before the actual date itself. We followed the same procedure as in our political work and formed project groups, developed concepts and drew up financing plans. After all, this was about organising a dignified and, at the same time, recognisably left-wing celebration. It was a success. The final result was a diverse mixture of publications, exhibitions and events. The highlight of the opening ceremony was the reception in the ceremonial hall of Berlin's House of Representatives, on the afternoon of 12 November 2010.

The preparations were carried out by the Head Office, with a great deal of support from our colleagues from public relations, event management and other structures within the Foundation. Almost 200 personalities from the worlds of politics, culture and academia, accepted our invitation and turned up on the night. These included representatives from other political foundations and ambassadors, most of them from Latin American countries. The ceremony was opened with a short film giving the audience a short overview of important milestones in the history of the Foundation. The film showed clearly that the Foundation has changed to become more diverse, more pluralistic and more colourful.

The evening's speakers drew attention to the commitment of a large number of employees and supporters of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, whose work has been vital in making many of our achievements possible. However, as Christa Luft pointed out, we must remain on the ball even in times of success. The Foundation Chairman, Heinz Vietze, reminded the listeners of how difficult the journey from 1999 to the present day has been. He went on to say the Foundation has nevertheless established itself as an equal player in the political arena.

The Foundation has arrived – not in the top tier of society, but in its role as a forum for critical debate about society.

We have succeeded in building a bridge between what theologian Friedrich Schorlemmer described as a «system of society in the East of the Republic that is internally and externally broken and a future that brings with it the freedom to develop oneself, uncertainty, collapse and a new start, all at the same time». This role as a bridge builder also involves close con-



Panel «Faces of the Foundation»



Highlighting the Foundation's achievements: Gregor Gysi

tact with the political party DIE LINKE and its parliamentary groups. What the Foundation has achieved in this respect was emphasised by party Chair Gesine Lötzsch and Gregor Gysi, leader of the DIE LINKE group in Germany's national parliament, the Bundestag.

A panel discussion gave those attending the event a good idea of the diversity within the Foundation, and also the wide variety of ways in which people come to it. In a session chaired by executive director Florian Weis under the title «Faces of the Foundation», five speakers explained how the Foundation came into being, what is special about it and where it is going. The speakers were Wilfriede Otto, long-standing member of the Foundation, Hilde Ettinger, former employee, Jane Angerjärv, former scholarship recipient and now employee, Julia Killet, also a recipient of funding from the scholarship department of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and now a regional employee in Munich, and Klaus Lederer, a former grant recipient and now a member of the Berlin regional parliament. They pointed out that emancipation is something that must not only be taught, but also practiced. The celebrations ended with a reception in the foyer of the parliament building. The founding members, voluntary workers and many other guests

discussed and debated until late in the evening. A lot of networking went on, and this resulted in the establishment of new contacts and the development of ideas for new educational projects. What is more, our in-house journal «RosaLux» will be issued soon, telling readers about the history of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in a series of short, interesting and sometimes witty episodes (see page 16).

#### **AWARD-WINNING EAST-WEST PROJECTS**

The award ceremony could not have taken place in more dignified surroundings. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations took place in the building of Berlin's House of Representatives on 12 November 2010. The first award on the evening's agenda was «GrowingTogether. Prize for Political Education» which comes with a purse of 5,000 euros. The title «GrowingTogether» expresses an essential left-wing educational goal, namely that educators and learners grow together in education, work together on a par with one another and embark upon emancipative paths in the way we teach and learn. However, the title also reclaims the



Visitors to the ceremony: Gerd Siebecke, Alex Demirović, Rainer Rilling



Audience at the ceremony «20 years of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation»

term which – under contemporary understanding has to some extent been hijacked by government officials as a slogan to refer to the «growing together» of the two German states – and uses the term to refer to a left-wing approach to education that reflects the different experiences of political socialisation within our society and which consciously takes on board and comes to terms with the history of the GDR.

Finally, the title also contains an international aspect, that is, an international brotherhood among the peoples of the world to counter the process of capitalist globalisation.

The jury was made up of Stefanie Ehmsen and Wenke Christoph from the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Evelin Wittich, Director of the Academy of Political Education and Fritz Burschel, desk officer at the same institute, as well as Detlef Nakath. Head of the federal state foundation Brandenburg. They had the difficult task of choosing from among several prize-worthy entries. The 1<sup>st</sup> prize ultimately went to the unusual international youth education project, «Vostock Process» (see Academy in this year's Annual Report, page 13). The 2<sup>nd</sup> prize went to Berlin's Grips Theatre for «Findings - an educational theatre project about East-West images» for young people who were born after the fall of the Berlin Wall. After laudatory speeches from Stefanie Ehmsen and Wenke Christoph, representatives of the two projects received their prizes personally from Evelin Wittich. The audience, visibly impressed by what they saw, were able to gain an impression of the winning projects in a video presentation.

#### POSTERS FROM 20 YEARS OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION 1990-2010

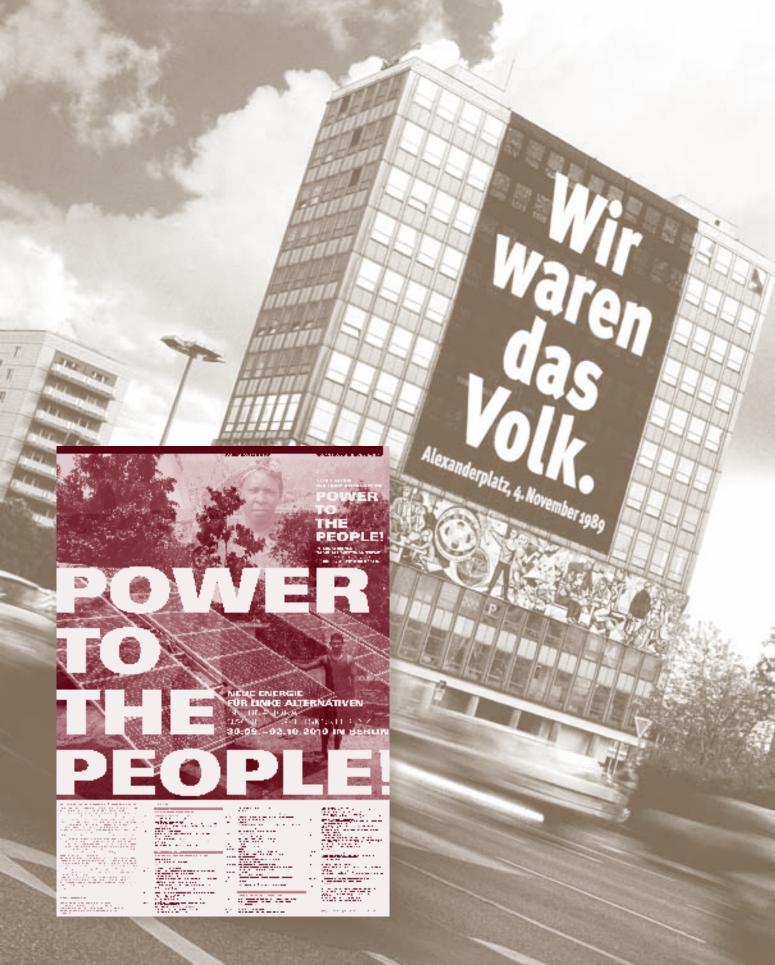
On the occasion of this important anniversary, the Foundation put together a brochure that presents 36 posters from the Foundation's history. They illustrate its political development and the wide spectrum of left-wing educational work.

#### THE FIRST POSTER: «WE WERE THE PEOPLE»

Between 4 October and 10 November 1999, a huge placard was hung on the front of the Haus des Lehrers. It referred back to the demonstrations that had taken place 10 years before under the slogan «We are the people». The placard with the new wording «We were the people» placed the legendary original from 1989 in the past tense. This allows for several interpretations: pride in the historical happenings, sadness about unfulfilled hopes and certainty about the historical distance that had been gained. The placard was organised by the district administrative office of Berlin-Mitte with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

#### THE MOST RECENT POSTER: «POWER TO THE PEOPLE»

The international conference on energy policy and sustainability was the focal point for the «RLS on green tour» series of events and it took place from 30 September to 2 October 2010 in Berlin. By organising this international conference, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation placed the currently prevalent alternative ideas about energy policy on the agenda for discussion, both nationally and internationally, between attendees from China, Nigeria, Tanzania, Kazakhstan and Mexico. One main topic dealt with was analyses of the use of fossil energy sources (see page 9).



# AUTOMOBILES, ENERGY AND POLITICS

The years 2010/2011 will presumably be seen historically as the turning point in the raw materials-based dynamics of reproduction within the capitalist system. Fukushima and Deepwater Horizon are symbolic for this turnaround.

The sinking of the Deepwater Horizon oil platform in 2010 led to one of the greatest oil catastrophes in the history of humanity, only exceeded by the oil spill in the Persian Gulf following the Second Gulf War. In three months, more than one million tonnes of oil flowed into the sea. And yet, oil policies have changed since then in only one respect. As it is not possible to further increase oil production (peak oil), the fight for profits from drilling the rapidly depleting reserves is reaching a climax. At the same time, the costs and ecological risks involved in extracting these last oil reserves have risen almost uncontrollably.

The Japanese nuclear power station Fukushima has come to represent a technology that is out of control. The nuclear disaster will perhaps go down in the history of capitalism as the death throes of the prevailing energy era, because the energy source acclaimed as a «bridging technology» that would lead us into a new profit regime is beginning to collapse. We are not dealing with the «historically obsolete Soviet Chernobyl» here. What is being questioned is a global technological construct within a capitalist High Modern Age.

The prophets who preach «Accumulate, accumulate!» (Works of Marx and Engels 23, 621) are losing their old material basis, which, literally, fuelled the whole wonderful business. On the one hand, nuclear power provided cheap energy locally. Thus, the CDU parliamentary speaker for economics, Joachim Pfeiffer, warned us in March 2011 that «if we now remove cheap nuclear power generation capacities from the grid, it will exert extreme pressure on electricity prices. We cannot afford to have electricity-intensive industries leaving Germany as a result.»

On the other hand, the nuclear power stations are moneymaking machines for those who run them. On 13 March 2011, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung (newspaper) wrote that «operational nuclear power stations are practically minting machines that throw off huge profits during normal operations. And any costs that are caused upstream or downstream are borne by society. Research and radioactive waste repositories are paid for by the state and society at large bears the consequences when accidents happen, because no insurance company in the world would take that risk upon themselves.» It also must be said that, in cases of doubt, the military state apparatus is always there, a loyal and financially strong customer as the backbone of the system.

The struggle to extend the life of this business model is a long and bitter one. The protagonists and those in power continue It is not possible to develop alternative perspectives for socio-ecological restructuring within our society in the future without conflict and intensive debate. In 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation promoted a discussion process to this effect with two large conferences dealing with the issues of energy and automobiles.



Performance programme by Berlin school students



The percussion group «Bendo» at the «Power to the People» conference

to prevail and are trying to force another, post-fossil world into the continuously restrictive Procrustean bed of this business model.

This means that, after striving for peak oil, we will be striving for peak nuclear power. The other policy change, developing alternative perspectives for socio-ecological restructuring within our society in the future, will therefore not be possible without negative growth, difficult conflicts and intensive discussions.

#### «POWER TO THE PEOPLE» CONFERENCE

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation launched this process of discussion in the autumn of 2010 by organising two large conferences on the subjects of Energy and Automobiles. The Academy of Political Education focussed on the important issue of energy policy at an international conference. Prevailing and alternative ideas formed the basis for debates on renewable energies, the use of fossil fuels and nuclear power in the future, taking into consideration different regional strategies. These regional strategies were introduced by participants from Tanzania, Nigeria, China, Mexico, Poland, Kazakhstan and from different regions within Germany. The Foundation always looks at energy-related issues and all other ecological subjects in connection with solving social problems and consistently in a democratic way. We always pay particular attention to decentralised, regional solutions, because the involvement of society as a whole is a fundamental prerequisite for a transformation that is equipped to deal with the future.

The lectures, discussions, films and other cultural events provided participants with examples of the complex problems involved and the possible solutions to them. The outline of issues given by Hermann Scheer and the discussion block criticising the prevailing strategies of the Green New deal, fossil capitalism and the strategies in China, Latin America, Africa and Kazakhstan, did not lead to a feeling of hopelessness, but to a sober assessment of the situation.

The proposals for practical solutions to bring about a transformation in energy policy such as re-nationalisation at the local level, the setting up of cooperatives, and many other measures represent a small portion of what is possible, but also show us that there are a great deal of options available.

The cultural contributions to the conference consisted of a one-hour dramatic performance put together by Berlin school students presented in the early afternoon of 1 November, as well as experimental musical performances on the evening of the same day. These were performed while guests enjoyed their evening meal, which was put together with sustainability and a regional approach in mind, and served in the courtyard. The afternoon and evening left a lasting impression on many participants. The evening ended in the Münzenberg Hall with a screening of the film, «The 4<sup>th</sup> Revolution. Energy Autonomy», which highlights further development possibilities and contains motivating elements. This international conference was a place of education, communication and artistic exchange with the aim of bringing about a turnaround in energy policy which has already begun in many places and which must be continued.



Discussion on «Stuttgart 21» at the «Auto.Mobil.Krise.» conference



Round table discussions at the «Long night of the automobile»

#### «AUTO.MOBIL.KRISE.» CONFERENCE

Germany's leading industry - automobile production - is closely linked to the fossil fuel energy system, and it also faced its own crisis immediately following the financial crisis. By introducing measures like the «scrapping incentive» and an unprecedented public debt policy, the crisis was brought under control, however without opening up any prospects for longterm stability. The main problem of excessive accumulation remains unsolved and the use of public money does not open up the way towards another accumulation model which must be based on another material, non-fossil-fuel foundation and a renunciation of the process - which has been going on for decades now - of reinforcing economic and social inequality. A remodelling of and negative growth in the financial industry as well as of a capitalism and its industries that are based on the economies of fossil fuels, on oil, coal and uranium, is the dual task that every forward-thinking economic, environmental, financial and social policy must take on board. A key focus was placed at the conference on traffic and mobility. The model of private automobile use that has prevailed since its emergence at the end of the 19th century is not sustainable and can no longer be upheld. People are already talking about the «end of automobilism» or about a «second automobile revolution» (Freyssenet). Together with the DIE LINKE parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, the Scientific Advisory Council of Attac and TIE, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation cooperated with the SÖS/DIE LINKE group from Stuttgart's district council to organise the «Auto.Mobil.Krise.» left-wing international conference. At the conference, which took place at the end of October 2010 in Stuttgart, an attempt was made to link the two strategic topics «Conversion - restructuring/negative growth» and «alternative mobility». The conference's own transformation, crisis and energy policy approaches provided the backdrop. The conference, which was well-attended by more than 400 participants, was very successful with respect to the content delivered and the opportunity to make new contacts, especially for those from the

scientific community and the trade unions. During the runup to the conference and following it, a series of publications were presented, new public relations measures were carried out (conference blog, Facebook, the «Standpunkte» journal, special thematic publication issued by the «LuXemburg» journal), a mobility data set was compiled and, over a period of months, there was close cooperation between the parliamentary group and the Foundation. Several follow-up projects emerged which are to be carried out in 2011 and 2012. Thus, the conference clearly established the fact that issues concerning conversion and mobility policy will play a central role in the work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in the future.

#### THE FOUNDATION ON «GREEN TOUR»

In the year 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation embarked on its «green tour» through Germany. Together with the federal state foundations and cooperation partners, discussions were held with very varied participants on ways out of «fossil capitalism» and about ways towards a liveable global future. The enormous diversity of the subjects discussed, the very varied problems, but also the wide range of possible solutions, proved to be a challenge for everyone involved. The top subjects were the failed climate summit in Copenhagen and alternative events like that in Cochabamba. Debates also dealt with ways out of the global crisis caused by the financial crash, the economic crisis and climate change as well as the «New Green Deal» solution proposal. Introducing alternative energy concepts, decentralised energy supply systems and an excursion through the virtual Harz power station were just as interesting on the «green tour» as the subject of brown coal in the Lausitz region. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, in collaboration with the environmental group the Grüne Liga, provided political education on this subject based on practice. What can the inhabitants of the Lausitz region do from a legal point of view to protect the three endangered villages, the four moors, the bodies of water, and so on, and to make sure that Vattenfall is prevented from

continuing coal mining in Jänschwalde Nord? Regional development problems were discussed in the light of the complex use of renewable energies and re-nationalisation at the local level in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania.

In this federal state, several events took place as part of the «green tour», dealing with the subject of sustainable development of the state and the results of these should be taken into consideration when drawing up a concept for regional development. The Ingolstadt region, as a growing industrial region, needs left-wing alternatives for a process of socio-ecological change. This is something that the Bavarian federal foundation discussed in June. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation of Lower Saxony organised a seminar with the environmental group BUND Goslar on sustainability in the 21st century. «Everything organic, or what?» was the topic of discussion in Saarland and, in Saxony-Anhalt, events dealt with the book «The Global Countdown», green genetic technology and the opportunities presented by renewable energies.

The «green tour», with its total of around 30 events, was wellreceived, something that was reflected in the active participation and lively debates of those who came, which made one thing clear: in the future, topics like these will play an even greater role in the political education of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and will be dealt with using a wide range of methodical approaches.



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#### **STANDPUNKTE 28**

#### AUTO.STRUGGLES.GLOBAL.

with contributions from:

Elaine Hui: Automobile expansion and strike waves in China; Herman Rosenfeld: Trade union crisis, struggles, conversion; Thad Williamson: Democratic planning and workers' control

#### **STANDPUNKTE 29**

Karl Otto Henseling THE BIG TRANSFORMATION. THE NECESSARY **STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE INDUSTRIALISED AUTOMOBILE SOCIETY** 

#### **STANDPUNKTE 30**

#### AUTO.MOBILE.ALTERNATIVES.

with contributions from:

Joel Crawford: Conversions: How cities can become free of cars: International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF); Modal change: Changing over to low emission forms of transport; Hendrik Sander: Reclaim your public transport. Left-wing campaigns for a socially fair and ecological system of public transport.

#### **STANDPUNKTE 34**

#### AUTO.MOBILE.HISTORY.

with contributions from:

Johann-Günther König: The power of the automachine. Greg Grandin: Fordlandia - from Detroit to the Amazon -A journey through the ruins of an Empire; George Steinmetz: Detroit: The history of two crises; Kai Kaschinski: Mobility in science fiction

#### **STANDPUNKTE 31**

**Ulrich Schachtschneider POWER TO THE PEOPLE - THREE TIMES!** 

# THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

The heartbeat of the political education carried out by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation can be heard in the Academy. The job of the Academy is to develop educational measures and training courses, conferences and workshops which transfer theoretical aspects. Our expectation here is to provide left-wing, participative and critical education. Methodological diversity, extensive consultation and expertise in an exchange with the in-house divisions, but above all with the Foundation's associations, among these 14 offices abroad, are part of the «core business» of the Academy. This also involves bringing together networks, initiating projects and developing usable and vocal educational material. The aim is to make a left-wing standpoint heard in area of conflict within society and also to encourage people to learn. This expectation we have of our work is reflected in the following selection of highlights from the Academy's work in 2010 - even if «selection» in this case means that dozens of first class and successful events organised by the Academy must remain without mention.

#### EDUCATE THE EDUCATORS

The most important task facing a large organisation providing political education is, of course, further training in political matters. In addition to its increasingly demanding programme of courses, seminars, workshops and training, in 2010 the Academy focussed for the first time on qualifications for political educators. The aim here is to take on board our political responsibility in the educational process and to do justice to the many-layered left-wing environment provided by Foundation, party and social movements. As part of a programme of 10 appointments, intensive work was carried out to build bridges between different working methods and our own educational work by sharing theories and competences and engaging in a friendly exchange of ideas among colleagues.

#### PULLING TOGETHER TO CREATE A FAIRER WORLD

Called together by the Foundation, 16 participants who completed the training course «Politics – Communication – Management» in 2009/2010 over a period of 19 months and covering a total of 416 hours of training, met up to test instruments for a fairer world using red lines and green arrows to highlight mistakes that have been made in the area of communication. The motto was «The programme was and is the class!» – at least, in the end, that was title of the lovingly preThe «core business» of one of the biggest organisers of political education like the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is, of course, further training in political matters. As part of this work, the Foundation's Academy of Political Education also links up networks, initiates projects and develops usable and vocal educational material. The aim is to make a left-wing standpoint heard in area of conflict within society and also to encourage people to learn.



International exchange within an open methodical framework: the «Vostock Forum» in Murmansk in the summer of 2010

pared «Class register». The next course sees the tenth year of one of the most successful projects ever run by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

#### MURMANSK MILESTONE

The two most important annual events in the area of youth education are the «Vostock Forum» and the «Dialogue between cultures». These are organised by the «Russia working group» in the north-west Russian city of Murmansk which emerged from youth education network of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The project, which has won prizes since being set up (see Prize for Political education, page 5), creates international political networks and provides a space where educators, activists and artists can try out new formats within an intercultural context. Enthusiastic feedback is witness to seven years of ongoing dynamics in the «Vostock process». The Forum 2010 in Apatity on the subject of «Freedom and security», attended by around 30 young people from Russia, Germany and Serbia was a highlight in international youth education.

#### HISTORY AND CIVIL COURAGE

In the area of contemporary history, the Academy funded the entries in 2010 of two groups of school pupils taking part in the «Civil courage unites» competition, which was organised under the umbrella of DIE LINKE party chairman, Gesine Lötzsch. Pupils from the Christa-und-Peter-Scherpf grammar school in Prenzlau provided impressive educational material for the Auschwitz concentration camp museum, which can now also be seen as an exhibition. Another project, completed by a pupil from Freiberg dealing with «Operation Reinhard» – the systematic extermination of about two million Jews and 50,000 Roma by the Nazis under the so-called «General Government» in 1942/1943 – was made possible with the special support of the Academy. Both projects were awarded a trip to memorial sites in Slovenia and Croatia, also funded by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

#### GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

The «Capitalism dot com» congress dealt with digital product relations and aspects of the information society. The lecture on the «global knowledge economy» held by London academic Ursula Huws in the House for Democracy and Human Rights was followed by an interesting discussion on the working situation of «creative» people and on the subjects of property, rights of freedom and the corresponding interventions. The conclusion of the congress was that, from a left-wing point of view, the social dimensions of a political strategy for the internet and the linking up of left-wing activists must be focussed on more.

#### GAINING CAPITAL FROM MARX

The «Capital» reading groups are no doubt among the most successful offers provided by the Academy. Over the year, a number of «satellite seminars» are also organised around the reading group events; these deal in depth with selected problems and questions on the subject of «capital». Last year, for



Subject, place, people and circumstances: A workshop as part of the conference on «Policies for the metropolis» on the former Rotaprint premises in the Berlin district of Wedding

example, Pia Garske spoke on the Marxist analysis of gender relations, while Sonja Buckel talked about a materialistic theory of law according to Marx and Jan Hoff spoke about international perspectives for the «New Marx Reading».

This offer is also certain to find interest in the long term and audio recordings can be accessed at www.das-kapital-lesen.de.

#### SPEAKING OF SUSTAINABILITY

One high point in the Academy calendar was the international conference «Power to the people. New energy for left-wing alternatives», as part of which the Foundation put up for discussion prevailing and alternative ideas about energy policy (see page 8).

#### NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT OR GENTRIFICATION?

«Policies for the metropolis» was the main item on the agenda in July 2010 on the premises of the former Rotaprint print works in the Berlin district of Wedding. In the face of the hot summer weather, a cool head was required when looking at the urban development concepts of London, Istanbul and Vienna and workshops on alternative projects from Tel Aviv, Berlin, New York and Paris. In addition to gentrification, privatisation and returning ownership back to the communities, immigration and integration, the participants also discussed questions such as city shrinkage. Creative ways to deal with «neighbourhood improvements» were in the air at the Megaspree parade and at the closing party at the //about blank club at Ostkreuz.

#### THE ACADEMY AS A «GLOBAL PLAYER»: ESF IN TURKEY

The Academy is also a player within an international context, for example, at the European Social Forum (ESF) in Istanbul at

The job of the Academy is to develop educational measures and training courses, conferences and workshops, series of events and weekend seminars which transfer theoretical aspects. The aim is to develop a left-wing, participative and critical education.



Large discussion group at the «Rus» hostel near Apatity in the Murmansk Oblast: Young people from Germany, Russia and Serbia at work

the beginning of June 2010. «We need another Europe!» was the appeal sent out at the ESF, where social movements, leftwing networks, as well as critical academics and non-government organisations came together. It took place in Istanbul in 2010, and the Foundation invited activists from various fields there with the aim of bundling the many different voices in favour of another Europe in the face of global climate change, the rejection of refugees at the gates of «Fortress Europe» and the massive offloading of the impacts of the international economic and financial crisis on to the backs of salaried employees and the unemployed. By organising its own seminars and taking part in international forums, the Foundation already acts as a sought-after, Left-wing «global player».

#### EXPANDING THE VULNERABILITY ZONE

The symposium «Crisis as a symptom. The impact of the worldwide financial and economic crisis» can be seen as the high point of the Academy's «Gender department» in the past year. The main speaker was Berlin sociologist Alexandra Manske, who provided a bleak outline of unsettling social circumstances in our society and the entrenchment of poverty at its edges. In reference to Robert Castel, she spoke about «zones of vulnerability» and a tenuous «new concept for the world of work». This certainly has an ambivalent impact on gender relations, she added. The chairwoman of the ver.di trade union in Baden-Württemberg, Sybille Stamm, advocated from a feminist point of view undertaking «a struggle marked by equality – in solidarity with the alienated boys» to deal with this situation.

#### AGAINST THE EXTREMISM CLAUSE

One unusual Germany wide anti-fascism event was also the «Manometer. Anti-fascist family gathering 2010» which took place in Kassel at the beginning of October. More than 130 participants from 14 federal states aged between 16 and 66 showed a great deal or energy, inquisitiveness and staying power in the discussions and debates that took place on the most important questions concerning anti-fascist work in the areas of education, journalism, politics and «on the street». Long-established structures in research, political education and anti-fascist activities are under massive threat and their scope of action greatly restricted by the current government policy in the context of the «extremism clause». It is therefore all the more important to enable such an unconstrained meeting as this.

#### ART AND CULTURE AGAINST THE RIGHT

The range of anti-fascist cultural events and activities covered everything from punk rock against Nazis to Bernd Langer's consistently popular guided tours of places in Berlin where revolutionary struggle took place right up to traditional literary and evening events. These included, for example, a critical viewing of the film «Downfall», readings with Dietmar Dath, Erik Neutsch, in memory of Christian Geissler, on literature from the GDR as well as an evening in remembrance of 11 September 1973 in Chile. Our close cooperation with the shop-front gallery of the daily newspaper «junge Welt» has proved to be a success with a great deal of popularity among the public, and will be continued.

Learning together, becoming active together, growing together: red lines, green arrows, flipcharts, pin boards, presenter's case, large sheets of paper, pads of paper, thick markers, fineliner pens, coloured slips of paper, chairs in a circle, warm ups, morning circles, stories, discussions, conflicts and solutions, knowledge and questions, a diversity of methods and left-wing demands.



# PUBLICATIONS OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

#### THE «ROSALUX» IN-HOUSE JOURNAL

In the year 2010, the in-house journal of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, «RosaLux», took up controversial subjects of the left, such as socio-ecological restructuring and the debate within the party DIE LINKE about its programme, focussing on the issues «Oil was yesterday» or «The left determines the direction». The editorial staff were able to engage some renowned authors, including Elmar Altvater, Birke Bull, Alex Demirović and Hans Thie. In an interview, the current party leader of DIE LINKE, Gesine Lötzsch, spoke about the direction of her party's political programme. The first issue of the journal in 2010 was dedicated to an analysis of the first 100 days of the Christian Democrat-Liberal federal government. Georg Fülberth, Cornelia Möhring, Wolf-Dieter Narr and Stephan Lessenich contributed insightful articles. In addition to the special focus in each issue, «RosaLux» also reported on events, cooperation projects and publications of the Foundation in the Federal Republic and worldwide and, in an analytical section, it also dealt with questions of current relevance. The editorial team is composed of employees of the following RLS departments: Institute, Academy, Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) and the Scholarship Department, as well as the Public Relations department. The journal is published quarterly with a circulation of 5,000, it is free of charge and can be retrieved from the Internet. It is distributed by the Foundation per mail to subscribers and presented as information material at events.

Additionally, a special issue of «RosaLux» with the title «Politik braucht Wissen» (Politics needs knowledge) was published to mark the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, which was accompanied by words of greeting from the former GDR civil-rights activist Friedrich Schorlemmer and the chairman of the Hanns Seidel Foundation, Hans Zehetmair. Furthermore, the chairman of the





Foundation's Executive Board, Heinz Vietze, spoke about the history and future tasks facing this political education institution in an interview. The origins and development of the Foundation from its founding days in 1990 were traced in 15 episodes. Around 40 renowned personalities from all over the world congratulated the Foundation with short messages of congratulation on its 20 years of existence and encouraged the institution to keep an ever sharper eye on society.

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#### THE «LUXEMBURG» JOURNAL

Also in 2010, the work of «LuXemburg» was shaped by the issue of pressing ahead with left-wing discussions concerning strategies for transforming society – beyond the usual divisions between political currents and schools, theory and practice, politics and culture, economics and daily life. «Für ein linkes Mossaik» (1/2010) (In favour of a left-wing mosaic) discussed the relationship between left-wing parties and the movement and looked at which perspectives would help both of these to overcome the crisis. The issue entitled «Alles wird Gut» (2/2010) (Everything's going to be fine) cast a critical eye on «good capitalism» as a response to global crises and reported on the top-down and bottom-up struggles for «good» – life, work, government. «Auto.Mobil.Krise.» (3/2010) (Auto.Mobile.Crisis.) investigated the powers relationships within automotive capitalism and scenarios for the necessary transformation of the automotive industry. «Commons, Kommune, Kommunismus» (4/2010) (Commons, Local Government, Communism) investigated common assets - disposition, possession, planning – and looked for ways towards a different economy with a discussion about common property, participatory budgets and movements in the neoliberal city. A new thread, Class & Care, was launched: In addition to reports on the unacceptable conditions and struggles in the care and nursing sector, the articles discussed an alternative social division of labour. The issues were also enriched by de-

bates on the Social Forum movement and on solidarity, on art & politics and socialism. We were able to engage the following authors: Étienne Balibar, Robert Cohen, Alex Demirović, Christina Emmerich, Wolfgang Fritz Haug, Hansjörg Herr, Eva Illouz, Rainer Land, Ana Maria Larrea, Ulla Lötzer, Michael Löwy, Catherine Lutz, Margit Mayer, Antonio Negri, Michail Nelken, Mimmo Porcaro, Sabine Reiner, Boa Sousa Santos, Andreas Siekmann, Birgit Stahl, Hans-Jürgen Urban, Felicitas Weck, Hilary Wainwright,

Gabriele Winkler, Winfried Wolf and many more.





#### LUXEMBURG.

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Lert. Issue 2, Theories and movements after 1968) Hernán Ibarra

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#### STANDPUNKTE

(Selection)

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#### Judith Dellheim

Statt «pro oder contra Wachstum» den sozialökologischen Umbau einleiten! (Initiate socio-ecological restructuring instead of discussing the «pros and cons of growth»)

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Der notwendige Strukturwandel in der industriellen Autogesellschaft (The big transformation. The necessary structural change in the industrialised automobile society)

Auto.Mobil.Alternativen. (Auto.Mobile.Alternatives.)

Ulrich Schachtschneider **Power to the People – drei mal!** (Power to the People – three times!)

Marina Tamm Verbraucherschutzrecht (Consumer protection law)

#### Dieter Klein

Die Welt, in der wir leben Beitrag auf der Rostocker Regionalkonferenz zum Programmentwurf der LINKEN, September 2010 (The world we live in. Contribution to the Rostock regional conference on the draft programme of DIE LINKE, September 2010)

Auto.Mobil.Geschichte. (Auto.Mobile.History.)

Christoph Jünke Theorie in praktischer Absicht: Leo Koflers Linkssozialismus (Theory with practical intention: Leo Koffler's left-wing socialism)

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#### Katja Kipping Im Dienste des Citoyen, nicht des Bourgeois (In the service of the citoyen, not the bourgeois)

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## Hubert Laitko

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Bürogemeinschaft Nine2Five Von der Weisheit der Vielen zur Organisierung der Unorganisierbaren (From the wisdom of the many to the organisation of the unorganisable)

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Richard Heigl Das Unbehagen am Staat Staatskritik bei Wolfgang Abendroth und Johannes Agnoli (Unease about the State. State criticism in the work of Wolfgang Abendroth and Johannes Agnoli)

#### STANDPUNKTE INTERNATIONAL

(Selection)

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Marcus Hawel Hegemonialismus Zur Aktualität des Imperialismus (Hegemonialism. On the actuality of imperialism)

#### Kurt Pätzold

«Wenn drunten weit in der Türkei die Völker aufeinander schlagen …». Über die Dimension des so genannten Nahostkonflikts. («When down in Turkey, far away, the foreign people are a-fighting …». On the dimension of the so-called Middle East conflict)

#### Peter Ulrich

# Antisemitismus, Shoah und «deutsche Verantwortung»

(Nach)Wirkungen des Nationalsozialismus im medialen Nahostdiskurs (Anti-Semitism, Shoah and «German responsibility». (Subsequent)effects of national socialism in the media's discourse on the Middle East)

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.....

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## Gregory Wilpert Comeback der Opposition

Chávez Partei gewinnt Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung, verliert aber Zwei-Drittel-Mehrheit (Comeback of the opposition. Chávez' party wins national assembly elections but loses two-thirds majority)

#### Miriam Lang

Putschversuch in Ecuador vereitelt Präsident Correa durch loyale Militärs aus Polizeihospital befreit (Coup attempt foiled. President Correa freed from police hospital by loyal military)

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**«33 Helden»** Hintergründe einer Reality-Show

(Chile: The rescue operation for the «33 heroes». Background of a reality show)

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Boaventura de Sousa Santos Warum ist Kuba für die Linke zu einem schwierigen Problem geworden? (Why has Cuba become a difficult problem for the Left?)

# EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE FEDERAL STATES

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is active both on a national level and in all 16 federal states. An important part of the political education takes place there in the form of events, publications and other projects. This work is carried out in close cooperation with the legally independent federal state foundations, which are: the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Baden-Württemberg, the Bavarian association Kurt Eisner, the «Helle Panke» association - Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Berlin, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg, the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative Bremen, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Hamburg, the Forum for Education und Analysis – Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Hesse, the Forum for Political and Intercultural Education - Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Lower Saxony, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation North Rhine-Westphalia, the Jenny Marx Society Rhineland-Palatinate, the Peter Imandt Society Saarland, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony-Anhalt, the Utopia and Memory Workshop – Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Schleswig-Holstein as well as the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Thuringia. The regional offices of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in the 16 federal states are located in Stuttgart, Munich, Berlin, Potsdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Frankfurt/Main, Rostock, Hanover, Duisburg, Mainz, Saarbrücken, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Kiel, Erfurt and Jena.

The balance for the year 2010 is impressive. As a result of close cooperation with the federal state foundations more than 2,100 events with about 75,000 participants were held in the federal states. This was an increase again compared with the previous year's figures. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation offers these events, to both those close to the party DIE LINKE and to anyone from the broader public who is interested in well-founded and innovative education. The regional offices and federal state foundations see themselves as contact partners for a pluralistic Left beyond the party DIE LINKE. They cooperate with a variety of initiatives and social movements, trade unions, other educational institutions and local politicians.

In the large federal states such as Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia or Saxony, the so-called Rosa Luxemburg Clubs organise a wide range of educational events on a local level. In addition, support groups (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania), contact offices (Brandenburg, Hesse, Rhineland-Palatinate) or educational circles have developed into important cooperation partners in various, sometimes smaller locations. These organisations carry out educational work «in the field», above all, in the form of lectures and discussions, but also in workshops, one-day and one-week seminars, conferences and congresses, exhibitions and excursions. A major part of The balance for the year 2010 is impressive. As a result of close cooperation with the federal state foundations more than 2,100 events with about 75,000 participants were held in the federal states.

the work in the federal states is rendered on a voluntary basis. The work of the federal state foundations is, on the one hand, financed by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (e.g. from federal funds) and, on the other hand, with their own funds (donations and membership contributions). In a number of federal states the state's own funds can also be used for this purpose - currently this is the case in Brandenburg, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. The amount of the federal state funds available varies greatly and is based on the specific regulations of the respective federal state. In the future, the educational activities in the federal states will be further extended on this financial and organisational basis. The forms of political educational work are and will continue to be manifold, including, in addition to the abovementioned events, print and increasingly Internet publications, discussion and working groups as well as individual research activities.

Issues concerning economic, labour market and social policies were particularly popular in all federal states. Also, events dealing with international problems and/or matters of peace and security policy and problems of social theory and philosophy attracted great interest - as did - traditionally - issues of contemporary history and recent historical politics. In the federal states Baden-Württemberg, Bremen, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Schleswig-Holstein und Thuringia special emphasis was placed on the topics of antifascism and antiracism. The thematic focus in Brandenburg, North Rhine-Westphalia and Saarland was education and science policies. In addition, there was a large range of educational events on a local political level in most federal states. Many of these events were organised and carried out together with a wide range of cooperation partners (independent organisations, libraries, museums, theatres and other cultural institutions).

A considerable number of the events organised by the federal state foundations were part of larger cooperation projects. In the social-political forums, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the federal state foundations together organised the following conferences: «Challenges for German peace policy» in Wiesbaden, «Legacy and tradition» in Leipzig as well as the conference on «Co-determination – economic democracy – socialisation» in Nuremberg. Events as part of the «RLS on green tour» on the issues of sustainability and environmental policies were mainly held in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Saxony-Anhalt. The «Auto and mobility in crisis» conference in Hanover gained the largest public response of the Lower Saxony Foundation's events and it was, at the same time, an important part of the preparatory activities for the left-wing, international automobile conference of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation called «Auto.Mobile.Crisis.» in Stuttgart, in the organisation of which the Baden-Württemberg federal state foundation was intensely involved.

In October 2010, the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation adopted a structural change: since January 2011, all former coordinators and all members of staff in the regional offices have worked in one «federal work» area. This achieved the important organisational prerequisites to cope with the continuously growing requirements of political education in the 16 federal states.

#### BAVARIA

#### WOMEN'S SUMMER ACADEMY 2010

«The political is private» – this was the motto of the Women's Summer Academy held from 19 to 22 August in Rot am See. The aim of the Summer Academy was to communicate a fundamental theoretical understanding of gender studies, to establish a reference to feminist social criticism and to link all this with the political day-to-day life of the participants.

This Women's Summer Academy succeeded in bringing together women from very different environments and backgrounds, even beyond the duration of the Summer Academy. Graduates, trade union activists, women from youth projects and social movements who are politically active in the Social Democratic Party, DIE LINKE and the Green Party met in Rot

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE FEDERAL STATES

am See. The first day of the Academy group work was dedicated to looking for an individual, practical, even biographical access to the subject. The Saturday, however, was reserved for discussing theoretical and academic approaches. On the final day, the results from the workshops and academic approaches were brought together under the title «Women in organisations».

Both lecturers and participants gave very positive feedback which meant that shortly after the Women's Summer Academy it was decided to organise such an event again in 2011. The Women's Summer Academy 2011 will be held from 4 to 6 August 2011 in Schney Castle, Upper Franconia, under the motto «Action strategies for women in (political) organisations».

#### THURINGIA UTOPIA NOW

In view of the crisis, capitalism is becoming less generally accepted and people are starting to think about alternatives. These thoughts were expressed in lectures and debates, projects and activities at the «Utopia Now 2010» conference of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, held from 28 to 30 May 2010 in Erfurt.

In his introductory lecture, Christoph Spehr (Bremen) presented concepts of socialism considering different dimensions, such as the struggles against economic exploitation, alienation or exclusion. Guillaume Paoli, known from his initiative «Happy unemployed» spoke about «Art and utopia». Silvia Mazzini's (Ernst Bloch Association) contribution emphasised the fact that utopias always exist in the areas of tension between freedom/order, reason/fantasy, technology/ dreams. Julia Bonk, representative of DIE LINKE in the Saxon state parliament, raised the question for discussion of the concept of «Luxury for all» as a means of participation in society's wealth, in particular in the form of an unconditional basic income. Christian Siefke's contribution, «Peer economy», dealt with both how wealth is distributed and how it can be generated in a non-capitalist way. «Who makes the city» was the title of a future workshop with Petra Eickhoff. The concept of «A right to participate in the city» introduced by Andrej Holm, was also orientated towards creative urban options for city dwellers. And Ella von der Haide's project «Urban gardening» encouraged people to claim their right to shape the city. In the final panel discussion, Wolfgang Beese (culture concept working group), Joachim Decker (Erfurt University of Applied Sciences) and Johannes Smettan (Ladebalken youth project) dealt with the question «What makes Erfurt fit for the future?» The discussion focussed on urban development concepts which are not oriented towards economic location criteria, but towards real human needs - an aim which can hardly be realised without questioning capitalism, as one of the participants put it.



Utopia now: «Urban Gardening» in a shopping trolley

#### THURINGIA CLASS CONFERENCE

On 2 and 3 July, the hottest days of the year 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Thuringia and the Sociology Institute of the Friedrich Schiller University Jena dealt with a «hot potato» – the concepts of «class» and «class struggle» avoided by academics as ideologically tainted since the disappearance of state socialism.

The discussion about both classical Marxist analysis and post-Marxist theoretical approaches made it clear: The concept of class is still a suitable tool to analyse social, political, economic and cultural conflicts of the present. Alternative concepts such as «stratum», «milieu» and «multitude» were described as questionable as far as capitalism theory is concerned.

But how can the current landscape of classes be mapped? Which class structures continue to exist and in what form? Which classes can newly appear? How decisive is possession or non-possession of means of production, in particular IT? How does the concept of class from the labour world relate to a cultural practice outside work? How do classes articulate themselves on a political level?

More than 60 participants discussed these issues of contemporary diagnostics and investigated possible theoretical approaches to assessing the consequences for a strategy and practice of emancipatory policies. In this context it became clear that there is plenty of empirical material on the one hand and a theoretical vagueness on the other – a discrepancy which is difficult for left-wingers to process, in view of the large social potential of a «homeless anti-capitalism».



Cartoon from the exhibition «Just explain it simply - financial crisis and poverty»

#### MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA CARTOON & CRISIS: JUST EXPLAIN IT SIMPLY!

When the words «financial and banking crisis» were making the rounds in 2008, many people were surprised at first. The faith healers of the free market economy had interpreted globalisation as being merely economic too many times and too loudly, and supported unbridled market liberalism. Now, all of a sudden, the contradictions which seemed to result from uncontrolled growth of the financial markets became evident. In the meantime, this financial crisis had led to a crisis in the real economy in many countries, which is characterised by stagnation and growing unemployment. And again the real losers of the financial and economic crisis will be the poorer and the poor. But how is this all interrelated? Why does it always hit the poorest people, when the money was gambled away in the boardrooms of the multinationals?

The TALIDE e.V. registered association (the abbreviation stands for Taller Latinoamericano de Investigación y Desarollo, in English: Latin American Workshop for Research and Development) looked for critical and satirical approaches focussing on the causes and effects of the financial and banking crisis, with reference to the contradictions and conflicts both in a minor and major context. For this purpose, an international cartoon contest was advertised on the Internet from July to October 2009: «Just explain it simply – the financial crisis and poverty».

The aim of the contest was to provide education on development policy and information about the causes of the global economic and financial crisis, its social consequences in different regions of the world and how it all fits together. The fact that the political situation was represented in an artistic way helped to explain the circumstances and stimulated contemplation. A further aim was to make people aware of and educate them in issues of development policy, such as social poverty and the various ways it manifests itself in the world's regions. A focus was also placed on the dependency of developing countries on the world economy, as well as on the influential fac-



Cartoon from the exhibition «Just explain it simply - financial crisis and poverty»

tors of the global economic and financial crisis. The response to the advertisement was surprising, because participants from some 50 countries sent in around 400 pieces of work showing the participants' views on the crisis and its consequences from very different cultural backgrounds.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania was one of the sponsors of the prize money awarded to the winners selected by a jury.



During an antimilitaristic city tour



Umbrella as an antimilitaristic intelligence service

#### SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN ANTIMILITARISTIC CITY TOUR

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Celle Trialogue was scheduled to be held in the Gut Salzau Regional Cultural Centre near Kiel from 1 to 3 September 2010 under the motto: «Trade and business – maritime challenges and national interests». The Celle Trialogue was established by Commerzbank and is a circle of representatives from the political, economic and military worlds. Its name stems from the past meetings of the circle in the Lower Saxony town of Celle from 2007 to 2009.

A broad antimilitaristic alliance was formed on site in Kiel against the Celle Trialogue. One partner was the Kiel-based Antimilitaristic Alliance against the Celle Trialogue, with its project «Antimilitaristic city tour». On Saturday 12 June 2010, an antimilitaristic city tour started as a protest against the Celle Trialogue, under the motto «KIEL IS A WARZONE». This city tour provided information about the history and presence of militarism and the arms industry in Kiel, taking in actual sites around the Kiel Fjord, such as HDW/U-Bootsbau, the naval arsenal, MAK/Rheinmetall, Raytheon, Thales, EADS as well as war memorials in Möltenort and Laboe. The antimilitaristic traces of Kiel's past were also not left unmentioned and were important stops of the city tour, e.g. the Memorial of the November Revolution 1918. Activities against the Celle Trialogue and activities mobilising political resistance were integrated into the city tour.

The antimilitaristic city tour started with an opening rally at the Commerzbank building on Asmus Bremer Platz. From there, participants walked the first section, passing various places of arms production, war memorials and places of political resistance. On the way, information was provided about Kiel's importance as a military location. Then the rally moved on to the Schleswig-Holstein parliament. During the second part of the tour, participants were taken by bus to the conference site of the Celle Trialogue, Gut Salzau. A break was planned here, so that participants could have the time for a walk and to gain an impression of the location. However, the police who escorted the city tour from the beginning, stopped the bus in front of the gates of the estate and prevented it from entering the site. Despite this, some of the «peace walkers» succeeded in exploring the area by entering through a side entrance and taking photos. The city tour ended at the Laboe war memorial with a final rally call «Close down the war memorial!» The disputed phallic memorial was inaugurated by the Nazis «to commemorate those who fell in World War I» in 1936 and it became the symbol of the fallen marines of World War II. Again and again, its heroic glorification of the navy has given rise to criticism and debate. A symbolic performance – a cardboard wall blocking the entrance to the submarine museum – triggered a scuffle with the police.

This educational event with 50 participants was not held in a seminar room and it gave the participants a hands-on learning experience – be it from a lecture given on site or from political protest on the street. The participants' response was very positive. Cooperation between the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Schleswig-Holstein and the Kiel Antimilitaristic Alliance will be continued. The brochure «Antimilitaristic city tour» will be revised and republished, and the concept will be extended. The brochure is aimed at not only participants of events and city tours but also, above all, at school students, teachers, higher education students and trainees. Since the Bundeswehr engages in large-scale promotion activities, antimilitaristic education is on the back foot, both financially and in terms of personnel. The brochure aims to make a contribution to antimilitaristic education.

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE FEDERAL STATES



Be sand die rührenden Monnette, in denen einen das Thoma solider Tagunestuäherrück. Holmat Beck, der seit ihrer Grindung der Historischen Kommission beim Fartsbourstend der PDS angehött, redete sich im Gewölke der Meritabestei im Leipzet im Rezer Stalinismoskritikim Leipzet im Rezer Stalinismoskritiklenoranz" und voller "eindere Erhabe beit" liber "Arbeiter, wie als leibten un lebten", geschrieben. "Wir Jahren vo Proleinens, unz falsche Vorstellunger

Eugels übrügens auch." Erfrischer dir fand es ein junger T nehmer, wie der fünlundeisten,gahr Schröder Über "so große Minnurrech. Doch dass Disky erwähnte.

The FAZ headline on the event «DIE LINKE -- Legacy and tradition», claiming communism is as dead as a dormouse

#### SAXONY

#### THE LEFT-WING LEGACY

The conference on «Legacy and tradition of the Left» held in February 2010 was the start of a DIE LINKE programme debate on historical politics, which gave this discussion special significance. The Left Party cannot find its identity without documenting history and looking back to the past.

We were lucky that, in addition to Lothar Bisky, two personalities were present who broadened the view on history which had been mainly directed inwards until then; these were Helga Grebing, the Grande Dame of social-democratic historiography, and Edelbert Richter, the GDR civil-rights activist. The discussion dealt with our conflictive relationship and the division from social democracy when it comes to the core issues of social justice, peace and democracy. However, according to Helga Grebing, commonalities should be discussed in view of Christian Democrat-Liberal majorities.

Jürgen Hofmann, Wolfgang Schröder and Lothar Bisky emphasised the fact that the discussion of Stalinism as a system, the top-down approach of Marx and Engels, as well as the culture of debate within the Left should, however, be given the same attention as the core issues.

The contributions made by the panel and in the subsequent discussion brought out the main points of a pluralistic view of history among the Left, although some gaps in the conference contributions became evident, such as for example in the two volumes of the Karl Dietz editorial on Legacy and Tradition of the Left.

Helga Grebing accompanied the opening of the programme debate with this advice: «The act of discussing a political programme is much more important than the results on paper.» The conference was reflected in the media by extended articles in Neues Deutschland, but also in FAZ, Leipziger Volkszeitung and in the MDR television news.



Rebellious women at the focus of a workshop held in Hanover

#### NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA FROM CLARA ZETKIN TO LARA CROFT

Political revolt is not only men's work. Twelve female participants, together with the author Anne Schülke, pursued their fascination with rebellious women in a two-weekend workshop in March 2010 in Hanover. These women ranged from Alexandra David-Néel, Gerda Taro, Ulrike Meinhof and Angela Davis and the «difficult» female cousin or the rebellious female colleague to Lara Croft and Madonna – who were placed in the context of a personal and collective history of resistance and emancipation. The participants carried out research on contemporary history and biographies, they retold these stories, continued them, assembled video collages, recorded radio drama sequences, drew cartoons, wrote texts and presented their results to the public, discussing the past and present possibilities and impossibilities of rebellion in an intensive and combative way.

A prior discussion introduced the project: The panel included exemplary representatives of three generations of the women's movement: Dr. Florence Hervé (laureate of DIE LINKE's Clara Zetkin Award in 2010), Dr. Mithu Sanyal and Jana Hansjürgen who came out as a lesbian at the age of 16, when living in a village of 1500 inhabitants, and who is still active in gay and lesbian youth work. They discussed role models, the concerns and forms of policy of their respective generations and the challenges faced by the feminist movement today. Mithu Sanyal named Bell Hooks, Angela Davis and Annie Sprinkle as her inspirations, Florence Hervé declared, «It is worth saying no and fighting» that was what she learned from Clara Zetkin.

The project was realised as part of the «Gender workshop» of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation North Rhine-Westphalia in cooperation with the ZAAK Dusseldorf, Wir Frauen e.V., the Düsseldorf WeibsStücken and the women's offices of the Dusseldorf University and University of Applied Sciences. On the initiative of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Lower Saxony, the project will be continued in Hanover in 2011.



Pinar Selek, Turkish sociologist and book author

#### HESSE MOLLYCODDLED TO MANHOOD, DRILLED TO MANHOOD

The literal translation of the Turkish for «to join the army» is «to surrender». In a study, the Turkish sociologist Pinar Selek investigated how the army shapes Turkish society and what image of men dominates in that society: Sürüne erkek olmak – «Mollycoddled to manhood, drilled to manhood». Selek presented her study on the occasion of two events of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Frankfurt/Main. Both events were organised together with the Turkish organisation, Volkshaus Frankfurt e.V.

Selek showed how boys are turned into «men» in the Turkish army with violence, force and reprimands, but also with visits to brothels and collective consumption of alcohol. A lawsuit is pending against the sociologist, and at the time of the event she was facing possible life imprisonment. Selek, who is also internationally known as a feminist and civil rights activist, supports the interests of women, lesbians, gay and transgender persons in Turkey. In this respect, the events had a current political aspect.

The first event, on 25 February 2010 in the hall of the Frankfurt Trade Union House, however, addressed a German- speaking audience which meant that all explanations and subsequently the participants' contributions to the discussion had to be translated. Nevertheless, the approximately 60 participants were satisfied with the lecture and the discussion that followed.

The second event held three days later on the premises of the Turkish organisation Volkshaus attracted more than 100 participants, of whom more than two thirds were women. Since the author is particularly popular in the Turkish community, a variety of issues of Turkish politics were addressed in the very lively subsequent discussion.

#### BREMEN THE CITY AS A PLAYGROUND

«Gentrification» – a short time ago this term was only known to experts. Today even newspapers use it to describe the upgrading of city neighbourhoods and the displacement of poverty to marginal areas. An event organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative in Bremen also dealt with this topic: «The city as a playground». The evening event was held at the end of July 2010 as part of the NEULAND temporary urban laboratory and opened with a film. The film described the displacement of poorer and subculture population groups in Hamburg as a consequence of the upgrading of a city neighbourhood with new construction and increasing rents.

After a break there was a discussion with Oliver Hasemann and Daniel Schnier (both from Autonomes Architektur Atelier Bremen) and two urban activists from Hamburg. They talked about the multi-layered issues of urban development policy, cultural production and gentrification. Point of reference was a comparison between Hamburg and Bremen. In the city of Hamburg, which has been growing for years, a policy of urban upgrading and displacement has taken on a particular dimension as the city government gave over entire neighbourhoods as playgrounds for investors. Cultural producers of all kinds are consciously used as an image factor, thus making them part of the upgrading strategy.

In the meantime, artists began vociferously to refuse to be instrumentalised in order to create an image and upgrade the neighbourhood, and this resistance has taken on a new dimension. «City» is now understood to be a playground and a place where citizens claim space for themselves and bottomup development can take place. But: squatted houses and caravan settlements can also contribute to the image of an attractive city and unintentionally become part of the urban political development system.

When comparing Hamburg and Bremen it becomes obvious that Hamburg is a growing city, with the corresponding pressure to exploit space. Bremen, on the other hand, is shrinking and this favours a certain openness on the part of the local authorities to accept unconventional uses, since no competition with investors exists.

The aim of the event was to discuss together how far the parts of the «creative class» who see themselves as dissident, become pioneers of upgrading and restructuring. This discussion was successful. The event, which was attended by 50 people, was the start of a more intensive involvement by the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative in urban development/gentrification issues.



From left to right: Ines Sedlick, Gabriele Henschke, Friedrich Held, Angela Davis, Dirk Rumpf, Rosemarie Hein, Hendrik Lange, Eva von Angern and Dennis Jannack

### SAXONY-ANHALT ANGELA DAVIS IN MAGDEBURG

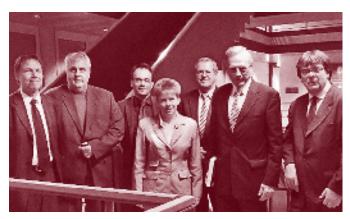
Angela Davis is a symbol. In the 1970s, the famous US civil rights activist campaigned for the rights of political prisoners and was the Communist party candidate in the USA for the office of vice-president. In June, Angela Davis came to Germany - and showed she had lost none of her fighting spirit. At two events organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony-Anhalt in Magdeburg, she called for global solidarity and a resolute struggle against exploitation, oppression and xenophobia. In the morning, the chairman of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony-Anhalt, Hendrik Lange, gave Angela Davis a warm welcome at Magdeburg University. In his introductory speech, the university's professor, Holger Kersten, honoured the academic merits of the 66-year-old philosopher. In her lecture, Angela Davis demanded that US President Barack Obama take a strong stance against racism and discrimination against immigrants. Speaking before some 200 participants, mostly young students, she said that racism was embedded in the social, economic and ideological structures

of American society more than ever. In the afternoon, Angela Davis received a warm welcome at the trade union centre. Many participants showed this honorary citizen of Magdeburg objects commemorating her visit to the city in 1972. A book presentation was opened by Susanne Wiedemeyer (Confederation of German Trade Unions Saxony-Anhalt) and moderated by Rosemarie Hein (Member of the German Bundestag, member of the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony-Anhalt).

In her speech, Angela Davis called for enduring communities of resistance to be created. However, she added, patience is necessary when establishing protest movements. The lessons of the past must be passed on from generation to generation. At the end of the day, large crowds gathered when Klaus Steiniger signed his book about the US civil rights activist together with her.

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«Angela Davis. Eine Frau schreibt Geschichte» (Angela Davis. A women writes history)



From the left: Helmut Schröder, Heinz Vietze, Florian Weis, Petra Pau, Detlef Nakath, Avi Primor, Wilfried Telkämper

# BRANDENBURG

The Middle East with its rich oil deposits, but also with its political and religious conflicts, has been at the focus of many countries' – including Germany's – foreign policy for a long time. On 2 and 3 November 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg organised its 14<sup>th</sup> Potsdam Colloquium on Foreign and German policy, focussing on «German foreign policy in the Middle East». The guests and speakers at the conference included the former Israeli ambassador in Germany Avi Primor. He outlined his country's official position regarding the Israeli-Palestinian relationship and he presented his personal critical opinion. Today, Primor is the director of the Centre for European Studies at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Centre and president of the Israeli Society for Foreign Policy.

The Vice-president of the Bundestag, Petra Pau (DIE LINKE), who attended the conference in Potsdam's «House of Brandenburg-Prussian History» on both days, welcomed Avi Primor and representatives of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to the German Bundestag for information talks on the evening of 3 November 2010.

Participants at the conference also included Salah Abdel Shafi, Head of the Palestinian General Delegation to the Federal Republic of Germany, former State Secretary

Rudolf Dreßler (German ambassador to Israel from 2000 to 2005), Wolfgang Gehrcke (Member of the Bundestag, DIE LINKE), Head of the Office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Angelika Timm (Tel Aviv) and Peter Schäfer (Ramallah), as well as scientists and diplomats.

Wilfried Telkämper (Director of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation) spoke the closing words. A documentation of the conference will be published in September 2011.

# RHINELAND-PALATINATE

The German economy is growing, and on average Germans are becoming ever richer. Nevertheless, poverty and unemployment are rife, and inequality is growing. This leads to ever-louder calls for an unconditional basic income. «Everybody needs an income which secures their existence!» – as it was formulated by Birgit Groß, head of the social policy, women's and equality division at the German Federation of Trade Union's Rhineland-Palatinate Regional Board. This formulation proved to be the common denominator for all the around 50 participants attending the regional policy forum «For a more just social policy in Rhineland-Palatinate», held in October 2010 at the premises of the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. The forum was organised by the registered association Jenny Marx Society for Political Education – Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Rhineland-Palatinate.

Prof. Christoph Butterwegge, political scientist at Cologne University formulated the conference's theoretical starting point as follows:

Poverty in the wealthy Federal Republic of Germany is functional for capitalism and it is generated politically. This poverty leads to a low level of education and culture which, at the same time, increases susceptibility to extreme right-wing ideas. As a consequence, fighting poverty is the vital prerequisite for preserving democracy in Germany.

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During the day, targeted discussions focussed on the 4th Report on poverty and wealth of the federal state Rhineland-Palatinate, as well as on the «austerity concept» of State Prime Minister Kurt Beck for the year 2011. Inputs came in the working groups on labour market policy, minimum social security, education for all, and democratic participation in Rhineland-Palatinate. These issues were supplemented by a European view on social policy presented by the Member of the European Parliament for DIE LINKE, Jürgen Klute. He emphasised the fact that social policy should not be limited to caring for the poorest, but should include many issues, such as collective bargaining and services of general interest.

# LOWER SAXONY OBLIGATION OF RESIDENCE THE INVISIBLE BORDER

Refugees who manage to come to Germany cannot live freely. Foreigners and asylum seekers are not locked-up behind walls and closed gates, but behind an invisible border: the obligation of residence. This means that the persons affected are obliged to stay within the area determined by the competent authority.

In January 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Lower Saxony presented the exhibition «Obligation of Residence – Invisible Borders», together with the cultural and communication centre Pavilion in that centre's premises. The touring exhibition which developed from Philipp Kuebart's architecture diploma project is dedicated to the «Geography of multiple confinement and delineation» with which refugees and asylum seekers are confronted with in Germany.

Using various media and approaches, the exhibition reveals the system of harassment of the «obligation of residence», the impositions of the asylum seeker service law, isolation in remote camps and the day-to-day harassment and pressures they face from racially-motivated police checks in the public space. Models show the structure of the asylum procedures in Germany and life in the refugee camps, which is characterised by space constraints and isolation. The individual and psychological aspects of restricted freedom of movement are highlighted and further explained by information boards and testimonials from refugees.

Just days after the exhibition «Obligation of Residence – Invisible Borders» had been shown in Hanover, it was completely destroyed by a neo-Nazi arson attack on the «Haus der Demokratie» in Zossen (Teltow-Fläming) on the night of 23 January 2010. In the meantime, the exhibition has been restored with the assistance of many helpers and with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and it is now on tour again in Germany. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundations of some other federal states have also shown the exhibition since then. While an increasing number of German federal states are easing the harassment-based regulations on the obligation of residence for people with pending asylum procedures, the right to the freedom of movement and to freely chose one's place of residence continues to be a central demand of refugees' self-help groups and their supporters.

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#### http://www.invisibleborders.de/ausstellung.html



The asylum procedures in Germany are very complex legally. For applicants, this means they are repeatedly sent to so-called points of first reception, refugee homes and camps or even placed in deportation custody. A model displayed in the «Invisible Borders» exhibition shows the complex paths through the procedures which, in most cases lead to forced departure or deportation, but which may also open up the possibility of obtaining a regular residence status. The exhibition is accompanied by a radio play about the inequality of travelling. While Europeans take travelling around the world for granted, Europe's external borders are becoming increasingly sealed against unwanted refugees and immigrants. The radio play «Taking liberties – from you!» is linked to the exhibition's website.

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09 LOWER SAXONY

10 NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

11 RHINELAND-PALATINATE

12 SAARLAND

13 SAXONY

14 SAXONY-ANHALT

15 SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

16 THURINGIA

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#### 80

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Forum für politische und interkulturelle Bildung e.V. Head of the Executive Board: Prof. Dr. Werner Pade

#### RLS-Regionalbüro

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Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e.V.

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# Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

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#### 16

## Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

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# CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

The Foundation's international work is planned and carried out by the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID). Its main aim is to promote social and democratic development, and to strengthen social-political education and communication together with international partners. The international projects pursue the objective of providing people with equal access to basic social goods such as democratic co-determination, peace and non-violence, employment, education, access to healthcare, social security and a liveable environment.

In order to fulfil these tasks the Centre employs staff in Germany and abroad. 30 members of staff work at the Foundation's Head Office. Most of them are involved in the work of the six Regional Departments: Africa, Asia, Latin America, OECD/EU/USA, Eastern/Central Eastern/Southeastern Europe and Middle East/North Africa/Turkey. In addition to the Head of Office, there are two to three project coordinators and/or managers working in each office, who are responsible for a certain sub-region within the respective regional department. Furthermore, there are offices for Controlling, Project Accounting, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation which answer directly to the Head of the Centre. The Centre is run by one Director and one female and one male Deputy Director. This structure is supplemented by 14 regional offices of the Foundation abroad. These offices are directly responsible for the project and consultancy work in the field, which normally covers several countries within one region. The international regional offices are run by employees of the Foundation who are sent from Germany, and each office has four to six local employees who are involved in, among other things, the areas of project management and accounting, administration and office communication. At the end of 2010, the Foundation had 14 international offices, two in Africa, three in Asia, three in Latin America, four in Europe and two in the Middle East.

The international work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation aims at supporting and accompanying processes of political and social development in the host countries over the medium and long term. To achieve this aim, the Foundation continuously cooperates with partners abroad; in 2010 there were 200 partner organisations in around 50 countries. The partners altogether organised several hundred educational events with a total of thousands of participants on topics within the conceptual focus of the international work.

This included not only issues concerned with securing democratic rights of participation, access to goods of general interest, and the development of alternatives to the neoliberal economic model, but also support for activities to find peaceful solutions to conflicts and a historically-aware shaping of the present and past. The educational work of the Foundation was supplemented by approx. 200 events, including several large conferences planned, organised and carried out by the international offices in their own responsibility. In 2010, the quality of work was particularly improved by the establishment of four new regional offices. The opening of the Belgrade Office (Serbia) for the southeastern Europe region, in Dakar (Senegal) for West Africa, New Delhi (India) for South Asia and Quito (Ecuador) for the Andean region created an important basis for extending the Foundation's activities. The new offices allow partners in these countries to be more closely integrated into the Foundation's network and they provide better opportunities for both mutual exchange and preparing, controlling and accounting of projects. It should also be mentioned that new software, which was specially developed for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, was introduced in 2010, which now allows integrated project accounting and control. The software improves the financial control of the granting and accounting of funds and better enables the success and efficiency of projects to be controlled.

#### «IT IS ABOUT LEARNING TOGETHER»

INTERVIEW WITH WILFRIED TELKÄMPER, NEW DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION (ZID)

#### You have been the Director of the ZID since July 2010. What are your first impressions?

Telkämper: The worldwide politico-educational work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in the international departments is very complex and interesting and it is very challenging. It is complex because in our international offices we are not mainly dealing with self-representation, but carrying out projects together with our partners - for example fighting the overexploitation of natural resources and its social and ecological consequences. The work also ranges from providing legal advice for self-organised women's groups, to consultancy services to combat the neoliberal dismantling of labour legislation. It is interesting because it is about learning together in many ways - be it because young people from different countries have the opportunity to exchange ideas, or because women can exercise their rights or make their concerns public using free radio and modern information technologies. Israel's information blockade in the Gaza Strip, for example, was able to be partially bypassed by means of a video conference



Wilfried Telkämper, director of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID)

between Gaza and the USA with Noam Chomsky, crossing borders and continents. Also: This work is fun! This is because the working atmosphere is good in the Foundation and I work with a competent and friendly team.

# Which political aims does the Foundation pursue with its educational work?

**Telkämper:** Our main goal is always to create space for public discourse and the establishment of democratic structures. We want to promote participation, enable individual and social emancipation, and open or maintain access to the goods of general interest, such as for instance the right to unrestricted and free-of-cost access to clean water – and that, worldwide! Our political-educational work ranges from solidarity cooperation with grass-roots activists to providing advice on issues of constitutional or labour law.

#### And what is your major challenge as the new Director?

**Telkämper:** My task is to pave the way for achieving these educational policy aims, by creating the prerequisites in terms of administration and personnel and by providing an effective financial administration in order to distribute the public funds according to the official guidelines. I have to guarantee that this year's increase in funds from 13 million to 19 million euros is used effectively in line with the aims, and I have responsibility to lead and accompany about 85 colleagues in Germany and abroad. We create a dialogue and promote international networking by providing information and coordination.

#### That sounds like managing a medium-sized enterprise.

**Telkämper:** Exactly! Nobody should be under any illusions about that. The prerequisites for efficient political-educational work is a functioning management, involving a great deal of diplomacy. Only when I have achieved this, will I perhaps have the opportunity to work on actual, juicy political-educational projects.

Interview: Sabine Nuss



Bosnian project partners of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation at the opening of the Belgrade Office on 22 September 2010



Panel at the opening of the Ecuador office: from left Martha Harnecker, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Miriam Lang, Raul Prada, Alberto Acosta

#### **AGAINST NATION AND CLERGY**

Serbia is one of the youngest states in Europe. In 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation opened its 13<sup>th</sup> international office in Belgrade. From there, it coordinates its activities in Southeast Europe. The Foundation's aim here is to support left-wing organisations and social movements in the Balkans. The office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is directed by Boris Kanzleiter.

The opening ceremony of the office started with a reception in the new premises, located in the central Belgrade neighbourhood Dorcol. A crowd of more than 100 people thronged to the 150-square meter office on the 7<sup>th</sup> floor of an old town house. Young left-wing activists, critical university employees, trade unionists, women's rights activists and representatives from eleven partner organisations in the region came and expressed their high expectations for the Foundation's work.

The opening was followed by a conference at which the Foundation and the party DIE LINKE presented themselves to the public in the region for the first time. Subsequently, partner organisations of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation presented their work.

Left-wing political commitment poses a great challenge in a region in which public opinion is dominated by neoliberal, nationalist and clerical ideologies.

Just days after the opening of the office on 10 October 2010, it became clear how complicated the situation is, when some groups tried to organise a «Gay Pride» march in Belgrade. Unlike in the past years, a large contingent of police protected the people's right to demonstrate – a small step in the right direction. The «Gay Pride» march was actually able to take place. However, the around 7,000 clerical-fascist hooligans who arrived to attack the «Gay Pride» demonstrators were hardly intimidated. They destroyed large parts of the city centre. A particular problem was the fact that the young rightwings extremists received almost unconcealed support from sections of the clergy and conservative politicians. In view

of this situation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation intends increasingly to support antiracist, antinationalist and antifascist initiatives. Our partner Alternative Culture Organisation (AKO) in Novi Sad will contribute to this with several networking events for antifascist groups in the former Yugoslavia in 2011. Other partners in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia have been organising workshops within the state school system for years, to work against nationalism and clericalisation. In addition, some women's organisations in Bosnia and Serbia, which are supported by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, deal with the patriarchal social relationships which are linked to nationalism, homophobia and clericalism.

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## The foundation in Serbia: http://www.rosalux.rs

#### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PATH TO GOVERNMENT

Office opening in Ecuador: on 1 June, the Andean regional office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was opened in the Ecuadorean capital Quito with a traditional wasipichay, an indigenous inauguration ceremony. The wide variety of guests showed how much interest there is in discussing left-wing concepts. Among the guests were government representatives from three Latin American countries with left-wing governments, left-wing intellectuals, representatives from other left-wing parties, indigenous and women's movements, gays and lesbians, and representatives of German foundations. The office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is directed by Dr. Miriam Lang. The opening was followed by a two-day seminar on «Democracy, participation and socialism». One government representative each from Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela, left-wing intellectuals and representatives from social movements held a debate in the large auditorium of the Simón Bolivar Andean University. The debate was combative and the 200 to 300 people in the auditorium followed the discussion with great interest. It very quickly became clear that the transformation processes in Latin America are taking place within the area of tension between government and social movements. The Portuguese social scientist, Boaventura de Sousa Santos defended the necessity of having «many democracies in one democracy» and he pointed out that it will not be possible to tread the path to socialism in the 21st century without the participation of indigenous and social movements in the shaping of new constitutions and a pluralistic system. Agreement was reached on the fact that the Latin American awakening is built on the utopian ideas of 20<sup>th</sup> century socialism. Jörn Schütrumpf from the publishing house Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin explained how relevant the teachings of Rosa Luxemburg are for these current processes. Again and again, the discussion with the audience centred on the question of whether socialism can be imposed from above, and how it can take in the cultural diversity of the Andean countries conceptually and formally, as well as what happens if socialist movements are elected into government. In addition to the discussion about the issue of «Alternatives to the prevailing development model», these will be the areas of tension which the office in the Andean region has to deal with. Focus is placed here on the informative and constructive debate between the different players in the political transformation process.

#### The Foundation in Ecuador: http://www.rosalux.org.ec

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AFRICA - RESISTANCE AND AWAKENING

125 years ago, the colonial powers divided Africa among themselves at the infamous Berlin Conference in 1884/1885. Then 50 years ago, 17 African countries gained their independence. Two historical events, one conference: on 30 January 2010, the conference «Resistance and Awakening: 125 years since the Berlin Conference – 50 years of independence in Africa» was held in the Berlin Haus der Demokratie und Menschenrechte (House of Democracy and Human Rights) with more than 100 participants. The conference was organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in cooperation with DAFRIG and SODI. Against the background of these two historic dates, the participants analysed the continuities and fractures in the colonial and post-colonial development of African societies in the international context and the current challenges for the African continent.

The main speaker, Firoze Manji, political scientist and publisher from Kenya, emphasised in his introductory speech that



«Resistance and awakening», Conference participants

«development» - the sacred cow of the political and economic discourses of the past 50 years - often missed its stated purpose. «If development is to make sense», said Manji, «it has to be understood as a process in which people take control of their own destiny. If however, 50 years of (development) in the South led to the fact that today people are living in a less selfdetermined way than ever, then (development) has failed.» Dividing the world into «developed» and «underdeveloped» societies stems from the tradition of colonial thinking. «Developing countries» have been and are described as being backward and in deficit. For decades, this has led to the dominance strategies based on charity from western states to Africa, which offered favourable loan conditions as «development aid». At the latest, the (oil) crises of the 1970s resulted in an over-indebtedness of many states. As a consequence, «structural adaptation» became the new imperative of the post-colonial economy. And this meant privatisation, deregulation, liberalisation.

Manji referred to the connection between the withdrawal of the state from its social responsibilities and the rise of «development» organisations which fill the gaps in the state welfare system in a completely unsatisfactory way. Globalisation, he said, was responsible for the fact that African states had lost any influence on the concepts of social development and policy.

Even today, African societies are struggling to overcome (post)colonial structures and gain cultural and economic independence. Thus, the discussions at the event, with their many contributions, attempted to stimulate an up-to-date dialogue on a development policy that goes beyond paternalism, at the Berlin Conference, the very location where the African continent was silenced 125 years ago.

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Wilfried Telkämper, Hugo Roger Martínez Bonilla, Florian Weis



Galia Golan-Gid, professor of political science and former spokeswoman of Peace Now Israel

#### COOPERATION TALKS WITH EL SALVADOR'S FOREIGN MINISTER

Hugo Roger Martínez Bonilla, foreign minister of the Republic El Salvador visited the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation together with a delegation in October 2010. Bonilla was the leader of the left-wing student association AGEUS and today he is a member of the FMLN (formerly the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front) which has governed the Central American state for more than one year now as a political party. Florian Weis, executive director of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Wilfried Telkämper, director of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation, and Torge Löding, head of the international regional office Mexico, Central America and Cuba in Mexico City discussed possible cooperation projects on the issue of labour migration with the Salvadoran foreign minister.

#### PEACE BUILDING IN ISRAEL AND PALESTINE: GENDER DIMENSIONS

More than 20 years after the first meeting between Palestinian and Israeli women in Brussels (at that time under the motto «Give Peace a Chance- Women speak Out»), a three-day seminar was held in March 2010. The women participating were peace activists from Israel and Palestine, peace researchers from European projects, as well as female and male representatives of the EU Commission and EU politicians. As it was 20 years ago, the seminar was organised by Simone Susskind (International Women's Committee), this time together with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Research Department of the EU Commission. On the first day, activists and researchers reflected on their experiences and on the changes in the conflict situation. On the second day, representatives from the EU Commission and the European Parliament (Helmut Scholz represented the GUE/NGL group) discussed a possible intensification of support for women's initiatives. On the second and third day, the participants discussed their personal experiences and the difficulties of continuing cooperation under extreme conditions in the Brussels office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The seminar was concluded with a public event at Brussels Free University which attracted a large number of people.

The feminist approach of the peace activists provides for a sharper view on power relationships in society and helps to understand the complexity, diversity and differences involved. These women struggle with nationalist narratives, for example the narrative of war heroism which has become very powerful due to the militarisation of Israeli society and the «freedom fighters» in Palestine. This leads to a reduction of democracy and deepens sexist gender stereotypes. This work is not only on women's right in the narrower sense, but also addresses ethnic, economic and gender marginalisation. For the good of both Israel and Palestine, the aim remains to convince the Israeli leadership to «do the right thing», even against its will, which is to end the occupation and implement the two-state solution – as soon as possible.

Among the peace activists were Naomi Chazan, former vice spokeswoman of the Knesset and president of the New Israel Fund, Ruchama Marton, founder of Physicians for Human Rights Israel (Alternative Nobel Prize in autumn 2010), Galia Golan-Gid, professor of political science and former spokeswoman of Peace Now, Amal Kreisheh, director of the Palestinian organisation «Working Women Society» and Hania Bitar, director of «Palestinian Youth Association for Leadership and Rights Activation» (PYALARA).

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#### PEACE ACTIVISTS

- 1 Evening event «Israel-Palestine: What have women achieved?», at the conference «Conflict transformation and peace building in Israel and Palestine: Gender dimensions», held on 18 March 2010 in Brussels. With Maysa Zorob, Amal Kreisheh, Simone Susskind, Thomas Dupla Del Moral, Birgit Daiber, Naomi Chazan, Luisa Morgantini, Hania Bitar (from left to right).
- 2 Amal Kreisheh, director of the Palestinian organisation Working Women Society in Development, Palestine (left); Simone Susskind, Présidente Actions in the Mediterranean, Belgium (right).
- 3 Ruchama Marton, founder of Physicians for Human Rights Israel (Alternative Nobel Prize in autumn 2010).

ADDRESSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

MEXICO

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DAKAR

- 01 SOUTHERN AFRICA
- 02 WEST AFRICA
- 03 RUSSIA/CENTRAL ASIA/CAUCASUS
- 04 EAST CENTRAL EUROPE
- 05 SOUTH EAST EUROPE
- 06 EUROPEAN UNION
- 07 SOUTH AMERICA
- **08 ANDEAN COUNTRIES**
- 09 MEXICO/CENTRAL AMERICA/CUBA
- 10 ISRAEL
- 11 PALESTINE
- 12 SOUTH EAST ASIA
- 13 EAST ASIA
- 14 SOUTH ASIA

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#### RELAUNCH OF THE FOUNDATION WEBSITE

In one point, websites do not differ from many other consumer goods. They are subject to a normal aging process, are quickly overtaken by technological developments and look quite outmoded despite up-to-date content. Unlike a used car, however, a website cannot be simply scrapped and replaced because the content of the site – in our case, news, publications and event documentations from ten years of the Foundation's history – must be maintained. This means that it is necessary completely to overhaul the website both technologically and graphically and, at the same time, to integrate existing content – i.e. to relaunch the website.

In 2009, the Foundation was given a new corporate design, and so the graphic re-design of the website was long overdue. The requirements for the new screen design were a graphical tightrope act. It needed to function unobtrusively and in an easy-to-use way in the background while at the same time remaining clearly recognisable as part of our product range, which is characterised by the distinctive graphics of the Foundation's new corporate design. Together with the optical modernisation, the structure and the technology of the website were also updated. Now, thematic portals are placed in a focus position on the new website which allows easy access to the wide range of complex information offered by the Foundation. The presentation of the calendar of events and the publications database was improved with a large number of useful research functions. Finally, Web 2.0 media formats and communication platforms were integrated into the website (audio and video documentation, blogs, social networks). From the technical point of view, the Foundation continues to rely exclusively on open source software for web-based functions.

**INVITATION FOR TENDERS:** October 2009

**IMPLEMENTATION:** November 2009 to March 2010

RELAUNCH: 29 March 2010

#### **CONTENT MANAGEMENT SYSTEM:** Typo3, Wordpress

AGENCY: cosmoblonde GmbH, Berlin

**STATISTIC:** 80,000 visitors, 550,000 page visits, 320 GB transfer volume (viewed traffic without search machines, etc.)







#### KOMMUNALBLOG



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**FACEBOOK:** 1,500 active users, 30,000 content retrievals

**YOUTUBE:** 1,700 video views

**BLOG «MEHRING1»** (Institute for Social Analysis) 5,000 visits, 30,000 page views

(all data are monthly average values)

#### BLOGOSPHERE

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has also entered the blogosphere and contributed in 2010 a large variety of different subjects. See http://www.rosalus.de/blogs.html.

#### A SELECTION:

#### http://www.wemgehoertdiewelt.de

The blog wemgehoertdiewelt.de (who does the world belong to) consists of more than 1,500 entries on the subjects of privatisation and de-privatisation, public goods and companies, public spaces and public services of general interest, wealth and ownership. This bilingual (de/en) blog is a project of the network Privatization/Public Goods (ppg-network = Privatization/Public Goods) which is located at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

#### http://ifg.rosalux.de

The blog of the Institute for Social Analysis of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (IfG) focuses on socialist transformation research. The contributions are mainly written by volunteers from the IfG.

#### http://kommunalpolitik.blog.rosalux.de

«Local politics remains misunderstood with its potential sex appeal and charm and the important controversies.» In this sense, the Academy of Local Politics of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation provides up-to-date information for the blog. Events and information covering all aspects of local politics are announced here.

#### **PROJECT SPONSORSHIP 2010**

Project support programmes were also an important form of cooperation with other institutions of political education in 2010. Within the limits of its financial resources, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supported events, publications and research projects and also cooperated in determining the content of these projects. More than 650 applications were submitted and 118 projects were funded. 261,600 euros were made available for these projects.

### The following five large-scale projects were funded with 115,000 euros (approx. 44% of the overall amount):

- INKRIT e.V.: Publication of a historical-critical dictionary of Marxism – completion and publication volume 7/II («Knechtschaft» bis «Krise des Marxismus») («slavery» to «crisis in Marxism») and editorial work for volume 8/I («Krisentheorien» bis «Linie Luxemburg-Gramsci») («crises theories» to «Luxemburg-Gramsci line»), 35,000 euros
- Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung e.V. (ISF Munich) (Munich Institute for Sociological Research) and WISSENTransfer: Research project «Handlungs- und Interessenorientierungen in der Krise» (Orientations for actions and interests in the crisis), 30,000 euros
- Rolf Hecker: Work on the new edition of the Works of Marx and Engels, volume 13, 24,000 euros
- Linke Medienakademie e.V. (Left-Wing Media Academy Association): 7<sup>th</sup> Academy for Journalism,
  - Citizens' Media, Public Relations & Media Competency, 14,000 euros
- Klaus Wendler: Digital Archive: PDS and DIE LINKE on television, 12,000 euros

In addition to these five projects which were funded with more than 10,000 euros each, five projects were funded with amounts from 5,000 to 9,999 euros, 56 projects with amounts from, 5,000 to 4,999 euros, 43 projects with amounts from 500 to 999 euros and 9 projects with amounts of less than 500 euros.

### A classification of the projects sponsored by the Foundation gives the following picture:

- Publication grants for books/magazines/newspapers, 33 projects
- Major events (conferences, seminars of several days, etc.), 39 projects
- DVDs, films, exhibitions, websites, 18 projects
- Smaller events (evening events, etc.), 22 projects
- Research activities, 6 projects

### The projects sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation focus on the following issues:

- Antifascism/antiracism/right-wing extremism, 16 projects
- History/contemporary history, 14 projects
- Social theory and philosophy, 13 projects
- Capitalism/globalisation, 11 projects
- Migration, 10 projects
- Gender relations/feminism, 8 projects
- Media and political communication, 6 projects
- Development cooperation, 6 projects
- Economic and social policy, 5 projects
- Ecological restructuring/sustainability, 5 projects

#### BRIEF OUTLINE OF SOME PROJECT FUNDING EXAMPLES

INSTITUT FÜR SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTLICHE FORSCHUNG E.V. (ISF MUNICH) UND WISSENTRANSFER (MUNICH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND WISSENTRANSFER): RESEARCH PROJECT «HANDLUNGS-UND INTERESSENORIENTIERUNGEN IN DER KRISE» (ORIENTATIONS FOR ACTIONS AND INTERESTS IN THE CRISIS)

Funding: 30,000 euros

How does the labour force perceive the crisis? What orientations for action arise as a result of specific experiences of the crisis in the working environment? What consequences can be drawn for the chances for resistance and protest? Based on these questions, academics from the ISF Munich and from WISSENTransfer conducted gualitative interviews and group discussions with unionised representatives and works councils from the automobile supply, metalworking and electrical industries in the first six months of 2010. The study submitted includes empirical findings and collates them to gain an informative picture. Massive experiences of powerlessness are hidden behind the superficial impression of a «conflict-free crisis». The constraints of the system are felt to be inescapable. Short-time work is a response to the emergency situation in a company; if the assembly lines are running, work intensity, flexibility and working hours tend to be increased. An awareness of the fact that a high level of motivation at work is not connected with appreciation of achievement, job security and promotion, leads to an increasing decline in the legitimacy of the economic system. It is not conflict with the company management that is the issue, but rather the question which political system should prevail. The absence of open conflict is a result of the lack of alternatives and not of an acceptance of the status quo. Powerlessness, increasing anger and the expectation that «something is going to happen» merge in the awareness of those questioned. Trade unions and left-wing

movements will have to change their way of working, if they want to join this mindset if they want to be part of shaping the future. The work sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Wolfgang Abendroth Foundation Fürth, will be published by the VSA Publishers under the title «Krise ohne Konflikt» (Conflict-free Crisis) in 2011.

KAIROS EUROPA E.V.: CONFERENCE «VON DER (SYSTEM-)-KRITIK ZUR TRANSFORMATION. WELCHER WEG FÜHRT ZU EINEM GERECHTEN, ZUKUNFTSFÄHIGEN WIRTSCHAFTEN?» (FROM (SYSTEM) CRITICISM TO TRANSFORMATION. WHICH WAY LEADS TO JUST, SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?) Funding: 5,000 euros

Against the background of the global financial and economic crisis, as well as the climate crisis, discussions were held about which economic system can contribute to ending the destruction of social cohesion and natural resources, both as part of worldwide ecumenical processes and the in churches in Germany. The central issues discussed at the conference were the following: What ownership structures result in maximum human wellbeing, ecological sustainability, justice and social co-determination? Can the ecologically devastating compulsion for growth in the current economic system be overcome within capitalism?

Why do the majority of people tolerate the prevailing system instead of putting up resistance and supporting alternatives? What can a society look like in which people once again become the subjects and not the objects of development?

Finally, what kind of society do we want to live in? Can the climate disaster still be slowed?

82 people participated in the conference (20 further applications could not be considered due to lacking capacities). The participants came from social movements, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, environmental associations, ecumenical groups and churches. The contributions were presented and then deepened and discussed in work groups. Positions presented in lectures were discussed and dealt with in more depth in working groups. The main focus was placed on questions concerning ownership structures in means of production (in particular with a view to collective and common properties), as well as the monetary system and the compulsion for growth that is intrinsic to the system and the mental structures necessary for a fundamental transformation. With a view to the necessity of a policy aimed at transforming the system, the majority of the participants spoke out in favour of removing taboos in connection with the question of which system to live under.



Education at play. Theatre project by a lake dealing with the situation of refugees. For more photos of this project supported by the Foundation see pages 46–51.

IN:TAKT E.V.: THEATRE PROJECT «SEEGANG INS UNGE-WISSE» (VOYAGE INTO THE UNKNOWN). A WATER THEATRE PERFORMANCE ABOUT THE MOVEMENTS OF REFUGEES FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE. Funding: 3,000 euros

This project connects current affairs with the ancient myth of Europe and the experience of displacement due to war and famine. Interviews with refugees conducted in cooperation with the Cologne Council of Refugees, Pro Asyl, and amnesty international, testimonies from eyewitnesses and historical and literature sources formed the basis for the performance. Theatre professionals produced the play with 25 amateur actors aged between 16 and 30 from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Germany, Eritrea, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Mexico, Serbia, Turkey and Iran. In the course of the performance, the audience became participants. During the six performances in the Kalscheurer Weiher in Cologne «nobody had terra firma under their feet anymore». By changing the audience's point of view with a sensual experience everybody present learned «how it feels to flee from Africa to Europe». This political theatre had a politicising effect, some of the young performers are now involved in volunteer work with refugees. The performance is available in the form of a video.

FORSCHUNGSNETZWERK FRAUEN UND RECHTSEXTRE-MISMUS (RESEARCH NETWORK WOMEN AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM): WORKSHOP CONFERENCE «ZWISCHEN (ACTION) UND (ARTERHALTUNG) – FEMINISTISCHE ANALY-SEN ZUR BEDEUTUNG VON GESCHLECHT IN DER EXTRE-MEN RECHTEN» (BETWEEN (ACTION) AND (SURVIVAL OF THE SPECIES) – FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER IN THE EXTREME RIGHT-WING MOVEMENT) Funding: 1,100 euros

This workshop conference took place at the University of Applied Sciences in Frankfurt am Main on 25 and 26 September 2010. After an introduction assessing the development of

(feminist) research into modern right-wing extremism since 1945, the scope of the workshop was extended to include gender-related aspects of the far right in Europe. Using the extreme right-wing parties in Hungary as an example, the discrepancy between the propagated and actual relationship between the sexes was examined. In a contribution from Austria, the motives that move female academics to shift towards extreme right-wing world views were analysed. The third block dealt with the points of contact between the far right and the political centre, taking as examples masculinist-motivated men's rights activists, new right-wing anti-feminism and state gender policies. In the fourth block «women and gender images between heterogeneity and retraditionalisation», the changes in gender images and their role, in particular with respect to the so-called autonomous nationalists, were discussed. «The construction of masculinity within the far-right discourse» was the subject of the fifth block. Finally, the sixth block dealt with strategies for action against right-wing movements in the areas of politics, civil society and education. Experiences with modern concepts of work to prevent far-right extremism among young people show how necessary it is to deal with the issue of gender relations in society as a whole. Teaching democracy in early childhood education in a way that deals with normative gender constructs suitable for children, was also discussed. There was agreement among the 33 participants (educationalists, journalists and other people committed in civil society, e.g. in victim counselling) that an analysis of the extreme right must include the issue of gender as one of its central considerations. An anthology of the contributions to the workshop conference is being prepared.

#### The issue of antifascism/antiracism/right-wing extremism constitutes a central thematic focus of project sponsorship as a part of which 16 projects were sponsored. Some examples:

- Exhibition and support programme: «Städtedreieck unterm Hakenkreuz NS-Zwangsarbeit im ländichen Raum» (Three-City-Triangle under the Swastika – Nazi Forced Labour in Rural Areas), Maxhütte-Haidhof, Projektgruppe Zwangsarbeit e.V; 2,500 euros
  - Conference «Rechtsextremismus, Rassismus und Antisemitismus in Comics» (Right-wing extremism, racism and anti-Semitism in comics), Bad Boll, Archiv der Jugendkulturen e.V.; 2,000 euros
- Panel discussion «Kippt Europa nach rechts?» (Is Europe moving to the right?) as part of the day of action against racism, neo-Nazism and war, Berlin, Berliner VVN-BdA; 1,000 euros
- Development and printing of the brochure «Dunkelfeld. Recherchen in extremrechten Lebenswelten rund um Rhein-Main» (Hidden field. Research in extreme rightwing worlds in the Rhine-Main area), Argumente e.V.; 1,000 euros

- International youth work camp in the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial, Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme e.V.; 1,000 euros
- Panel discussion «Von Minaretten, Kopftüchern und Rütlischülern: Bilder eines neuen Rassismus.» (On minarets, headscarves and Rütli school students: images of a new racism), Berlin, Bündnis gegen antimuslimischen Rassismus; 500 euros

# The Foundation also extended its support for external projects in the areas of capitalism/globalisation. Some examples from the 11 sponsored projects:

- Federal conference «Kämpfe zuspitzen Mehr werden – Interessen formulieren» (Focus struggles – increase numbers – formulate interests), Kassel,
   BAG Prekäre Lebenslagen e.V.; 3,000 euros
- «Das Bankentribunal ... weil die Krise System hat» (The Bank Tribunal ... because the crisis has system), Berlin, Attac Germany; 1,000 euros
- Conference «Der Kampf um Menschenrechte im Zeitalter kapitalistisch entfesselter Globalisierung – seine Ambivalenzen, Grenzen und Perspektiven» (The struggle for human rights in the era of unbridled capitalist globalisation – its ambivalences, limits and perspectives), Berlin, Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie e.V.; 1,000 euros
- Main issue of gentrification at the Globale 2010 Film Festival, Berlin, Content – Verein zur Förderung alternativer Medien e.V.; 880 euros
- Documentary film «Blue Elephants Arbeitsmigrantinnen und -migranten in der malaysischen Elektronikindustrie» (Blue Elephants – female and male migrant workers in the electrical industry of Malaysia), Wirtschaft, Ökologie und Entwicklung e.V. (WEED); 600 euros

#### Immigration is another subject area where the Foundation has cooperated increasingly with external partners in the past years. The Foundation supported 10 individual projects, among others:

- Annual church asylum conference, Berlin, Ökumenische Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Asyl in der Kirche e.V.; 1,000 euros
- Special taz supplement «Bleiben. Keine Abschiebung von Roma aus Deutschland» (Staying here. No deportation of Roma from Germany), Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste e.V., 1,000 euros
- Rebuilding the exhibition «Residenzpflicht Invisible Borders» (Residence Obligation – Invisible Borders), Zeuthen/Berlin, Philipp Kuebart; 1,000 euros
- Workshops as part of the federal youth convention «Terne Sinti & Roma», Göttingen, Amaro Drom e.V.; 800 euros

Information events on the case of Oury Jalloh, Essen/ Paderborn/Hamburg, Initiative in Gedenken an Oury Jalloh; 615 euros

#### Publications covering a wide range of issues were sponsored. Among others, the following publications were made possible with our publishing grants:

- Anna Seghers: Letters 1953–1983. Edited by Christiane Zehl Romero and Almut Giesecke, Aufbau Verlag Berlin 2010; 2,500 euros
- Frank Adler, Ulrich Schachtschneider: «Green New Deal, Suffizienz oder Ökosozialismus? Konzepte für gesellschaftliche Wege aus der Ökokrise» (Green new deal, sufficiency or eco-socialism? Concepts for ways out of the eco-crisis), oekom verlag Munich 2010; 1,500 euros
- Günter Krause, Dieter Janke (eds.) «Man kann nicht Marxist sein, ohne Utopist zu sein …» (You can't be a Marxist without being a utopian …) texts from and about Fritz Behrens, VSA Verlag Hamburg 2010; 1,500 euros
- In Rib Baek: «Restrukturierung der sozialen Sicherungssysteme in den postfordistischen Gesellschaftsformationen. Eine vergleichende Analyse von Großbritannien, Schweden und Deutschland» (Restructuring the social welfare systems within post-Fordist social formations. A comparative analysis of Great Britain, Sweden and Germany), VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften Wiesbaden 2010; 1,000 euros
- Jens Erik Ambacher, Romin Khan (eds.): «Südafrika. Die Grenzen der Befreiung» (South Africa. The limits to liberation), Assoziation A Berlin 2010; 1,000 euros
- Nadine Müller: «Reglementierte Kreativität. Arbeitsteilung und Eigentum im computerisierten Kapitalismus» (Reglemented creativity. Division of labour and ownership in computerised capitalism), edition sigma Berlin 2010; 1,000 euros
- Mart Busche and others (eds.): «Feministische Mädchenarbeit weiterdenken. Zur Aktualität einer bildungspolitischen Praxis» (Thinking further in the area of feminist work with girls. On the up-to-datedness of educational practice), transcript Verlag Bielefeld 2010; 1,000 euros
- Margot Geiger: «Umkämpftes Territorium. Markt, Staat und soziale Bewegungen in Argentinien» (Competitive territory. Market, state and social movements in Argentina), Westfälisches Dampfboot Münster 2010; 1,000 euros
- Nils Spilker: «Die Regierung der Prekarität. Zur neoliberalen Konzeption unsicherer Arbeitsverhältnisse» (The government of precarity. About the neo-liberal concept of insecure employment situations). Edition Diss 2010; 300 euros













#### FINANCIAL AND CONCEPTUAL SUPPORT: THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

The job of the scholarship department is to support committed and talented students and doctoral candidates from Germany and abroad from all disciplines. The support they receive consists, on the one hand, of a grant, and on the other hand, of comprehensive conceptual support. In the year 2010, a total of 841 scholarship recipients received funding. In line with its principles to compensate for social, genderrelated or ethnic disadvantages, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation favours applications from women, the socially needy, students from non-academic families, from immigrant families or people with disabilities. In line with the support principles, the quota for women was again over 50 percent and the proportion of scholarship recipients from immigrant families was almost 20 percent.

627 students and 141 doctoral candidates were financed by funds from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF), and 63 students and 10 doctoral candidates were supported by funds from the German Foreign Office.

Approximately 80 percent of the students supported by BMBF funds came from socially disadvantaged families of which two thirds received a full grant.

The conceptual support is structured in such a way that it reflects the issues and points of discussion of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, but also deals with the specific needs of the scholarship recipients.

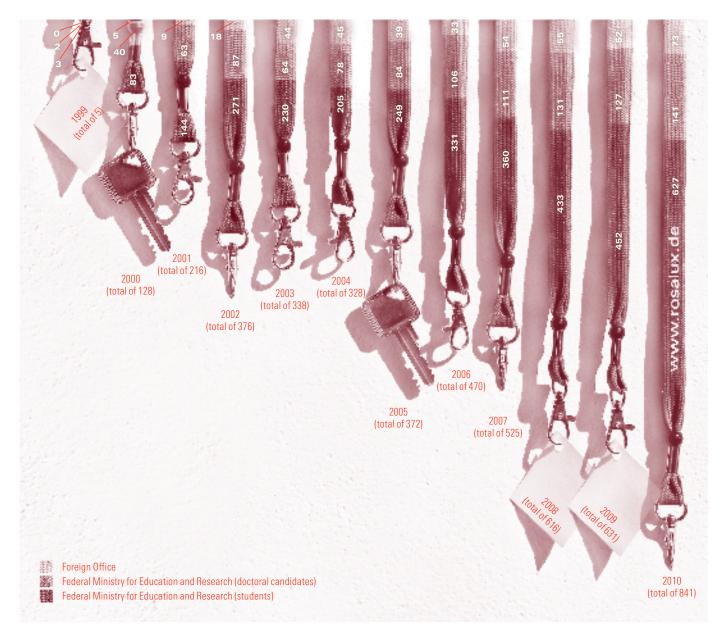
A further important focus is networking. The support programme starts with a two-day introductory seminar in which the new scholarship recipients get to know each other and the Foundation. This get-together gives them the opportunity to make contact with the colleagues from the individual departments.

Two conferences were held on current political issues in 2010. At the largest event of the scholarship department, the summer academy, four systematic workshops were held in 2010 giving participants the opportunity to deal intensively with one topic for two days. The topics to be selected were: Introduction to the critique of the political economy; Social changes as transformation; Non-violent communication; and The Left and the Middle East conflict. The workshops were mainly organised by the staff members of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

This pursued a twin objective: to make the scholarship recipients familiar with the focuses of the Foundation's work and to better integrate the Foundation's members of staff into the support programme for the scholarship recipients, with the added benefit that it also promoted networking.

During the other half of the summer academy, students had the opportunity to attend a workshops dealing with a broad

#### **DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARSHIPS**



range of issues, from aspects within the debate on capitalism to dealing with Hegel's theory. Both the scholarship recipients and the academic tutors participated in a great variety of ways in the Foundation's work, for instance, by giving lectures at events or writing articles for the various publications.

As part of the BMBF support programme for under-represented groups, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation decided in particular to promote students with a non-academic background. This programme, which is called «Lux like Studies» started in the second half of 2010 with the development of concepts, advertising material, application forms and an own programme of events. Seminars were provided as part of «Lux like Studies», in particular, for scholarship recipients with a non-academic background on the issues of empowerment, communication and presentation as well as on university policy, which enjoyed great resonance from the scholarship recipients. **Dr. Werner Abel** Chemnitz University of Technology Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Sabah Alnasseri** York University Toronto Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Georg Auernheimer** Traunstein Education Science

**Prof. Dr. Kurt Bader** Lüneburg University Psychology

**Prof. Dr. Klaus Bastian** HTWK University for Technology, Economy and Culture Leipzig Mathematics

**PD Dr. Johannes Maria Becker** Marburg University Political Science

Dr. Sebastian Berg Humboldt University Berlin Linguistics and Cultural Studies

**Dr. Elisabeth Berner** Potsdam University German Studies

Prof. Dr. Heinz Bierbaum HTW Saarland University of Applied Sciences Law

**Dr. Margrid Bircken** Potsdam University Literature

**Dr. Peter Birke** Hamburg Modern History

**Prof. Dr. Ralf Blendowske** Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences Physics

Dr. Michael Böhme Humboldt University Berlin Agricultural, Forest and Nutritional Sciences

**Dr. Manuela Bojadzijev** Humboldt University Berlin Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Dieter Boris** Marburg University Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand** Vienna University Political Science Prof. Dr. Sabine Broeck Bremen University American Studies and Post-colonial Studies

**Prof. Dr. Christine Brückner** Weimar Education Science

**Prof. Dr. Micha Brumlik** Frankfurt/M. University Education Science

**Prof. Dr. Hauke Brunkhorst** Flensburg University Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller** Hanover University Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Gazi Caglar** Hildesheim University of Applied Sciences Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Volker Caysa** Lodzki University Philosophy

**Prof. Dr. Antonia Davidovic-Walther** Kiel University Cultural Anthropology

**PD Dr. Alex Demirović** Free University Berlin Social Sciences

**Dr. Ina Dietzsch** Bad Soden European Ethnology

**Dr. Jens Dobler** Berlin History

**Dr. Thede Eckart** Marburg University Psychology

**Prof. Dr. Trevor Evans** Berlin School of Economics International Management

**Prof. Dr. Andreas Fisahn** Bielefeld University Law

**Prof. Dr. Peter Fleissner** Vienna University Law

**Dr. Eckart Frey** Magdeburg University Ancient History **Dr. Antje Gebel** Clausthal University of Applied Sciences Earth Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Geier** Klagenfurt University Cultural Studies

Prof. Dr. Ing. J. Mario Geißler Mittweida University of Applied Sciences Computer Science

**Prof. Dr. Jana Gohrisch** Hanover University English Studies

**Prof. Dr. Hans-Gert Gräbe** Leipzig University Mathematics

**Dr. Stefanie Graefe** Jena University Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Andreas Griewank** Humboldt University Berlin Mathematics

**Prof. Dr. Ruth Großmaß** ASH University of Applied Sciences Berlin Social Work

**Prof. Dr. Michael Hartmann** Darmstadt University of Technology Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Arne Heise** Hamburg University Economics and Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Jürgen Helmchen** Münster University Education Science

**Prof. Dr. Fritz Helmedag** Chemnitz University of Technology Economics

**Dr. Andreas Heyer** Braunschweig University of Technology Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Uwe Hirschfeld** HFSA Dresden University of Applied Sciences Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Benjamin Hoff** ASH University of Applied Sciences Berlin Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Rainer W. Hoffmann** GAU University Göttingen Social Sciences

As of February 2011

**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Hofkirchner** Salzburg University Psychology

**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Jantzen** Bremen University Education Science

**Prof. Dr. Holger Jeske** Stuttgart University Molecular Biology

**Dr. Dirk Jörke** Greifswald University Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Werner Jung** Diusburg University Linguistics

**Dr. Olaf Kaltmeier** Bielefeld University Social Sciences

**Dr. Juliane Karakayali** EHB Protestant University of Applied Sciences Berlin Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. habil. Peter Kaufmann** Bernburg University of Applied Sciences Mathematics

**Prof. Dr. Günter Kehrer** Tübingen University Cultural Studies

**Prof. Dr. Mario Keßler** Potsdam University History

**Prof. Dr. Klaus Kinner** Leipzig Modern History

**Prof. Dr. Klaus Kisker** Free University Berlin Economics/Economy

**Prof. Dr. Clemens Knobloch** Siegen University Linguistics

**Prof. Dr. Peter Kosta** Potsdam University Linguistics

**Prof. Dr. Ing. Jürgen Krause** Nordhausen University of Applied Sciences Automation

**Prof. Dr. Ingrid Kurz-Scherf** Marburg University Gender Studies **PD Dr. Friederike Kuster** Siegen University Philosophy

**Prof. Dr. Raminta Lampsatis** Hamburg University of Music and Theatre Musicology

**Prof. Dr. Thomas Lemke** Frankfurt/M. University Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Stephan Lessenich** Jena University Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Manfred Liebel** Berlin Institute of Technology Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Volker Lüderitz** Magdeburg University of Applied Sciences Agricultural Science

**Dr. Stefania Maffeis** Free University Berlin Philosophy

**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Maiers** Magdeburg University of Applied Sciences Psychology

**Prof. Dr. Morus Markard** Free University Berlin Psychology

**Dr. Irina Modrow** Berlin Cultural Studies

**Prof. Dr. Stephan Moebius** Graz University Sociology

**Prof. Dr. John P. Neelsen** Tübingen University Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Frank Nonnenmacher** Frankfurt/M. University Political Science

**Dr. Salvador Oberhaus** Düsseldorf University History

**Prof. Dr. Michaela Ott** HFBK University of Fine Arts of Hamburg Aesthetic Theory

**Prof. Dr. Sabine Pankofer** KFH University of Applied Sciences Munich Social Sciences **Prof. Dr. Lothar Peter** Bremen University Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Martin Pinquart** Marburg University Psychology

**Prof. Dr. Brigitte Rauschenbach** Free University Berlin Political Science

**Dr. Jan Rehmann** New York University Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Ing. Bernd Reichelt HTWK University for Technology, Economy and Culture Leipzig General Engineering Science

**Dr. Axel Rüdiger** Halle University Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf** Kassel University Social Sciences

**Dr. David Salomon** Darmstadt University of Technology Political Science

**Dr. Wolfram Schaffar** Vienna University Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Renatus Schenkel** Magdeburg University of Applied Sciences Journalism

**Dr. Stefan Schmalz** Jena University Social Sciences

**Dipl. phil. Klaus-Dieter Schubert** Halle University Transport and Communications

**Dr. Frank Schubert** Potsdam University Media Studies

**Prof. Dr. phil. Peter Schütt** Mittweida University of Applied Sciences Education Science

Dr. Christian Seipel Hildesheim University Social Sciences

**Dr. Joachim Spangenberg** Versailles University Law **Prof. Dr. Susanne Spindler** Darmstadt University of Technology Sociology

**Prof. Dr. Peter Strutynski** Kassel University Social Sciences

**Prof. Dr. Fritz Tack** Rostock University Agricultural Science

**Prof. Dr. Christiane Tammer** Halle University Mathematics

**Prof. Dr. Patrizia Tolle** Frankfurt/M. University of Applied Sciences Nursing and Health Studies

**Dr. Roman Trötschel** Trier University Psychology

**PD Dr. Christa Uhlig** Humboldt University Berlin Education Science

**Prof. Dr. Roland Verwiebe** Vienna University Sociology

**Dr. jur. habil. Willi Vock** Dresden University of Applied Sciences Law

**Dr. Friedemann Vogel** Heidelberg University Linguistics

**Dr. Rainer Volkmann** Hamburg University Economics/Economy

**Prof. Dr. Klaus Weber** Munich University of Applied Sciences Psychology

**Dr. Michael Weingarten** Stuttgart University Philosophy

**PD Dr. Wolfgang Weiß** Greifswald University Demography

**Prof. Dr. Hans Wienold** Münster University Social Sciences

**Dr. Dietmar Wittich** Berlin Sociology

#### CONFERENCES OF THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

To achieve the goal of establishing a stronger link between the general work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the conceptual support for the scholarship recipients, the scholarship department organised two conferences on the issues of crisis and immigration in 2010. These are two issues which are of central importance in the Foundation's work.

#### **CRITICAL THEORY AND CRISIS**

In April, a symposium was held in Frankfurt/Main on the issue of the Critical Theory of the crisis, which was organised by the scholarship department for scholarship recipients and other interested participants. The lectures and discussions that took place were held against the backdrop of the economic and financial crisis. The aim was to fathom to what extent classical Critical Theory - which was created in the historical context of a fundamental crisis of capitalism - offers sufficient theoretical approaches and terms to explain the current crisis. How relevant is Critical Theory today? Or is it in crisis itself? In order to find answers to these questions, it was important to remember the context in which Critical Theory was developed - which is a three-dimensional one. In the first place, there was the crisis of the labour movement at the beginning of the 1920s, linked to the failed idea of a proletarian world revolution. Secondly, there was the crisis of Marxism which was unable to explain this failure and which reified itself in Marxism – Leninism. Thirdly, it was the crisis of capitalism which led to fascism within a few years. This means that Critical Theory was a theory of crisis from the very beginning. Therefore, the symposium dealt with the question about what understanding of crisis the Critical Theoreticians (Max Horkheimer, Th. W. Adorno and others) have. Is the present financial and capital crisis comparable with the crisis in the first third of the 20th century? Will it lead to similar upheavals? How do people behave in times of crisis? Do crises necessarily entail an increase in social exclusion? Is it a typical side effect that anti-Semitism and racism become stronger in such situations? These were the questions which were disputed in the lectures and discussions. Since the event had a very good resonance, another event is planned for 2012 which will deal with these issues in more depth. However, an anthology on «Critical Theory of the crisis» will be published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin in 2011, which will be edited by the desk officers of the scholarship department Moritz Blanke and Marcus Hawel. This volume shall form the basis for further discussions.



During the conference on «Migration»

#### **GENDER AND MIGRATION**

What have gender and migration to do with integration? This question was dealt with at a conference held in June 2010, which focussed mainly on the political programme of DIE LINKE. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's scholarship department invited participants to Cologne to discuss the relationship between gender and migration with the scholarship recipients and people interested in the Foundation. On this occasion, the Integration Debate was dealt with intensively. Current studies clearly verify that social strata and milieu are the most important indicators of who is «integrated» into the Federal Republic and in which way - and not the so-called «migration background». By emphasising the aspect of migration background, we perpetuate the idea of cultural difference within the language over generations, and we are not able to gain a clear view of the realities within an immigration society. With respect to the realities of Germany as an immigration country in particular, the draft of DIE LINKE party programme still needs to catch up. Looking beyond the issue of current demands, the relationship between immigration and gender must be defined more precisely. However, the questions as to how the Left can contribute to the Integration Debate and whether the concept of integration can be newly defined from a critical perspective remain unsolved. The reason for this is that hegemonic encoding is so strong that the debate quickly ends up being an unwanted discussion about concepts. The central demand here should be that all people living in Germany must have unrestricted political and social rights. Only then can we discuss an integrated society and institutional barriers in an appropriate way.

In 2011, an anthology of lectures will be published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin. The volume will be edited by the desk officers of the scholarship department Jane Angerjärv and Hella Hertzfeldt.

#### ROSALUMNI - AN ASSOCIATION FOR FORMER SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS

The work with and in support of former scholarship recipients of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation started in 2010 with two rhetoric and career-entering seminars. In general, the scholarship department has extended its conceptual support and has offered additional seminars and workshops for current and former scholarship recipients to meet up and exchange ideas. However, the alumni work focussed on establishing an initiative or an association of the alumni themselves. To reach this goal, former scholarship recipients were mobilised to come to the meeting in Hanover in June 2010 which was organised by Moritz Blanke together with a circle of alumni. The aim of the meeting was to draw up a concept and to adopt resolutions. The founding process was carried out in three steps. At the meeting, it was decided in a consensus to establish a registered association. A charter was adopted at the association's founding meeting at the beginning of October. As a third step, the application to register the association was filed in December. The association, which has been registered since January 2011, is called «ROSAlumni – Ehemalige Stipendiatinnen und Stipendiaten der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung e.V.» (ROSAlumni – former scholarship recipients of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation). With this association the alumni want, among other things, to promote an exchange of ideas between the alumni, represent the alumni vis-à-vis the Foundation and the scholarship department, provide consultancy services to the Foundation, establish a solidarity fund and improve the alumni's opportunities through networking with left-wing academics. In addition to the regular members, the association wants to attract supporting members in order to put the association's networking activities and start-up financing on a broader footing.

Workshops and training activities are planned for an extended weekend in August as an outlook for 2011. These constitute an addition to the range of already existing seminars and will take a different conceptual approach than the summer academies. The aim is to provide more in-depth qualifications and improve further training competencies. This «graduation academy» is directed specifically at former Rosa Luxemburg Foundation scholarship recipients or those just about to leave and provides training in group moderation, presentations, networking and rhetoric.

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Alina Treiger in her hometown Poltawa

#### ALINA TREIGER - THE FIRST FEMALE RABBI ORDAINED IN GERMANY FOR 75 YEARS

Alina applied for a scholarship at the Foundation in spring 2009. At that time, she was studying Jewish studies, religious studies and psychology at the Abraham Geiger Institute of Potsdam University in the 8<sup>th</sup> semester and was training to be a rabbi at the same time.

Alina was born in Poltawa in the Ukraine. Her father is a Jew. her mother not. As a child she had hardly any contact with Jewish customs and rites. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Jewish life was also revived in her hometown. She founded a Jewish youth club and began to work with children, something that she still does. She says that, thanks to the Jewish Community of the Ukraine, she had the opportunity to learn about her Jewish roots. However, this was not enough for her. She wanted to study in order to be involved in the activities of Jewish communities later on. She did so, first in Moscow and then in Potsdam, and in November 2010 she was the first woman to be ordained as a rabbi in Germany after 75 years. Today, she works in a community in Oldenburg. There are three other women working as rabbis in Germany, but they have been trained abroad. They all belong to Liberal Judaism which represents a growing wing within Germany's Jewish communities.

What does Alina associate with Rosa Luxemburg and the Foundation? On the one hand, there is the person Rosa Luxemburg, the fighter who did not give up, even in difficult situations and who always encouraged others. This is exactly what is important to Alina, that is, motivating others and helping them to find their place in life. She wants, in particular, to address immigrant Jews from the former Soviet Union, focussing on the young generation.

She thinks that dialogue is an important social responsibility – within Judaism, as well as between religions and far beyond that. This is a task the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is also committed to.

#### **ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY**

In the summer of 2010, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS) presented its ninth finding aid after three and half years of intensive work. This finding aid is dedicated to archived information about «The PDS in the German Bundestag (1998–2002)» and is made up of three volumes. A print version is available, but it can also be accessed online on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's website (www.rosalux.de). This means that the documents of the PDS in the Bundestag from the 14<sup>th</sup> legislative period are available for academic purposes and to interested members of the public; and they are now secured for generations to come. The archival documents of the PDS parliamentary group from the 14<sup>th</sup> German Bundestag to be found in the finding aid in approximately 1,400 directory entries make up a total of 103 metres of files. The ADS received the archiving material in several deliveries from the PDS Bundestag parliamentary group. The materials from the PDS parliamentary group which came into being during the 14<sup>th</sup> German Bundestag are first of all made up of files from the parliamentary group, from the executive of the parliamentary group, and from the management of the parliamentary group and the management. These are mainly the minutes from the meetings of the executive of the parliamentary group, documents from the management of the parliamentary group and the management as well as materials from closed meetings of the parliamentary group, hearings, conferences and other events; documents from parliamentary initiatives such as draft legislation papers, petitions, large and small enquiries, documents on the cooperation in the Enguete commissions and fact-finding committees of the German Bundestag; extensive correspondence with the committees within the Bundestag, with the federal government and citizens, with members of parliament, associations and other organisations; public relations documents such as press releases and other press information. Secondly, the documents consist of files from the following working groups: «Labour, social matters and health», «Finances, budget, taxes and municipality», «Economy, agriculture, the environment, energy, technology, construction, housing and transport», «International politics», «Home affairs and legal policy», «Science and research, universities, media, education, culture and sport», the study groups (and later working groups) «European policy», «Feminist politics» and «The future» as well as the correspondence office, the information and documentation office, the departments for media and public relations

tion office, the departments for media and public relations and various working groups (minutes, papers with theses and standpoints, documents on the subject of parliamentary work, materials from hearings and conferences and other papers, public relations materials, correspondence and the like) as well as documents from the press archive. Thirdly, the material provided included documents from the parliamentary group's «Election archive» and, fourthly, documents from files of the former members of parliament Fred Gebhardt and Gustav-Adolf Schur, who provided so few documents that it did not make sense to establish separate inventories for these. Fred Gebhardt died in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> legislative period. The documents from him mainly consist of reference files and subject files as well as correspondence. From Gustav-Adolf Schur, only correspondence and invitations to events as a member of the Sports Committee of the German Bundestag ended up at the ADS.

The period in which the files were created was 1998 to 2002. Collections of materials and subject files sometimes go back to previous legislative periods. Files of this kind were obviously just continued into the 14<sup>th</sup> legislative period.

#### The heart of the finding aid is the very comprehensive directory section (see illustration).

The directory section is preceded by a foreword outlining the establishment, structures and activities of the PDS parliamentary group in the 14<sup>th</sup> German Bundestag. The foreword also explains the stock of archive material and illustrates how it has been compiled and provides references to other useful sources and literature. In addition to the foreword and the directory section, there are also a table of contents, a list of abbreviations, an index of people and a glossary as well as an annex with overviews of the members of the parliamentary group and its executive, the political speakers and the cooperation with the PDS members of parliament in the different committees and other bodies within the German Bundestag. There are also the CVs of the two members of parliament, which have been integrated into the stock of archived material. More than anything else, the extensive directory of people and the glossary allow the user to carry out research using the stock of material in a targeted manner. The terms used in the index are followed by the archive shelf marks of those directory entries in which the persons or subjects can be found. The finding aid has received positive feedback from the professional world. An extended review of it appeared in the «Mitteilungen des Förderkreises Archive und Bibliotheken zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung» (Notifications of the Society Promoting Archives and Libraries on the History of the Workers' Movement) No. 39 from March 2011. In the review, archive specialist Kurt Metschies, gives particular praise for the «detailed foreword» writing: «The introductory comments with their detailed information about current sources and literature are an excellent aid for the potential user of the archive materials».

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Unterlagen der Sitzung der PDS-Fraktion im Deutschen Bundestag am 14. Dezember 1999

Enthält u.a.: Tagesordnung der Sitzung und Sprechzettel (Protokoli fehttil: - Christa Luft: Wie umgehen mit dem Vorwurf tehlender wirtschaftspolisischer Kompetenz der PDS7 (06.12.1999), - Christia Luhr Roll Nutzmutz: Kleine und mittlere Unternehmen (KSAU) en wetschaftepolitischen Konzept der PUS Gatrag für die wertschaftspolitischen Positionen der PDS+L - Blaro Ulla Lützen Watschaftspolitik. Wohen WohanT - Entwürfe von Anträgen der PDS-Bundestagstraktion zum Jugoslassen-Konflikt und zur Vereinbarkeit von Baruf und Kinderbenerung für Frauen und Männer. - Gesetnenbeurt der Abgeordneten Roll Kutzmutz, Heidemarie Ettert [...] und der Fraktion der PDS: Entwurf eines Geoetzes zur Anderung des Umsetznaumge setzes 108.12.11095. - Gesetzentwurf der Abgeordneten Dr. Evelyn Kander [...] und der Fraktion der PDS: Entwulf eines Gesetzes zur Anderung dat Insolverzordnung (InstAndic) (15.11.1999) - Reiner Outhmain: De PDS-Bundestegsfraktion im Medienechd (14.12.1998).

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Protokoll der Sitzung der PDS-Fraktion im Deutschen Bun

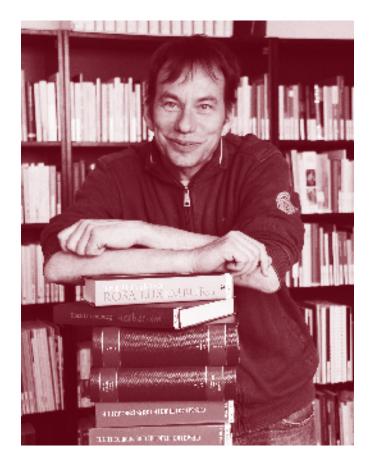
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#### WHAT IS A FINDING AID?

A finding aid is a finding tool in the form of a book. Finding tools is the general term for different research instruments for use in archives, such as handover checklists, card indexes, finding aids and inventory lists. These are designed to make it easier for the archive users to find their way through the archive and the individual archived materials and make it possible to search for information in a targeted manner.

A finding aid generally consists of a foreword, a table of contents with classifications, a directory section (see illustration) as well as an index of persons and a glossary. In addition to the print form, more and more finding aids are becoming available online.

The finding aid is the result of compiling the archive. Compiling here refers to the preparation and provision of the information contained in the archived materials by organising and listing it. This is mostly done with the use of archive software like AUGIAS-Archiv or scopeArchiv, for example.



#### «EVERYTHING LEFT-WINGERS SHOULD KNOW»

### How long has this library existed and how long have you been working here?

**Michel:** The library has been around since 1998 and I have been working here since November 2001.

#### How many books does the library have?

**Michel:** About 37,000 with about 13,000 of them registered in the library system.

#### Where do the books come from?

**Michel:** The library collection first of all came together from donated books and books taken on from other libraries. However, the last ten years have seen a systematic build-up in our stock of books. When we buy books, we include books on «Rosa Luxemburg», «Democratic Socialism» and «DIE LINKE party and its predecessors». In addition, the colleagues from the different areas decide what books should be obtained for their work. We have – exclusive to our collection – all of the final theses written by recipients of grants from the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Another highlight was when we received and took on the entire private library collection of Professor Johannes Agnoli. The library of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is annexed to the Archive of Democratic Socialism. Uwe Michel looks after the books of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

### In only few words, how would you describe the range of subjects included in the library's collection? Michel: Everything left-wingers should know. ;-)

What was the most interesting or most exotic book you have ever held in your hands from the library? Michel: A first edition of «The Accumulation of Capital» by Rosa Luxemburg from 1913.

## What does the library have that is of interest to young people?

**Michel:** Well, we don't actually have a really good section for youth literature, and we could do with some good music and cool films. However, anyone interested in the history of the Left, or just in political goings-on that are updated to the day will find nine newspapers here, various magazines, as well as information and support in any research they need to do for presentations, essays or seminars.

#### What books are borrowed most?

**Michel:** We don't keep exact statistics about that, as we are basically a reference library. Visitors from outside mostly ask about literature by and about Rosa Luxemburg. Many people also come with definite ideas of what they want as they have looked at the list of literature on the internet and are interested in specific titles.

#### Can external visitors also borrow books?

**Michel:** Yes, and people of all age groups come to the library, from school pupils to pensioners. The first edition by Rosa Luxemburg is naturally not for borrowing, but more recent publications can be taken out.

#### As a librarian, what annoys you most?

**Michel:** When I have to tell a visitor that we don't have any current literature on a particular subject.

#### And what is the best thing about your work?

**Michel:** The fact that I have had a nice, intelligent and hardworking colleague for a few months who shares my workload, meaning that I can answer more enquiries with a yes.

Interview: Sabine Nuss



### THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION'S CULTURAL FORUM

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Cultural Forum, which is connected to the two associated foundations, the Hermann Henselmann Foundation (for architecture, urban construction and socially-oriented urban development) and the Max Lingner Foundation (workplace and residential house of the artist in the Berlin district of Pankow, discussion on and information about his works) was able to further develop its profile within the Foundation confederation in the year 2010.

The main focus of the two people working here, Michaela Klingberg and Thomas Flierl, as well as the publicly-funded employees (see below) was dominated in 2010 by the planning preparations and construction support services for the (now completed) restoration of the Max Lingner House, which rendered the house energy-efficient and had to be done in line with the provisions of the protection of historical buildings (with removal and storage of all contents and then moving back in of all art objects and furniture). The annual report for 2011 will contain a detailed article about the entire project, which was reopened on 1 April 2011.

Despite this extra work, the department still managed to complete a great deal of project work in 2010 (see list), which was dedicated to points from our programme such as the politics of remembrance, architecture of the post-war modern, Berlin urban planning and exile culture. Due to restrictions of space, we are only able to mention a few here.

Continuing projects from the past on culture and the politics of remembrance (lecture series 2008/2009), in 2010 (following «Vom kritischen Gebrauch der Erinnerung» (Dealing critically with remembrance), 2009) the second volume of the series was published by dietz berlin, with the title: «Osteuropa – Schlachtfeld der Erinerung» (Eastern Europe – A battlefield of memories), once again edited by Thomas Flierl and Elfriede Müller. The project emerged from the experience that the obsession with remembrance that was prevalent at the beginning of the nineties throughout Europe was a result of the re-emergence of what had long been suppressed and the fact that a common project within society for the future was missing. The strong return to nationalism and ethnicism in the historical and political understanding of the states of Eastern Europe presented European integration with a dramatic challenge, which meant that the existence of a project with a transnational, pan-European or even universal view of history was fundamentally at risk. If we do not take into consideration the disavowal of places of remembrance in Eastern Europe and fail to carry out a structural analysis of the national debates on remembrance, there will not be a European understanding of history. Eastern Europe must not be allowed to continue to be a battlefield of memories.

The exhibition shown by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation initially in the temporary building of the Berlin Building Academy (in July 2009) with the title «Schloss - Palast der Republik - Humboldt Forum. Mitte Spreeinsel in Berlin. Ein Ort historischer Brüche» (Palace - Palace of the Republic - Humboldt Forum. The district of Mitte, Spree island in Berlin. A place of historic fractions) was also shown in 2010 at the Bauhaus University in Weimar and Darmstadt University of Technology. From all of the activities carried out by the Hermann Henselmann Foundation, we want to draw particular attention to the colloquium which took place on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Josef Kaiser. In Berlin's Café Moskau in Karl-Marx-Allee, which has recently been refurbished in accordance with the provisions for historical buildings, the work of one of the most important architects of the GDR Modern was honoured for the first time before almost 200 visitors. Thanks to this and other events, fruitful cooperation has developed in Erkner between the Henselmann Foundation and the Leibniz Institute for Regional Planning and Structural Development, which is to some

#### CULTURAL FORUM

extent the successor of the Institute for Urban Construction and Architecture of the GDR Building Academy. One good political and journalistic outcome of the work of the Henselmann Foundation is the book «Berlin plant» (Berlin plans) which documents efforts made in the past years to overcome the ideological narrow-mindedness in the urban planning of the historical-neoliberal urban planning «Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin», which the CDU-SPD coalition senate approved in 1999 and which, since then, has triggered off controversial debate between modernists and historicists and between east and west. A not inconsiderable role was played here by the fact that the red-red coalition was able to have a corrective influence through Thomas Flierl's involvement in the process in his capacity as the speaker for urban development policy for the left-wing parliamentary group in Berlin's regional parliament. This led to the new senate urban planning paper «Planwerk Innere Stadt», which takes a more open approach to the post-war Modern and towards overcoming a fixation within urban development in the «historical inner city». Due to a legacy from its sponsor, the Max Lingner Foundation has been commissioned with drawing up a catalogue raisonné of the artist's work. Important preparatory work for this catalogue raisonné on the late works in the GDR (1949–1959) was carried out in 2010. A decisive prerequisite for this was the three-year employment (2009-2011) of the historian Barbara Gase through the Berlin programme for employment in the public sector. The Slavist Michael Leetz, who also worked at the Max Lingner House as part of the programme, carried the project on the publishing of the writings left behind by Ralf Schröder, the well-known publisher of avant-garde Soviet literature in the interwar years as well as of Perestroika literature in the last decade of the GDR publishing house «Volk und Welt». He also offered his support at events in the Max Lingner House. Without Barbara Gase and Michael Leetz (and Martin Wolfram, who has now transferred to the Karl Dietz publishing house in Berlin), it would not have been possible to manage the stressful work involved in the moves out of and back into the Lingner House.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Max Lingner Colloquium, «Die Welt der Pariser Wochenzeitschrift Monde» (The world of the Paris Monde journal), which took place in cooperation with the Berlin Academy of the Arts in the Academy building on Hanseatenweg, was directed at an interested public of specialists. While Lingner's work at the weekly journal MONDE, published by Henri Barbusse from 1928 to 1935, has been well documented, the history of the magazine has only enjoyed partial interest until now. The colloquium tried to take a look at the magazine for the first time with a view towards its publishers and editorial teams, the articles published in it, the political conflicts involved and its artistic design, while also attempting to place these within the context of media history and politics.

www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de www.max-lingner-stiftung.de

#### CULTURAL FORUM 2010 LIST OF PROJECTS:

#### PUBLICATION

**OSTEUROPA - SCHLACHTFELD DER ERINNERUNGEN** (EASTERN EUROPE - A BATTLEFIELD OF MEMORIES) Thomas Flierl/Elfriede Müller (Eds.), dietz berlin 2010

#### **EXHIBITION**

#### SCHLOSS - PALAST DER REPUBLIK - HUMBOLDT-FORUM (PALACE - PALACE OF THE REPU-BLIC - HUMBOLDT FORUM)

The district of Mitte, Spree island in Berlin. A place of historic fractions; **Weimar Bauhaus University:** Inauguration on 3 February, Colloquium on 3 March; **Darmstadt University of Technology**: Inauguration on 12 May, Colloquium on 19 May

#### 5<sup>TH</sup> COLLOQUIUM HERMANN HENSELMANN

#### ÜBER DIE GERINGSCHÄTZUNG DES ARCHITEKTEN ALS URHEBER (ON THE DISRESPECT FOR THE ARCHITECT AS AN AUTHOR)

Cultural aspects in dealing with modern architecture Berlin, 19 February 2010, BCC/Alexanderplatz HHS in cooperation with the Berlin Chamber of Architects and Helle Panke – Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Berlin

#### COLLOQUIUM

#### **JOSEF KAISER**

An approach towards the architect on the occasion of his 100<sup>th</sup> birthday; Berlin, 1 May 2010, Berlin, Café Moskau HHS in cooperation with the Institute for regional development and structural planning, Erkner

#### WORKSHOP

#### POLITIK, ÖKONOMIE UND ÄSTHETIK DES ÖFFENT-LICHEN RAUMS (POLITICS, ECONOMY AND AES-THETICS IN THE PUBLIC SPACE)

Berlin, 29 November 2010, Otto-Suhr-Saal HHS in cooperation with the Forum for local policy Berlin

#### PUBLICATION

#### **BERLIN PLANT (BERLIN PLANS)**

Pleading for a planning structure for Berlin's inner city 2.0 Harald Bodenschatz/Thomas Flierl (Eds.), Theater der Zeit

#### **1<sup>ST</sup> MAX LINGNER COLLOQUIUM**

#### DIE WELT DER PARISER WOCHENZEITSCHRIFT MONDE (THE WORLD OF THE PARIS MONDE JOURNAL)

Berlin, 27/28 November 2010, Academy of the Arts on Hanseatenweg; Max Lingner Foundation in cooperation with the Academy of Arts

MAX LINGNER HOUSE EVENT PROGRAMME Refurbishment



- 1 Max Lingner House
- 2 Book «Osteuropa Schlachtfeld der Erinnerungen» (Eastern Europe - Battlefield of memories)
- 3 Flyer Max Lingner Colloquium
- 4 Flyer for the Josef Kaiser Colloquium



### 27.728 NOVEMBER 2010





## JOSEF KAISER EINE ANNÄHERUNG AN DEN ARCHITEKTEN JUS ANLASS SLINES 100. GEJORTS AGES

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#### PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

#### **GROWTH OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**

After years of stagnation, the Foundation has experienced strong growth during the past five years, and will continue to grow until the end of the year. This reflects the success of the party DIE LINKE, to which we are affiliated and which has now firmly established itself in the parliamentary political landscape of the Federal Republic of Germany.

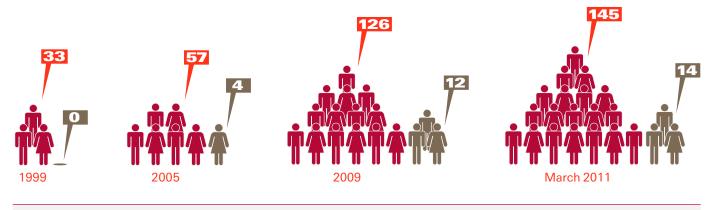
Our staff are generally employed with permanent work contracts, with the exception of the heads of our foreign offices and members of staff who are employed for specific assignments for a limited period of time. In 2011, there will be no involuntary part-time work. Starting in 2010, the Foundation offers training opportunities, which at the moment remain modest.

The work conditions and the remuneration system for our employees in Germany are based on the public service wage agreement (TVöD) and, for our employees abroad, on the industry-wide wage agreement No. 2 for employees of political foundations working abroad (MTV No. 2), which the Foundation entered in 2009.

#### **PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT 1999-2011**

Employees

Heads of foreign offices



Number of	31 December	2008	2009	2010	31 March
total employees		104	126	134	145
of whom	in foreign offices	10	12	14	14
of whom	in regional offices	16	15	15	17
Full-time employees		96	116	125	135

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Employees	53 %	54%	55%	55%
Employees with migration background	8%	10%	11%	11%
Employees with permanent work contracts	85%	82%	84%	82%
Part-time employees	21%	29%	22%	18%

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Trainees	0	0	1	1
Employees as part of the publicly funded employment sector	0	1	2	2
In marginal employment <sup>1</sup>	3	6	8	8
Trainees <sup>2</sup>	8	11	22	8

Average age	46,0
Men	47,6
Women	44,7

1 In line with works agreement, based on TVöD 2 Total over the entire year, remuneration system based on the German Trade Union Confederation and the party DIE LINKE.

### **THE FOUNDATION'S BODIES**

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is, like most of the partyaffiliated political foundations, a registered association. The highest body is the Foundation's general assembly. In the year 2010, the general assembly was held on 13 November. At this meeting, the chairman of the Executive Board Heinz Vietze and the executive director Florian Weis presented the Foundation's rapid development. Our improved financial standing following the successful result of our affiliated party DIE LINKE in the 2009 federal elections forms the basis of our outlook for the coming years.

The increase in funds was accompanied by an increase in the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's obligation to provide politicaleducation work. To meet this demand, the general assembly decided to establish three so-called project umbrellas to channel the thematic work more efficiently in the coming years. The first project «Let's talk about alternatives ... solidarity and justice for a democratic concept of socialism» aims mainly to deal with issues surrounding the question of how to shape this transformation process. The second project «International policy - think international, act local» aims to make it possible to integrate political, economic and social experiences gained in other countries more strongly into our work in Germany. On the other hand, broad, pluralistic impulses from Germany should flow into the international work of the Foundation. Moreover, the third project «Further training for politics» integrates elements of further training which have so far proved successful with elements to be newly created in the field of the Foundation's further training activities for an increasingly heterogeneous target group.

As usual, the debate at the general assembly was very lively, as befits our Foundation's discourse culture. This was also apparent in the subsequent panel discussion about the current standing of the party DIE LINKE. Subjects like government participation or the challenges faced by a media society under the conditions of capitalism were discussed in a combative but very objective way. The general assembly welcomed six new members: Ali Al Dailami (Hesse), Dagmar Enkelmann (Brandenburg), Florian Höllen (Lower Saxony), Jan Korte (Saxony-Anhalt), Ingrid Kurz (Hamburg) and Regina Stosch (Bavaria), thus increasing the total number of active members to 96. A further 11 memberships are dormant (as of the end of 2010). Furthermore, Dagmar Enkelmann as vice chair and Bodo Ramelow were elected onto the Foundation's Executive Board. Gesine Lötzsch resigned according to the Charter following her election as the Federal Chair of the party DIE LINKE, as did Thomas Flierl, who will become the head of the Cultural Forum from 2011.



#### MEMBERS

Ali Al Dailami Dr. Dietmar Bartsch Dr. Peter Bathke Prof. Dr. Günter Benser Christine Buchholz Dr. Joachim Bischoff Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand Dr. André Brie Sandra Brunner Wenke Christoph Gerda Daenecke Sevim Dagdelen Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann Ilsegret Fink Dr. Thomas Flierl Prof. Dr. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt

Claudia Gohde Dr. Bärbel Grygier Dr. Gregor Gysi Thomas Händel Heiko Hilker Heinz Hillebrand Florian Höllen Dr. Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff Dr. Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann Klaus Höpcke Dr. Kurt Hövelmans Dr. Steffen Hultsch Dr. Gerda Jasper Dr. Luc Jochimsen Kadriye Karci Kerstin Kaiser Dr. Sylvia-Yvonne Kaufmann Katja Kipping Dr. Thomas Klein

Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein Jan Korte Prof. Dr. Kurt Krambach Marian Krüger Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski Prof. Dr. Ingrid Kurz Antonia Kühn Oskar Lafontaine Dr. Klaus Lederer Sabine Leidig Prof. Dr. Ingrid Lohmann Dr. Gesine Lötzsch Prof. Dr. Christa Luft Heidemarie Lüth Dr. Helmuth Markov Dr. Peter Marwedel Ulrich Maurer Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek Dr. Hans Modrow Cornelia Möhring

Margret Mönig-Raane Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus Inga Nitz Helga Nowak Dr. Wilfriede Otto Petra Pau Prof. Dr. Kurt Pätzold Dr. Harald Pätzolt Peeter Raane Bodo Ramelow Dr. Sabine Reiner Prof. Dr. Rolf Reißig Prof. Dr. Jörg Roesler Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf Dr. Bernd Rump Dr. Monika Runge Bosiljka Schedlich Norbert Schepers Dr. Birgit Schliewenz Fritz Schmalzbauer

Horst Schmitthenner Christiane Schneider Dr. Ursula Schröter Dr. Karin Schüttpelz Dr. Reinhard Semmelmann Kathrin Senger-Schäfer Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann Dr. Christoph Spehr Prof. Dr. Susanne Spindler Sybille Stamm Regina Stosch Heinz Vietze Vera Vordenbäumen Sahra Wagenknecht Dr. Florian Weis Dr. Dietmar Wittich Dr. Ulrich Wolf Fanny Zeise Ulrike Zerhau

Gabi Zimmer

#### DORMANT MEMBERSHIPS

Dr. Lutz Brangsch Prof. Dr. Michael Brie Dr. Mario Candeias Dr. Cornelia Domaschke Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling Dirk Rumpf Dr. Dieter Schlönvoigt Dr. Marion Schütrumpf Kunze Dr. Jörn Schütrumpf Dr. Jochen Weichold Dr. Evelin Wittich







#### **MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD**

- 1 Thomas Händel
- 2 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann
- 3 Claudia Gohde
- 4 Dr. Sabine Reiner
- 5 Dr. Florian Weis
- 6 Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein
- 7 Wenke Christoph
- 8 Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović
- 9 Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
- 10 Heinz Vietze
- 11 Bodo Ramelow
- 12 Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen
- 13 Peeter Raane

















#### THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, elected by the general assembly for a period of four years, works on an unpaid basis, with the exception of the executive director. Despite this, the work is manifold and labour intensive. Nine members are currently active in the Foundation's Board, in addition to the Chairman of the Board, his Vice Chair, his representative and an executive member of the Board. The Executive Board specifically implements the measures decided by the general assembly. This means that the work of the Board is based on those decisions.

The Board is, however, far from being merely an administrative body. This is guaranteed by, among other things, its interdisciplinary make-up. Three members of the Board are active politicians: Dagmar Enkelmann (parliamentary secretary of the parliamentary group DIE LINKE), Thomas Händel (cochairman of the German Group of the left group GUE-NGL in the European Parliament) and Bodo Ramelow (parliamentary party leader of DIE LINKE in the state parliament of Thuringia). Peeter Raane, as chairman of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation North Rhine-Westphalia, not only represents the regional structures of the Foundation, but also guarantees close cooperation with trade unions. Sabine Reiner, Thomas Händel and Bodo Ramelow also support these and other aspects. Alex Demirović, Dieter Klein and Christa Luft, as well as Stefanie Ehmsen contribute to our work with, among other things, their academic experience. And Claudia Gohde, as manager of the party headquarters of DIE LINKE, guarantees close communication with our affiliated party, and also guarantees constant communication with the scholarship department as a member of the selection committee. Wenke Christoph is particularly active in youth education and in political education in general. Heinz Vietze is Chairman of the Executive Board, Florian Weis performs the function of executive director. The other statutory committees are also integrated in the Board since they act as consultants to the Board. For example, Norbert Schepers and Detlef Nakath participate in the work of the Board for the Council of the Regional Foundations, and Albert Scharenberg and Irene Dölling work for the Scientific Advisory Council. A major event in the year 2010 was the 20th anniversary of the Foundation. The Board initiated and supervised to a large extent preparations for the festivities. Furthermore, the Executive Board participated in developing concepts for the main projects of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, and expended a great deal of time and effort on this task. The members of the Board kept an eye on the ongoing political developments, offering proposals for various education activities. Moreover, Heinz Vietze and Dieter Klein contributed their experience in the political programme development committee of the party DIE LINKE. The negotiations concerning the Foundation's financing in the coming years were far from easy. Above all, the Board's executive director Florian Weis, supported by the Chairman of the Board, Heinz

Vietze and Klaus Meier, Head of Finances of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, took an active part in this process. The work of the Board is crucial for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to function, also in particular, because this is where our constant contact with the party political levels is organised and strategies are considered. By setting the framework for finance and personnel planning, the Board decides the guidelines and organisational alignment which are then further developed by the management and the heads of the structural units.

#### THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

Also in 2010, the Scientific Advisory Council advised the Foundation on important issues and, at the same time, continued its thematic work. The consultancy was mainly connected to the international work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation which was the topic of a separate meeting. Here, the conscientious work reorganising the activities of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) was welcomed, and the Advisory Council offered its further support.

Secondly, the Advisory Council gave advice on the open letter from Barbara Duden and others on the establishment of a feminist institute in the Foundation. Although the members spoke out against the establishment of a separate institute, they explicitly spoke in favour of upgrading feminist and gender-critical expertise, in particular by engaging experts in the field. The Advisory Council welcomed the rapid reaction of the Foundation, that is its plan to create one to two new jobs. Thirdly, a request was made for the Advisory Council to discuss reforming the selection of scholarship recipients. The new regulation, passed by the Foundation's Executive Board at the beginning of April 2011 has been taken up as a central element of the Advisory Council's recommendations.

Fourthly, the Advisory Council completed its evaluation of the «Historical-critical dictionary of Marxism» (HKWM). Three members of the Advisory Council held discussions with those responsible for the HKWM, brought forward proposals for the improvement of their work and put them to the Advisory Council for discussion. The Advisory Council's suggestions were then included in the Board's discussions.

Fifthly, the Advisory Council supported the newly-founded «LuXemburg» magazine. The committee discussed the concept and the realisation several times in a critical but consensual way.

The focus of the thematic discussions, which were once again held in a joint convention with the Institute for Social Analysis, was placed on the development of the economic and financial crisis since 2008, and here in particular on the cultural patterns of interpretation of the crisis. This discussion will be further deepened in the course of the current year, and linked with questions of socialist transformation policy. The death of Prof. Dr. Jörg Huffschmid in December 2009 was a serious loss for the Advisory Council.

#### MEMBERS OF THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

**Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe**, born 1941, Professor em. for Political Science at Marburg University, co-publisher of the magazines «Sozialismus» und «Z – Zeitschrift marxistische Erneuerung», member of the Board of «wissentransfer», main fields of activity: trade union and worker movement, Marxist theory, international political economics, and European integration

**Prof. Dr. Irene Dölling,** born 1942, Professor em. for Women's Studies/Sociology of Gender Relations at Potsdam University, main fields of activity: theory of personality, cultural theory, sociology of gender relations, transformation processes in Eastern Germany.

**Prof. Dr. Frigga Haug**, born 1937, Professor em. for Sociology at Hamburg University of Economics and Policy, Chair of the «Institut für kritische Theorie» (InkriT), co-publisher of the magazine «Das Argument» and of the historical-critical dictionary of Marxism, member of the Scientific Advisory Council of Attac, main fields of activity: Marxist theory, women and feminism, labour, interventive social research.

**Prof. Dr. Kornelia Hauser**, born 1954, Professor for Feminist Social and Cultural Sciences at Innsbruck University, main fields of activity: educational sociology, social self-relations, sociology of literature.

Dr. Axel Troost, born 1954, economist, member of the German Bundestag, managing shareholder of the PIW Progress-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH, Bremen/ Teltow, member of the IG Metall metalworking and engineering union, member of Attac, member of the Federation of Democratic Scientists and of the Förderverein gewerkschaftliche Arbeitslosenarbeit e.V., co-founder of the «Wahlalternative» and later member of the Managing Federal Executive Board of the association «Wahlalternative Arbeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit», board member of the Wolfgang-Abendroth-Stiftungsgesellschaft e.V., main fields of activity: financial market policy, trade unions.

**Prof. Dr. Michael R. Kraetke**, born 1949, Professor for Political Economics at Lancaster University, UK, and director of the Institute for Advanced Studies, co-publisher of various magazines (SPW and others) and series of books (Historical Materialism), main fields of activity: political economics, Marxism, anti-capitalism.

**Prof. Dr. Stephan Lessenich**, born 1965, Professor for Sociology with focus on Comparative Social and Cultural Analysis at Jena University, member of the editorial board of «Prokla», member of the Scientific Advisory Council of Attac and of the Basic Income network, main fields of activity: theory of the welfare state, social policy, political sociology, comparative social analysis.

**Prof. Dr. Birgit Mahnkopf**, born 1950, Professor for European Social Policy at the Berlin School of Economics and Law, member of the Scientific Advisory Councils of Attac Germany, the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) and the Working Life Research Centre, Vienna, main fields of activity: globalisation, European integration, informal economy and industrial relations.

**Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer**, born 1949, Professor for Political Science at the John F. Kennedy Institute of the Free University Berlin, main fields of activity: American and comparative policy, urban policy, social movements.

**Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus,** born 1946, Historian, senior employee of the complete edition of the works of Marx and Engels (MEGA), Chairman of the Scientific Council of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony, main fields of activity: modern history, history of social thinking and social movements, editorial studies.

**Prof. Dr. Rolf Reißig**, born 1940, Political and Social Scientist, co-founder of the Brandenburg Berlin Institute for Social Studies (BISS), member in the Willy Brandt Kreis, visiting scholar at the FU Berlin, main fields of activity: social transformation, developments of players, political control concepts. **Prof. Dr. Birgit Sauer**, born 1957, Professor for Political Science at Vienna University, main fields of activity: theory of the state and democracy, governance and gender, comparative gender policy research, multiculturalism.

Dr. Albert Scharenberg, born 1965, Political Scientist and Historian, editor of the «Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik», lecturer for many years at the Free University Berlin, member of the labour committee of the «Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie», 1996–2008 member in the Board of Trustees of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, main fields of activity: German history, history and policy of the United States.

**Dr. Sylka Scholz**, born 1964, Research Assistant at the Institute for Sociology at the Dresden University of Technology, member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the magazine «Frauenforschung und Geschlechterstudien», focus of her research work: gender relations in East Germany and Eastern Europe, masculinity research, media and politics, qualitative methods.

**Dr. Thomas Seibert**, born 1957, Philosopher and Ethnologist, assistant of «medico international», activist in Attac and the «Interventionistische Linke» (IL), focus of his work: political philosophy (Marxism, Existentialism, Deconstructionism).

**Dr. Franziska Wiethold**, born 1946, Sociologist, consultant and secretary for many years at the trade unions IG Metall and HBV/ver.di, member of the ver.di Federal Board until 2005, current vice chair of the coordination office of the unemployment initiatives of the trade unions, main fields of activity: precarious working conditions, normal working conditions, discourse of justice, strategies of trade unions.

Dr. Axel Troost was confirmed as a new member of the council by the general assembly of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. He is a member of the German Bundestag and of the «Memorandum Group».

### THE DISCUSSION GROUPS IN THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

Initiating dialogues is one of the main aspects of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's work. To meet this goal, special bodies have been established within the Foundation environment to pursue this approach more efficiently. These socalled discussion groups mainly include volunteers with very different backgrounds. However, they have a common interest in certain thematic fields and it is these shared interests that form the basis for the discussions that take place in the working groups.

In the year 2010, there were 17 active discussion groups in and around the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Their discussions focussed on the relationship between working time and leisure time, the current developments in extreme right-wing movements or approaches for sustainable ecological development. Politicians, scientists, journalists and many people with other professional or academic backgrounds talked about the first steps for a European Labour Code, analysed the relationship between parties and social movements or discussed the development perspectives for rural areas. The discussion groups' broad range of issues also included a debate about analysing historical processes.

This kind of participation allows the people who cooperate voluntarily to think about existing structures, but, above all, to introduce issues to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's political education work and to decide on the contents of this.

The open, discourse-oriented atmosphere in the discussion groups makes it easy to attract experts who can also become involved in other Foundation activities. This means that the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's discussion groups play an important role in networking within the left-wing political environment. The day-to-day working methods do not rigidly pursue a set pattern, but are determined by the members and coordinators of the respective group. As a rule, the discussion groups meet three to four times a year and send information about the topics they have dealt with per mailing list or publish details on the thematic web pages on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation website.

Although the discussion groups are free to determine their centre of focus, at all times they deal with the needs of society and these themes, when relevant, are taken directly on board by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation with special focus on a certain aspect.

As an example, the discussion group on sustainability gave important impulses to the international energy conference «power to the people». An event organised by the discussion group on economic policy also took up the energy issue during the run-up to the conference and established a link between this and the consequences of continuous economic growth and the exploitation of resources. Last but not least, the discussion group on philosophy and education focussed on the challenges of Robert Havemann's concept of ecological socialism.

The discussion groups see themselves not as a «talking shop», but aim to produce output. This means the working results for the year 2010 not only included contributions to conferences, exhibitions and discussion forums, but also a range of publications. The most prominent example was the article «The autumn of the angry citizen» which was edited by the discussion group on parties in the «Papers» series. It sheds light on the willingness of people to demonstrate in the different federal states.

Looking back to the year 2010, the discussion groups developed very well. However, there are still potentials to discover. This is another reason why the discussion groups are not elitist circles and new members are always very welcome.

#### **DISCUSSION GROUPS**

**Parties and social movements** Cornelia Hildebrandt, phone 030 44310-168

**Privatisation network** Rainer Rilling, phone 030 44310-129

**Precarisation** Mario Candeias, phone 030 44310-179

**Economic policy** Sabine Reiner, phone 030 40369561138

**Women and politics** Eva Schäfer, phone 030 44310-133 Evelin Wittich, phone 030 44310-140

**Working and living** Rosalind Honig Contact: Axel Krumrey, phone 030 44310-468

Migration Tobias Pieper

**Political education** Dieter Schlönvoigt, phone 030 44310-147

Rural areas Kurt Krambach

**Sustainability and regional development** Evelin Wittich, phone 030 44310-140

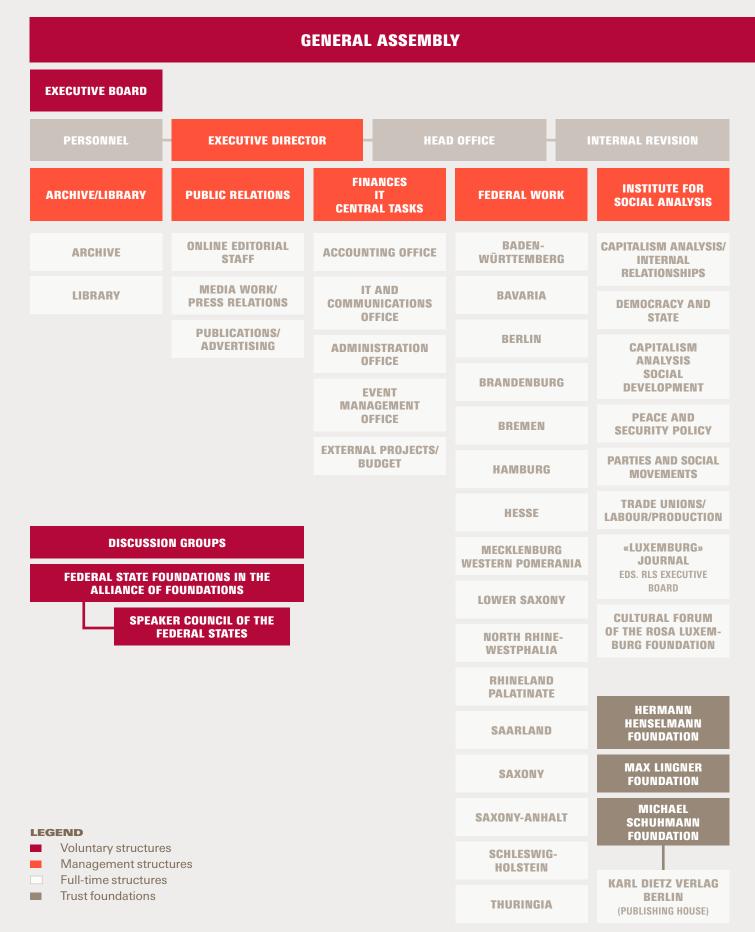
Philosophy and education/ Academic colloquium Klaus Meier, phone 030 44310-145

**Cultural Forum** Thomas Flierl Contact: Michaela Klingberg, phone 0162 2011042

**Peace and security policy** Erhard Crome, phone 030 44310-165

**Neo-nationalism and structures/ideologies of unequality** Friedrich Burschel, phone 030 44310-183

**History** Bernd Hüttner, phone 0421 3909620 RLS-Regionalbüro Bremen



### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

DATA PROTECTION OFF	ICER OF THE ROS	WORKS COUNCIL SA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION	
ACADEMY OF POLITICAL EDUCATION	SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT	<b>CENTRE FOR INTERI</b> REGIONAL OFFICES	VATIONAL DIALOGUE REGIONAL OFFICES ABROAD
EUROPEAN POLICY	PROMOTION PROGRAMME		RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA/ CAUCASUS MOSCOW
HISTORY POLICY	ALUMNI WORK	REGIONAL OFFICE EASTERN, CENTRAL AND SOUTH EUROPE	EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE WARSAW
GENDER RELATIONSHIPS	EDUCATION POLICY		SOUTH EAST EUROPE BELGRADE
INTERNATIONAL POLICY	SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME «LUX LIKE STUDIES»		SOUTHERN AFRICA Johannesburg
YOUTH EDUCATION	ACADEMIC TUTORS	REGIONAL OFFICE AFRICA	WEST AFRICA DAKAR
LOCAL POLICY	OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION		<b>EAST AFRICA</b> DAR ES SALAAM
MIGRATION	SELECTION COMMITTEE WORKING GROUPS OF SCHOLARSHIP DECIDIENTS	REGIONAL OFFICE	<b>ISRAEL</b> TEL AVIV
SUSTAINABILITY	SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS WORKING GROUPS OF SCHOLARSHIP	MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA AND TURKEY	PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES Ramallah
POLITICAL MANAGEMENT	RECIPIENTS		MEXICO/CENTRAL AMERICA/CUBA MEXICO CITY
POLITICAL ECONOMY		REGIONAL OFFICE LATIN AMERICA	SOUTH AMERICA SAO PAULO
POLITICAL FURTHER TRAINING			ANDEAN REGION QUITO
RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM			VIETNAM HANOI
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY		REGIONAL OFFICE ASIA	<b>CHINA</b> BEIJING
YOUTH EDUCATION NETWORK OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION			SOUTH ASIA NEW DELHI
ERIK NEUTSCH FOUNDATION		REGIONAL OFFICE EU, OECD,	EUROPEAN UNION BRUSSELS
HARALD BREUER FOUNDATION		NORTH AMERICA, UNO	UNITED NATIONS/NORTH AMERICA New York

#### THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is the political foundation affiliated to the party DIE LINKE. Like other party-affiliated foundations, it is primarily funded from the federal budget. Funds are allocated by the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA), and from the Federal Bundestag Administration. A prerequisite for a political foundation to receive such funding is that it must represent a significant and long-term intellectual and political current within society. The German parliament decides which criteria to use when allocating funds to political foundations. In political practice, the indicator used to measure a political current's permanence and importance is that the party affiliated with the foundation must have been represented in the German Bundestag several times and at least once with enough seats to be officially recognised as a parliamentary party.

Since our affiliated party DIE LINKE was returned to the German Bundestag with the required number of seats in 2005, there has been a gradual increase in annual contributions from the Federal Ministries. The objective is to guarantee all party-affiliated foundations receive equal treatment.

In the «joint declaration», adopted in 1998, the party-affiliated foundations voluntarily committed themselves to guaranteeing the transparency and reliability of the granting of funds and their allocation. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is also a signatory to this declaration.

The largest funds come from the BMI (so-called general funds), the BMZ, the BMBF and the AA. The general funds are thus the main source of funding for political education in Germany as well as for the maintenance of the offices. The funds provided are used to conduct seminars, conferences and colloquia, to purchase teaching resources and to award commissions for socio-political research projects, especially in the area of educational research.

With the help of funding from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Foreign Office, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation maintains a network of international relations. This includes financing international offices and projects with partner organisations as well as events abroad. The grants from the BMBF are provided to finance scholarships for highly talented students and PhD candidates. Besides these federal funds, the party-affiliated foundations are also able to use funds from the regional government budgets. In the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's association of foundations, these resources are used by the ten regional associations.

The Foundation must fulfil its statutory responsibilities, with its organisation and personnel remaining independent of its affiliated party, and is not permitted to grant any financial funds to this party.



The annual contributions are allocated to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation based on grant notifications, that contain ancillary clauses to ensure that the funds are used for specific purposes and that these are monitored.

As a political foundation, we are obliged to have our accounts audited annually by an independent auditing company. For the financial year 2009, the auditor confirmed that the general funds from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the administrative support of other ministries had been allocated efficiently and prudently as stipulated in the legal regulations and that all the conditions had been met. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation maintains a controlling procedure that is suitably equipped and staffed to ensure and check that financial contributions are allocated promptly and correctly.

#### **ASSET AND LIABILITY STATEMENT AS OF 31 DECEMBER 2009**

Assets		31 December 2009 in euros	31 December 2008 in euros
A	Fixed Assets		
I	Intangible Assets		
	Computer Software	202,071.00	18,200.00
11	Tangible assets		
	Furniture and fixtures	424,995.00	265,328.34
	Total fixed assets	627,066.00	283,528.34
В	Accounts receivable and other assets		
	Total accounts receivable	776,759.95	484,048.63
С	Liquid assets		
	Total liquid assets	869,496.46	794,581.11
D	Prepayments and accrued income	0	0
	Total	2,273,322.41	1,562,158.08

Liabilities

31 December 2009 in euros 31 December 2008 in euros

Α	Net assets		
I	Previous year	493,233.12	341,752.80
	Surplus/deficit	291,226.37	151,480.32
	Net assets	784,459.49	493,233.12
В	Advances and contributions from donations		
	Intangible assets	202,071.00	18,200.00
	Tangible assets	424,995.00	256,109.34
	Total advances and contributions	627,066.00	274,309.34
С	Accrued Liabilities		
	Other provisions	158,831.40	49,464.80
D	Liabilities		
I	Accounts payable	432,306.14	386,757.15
	Other liabilities	8,817.58	9,335.76
	Federal grants	45,771.16	22,146.00
	Total liabilities	486,894.88	418,238.91
E	Deferred income	216,070.64	326,911.91
	Total	2,273,322.41	1,562,158.08

#### **PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT AS OF 31 DECEMBER 2009**

		2009 in euros	2008 in euros
l.	Revenues	27,377,837.79	22,098,821.24
1.	Federal grants	27,267,457.90	22,025,338.93
2.	Donations	25,343.42	10,750.14
3.	Other income	85,036.47	62,732.17
II.	Expenses	27,086,611.42	21,944,139.35
	Means for statutory activities	18,833,597.73	15,186,078.72
	of which for conferences and seminars	559,988.96	487,081.85
	for publications	507,953.26	484,236.73
	for research projects	243,877.96	180,831.59
	for the transfer of general funds	729,579.88	691,014.13
	for funding students and postgraduates	4,893,475.21	3,866,697.23
	for international cooperation	11,376,782.99	9,110,660.29
	other	521,939.47	365,556.90
	Staff costs	6,327,065.61	5,188,750.47
	Administrative costs	1,455,319.01	1,407,139.31
	of which for operating expenses	328,204.31	266,243.80
	other	1,127,114.70	1,140,895.51
	Investments	470,629.07	162,170.85

#### INCOME IN THE YEAR 2010 (PROVISIONAL)

I.	Income in euros	30,479,846.02
1.	Grants	30,302,186.89
	Federal Ministry of the Interior	6,661,252.00
	Independently generated revenues BMI, previous year	466,070.64
	Federal Ministry of Education and Research	6,426,987.68
	German Bundestag Administration for international parliamentary internships	42,064.00
	Foreign office scholarships	526,442.62
	Foreign office projects	864,495.39
	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	15,314,874.56
2.	Donations	12,590.38
3.	Membership fees	10,504.22
4.	Other revenues	154,564.53

#### **EXPENDITURES IN THE YEAR 2010 (PROVISIONAL)**

#### II. Expenditures in euros

1.	Staff costs	-7,685,750.13
a)	Wages and salaries	-6,503,966.95
b)	Social security contributions	-1,181,783.18
2.	Administrative costs	-1,550,870.43
2.1	Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables	-347,055.35
	Network, software and system support	-197,055.92
	Agency fees	-35,700.00
	Maintenance fees and repairs	-24,774.84
	Office and consumable supplies	-29,732.18
	Rented equipment	-31,143.18
	Tools and small appliances	-4,599.93
	Books/teaching materials	-8,535.25
	Purchases up to 150.00 euros	-15,514.05
2.2	Operating and maintaining land and structural facilities	0.00
2.3	Other administrative costs	-1,203,815.08
	Costs for premises	-562,400.17
	Contributions and other duties	-41,666.92
	Work of third parties – contracts for work – administration	-83,628.70
	Advertising/ads	-44,011.59
	Promotional/entertainment costs	-10,292.50
	Travel expenses	-173,364.84
	Third party vehicles/courier service	-7,344.79
	Further training costs	-37,471.37
	Postal fees/telephone/Internet costs	-83,865.75
	Magazines/books/media	-32,826.81
	Legal consultancy/auditor/accounting	-74,604.90
	Other expenses	-52,336.74
3.	Investment expenses	-155,738.41
4.	Specialist expenses	-19,451,169.36
	for conferences and seminars	-543,922.16
	for publications	-527,454.98
	Research projects	-203,393.24
	Other specialist expenses	-253,903.86
	International projects	-12,083,031.85
	Programmes for students and postgraduates	-5,639,202.32
	Promotion of students in Germany	-5,145,056.01
	Promotion of students abroad	-453,470.62
	International parliamentary internships	-40,675.69
	Conceptual support of scholarship recipients	-200,260.95
5.	Transfer of general funds	-825,757.38

#### NOTES:

In the year 2010, general funds for political and democratic educational work were transferred to the following associations and foundations:

- Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative Bremer Forum für Bildung, Gesellschaftsanalyse und -kritik e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hamburg Forum für Analyse, Kritik und Utopie e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e.V.

- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hessen, Forum für Bildung und Analyse e.V.
- Kurt-Eisner-Verein für politische Bildung in Bayern e.V.– Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein werkstatt utopie und gedächtnis e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e.V.
- Max-Lingner-Stiftung
- Helle Panke e.V. Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation received additional construction funds (357,000 euros) as part of the Economic Package II of the Federal Government for the energy-conserving and historically authentic restoration of the Max Lingner House. Revenues and expenditures are included in the reports of the dependent Max Lingner Foundation. The construction work was successfully completed in spring 2011.

#### TOTAL OVERVIEW OF ALL REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES, EXPECTED IN THE BUDGET 2011

#### Revenues

Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	9,306,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research	7,047,187.96
Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for international parliamentary internships	16,919.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	22,135,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for projects	1,365,435.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for scholarships	754,000.00

#### **Expenditures (extract)**

Staff costs	7,100,000.00
Administrative costs	2,500,000.00
of which for investments	250,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees)	30,381,000.00
of which education programme	3,500,000.00
of which scholarships	6,830,000.00
of which projects of international cooperation	20,051,000.00

#### PHOTOS:

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- P. 63: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
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#### **PUBLISHING DETAILS**

Responsible in the sense of the press law: Sabine Nuss Translation: ECHOO Konferenzdolmetschen Design: Heike Schmelter, Nicole Lemm Overall production: MediaService GmbH Druck und Kommunikation, Berlin

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All data and figures are current as of December 2010, unless otherwise indicated.

«I believe that, historically, our task will not be as easy as it was for the bourgeois revolutionaries, who simply had to topple those at the centre of the official power structures and replace them with a few or a few dozen new men. We must work our way up from below.»

**ROSA LUXEMBURG**