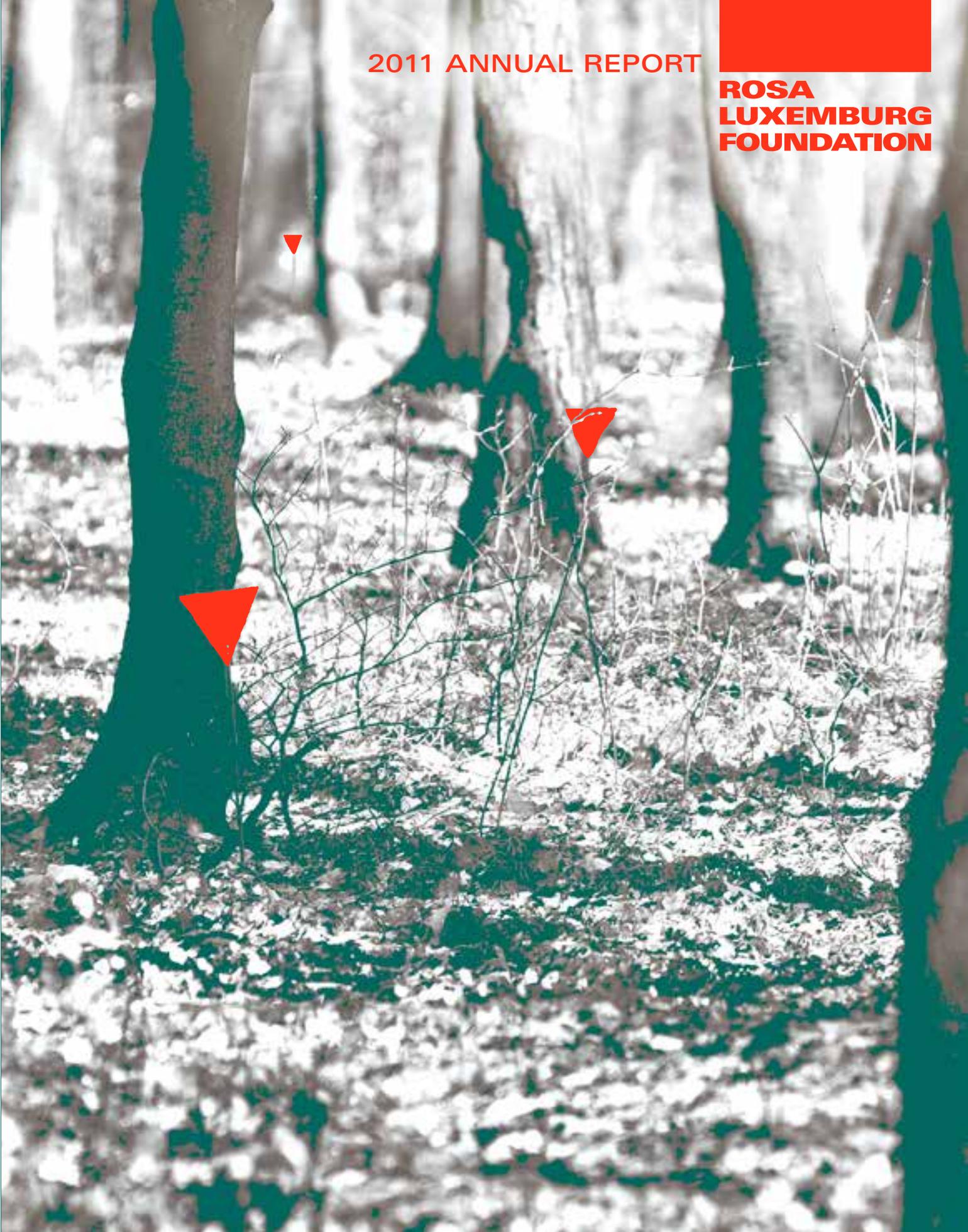


2011 ANNUAL REPORT

**ROSA  
LUXEMBURG  
FOUNDATION**



**2011 ANNUAL REPORT**  
OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

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## EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

Crises without end. In 2011 and, as it seems, even more in 2012, «crises» have many countries, especially those in southern Europe, in their grip. What began as a banking, financial and, in part, housing crisis, has long since become a social crisis and is increasingly developing into a crisis of democratic institutions.

With hardly another publication in recent years has the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation received such resonance as it has with its argument brochure ««Sell Your Islands, You Bankrupt Greeks». Twenty Popular Mistakes in the Debt Crisis». Many new editions and updated versions of the brochure have since appeared (««Cheating Greeks Are Destroying the Euro» – The Best-Loved Misconceptions of the Debt Crisis») and English and Greek translations, audio versions, etc. have also been published. With this new format of the «luxemburg arguments», the Foundation pursues the goal of providing Leftist interpretations of current topics that are the subject of wide media coverage – which we regard as too one-sided – in a more compact form. Prevailing arguments serve as our point of departure, and these are then commented on and corrected.

The multiple, interconnected crises that go far beyond the economic sphere endanger the development of a democratic and social Europe in a way that has not existed since the creation of the European unification process. Nationalism and racism – let us just remember the series of murders by the terrorist «National Socialist Underground» – but also less overt, yet growing prejudices challenge a Leftist educational and analytic institution like the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. For us, the issue here is to provide alternative interpretations of crises, as well as to search for transformational alternatives to an increasingly unstable capitalist model.

Since 2011, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has had more funds available to support both its national and international work. Based on this situation, in 2011 the Foundation's managing board decided to open new offices in Egypt – to serve North Africa – and in Turkey. Preparations for offices in Tunisia – to serve East Africa – and in North America, as well as at the UN, are progressing, so that these offices can officially open next year. Thanks to extra funding from the Foreign Office, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation can now expand its efforts in Greece, and, in particular, cooperate there with trade unions, local politicians and Leftist actors in the civilian population.

The analytical and educational work of the Foundation and the foundations of the federal states also experienced a quantitative and thematic expansion. In 2011, the foundations within the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation staged nearly 2,500 events



in Germany, attracting close to 100,000 participants. On the following pages, these events and projects will be presented; the focus will be on events and projects that deal with questions of history and the politics of remembrance, as well as the field of historical and biographical education, which the Foundation has been intensely pursuing for the last decade. In 2011, the Foundation was able to expand and systematize its work in three further fields – migration, labor and trade unions, and gender relations – that will be explored at the Academy for Political Education and at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis in cooperation with the state foundations, discussion groups, academic tutors and scholarship holders. Like other sponsors of political education, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is also faced with the challenge of appealing to various target groups in an increasingly differentiated society with, at times, divergent worlds. We are now also exploring educational and networking efforts appropriate to a digital world, as well as experimenting with more services for and with people who have not undergone classical academic or organization-related political education and experiences, since we already provide consistently compelling forms of these. As the foundation affiliated with the political party DIE LINKE, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is dedicated to a pluralistic, democratic, and «mosaic Left». In addition, it is now a fully equal partner in the circle of other party-affiliated foundations. This is also evident in the common positions of the political foundations regarding questions of national and international educational activities. The work of all German political foundations – be they publicly supported, dedicated to common rules of play, publicly controlled with regard to the use of funds but politically independent, or politically independent with regard to government and party actions – remains a model for a pluralistic democracy that is not glued to existing political debates, but which, through education and analysis, objectifies these and allows divergent but equally valid opinions within the democratic spectrum to be expressed.

In this spirit, in July 2011, the chairmen of the political foundations presented a position paper to Interior Minister Hans-

Peter Friedrich on the political education activities in Germany that have been developed jointly by the relevant sections of the foundations, whereby the main responsibility lay with the director of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Academy for Political Education, Evelin Wittich. The foundations unanimously formulated the following principle:

«The aim of the educational work of the political foundations is to provide citizens with values and an orientation framework based on the political movements in Germany, and with basic information about political topics and the decision-making process, as well as to communicate political tools, and, above all, to enable and encourage citizens to assume socio-political responsibility. The political foundations base this on a comprehensive understanding of education: Professional, continuing and political education should be equally promoted by the government, because a democracy needs politically educated citizens!»

In light of recent developments in Egypt, in February 2012, the German Bundestag unanimously adopted a motion which states the following:

«Political influence on the projects of the foundations by the federal government does not take place. The work of German foundations is independent and subject only to the law and the foundations' own guidelines.»

The need for such independent and transparent foundation work exists, especially in Germany and Europe, because of the declining voter turnout and a general «crisis of representation», sometimes described as «post-democracy», which also affect, to an increasing extent, the Federal Republic of Germany and the EU. What is needed is not less democracy in favor of a more expedient decision-making process, but rather more democracy in the context of social justice and international solidarity in Germany, in Europe and globally – this remains a key challenge for the future work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

**HEINZ VIETZE**  
Chairman of the Executive Board

**DR. FLORIAN WEIS**  
Executive Director

## 140 YEARS OF ROSA LUXEMBURG

On March 5, 1871, Rosa Luxemburg was born as Rozalia Luksemburg in the Russian town of Zamość, now part of Poland. On the 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her birth, the first volume of the English edition of her work «The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg» was published. In March 2010, Verso Books, the largest English-language Leftist publishing house, presented, together with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and other cooperation partners, this volume of letters at events in London and New York.

### ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION IN LONDON

At the Swedenborg Foundation in London, the famous British playwright David Edgar, together with the actress Harriet Walter, the feminist Susie Orbach and the co-publisher Lea Hero, presented the new volume. Although the event attracted considerable interest, it was surpassed on March 8<sup>th</sup> in the London Review Bookshop, a meeting place for intellectuals and authors. On International Women's Day, inside the packed bookshop, Nina Power, a renowned feminist in the 1980s, and Lisa Appignasi, a prominent representative of the younger generation of feminists, debated from their different perspectives on Rosa Luxemburg. Excerpts from Luxemburg's letters were read, the relationship between the British and German labor movements was discussed, as were Luxemburg's significance for today's Left in Europe and solidarity in light of the current financial and economic crisis.

On March 9, the Birds Eye View Film Festival, which only presents works by women, opened with Margarethe von Trotta's film about Rosa Luxemburg; the filmmaker's comments on her work were sympathetically received by the public. The director of the film festival referred to the first volume of the English edition of the work at the event. These three events in London were covered by the press in detailed articles. *The Observer* named one article «Red Rosa, a thinker for our troubled times», and the *Guardian* dedicated a major article, «The revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg», to her life and political work. Even *The Times* reported on Luxemburg's 140<sup>th</sup> birthday.

### EVENTS IN NEW YORK

The English edition of the book was presented again on March 14 at the event «The Life, Letters and Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg» at New York University. More than 100 people listened to contributions given by Vivek Chibber, Joshua Clover, Barbara Ehrenreich, Katrina vanden Heuvel, Peter Hudis, Annelies Laschitzka, Paul Le Blanc, Katha Pollitt and Helen C. Scott. The event was sponsored by Verso Books, the Rosa Luxemburg



The works of Rosa Luxemburg were honored in book presentations in London (photo) and New York on the 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her birth

Foundation, NYU's department of sociology and the German Book Office in New York.

Also in New York and shortly thereafter, the Left Forum took place, which also focused on Rosa Luxemburg in a panel discussion on March 16. «Rosa Luxemburg's Legacy» was the topic of the podium discussion that included Suzi Weissman

(chairwoman), Stephen Eric Bronner, Scott McLemee and Paul Le Blanc.

Judging by the reception of the events in London and New York, «The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg» and the subsequent volumes of the English edition will find an interested readership.



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In April 2011, an exhibition dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg, which had previously been presented in Moscow, Warsaw, Brussels, Luxemburg, Mexico, São Paulo and Beijing, was shown in Salzwedel's Citizens' Center. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation presented the exhibition together with the local group «Jenny Marx».

## **FOCUS: THE POLITICS OF HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE**

### **READING TOURS: POLITICS OF REMEMBRANCE**

The examination of the German past and the responsibility of the Germans, as well as of the German Left, has been one of the most important topics to attract significant public interest since the establishment of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. In 2010, at the Foundation's General Assembly, an explicit demand was made for the continued, steady and responsible historical-political examination of such issues. To this end, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation organized two national reading tours in 2011, during which two historical studies, «The Foreign Office and the Past» and «The Death Marches 1944/45», were presented and discussed. Thanks to the exceptional involvement of many state foundations, it was possible to obtain several important local partners to help with the preparation and implementation of the reading tours.

The Buchenwald survivor Jorge Semprun has remarked, with reference to the book «The Kindly Ones» by Jonathan Littell, that in 50 years collective remembrance of the Holocaust will no longer be based on the works of historians, but rather on literature. This may be true in general, but the discussion about the book «The Foreign Office and the Past. German Diplomats in the Third Reich and in the Federal Republic» allows for another conclusion: The book by the four historians Eckart Conze, Norbert Frei, Peter Hayes and Moshe Zimmermann will most likely not have been forgotten in 50 years.

### **THE FOREIGN OFFICE DURING THE NAZI ERA**

Since its publication in late October 2010, the final report by the Historical Commission on the Foreign Office's involvement in Nazi policies of violence and destruction has been causing considerable waves. The weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* had the following to say about the controversy over the book: «One aspect of this dispute will not change. «The Foreign Office and the Past» has achieved a great deal with regard to historical-political enlightenment. The critical view of the commission, therefore, was necessary because it was only in this way that the interpretative routine, which inevitably affects research on the subject, could be overcome. On this basis, the future comprehensive history of the Foreign Office and of 20<sup>th</sup> century German foreign policy will have to describe the complex constellation between dictatorship and democracy: not just as the history of diplomacy, but also as part of a mental and social history of the German elite. Conze, Frei, Hayes and Zimmermann should, therefore, once again react, within an academic framework, to the detailed review, thereby fur-



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Moshe Zimmermann, born 1943, professor of modern history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and director of the Koebner Center for German History, is a cooperation partner of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Germany and Israel. The Foundation organized readings of his book «Deutsche gegen Deutsche. Das Schicksal der Juden 1938–1945» (Germans against Germans. The Fate of the Jews 1938–1945), published in 2008. In addition, the Koebner Center and the regional office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Tel Aviv organized a joint symposium in November 2010 on the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of German unification.

thering the work – also as an impulse for other historical commissions on the Nazi past, as in the case of the Federal Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Finance, and, it is to be hoped, more such institutions as soon as possible.»

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was able to get one of the book’s authors and publishers, Professor Moshe Zimmermann, to participate in the readings and discussions. In cooperation with the Karl Blessing Verlag in Munich, publishers of «The Foreign Office and the Past», the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation organized a reading tour, which took place in two stages in January and February 2011, and in nine events in Berlin, Erfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, Kassel, Kiel, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Potsdam, reaching a total of 1,100 listeners.



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Daniel Blatman, born in Israel in 1953, is the director of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has published numerous works on the history of Polish Jews and the Shoah.

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## DEATH MARCHES

In October 2011, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Rowohlt Verlag organized a reading tour with the author of the book «The Death Marches 1944/45. The Last Chapter of Nazi Mass Murder», published in early 2011. For his study, the historian Daniel Blatman of Jerusalem’s Hebrew University reviewed material about the death marches for a decade. He waded through SS, Wehrmacht, and police documents and studied deportation lists, court records and newspapers in archives from Warsaw to Washington. The findings are impressively clear: «The closer the war came to a close and the more conspicuous the presence of the prisoners became among the German population, the more German civilians participated in it [mass murder]».

Approximately a quarter of a million concentration camp inmates died on the death marches in the last months of the war. It was not just members of the SS or Wehrmacht soldiers who were responsible for these acts of barbarism. It was, for example, a pure manhunt; members of the Volkssturm and Hitler Youth worked hand in hand with «respectable [German] citizens» who, on April 8, 1945, four days before the arrival of the Allies, in the North German town of Celle mobbed, shot

and killed about 300 concentration camp prisoners who were exhausted and demoralized by weeks of forced marches in the freezing cold. Following American bomb attacks, the prisoners had fled from burning freight cars into a wooded area. It was here that they were executed. A similar action took place three days later in Lüneburg.

In Gardelegen near Magdeburg, hundreds of prisoners from various camps also came to a horrific end. In addition to policemen, members of the Volkssturm and guard units, many civilians armed with hunting rifles were used to guard the prisoners as they entered the town. As allied troops were advancing on Gardelegen, the prisoners were herded into a barn, which was then set on fire; only 25 prisoners survived the inferno, while more than 1,000 of them were burned alive.

The topic of death marches is relevant both from an academic and a collective-remembrance, political point of view because it permits differences of opinion, particularly with re-



Festive tribute to the director of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation office on April 17, 2011 in Warsaw

gard to comparative genocide research that examines which factors influence mass murder and genocide and which prevent or enable it. Daniel Blatman, for instance, regards the anti-Semitism in the German population as merely a motive for the crime of the death marches, while for Daniel Goldhagen, author of «Hitler's Willing Executioners», the death marches are a central piece of evidence for his thesis of «eliminationist anti-Semitism» in the German population.

Nearly 500 people came to the book presentations in October 2011 in Berlin, Bonn, Bremen, Bremervörde, Celle, Dresden, Halle/Saale, Hamburg, Lübeck, Oranienburg, Saarbrücken and Weimar. The events were received with special interest when the politics of remembrance or disputes about the remembrance of state crimes committed during the Nazi period met with specific local experiences or particularities. The readings were most successful in places where active and experienced partners in the field of remembrance policy were already established. This was especially the case in Lower Saxony and Oranienburg, where the readings took place in cooperation with the memorial sites Bergen-Belsen, Sandbostel and Sachsenhausen.

The active cooperation with a series of state foundations and project partners on site proved especially beneficial. The existing or newly established contacts should definitely be maintained by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the state structures. Several state foundations had published their own flyers and event posters for their reading station, as was the case in the Saarland, North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

#### **DISTINCTIONS IN POLAND**

In April 2011, in the Jewish Theater in Warsaw, Joanna Gwi-azdecka, the director of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Warsaw office, was awarded the «Warsaw Ghetto Uprising» Medal of Honor. The occasion was the 68<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, which began on April 19, 1943, and was brutally suppressed only after weeks of fighting.

The award is presented by the Jewish Resistance Fighters and Victims Federation to people who stand up – in speech and writing – against manifestations of xenophobia, nationalism, and anti-Semitism.

#### **ROLL CALL TOWARDS CITY HALL**

Two hundred forced laborers died during the Nazi era in the Röchling Works in Völklingen in the Saarland. In December 2011, the victims' names were called out in the direction of the city's town hall. The Peter Imandt Society and cooperation partners called for this unusual form of remembrance. The action was explained on a poster: «In remembrance of the men and women buried in the Völklingen Cemetery who, upon orders of the industrialist Hermann Röchling, were kidnapped from their hometowns and died at Röchling's iron and steel factory through excessive work, hunger, abuse and typhus». Black balloons, each bearing the name of a victim, were also released as a sign of mourning. With this commemorative act, the city council was asked to rename a district in the city that has been named after the convicted war criminal Hermann Röchling since 1956. In 2012, the city council will make a final decision regarding this case, but it is not certain that the majority of the council will vote in favor of this. Many older residents of Hermann Röchling Heights retain the traditional view that Röchling was not an industrialist like the others, but popular and socially-minded. Additional educational work regarding the fascist period is necessary.



With black balloons, the citizens of Völklingen remember the slave laborers who died in their city during World War Two

### PROJECT FUNDING WITH A FOCUS ON THE POLITICS OF HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE

As part of project funding, in 2011 the Foundation funded 46 projects related to history, contemporary history and the politics of remembrance.

- Conference «Before the Memory is Lost. Special Opportunities for Survivor Organizations to Preserve and Pass on the Memories of Concentration Camp Survivors», Lagergemeinschaft Ravensbrück/Freundeskreis e.V., 750 Euros
- Traveling exhibition «The Third World in the Second World War», recherche international e.V., 5,000 Euros
- Editorial work on selected letters of Clara Zetkin, Marga Voigt, 5,000 Euros
- Book publication «Social Democrats and Communists in Thuringia, 1918 to 1949», Stefan Kachel, 1,000 Euros
- Book publication «The Finally Discovered Political Form. Factory Councils and Self-Management from the Russian Revolution to the Present», Dario N. Azzellini, 3,000 Euros
- Documentary film ««Le Chaim! – To Life». A Portrait of Eva Vater», Frank Olias, 1,000 Euros
- Anti-fascist festival on the occasion of the 66<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the liberation from fascism, VVN-BdA Berlin, 500 Euros
- «DHM Post-Colonial», critical audio guide about the history of German colonialism in the German Historical Museum, Dörte Lerp, initiative «Colonialism in the Box», 500 Euros
- «Involvement for a Just World and for the Dignity of the Victims of the Nazi Military Justice System», a conference on the occasion of Ludwig Baumann's 90<sup>th</sup> birthday, National Association of Victims of Nazi Military Justice, 2,500 Euros
- «Witness of the Genocide», panel discussion and press conference with representatives of the Herero and Nama on the occasion of the return of Namibian remains by Berlin's Charité, Berlin Postcolonial, 500 Euros
- Book publication «Political Violence and Justice at the End of the Weimar Republic», Johannes Fülberth, 500 Euros
- Research work «Hugo Geissler, Arno Weser and Friedrich Dachsel. Gestapo Officials from Dresden», Siegfried Grundmann, 500 Euros
- Digital interactive commemorative book on the victims of Nazism in Wuppertal, Association for the Promotion of Research on Social Movements in Wuppertal e.V., 750 Euros
- Resetting of the manuscript «The End of the SED. The Final Days of the Central Committee», Christoph Links Verlag, 2,500 Euros
- Transcription, processing and final editing of an interview with Reinhard Strecker about coming to terms with the Nazi past in the Federal Republic of Germany, Gottfried Oy, 3,500 Euros
- Research for the exhibition «German Anti-Fascists in Soviet Exile», Anja Schindler and Ingeborg Münz-Koenen, 9,000 Euros
- Brochure on resistance against the Nazi regime in the Berlin armament factory Askania, Bärbel Schindler-Saefkow, 1,500 Euros
- Brochure «70 Years Ago: The Invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's Germany. The Beginning of the Great Patriotic War. Facts – Events – Evaluations», Berlin Society for Fascism and World War Two Research, 750 Euros
- Documentary film «Audre Lorde – The Berlin Years, 1984 to 1992. The Wonderful Arithmetic of Differences», Dagmar Schultz, 1,000 Euros
- Book publication «Perpetual Beginning», an autobiography by Ralf Schröder, Edition Schwarzdruck, 1,000 Euros
- Book publication «Memories of and for Germany. Dresden and February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1945 in the Remembrance of the Berlin Republic», Henning Fischer, 500 Euros
- Work on the publication of the correspondence between Käthe and Hermann Duncker, Heinz Deutschland, 2,000 Euros
- Translations for the conference association «European Protest Movements of the 1980s», Mieke Roscher, 500 Euros
- Texts from the estate of Hans-Jürgen Krahl, transcription and online publication, Helge Buttkeireit, 500 Euros
- Research work on the resistance activities of Ilse Stöbe in the Foreign Office during the «Third Reich», Sabine Kebir, 3,000 Euros
- Conference «Berlin as a Place of Action and Remembrance in the Life and Words of Klaus Schlesinger», Jan Kostka, 1,000 Euros
- Biography of the gay musician and concentration camp victim Willi Heckmann, Klaus Stanjek, 1,000 Euros

- New edition of Richard Müller's «A History of the November Revolution», Ralf Hoffrogge, 1,450 Euros
- Book publication «The Early Shift. The History of Leftist Factory Intervention after 1968», Jan Ole Arps, 700 Euros
- Book publication «Lea Grundig as President of the Association of Fine Artists in Germany (1964–1970)», Oliver Sukrow, 500 Euros
- Day of Remembrance and Commemoration – In Remembrance of Hiroshima 2011, Friedensglockengesellschaft Berlin e.V., 410 Euros
- Exhibition «Work Does not End at Closing Time. Working Writers in the Cultural Houses of the GDR», Schreibart e.V., 750 Euros
- Radio play «Levitan – The Voice of Russia», Günter Kotte, 500 Euros
- Research and concept development for the book publication «Shalom and Alefabet. The History of Berlin's Jewish Secondary School», Dirk Külow, 1,000 Euros
- Editing of the manuscript «Mass Strike and the Order to Shoot. General Strike and the March Struggle in Berlin 1919», Dietmar Lange, 1,000 Euros
- Exhibition concept «Willi Münzenberg – Communist Politician and Publisher in Turbulent Times», Uwe Sonneberg, 3,000 Euros
- Development of the archival holdings on the «Aryanization» in Lower and Upper Silesia, Wolfgang Dreßen, 1,000 Euros
- Translation of the German edition of «Anti-Fascist Germans in Barcelona (1933–1939)», Dieter Nelles, 1,000 Euros
- The Golden Book of Committed Progressive German Athletes on the Internet, Verein Sport und Gesellschaft, 500 Euros
- Conception for a travelling exhibition «The Children of Golzow», Verein Golzower für Golzow e.V., 3,000 Euros
- Manuscript preparation «The Academy of the Agricultural Sciences of the GDR. Chronicles and Documents», Siegfried Kuntsche, 3,000 Euros
- Research and documentation on Hermann Fiebing, District President of Stade (1924–1964), Anja Röhl, 1,000 Euros
- Translation from the French of «Hugo Geissler. From Dresden Storm Trooper to Commander of the Security Police in Vichy», Siegfried Grundmann, 1,700 Euros
- Documentary film «To Remember Means to Live», Heidi Munck, 1,000 Euros



Visit to the Mauthausen Concentration Camp as part of the promotion of memorial work

### **BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS**

The discussion group «History for the Future» at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has set out to promote continuing education in the field of remembrance teaching. In 2011, following related courses for teachers and multipliers of youth education in Poland and the Czech Republic, an educational seminar took place – in cooperation with the German Mauthausen Committee East (DMK Ost) and the «Association of Social Democrat Freedom Fighters, Victims of Fascism and Active Anti-Fascists of Upper Austria» – at the Mauthausen Concentration Camp.

The focus of advanced training in the field of «Holocaust education» and memorial education in international comparison is the question of how the remembrance of history and responsibility for the future can be taught to the young generation without being able to rely on conversations with historical witnesses.

An important role will be played by history projects at schools. In 2008 and 2010, students from Germany and Poland worked together on the exhibition «Alive in Death. Remembering Means Taking Action». The exhibition sees itself as an «exhibition in progress». A new, nationwide project is based on this: In cooperation with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and DMK Ost, until fall 2013, students will be conducting research on the biographies of former Mauthausen prisoners from their area, with each student researching one victim.

**ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION PUBLICATIONS  
ON THE POLITICS OF HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE**

FOUNDATION SERIES

Gerhard Engel

**JOHANN KNIEF - EIN UNVOLLENDETES LEBEN**

Geschichte des Kommunismus und Linkssozialismus, Bd. XV  
(Johann Knief – An Unfinished Life. The History of Communism and Leftist Socialism, Vol. XV)

Hans Coppi, Stefan Heinz (eds.)

**DER VERGESSENE WIDERSTAND DER ARBEITER**

GEWERKSCHAFTER, KOMMUNISTEN, SOZIALDEMOKRATEN,  
TROTZKISTEN, ANARCHISTEN UND ZWANGSARBEITER  
Geschichte des Kommunismus und Linkssozialismus, Bd. XVI  
(The Forgotten Resistance of the Workers. Trade Union Members, Communists, Social Democrats, Trotskyites, Anarchists and Forced Laborers. The History of Communism and Left Socialism, Vol. XVI)

Lydia Hermann

**IN DER VERBANNUNG**

KINDHEIT UND JUGEND EINER WOLGADEUTSCHEN  
(In Exile. The Childhood and Youth of a Volga German)  
Text No. 69, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Klaus Kinner (ed.)

**LINKE ZWISCHEN DEN ORTHODOXIEN**

VON HAVEMANN BIS DUTSCHKE  
(The Left between the Orthodoxies.  
From Havemann to Dutschke)  
Text No. 71, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Klaus-Detlef Haas, Dieter Wolf

**SOZIALISTISCHE FILMKUNST. EINE DOKUMENTATION**

(Socialist Cinema. A Documentation)  
Manuscript No. 9, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Eva Schäfer, Bärbel Klässner, Helga Adler,  
Astrid Landero (eds.)

**FRAUENAUFBRUCH '89**

WAS WIR WOLLTEN – WAS WIR WURDEN  
(The Women's Departure '89.  
What We Wanted – What We Became)

Manuscript No. 92, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

SPONSORED PUBLICATIONS

**ROSA LUXEMBURG - DIE LIEBESBRIEFE**

(ROSA LUXEMBURG – THE LOVE LETTERS)  
Edited by Jörn Schütrumpf

Moritz Krawinkel

**DIE SCHLACHT AM JARAMA**

ZWISCHEN GESCHICHTE UND GEDÄCHTNIS  
(The Battle at Jarama. Between History and Remembrance)  
With an introduction by Arno Lustiger

Jan Korte, Dominic Heilig (eds.)

**KRIEGSVERRAT**

**VERGANGENHEITSPOLITIK IN DEUTSCHLAND**

ANALYSEN, KOMMENTARE AND DOKUMENTE EINER DEBATTE  
(Wartime Treason. The Politics of Remembrance in Germany.  
Analysis, Commentaries and Documents of a Debate)

Wladislaw Hedeler (ed.)

**JOSSIF STALIN ODER: REVOLUTION**

**ALS VERBRECHEN**

(Jossif Stalin or: Revolution as a Crime)

Helmut Seidel

**VORLESUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE**

**DER PHILOSOPHIE**

(Lectures on the History of Philosophy)



## **THE LEFT IN CRISIS: WHAT DOES IT MAKE OF IT?**

«Without a story, every battle is lost». With this quote by the Italian writers' collective, Wu Ming, Dieter Klein began his lecture at the first transformation conference of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Institute for Critical Social Analysis in October 2011. His vision: «Imagine that the Left finds its story of a better world and the way to it – and people listen. Imagine, people feel: This is our story. Imagine, they are able to make it come true!»

Dieter Klein's lecture is one of few attempts to link together the many stories of the Left in a novel way. Social change that comes from «below», from within society, liberating and uniting, does not take place from without; from the many movements against the injustices and humiliations, the futility and absurdity of modern capitalism, its obvious and gradual destruction of the world and people, one story of these stories emerges. Society must give space to the oppressed and repressed, it must connect the possible with what is not yet possible, and it must liberate energy for organization.

### **COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY**

At the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's General Assembly, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis was given the task of conducting socialist transformation research under the conditions of the extensive social crisis caused by financial market capitalism.

The research has many aspects; above all, however, it is a contribution of critical, Marxist, feminist, Leftist-inspired social analysis that goes uncompromisingly to the root of things. It begins with the analysis of many individual struggles, many concrete projects, many efforts to organize and reorganize. To this end, in 2011 the Institute initiated the project «Let's Talk about Alternatives ... In the Spirit of Solidarity and Justice – for Democratic Socialism». This took place in cooperation with people and organizations that advocate a publicly funded employment sector, free local public transportation, energy cooperatives and making seeds a common good («fair trade»). Discussion partners also included proponents of the concept of «energy democracy», a fair transition to alternative energy sources, and a new, largely public financial system. Other partners were representatives of a new and more social approach to architecture and construction in a diverse and livable «city for all», and groups that campaign for the renewal of the foundations of common property and its expansion.



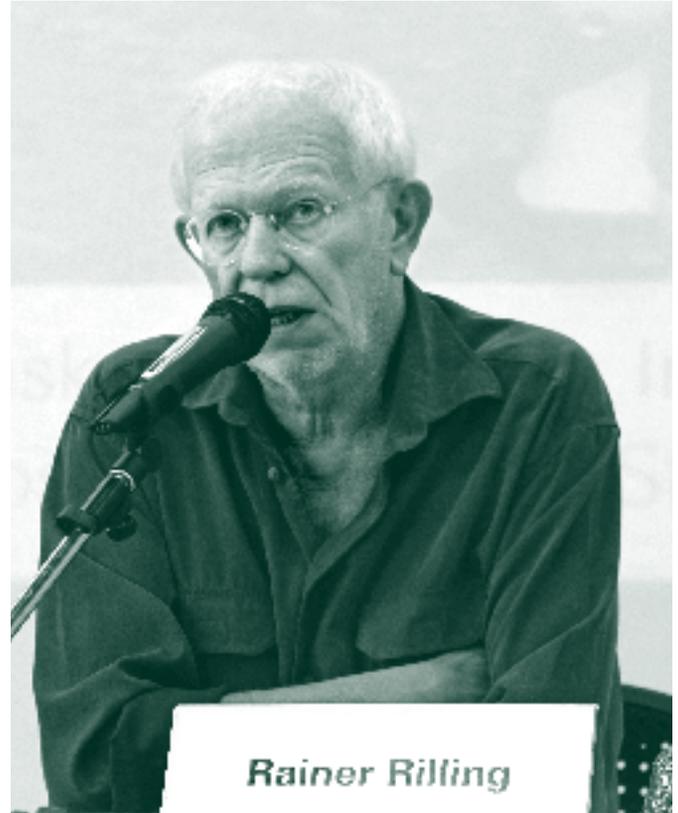
Discussion about socialist change at the first International Transformation Conference in Berlin

## CRISIS SCENARIOS

Efforts last year also focused on a detailed analysis of the crisis' concrete progression. Many are still paying for a crisis that is not «theirs». They neither caused nor profited from neo-liberal policies – from the privatization, deregulation and destruction of the welfare state's principles of security – but, rather, were their victims. The state of the education system and the social security system, the divisions in the labor market, the divergence of stagnant wages and the rising wealth of the upper classes are all evidence of these policies. The Institute for Critical Social Analysis developed a series of additional scenarios of the further course of the crisis and put these up for discussion. We assume that the dominant block is split mainly between the proponents of a restrictive authoritarian neo-liberalism and green capitalism based on neo-liberalism. We compared the potentials of both options. Dangerous transitions to another de-civilization of capitalism are just as likely as a social-libertarian «Green New Deal». Based on these options, the Left must develop an independent and radical realpolitik of social-ecological transformation, and must continue to oppose militarization, authoritarianism, social division, further environmental degradation and global warming while always looking for allies and being open with them should the opportunity for a change of political direction arise.

## CONFERENCE «TRANSFORMATION IN CAPITALISM AND BEYOND»

At the international conference «Transformation in Capitalism and Beyond» in October 2011, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis posed itself the task of developing the foundations for socialist transformation research. At the beginning of the conference, Rainer Rilling of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis explained: «Future work for the Left is substantial. Its key political role is to unite a sense of reality with a sense of the possible (Musil) and to find the real in the possible and the



«Future work for the Left is substantial», Rainer Rilling of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

realistic in the possible without losing the realistic in the possible and the possible in the realistic».

At the conference, more than 200 participants discussed a «second great transformation» (Rolf Reißig) and a critical concept of transformation (Ulrich Brand), the role of decisive events (Alex Demirović), the positioning of Leftist policies on the sensitive «ruling nodes» (Frigga Haug), as well as the role of communist socialism in capitalism (Michael Brie). Based on the capitalist financial market crisis, the scenarios of how to handle this crisis were discussed (in contributions by Radhika Desai, Mario Candeias and Richard Rosen), and these became the basis of a debate about Leftist policies of redistribution, transformation, democratization and solidarity, with contributions by Richard Detje, Gabriele Winker, Michael Thomas, Christina Kaindl, Lutz Brangsch, Judith Dellheim and others. In conclusion, Beverly Silver, Wolfgang Küttler and Erhard Crome discussed the period between the genesis of capitalism and its transformations throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**LET'S TALK ABOUT ALTERNATIVES**

Dictators thrive on fear and the lack of alternatives. Margaret Thatcher got to the heart of this when she said: «There is no alternative». Yet talk of a lack of alternatives lost its persuasiveness in the global economic and financial crisis. A new global culture of protest emerged – in Tunisia and Cairo, Athens and Madrid, New York and Santiago de Chile, Frankfurt and Berlin. The discussion about alternatives has reopened. The Foundation participates in this discussion and the message of its project is «Let's Talk about Alternatives ...». This debate about alternatives is based on four cornerstones:

- Alternatives begin with redistribution – of work, money and power, property and time;
- Redistribution is the prerequisite for a social and ecological restructuring of production methods and life in society.
- Changing course in the interest of the 99 percent can only take place through democratic means, regardless of whether this concerns the Euro crisis or the supply of energy. Policies can no longer be negotiated behind closed doors, but must become more transparent.
- The principal of solidarity applies to all of this: We have to solve our problems in such a way that the problems can also be solved by the weakest members of society, the global south and subsequent generations.

Equitable redistribution, social-ecological transformation, democratic redirection, comprehensive solidarity – together, these four cornerstones constitute a real U-turn in the political dictates of the global economy. They constitute the real chance of which the protests from Cairo to New York spoke: the possibility of a self-determined life led in dignity and solidarity for everyone. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has announced its own contribution to a new narrative of the Left in 2011.



The congress «Beyond Growth?!» was met with great interest

**BEYOND GROWTH**

Organized by Attac with the Rosa Luxemburg, Friedrich Ebert, Heinrich Böll and Otto Brenner Foundations, the 2,500 visitors of the congress «Beyond Growth?!» held in Berlin in May 2011 agreed: We can no longer continue with business as usual if our planet is to remain inhabitable. This is the reason for the many global protests against the projects for growth by those in power. Alberto Acosta, a prominent guest of the Foundation, reported on Latin American experiences. His statement prompted a sharp yet productive debate on the criticism of the «neodesarrollismo» (a re-launched development paradigm) and «extractivismo» (focusing on the exploitation of natural resources).

There was agreement that a fundamental socio-ecological transformation is needed, but there were significant differences regarding the steps people believed were needed to achieve this. This demonstrated how quickly deep rifts can form between ecologically oriented movements and organizations like trade unions, and how the mutual attribution of

POSITIONS 34/2011

Dieter Klein

**THE FOUR PILLARS - CONTEMPLATIONS ON A CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE FOR THE LEFT**

About the possible benefits of the term narrative for an alternative social project by the Left

POSITIONS 38/2011

Institute for Critical Social Analysis

**AN OPEN HISTORICAL SITUATION**

Conflict lines – scenarios – intervention possibilities



sweeping generalizations can inhibit understanding. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation participated in the organization of the event with 30 employees, presented more than 25 speakers, 42 program contributions and contributed a large portion of the funding. The congress was given broad media coverage, which ranged from TV news and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* to alternative media projects. The largely positive response, both among the participants and in the media, demonstrates the continuing explosiveness in Germany of this important debate concerning the future, and possible end, of growth. The Foundation will address these issues more intensely in the future and, in so doing, place the role of specific alternatives at the forefront.

John Holloway at the Humboldt University in Berlin as part of the «Luxemburg Lecture»



Perspectives of emancipation were passionately debated in the Literature Forum of the Brecht House in Berlin

«LUXEMBURG LECTURES»

«Luxemburg Lecture» is a format of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis and the Cultural Forum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The «Luxemburg Lecture» series gives internationally renowned left-wing personalities in academia, politics, culture and art, as well as civil society, the opportunity to present their positions on basic contemporary questions. In 2011, five events in this series were held.

MAY 17, 2011

**ENVISIONING REAL UTOPIAS - IN CAPITALISM AND BEYOND**

«Luxemburg Lecture» with the sociologist Erik Olin Wright

JULY 4, 2011

**AFTER CAPITALISM?**

PERSPECTIVES OF EMANCIPATION

THINKING DIFFERENTLY ABOUT THE PROJECT COMMUNISM

«Luxemburg Lecture» with Raul Zelikin in discussion with Gregor Gysi and Wolfgang Engler

OCTOBER 19, 2011

**THE PAIN MAKER**

«Luxemburg Lecture» with Marlene Streeruwitz

DECEMBER 7, 2011

**CRACK CAPITALISM! HOW TO WIDEN THE SPLITS IN, AGAINST AND BEYOND CAPITALISM**

«Luxemburg Lecture» with the political scientist John Holloway

DECEMBER 12, 2011

**WHAT TO DO WITH A CRISIS**

«Luxemburg Lecture» with the literary theorist Michael Hardt

## THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

Within the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the Academy for Political Education is a growing department, also dedicated to learning: 17 people now work there, in addition to numerous interns, in twelve main areas. They develop training programs that aim to meet the diverse and demanding requirements of our target groups.

Particular emphasis is placed on networking. Collegial consultation and joint internal seminars serve the development of new educational materials and formats for interested individuals in the party, Foundation and Leftist movement. About 12,000 people participate in our educational programs each year. A diversity of methods, a freedom from hierarchy that is liberating in approach, radical criticism of prevailing conditions, critical evaluation and solidarity are the parameters of our work and that by which we wish to be measured. Although we are already successful, we wish to do better still. Based on five examples from 2011, the Academy's spectrum of activities is outlined below. These constitute a small part of the Academy's rich and diverse offerings, which are realized in close cooperation with other areas of the Foundation.

### **ZOOM!**

Projects conducted at the intersection of art, culture and political education can open up surprising perspectives. They create unexpected approaches to political issues and appeal to new audiences. But how can art and culture influence ingrained ways of thinking, and what can we learn from this? These questions were posed by the Foundation-wide cooperative project «Wide Angle: Art.Culture.Politics». In September 2011, more than 450 people participated in the unusual and diverse activities of this thematic week.

An exhibition of the work of international artists in the rooms, halls, paternoster, and courtyard of the *neues deutschland* printing and publishing house on Franz Mehring Platz provided the opportunity to engage with different forms of art and culture in the context of political education. A day of continuing education allowed people to see the foundation as a sponsoring and educational institution for innovative project ideas in the field of tension between art, education and politics and animated participants to develop new criteria for their own practices. In cooperation with partners from Friedrichshain, current debates concerning urban development, instability and the struggle for cultural freedoms were addressed as part of the program. «Wide Angle» was based on the results of platforma11, an international workshop week held in Leipzig in September 2011 that was dedicated to artistic presentation as a political field of action.



Art performance as part of «Wide Angle: Art.Culture.Politics»

## FEMINISM AND THE CRITIQUE OF CAPITALISM

ROSA'S SALON is the name of a new series of events developed by the Gender Relations Department and the Foundation's discussion group «Women and Politics». In 2011, as part of this series, three events took place under the heading «Precarious Movements. Feminism and the Critique of Capitalism». In ROSA'S SALONS both established discourses and current facets of the (queer-) feminist critique of capitalism will be explored. In doing this, the Salons consciously overstep the boundaries between politics, science and movements, high culture and pop action. Using interactive methods, the participants come to discuss practical and everyday topics. The special feature of the series is not just its venue, which is the hall of the Magnus Building in Berlin-Mitte; its casual salon atmosphere also allows guests to become acquainted with each other while discussing ideas over wine and appetizers after the official program. For example, one might meet well-known speakers such as Isabell Lorey at artistic performances like the «Pussy Ballet», where capitalistic turmoil was passionately discussed from the feminist perspective. Nearly 300, mostly young people of both sexes attended this successful evening.

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[Video footage on the Youtube channel of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation documents the event series that is made possible only through the voluntary engagement of many gender activists and doctoral scholarship holders.](#)  
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Twenty years ago, attacks on migrants happened almost daily. Those affected by the pogrom in Hoyerswerda spoke about the event in Berlin

## A (NON-)RETURN: HOYERSWERDA REVISITED

Another of the Academy's major events focused on an unpleasant event: the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the racist pogroms in Hoyerswerda. In September 1991, organized neo-Nazis and ordinary residents of Hoyerswerda besieged the apartment building housing refugees and former East German contract workers, finally attacking these to the applause of as many as 500 spectators. Reason enough to reflect on the monstrous events and to recall the time when there were almost daily attacks on migrants and people of color, and to illuminate the developments in a reunified Germany since then. At events organized collectively with affiliated initiatives (apabiz e.V., argumente e.V., autofocus e.V., Pogrom91 Hoyerswerda), Manuel Nhacutou, Emmanuel Gärtner and Emmanuel Agyeman, victims of those racist pogroms, spoke. More than 300 interested people came to the location Südblock in Kreuzberg to demonstrate their respect for those affected back then and listened to these men's current experiences in Hoyerswerda. The three aforementioned Africans were again attacked and insulted by a Nazi mob while visiting the town on the occasion of the anniversary.



Rural development was the focus of a conference on May 13–14, 2011 in Berlin

In addition, the presentation of the anthology «Kaltland» (Cold Land), which included a reading and podium discussion in the Kreuzberg Ballroom in December 2011, attracted a large audience of 120. There is great interest in the topic of racism and Nazi violence and this interest has increased since the revelations concerning the incredible murders of the Zwickau terror cell.

**CONFERENCE «A NETWORK FOR EVERYONE»**

Jointly organized by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the party faction of DIE LINKE in the federal parliament, a network-political conference took place on September 3, 2011 in Berlin’s Beta House, addressing those active in the field as well as a generally interested public. It was conceived of as a critical exchange and attracted nearly 140 people who discussed various topics, including surveillance and data retention, the significance of digital communication in the Arab revolutions, the demand for full transparency and the perspectives of the WikiLeaks project.

Also addressed were the neutrality of the Net and property and power relationships related to the Internet – specifically the DSL service in sparsely populated regions and opportunities for communal self-organization. A number of «virtual» participants followed the events and communicated via live streaming. Feedback was extremely positive: particular praise was given to the networking and cooperation between often very different participants.

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[www.netzfueralle.blog.rosalux.de](http://www.netzfueralle.blog.rosalux.de)  
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**VILLAGE EUROPE**

In mid-May 2011, the Association of Rural Movements in Europe (ERCA) and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation held a two-day international conference in Berlin. More than 200 people from all over Germany, as well as 40 guests from other European countries, participated.

The extensive development of rural space is an important theme in all of Europe. In light of the ongoing migration in many places of populations into the cities, one of the most urgent tasks is to improve the quality of life in rural towns and villages and to preserve their local identity, particularly because of the trend to create larger communities. This can only be achieved by strengthening civil society structures and by expanding forms of direct democracy.

In his opening speech, Staffan Bond, an ERCA board member, described the activities and achievements of the Swedish Village Action Movement. For some time now, 5,000 action groups have worked together on the initiative «Sweden Should Live». Nathalie Franzen of the University of Mainz spoke about the future of rural development from the public’s viewpoint, based on examples in Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate. The lecture by Franz Nahrada of the «GIVE Research Society – Labor for Global Villages» in Vienna was presented via video and focused on the challenge of global cooperation and the networking of rural habitats around the world.

Experiences of practical rural development and the European rural movement were shared in six work groups at seven tables in a «World Café». The atmosphere was perceived as creative and friendly. Spontaneous suggestions were made to organize such meetings regularly, on the model of the biennial «rural parliament» in Sweden, where rural movement players from the entire country meet on an equal footing with politicians and policy makers.

The conference ended with a new beginning: the establishment of an initiative group for the creation of a «German Rural Movement» made up of local activists, men and women from the rural and regional planning agencies, academia and politics.

In preparation for this conference and under the direction of Professor Kurt Krumbach, the discussion group «Rural Areas» of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation had visited a number of «rural parliaments» and published two studies on rural movements.

# KUNST. KULTUR. POLITIK



## WIDE ANGLE: ART. CULTURE. POLITICS.

- 1 Thematic week poster
- 2 Street theater as part of the theme week
- 3 Installations by international artists in the *neues deutschland* building
- 4 Various forms of art and culture were presented

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN THE FEDERAL STATES

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has been active for many years in all 16 German states. An important part of political education there takes place in the form of events, publications and other projects. This work is conducted in close cooperation with the legally independent state foundations: the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Baden- Württemberg, the Kurt Eisner Foundation in Bavaria, 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 and Analysis – Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Hesse, the 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 association workshop utopia & memory – Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Schleswig-Holstein and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Thuringia. In the 16 German states, the Foundation's regional offices can be found in the following cities: Stuttgart, Munich, Berlin, Potsdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Frankfurt on the Main, Rostock, Hannover, Duisburg (located in a new, impressive, centrally located office since December 2011), Mainz, Saarbrücken, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Kiel, Erfurt and Jena.

The balance sheet for 2011 is impressive. Nearly 2,200 events with 80,000 participants were staged in the German states, in close cooperation with the state foundations. Compared to the previous year, this is a significant increase. With its offer of sound and innovative education programs, the Foundation appealed both to the milieu surrounding the party DIE LINKE and to a broad and interested public. The regional offices and the state foundations developed into the contact partners of a pluralistic Left in Germany beyond DIE LINKE. They cooperate with a large number of initiatives, social movements, trade unions, educational institutions and various local politicians. At the local level, so-called Rosa Luxemburg clubs exist in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia and Saxony; elsewhere, often in small communities, there are circles of friends (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania), contact points (Brandenburg, Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt), and education circles that have also emerged as important cooperation partners. Educational work is realized «on site» by these groups, above all in the form of evening lectures and discussions, and increasingly as workshops, day and weekend seminars, conferences, exhibitions and excursions.

The majority of the extensive work in the German states is done by volunteers. The work of the state foundations is financed in part by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (i.e. with



Employees of the regional offices and the branches in a closed meeting in Brussels

federal funds), and with individual funds (i.e. donations and membership dues). In a number of German states, state funds can also be used; this is currently the case in Brandenburg, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. The amount of available state funds varies widely, based on state-specific regulations.

Based on this material and organizational foundation, educational activities will be further developed in the states in the future. The forms of the political educational work will remain diverse, and will include printed and internet publications, discussion and work groups and research activities, as well as the aforementioned event selections.

In 2011, the thematic offerings in the areas of anti-fascism, anti-racism and international politics were very popular in all German states. Events focusing on gender relations and feminism, as well as economic, labor and social policies, were also very popular. The highest number of events – as in previous years – was on questions of history and contemporary history politics.

In Baden- Württemberg, Bremen, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia anti-fascism and anti-racism were given special emphasis. In states such as Brandenburg, North Rhine-Westphalia and Saarland the majority of activities focused on education and scientific and academic policy. In addition, several states organized a range of local government training programs. Many of the events will be organized with other, very different partners, including private agencies, libraries, museums, theaters and other cultural institutions. Fortunately, in recent years, the proportion of women participating in these events has increased to around 40 percent. The proportion of younger participants has also increased. About 30 percent of those who participate in our training courses are under 30. Quite a few events of the state foundations saw themselves as part of cross-collaboration projects. In this context, in 2011, in collaboration with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the state foundations, the 15<sup>th</sup> «Potsdam Colloquium on Foreign and

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An impressive balance sheet: In close cooperation with the state foundations, in 2011 nearly 2,200 events with 80,000 participants took place.

Germany Policy», the «Women’s Summer Academy 2011», the conference «Scrap Nuclear Weapons – Shut Down Nuclear Power Plants – End the War Immediately» and the «8<sup>th</sup> Academy of Journalism, Citizens’ Media, Public Relations and Media Skills BORDERless» all took place.

In January 2011, the sector «Nationwide Work» was established in the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Its mission is to coordinate the cooperation of all Foundation sectors with the regional offices and state foundations, as well as their cooperation with each other. This structural change has already proven its worth in the first year.

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At the end of 2011, a closed meeting of all employees of the regional offices and branches was held in the Foundation’s Brussels office. The foci of this meeting were an analysis of the educational work carried out in 2011, plans for 2012 and subsequent years and the «European Politics Educational Building Blocks» that were developed by the Brussels office and are to be implemented in close cooperation with the sector «Nationwide Work».

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«Stuttgart 21»: the beginning of a new democracy movement?



A two-day seminar explores the topic of transitions in North Africa

**BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG**

**THE PROTESTS AGAINST «STUTT GART 21»**

Did a new democracy movement evolve in Germany as a result of the protests against the rail project in Stuttgart? The answer to this question was sought by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Baden-Württemberg last year in a series of public events that pursued the nationally followed conflict in its democratic-theoretical and practical aspects. What is beyond dispute is that the train station and real estate project «Stuttgart 21» mobilized and politicized the citizens in Stuttgart in a way that would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. Photographs and statements of the documentary «Stuttgart Stands Up. Portrait of a New Democracy Movement» by the Stuttgart film maker Hermann G. Abmayr, which opened several of the Foundation's events, were an impressive depiction of the movement.

What was the main reason for the protest? Discontent with the practiced models of deliberation and decision making on political issues is probably the most frequently cited reason. From this perspective, the conflict surrounding «Stuttgart 21» represents a struggle over political form and the self-conception of political actors. It is a conflict that is concerned with the renewal of democracy and the redefinition of the relationship between constituent sovereignty of the people and the constituted constitutional state. Thus, the protest movement against the new railway station in Stuttgart went beyond the content of the discussion. It shows that the demands for «true democracy» («Democracia real») and social justice («We are the 99 percent») presuppose and justify one another.

Through its political educational work, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Baden-Württemberg wishes to accompany Leftist discourse and provide impulses for the self-understanding of Leftist social and political actors. Due to the protest movement against «Stuttgart 21», new demands have arisen that the Foundation will have to meet in the future.

**BAVARIA**

**THE ARAB SPRING AND EUROPE**

The events of the Arab Spring radiated throughout the world. First in Tunisia, then in Egypt, and finally in Yemen, Jordan, Bahrain, Libya and Syria, people took to the streets en masse. These unexpected uprisings and revolutions posed new challenges for the EU countries. On the one hand, they lost long-time trading partners, while on the other hand, more and more people from Arab countries took advantage of the situation and came to Europe. For this reason, in early 2011, the Foundation's Brussels office – in cooperation with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation of Bavaria – held a two-day seminar in Innsbruck entitled «Lost Opportunities at the Dawn of a Golden Future? Europe, North Africa, and the Arab Spring». The seminar was a pilot project of the Brussels office as part of the «European Politics Educational Building Blocks». An initial overview of the social aspects and the role of youth in the Arab Spring was provided by the lawyer Bernard Schmid. The social scientist Stefanie Fischbach addressed the importance of the new media and of trade unions in Egypt. The Middle East expert Fritz Balke presented the current situation in Yemen, and Daniela Gagla reported from personal experience on the protests in Syria.

In the second part of the seminar Bernard Schmid and Christoph Marischka from the «Information Center Militarization» explored free trade agreements and measures of «democratization aid». The European migration policy and, in particular, the European Frontex agency were the focus of the contributions by Lorenz Kramer, domestic assistant to the European representatives of DIE LINKE Cornelia Ernst, and Miriam Edding from the «Foundation :do». Erhard Crome, consultant for peace and security policy and European policy at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, analyzed the behavior of the EU in Libya. In conclusion, nearly 50 participants from all over Bavaria discussed links to their own political work.

«The Foundation honored its name with the presentation of many interesting personalities from politics, art, science and sport and has defended socialist ideas in conjunction with individual rights.»

Volkmar Schöneburg on the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg



Brandenburg's Minister of Justice, Volkmar Schöneburg, at the ceremony in Potsdam

## BERLIN

### AFTER THE SILENCE

The international conference «After the Silence» resulted from the idea of a work group at the Berlin VVN BdA (Society of People Persecuted by the Nazi Regime – Federation of Anti-Fascists) to commemorate the anti-fascist Germans living in Soviet exile who were persecuted, deported and murdered. This built on the conference «The Prescribed Silence. German Anti-Fascists in Soviet Exile», held in June 2010.

In October 2011, in Berlin's House of Democracy, German and Russian historians gave lectures and chaired discussion groups in which they provided information about their search for the unknown or missing persons still remaining in prison records, death lists, secret dossiers and cemetery books. They reported on their investigative legwork in the archives of still secret holdings, and on the reward of successful endeavors, of being able to give back the names and biographies to the dead.

«After the Silence» does not mean that the time of silence is over. «Remembrance work» shifts, rather, the emphasis onto the present. In addition to the arduous search for the forgotten victims, it is also about «Stalinism as a system», i.e. about carrying out research into the causes of crime in dictatorial power structures and their executors. In addition, questions are asked about what the period of mass terror in the Soviet Union, from the 1930s to the 1950s, had to do with the strategies of deliberate silence on the former socialist countries. For this reason, too, this is a joint German-Russian project.

At the conclusion of the Berlin conference in October 2011, attention was given to the issue of mounting a memorial plaque on the Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin in commemoration of the thousands of German communists and anti-fascists who were victims of Stalinist terror in the 1930s and 1950s.

## BRANDENBURG

### DEDICATED TO POLITICAL EDUCATION

On July 2, 2011, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg celebrated its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary. About 170 people participated in the festive event in Potsdam. Most of these were from Brandenburg, but well-wishers from other German states also found their way into the cabaret Obelisk in Potsdam.

Almost to the day, 20 years later, on July 6, 1991, the Foundation was founded by about 30 individuals interested in political education in the new state of Brandenburg and named the «Brandenburg Association for Civic Education (Rosa Luxemburg)». Today, the Foundation has 98 members. In its 20 years of existence, it has organized 2,700 events in 81 cities and towns around the country, reaching more than 90,000 people. A review of the first two decades attracted the CEO of the Foundation, Professor Siegfried Prokop. The Attorney General of the State of Brandenburg, Volkmar Schöneburg, praised the performance of the Brandenburg Foundation in the area of Leftist political education. Schöneburg is also a member of the Foundation's management board in Brandenburg. Words of praise were also given to the manager of DIE LINKE in the German Bundestag and to the deputy chairwoman of the federal Foundation, Dagmar Enkelmann, as well as to Kerstin Kaiser, head of the DIE LINKE fraction in the Brandenburg state parliament. Other short introductions were given by the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Brandenburg, Helmuth Markov, and the former East German Minister President, Hans Modrow.

In closing, the Filmmuseum Potsdam, the Brecht-Weigel House in Buckow and the Association for International Policy and International Law spoke of their experiences with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg. The Brandenburg Foundation can look back on a year that included 166 events at 34 locations in Brandenburg. These events attracted some 11,000 people.

LOWER SAXONY

**SOCIAL MEDIA POLICY**

How WikiLeaks, Facebook, Twitter, etc. can be used for political public relations was discussed on June 25, 2011 at a meeting of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation of Lower Saxony in Hannover. It is well known that the diverse possibilities of Web 2.0 have greatly changed political communications for both journalists and political activists. Following an introduction by Caja Thimm, professor of media studies and intermedia at the University of Bonn, detailed discussions were conducted in four workshops. The social media coach Heiko Idensen explained how politically active people can use the Internet for their own initiatives. Julia Seeliger, technology journalist and online editor of the *taz* newspaper, also discussed different forms of journalism in times of WikiLeaks and Web 2.0. The question of what new dimensions of power and control are being developed on the Internet was pursued by the participants in a workshop with Jürgen Kuri, deputy chief editor of the *c't magazine* for computer technology. Kathrin Ganz, blogger and researcher in the group «Digital Media in Education» at the University of Bremen, chaired a workshop on how women, lesbians and transgender individuals can navigate and are perceived in the digital world.

Social development scenarios related to the Internet were at the center of discussion in the final podium. Lively debates took place about whether the current development leads to more repression, more transparency, more control or more freedom of information. In addition to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Lower Saxony and the Cultural and Communications Center Pavilion, the conference on social media policy was also organized by the Foundation of Life and Environment/Heinrich Böll Foundation in Lower Saxony.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

**CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST NAZIS**

Dortmund was and still is considered a stronghold of the «Autonomous Nationalists». For over ten years, neo-Nazis have called for the «National Anti-War Day» to be celebrated around the first of September. Resistance to this continues to increase. Against this background, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation of North Rhine-Westphalia organized an action conference on July 16, 2011 in the ver.di building in Dortmund. Together with the alliance «Dortmund Resists», representatives of the Green Party, Young Socialists and trade unions discussed forms of civil disobedience. At the end of the debate it was clear: Everyone was in favor of non-violent resistance to Nazis. Blocking a Nazi rally by one's presence was recognized as a legitimate means of protest.

No sooner said than done. First, in the rooms of the union building, the participants practiced in a sit-in; later they went to the field for action training. The Dortmund police watched the blockade training with suspicion, and video cameras were used. Even before the action conference took place, the Dortmund police made it clear that public blockade training constitutes a public invitation to commit a criminal offense and will be punished accordingly.

The media reported extensively on the action conference, in particular on the action training. The chief prosecutor of Dortmund was quoted in the press. «It's only practice», was her comment. Rarely had an event of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation of North Rhine-Westphalia caused such a stir. On September 3, several thousand people, including the mayor of Dortmund and the former State Labor Minister Guntram Schneider, blocked the Nazi demonstration in Dortmund. Such political education can have direct beneficial effects.

The practical and theoretical topic of an event in Dortmund: civil disobedience against Nazi processions





Right-wing populists marching: the subject of a conference at the community center in Mainz-Kastel

## RHINELAND-PALATINATE EUROPE'S NEW RIGHT

Over the past decade, right-wing populist parties have become increasingly popular in Europe. What is new for these parties and politicians is their ostentatiously bourgeois political style. They are not openly neo-fascist, but they do pick up, argumentatively speaking, on fascist ideologies regarding the inequality of different «peoples» and groups of people. Because of this recent trend, the Jenny Marx Society for Political Education and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Rhineland-Palatinate invited approximately 100 interested individuals to meet on November 1, 2011 to discuss the phenomenon of right-wing populism from different perspectives.

Is it the neo-liberalism of the prevailing economic and political elites that creates a breeding ground for right-wing populism and right-wing extremism? How can we explain the different manifestations of the New Right in Europe? How can right-wing populism be effectively countered? These and other questions were the focus of the meeting.

Possible answers were provided by the social scientists Katrin Reimer, Sven Schönfelder and Christoph Butterwegge. They analyzed similarities and differences, causes and effects, and the power of neo-liberalism as a framework for different variants of right-wing populism. Political scientist and author Gerd Wiegel addressed the «advance of right-wing populists» in Europe. Psychologist and journalist Michael Zander presented a lecture on the «social breeding grounds for right-wing movements». Historian Helmut Kellersohn reflected on «right-wing populism as the medial reproduction of racist sentiment». Alexander Häusler and Hans-Peter Killgus discussed the German right-wing populists' hostility to Muslims, and Karin Priester and Sergio Muzzupappa reflected on the role of Silvio Berlusconi. The conclusion of the event was a panel discussion on the issue of Leftist counter-strategies against right-wing populism.



Gerhard Besier and Wolfgang Wippermann in discussion with Eckhard Jesse in Frankenberg's town hall

## SAXONY THE THEORY OF EXTREMISM PUT TO THE TEST

In Saxony, the theory of extremism is particularly effective and powerful. Protests against Nazi demonstrations are criminalized using the theory. In the Saxon press, even members of the SPD have been suspected of being «extremist» because they have called for peaceful blockades against Nazis. In February 2011, without a search warrant, offices of the party DIE LINKE in Dresden were raided by police and searched, and millions of cell phone data items were stored in the context of the anti-Nazi protests in Dresden.

Just how controversial the theory of extremism is was demonstrated on October 4, 2011 in Frankenberg's town hall, where supporters and opponents argued with each other in a panel discussion. Eckhard Jesse, a true advocate of the theory of extremism, emphasized that it was not right to ban all extremism. Instead, moderate forms of extremism would certainly promote democracy. Wolfgang Wippermann, however, said that, from a seat in parliament, one cannot recognize political viewpoints up close and infer a relationship to democracy. Historically speaking, the extremism theory is questionable. In the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, the primary anti-communist totalitarianism-tinged doctrine has developed some very undemocratic characteristics. Gerhard Besier, former director of the Hannah Arendt Institute for Research on Totalitarianism, saw the causes of violence on the side lines of demonstrations, football matches and festivals less in terms of political beliefs. The event character and socio-psychological factors are often important in outbreaks of violence. Despite the aforementioned shortcomings and criticisms, the theory of extremism enjoys ongoing popularity in the government and administration. The impact on political practices, therefore, was a central theme of the subsequent open round of discussions.



Practical approaches were the focus of the conference «Cities of the Future», opened by Dr. Evelin Wittich of the sustainability discussion group of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

SAXONY-ANHALT

**«CITIES OF THE FUTURE»**

How can urban life be made more sustainable? What do appropriate visions of the future look like? What demands do they make on energy and transportation policies, architecture and the organization of social life? And what innovative approaches, projects and practices already exist that can bring us closer to the goal of sustainable social and urban development? These questions were the focus of the conference «Cities of the Future» in Magdeburg's Roncalli House in November 2011, organized by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation of Saxony-Anhalt and the Foundation's sustainability discussion group.

About 70 interested people attended, including a large number of young people, as well as politicians and employees of local governments. Of great value to the municipalities and regions represented at the conference was the discussion about practical experiences. There were numerous presentations of various urban pilot projects in Germany, presented by experts from the local government, the Federal Ministry of Transport, Construction and Urban Development and participating companies and research institutions, as well as by NGOs and social movements. Of particular interest were cities suffering from a population decline and tight budgets, as well as, for example, the idea of an energy-efficient street lighting system or an exchange of experiences about the benefits of a ticketless public transportation system. There was also considerable need for discussions regarding «energy in civil hands». The conference ended with the awards ceremony, in which awards were presented to students who had participated in the competition «City, State, Sustainability! – Developing Visions Together». The first prize went to a comprehensive school in Magdeburg, the second to the Seelandschule School in Nachterstedt, and the third to a secondary school in Tangerhütte. After and between the presentations, there was also the opportunity to explore new technologies and pilot projects on site, including one presented at the meeting:

The regional offices of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the federal state foundations have developed into contact partners of a pluralistic Left in Germany, beyond DIE LINKE party.

the energy efficient street lighting system «Dimmlight» developed by a company in Zerst.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

**COMMUNITY MEDIA WORKSHOP**

Often they have to fight for recognition under precarious conditions. Not this weekend. From November 11–13, 2011 creators and makers of so-called alternative and community media met in Hamburg's Gängeviertel. Representatives from some 20 media initiatives and organizations from all over Germany came to Hamburg to learn from each other, to strike up conversations and to explore cooperation and plan joint ventures.

In Germany there are many different models of access to and participation in the media, particularly with regard to the highly regulated broadcasting sector. The recognition and support of citizens' and alternative media often depend on the individual state's media laws. While some local initiatives can secure their own licenses, in other places access to existing services is only possible as a registered user. In some states, participation in independent initiatives is completely forbidden. Even with the financial support of government agencies, there are significant regional differences.

What role do community and alternative media play in Northern Germany? This question was discussed by Heiko Hilker of the Dresden Institute for Education and Consulting and Jeffrey Wimmer of the Technical University of Ilmenau in a panel discussion with Lars Juhl Rathje of the Radio Initiative Schleswig-Holstein and Christian Brandt from the radio station «Freies Sender Kombinat» in Hamburg. The diversity of community media was reflected on the second day of the conference, as various initiatives and projects were introduced in detail. Subsequently, work groups were formed. One result of the discussion was that, especially in Schleswig-Holstein, because of the «open channel», the danger of being marginalized exists. It is not possible to get a broadcasting license.



What potential do civil and alternative media have in the media society? A discussion round at the community media workshop in Hamburg

In addition, when it comes to uncomfortable issues raised by left-wing groups, there is often no air time available, as in spring 2011 with the conflicts regarding the news coverage by Radio Initiative Schleswig-Holstein of the neo-Nazi march in Lübeck.

#### THURINGIA

##### **TRADE UNIONS IN 1989/90 AND IN 2011**

A hitherto neglected aspect was pursued by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Thuringia, the German Federation of Trade Unions (DGB), the Educational Institute of the DGB in Thuringia and the church initiative «Open Work Erfurt» in April 2011, at a joint event in Erfurt. «Works Councils and Free Trade Unions in the GDR in 1989/90» was the event's title.

In late 1989, in the factories of the disintegrating GDR, there were serious discussions about the structure and content of independent trade unions that resulted in the creation of various representative bodies. In the wake of company restructuring and mass layoffs, these initiatives, however, lost their base. After the DGB structures were also established in the east of the country, these approaches fell completely to the side lines. To what extent the experiences of self-conceived and self-made, if short-lived operations can still be used to in-

spire the debate about social questions was one of the issues discussed.

Also in April, under the title «Unions as Social Actors 2011», the same organizers explored the role of the workers' organization today. In 2011 almost one in four workers in Germany was working in a low-wage job. The number of temporary workers and employees has quadrupled in the last twelve years. Due to this development, the unions have lost their mobilization and organizational skills as well as institutional power. In particular, the industrial unions are in danger of degenerating into a representation of the particular interests of the remaining core staff. The strengthening of unions' organizational power by involving more employees (including non-members) in decisions on the political course to be followed, the struggle against the imposition of a profit-oriented logic, including in the human services sector, and for greener production methods through a dramatic transformation of energy systems may constitute the most important policy areas for trade unions today.

## **CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOG AND COOPERATION**

On December 17, 2010, when the greengrocer Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in Tunisia in protest against the social conditions in his country, no one could have imagined that this act of desperation would trigger a chain reaction that would irrevocably change the Arab world in just a short period. Following a month of protests, the Tunisian dictator Ben Ali, who had ruled the country for 23 years, fled his homeland. Just eleven days later, the revolution began in Egypt, and within weeks it would take almost all Arab countries in its grip.

With these events, the Foundation's work in the region changed dramatically. Until then, the work had focused mainly on Israel and Palestine, for historical reasons. In the next few years, it will be expanded to include the entire southern and eastern Mediterranean. In summer 2011, the decision was made to open an office in Turkey and one in Cairo, from which the work in North Africa will be supervised.

### **NEW PRIORITIES**

In Egypt, the effects of the revolution are especially apparent in the huge increase in people's self-confidence. No matter how the real conditions of life for people develop in the coming years, the experience of having brought down a dictatorship will remain deeply rooted in the country's collective memory. And this mobilizes the individual to assume responsibility for societal interests and demand his rights.

In this lively environment, many grassroots organizations, political initiatives and small groups have formed to fight for their concerns on different levels. They come together, often split again, and sometimes even disappear completely soon after.

A culture of protest had already been created in recent years. From the beginning, the Egyptian Left played an important role in demonstrations, strikes and sit-ins by the new trade union movement and pro-democracy political forces, as Hassan Saber of the Kifaya initiative described vividly in Berlin at a February 2011 meeting of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Even then he was certain: the fall of the Mubarak regime was only the first part of the revolution, the second would be even more difficult: the organization of the opposition and the democratization of Egyptian society.



The upheaval in the Arab region poses new challenges for the Foundation

## EXCHANGE AND DIALOG

Yet the Egyptian Left, which has been suppressed for decades, is faced with the question – given the political opening up – of how to position itself. It is evident in that many Leftist movements, which have lived in the shadows for decades, are in danger of orienting themselves to the past. Rather than working concretely for social change and doing ground work, many hold fast to well-known theories and dogmas.

These difficulties, which also include a generation gap, were reported on by Egyptian activists who were in Berlin in June 2011 at the invitation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the parliamentary group of DIE LINKE in the Bundestag and the DIE LINKE party. They represented the wide range of Egyptian Leftists, from young people who became polarized primarily because of the revolution and its predecessors to an older member of the Communist Party. Thus, in their descriptions and the subsequent discussions, significant differences became clear, both in terms of political socialization and in terms of approaches to the current state of Egyptian society. They also revealed the challenges facing the players that will arise from the future need for the unification of the Leftist forces. Nonetheless, they also showed the great potential that exists in Egypt.

The development of this potential is hindered to a great extent by an enormous legal uncertainty. Thus, many Egyptian NGOs are now afraid of being attacked by the interim govern-

ment that has threatened to ban them. The reason for this is that many organizations are not licensed in accordance with their function. Behind this formal-legal argumentation lies a clear political thrust: civil forces are to be silenced. When the protests began, the military was largely regarded as a guarantee for stability and an orderly transition. In the meantime, its role is being viewed more and more critically. There is even talk of a military coup. In March, the cabinet of the transitional government passed a law that can be used to ban strikes, protests, demonstrations and sit-ins, in the event that they disrupt the operational activities of private or state businesses or inhibit the economy in any way.

## INHOSPITABLE ENVIRONMENT FOR FOUNDATION WORK

Within the Egyptian public, a fierce debate is going on over the scope and influence of foreign grants with a focus on financial support from the West. The political situation is expected to be clarified, bit by bit, only after the presidential elections and the appointment of a new government in the summer of 2012. The overwhelming victory of the Muslim Brotherhood and the successful performance of the Salafi Nur party in the parliamentary elections between November 2011 and March 2012 surprised many people, just as the election forecasts over the past year affected the moods and hopes among civil



The Norwegian Minister of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Audun Lysbakken, and his secretary of state, Kirsti Bergstø visiting the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation



Jovial atmosphere during the visit of the Japanese delegation led by Seiji Mataichi

society actors. After an exuberant early stage following the fall of Mubarak in which everything seemed possible, disillusionment quickly set in.

The work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Egypt is also influenced by this emotional roller coaster. The special fund made available by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development for the support of civil society in Egypt could hardly be used in this situation. Several reasons are responsible for this: in an upheaval as dramatic as the one taking place in Egypt these days, not all planned programs can be implemented one by one. Rather, they have to be adapted to daily new developments, as well as to the many newly established initiatives and movements and their ideas. Many groups are changing and often disappear just as quickly as they emerge. Watching these exciting developments and identifying relevant Leftist partners will be one of the main tasks of the Foundation in the coming months; promoting exchanges and dialog between Leftist forces in Germany and the region is another important challenge. In fall 2012, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is planning to host a summer school with students from Egypt, Tunisia and Germany. The social and political movements in Egypt will continue to remain important sources of inspiration and trendsetting factors in the region. Therefore, the Foundation will implement the decision, taken in summer 2011, to make Cairo a regional office for North Africa, despite all the uncertainties of the current situation.

## GUESTS

### VISITORS FROM THE FAR NORTH

The Norwegian Minister of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Audun Lysbakken, who is also vice chairman of the Socialist People's Party of Norway, and his secretary of state, Kirsti Bergstø, visited the Foundation on April 15, 2011. Topics of discussion included the government of the Socialist People's Party and questions of domestic and legal policies. Thoughts about integration policy were also exchanged. Lysbakken spoke in favor of a non-assimilationist but active integration policy. Immigrants have both rights and obligations. As crucial factors for the successful integration of immigrants, he named the triad of work, learning the Norwegian language and gender equality.

### DISCUSSIONS WITH THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

On May 2, 2011, a Japanese delegation led by Seiji Mataichi, deputy of the Social Democratic Party in Japan's upper house of the federal parliament, visited the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Berlin. Talks there focused on the political situation in Japan after the tsunami disaster and the nuclear reactor accident in Fukushima. Ideas were discussed for a new energy policy without nuclear power. The delegation was particularly interested in changes in Germany's energy policy. They stressed the need for international solidarity and cooperation in order to enforce the permanent phasing out of nuclear power internationally.



From the film festival to the central meeting place of a newly formed Left in the Balkans

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[www.subversivefestival.com](http://www.subversivefestival.com)  
 .....

**CROATIA: THE SUBVERSIVE FILM FESTIVAL**

For a few days last spring, Zagreb was the venue of a forum on international Leftist debates. With the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, from May 15 to 24 the «Subversive Film Festival» and its extensive fringe program took place in the city. Under the motto «Decolonizations», hundreds of interested parties discussed the topic with famous intellectuals, including Samir Amin, Zygmunt Bauman, Slavoj Žižek, David Harvey, Antonio Negri, Terry Eagleton and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

The analysis of global crisis trends and the search for political emancipation projects were the focus of the forum events, which examined both historical and theoretical problems and issues. Samir Amin analyzed the contradictory development process of the capitalist world system. Zygmunt Bauman traced the crisis of social democratic projects in Western Europe. The Marxist geographer David Harvey demonstrated how, in global capitalism, urban areas are the new arenas of class struggle. Lectures by Antonio Negri, Terry Eagleton and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak focused on the question of how an emancipatory practice should be structured today.

As part of the conference program, members of the «Third World Forum» and «transform» also met in Zagreb. Especially controversial discussions focused on the role of the European Union and the situation in the Middle East and the Balkans. Mamdouh Habashi from Egypt and Samir Amin emphasized the social and potentially anti-capitalist orientation of many of the revolts in Arab countries.

The conference in Croatia was received with great interest. A major reason for this may lie in the difficult economic and political situation in the country. In the past two years, a number of social movements have emerged there. In particular, the protest movement of students has become an important factor in the reconstitution of left-wing politics.

**POLAND: SOCIAL EQUALITY AND A LIVABLE ENVIRONMENT**

In November 2011 in Warsaw, the international conference «A Dignified Life – Against Poverty and the Destruction of the Environment» took place. The conference was jointly organized by the European United Left/Nordic Green Left Group (GUE/NGL) in the European Parliament and the Polish national federation of trade unions OPZZ. Representatives from NGOs and social initiatives in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Poland and Germany came together in the Polish capital. The meeting was opened by Gabi Zimmer, European deputy of DIE LINKE, Wanda Nowicka, vice president of Sejm, and Wilfried Telkämper, director of the Center for International Dialog and Cooperation at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

The experience of the countries that entered the European Union in 2004 was at the forefront of the discussions. The contributions made it clear that the situations in the new EU states differ greatly in terms of their relationships between environmental and social developments. For example, the problem of poverty in many countries is extremely complex. In general, social cuts primarily affect those who already constitute the poorest part of the population. Such cuts are legitimized by the current economic crisis, although there have been many setbacks in social equality and justice-oriented policies. At the same time, social and economic arguments are used to circumvent pre-existing standards in environmental issues. What is striking is that in the energy sector, large corporations act as stewards of «cheap» electricity. At the meeting it became quite clear how closely linked social issues and aspects of environmental protection and sustainable development are.

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[The Foundation in Poland: www.rls.pl](http://www.rls.pl)  
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01 SOUTH AFRICA

02 WEST AFRICA

03 EAST AFRICA

04 RUSSIA/CENTRAL ASIA/CAUCASUS

05 EASTERN EUROPE/CENTRAL EUROPE

06 SOUTH EAST EUROPE

07 EUROPEAN UNION

08 SOUTHAMERICA

09 ANDEAN COUNTRIES

10 MEXICO/CENTRAL AMERICA/CUBA

11 UNITED NATIONS/NORTH AMERICA

12 ISRAEL

13 PALESTINE

14 SOUTHEAST ASIA

15 EAST ASIA

16 SOUTH ASIA

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## FUNDED PROJECTS 2011

Project funding in 2011 was again an important form of cooperation between the Foundation and other organizations and associations involved in political education as well. Within the limits of its financial capabilities, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation funded a large number of events, publications and research projects and participated in their contextual design. More than 750 applications for funding were submitted to the Foundation. 189 projects could be supported with a sum of 413,500 Euros.

### **For the following larger projects in 2011, a total of 106,000 Euros, i.e. 26 percent of the budget, was made available:**

- INKRIT Association: publication of «Historical and Critical Dictionary of Marxism» – editorial work on volume 8/1 (from «Crisis Theory» to «Luxemburg-Gramsci Line»), 35,000 Euros
- Rolf Hecker: work on the new edition of the «Marx-Engels Works», volumes 13 and 40, 24,000 Euros
- Achim Engelberg: manuscript «How the Things that Move Us Work», 15,000 Euros
- Andreas Trunschke: web blog «The Left in Government», 12,000 Euros
- Attac Germany: Attac Academy training program, 10,000 Euros
- Hans-Jürgen Art: study «Political Communication against the Tide», 10,000 Euros

In addition to these six projects with a funding of more than 10,000 Euros, there were also eleven projects given 5,000 to 9,999 Euros, 109 given 1,000 to 4,999 Euros, 52 given 500 to 999 Euros and eleven supported with less than 500 Euros.

### **Differences with regard to the form of project realization are as follows:**

- publication aid for books/booklets/magazines: 57 projects
- research/studies/papers: 37 projects
- smaller events (evening events, etc.): 33 projects
- larger events (conferences, seminars lasting several days, etc.): 29 projects
- production of DVDs, films, exhibitions: 24 projects
- production of online publications/websites: 9 projects

### **The following themes were the subjects of the projects sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation:**

- history/contemporary history: 46 projects
- capitalism/globalization: 20 projects

Long-standing partnerships such as those with the Federal Coordination of Internationalism (BUKO), the Association of Music and Social Movements, the Federal Association of Precarious Life Circumstances and the VVN-BdA were continued.

- anti-fascism /anti-racism: 19 projects
- social theory and philosophy: 17 projects
- art/culture: 17 projects
- international politics/peace: 15 projects
- migration: 12 projects
- economic and social policy: 12 projects
- gender relations/feminism: 8 projects
- media/communication: 7 projects
- ecological transformation/sustainability: 6 projects
- civil rights: 6 projects

## A SELECTION OF FUNDED PROJECTS

### GSFP MBH: DISCOURSE PROJECT «LEFT-WING REFORMISM AS A WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS?»

Funding: 9,545 Euros

Given the environmental, social and cultural crises, what social changes are on the agenda? Is it possible to gain sufficient power through reform strategies? Are more freedom, equality and solidarity possible? Can the ecological crisis be resolved in a way that enables both social progress and the increased participation of individuals?

These and other questions were asked in the project «Left-wing Reformism as a Way out of the Crisis?», which was conceived of and organized by the journal *Berliner Debatte INITIAL*. Funded by the Friedrich Ebert, Heinrich Böll and Rosa Luxemburg Foundations, a bipartisan and partisan debate on new, sustainable approaches of a Leftist reformist policy was initiated. A kick-off symposium in September 2010 was followed by a meeting in February 2011 that provided the structure and space for intensive discussions on the topic. 90 participants, mainly from Germany, Austria and Switzerland, discussed 70 submissions. In eight thematic work groups, the central questions of the conference were discussed controversially. Many of the positions put forward were in dispute. It was unanimously stressed that reformist politics and policies in-

creasingly require a multi-voiced and multi-layered open discourse. Publications later appeared on [www.linksreformismus.de](http://www.linksreformismus.de), Facebook and in the journal *Berliner Debatte INITIAL*, 22 (2011, 3).

### FEDERAL COORDINATION OF INTERNATIONALISM (BUKO): «RIGHT TO THE CITY. THE CONGRESS»

Funding: 5,000 Euros

The four-day congress in June was organized by the BUKO work group «StadtRaum», together with the Hamburg network «Right to the City». More than 60 individual events took place at eleven sites in downtown Hamburg. About 600 people attended the events. 19 international speakers from countries such as the United States, South Africa, Egypt and Venezuela also participated. The central themes of the congress were the crisis of the neo-liberal city, housing/other social issues/migration, property acquisition/squatting/resistance, culture/production/precarization, and utopia: a city for all. Following workshops and panel discussions, field trips led to the new areas around the train station and Hamburg's «Free Stuff Store». Groups active in urban political struggles spoke out against gentrification and for the equitable distribution of urban resources. Because of the many venues, the congress' presence in the city was apparent, and media attention was significant. Contextually inspiring was the interweaving of local experiences with the perspectives of the international guests from the southern hemisphere.

### WHISTLE-BLOWER NETWORK ASSOCIATION: EXHIBITION «WHISTLE-BLOWING - BRING LIGHT INTO THE DARKNESS!»

Funding: 1,000 Euros

Presented in May 2011 at the Tacheles building in Berlin were portraits of 20 whistle-blowers from Germany: people who

have provided important information about illegal activities, including corruption, insider trading and violations of human rights by governmental institutions or companies. The show focused both on shortcomings, due to which these people became more active, and on individual motives and methods. Also depicted were the reactions of affected organizations and the changes that the whistle-blowing brought about. These testimonies of impressive civil courage enjoyed a great response, and the exhibition was well visited throughout its run. The aim is to exhibit the show in the European Parliament and the German Bundestag in 2012.

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[www.whistleblower-netzwerk.de](http://www.whistleblower-netzwerk.de)  
 .....

**FEDERAL WORK GROUP OF CRITICAL LAW STUDENTS:  
 «BECOMING BORDERLESS» CONGRESS**

Funding: 1,000 Euros

The focus of the fall 2011 Berlin conference was German and European immigration law. In plenary sessions and workshops, 120 participants examined exclusionary practices in society, discussed alternatives and explored legal options. The practices addressed included «the insulation [of Europe] [...] and the systematic exclusion and control of refugees and migrants that continues within the European countries: in German asylum and residence law, the Schengen Information System and arbitrary barriers to integration».

.....  
[www.bakj.de](http://www.bakj.de)  
 .....

**With 46 funded projects, history/contemporary history in 2011 was one of the topics that received the most project funding (see pp. 11f.). In the field of capitalism/globalization, 20 projects were funded by «third parties». A few are mentioned below.**

- «COREXIT –The Silent Killer in the Gulf of Mexico»: Documentary about the oil spill of 2010 and the consequences of dealing with chemicals, Beatrice Tillmann, 4,000 Euros
- Ethecon conference 2012 and the presentation of the «Blue Planet Award» to Angela Davis and the «Black Planet Award» to the management of TEPCO/Japan Ethecon – Foundation Ethics and Economics, 3,000 Euros
- Translation of the book «Plurinational Democracy. Social and Political Transformations in Bolivia», Ulrich Brand, 2,800 Euros
- Dossier «Green Capitalism», iz3w, no. 327, Aktion Dritte Welt Association, 1,500 Euros



The exhibition on whistle-blowers was presented at the Berlin Tacheles building in May 2011

**With 19 funded projects, anti-fascism and anti-racism were also a main focus of project funding. A few examples include:**

- Brochure «Right-Wing Populism in Berlin. Racism as a Link between the «Middle-Class» and Neo-Nazism?», Bündnis Rechtspopulismus stoppen, 2,000 Euros
- Brochure «Deadly Realities. The Racist Murder of Marwa El-Sherbini», Opferberatung des RAA Sachsen e.V., 1,500 Euros
- International conference «Before Memory Disappears», Lagergemeinschaft Ravensbrück/Freundeskreis, 750 Euros
- Anti-racism workshop for employees of free radio stations, Radio CORAX, 750 Euros
- Brochure «Because it is so vitally important to me. Mental health care for refugees in Brandenburg», Opferperspektive Brandenburg e.V., 750 Euros
- Anti-fascist information weeks in the Barnim region, Jugendbildungs- und Freizeitinitiative Bernau e.V., 500 Euros
- Anti-fascist party for the 66<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over German fascism, Berlin VVN-BdA e.V., 500 Euros
- Book reading «... and Tomorrow the Whole Country», Initiative für ein weltoffenes Geithain, 418 Euros

**With publishing funding, the publication of the following works, among others, was made possible:**

- Franz Josef Degenhardt: Werkausgabe, vol. 1 (Zündschnüre/Fuses) and 2 (Brandstellen/Burns), Kulturmaschinen, Berlin 2011, 3,000 Euros
- Pinar Selek: Halbierte Hoffnungen (Divided Hopes), Orlanda Frauenverlag, Berlin 2011, 2,000 Euros
- Bodo Ramelow, Petra Sitte, Halina Wawzyniak, Christoph Nitz (eds.): It's the Internet, Stupid! DIE LINKE und die «Schienennetze» des 21. Jahrhunderts (It's the Internet, Stupid! The Party DIE LINKE and the 21st Track Network Century), VSA Verlag, Hamburg 2011, 1,500 Euros
- Mehmet Ata: Der Mohammed-Karikaturenstreit in den deutschen und türkischen Medien. Eine vergleichende Diskursanalyse (The Muhammad Caricature Controversy in the German and Turkish Media. A Comparative Discourse Analysis), Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2011, 1,500 Euros
- Sebastian Friedrich (ed.): Rassismus in der Leistungsgesellschaft. Analysen und kritische Perspektiven zu den rassistischen Normalisierungsprozessen der «Sarrazindebatte» (Racism in the Meritocratic Society. Analysis and Critical Perspectives on the Racist Normalization Processes of the «Sarrazin Debate»), edition assemblage, Münster 2011, 1,400 Euros
- Christian Brütt: Workfare als Mindestsicherung. Von der Sozialhilfe zu Hartz IV. Deutsche Sozialpolitik 1962 bis 2005 (Workfare as Minimum Security. From Social Assistance to Hartz IV. German Social Policy 1962–2005), transcript Verlag, Bielefeld 2011, 1,000 Euros
- Skadi Jennicke: Theater als soziale Praxis. Ostdeutsches Theater nach dem Systemumbruch (Theater as a Social Practice. East German Theater After the Change in Systems), Theater der Zeit, Berlin 2011, 1,000 Euros
- Benjamin Opratko, Oliver Prausmüller (Ed.): Gramsci global. Neogramscianische Perspektiven in der Internationalen Politischen Ökonomie (Gramsci Global. Neo-gramscianistic Perspectives in International Political Economy), Argument Verlag, Hamburg 2011, 1,000 Euros
- Matthias Richter-Steinke: Auswirkungen von Privatisierungen auf Gewerkschaften. Die Privatisierung der Europäischen Eisenbahnen am Beispiel der Deutschen Bahn im Kontext von Liberalisierung, Europäisierung und Globalisierung (The Impact of Privatization on Trade Unions. The Privatization of the European Railways Based on the Example of Deutsche Bahn in the Context of Liberalization, Europeanization and Globalization), Verlagshaus Monsenstein und Vannerdat, Münster 2011, 1,000 Euros
- Lutz Getzschmann: Indien und die Naxaliten. Agrarrevolten und kapitalistische Modernisierung (India and the Naxalites. Agrarian Revolt and Capitalist Modernization), Neuer ISP Verlag, Köln 2011, 500 Euros

Long term cooperation was continued, for example, with the «Federal Coordination of Internationalism» (BUKO), the «Association of Music and Social Movements», the «Federal Association Precarious Life Circumstances» and the VVN BdA. In addition, new contacts, important for the work of the Foundation, were established and young people involved with political education were sponsored. Where the possibility of direct cooperation on site existed, approved funds were forwarded to the foundations of the German states. The following, and other, projects could be funded with these monies:

- Manuscript «Träume und Albträume. Dokumentaristen über sich und ihr Studio. 1946–1992» (Dreams and Nightmares. Documentarists on Themselves and Their Studios. 1946–1992), Filmmuseum Potsdam, 3,000 Euros
- Conference «Atomwaffen verschrotten – Atomkraftwerke abschalten – Afghanistankrieg sofort beenden» (Scrap Nuclear Weapons – Shut Down Nuclear Power Plants – Stop the War in Afghanistan Immediately), Wiesbaden, 2,000 Euros
- Brochure «Demokratiebewegung und politische Repression in Honduras» (The Democracy Movement and Political Repression in Honduras), Ökumenisches Büro für Frieden und Gerechtigkeit München, 1.000 Euros
- Exhibition «Haymatloz – Jüdisches Exil in der Türkei 1933–1945» (Haymatloz – Jewish Exile in Turkey, 1933–1945), Hamburg, Diversity United e.V., 775 Euros
- Event series «Die extreme Rechte in Europe» (The Extreme Right in Europe), Jugendclub Courage Köln e.V., 750 Euros

.....

**With its project funding, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was able to present a broad spectrum of Leftist topics to the political public in 2011 as well. The funded projects complemented – thematically, regionally and target group-specifically – the Foundation's own selection of political education offerings.**

.....



Images 40–45: Pictures of the exhibition «Whistle-Blowing – Bring Light into the Darkness!». Presented were examples of courageous individuals, who broke their silence to draw attention to crimes and misdemeanors. Sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (see p. 36).





**Frank Friedrich**

...

**Dr. Werner Kersch**

...

...





## Andrea Fuchs

ehemalige Wertpapierhändlerin aus Frankfurt/Main

Andrea Fuchs, Jahrgang 1962, setzt sich zur Zeit in ihrem 28. Arbeitsgerichtsprozess (in Fortsetzung) gegen ihren Ex-Vorgesetzten an, eine deutsche Großbank. Für ihre Ex-Chefin, 2 so genannte Topbanker, ist alles vorbei – die Carter-Fachzeitschrift hat sich dazu, dass die Frankfurter Staatsanwaltschaft wohl wirklich ebenfalls wieder (ausnahmsweise öffentlich) bekannt hat, die beiden Banker gegen Zahlung einer Buße in Höhe von knapp 18.000 und 8.000 Euro vor ihrem Strafprozess verschont. Es ging um **Bankrottbank**. Sie zur „Landl-Pfarr“ nicht nur erkannte. Und es ging um **Bank** viel Geld.

1989/91: Für **rund 180 Millionen Euro** soll ein **Abklopfer** in der Versicherungsgruppe **Andreas-Münchener Beteiligung AG (AMB)** den Besitzer wechseln. Doch niemand von beiden Unternehmen **unabhängigweise** prüfen kann, soll Andrea Fuchs, **ehemalige Wertpapierhändlerin** bei der Großbank, die deswegen auch **Nachweis** machen, diesen **Verkauf** professionell **angewiesen**. Weder die AMB noch **Kontrahenten** der AMB **stärken** von diesem **Geschäft** vorher erfahren. **Abwägung** **was** Andrea Fuchs **angewiesen** des **Verkaufs** die **Topbank** in **Frankfurt** **abzuschließen** z.B. den **Gesamtwert** **bedeutendes** für **Wertpapier**. Der wiederum **informiert** die **vorherige** **Vorstandsmitglied** der Bank. Und beide **Topbanker** machen das, was **Kipp** und **die** **gegen** die **Wertpapiergüter** **verschiffen**. Und aus **ihre** **eigener** **Kunde** **nicht** **informiert**. Sie **informieren** die **AMB**. Und die wiederum **informieren** die **anderen** **Gesamtwert**. Die ganze Sache **spielt** sich **wenig** **hinter** – **jetzt** **wird** **wieder** der **potenzielle** **Käufer** **aus** der **USA** **strafen**. Die **geplante** **Geschäft** **platt**. Der Bank **erhalten** **Provisionen** in **Millionen** **Dollar**.

Die beiden Banker **informieren** aber **nach** Andrea Fuchs, dass sie **das** **gerichtet** **haben**, was **nicht** **sein** **sollte**. Darüber **kommt** es **erst** **was** **Stark** – **die** **Bank** **bringt** **ihnen** **Schuldigen** **dafür**, dass **alles** **andere** **Kauf** **aus** **ihnen** **geplant** **Andrea** **Fuchs**.

Sie **wird** **an** der **Stelle** **gekündigt**. Und **wartet** **11** **Mal**. Als **Beweis** **man** **ein** **angewiesenes** **Schreibstück** **involuntar**, aus **dem** die **Verpflichtungen** **von** Andrea Fuchs **herorgehen**. Das **Papier** **ist** **gelöscht**. **Andrea**, **die** **sich** **jetzt** **vor** **dem** **Arbeitsgericht**, **welches** **wissen**, **nicht** **schon** **gekündigt**, **die** **bedeuten** **ihnen** **Deklaration** **vor** **Gericht** **in** **Zweifel** **steht** **im** **Laufe** **und** **schlecht** – **wegen** **Verkauf** **Bankrottbank** – **die** **Staatsanwaltschaft** **erz**. Die **Bank** **kündigt** **ihre** **daraufhin** **sechs** **Mal** – **wird** **ihnen** **Arbeitsgeber** **verleumert** **wird**.

Zusätzlich **kommt** **Andrea** **Fuchs** **zur** **wenigen** **Prozesse** **für** **sich** **entscheidend**. Und **jetzt** **hauert** **auf** **es** **wird** **wach** **die** **markenbedingten** **Geschäfte** **in** **der** **Bankrottbank** **sehen**: **Andrea** **hatte** **ein** **sechsfach**

**Verhältnis** **mit** **dem** **Arbeitsgeber** **des** **Wertpapiergeschäfts**, **das** **Geschäft** **ist** **mit** **ihren** „**Platzier**“ **empfangen**, **was** **sich** **jetzt** **Bank** **zu** **entschieden** **ist** **haben**, **das** **Vorgehen** **nicht** **unabhängig** **über** **das** **entsprechende** **Geschäft** **informieren**, **da** **es** **ist** **„Liquor“**. **Und** **wieder**.

Die **ehemalige** **Wertpapierhändlerin** **weiß**: **Einmal** **Job** **in** **der** **Bankrottbank** **wird** **die** **nie** **wieder** **bekommen**. **Christ** **beginnt** **mit** **ihre** **mit** **Mitteln**. **Die** **Banker**, **bei** **denen** **sie** **nicht** **besteht**, **haben** **bereits** **von** **ihren** **ehemaligen** **Arbeitgeber** – **vor** **ausgibt** – **Part** **bekommen**. **Kosten** **etlicher** **Arbeitsgerichtsrechte**, **bei** **denen** **es** **die** **Bank** **durchsetzen** **konnte**, **sowie** **die** **hundert** **Schreibstücke** **der** **Bank** **und** **ihre** **Geschäfte**.

**Langsam** **jedoch** **hauert** **sich** **die** **Wahrscheinlichkeit** **ihren** **Weg**. **Die** **die** **Bank** **gegenüber** **zuständige** **Behörde**, **das** **Bundesministerium** **für** **Finanzwissenschaften** (BMF), **konstatieren** **in** **einem** **Untersuchungsbericht** **Kipp** **und** **klar**, **dass** **die** **beiden** **Topbanker** **die** **Informations** **nicht** **hätten** **wenigstens** **dafür**.

**Andrea** **Fuchs** **muß** **das** **nicht**. **Sie** **erhält** **davon** **nichts**. **Die** **Bank** **beginnt** **in** **ihren** **während** **Arbeitsgerichtsprozessen** **und** **wieder** **besonders** **Wissen**, **dass** **Andrea** **im** **Urbuch** **ist** **und** **Arbeitsgeber** **informiert** **wird** **muß**. **Und** **nach** **die** **Tatsache**, **dass** **die** **Staatsanwaltschaft** **Frankfurt/Main** **die** **beiden** **Bankrottbanker** **wegen** **des** **ehemaligen** **Finanzbetrugs** **mit** **einer** **Geldbuße** **nach** **§ 153 a** **der** **Strafprozessordnung** **belangt** **hat**, **weil** **es** **die** **Bank** **mit** **ihren** **Wort**, **Andrea** **selbst** **kann** **es** **nicht** **wissen**, **keine** **Klammern**.

**Sie** **erhält** **es** **erst** **später**. **Aus** **den** **USA**. **Die** **amerikanische** **Börsenüberwachungsbehörde** **SEC**, **die** **Wort** **von** **der** **Sache** **bekannt** **hat** **und** **für** **den** **amerikanischen** **Aktienverkäufer** **illeg** **war**, **läßt** **sich** **die** **Akten** **aus** **Deutschland** **konstatieren**. **Jetzt** **erhält** **wieder** **Andrea** **Wissen**. **Die** **deutsche** **Behörde** **aber** **welches** **es** **nicht** **wissen** **was** **geht** **in** **Frankfurt** **der** **Bank** **Bank**. **Und** **ab** **2004** **erhöhen** **sich** **Andrea** **Kartens** **in** **einem** **Widernahmeverfahren** **erhalten** **sich** **mehr** **als** **ein** **Sonntag** **Faktor** **Wissen** – **Andrea** **kann** **etwa** **18** **Prozent** **mehr** **erhalten** **in** **die** **sich** **entscheiden**.

**Nachdem** **ihre** **Alarm** **klagen** **erst** **auswärtig** **der** **Bank** **und** **dann** **auch** **durch** **eine** **Stellungnahme** **keine** **verfügbare** **Aufklärung** **bringen** **konnte**, **es** **selbst** **zur** **Nachricht** **habe** – **entschließt** **sich** **Andrea** **Fuchs** **2004** **die** **Österreichische** **Österreichische** **Börsen** **Präsidenten** **zu** **informieren**, **in** **ihren** **Buch** **in** **dem** **jeder** **illeg** **im** **Detail** **nachlesen** **konnte**. **„Die** **Landbank**“, **Die** **Frage** **1** **wäre** **Kündigung**. **Sie** **ist** **und** **hat** **keine** **Sicht** **entscheiden**.

Mehr **wissen** [www.wistleblower.net/de/fuchs](http://www.wistleblower.net/de/fuchs)



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

Students and PhD candidates with a scholarship – this is possible thanks to the Foundation’s scholarship program. In 2011, a total of 895 dedicated and talented students and doctoral candidates received funding. Following the principles of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, half of these were women. The proportion of those who come from non-academic families was increased, and about 20 percent of the students funded have a so-called immigrant background.

The scholarships are financed through two funding pools: those of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) and the Foreign Office; the vast majority of students and doctoral candidates are funded with BMBF grants.

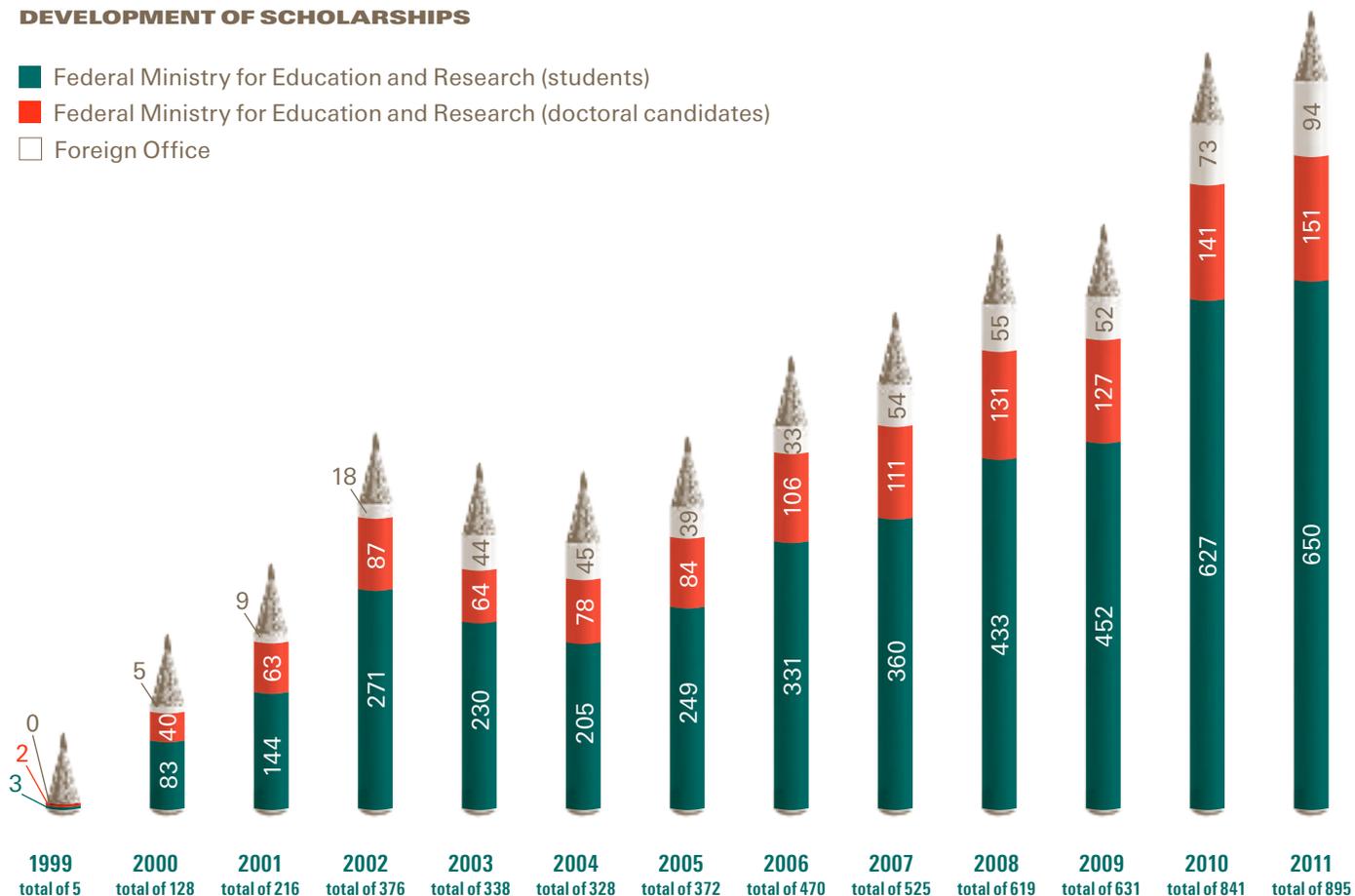
But the financial aspect is only one thing. The scholarship program also supports students and doctoral candidates with an extensive conceptual program. Highlights are the two summer schools, held annually, each with around 100 participants, in which the majority of the nearly 30 workshops are designed by scholars themselves. They give insight into their work and discussions. These are complemented by two-day workshops that are designed by employees of the Foundation. The scholarship program facilitates active student participation in the activities of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, and students and doctoral candidates have numerous opportunities to get involved.

### **PROMOTING YOUNG ACADEMICS**

Only about one in a hundred successful PhDs manages to become a tenured professor. The path from becoming a PhD to landing one’s first position at a university proves to be a rocky one, and scholars’ careers are becoming increasingly insecure. The desire to discuss the associated difficulties and risks is growing, as is the demand for tangible assistance, suggestions and information for the period after graduation. Thus, on February 10 and 11, 2011, the scholarship department, together with the work group of the «Doctoral Candidates Forum», organized its first seminar dedicated to the job prospects of young academics and funding opportunities for postgraduate students. In addition to general information, former fellows of the Foundation reported on their experiences at universities and in other professional fields. The so-called Bologna process, conformity with market demands of knowledge production, and the increasing precariousness of work conditions in the academic sector greatly complicate critical and emancipation-oriented research. Participants discussed what strategies could be developed to deal with the prevailing mentality of «the individual’s solitary muddling through»

## DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARSHIPS

- Federal Ministry for Education and Research (students)
- Federal Ministry for Education and Research (doctoral candidates)
- Foreign Office



and the performance logic. In this context networks of (young) academics were presented. In times in which it is increasingly difficult for people with a Leftist biography and critical theoretical and methodological approach to pursue a university career, these networks are becoming increasingly important, as the recently formed Alumni Association of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (ROSAalumni) demonstrates. The event is to become an integral part of the ideological work of the scholarship program.

[www.rosaalumni.de](http://www.rosaalumni.de)

### PILOT PROJECT «GRADUATE ACADEMY»

The «Graduate Academy» is part of the alumni work and the scholarship department’s promotion of ideologies. It took place as a pilot project for the first time in the summer of 2011. The aim of this three-day series of workshops and training is to better prepare the fellows of the Foundation for life after gra-

duation or after earning their PhDs. It is thus less concerned with academic training than with training opportunities to facilitate their career. The «Graduate Academy 2011» had three priorities: anti-bias training, public speaking and process moderation.

It began with an event that allowed all participants to become acquainted and exchange their views on their expectations of the «Graduate Academy». In addition, the newly founded association ROSAalumni, an association of former Foundation fellows whose mission is to accompany and advise today’s scholars, was presented. Afterwards, participants were able to choose between three concurrent workshops.

The anti-bias workshop focused on participants’ own prejudices on the subject, in order to better understand unconscious mechanisms and forms of discrimination. In the rhetoric workshop, the highlight of the thematic debates was clearly the clash between «government» and «opposition». This led to the enthusiastic participants’ establishing a scholarship-holders’ work group, «Debating», in early 2012. The third workshop, subtitled «Take Action or Leave It», focused primarily on moderating groups and committee meetings, and various talk and discussion processes were practiced. Fol-

**Dr. Werner Abel**  
TU Chemnitz  
Political Science

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

**Dr. Dario Azzellini**  
Linz University  
Social Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Klaus Bastian**  
HTWK Leipzig  
Mathematics

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

**Dr. Julia Becker**  
Marburg University  
Psychology

**Dr. Sebastian Berg**  
Bochum University  
Language and Cultural Studies

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

**Prof. Dr. Rita Bernhardt**  
Saarland University  
Biology

**Prof. Dr. Heinz Bierbaum**  
HTW Saarbrücken  
Law

**Dr. Margrid Bircken**  
Potsdam University  
Literature

**Dr. Peter Birke**  
Hamburg University  
Modern History

**Prof. Dr. Ralf Blendowske**  
FH Darmstadt  
Physics

**Dr. Michael Böhme**  
HU Berlin  
Agricultural Studies

**Dr. Manuela Bojadzijev**  
HU 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 Postcolonial  
Studies

**Prof. Dr. Christine Brückner**  
Berlin  
Educational Science

**Prof. Dr. Micha Brumlik**  
Frankfurt on the Main University  
Educational Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller**  
Hannover University  
Social Science

**Prof. Dr. Wolf-D. Bukow**  
Cologne University  
Social Science

**Prof. Dr. Gazi Caglar**  
Holzminden/Göttingen  
Political Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović**  
TU Berlin  
Social Science

**Dr. Ina Dietzsch**  
Durham  
Ethnology

**Dr. Jens Dobler**  
Berlin  
History

**Dr. Thede Eckart**  
Marburg University  
Psychology

**Prof. Dr. Trevor Evans**  
HWR Berlin  
International Management

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

**Prof. Dr. Peter Fleissner**  
Vienna University  
Computer Science

**Dr. Eckart Frey**  
Magdeburg University  
Ancient History

**Dr. Antje Gebel**  
TU Clausthal  
Earth Sciences

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

**Prof. Dr.-Ing. J. Mario Geißler**  
FH Mittweida  
Computer Science

**Dr. Udo Gerheim**  
Bremen University  
Sociology

**Dr. Stefanie Graefe**  
Jena University  
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**Prof. Dr. Andreas Griewank**  
HU Berlin  
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**Prof. Dr. Ruth Großmaß**  
ASFH Berlin  
Social Work

**Prof. Dr. Arne Heise**  
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Economics

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

**Prof. Dr. Fritz Helmedag**  
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**Dr. Andreas Heyer**  
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ASFH Berlin  
Social Science

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**Dr. Carsten Jakobi**  
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**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Jantzen**  
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**Prof. Dr. Holger Jeske**  
Stuttgart University  
Molecular Biology

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Greifswald University  
Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Werner Jung**  
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Linguistics

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Modern History
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FU Berlin  
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- Univ. Prof. Dr. Clemens Knobloch**  
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- Prof. Dr. Christian Kohlert**  
Montabaur  
Engineering Studies
- Prof. Dr. Peter Kosta**  
Potsdam University  
Linguistics
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Bonn  
Sociology, Development Policy, Gender Studies
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Social Science
- Dr. Dietmar Wittich**  
Berlin  
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- Dr. Markus Wöhr**  
Marburg University  
Psychology



The Scholarship Department provides a large number of events, seminars and workshops to its fellows



During an evaluation session of the program «Lux Like Mentoring»

Following the workshops was a joint evening in a relaxed atmosphere where there was space and time to eat, relax and chat. The workshops concluded with an evaluation round on Sunday afternoon. The 33 participants (17 students, six doctoral students and ten alumni) gave positive feedback on the contextual focus of the workshops, as well as a number of suggestions for possible improvements that will be considered when planning the next event, scheduled for August 16–19, 2012, with a slightly expanded framework.

### **MENTORING ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT**

«Lux Like Mentoring» is the monitoring and support program within the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation’s scholarship department, designed for its fellows and supported by so-called alumni or former students and scholars.

We assume that people have different opportunities and resources in terms of social participation and career advancement. These unequal conditions can also be found among the fellows of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. But new requirements, resulting from the restructuring of universities as a result of the Bologna Process, have increased the consulting and networking needs of our fellows.

.....  
With the «Lux Like Mentoring» program, resources and knowledge are made available to as many students as possible. The focus is on intellectual exchange and networking between students, which is intended to strengthen solidarity and make a common learning process possible.  
.....

The mentoring process should be liberating in character and organized as freely as possible. This way, (former) scholarship holders can participate in the planning and design of the program. In July 2011, there was a multi-day workshop for all those interested in mentoring, those who had already explored the topic of counseling and mentoring, as well as those having critically examined their own roles and attitudes as mentors.

In practice, all students funded by the Foundation will be accompanied and advised by current or former scholarship holders throughout their time at the university, as well as in matters related to the Foundation. However, nobody should feel forced into something. The concept is based on voluntary compliance.

Throughout the process phase, extending over a period of six months, the mentors and mentees receive professional support from and contact persons within the scholarship department. Meetings and events organized specifically for mentors are intended to promote exchange, networking, and content development. The program can be entered at any time. To this end, a separate platform on the Intranet containing detailed information on the «Lux Like Mentoring» program has been created.

## «OVERCOMING MANY HURDLES»

Fellow Alexander Steder on the funding program «Lux Like Studying», the scholarship program of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. He comes from the Wetterau in Central Hesse and studied history at the University of Marburg.

### How did you learn about the «Lux Like Studying» program?

**Steder:** Through my political interests, I had already become familiar with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation several years ago. The subject of scholarships did not interest me when I was a student. Political texts were more important. Many student friends later spent whole nights being poorly paid at gas station jobs to finance their studies. I started to think about this since I wanted to study history. How could I pay for my studies? Would I have enough time for my own priorities? Is political commitment still possible? I learned about the Foundation's new scholarship program on its website. The advertising slogan «Freedom to think differently» and the new program for people with no academic educational background promised exactly what I wanted.

### What are the benefits of the scholarship?

**Steder:** It gives me the economic freedom to focus on politics and my studies, to even get my studies in line with my political interests. What also impressed me, above all, was the moral support from the Foundation. I was able, for example, to participate in a beginner's course in Marxism in Leipzig, in which the participants were advised by people who knew a great deal about Marxism. Thus motivated, I can already announce a new reading group of the SDS in Marburg, in which I will use my knowledge gained from the seminar. I am looking forward to more seminars and training courses.

### After your education, what is most important to you?

**Steder:** Politically, I am involved in a local anti-fascist initiative and in an Internet project against neo-fascism. Also, I have just decided to focus on political education and National Socialism. My last big project was a traveling exhibition on the history of the Moringen concentration camp for children and youths in the city of Büdingen.

### Is there something you would like to share with the readers?

**Steder:** I can highly recommend the new scholarship program to prospective students. Apply for it! I know the problems new students face from my own experience and I can say that, with the support of the Foundation, I overcame many hurdles.



«Lux Like Studying» is the scholarship program of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation for students and prospective students without an academic background. It supports and accompanies these students before and during their studies. The first scholarship holders began their studies in October 2011. Since then, they have been able to participate in a wide range of events and benefit from consulting and networking services. New educational formats and thematic foci are constantly being developed that also provide young people with access to the Foundation and to Leftist political debates.

## **POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

The central task of the Political Communication Department is to bring the Foundation's work to the public – an enormous task in range and diversity. Outward communication requires intensive «inward» communication: the employees of the Political Communication Department cooperate with all areas of the Foundation – nationally and internationally.

In addition to the Foundation's publications and its online presence, the corporate design, the target group-oriented applications offline and online, the corporate publishing, public relations, etc., the department is also responsible for giveaway products, as well as the distribution of all materials and the organization of information tables at events. Ads, the monthly program for Berlin-Brandenburg, the maintenance of the event database, the publication of a monthly online newsletter and the production of video clips for the Foundation's Youtube channel (including documentation of events, interviews, trailers) are also everyday responsibilities of the department, as is the writing of texts on current events and the development of communication strategies for major projects central to the Foundation.

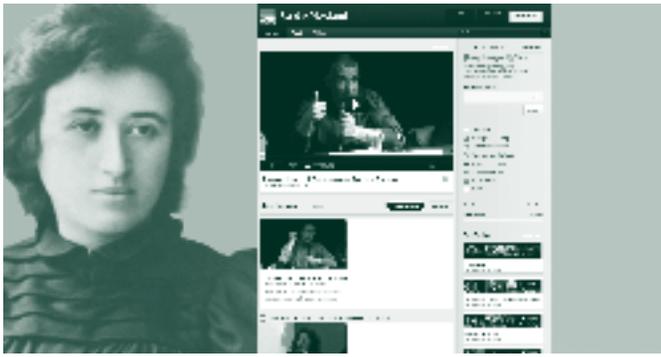
The number of Rosa Luxemburg Foundation publications, particularly «policy papers», which are of interest to the authors affiliated with the Foundation, has more than doubled (from 20 to 30 «policy papers» in 2007 to 2009 to 70 in 2010, including the format «international positions», newly introduced in 2010).

In 2011, the Political Communication Department launched online topic dossiers. This new format allows the Foundation to respond to current political events or anniversaries. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has also become more active in the social networks. New articles are published every day on its Facebook page – a constant presence that has led to increased awareness.

### **NETWORKED AND HEARD**

More and more offers of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation can be found on social networking sites. On the audio platform SoundCloud, events like the «Luxemburg Lectures» and podcasts from publications such as «Will the Whole World Soon Be Bankrupt?» can be listened to and commented on.

Image albums of events, exhibitions and celebrity guests can be viewed and downloaded at [flickr.com/photos/view tags/Luxemburg Foundation](https://www.flickr.com/photos/view/tags/Luxemburg_Foundation). The Foundation also has a presence on Google+. Its Facebook profile has been befriended by more than 4,000 users, and the Foundation is also active on Twitter.



**SOUNDCLOUD**

[www.soundcloud.com/rosaluxstiftung](http://www.soundcloud.com/rosaluxstiftung)

**FACEBOOK**

[www.facebook.com/rosaluxstiftung](http://www.facebook.com/rosaluxstiftung)

**TWITTER**

[www.twitter.com/rosaluxstiftung](http://www.twitter.com/rosaluxstiftung)

**YOUTUBE**

[www.youtube.com/rosaluxemburgstiftung](http://www.youtube.com/rosaluxemburgstiftung)



**THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION ADVERTISES: PRACTICAL, FAIR AND ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY**

The appearance of a company’s public image is denoted by the term corporate identity. Although the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is not a company, a political foundation must also present a consistent strategy, function and visual appearance and be perceived by the public as a social actor. This is achieved mainly by an entity’s content, messages, formats and people, as well as through its advertising. And why shouldn’t a left-wing political foundation promote itself? The Foundation’s give-away supplied by the Political Communication Department, are always welcome and quickly gone. The products the Foundation offers as give-aways are as diverse as its educational services: bookmarks, coffee mugs, cloth bags, T-shirts with Rosa Luxemburg quotes, posters of the Foundation’s namesake, etc.



In 2011, important steps were taken to design a corporate identity for the Foundation that was sustainable, social and imaginative. New products are fair-trade and organic products. Here are some examples: one of the Foundation’s new giveaways is a 30-gram bag of fair-trade coffee from Nicaragua and Ethiopia/Tanzania. The «Coffee de Lux» with the subtitle «RLS – Red Delicious-Solidarity» makes four cups of coffee and helps those searching for «solidarity-like» alternatives to stay awake. It also provides information about the Foundation’s project partners in Central America and East Africa and its international partners in general.



The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation pens, which are part of every event, were also redesigned, and are now made of either wood or biodegradable material from FSC-certified sources. In addition, the Foundation’s distributor also ensures that its suppliers work in compliance with social rights (right to organize, prohibition of forced labor, minimum wages, etc.). And the Foundation has also become more mobile: another new product introduced in 2011 was our seat covers for bicycles. Two models are available: «Power to the wheels» and «Wheels Republic». All products are available through the Foundation’s



Still made of plastic, but to support an ecological form of locomotion:  
Rosa Luxemburg Foundation bike seat covers

Political Communication Department and can be distributed at events free of charge.

And the rebuilding of our corporate identity continues. Eventually, all the Foundation's printed material will be on FSC-certified paper. One of the Foundation's contributions to the responsible use of our natural resources.

«LUXEMBURG ARGUMENTS»

For two years now, the euro zone governments have been fighting against the sovereign debt crisis. More and more new loans, loan guarantees and austerity programs have yet to restore the «confidence of the financial markets» in the credit-worthiness of the euro countries.

As a reaction to this political development, a new format was created in the political communication department in 2011: the «luxemburg arguments» series.

In July, the brochure «Sell Your Islands, You Bankrupt Greeks!» Twenty Popular Errors in the Debt Crisis», reached a circulation of 10,000. It was translated into Greek and English and updated and reprinted again in August and October. Meanwhile, an expanded new edition, «Cheating Greeks Are Destroying Our Euro», has been published.

Equally successful is the booklet «Will the Whole World Soon Be Bankrupt? National Debt: What It Is and How It Works», which was published together with the Foundation's Academy for Political Education and launched in November 2011 in a newly revised version; its circulation is now 7,500.

The success of these educational pamphlets results not only from the political relevance and urgency of their subjects, but is also due to the mode of representation: the texts have an introductory character, are brief and present a concrete collection of arguments that are factual and objective and that provide a counterweight to the prevailing, politically loaded public discourse. The series will continue and expand thematically. In 2011, volume 3 was published and is dedicated to the theme «Brave Green World. On the Myths of the Green Economy».



«LUXEMBURG ARGUMENTS» SERIES

«SELL YOUR ISLANDS, YOU BANKRUPT GREEKS»

(Bild, 27.10.2010)  
20 Popular Fallacies Concerning the Debt Crisis

WILL THE WHOLE WORLD SOON BE BANKRUPT?

National Debt: What It Is and How It Works



#### «WE ARE THE MARX PUBLISHING HOUSE»

For several years now, the name of Marx has been on everyone's lips. How has this made itself apparent at the Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin?

**Schütrumpf:** Since the crisis, there is an increasing need to explore Marx. I thought it was a fad, but I was wrong. In 2008/09 the sale of «Capital» rose rapidly from 700 to 5,000 copies. Today, we are selling about 2,000 copies of the first volume each year.

How do you explain this?

**Schütrumpf:** This is, in part, a consequence of courses on «Capital», like the one offered at the Foundation, among other places.

Are the Marx-Engels Works (MEW) once again fully available?

**Schütrumpf:** Yes, in most cases in revised versions. In 1975, when the creation of a truly scholarly edition of all works was being addressed, the Marx-Engels Collective Edition (MEGA), revision of the MEW volumes began. However, in 2009, when we wanted to make the complete MEW available again, we had to limit ourselves to only reprinting volumes 5 and 32 in their original version, because the corresponding MEGA volumes were not yet available.

.....

The Karl Dietz publishing house in Berlin publishes many of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's publications. There, Jörn Schütrumpf publishes the Marx-Engels Works (MEW) with great enthusiasm.

.....

Is the MEW a completed set?

**Schütrumpf:** Thanks to an accident, no. In 2013, volume 44 is scheduled to be published. I found the manuscripts in a box in the coal cellar when we were moving into the Karl Liebknecht House. It is the second part of the «Economic Manuscript of 1861–63». The first part was already published in 1990. At that time, part 2 was also already finished in manuscript form, but it had been forgotten. Right now we are updating the annotations. And then everything must be re-set and, above all, properly set.

What do you mean by that?

**Schütrumpf:** A unique typeset was developed for the MEW, with a beautiful layout, citations in a smaller typeset, etc. A font was even used that no longer exists. Fortunately, we have found a similar typeface that works in the same way.

Do you find it presumptuous to speak of Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin as the Marx publishing house?

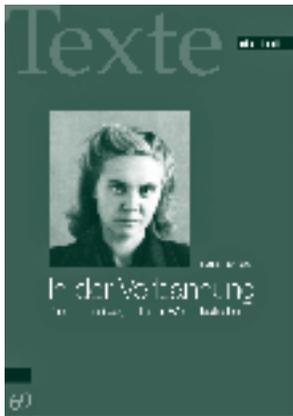
**Schütrumpf:** We are the Marx publishing house. That's the only reason why we still exist today.

Will you get rich with Marx?

**Schütrumpf:** Just recently the newspaper *Die Welt* wrote that we would get royalties for the filming of «Capital». What nonsense. The copyrights of Marx' works expired 70 years after his death.

2011 was the 140<sup>th</sup> birthday of Rosa Luxemburg. How was this reflected in your publishing work?

**Schütrumpf:** We helped fund the publication of the English edition of Rosa Luxemburg's writings. And we are pleased that, since 2008, her «Collected Works» are available again in their entirety, and that three new volumes are also being compiled.



**PUBLICATIONS**

**TEXT SERIES**

Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin

**TEXT 69**

Lydia Hermann  
**In der Verbannung**  
 Kindheit und Jugend einer  
 Wolgadeutschen  
 (In Exile. Childhood and Youth of a  
 Volga German)

**TEXT 70**

Jürgen Leibiger  
**Zukunft Eigentum**  
 Wem gehört die Republik?  
 (Future Property.  
 Who Owns the Republic?)

**TEXT 71**

Klaus Kinner (ed.)  
**Linke zwischen den Orthodoxien**  
 Von Havemann bis Dutschke  
 (The Left between the Orthodoxies.  
 From Havemann to Dutschke)

**MANUSCRIPT SERIES**

Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin

**MANUSCRIPT 90**

Klaus-Detlef Haas, Dieter Wolf (eds.)  
**Sozialistische Filmkunst**  
 Eine Dokumentation  
 (Socialist Cinema. A Documentation)

**MANUSCRIPT 91**

Evelin Wittich, Klaus Meier (eds.)  
**Kritik kapitalistischer Naturaneignung**  
 (A Critique of the Capitalist Appropriation  
 of Nature)

**MANUSCRIPT 92**

Eva Schäfer, Bärbel Klässner, Helga  
 Adler, Astrid Landero (eds.)  
**Fraufenaufbruch '89**  
 Was wir wollten – Was wir wurden  
 (The Women's Departure. What We  
 Wanted. What We Became)

**MANUSCRIPT 93**

Reiner Zilkentat (ed.)  
**Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert**  
 Aus dem Nachlass von Rolf Richter  
 (Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.  
 From the Estate of Rolf Richter)

**MANUSCRIPT 94**

Hella Hertzfeldt, Jane Angerjäv (eds.)  
**Geschlecht – Migration – Integration**  
 Beiträge zur Debatte unter den Linken  
 (Gender – Migration – Integration.  
 Contributions to the Left-wing Debate)

**SERIES TWENTY-ONE**

Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin

Matthias Ebenau, Stefan Schmalz  
**Auf dem Sprung – Brasilien, Indien, China**  
 Zur gesellschaftlichen Transformation  
 in der Krise  
 (On the Go – Brazil, India, China.  
 About the Transformation of Society  
 in the Crisis)

**HISTORY OF  
 COMMUNISM AND  
 LEFTIST SOCIALISM  
 SERIES**

Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin

**VOLUME XV**

Gerhard Engel  
**Johann Knief – ein unvollendetes Leben**  
 (Johann Knief – An Unfinished Life)

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Erhard Crome

**Der libysche Krieg des Westens**  
 Ein Zwischenstand  
 (The Libyan War of the West.  
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Jane Angerjäv, Hella Hertzfeldt (eds.)

**Zur Linken Gottes  
 oder der Glaube an das Veränderbare**  
 Warum ich Stipendiatin bei der Rosa  
 Luxemburg Foundation bin  
 (To the Left of God or Faith in the Variable.  
 Why I Am a Scholarship Holder at the  
 Rosa Luxemburg Foundation)

Erhard Crome, Wolfgang Grabowski,  
 Achim Wahl

**Das Ende der Geschichte ist  
 nicht zu Ende**  
 Geostrategische und politische Verän-  
 derungen am Beginn des  
 21. Jahrhunderts  
 (The End of History Is Not at An End.  
 Geostrategic and Political Changes at  
 the Beginning of the 21st Century)

Helma Chrenko, Joachim Wahl  
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Andreas Fisahn

**Re-Regulierung der Finanzmärkte nach  
 der Kernschmelze im Finanzsektor?**  
 (Re-regulation of the Financial Markets  
 after the Meltdown in the Financial  
 Sector?)

Murat Cakir

**Neo-Osmanische Träume**  
 Über das Werden einer Regionalmacht  
 (Neo-Ottoman Dreams. On Becoming a  
 Regional Power)

Institute for Critical Social Analysis

**Organische Krise des Finanzmarkt-  
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 However, It Is Able to Do Too Little  
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**Im Geist des Kalten Krieges – im Namen der «streitbaren Demokratie»**  
Bundesverwaltungsgericht: Verfassungsschutz-Beobachtung Bodo Ramelow (MdB) und der Linkspartei ist rechtmäßig  
(In the Spirit of the Cold War – In the Name of «Militant Democracy»  
Federal Administrative Court: Observation of Bodo Ramelow (MP) and the Party DIE LINKE by the Domestic Intelligence Agency Is Lawful)

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Bundesförderung gegen alle möglichen «Extremismen» gibt es künftig nur noch nach einem ideologischen Kotau  
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(Perspectives of German-German Convergence until 2020)

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Andreas Diers  
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Zum 75. Geburtstag von Nicos Poulantzas (1936–1979)  
(«Marxism and the State» Reloaded. On the 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Nicos Poulantzas, 1936–1979)

Institut Solidarische Moderne  
**Sozialökologischer Umbau auf dem Weg in eine Solidarische Moderne**  
(Socio-ecological Reorganization on the Path to a Solidary Modernity)

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Zur politischen Ökonomie des Landgrabblings in Westafrika  
(The Rules of Land Theft. On the Political Economy of Land Grabbing in West Africa)

Maguèye Kassé  
**Macht. Politik. Ressourcen**  
Ein halbes Jahrhundert (un)abhängige Entwicklung in Afrika  
(Power, Politics, Resources. Fifty Years of (In)dependent Development in Africa)

Anna-Maria Boulnois, Ken Henshaw, Claus-Dieter König  
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(Elections in Nigeria – A Field Report)

Gregory Wilpert  
**Zwölf Jahre Bolivarische Revolution**  
(Twelve Years of Bolivarian Revolution)

Rainer Schultz  
**Kuba: Winds of Change nach dem Parteitag?**  
(Cuba: Winds of Change Following the Party Congress?)

Anne Steckner, Corinna Trogisch  
**Parlamentswahlen 2011 in der Türkei: über Versuche gesellschaftlicher Allianzen «von oben» und «von unten»**  
(2011 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey: On Experiments of Social Alliances «from Above» and «from Below»)

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**Die ägyptische Revolution ist noch nicht zu Ende**  
(The Egyptian Revolution is Not over Yet)

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**Umbruch der indischen Automobilindustrie und die Rolle der Gewerkschaften**  
(Shifts in the Indian Automobile Industry and the Role of Trade Unions)

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**Wahlen in Guatemala 2011: Präsident Colom hat sich verrechnet**  
(2011 Elections in Guatemala: President Colom Miscalculated Things)

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**Die Linke in Ägypten nach dem 25. Januar**  
(The Left in Egypt after January 25<sup>th</sup>)

Corinna Trogisch  
**Gewerkschaften in der Türkei – mit kämpfenden Frauen voran?**  
(Trade Unions in Turkey – With Battling Women at the Fore?)

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(Fair Transitions)

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**Rückkehr der Kämpfe?**  
(Returning Struggles?)

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**Den Betrieb übernehmen**  
(Taking over Business)

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**Re: Organisieren**  
(Re: Organizing)

**ROSALUX**  
Journal of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Issue 1-2011  
**Ihr Kampf**  
Europas Rechte gegen die Unterschichten  
(Their Struggle. Europe's Right Against the Lower Classes)

Issue 2-2011  
**Globale Kernfrage**  
Nach der Atomkatastrophe von Fukushima  
(The Global Nuclear Issue. After the Nuclear Disaster at Fukushima)

Issue 3-2011  
**Grenzen der Mobilität**  
Neue Kämpfe um Migration  
(Limits of Mobility. New Struggles over Migration)

## ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

In fall 2011, the Archive Democratic Socialism (ADS) of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation published its tenth finding aid. This finding aid is dedicated to the writings of Dr. Stefan Doernberg (1948 to 2010) and includes the writings of the historian, diplomat and deputy chairman of the Council of Elders of DIE LINKE party. The finding aid is available in a printed version, as well as on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's website. Thus, the documents written by Prof. Dr. Stefan Doernberg are now accessible to the public for study and research and have been secured for posterity.

The archive material contained in the finding aid on Prof. Dr. Doernberg comprises approximately 1,5 meters of written records. The ADS acquired this archive in June 2011 from Doernberg's apartment in Berlin-Lichtenberg.

The material consists mainly of typescripts of planned books and revised editions of book publications, position papers, essays and articles. In many cases, the typescripts contain handwritten corrections and additions. Also included are collections of materials (apparently for future projects) and some correspondence and personal documents. The material dates from 1948 to 2010.

The themes that Stefan Doernberg explored in the documents range from writings on German and East German history to the history of the labor movement, the Second World War and the fight against fascism, as well as the history of the SED and issues of foreign policy and peaceful co-existence. The material also includes proofs for the fifth edition of Doernberg's «A Short History of the GDR», which could no longer appear after the Eighth Congress of the SED, because, as Prof. Dr. Harald Neubert explained in his speech given on the historian's 75<sup>th</sup> birthday, «the author refused, as he said, to understand the rigorous shift in the national question, meaning the artificial construct of an East German nation». The archival material also contained the «DRAFD Information» created between October 1992 and November 1997. It reflects Stefan Doernberg's work as a member of the board of the Association of Germans in the Resistance, in the armed forces of the Anti-Hitler Coalition and in the Movement for a Free Germany (DRAFD).

Doernberg's curriculum vitae is located in the appendix of the finding aid. It is complemented by an overview of the book and pamphlet publications that the academic wrote as an author and worked on as an editor, as well as by a compilation of secondary literature.



In mid-2011, the Foundation's library moved to new rooms in the ND building

## «EVERYONE AND ANYONE IS WELCOME»

The Archive Democratic Socialism is part of the Archives and Library Department of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Christine Gohsmann is a member of the archive team.

### How old is the archive?

**Gohsmann:** The archive was created in summer 1999 with its first acquisition of archival material.

### What is archived?

**Gohsmann:** We see ourselves as a place of history that serves our politically affiliated party, DIE LINKE, and its source organizations, as well as the main political current they represent. Our collection includes documents from the party's board, its federal parliamentary faction and state parliamentary factions, as well as from its provincial and district organizations. We accept documents from federal and state MPs. And, of course, we are also the place where the work of the Foundation is archived.

### How large is the archive?

**Gohsmann:** The archive is measured in lineal meters. At the end of 2011, we exceeded the 1,000 linear meters mark, which is quite remarkable.

### Who may use the archive?

**Gohsmann:** We welcome everyone and anyone who can demonstrate a legitimate interest. It is there to serve any archival activity.

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## WHAT IS A FINDING AID?

A finding aid is a finding guide in book form. Finding aids is the generic term for various development tools for archival collections, such as delivery lists, finding indexes, finding aids and holdings guides. They are intended to make it easier for archive library users to search the stacks with the relevant records and enable a more targeted search for information. A finding aid usually consists of a preface, table of contents, classification and itemization section, as well as an index of names and subjects. In addition to the printed form, an increasing number of finding aids will be available online.

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### How do you get archival material?

**Gohsmann:** We basically have to be proactive. We present our work and advertise our services from time to time, in the parliamentary groups, with the executives or the respective divisions of DIE LINKE party. For research, records from the committees are as important as the draft proposals for parliamentary initiatives and the documents of officials and MPs.

### So, I could, for example, find a piece of scratch paper by Gregor Gysi in your archives?

**Gohsmann:** The previously transferred inventory is extensive and dates from his time in the federal parliament from 1990 to 2002. It consists mainly of documents from his work there, and his parliamentary correspondence.

### What challenges do you face in your work?

**Gohsmann:** As trained archivists, we do not have a problem with paper material. It is another thing, however, with digital documents. These pose quite different questions: how, for example is film material indexed? Which format should be used for long-term digital archiving, where are documents stored, how are they connected to our indexing software? We have established a work group to answer these questions and develop viable solutions for such issues in the future.

### What do you like most about your job?

**Gohsmann:** First and foremost, I am pleased by the active use of our resources by interested users. I am also glad that, since fall 2011, we have been training a specialist in media and information services, with a focus on archiving.

### And what is the biggest misconception?

**Gohsmann:** Many people believe that we maintain the estate of Rosa Luxemburg. This, however, is not the case. Her estate is divided among several archives around the world, unfortunately.

## DEPENDENT FOUNDATIONS

### TRUST FOUNDATIONS

In 2011, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation administered five so-called dependent foundations with total assets of more than two million Euros, consisting of real estate, art works and investments. With earnings and revenues from these assets, a number of cooperation projects are funded. In addition, with these additional funds, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation – in compliance with the statute of the trust foundations – can expand its own sphere of activities in political education by, for example, addressing and examining new topics. Listed below are some examples of this synergetic cooperation.

### A FOUNDATION AS A PROPERTY OWNER AND DEVELOPER

Since 2007, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has been the administrator of the estate of Max Lingner (\* 1888 in Leipzig, † 1959 in Berlin). The estate of the graphic artist, painter and anti-Nazi resistance fighter also includes his home and studio in Berlin-Niederschönhausen, built in the 1950s and now a national monument.

It turned out that the building was in desperate need of renovation, for which, however, the funds were initially lacking. The funds that the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation receives for its political education from the federal government may not be used for large-scale construction or renovation activities. A solution to the problem came about through the federal stimulus packages of 2008 and 2009, which allowed the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to eventually apply for funding for the extensive and landmark-compliant restoration of the Max Lingner House. With this project, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation acted in the role of a property owner and developer for the first time.

This task represented uncharted territory for the Foundation's employees, who were entrusted with the task of construction management. The fact that this task was mastered so brilliantly is largely thanks to the good cooperation that prevailed between the Foundation and the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning and the Lower Conservation Authority Pankow. The construction phase lasted from March to November 2010. The Max Lingner House re-opened in spring 2011, and, since then, it has represented the successful renovation and modernization of the Erich Weinert Settlement, the entirety of which is under landmark protection. The estate was built in the 1950s, primarily to house the returning «intelligentsia», which had been living in exile during the war.

About 60 guests attended the opening ceremony on April 1, 2011. Opening addresses were given by the director of the



Reconstructed from the ground up: the Max Lingner House in Berlin-Pankow

National Landmark Commission, Joerg Haspel; the presidential secretary of the Academy of Arts, Hans Gerhard Hannesen; architect Alexander Pechmann of PMS Management Consulting AG, the construction firm in charge of the restoration work; and the chairman of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Heinz Vietze. The Max Lingner House is once again the site of the eponymous archive founded in 1969. It also serves as a political education center and is home to both the Cultural Forum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the two trust foundations named after Max Lingner and Hermann Henselmann. The Max Lingner Foundation supports publications, exhibitions and discussions on Lingner's work and academic research on the art and cultural history of his time. The Hermann Henselmann Foundation is dedicated to issues of architecture, city planning and social urban development.

### THE ERIK NEUTSCH FOUNDATION'S WRITING COMPETITION

In honor of its founder and namesake, currently under the umbrella of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the Erik Neutsch Foundation staged a competition for writers on the occasion of Neutsch's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday on June 21, 2011. The author of such novels as «Spur der Steine» (The Trace of the Stones) or «Der Friede im Osten» (Peace in the East) feels a special affinity for the younger generation of writers: «[It is] especially young people, who have a vein of writing, who should be encouraged by the competition, inspired by experiences of everyday life or even by people from their own social environment to write short stories or novellas and to submit these.» The well-known East German writer and journalist, Erik Neutsch, is certain that «topics for stories, short stories and other literary forms of expression can be found more or less anywhere. Whether it is those without jobs, or Hartz IV recipients, about whom one writes; or the life of a soldier stationed in conflict areas like Afghanistan; or the thoughts and experi-



Erik Neutsch

### WETTBEWERB FÜR JUNGE AUTORINNEN UND AUTOREN

Für junge ErzählerInnen mit literarischem Anspruch schreibt die Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages des Stifters einen Preis aus.

Der Wettbewerb endet am 21. Juni 2012.

Teilnahmeberechtigt sind deutschsprachig Schreibende, die im Jahr 2011 das 30. Lebensjahr noch nicht vollendet haben.

Gewertet werden Manuskripte.

- die literarisch gestaltet von Menschenschnickseler in sozialen Prozessen um die Jahrtausendwende (etwa 1990 bis 2010) erzählen,
- deren Autorin/Autor für die Urheberschaft seines/ihrer Textes garantiert,
- die bisher unveröffentlicht sind,
- die etwa 20 bis 50 Druck- oder Schreibmaschinenseiten zu je 31/2 Zeilen umfassen.

An Erik Neutsch Foundation flyer

ences of courageous people who rebel against injustices in this society».

Invited to participate were authors, writing in German, under 30, whose literary texts deal with «the destinies of people in social processes around the turn of the millennium» (from about 1990 to 2010). The texts had to be 20 to 50 printed pages long and as yet unpublished. A jury composed of board members of the Erik Neutsch Foundation and other experts

Participants in the 7<sup>th</sup> Hermann Henselmann Colloquium in Weimar

awarded the prizes of 3,000, 2,000 and 1,000 Euros in October 2012. Since its founding in 2006, the non-profit Erik Neutsch Foundation has been promoting literary and artistic works that contribute to the development of free thinking and acting in solidarity with a humanistic, democratic and internationalist spirit.

#### **IDEAS FROM WEIMAR - THE 7<sup>TH</sup> HERMANN HENSELMANN COLLOQUIUM**

Hermann Henselmann (\* 1905 in Roßla, † 1995 in Berlin) significantly influenced urban planning in the GDR with his architecture. His most famous work is the «House of the Teacher» at Berlin's Alexanderplatz. Since its establishment in 2005, the foundation that bears his name has been dedicated to architectural, urban planning and social urban development, both from a historical and a contemporary perspective.

On April 8, 2011, the 7<sup>th</sup> Hermann Henselmann Colloquium was held in Weimar and attracted more than 100 participants. In addition to the Hermann Henselmann Foundation, event organizers included the «Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning» and the «Institute for European Urban Studies» of the Bauhaus University Weimar. The colloquium focused on «urban (planning) history as social history and the hidden discourse of reform in the urban planning debate in the GDR». It was based on the example of events at the «Academy of Architecture and Civil Engineering» in Weimar, the only educational institution in the GDR for city planners, where, in the second half of the 1980s, a lively debate on the reorganization of town construction in the GDR evolved, involving not just local actors but also representatives of the «Building Academy», the then main academic institution for architecture and urban planning in the country. At that time, the economic approach of homogeneous «housing production» under the motto «quantity over quality» was unequivocally rejected. For the first time, social science methods and a «municipal internship» became required subjects in the edu-

cation of city planners at the Weimar Academy, thereby giving these professionals tools for the critical analysis of living and housing conditions in the GDR. The reform ideas from Weimar were also reflected in the «urban forecast» of 1988, a critical study of the condition and development of cities in the GDR, carried out at the Institute for Urban Planning and Architecture at the «Building Academy» in Berlin.

The end of the GDR, however, also meant an end to this reform debate. Its failure, according to the conclusion of the executive board member of the Hermann Henselmann Foundation, Thomas Flierl, had, after all, produced an excess of reform ideas that – running counter to the GDR institutions – aimed for a balance between representative democracy, expertise and knowledge (free from the influence of lobby groups) and elements of direct democracy – something that is still desirable today.

#### **INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE HARALD BREUER FOUNDATION**

The Harald Breuer Foundation operates primarily outside of Germany. The trust foundation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was established in 2006 with the purpose of promoting political education, arts and sciences and research, as well as international understanding. Particular emphasis is placed on development cooperation. At present, in cooperation with the «International Action against the Circumcision of Girls and Women Association» (INTACT), established in 1996 as a local non-profit organization in Saarbrücken, it is engaged in a two-year project in the region of Kolda in southern Senegal. In Kolda, almost 94 percent of girls and women are genitally mutilated. These circumcisions, which are performed for religious reasons, often lead to lifelong health, psychological and social problems for those affected.

The educational work of the local NGO «Umbrella Support Unit» (USU) and «Forum pour un développement durable endogène» (FODDE) in recent years and in more than 200 vil-



The goal of this project funded by the Harald Breuer Foundation is to educate and sensitize people to the issue of female circumcision

ages, has reached nearly 40,000 people, including 2,000 young people, and has been able to sensitize students to the issue through various projects in schools. Thus, the willingness to abandon the ritual circumcision of girls is increasing in the population, especially among mothers. Many village chiefs and imams have also spoken out openly against female genital mutilation. Other activities include the training of local NGOs and support of village committees and the initiation of sponsorships that could provide newborn girls with some protection from the procedure. In addition, for a large number of women who suffer from the frequent consequences of circumcision, the formation of fistulae, a surgical procedure that deals with this problem is now being performed at a hospital in Kolda. These examples demonstrate the sustainability of the local work.

### **MICHAEL SCHUMANN FOUNDATION**

Since its establishment in 2006, one of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's dependent foundations has borne the name of Michael Schumann (\* 1946 in Zella-Mehlis, † 2000 in Gransee). Michael Schumann's name is inextricably linked to his speech at the extraordinary party congress of the SED on December 16, 1989. «We irrevocably break with Stalinism as a system» was the title of the contribution with which the former SED district politician and professor of philosophy entered the public spotlight. This programmatic rejection of Stalinism by the SED, compiled by a group of authors, was an important point in the development of the party that became the Party of Democratic Socialism and, after the parliamentary elections in 2005, one of the new – all-German – parties that went on to form DIE LINKE. The Michael Schumann Foundation aims to promote the spirit of its namesake, political education, science and research, art and culture and international understanding and cooperation. In 2007, the Michael Schumann Foundation acquired all the shares of the Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin GmbH, successor to the JHW Dietz publishing house, founded in 1946.

Funding for the Harald Breuer Foundation's project in the Kolda region is ending. In March 2012, a delegation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation went on site to investigate the project's results and progress.



Michael Schumann (\*1946, † 2000)

In December 2011, Michael Schumann, who had been a member of the Brandenburg state parliament since October 1990 and a member of the party's executive board from 1989 until October 2000, would have been 65 years old. He and his wife both died on December 2, 2000, in a car accident.

## PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

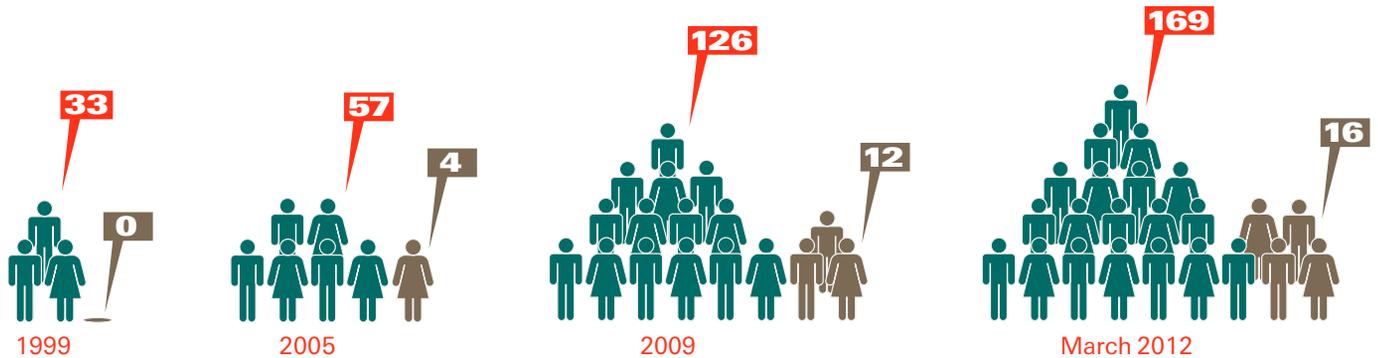
In 2011, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation grew enormously. At the end of the year, just under a quarter of all employees had been at the Foundation for less than twelve months. This development will certainly prove an exception in the long run. The background for the growth were the election results of our affiliated party, DIE LINKE, and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's equal status with the foundations affiliated with the other major political parties, which enabled us to also receive similar public funding. Hence, there was more work for employees to do in late 2011 than in early 2011. The increase in employees follows the principles of human resource planning set up in 2014. Besides the expansion of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, one goal is to consolidate the Foundation's national work. At the same time, room for other developments should be kept open in order to be able to respond flexibly to emergencies and political changes.

Selection of new employees is based on the broader thematic list of the Foundation. We consider a demographic perspective and strive to create a workforce that represents a balance with regard to the age, gender, ethnicity and political socialization of our employees. We aim for the right mix of generalists and specialists.

We would like to and will use the increase in funding to diversify human resources development, mainly through education. In 2011, we began to implement our ambitious goals. Now, years of consolidation will follow.

## HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT FROM 1999 TO 2012

- Employees
- Directors of international offices



Number of ...	December 31 ...	2009	2010	2011	March 31, 2012
Employees total		126	134	169	169
... of which in international offices		12	14	16	16
... of which in regional offices		15	15	16	16
Full time		116	125	154	156

### Percentages:

Female employees	54%	55%	51%	52%
Male employees	46%	45%	49%	48%
Employees with an immigrant background	10%	11%	11%	14%
Permanent employees	82%	84%	81%	80%
Part-time employees	29%	22%	17%	19%
On parental leave			2%	2%
Retired, part-time (passive phase)			1%	1%
Trainees			2%	2%

### In addition:

Workers in job creation measures	0	2	1	1
Minimal part-time employees <sup>1</sup>	6	8	12	7
Interns <sup>2</sup>	11	22	34	13

### Median age:

		<b>46.2</b>	<b>45.0</b>	<b>45.0</b>
Men	47.8	45.7	45.4	
Women		44.8	44.4	44.7

1 In accordance with company policy, based on the TVöD (collective agreement for public service workers)

2 In total for the entire year; paid internships based on the guidelines of the German Federation of Trade Unions and DIE LINKE party

## BODIES

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

If an institution does a good job, it is often the focus of public interest. In recent years, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has increasingly succeeded in enhancing its skills in political education and research, and in implementing projects that are of great socio-political relevance. As a consequence, demands on the Foundation have also increased. Not only must it respond with an improved range of content, but it must also adapt its structures. This was also the view of the Foundation's General Assembly when it met in late 2011. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, like most party-affiliated political foundations, is a registered non-profit association. The highest organ of the Foundation, the General Assembly, appointed a commission to make and refine proposals and to supplement existing statutes. The main concerns here are the regulations for membership, but also clarifications of the duties of the individual statute. In addition to statutory issues, in 2011, the General Assembly also addressed issues of political education, which are to be better integrated in the area of history and further developed. A work group will undertake this task. Although structural and organizational issues dominated the General Assembly in 2011, a political debate also took place – in the spirit of the Foundation's focus on discourse that primarily addressed the situation of DIE LINKE party, the political party with which the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is affiliated. A controversial debate arose about the thesis of the parliamentary correspondent of the *taz* newspaper, Stefan Reinecke, that the party DIE LINKE was unable to score points with its criticism of capitalism because of its wrong positioning. With its criticism of the SPD, he claimed, DIE LINKE confined itself to its oppositional role. Although this may have a stabilizing effect for the party in the short term, in the long term, it would forfeit its potential for social change, thus making DIE LINKE dispensable.

In accordance with the left-wing mosaic image, which depicts a pluralistic Left, seven people were admitted to the sponsoring organization of the Foundation by the General Assembly. In addition to the literature student Marwa Al-Radwany and journalist Daniela Dahn, both the former Green Party politician Birgit Daiber and the German literature and language scholar Gabi Ohler now work with the Foundation. The General Assembly also welcomed social scientist Richard Detje, freelance journalist Karl-Heinz Heinemann and former national chairman of DIE LINKE Klaus Ernst into its ranks. From now on, Rainer Rilling, longtime deputy director of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, will enrich the Academic Advisory Council with his work.



An active committee: the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's General Assembly

## MEMBERS

Ali Al Dailami  
 Marwa Al Radwany  
 Dr. Dietmar Bartsch  
 Dr. Peter Bathke  
 Prof. Dr. Günter Benser  
 Dr. Joachim Bischoff  
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand  
 Dr. André Brie  
 Sandra Brunner  
 Christine Buchholz  
 Wenke Christoph  
 Gerda Daenecke  
 Sevim Dagdelen  
 Daniela Dahn  
 Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović  
 Richard Detje  
 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann  
 Klaus Ernst  
 Ilsegrit Fink

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

Dr. Thomas Klein  
 Jan Korte  
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Krumbach  
 Marian Krüger  
 Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski  
 Antonia Kühn  
 Prof. Dr. Ingrid Kurz  
 Oskar Lafontaine  
 Dr. Klaus Lederer  
 Sabine Leidig  
 Dr. Gesine Löttsch  
 Prof. Dr. Christa Luft  
 Heidemarie Lüth  
 Dr. Helmuth Markov  
 Ulrich Maurer  
 Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek  
 Dr. Hans Modrow  
 Cornelia Möhring  
 Margret Mönig-Raane  
 Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus

Inga Nitz  
 Helga Nowak  
 Gabi Ohler  
 Dr. Wilfriede Otto  
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Pätzold  
 Dr. Harald Pätzold  
 Petra Pau  
 Peeter Raane  
 Bodo Ramelow  
 Dr. Sabine Reiner  
 Prof. Dr. Rolf Reiðig  
 Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling  
 Prof. Dr. Jörg Roesler  
 Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf  
 Dr. Bernd Rump  
 Dr. Monika Runge  
 Bosiljka Schedlich  
 Norbert Schepers  
 Dr. Birgit Schliwenz  
 Fritz Schmalzbauer  
 Horst Schmitthenner

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

## RESTING MEMBERSHIPS

Dr. Lutz Brangsch  
 Prof. Dr. Michael Brie  
 Dr. Mario Candeias  
 Dr. Birgit Daiber  
 Dr. Cornelia Domaschke  
 Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen  
 Dr. Thomas Flierl  
 Katja Kipping  
 Dirk Rumpf  
 Dr. Dieter Schlönvoigt  
 Dr. Jörn Schütrumpf  
 Dr. Marion Schütrumpf-Kunze  
 Dr. Jochen Weichold  
 Dr. Evelin Wittich  
 Fanny Zeise

As of April 30, 2012



## 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 (until September 2011)
- 13 Peeter Raane



## 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. Eight members are currently active on 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.

In 2010, the General Assembly decided to establish three so-called project umbrellas that were to summarize the foci of the contextual work of the various parts of the Foundation. In 2011, the Foundation's executive board immediately dealt with these project umbrellas in several meetings. The focus was not so much on information regarding the Foundation's current state of affairs as on strategic guidance for the Foundation by, for example, pointing out issues that may not yet have been taken into account. Particularly important in this regard was the flagship project «Let's Talk about Alternatives ... in Solidarity and Justice – for Democratic Socialism», which is nothing less than a model of societal transformation approaches based on actual experience at the local level.

The board also addressed the amendment to the selection process for the Foundation's scholarship holders. In discussions with the representatives of tutors and scholarship holders, the board mediated between the different positions. The solution: over a trial period of about two years, a new selection procedure is to be tested.

In accordance with its statutory duties, the board also adopted the personnel and staffing plan as well as the Foundation's financial planning. Moreover, in September 2011, issues of the division of labor between the board, its managing board member and the full-time management level of the Foundation were explored in depth in an advisory meeting. In 2011, the board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation met in eight sessions.

Mid-year, Stefanie Ehmsen stepped down as a board member. Together with Albert Scharenberg, she now heads the Foundation's New York office. The board currently has twelve members, whose four-year terms end in autumn 2012. The elections for the next executive board are currently being prepared. In addition, the work is overseen and supported by the statutes commission appointed by the General Assembly.

## ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

The decision made at the Foundation's 2008 General Assembly to dissolve its board of trustees was not welcomed by all. For this reason, the establishment of an Academic Advisory Council was also accompanied by a certain degree of skepticism. After all, with this council, which was intended to function as an interface between political education and academia, the Foundation was entering uncharted territory. The 16 elected members accepted the challenge and set to work. More than three years have passed since then.

The Academic Advisory Council has long been a recognized force in the Foundation and is valued as a guide. Not only do the various sectors of the Foundation refer to the expertise of board members on issues of targeting or in the evaluation of individual projects. The Academic Advisory Council is also involved in the profiling of particularly sensitive areas.

In 2011, the Advisory Council met three times. The Council supported the Foundation in setting up a site for a feminist critique of capitalism and provided (post-)doctoral students with advice about getting their research concepts approved. Also discussed were the study of Leftist-leaning milieus and the crisis awareness of work councils. Criticism was not sparing but always constructive. Special attention is devoted to the Advisory Council's projects and the conceptual orientation of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. It supports the focus on the transformation of research as a central task of this department, but calls for a stronger empirical realignment of the projects.

Albert Scharenberg, who until summer 2011 was chairman of the Advisory Council and since then has been one of the directors of the Foundation's New York office, put it this way in his analysis of his previous work: «The best sessions of the Advisory Council were those in which the contextual matter was related to academia, and then always, when these areas were also chosen with confidence». Since December 2011, Irene Dölling has been chairwoman of the Academic Advisory Council, which currently has 15 members.

The theme of socialist transformation policies will continue to be explored more deeply together with the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. In addition, the Academic Advisory Council wants to network the Foundation's lecturers better, as well as networking with the parliamentary group of DIE LINKE party.

**MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL****Prof. Dr. Irene Dölling**

Chairwoman of the Academic Advisory Board, b. 1942, professor emeritus for women's studies and the sociology of gender relations at the University of Potsdam. Main fields of research and interest: personality theory, cultural theory, sociology of gender relations, transformation processes in East Germany.

**Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe**

Deputy chairman of the Academic Advisory Board, b. 1941, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Marburg, co-editor of the journals *Sozialismus* and *Z – Zeitschrift marxistische Erneuerung*, board member of wissentransfer. Main fields of research and interest: trade unions and labor movements, Marxist theory, international political economy and European integration.

**Prof. Dr. Frigga Haug**

B. 1937, professor emeritus of sociology at the Hamburg University of Economics and Politics, chairwoman of the Institute for Critical Theory (InkriT), co-editor of the journal *Das Argument* and of the Historical-Critical Marxist Dictionary, member of Attac's academic advisory council. Main fields of research and interest: Marxist theory, women and feminism, labor, interventional social research.

**Prof. Dr. Kornelia Hauser**

B. 1954, professor of feminist social and cultural research at the University of Innsbruck. Main fields of research and interest: educational sociology, societal (self-)relations, sociology of literature.

**Prof. Dr. Michael R. Kraetke**

B. 1949, professor of political economy at the University of Lancaster/UK and director of the Institute for Advanced Studies, co-editor of various magazines (incl. SPW) and book series (Historical Materialism). Main fields of research and interest: political economy, Marxism and anti-capitalism.

**Prof. Dr. Stephan Lessenich**

B. 1965, professor of sociology with a focus on comparative social and cultural analysis at the University of Jena, member of the PROKLA editorial board, member of Attac's academic advisory council and of the «Network Basic Income». Main fields of research and interest: theory of the welfare state, social policies, political sociology and comparative societal analysis.

**Prof. Dr. Birgit Mahnkopf**

B. 1950, professor of European social policy at the University of Economics and Law Berlin, member of the academic advisory councils of Attac, the German Foundation for Peace Research and the Labor Research and Advisory Center Vienna. Main fields of research and interest: globalization, European integration, informal economics and industrial relations.

**Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer**

B. 1949, professor of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Free University of Berlin. Main fields of research and interest: American and European politics in a comparative perspective, urban policy and social movements.

**Prof. Dr. Rolf Reißig**

B. 1940, political and social scientist, co-founder of the Brandenburg-Berlin Institute for Social Science Studies (BISS), member of the Willy-Brandt-Kreis and guest lecturer at the Free University of Berlin. Main fields of research and interest: transformation of society, development of political players, governance concepts.

**Prof. Rainer Rilling**

B. 1945, associate professor of sociology at the University of Marburg and, until 2011, academic advisor at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Berlin, editor of the journal *LuX-emburg*, co-editor of various magazines (incl. *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*), member of Attac's academic advisory board. Main fields of research and interest: analysis and critique of capitalism, international relations.

**Prof. Dr. Birgit Sauer**

B. 1957, professor of political science at the University of Vienna. Main fields of research and interest: state and democracy theories, governance and gender, comparative gender policy research, multiculturalism.

**Dr. Sylka Scholz**

B. 1964, research associate at the Institute for Sociology at the TU Dresden, member of the academic advisory council of the journal *Women's and Gender Studies (Frauenforschung und Geschlechterstudien)*. Main fields of research and interest: gender relations in East Germany and Eastern Europe, masculinity studies, media and politics, qualitative research methods.

**Dr. Thomas Seibert**

B. 1957, philosopher and anthropologist, employee of medico international, activist with Attac and with the Interventionist Left (IL). Main fields of research and interest: political philosophy (Marxism, existentialism, deconstruction).

**Dr. Axel Troost (MP)**

B. 1954, economist and politician, honorary director of the work group Alternative Economic Policy (Memorandumgruppe) and board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne, member of the national executive board of the German Bundestag, financial policy expert of the parliamentary group of DIE LINKE, member of the finance committee in the Bundestag.

**Dr. Franziska Wiethold**

B. 1946, sociologist, long-time consultant and secretary of the IG Metall and HBV/ver.di trade unions, until 2005 member of ver.di's federal board. Main fields of research and interest: precarious employment, standard employment, trade union strategies.

## **ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION DISCUSSION GROUPS**

One of the key concerns of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is to facilitate exchanges and to provide space for thematic discussions. Within the context of the Foundation, there are special committees that are dedicated to this task. The so-called discussion groups are among these. Based on themes such as neo-Nazism, party research or ecology, the volunteer contributors deepen the contextual exploration of current social developments, initiate informational and educational events, write various publications and assist the Foundation's specialists. The Foundation now has 19 discussion groups, whose establishment was previously confirmed by the board. In 2011, three new discussion groups – on trade unions, Europe and urban policies – were established. The discussion group devoted to trade union issues has already organized two major consultation meetings in which the possibilities and forms of political strikes were discussed.

Structurally linked to the Foundation, the discussion groups act either by coordinating with a specialist at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation or with an employee who serves as a contact. Their activities demonstrate that the discussion groups are more than «talking shops». The discussion group dedicated to issues of rural areas, for example, was instrumental in the implementation of the international conference «Village Europe» in May 2011. As part of the «History» discussion group's work, three educational booklets on a pluralistic Left were written.

Out of the discussion group «Woman and Politics» came the impetus for the new event format, «ROSA' S SALON», where, in a relaxed atmosphere outside of the traditional seminar situation and together with guests, different facets of the (lesbian) feminist critique of capitalism are addressed and discussed. The establishment of additional discussion groups dedicated to educational policy and the analysis of class and social structures are planned for 2012.

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### **DISCUSSION GROUPS**

#### **Labor Law/Labor Codes**

Steffen Hultsch, [agb.hultsch@web.de](mailto:agb.hultsch@web.de)

#### **European Politics**

Birgit Daiber, [daiber@rosalux.de](mailto:daiber@rosalux.de)

#### **Women and Politics**

Eva Schäfer, [schaefer@rosalux.de](mailto:schaefer@rosalux.de)

#### **Peace and Security Policy**

Erhard Crome, [crome@rosalux.de](mailto:crome@rosalux.de)

#### **History**

Bernd Hüttner, [huettnr@rosalux.de](mailto:huettnr@rosalux.de)

#### **History for the Future**

Cornelia Domaschke, [domaschke@rosalux.de](mailto:domaschke@rosalux.de)

#### **Trade Unions**

Fanny Zeise, on parental leave, substituted by: Florian Wilde, [wilde@rosalux.de](mailto:wilde@rosalux.de)

#### **Cultural Forum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation**

Thomas Flierl, [flierl@rosalux.de](mailto:flierl@rosalux.de)

#### **Rural Areas**

Kurt Krambach (until the end of 2011)/Bini Schlamann/  
Michael Luthardt, [gklaendlicherraum@rosalux.de](mailto:gklaendlicherraum@rosalux.de)

#### **Living Time – Working Time**

Rosalind Honig, [gk-lebenszeit-arbeitszeit@rosalux.de](mailto:gk-lebenszeit-arbeitszeit@rosalux.de)

#### **Metropolitan Politics (in planning)**

Wenke Christoph

#### **Migration**

Koray Yilmaz-Günay, [yilmaz-guenay@rosalux.de](mailto:yilmaz-guenay@rosalux.de)

#### **Sustainability and Regional Development**

Evelin Wittich, [wittich@rosalux.de](mailto:wittich@rosalux.de)

#### **Network Privatization**

Markus Euskirchen, [euskirchen@rosalux.de](mailto:euskirchen@rosalux.de)

#### **Political Parties and Social Movements**

Cornelia Hildebrandt, [hildebrandt@rosalux.de](mailto:hildebrandt@rosalux.de)

#### **Philosophy and Education/Academic Colloquium**

Reinhard Mocek/Wolfgang Girnus/Klaus Meier,  
[meier@rosalux.de](mailto:meier@rosalux.de)

#### **Political Education**

Dieter Schlönvoigt, [schloenvoigt@rosalux.de](mailto:schloenvoigt@rosalux.de)

#### **Right-wing Extremism**

Fritz Burschel, [burschel@rosalux.de](mailto:burschel@rosalux.de)

#### **Economic Policy**

Sabine Reiner/Michael Popp, [sabine.reiner@verdi.de](mailto:sabine.reiner@verdi.de)

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

DATA PROTECTION OFFICER

WORKS COUNCIL  
OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

ACADEMY  
FOR POLITICAL  
EDUCATION

SCHOLARSHIP  
DEPARTMENT

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOG  
REGIONAL OFFICES

REGIONAL OFFICES ABROAD

EUROPEAN POLICY

SUPPORT PROGRAM

RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA/  
CAUCASUS  
MOSCOW

THE POLITICS  
OF HISTORY

ALUMNI WORK

REGIONAL OFFICE EASTERN,  
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN EUROPE

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE  
WARSAW

GENDER RELATIONS

EDUCATION POLICY

SOUTH EAST EUROPE  
BELGRADE

INTERNATIONAL  
POLITICS

SCHOLARSHIP  
PROGRAM «LUX LIKE  
STUDYING»

SOUTHERN AFRICA  
JOHANNESBURG

YOUTH EDUCATION

ACADEMIC TUTORS  
OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG  
FOUNDATION

REGIONAL OFFICE  
AFRICA

WEST AFRICA  
DAKAR

LOCAL POLITICS

SELECTION  
COMMITTEE

EAST AFRICA  
DAR ES SALAAM

MIGRATION

WORK GROUPS  
OF FELLOWS

REGIONAL OFFICE  
MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA  
AND TURKEY

ISRAEL  
TEL AVIV

SUSTAINABILITY

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES  
RAMALLAH

NEO-NAZISM  
AND THEORIES OF  
INEQUALITY

MEXICO/CENTRAL AMERICA/CUBA  
MEXICO CITY

POLICY  
MANAGEMENT

REGIONAL OFFICE  
LATIN AMERICA

SOUTH AMERICA  
SÃO PAULO

POLITICAL ECONOMY

ANDEAN REGION  
QUITO

POLITICAL EDUCATION  
AND TRAINING

VIETNAM  
HANÓI

CONTEMPORARY  
HISTORY

REGIONAL OFFICE  
ASIA

CHINA  
BEIJING

YOUTH EDUCATION  
NETWORK  
OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG  
FOUNDATION

SOUTH ASIA  
NEW DELHI

EUROPEAN UNION  
BRUSSELS

ERIK NEUTSCH  
FOUNDATION

REGIONAL OFFICE EU, OECD,  
NORTH AMERICA, UN

UNITED NATIONS/NORTH AMERICA  
NEW YORK CITY

HARALD BREUER  
FOUNDATION

## FOUNDATION BUDGET

As a political foundation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is related to the political party DIE LINKE. Like other political foundations, it is financed by the federal budget. The foundation receives grants from the budgets of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), the Federal Foreign Office (AA) and the Administration of the German Bundestag. A prerequisite for a political foundation's receipt of funding is that it must represent a significant and sustained intellectual and political current within society. The decision of which criteria to use when allocating funds to foundations resides with the German Bundestag. In political practice, the indicator used for measuring a political current's longevity and importance is that the political party related to the foundation must have been represented in the German Bundestag repeatedly, and then at least once with enough seats to be officially recognized as a political party. Here, the amount of funding is based on the respective affiliated party's results in the last four elections.

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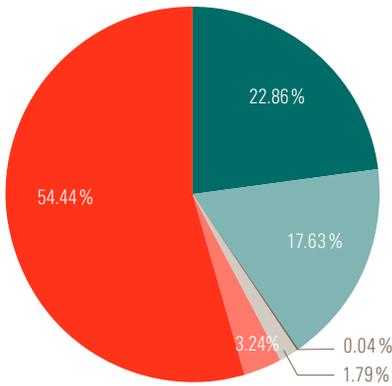
Following the successful re-entry of DIE LINKE into the German Bundestag in 2005 (with enough seats to be recognized as a parliamentary group) and the increased share of votes in the national elections in 2009, there was an incremental increase in the annual amount of allocated funds from the federal ministries, with the aim of treating the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation the same way as other party foundations. This adjustment was completed in 2011.

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Until 2014, the Foundation will receive 9.5 percent of the total funding for political foundations from the federal ministries. Compared with 2010, the funding increased from 30.6 million Euros to 42.5 million Euros in 2011.

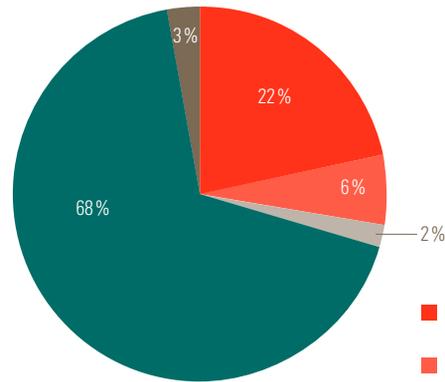
By exposing its revenue and expenditure structure, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation demonstrates its commitment – as a political foundation – to the openness and transparency of fund utilization, a practice established by party-affiliated foundations in 1998 in a joint statement, and one that has been practiced by all foundations ever since.

The most important grants come from the BMI (the Federal Ministry of the Interior, from its so-called general funds), the BMZ (the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the AA (the Foreign Office). The general funds are the backbone of the political education activities within Germany and are used to finance and maintain the offices of the Foundation. The funds allocated serve to finance the implementation of seminars, conferences and colloquiums, to purchase teaching and learning materials and to award research



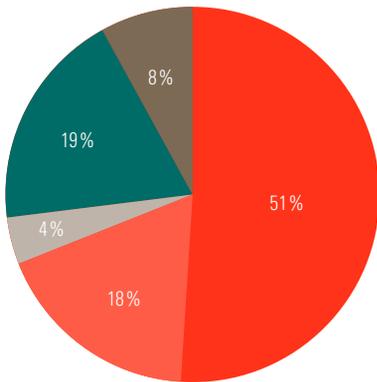
**FUNDS 2011**

- Federal Ministry of the Interior
- Federal Ministry for Education and Research
- Administration of the German Bundestag for international parliamentary internships
- Federal Foreign Office – scholarships
- Federal Foreign Office – projects
- Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development



**EXPENDITURES 2011  
GENERAL BUDGET**

- Personnel expenses (incl. employees abroad)
- Administrative costs
- Investment expenses
- Specialist expenses
- Transfer of general funds



**EXPENDITURES, DOMESTIC BUDGET  
FROM BMI, VKZ/VKP, AA AND BMBF RESOURCES**

- Personnel expenses
- Administrative costs
- Investment expenses
- Specialist expenses
- General funds to the state foundations

projects with socio-political aims, particularly in the area of educational research.

The resources from the BMZ and the Foreign Office are used by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to maintain a network of international relations. This includes financing international offices, projects with partner organizations and international events. Grants from the BMBF (Ministry of Education and Research) are used for scholarships for talented undergraduate and postgraduate students. In addition to federal funding, the party-affiliated foundations can also make use of state funding. Within the framework of the Foundation Alliance, these funds are used by eleven state associations.

The Foundation has to fulfill its statutory tasks independently of its affiliated political party regarding organization and personnel. Furthermore, is not permitted to grant any financial funds or services of monetary value to the party DIE LINKE.

The annual contributions are allocated to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation based on grants that contain clauses to ensure that the funds provided are used for specific purposes and that the usage is monitored.

As a political foundation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is committed to having its accounts audited annually by an independent chartered accountancy firm. For the 2011 business year, the accountant confirmed that the general funds coming from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the funds for administrative costs from the other ministries had been economically allocated as stipulated in the legal regulations, and that all requirements had been met. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation uses 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 DECEMBER 31, 2010**

<b>Assets</b>	<b>December 31, 2010 in Euros</b>	<b>December 31, 2009 in Euros</b>
<b>A Fixed Assets</b>		
I Intangible assets		
Computer software	160,566.75	202,071.00
II Tangible assets		
Furniture and fixtures	414,857.26	424,995.00
<b>Total fixed assets</b>	<b>575,424.01</b>	<b>627,066.00</b>
<b>B Accounts receivable and other assets</b>		
Total accounts receivable	727,088.08	776,759.95
<b>C Liquid assets</b>		
Total liquid assets	1,748,627.16	869,496.46
<b>D Prepayments</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,051,139.25</b>	<b>2,273,322.41</b>

<b>Assets</b>	<b>December 31, 2010 in Euros</b>	<b>December 31, 2009 in Euros</b>
<b>A Net assets</b>		
I Previous year	784,459.49	493,233.12
II Surplus/deficit	-39,692.47	291,226.37
<b>Net assets</b>	<b>744,767.02</b>	<b>784,459.49</b>
<b>B Advances and contributions from donations</b>		
I Intangible assets	160,566.75	202,071.00
II Tangible assets	414,857.26	424,995.00
<b>Total advances and contributions</b>	<b>575,424.01</b>	<b>627,066.00</b>
<b>C Accrued liabilities</b>		
Other provisions	271,796.69	158,831.40
<b>D Liabilities</b>		
I Accounts payable	521,431.26	432,306.14
II Other liabilities	12,963.28	8,817.58
III Federal grants	791.84	45,771.16
<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>535,186.38</b>	<b>486,894.88</b>
<b>E Deferred income</b>	<b>923,965.15</b>	<b>216,070.64</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,051,139.25</b>	<b>2,273,322.41</b>

**ASSET AND LIABILITY STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2010**

	2010 in Euros	2009 in Euros
<b>I. Revenues</b>	<b>30,594,753.62</b>	<b>27,377,837.79</b>
1. Federal grants	30,414,594.49	27,267,457.90
2. Donations	12,590.38	25,343.42
3. Other income	167,568.75	85,036.47
<b>II. Expenses</b>	<b>29,670,001.80</b>	<b>27,086,611.42</b>
Means for statutory activities	20,281,119.12	18,833,597.73
of which for conferences and seminars	546,133.17	507,953.26
for publications	527,454.98	484,236.73
for research projects	210,418.41	243,877.96
for the transfer of general funds	824,216.81	4,893,475.21
for funding students and postgraduates	5,150,660.19	3,866,697.23
for international cooperation	12,272,024.33	11,376,782.99
other	750,211.23	521,939.47
Staff costs	7,628,468.63	6,327,065.61
Administrative costs	1,605,045.05	1,455,319.01
of which operating expenses	344,396.37	328,204.31
other (incl. rent, travel, repairs and maintenance costs, etc.)	1,260,648.68	1,127,114.70
Investments	155,369.00	470,629.07

**INCOME IN 2011 (PROVISIONAL)**

<b>I. Income in Euros</b>	<b>41,824,114.36</b>
<b>1. Grants</b>	<b>42,111,310.79</b>
Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI)	9,306,000.00
Independently generated revenues BMI, previous year	318,600.98
Federal Ministry of Education and Research	7,425,355.81
German Bundestag Administration for international parliamentary internships	16,919.00
Foreign Office scholarships	754,000.00
Foreign Office projects	1,365,435.00
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	22,925,000.00
<b>2. Donations</b>	<b>10,174.48</b>
<b>3. Membership fees</b>	<b>12,482.00</b>
<b>4. Other revenues</b>	<b>176,690.88</b>
<b>5. Revenue deductions</b>	<b>-486,543.79</b>

**EXPENDITURES IN 2011 (PRELIMINARY)**

<b>II. Expenditures in Euros</b>		
<b>1.</b>	<b>Staff costs</b>	<b>-9,018,946.76</b>
	of which staff costs in Germany	-7,043,200.06
a)	Wages and salaries	-7,567,727.44
b)	Social security contributions and others	-1,451,219.32
<b>2.</b>	<b>Administrative costs</b>	<b>-2,526,091.21</b>
2.1	Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables	-434,883.94
	Network, software and system support	-227,234.57
	Agency fees	-42,840.00
	Maintenance fees and repairs	-22,755.56
	Office and consumable supplies	-43,641.44
	Rented Equipment	-35,910.28
	Tools and small appliances	-58,610.51
	Books/teaching materials	-3,891.58
2.2	Operating and maintaining land and structural facilities	0.00
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2,091,207.27
	Costs for premises	-647,860.87
	Cleaning	-14,153.12
	Maintenance of space	-353,928.10
	Insurance costs	-2,775.26
	Contributions and other duties	-67,655.53
	Work of third parties – contracts for work – administration	-218,850.52
	Repair and maintenance of technical equipment	-5,153.76
	Advertising/ads	-83,326.05
	Promotional costs	-15,845.90
	Entertainment costs	-8,996.82
	Travel expenses	-202,081.00
	Courier service	-7,254.28
	Further training costs	-53,032.01
	Postal fees/telephone/Internet costs	-100,500.40
	Magazines/books/media	-37,044.31
	Legal consultancy/auditor/accounting	-168,217.99
	Incidental costs of monetary transactions	-7,463.53
	Other expenses	-97,067.82
<b>3.</b>	<b>Investment expenses (of which in Germany 595,177.44)</b>	<b>-761,070.38</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Specialist expenses</b>	<b>-28,305,934.26</b>
	Conferences and seminars	-899,416.17
	Publications	-783,137.59
	Research projects	-527,774.95
	Other specialist expenses	-283,114.24

International projects	-18,991,226.51
Programs for students and postgraduates	-6,592,621.36
Promotion of students in Germany	-5,940,399.08
Promotion of students abroad	-636,017.77
International parliamentary internships	-16,204.51
Conceptual support of scholarship recipients	-228,643.44
<b>5. Transfer of general funds</b>	<b>-1,068,878.72</b>

**NOTES:**

In the year 2011, 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 Sachsen-Anhalt 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 Schleswig Holstein – werkstatt utopie und gedächtnis e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e.V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung e.V. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
- Max-Lingner-Stiftung
- Helle Panke e.V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin
- Jenny-Marx-Gesellschaft für politische Bildung e.V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rheinland-Pfalz

**TOTAL OVERVIEW OF ALL REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES, EXPECTED IN THE 2012 BUDGET****Revenues**

Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	9,306,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research	7,500,000.00
Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for international parliamentary internships	5,960.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	23,503,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for projects	1,425,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for scholarships	754,000.00

**Expenditures (extract)**

Staff costs	8,000,000.00
Administrative costs	2,555,000.00
of which for investments	300,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees)	32,450,000.00
of which education programs	4,000,000.00
of which scholarships	7,320,000.00
of which projects of international cooperation	21,130,000.00

#### **PHOTO CREDITS/IMPRINT:**

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All data and figures are current as of December 2011,  
unless otherwise indicated.

**«Where would we be today without those <defeats>, from which we draw historical experience, understanding, power and idealism? Today [...] we stand on the foundation of those very defeats; and we cannot do without any of them, because each one contributes to our strength and understanding.»**

ROSA LUXEMBURG