

**ANNUAL REPORT 2008|2009**



**ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**



**The only means of  
violence that will lead  
to victory is political  
enlightenment in the  
day to day struggle.**

**ROSA LUXEMBURG**









PENTY









## FOREWORD

Rosa Luxemburg once said: «The only means of violence that will lead to victory is political enlightenment in the day to day struggle». By no means does this mean that the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation tolerates or even incites violence in any form. Rather – as was the intention of Rosa Luxemburg, whom we were named after – we consider ourselves committed to communicating democratic, socialist and left ideals within our work in political education in order to thereby change the understanding of this within society and thus transform society itself. To be able to satisfy these expectations structurally, fundamental changes were implemented within the Foundation in 2008. The newly founded Akademie für Politische Bildung [Academy for Political Education] reflects our wish to increasingly tailor our offer of education to specific audiences. Good examples of this are the Kommunalakademie [Communal Academy] or the programmes of further education in political management. Our Institute for Social Analysis has in the meantime taken on a role as left think tank for certain topics. The objective here is primarily to keep in view central, even ambivalent developments within society in order to develop our own concepts based on sound analyses. Within the discussions on the subject of «crisis», the institute has already proved its position with a series of publications. ■■■ The Zentrum für Internationalen Dialog und Zusammenarbeit [Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation], the largest structural part of the foundation by the size of personnel, bears a great responsibility in its emancipatory contribution to development cooperation and the left's international network. This central role is also reflected in the overall growth of the centre. By the end of 2008, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation had opened seven regional international offices for example in Mexico, Palestine and Brussels. In March and April 2009, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation began work in Israel and Vietnam. Further offices are currently in preparation, so that in the foreseeable future, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation will be represented in fourteen regions of the world. New here is the approach of establishing local offices alongside the international offices. This is to be put into practice initially in the Andes region, where, in addition to the main office in Quito/Ecuador, local offices will be established in Caracas/Venezuela and La Paz/Bolivia. Here, we aim to work more closely with local partner organisations and to cater to the prevailing political, economic and social specifics in each country. Characteristic of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation as an international left educational institution in this context is that we approach the issue of mastering globalisation by putting forward concrete ideas for a social, fair and ecologically sustainable economic and social policy that will promote peace. This also means that the concept of development policy/development cooperation must be redefined to support the discourse of the political left. Our objective is not to implement the western concept of democracy in the whole world, but rather, we aim to encourage a two-way learning process. The various crises that are currently having such fatal ef-

fects emphasise the need for radical change. The Foundation obtains an insight into the ways in which different regions deal with the crisis, the attempts that are made to ease it, or how the left is looking for alternatives to the social system that has caused or at least encouraged these crises. Various forms of alleviating the effects of the crisis and looking for left alternatives make up the basis of a productive dialogue between local players and the Foundation's staff. Our scholarship department has also undergone a development with our first postgraduate programme «Kapitalismus und Demokratie» [Capitalism and democracy] and the clear increase in the number of scholarship holders. ■■■ All this has enhanced the status of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, which is gaining respect as a sanctuary for creative ideas and an authority on developing political alternatives. It has found its place amongst the party affiliated political foundations, which is also of course closely linked to The Left Party having established itself in the parliamentary system. As a place for critical discussion and an authority on developing political alternatives, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has found its place on an equal footing with the party political foundations. As party affiliated foundation, it escorts The Left and its parliamentary groups by means of political education, analysis and networking. ■■■ Moreover, during the year of historical anniversaries we also concerned ourselves with the past. The numerous projects and activities that were begun in 2008 by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the various volunteer organisations in almost all the German federal states on the events, conclusions and impact of 1968, will continue in 2009. In January of this year, the Foundation incited over 250 participants from more than 20 countries to come to Berlin to the International Rosa Luxemburg Conference on the occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's death. This represented a successful prelude to the year of history, 2009. Further central and de-central events were and are being organised, such as a reading with Christoph Hein, which was concerned with giving the western German public an understanding of GDR literature and German reunification. The activities will come to a close with three events organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg and further partners. Subject matter will be three important historical events: the mass demonstration on Alexanderplatz, Berlin on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1989; Hans Modrow's assumption of office in the new GDR government, which was then no longer only carried by the SED and its satellite parties, on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1989; and the SED's special party conference in December 1989. ■■■ In no way should history detract from the present, however. Rather, it should explain the background that causes and interprets the latter. This allows historical topics to be reconciled with the current issue: crisis/crises. Here the Foundation focuses its search for democratic, social and fair alternatives in an international context. Crises are superimposed disturbances that extend to almost all areas of life. Financial markets, labour markets and the «real economy», climate, poverty, nutrition, are all subject to specific crises. The search for alternatives is closely linked to other issues, for ex-

mple to those of peace, violence and wars. The Foundation confronts this difficult task in many ways, in the form of voluntary work such as that of the Future Commission/Council for radical politics, the discussion groups, the Wissenschaftlicher Beirat [Scientific Advisory Council] and in the form of full time work in Berlin and the federal states. ■■■ Statistics from the year 2008 prove the Foundation's success in promoting the development of these nationwide structures. More than 2,100 events took place throughout the country and around 68,000 participants could be counted. In the federal states of the former FRG, the number of events more than doubled from 260 (in 2006) to 629 (in 2008). The same is true for the number of participants, which significantly increased from 8,400 to 17,500. Opening up to the west is therefore bearing fruit. However, Berlin remains the location with the most events. With a total of 404 events in 2008, the number of events in the capital city has only insignificantly increased compared to 2006 (400 events). This massive increase in events goes hand in hand with a decentralisation of the Foundation's work. Thus, Leipzig and Potsdam, Jena, Rostock and Magdeburg are still the main locations of RLS work in the federal states, but these now also include Bremen, Hamburg, Hanover and Munich. The new offices established in 2008 in Erfurt, Hamburg, Mainz and Kiel round off the 13 regional Foundation offices. Quantity is not the be-and-end-all, but is bound up with qualitative development and reorientation such as the work of the Kulturforum [Cultural Forum] and the Kommunalakademie [Communal Academy] or the work in the field of publications taken on by the Karl Dietz Verlag also in cooperation with other publishing companies. One example of this is the Marx Capital hype in the autumn and winter of 2008. ■■■ In short, the Foundation has significantly expanded its work in 2008/2009 and knows that in critical times it must be prepared for a growing need in political education, networking and analytical work. This annual report showcases the areas of our work. We hope you will enjoy reading it.

**HEINZ VIETZE**

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

**DR FLORIAN WEIS**

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

## **CONTENTS**

- 1 DEVELOPMENT, DIALOGUE AND POLITICS 11**
- 2 IN THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY 12**  
BUILDING SITE EUROPE
- 3 THE MATRIX OF CRISIS 24**  
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS
- 4 FURTHER EDUCATION FOR THE LEFT 36**  
ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
- 5 NETWORKED LEARNING 48**  
SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT
- 6 NATIONWIDE WORK 54**
- 7 PROJECT SPONSORSHIP 64**  
THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION AS PARTNER OF EXTERNAL ORGANISATIONS
- 8 ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY 68**
- 9 DISCUSSION GROUPS 69**
  
- ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION 76**  
ORGANIGRAM, NETWORK OF FOUNDATIONS, ACADEMIC TUTORS,  
PUBLICATIONS, THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET, SUPPORT THE WORK OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

### 1 DEVELOPMENT, DIALOGUE AND POLITICS

Along with *Zeitgeist* and *Realpolitik*, another German word has recently entered the vocabulary of other world languages – *Dialogpolitik*. But a critical glance behind the façade of glossy brochures and the rhetoric of political sermons quickly reveals that the underlying understanding of dialogue is all too often clad in constraints and peppered with reservations.

### 2 IN THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's international work is committed to the spirit of international solidarity. Based on ideas and concepts of democratic socialism, the Foundation pursues the goal of supporting projects and programmes that secure a life of self-determination and cooperation in solidarity by means of democratic participation, access to education, social security, work, a healthy environment and cultural self-realisation. ■■■ **THE BUILDING SITE EUROPE** The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's series of events and The Left delegation in the fraction of the European United Left-Nordic Green Left (EUL-NGL) in European Parliament are oriented to the outcomes and perspectives of European politics. The politicians of the GUE/NGL are looking for common denominators between European policies and reality for the citizens.

### 3 THE MATRIX OF CRISIS

Crises are overloaded times. They unsettle, exceed boundaries and instil fear. New associations must be realised, familiarities destroyed. Crises enforce decisions, which is another reason why suddenly everywhere power comes into play. Constraints, contradictions and even violence enter the scene anew. ■■■ The strength of social and political players becomes apparent overnight: not parliaments but executives make politics in times of crisis. Actions, ideas and visions are suddenly judged for their sustainability. Will they lead the way out of the crisis? What protection do they offer from crises? What world will then be? Where do we want to go? Which course should we take?

### 4 FURTHER EDUCATION FOR THE LEFT

The Academy's stated aim is to gear the work of the RLS even further towards implementing an emancipatory educational purpose. Acquiring the knowledge and the skills needed to use this knowledge in different situations and for instance applying this in actual projects of civic participation is vital. This also includes gaining the skills needed to act in solidarity, for self-organisation and to actively intervene in social disputes.

### 5 NETWORKED LEARNING

Besides scholarships, the scholarship department offers a wide-ranging programme of academic support, which serves to deepen academic qualifications as well as encouraging the discussion of socially relevant issues. At the same time, the RLS support programme promotes the national and international networking of socialist forces that support the aims of the foundati-

on, i. e. to stimulate independent socio-political activities, a commitment towards peace and international understanding and to strengthen a unified and harmonic sense of togetherness.

### 6 NATIONWIDE WORK

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is active nationwide. The events, publications and other activities of our partners in the federal states are an important part of political education. In 2008, strong cooperation with the regional foundations enabled more than 1,900 events to be staged in the whole of the Federal Republic. With this programme of political education, the RLS addresses the environment of The Left Party as well as a broad public interested in political education. Together, the legally independent regional foundations and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation form the network of foundations. The council of regional foundations, in which every foundation has a voice, is the body that represents the regional foundations vis-à-vis the RLS' executive board.

### 7 PROJECT SPONSORSHIP

Project sponsorship is a central form of cooperation with other organisations of political education. Within the limits of its financial means, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports projects of events, publication and research and cooperates in their organisation as regards content. It therefore contributes to presenting the broad spectrum of left topics to the political public. The projects that are facilitated by project sponsorship complement the Foundation's political education programme thematically, regionally and as regards specific target groups. ■■■ In depth research activities on project sponsorship are also implemented. The results are an essential element of the Foundation's tasks.

### 8 ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

The «Archiv Demokratischer Sozialismus» [Archive of Democratic Socialism] will soon also provide party documents as downloads. Recordings of television coverage about The Left Party will in future also be available digitally. Since the beginning of 2009, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has promoted the project «Digitales Archiv» [Digital archive]. Recordings of television coverage about the «Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus» (PDS) [The party of democratic socialism] in the years 1989 to 2004 and about the party The Left in 2006 and 2007 will be digitalised, made accessible and documented. Employees of the «Archiv Demokratischer Sozialismus» (ADS) have developed a guideline for indexing the digital archive.

### 9 DISCUSSION GROUPS

In compliance with the guidelines of the general assembly, the central task of the discussion groups is to create a social space which allows left activists, scientists and those interested to hold intense discussions on social alternatives.



## THE FOUNDATION'S BODIES

The General Assembly is the highest body of the association «Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e. V.». It convenes once a year, last on 6<sup>th</sup> December 2008. The assembly is responsible for electing the management board and the admission and if need be exclusion of the association members. It discusses the focus of the association's work and approves the management board's fields of activity. It accepts the annual accounts and discharges the management board. Decisions on membership application and changes to articles of the association as well as its dissolution also lie within the assembly's field of responsibility. ■■■

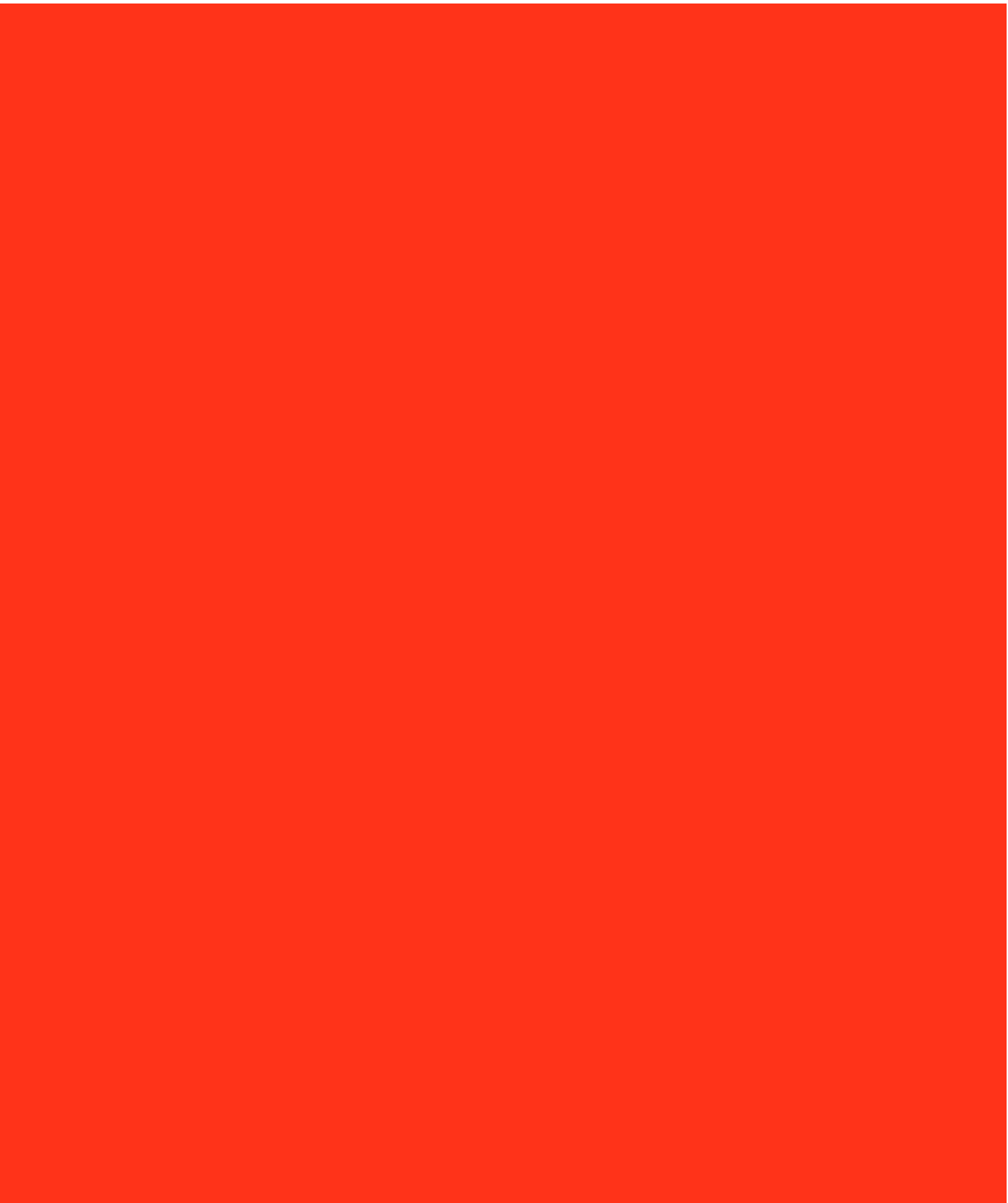
The assembly is elected every four years. Current members of the assembly are: Heinz Vietze MdL (Chairman of the board), Dr. Gesine Löttsch MdB (Vice Chairman), Dr. Florian Weis (Executive Director), Thomas Händel MdEP (Vice Chairman), Prof. Dr. Christa Luft, Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein, Claudia Gohde, Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen, Dr. Thomas Flierl MdA, Peter Raane, Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović and Dr. Sabine Reiner. The amendments to the articles of the association of December decided on the election of the new foundation body, the Wissenschaftlicher Beirat [Scientific Advisory Council] consisting of at least 6 members. The

members of the council are elected by the General Assembly for four years. Central task of the council is to advise the board of directors on the choice of scientific focal points and topics. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Scientific Advisory Council was elected on 6<sup>th</sup> December. Its members are: Prof. Frank Deppe; Prof. Irene Dölling; Prof. Frigga Haug; Prof. Kornelia Hauser; Prof. Jörg Huffschmid; Prof. Michael Krätke; Prof. Stefan Lesse nich; Prof. Birgit Mahnkopf; Prof. Margit Mayer; Prof. Manfred Neuhaus; Prof. Rolf Reißig; Prof. Birgit Sauer; Dr. Albert Scharenberg; Dr. Silka Scholz; Dr. Thomas Seibert and Dr. Franziska Wiethold. On 1<sup>st</sup> December, amendments to the articles resolved to create the Rat der Landesstiftungen [Council of Regional Foundations]. The Council of Regional Foundations advises the board of directors on issues concerning its national presence and represents the interests of the regional foundations vis-à-vis the board of directors. The Council of Regional Foundations was for the first time officially nominated by the representatives of the regional foundations on 8<sup>th</sup> November 2008. Chairman is Norbert Schepers (Bremen), his assistant is Dr. Detlef Nakath (Brandenburg). The chairman or assistant are always invited to the meetings of the board of directors.

### FUNDAMENTAL POINTS ON AN OFTEN DISTORTED CONNECTION

Along with *Zeitgeist* and *Realpolitik*, another German word has recently entered the vocabulary of other world languages – *Dialogpolitik*. ■ However, a critical glance behind the façade of the glossy brochures and rhetoric of political sermons quickly reveals that the underlying understanding of dialogue is all too often clad in constraints and peppered with reservations. By means of a «dialogue» staged by the dominant economic world states, globalisation (driven by corporate interests) was attested to in the same way as the TO based trade regime and Good Governance. The consequences for the population, especially in the global South, were played down. ■ Dialogue all too often transforms from being a process of communication among equals to that of a custodial teaching of supposedly universal values and norms. Only here and there, in less important aspects and then with great reluctance, are tiny amendments made within dialogue. ■ Nor has the fundamental principle of «*Dialogpolitik*» been changed in the current global crisis, which extends way beyond the financial markets deeply into real economy and the modern lifestyle in general. The outbreak of

the crisis not only caused many a former inviolable tenet of earlier «dialogues» to be withdrawn, but actually completely changed its stance. ■ From the perspective of the rulers, dialogue is always a (subtle) means of imposing prevailing thought on the world... ■ On the left, the collapse of the Soviet type state socialist systems and the associated loss of political certainties has not least led to the fact that the remaining supply of readymade explanations and solutions for pressing global problems is running out. ■ To find new ways of sustainable life and work, the left in this country has no choice in its search for a future other than to rely on the experience of others who are looking for an answer. Real dialogue without an overly hasty superior attitude is therefore not only a necessity but also a challenge in exploring alternatives. For the international work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, which with confidence increasingly considers itself a left think tank, the centre of its activity is the creation of networks and an open exchange of experiences with like-minded people, thinking about and developing alternatives with others – in short, dialogue in its most varied forms.





## **THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION SIGNIFICANTLY EXPANDS ITS INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES**

In the past two years, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLS) has significantly expanded its presence and activities abroad. The international network was further developed, which is reflected in the increase in the number of foreign offices. At the end of 2007, the RLS had 5 representative offices abroad, this number doubled in 2008 and in the first half of 2009 to ten offices. New branches of RLS offices are to be found in Hanoi, Beijing, Ramallah and Tel Aviv as well as in Brussels. New regional projects were also started in order to be active in those regions where no offices exist. Annual conferences serve to foster contacts between staff from all continents. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is committed to the spirit of international solidarity. Based on the ideas and concepts of democratic socialism and cooperation in solidarity, the Foundation pursues the aim of supporting projects and programmes that wish to secure a self-determined life by means of co-determination, access to education, health, social security, work, a healthy environment, and cultural self-realisation. By way of an equal dialogue with partners in Europe, Latin and Central America, Asia and Africa, the RLS wants to provide the necessary freedom to enable development as self-development to be created in a sustainable way. Discrimination and inequality in gender relations are to be overcome. Other important aspects of their work include actively confronting ethnic exclusion and an unconditional commitment to peaceful conflict resolution.

### **REFORM PROCESSES IN ASIA**

The work of the two offices in China and Vietnam focuses on the transition and reform processes in these countries. Together with its local partners, the RLS is working on developing democratic, economic and social changes in both of these countries so that economic performance is improved and political stability maintained. Social justice, the population's democratic participation, and environmental compatibility and sustainability are core objectives of the Foundation's work. In the young and very dynamic societies of Vietnam and China, the Foundation also wishes to make a contribution to interpreting formative events and phases of political, social and economic history in such a way that one may gain insights and impulses for a future of fair and sustainable development in solidarity. ■■■ Presence in the area was further expanded with the establishment of a new office in Hanoi, which in the future will also be responsible for projects in Laos and Cambodia along with those in Vietnam.

### **TWO-STATE SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

In this region, the Foundation is faced with the complex circumstances of the unresolved Middle East conflict. With this in mind, the RLS' work in Israel and the Palestinian territories stands before the task of raising public awareness and generating a broader acceptance of ideas for the peaceful coexistence of ethnic, national and religious groups, as well as

strengthening the forces of social change in order to foster a development in the Middle East based on democratic values and human rights. ■■■ The search for peaceful strategies of conflict resolution must be based on a two-state solution. Civil society of the countries in the Middle East should be increasingly involved in this. Here, the politically and emotionally fraught relationship between Jewish Israelis and Arab citizens must be improved. ■■■ The focus is on promoting democracy and human rights. Dialogue between all relevant parties should be encouraged as only this will enable a lasting, viable solution to the conflict. The Foundation strives to involve the broadest possible range of different social groups in the programme, in particular women and young people as these have a special role in shaping the future of their societies.

### **THE DOOR TO EUROPE**

The new Brussels office differs in several ways from the RLS' other foreign offices. It is the Foundation's first overseas office which is not in a developing country, but in the capital of a Western industrialised nation. This is also the location of the headquarters of the European Union (EU). The office is financed not only by funds from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) but also uses project funds from the Foreign Office (AA), which is new for an RLS office. Consequently, it has a different approach and way of working. One of the main tasks of the Brussels office is to strengthen the capacity left players from developing countries have in cooperating with partners and institutions of the European Union. ■■■ Of equal importance is developing regional cooperation and integration in various parts of the world by the transfer of knowledge, dialogue and building up networks. ■■■ Through its activities, the office intends to contribute to improving knowledge of the EU and its institutions, increasing the networks of left European and non-European partners and encouraging the transfer of left-wing solutions from the developing countries into the EU. A second major area of activity of the Brussels office covers the international exchange of basic issues of left-wing politics and the support of left players. Particularly important here is fostering a European and transatlantic debate on fundamental issues of democratic socialism and strengthening solidarity and emancipatory positions.

### **NEW REGIONAL PROJECTS IN WEST AFRICA**

Besides opening new offices, the RLS also expanded its international activities by establishing new regional projects, such as in West Africa. The project in West Africa, which was initially launched together with partners in Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal, concentrates particularly on improving education, legal knowledge and the ability of disadvantaged groups to participate. It strives to bring about positive change in the economic and social situation of the population living in rural areas, which addresses most of the population in this region. The Foundation supports programmes for rural development and promotes political education and the participation of vulnerable social groups. This is achieved by the specific use of the media, espe-



cially radio programmes. In this regional project, events are staged on conflict management and promoting the peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic and social groups.

#### **ALTERNATIVES IN THE ANDES**

In the Andes region, the work of the RLS focuses on the countries Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela. The Foundation assists its partners in this region in their search for independent forms of political participation, and in proposing alternatives to the dominant model of development. In the medium to long term, the aim is to explore how migration processes could contribute to creating a tolerant society based on participation. Previously disadvantaged groups are to be supported so that they are better able to formulate and represent their interests and to improve their access to basic essential goods. With this in mind, the Foundation uses alternative media that encourage public debate and constructive cooperation between ethnic groups and the sexes.

#### **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE**

In South Eastern Europe, the Foundation has significantly expanded its work to now include Bosnia, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia. The guiding principle of all projects in the region is to develop peace based on approaches of participation in democratic, multiethnic societies. ■■■ At the same time, the RLS wishes to contribute to sustainable development in the region of South Eastern Europe. Work with partners aims to foster the peaceful coexistence of the different ethnic and religious groups. The situation of women in their private life is to be improved and their participation in public life strengthened. Strategies for an ecologically sustainable development and the integration of these countries into the EU are also to be discussed.

#### **NETWORK OF EMPLOYEES**

As a result of the expansion of international activities, the number of employees both at home and abroad has also greatly risen. This brings with it increased requirements on employ-

ee management as well as planning and assessing projects and settling the financial budget. Regular annual conferences with employees abroad provide an opportunity to communicate about activities and new challenges, but also serve to inform and train the office management. In the past two years, the introduction of a new system of project planning, progress monitoring, impact assessment and reporting were on the agenda. ■■■ There was also a significant increase in personnel in recent years in the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation [Zentrum für Internationalen Dialog und Zusammenarbeit] in Berlin. Responsibilities were reorganised. Five regional consultants now bear the responsibility for supervising the offices and project activities in their respective regions. They are assisted by project coordinators who, along with settling the accounts, also provide assistance on matters of content. The Centre will also be further developed in the future. ■■■ To improve financial management and project settlement, an integrated project accounting system is to be introduced in order to facilitate the cooperation between those responsible for accounting in the headquarters, overseas offices of the foundations and the many international project partners of the RLS. ■■■ International work will also grow in coming years. Plans for example include new regional offices in the Andean area, the Balkans, India and West Africa.

#### **WOMEN ON THE DON FOR PEACE**

##### **THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN TEACHERS AFTER THE CHECHEN WAR CONTRIBUTES TO ENDING CONFLICTS**

The women in the south of Russia have successfully joined forces. In 1993, they founded the organisation «Women of the Don Region» (short: Don Women), a union of several women's organisations that aim to strengthen the role of women in public, political, economic and cultural life, to protect human rights and to actively work to promote peace. This organisation works mainly in the Rostov region and in northern Caucasus.



More than 5000 people, including army and militia members, victims of conflicts and disasters, teachers and educators, psychologists, journalists, community representatives, entrepreneurs, learners and students from various regions of Russia have participated in the association's programmes in the last 15 years. It is now one of the largest social organisations in the Rostov-on-Don region. The programmes in recent years were varied, as the titles of the events prove: «Dagestan as centre of peace creating activities», «Women for a life without war and violence», «Psycho-social rehabilitation», «Regional consultation in social and legal affairs», «Women's rights, step by step», «Women in Russian politics» and «Financial Transparency» are just a few examples. The Don Women began their civilian, peace-building activities during the Chechen war from 1994 to 1996, when activists travelled to the war zone to prompt the release of Russian prisoners of war. It also organised humanitarian aid for Chechen children in Novocherkassk. In the long term, the aim of the association is to improve the infrastructure for protecting human rights in the Rostov region. For two years, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has supported the women's association. During this period, two projects have been implemented: «We know our rights – and you?», was the name of a programme to increase civic engagement in case of human rights violations by state institutions. «Planning change together» was the title of the project to develop confidence-building activities to improve the co-existence of the various social, ethnic and confessional groups in the region. This included establishing a dialogue between Russian and Chechen teachers that is to help overcome the psychological impact of the two Chechen wars. The teachers of these two regions gave a positive response to the programme. The Don Women and the RLS now want to extend this dialogue to two other regions in North Caucasus: Ingushetia and North Ossetia. Through interactive education, discussions, role-playing and rehabilitation programmes, a further step will be taken towards enhancing the peace building powers of local players in civil society.

### **GETTING STARTED IN WESTAFRIKA** NEW OFFICE PLANNED IN DAKAR

The voice of truth in Mali is «Radio Kayira». This programme openly broadcasts what other radio stations keep secret: the social and political problems facing the country are discussed. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports «Radio Kayira» in encouraging critical debate in listeners' discussions which give people's everyday problems a voice. It is especially targeted at the rural population. This is only one of the projects which the RLS has brought into being in West Africa since 2008. In order to intensify its work, the Foundation will open an office in Dakar in spring 2010. The office is to improve the organisation of work with project partners and report in more depth on politics, and social and emancipatory movements in the region. At the centre of the RLS and its partners' project work in West Africa is basic political education to enable people to learn the necessary skills to be able to become more involved in the political process and help shape their living conditions. An RLS partner in Casamance, a particularly poor region in the north of Senegal, offers a programme for health education and civic education. Participants learn the basics of communication, health and social organisation. In their role as multipliers, they pass on their new experiences in their villages. The educational camps and seminars of the RLS partner, 'Social Action' in the Niger Delta, address the link between economic and ecological sustainability, empowerment and democratic participation. These are important issues in the Delta, where the ecology was badly damaged by the production of crude oil and where the distribution of income from these resources is a controversial issue. In these and other projects in Senegal, Mali, Nigeria and Ghana, the foundations are laid for civic and political action in order to understand and change the prevailing local, national and international circumstances of their own living conditions.



### **NOW ALSO PRESENT IN ASIA**

#### **THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION OPENS AN OFFICE IN HANOI**

With a seminar on the situation in Germany twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation opened its new office in the Vietnamese capital Hanoi on 27<sup>th</sup> April 2009. This is the RLS' ninth representative office abroad. Representatives of partner organisations, political and academic Institutions, NGOs and the media in Vietnam as well as individuals from German institutions in Hanoi were invited to the inauguration ceremony. Together with the Chairman of The Left party, Prof. Dr. Lothar Bisky and RLS staff from Hanoi and Berlin, the opening was celebrated as a milestone for strengthening work in Vietnam. ■ Along with many words of thanks, speeches remembered the solidarity of the GDR population with Vietnam. Hopes for a future political dialogue that continues to be fruitful were also expressed. The subsequent Rosa Luxemburg programme with Regine Seidler and Jörn Schütrumpf also contributed to this. The seminar on the critical assessment of the development of the past 20 years in Germany, which took place two days later, was met with great interest by the Vietnamese public. ■ Hans Thie, Katrin Schaeffgen, Almuth Tharan and Maria Wersig spoke about the issues of economy, education, environmental policy and gender equality.

### **A SPACE FOR EVERYONE**

#### **MEXICO**

A dark, sparsely furnished office with three rooms in the south of Mexico City reverberates every Sunday with a Babylonian mixture of languages and loud laughter. Here, indigenous migrants from various regions in the country learn to use the new technologies. The women and men meet at the so-called «Asamblea de Migrantes» [Migrants Assembly] to learn how to work with computers and produce radio reports. While the

adult students work and learn, their children romp through the rows of tables or rehearse with the brass band in the next room. ■ Various indigenous ethnic groups use the «space for all» as the office of the «Asamblea de Migrantes» is referred to in accordance with the philosophy of the Zapatistas. Besides computer courses, the Migrants Assembly offers legal assistance, cultural activities and an internet radio. This unique project has the aim of safeguarding indigenous identity while making it an integral part of the new home. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports the educational programmes by providing operating systems and software. The project manager, Apolinar González, declared that the concept of open source software fits in perfectly with indigenous philosophy as both confront an individual sense of ownership with the idea of a joint contribution to society. In this way, the «Asamblea de Migrantes» contributes to social transformation.

### **POINT OF CONTACT OF THE GERMAN AND ISRAELI LEFT**

#### **THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION OPENS AN OFFICE IN TEL AVIV**

On 11<sup>th</sup> March 2009, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation opened an office in Tel Aviv. It could provide new approaches for cooperation and promote the exchange of the German and Israeli left, declared Florian Weis (Executive Director) at the opening ceremony. ■ The German Ambassador, Harald Kindermann, emphasised that now all the party-affiliated foundations of parties represented in the German Bundestag were represented in Israel. ■ For several years, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has been cooperating in Israel with civil society organisations interested in alternative education, the teaching of democratic values, Jewish-Arab dialogue and peace work. The new office now provides a basis for expanding this work. The first major event was a symposium on the «Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg for the German and Israeli left» with 250 participants. Petra Pau,



Vice-President in the German Bundestag, summed up her experience of two and a half social systems: actually existing socialism, actually existing capitalism and the so-called «Wendzeit» – the process of change. Luxemburg’s message that freedom is always the freedom of those that think differently had not been fully implemented either in Germany or in the State of Israel. ■ The director of the new office in Israel, Dr. Angelika Timm, said that she saw it as their task to impart knowledge in Israel about Germany and the German left, to seek a productive cooperation with Israeli civil society and to develop a realistic picture of Israel in Germany. The resonance of Israeli scientists, politicians and actors of civil society to the Luxemburg Symposium was excellent. The «best of the Israeli left that has not betrayed itself» was assembled here, said Moshe Zimmermann, professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This was a huge compliment, which however also means that the RLS has a particular responsibility to bear in its future work.

### **CIVIL SOCIETY AS A LITMUS TEST ISRAELI DEMOCRACY**

The roots of Israeli civil society are to be found in the period before the founding of the State of Israel. However, civil society only became an important factor in the 1990s. As a result of transformative impulses in international, regional and country-specific situations, society and its value system changed fundamentally. The representation of individual and group interests increasingly broke up Jewish national consensus or displaced it. Neoliberal economy, as it was now in force, was connected to the dismantling of social services. The state withdrew from its responsibilities in many areas. Whereas in 1982 only 3000 non-profit organisations existed in Israel, more than 30,000 were registered in the year 2000. But not only the quantity, but also the quality of civil society has changed. New fields of activity were entered into or new strategies developed. The

possibility of influencing policy decisions has increased. ■ Structures and spheres of influence of Israeli civil society to a large extent reflect the socio-economic, ethnic, ideological-political and religious cultural contradictions in the country. Important points are:

- The interests of national and ethnic groups;
- The reflection of contradictions in relation to state and religion and between religious communities
- Israeli-Palestinian relations
- The development of democracy and the rule of law
- Issues of social welfare and advice
- The preservation or protection of human rights
- Initiatives in education and culture
- The gender issue
- Selected issues of environmental protection

Israeli citizens of Palestinian nationality also created their own civic structures. Growing confidence resulting from demographic change, generational change, higher educational standards and an increase in the international prestige of the Palestinian factor, means that Arab NGOs which press for social change amount to 17 per cent of all Israeli organisations. The majority of Arab organisations are, of course, those that provide facilities not catered for by the state in the areas of social assistance, culture, education and leisure, but also on religious identity. ■ Although Jewish and Arab civil society to a large extent exist separately as far as their neighbourhoods, objectives and their inner structures are concerned, forms of cooperation develop time and again. Their successes or failures are clearly closely bound to the ups and downs of the Middle East peace process. Approaches of a bi-national nature are spreading, for example in the wake of the Oslo agreement. During the second Intifada, however, they met with less positive response on both sides. ■ Due to its historical development, Israel is not a typical example of civil democracy or the formation of civil society structures. The specific characteristics of



the founding of the state and population development, the ongoing state of war with its Arab neighbours, governing a large group of non-Jewish citizens or residents of the occupied territories, but also the politics of permanent concessions to religious parties and interest groups, all prevented a strict implementation of the liberal democratic model. ■■■ Moreover, the case study Israel has shown that civil society does not necessarily go hand in hand with social progression. NGOs are one the one hand in a position to put pressure on the state decision making process and to democratise society, but can also promote processes of particularisation which encourage religious orthodoxy or the advance of national religious forces or the conservative right. Civil society is thus not a panacea for the problems of modern society. It can not replace parliamentary democracy, must however accompany the state in a critical way. ■■■ A great number of Jewish and Arab NGOs have ensured that discussions on citizens' rights and Human Rights, on constitutional principles and the rule of law or on the transparency of policy decisions and public scrutiny have become a part of political culture. Civil society is of particular importance at a time when a deep disenchantment with politics and alienation between citizen and state are emerging in Israel. Future political and social choices are therefore not least influenced by the strength or weakness of civil society. This relates to both internal societal issues as well as the Israeli-Palestinian relationship. In this sense, the development of civil society does indeed represent a «litmus test» for the expansion of Israeli democracy or for the withdrawal of democratic values and achievements.

#### **NETWORKING FOR THE LEFT**

##### **THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION OPENS AN OFFICE IN RAMALLAH**

It took six months of preparation until office manager Peter Schaefer could open the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's new office in Ramallah in the Palestinian territories on 6<sup>th</sup> October

2008. Leading representatives of the Palestinian Left, a total of over 100 Palestinian and German guests came to the inauguration. ■■■ The speeches held for the occasion gave those invited an impression of the role of the new office and the Foundation. Speakers were Klaus Burkhardt, head of the German representative office in the Palestinian territories, and Heinz Vietze, Chairman of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Brandenburg and Left Party Member of Parliament. For the guests this combination represented the special system of the German political foundations: the RLS is part of publicly funded education as well as international development cooperation. With its proximity to The Left party, it already takes on an important role within political discussion in Germany. ■■■ The RLS has been active in the occupied territories for the past eight years. It strengthened women so that they are better able to claim their rights and provided a platform for the discussion of internal Palestinian disputes. With the opening of the office in Ramallah, the Foundation will now focus more intensively on promoting secular democratic values in Palestinian society and support possible approaches for independently monitoring development. ■■■ The inauguration ceremony was already a great success. According to the guests from the sphere of politics, academics, the media and NGO's, visitors had met again for the first time in years and grasped the opportunity to exchange ideas. This is another of the RLS' roles: connecting people and providing a platform for political discussion that extends beyond the borders of country, party or client.

#### **ROSALUXEMBURG GOES EUROPE**

##### **OPENING THE FOUNDATION OFFICE IN BRUSSELS**

On 10<sup>th</sup> December 2008, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's new office in Brussels, the «capital of Europe», was opened. Office Manager Birgit Daiber was pleased with the high-ranking guests, which included one visitor from Somalia. Asha



Hagi Elmi from the organisation «Save Somali Women and Children» (SSWC), had only the day before received the Right Livelihood Award 2008 (the alternative Nobel Prize) in Stockholm. He now spoke at the opening of the new European office of RLS. ■■■ In his speech, the writer and theologian Friedrich Schorlemmer took the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights as an opportunity to talk about the unity and indivisibility of human rights. He explored the question of the importance of these rights of freedom if social rights were disregarded. ■■■ The chairman of the European Left, Prof. Dr. Lothar Bisky and Helmuth Markov, director of the RLS International Department, spoke on behalf of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. ■■■ The aim of the RLS in Brussels is to present well-founded alternatives to the neoliberal model and to continue reforming the European idea. This concerns social equality, economic democracy and civilian strategies for peace and security policy. Also discussed was how participatory democracy can be implemented in all spheres of society, The Brussels office will work closely with other offices and partners of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in all regions of the world. Office Manager, Birgit Daiber, emphasised that the Brussels office will introduce specific questions of the development of an equal global society to the European debate.

the Middle East. Between War and Hope» was on the agenda. The audience agreed that «Weltanschauung», in the true sense of the word, was necessary to understand the situation in the Middle East. ■■■ Bärbel Romanowski raised some key issues: What is the role of the Jewish settlements? What is the status of Jerusalem? How can this refugee problem be solved? Where could the borders of a sovereign Palestinian State lie? What role can and should Europe have in this process?

#### **ISRAEL'S RIGHT OF EXISTENCE**

Ilan Mor, Israeli ambassador, described his country as the «only democracy in the Middle East» and a «country without neighbours». Israel has been threatened for 60 years. Its right to exist was not only denied by radical Palestinian organisations, but also time and again called into question by neighbouring countries. The Minister asked for sympathy: «Israel needs understanding, not moralising remarks.» ■■■ Prof. Dr. André Brie, MEP of the LEFT delegation in the European United GUE/NGL, who has repeatedly travelled to the Middle East, pointed to his Jewish roots and stressed that other countries could lose a war and would still exist. Israel, on the other hand, could lose no war, as it would then be extinguished. He addressed the situation in his party The Left. A number of parliamentarians, members and sympathisers from his point of view had a one-sided and therefore false solidarity with the Hamas and other radical Palestinian groups, said Brie. He identified recognising Israel's right to exist as a precondition to criticising Israeli policy. ■■■ He was pessimistic concerning a solution to the Middle East problem. Even after the Annapolis Conference in Washington, the peace process had not really progressed. The Middle East Quartet, represented by the European Union together with the United States, Russia and the United Nations, had so far delivered no tangible results.

#### **PATIENCE IS NEEDED**

Ilan Mor declared that the clocks in the Middle East tick differently than in Europe. A lot of patience and time was needed to find a solution that was not imposed from the outside. This had been shown by the negotiations between Israel and Egypt, which extended over a very long period. It was important for Israelis and Palestinians to talk to each other: «When we talk to each other, we will not shoot at each other.» ■■■ Holk Freytag, director of the Dresden State Theatre, was the first German director who worked in Israel for a long period of time. At the event in Berlin he broached the subject of the settlement issue and criticised Israel for only offering Palestinians a patchwork of territories. The director also compared theatre life in Israel with that in Germany. He was not only impressed by the fact that theatre in Israel had a visitor number ten times higher than that in Germany, but also praised the optimism in the country and the role of the theatre as a political institution. He had not experienced a «culture shock». For him, there had been a greater difference in coming from West Germany to East Germany, than from Germany to Israel.

## **BUILDING SITE EUROPE**

### **IF WE TALK TO EACH OTHER WE WILL NOT SHOOT AT EACH OTHER**

FOCUS ON THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SERIES  
«BUILDING SITE EUROPE»

«Go to Israel! Visit the Middle East!» was the demand immediately made by several visitors to the event staged by the presenter Bärbel Romanowski in Berlin in mid December 2008 in cooperation with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. During the series of events «Building Site Europe», the topic «Focus on



## ISRAEL AS A VIRTUAL EU MEMBER?

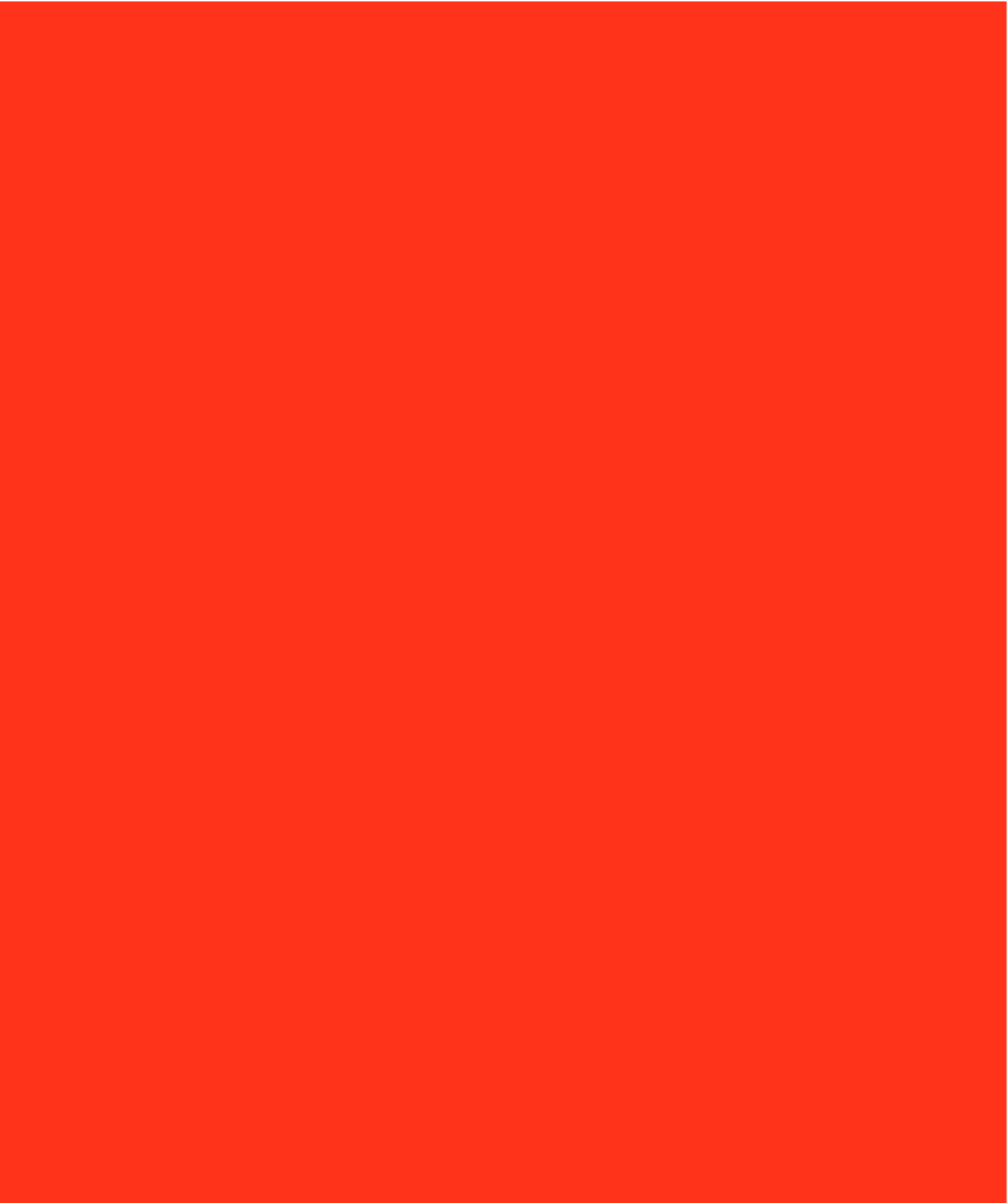
Shortly before the event, the EU and Israel had concluded an association agreement in order to strengthen their relationship. Critics note that Israel had been awarded the status of a virtual EU member state. The agreement permits a far greater involvement on behalf of Israel in European community programmes than before. It strengthens the relationship between the EU and Israel in many areas, ranging from the economy, trade, science and security to diplomatic relations. ■■■ When questioned by the presenter, the ambassador Ilan Mor affirmed that he was proud of this success in Israeli diplomacy. The decision of the EU to intensify relations with Israel was of great moral significance for his country. ■■■ Prof. Dr. André Brie declared that the agreement was in principle an important decision by the EU. However, he would have wished for a more suitable point in time, not a time in which the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks had stagnated, when Israeli settlers had committed a pogrom against the Palestinian population in Hebron and when the hardliners had obtained seats with good prospects on the Likud party list for the parliamentary elections.

## FOCUS ON AFRICA: BETWEEN TURMOIL AND POVERTY

THE SERIES «BUILDING SITE EUROPE» WAS CONCERNED WITH POLICY VIS-À-VIS THE BLACK CONTINENT

Europe's policy vis-à-vis Africa was the focus of an event chaired by Bärbel Romanowski for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's series «Building Site Europe» in early September 2008 at the European house in Berlin. The podium participants of «Focus Africa: Between turmoil and poverty», first gave an account of their own personal experiences. It was difficult to do business in Mozambique if you did not belong to the clans who call the shots, said Emiliano Chaimite, board member of the Foreign Council Dresden. The speaker, a native of Mozambique, said that bribes were still expected in order to obtain the necessary papers from bureaucracy. ■■■ Common stereotypes about Africa were refuted by Andrej Hermlin, band leader of the «Swing Dance Orchestra». The famous swing musician is married to a Kenyan and regularly visits her home country. He described Kenya as relatively peaceful, although there had been violent clashes during elections. The bloody events of January/February 2008 had mainly occurred in poor areas in West Kenya. However, the situation now was stable, but new threats were to be found in the sharply rising energy and food prices. ■■■ European MP of The Left, Gabi Zimmer, sees progress in the relations between the European Union (EU) and Africa. The former PDS National Chairman said that the EU had a ten year plan for its Africa Strategy. During this time, the funds for development were to be doubled, education and health promoted, a European «Peace Corps» and European-African partnerships of parliaments, communities, schools, universities and companies established. Neverthe-

less, there was no overall EU strategy, said Gabi Zimmer. This was due to the borders becoming more impenetrable. EU interior ministers were calling for the establishment of reception centres for immigrants. Increased labour migration could not however be combated with isolation policies. ■■■ Andrej Hermlin called refugees who crossed the Mediterranean Sea «harbingers of future distribution conflicts», for water, oil and other resources. Pumping money into African countries is not enough. It is essential to help them to help themselves, and in this context, to provide education. ■■■ Gabi Zimmer stressed that African countries sought equal economic relations as well as a partnership with the EU on equal terms. The Left party politician pointed to a new and worrying trend: within EU bureaucracy, voices had recently urged granting the principle of good governance lower priority than before in order to beat China, India and other states in the access to natural resources. ■■■ Podium participants gave an account of their personal involvement in Africa. Emiliano Chaimite from Mozambique came to the GDR in 1986 as an apprentice. He worked at the power plant in Schönebeck and was trained as a foundry labourer. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, he stayed, unlike most of his compatriots. With great difficulty he managed to establish himself. Since 1991 he has lived in Dresden where he sits on the board of the foreigners' council. He founded the association for African-European understanding ■■■ «Afropa e. V.», which provides political education and implements projects in Germany and Mozambique, as well as offering Swahili language courses. ■■■ Andrej Hermlin, Berlin Jazz Musician with a preference for 1930s America, reported that he had first visited Thumaita, the home village of his wife, eight years ago. Now he has made it his second home and is active both politically and socially. He described how he organised the rubbish collection for Thumaita and with private donations has contributed to painting the houses on the square, setting up street lights and cleaning the village school. ■■■ During the debate one participant complained that Africa's opportunities and possibilities had not been emphasised enough. It was also pointed out that the EU in actual fact only represented the views of those in power amongst the member states. Gabi Zimmer responded: «The EU is not just the rulers, the EU is us». The left should intervene more strongly in European politics. Success could already be seen. ■■■ One participant indicated that the cause of the problems in Africa were to be found in capitalism. Without eliminating this cause, the problems would not be solved. Andrej Hermlin answered that in Latin America, there were hopeful indications, however weak, of «21<sup>st</sup> Century socialism».



## REVOLUTIONISING POLITICS

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENT CRISIS BY THE  
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Crises are overloaded times. They unsettle, exceed boundaries and instil fear. Language changes, words lose their magic, new texts are rehearsed. New associations must be realised, familiarities destroyed. Crises enforce decisions, which is why suddenly everywhere power comes into play. Constraints, contradictions and even violence enter the scene anew. The strength of social and political players becomes apparent overnight: not the parliaments, but the executives make politics in times of crisis. ■ Actions, ideas and visions are suddenly judged for their sustainability. Will they lead the way out of the crisis? What protection do they offer from crises? What kind of world will then be? Where do we want to go? Which course should we take? ■ Addressing and responding to these questions is a matter of strategic politics. And as crises are always tantamount to redistributions of power, the stakeholders of power add another question to this list privately and for themselves: how can our power be secured in the face of crisis? Which course will give us power, that is, political viability and an increase in the resources that we control? Which world will belong to us? As the period since 2007 has shown, they will without hesitation reject their own theory and practice in order to arrive at solutions on their own terms.

### THE NATURE OF CRISES

For many of the powerless or disempowered, however, the nature of crises merely ends in loss. The chances within crises, the compulsion to change and the ardent wish to move on that they set in motion are often forgotten. Instead, the new adversity exhausts people and immediate necessity becomes increasingly important. The view of an uncertain and oppressive present is then determined by retrieving from the past apparently low-risk crisis resolutions and their myths. ■ It would therefore be true to say that deep, structural crises in a capitalist system (for all their randomness) cannot exist without systematic, coercive or even organic periods which can develop over long periods. For this reason, crisis analyses will surely fail when they neglect structures and processes of possibly blatantly different duration, location and power in favour of the validity of one particularly effective factor.

### MORE THAN A NORMAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

The crisis broke out as a sectoral crisis when the speculation bubble in the U.S. housing market burst within the dynamics of an economic crisis which was at first glance «normal». This concealed a crisis of overproduction and accumulation that had built up over the past three decades of financial market-driven capitalism. It was the core of the globalisation of a new form of neoliberal capitalism, through which the financial crisis caused the worst global economic recession since 1929. ■ But there is more to this than a combined economic, financial, and economic crisis of over-accumulation. The matrix of these



crises ultimately reflects the deep structural and growth crisis of a capitalist model of development and expansion that arose in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the 1970s, century-old fossilism, consumerism, imperialism and militarism were joined by «financialization». Together they formed the fundamental matrix of expansion of the constant accumulation of capital. ■ Its great strength is waning, however. The current crisis is the clearest sign yet that the long century of this peculiar matrix of expansion is coming to an end.

### THE NEW LEFT

The dramatic culminated end in 1989/1991 of the historical left and its attempts to control, modify and break out of this matrix was the political omen of the beginning of the end of capitalism's zenith. Two centuries of work on a new left since then means that the left sees this century, which has by all means shaped it, as the central historical foundation of its understanding, theory and practice, and is changing. ■ Now, however, a crisis-driven capitalism is emerging which encompasses a combination of these processes and is linked to extremely vehement social and political conflicts of direction through which the various disruptions caused by the crisis are managed.

### THE KEY ISSUE FOR THE LEFT IN THE COMING YEARS

In crises, basic decisions and courses of action are therefore always called into question. Is the old strategy of growth through export still viable? Must industrial production and services, private and public, state and civilian, central and decentral, democracy and authoritarianism be newly balanced out? Are the fundamental maxims of economic, industrial and labour policy still accurate? How long will it be until the social divisions that have been deepening and widening over de. ■ Why not try to exit the crisis permanently and with a solid foundation for the future by way of radical experiments and social planning?

## DESTRUCTION OF THE MATERIAL BASIS

Is it at all possible to maintain this structural and economic pattern of growth with all the policies that are linked to it, to preserve this matrix of expansion of endless capital accumulation that has existed for centuries? Especially if, once again, it not only forces innovation and a change of direction as a result of the catastrophic failures of over-accumulation, but must also contend with historically novel consequences of its own making – so that the interaction with nature begins to be thrown completely and irreversibly into turmoil? ■■■ The collapse of this matrix is rapidly becoming inevitable. It is no longer able to realistically preserve a capitalist interaction with nature as the basis for capitalist accumulation (and over-accumulation). In order to find, push forward and replace the material, social and economic structures and processes of the old matrix of expansion, the neoliberal framework of finance dominated capitalism and its economy of disappropriation must be abandoned. ■■■ This is the key issue for the left in the next few years. The different dimensions of time and depth and the stability of the current matrix of crisis show that their policies must be sophisticated: at the same time radical and realistic, pragmatic as well as fundamental.

## PERIODS OF DISINTEGRATION

The current crisis is however still being shaped by the approaches and practices, objectives and processes of the old regime, even though the neoliberal production consensus has been profoundly shaken and the framework of neoliberal central ideas broken by «soft power». This is therefore still a time of the dominant and not the dominated. Of course it brings with it its own particular state of suspension and transition: strong periods of destabilisation and the collapse of the previous structural alliance and associated power resources are evident. Nevertheless, these periods of disintegration of the ruling neoliberal block, which determines the ruling classes and its governing elite, are not the main trend. Rather, it is the increase in competition within the block, strong polarisation with elements of fracture, disintegration at the centre, new players entering the scene, an opening up of politics. Such periods of disintegration are therefore the cause as well as the side effect of re-arrangements and the stabilisation of power. The entire political sphere is changing and being revolutionised. ■■■ Crisis, crisis policy and the changes on the left in the crisis are therefore key issues for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's new «Institute for Social Analysis», its research, publications and events. Incidentally, the turbulences in the ruling circles often also have a concrete material background. ■■■ The number of «ultra high NetWorth individuals» (people with a minimum capital of 30 million U.S. dollars) and their capital have decreased by a quarter in 2007/2008 – three years of steady increase in global inequality are over, the number of wealthy individuals and the value of their assets have in reality fallen to below the level in 2005! The impact of the crisis has also hit the super-rich.

## THE WORK OF FUTURE COMMISSION IN 2008

In 2008, the priorities for the work of the Future Commissions in the future were redefined in a longer work and discussion



process. ■■■ Behind this lies the wish to further improve the quality of its activities and its results and to tailor these to changing social and political circumstances. Focal point of the reorientation can be found in the concept dated 6<sup>th</sup> October 2008: «Increased demands and reorientation: Council for radical politics – The Future Commission of the RLS». ■■■ The Future Commission will identify points which investigate whether today's deepening crises and the cracks in neoliberal hegemony are an indication of the emergence of a «post-neoliberal constellation», a period of development after the current neoliberal period of capitalism. What are the possible futures, which variations of capitalism and/or what chances of an emancipatory transformation are predictable or feasible? Will it as before at core tend towards a stronger social cushioning of capitalist development or more authoritarian forms of government? What is certain is that dealing with the environmental crisis will take a central role – possibly a form of green capitalism will emerge. ■■■ The very different development of alternative players, both within the spectrum of social movements and left parties at the national and international level must be further investigated. ■■■ The current concept of the Future Commission, which has already increasingly determined its activities in the second half of 2008, includes the following points:

### I. A STRONGER FOCUS ON WORKING ON LONG-TERM TRENDS AND STRATEGIES

More than previously, the Future Commission will be responsible for addressing and discussing long-term, perspective and strategic questions.

- It will examine and discuss the tendencies and scenarios of capitalist transformation and develop ways and steps of socialist transformation from a left perspective. Inspired by Rosa Luxemburg's radical Realpolitik, initial projects will be developed and linked to concrete utopias of a «caring society».
- The shared element of these two approaches to possible

futures is less an attempt to determine what developments can be expected, than to gain an orientation to developing invasive radical realpolitical strategies in order to transform society (societies) with a democratic feminist socialist perspective.

## **II. CHANGES IN THE FUTURE COMMISSION'S WAY OF WORKING AND THE SERIES «EINUNDZWANZIG» [TWENTY ONE]**

The work of the Future Commission will concentrate on developing, discussing and issuing a new publication series «einundzwanzig». ■■■ At the end of 2008, the head of the Future Commission was given to Mario Candeias. Within the Future Commission, Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein has the function of editing the series «einundzwanzig». Regular debates are also held in the new magazine LuXemburg and Standpunkt papers are published, for example on the Green New Deal, the growth problem or issues of conversion. ■■■ Concentrating on «double transformation» within capitalism on the one hand and in the socialist perspective on the other also includes the conflict about terms and definitions, naming a direction and movement for transformation: how meaningful are terms such as «caring society» or «democratic socialism», how are these terms defined? The aim is to contribute towards the politics, strategy and political programme of a diverse left.

## **III. «INITIATIVE CARING SOCIETY»**

In the discussions that took place in 2008, it became clear that the newly established «Initiative Caring Society» within the Institute for Social Analysis (IfG) will obtain a space for public discussion in the Future Commission. In the work on the series «einundzwanzig», the Future Commission's members and seminars will contribute its own material to a «Initiative Caring Society». To this end, renowned experts from a broad democratic were invited to participate. Work on the future and initiatives for a caring society are to be brought together. For 2011, a series of surveys using the Delphi method is being planned on the core issues of the development of a caring society.

## **IV. EXTERNAL COOPERATION**

A further objective is developing and maintaining contacts with people outside the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's immediate environment. For example with experts working on strategic issues and trends of future development and who influence political think tanks or future research centres, as well as potential political alliance partners and competing groups (Wuppertal Institute, Heinrich Böll Foundation, IG Metall, etc.).

## **BECOMING A CARING HUMAN BEING PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL DESTRUCTION WITHIN NEOLIBERALISM – HOW TO OVERCOME THEM**

Based on the subject of the book by Prof. Dr. Ulrich Duchrow, theologian from Heidelberg; Dr. Reinhold Bianchi, psychothe-

rapist and psychoanalyst, Freiburg; René Krüger; and Vincenzo Petracca, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation organised an event that addressed the following central question: why is it so difficult to establish an opposing force in view of the visible effects of globalised neoliberal capitalism? ■■■ «Why are not more people standing up and joining those who are fighting together for a better life and the preservation of natural resources? What does neoliberal hegemony mean for individuals, for their own ability to shape their life or strike back at imminent destruction and self destruction in the face of the trend of social disintegration? Where are the obstacles and can they be identified and named? What could be the role of the theology of liberation?» In the contributions of the authors invited to the event and the ensuing discussions, it became clear that it is not enough to speak in general terms about the destruction of the system and people, of the increasingly perfidious divide in the middle and even the poor in society into winners and losers. In these processes, the psychological effects of neoliberalism on people, how it deforms them where it takes its sphere of influence from must also be investigated. This is why it is important to regard people in their particular material and psychological situation. In this respect, the circumstances of varied working and life situations are all too often overgeneralized. Their specific, very different and sometimes conflicting needs, fears and expectations are not taken into account. Completely open and decisive for the future is the question as to how the so-called middle classes locate themselves not just in Europe: ■■■ «In the crisis, will they again vote for the authoritarian or fascist alternative as they did after 1929 in Germany or in the days of the dictatorships of «national security» in Latin America, or will they join up with the underclass (in modern terms, the precariat) and the socially excluded to fight and overcome the crisis together?» ■■■ This raises the issue of the obstacles standing in the way of acting in solidarity. ■■■ Particularly interesting here were Bianchi's remarks on the social and psychological dynamics of division that limit alternative courses of action. By example of former Yugoslavia, Bosiljka Schedlich, from the Verein Südost Europa Kultur e. V., described how these destructive dynamics take effect under the circumstances and consequences of armed conflict. Another contribution dealt with orientation traumas caused by neo-liberal politics and the media using the example of the instrumentalisation of human rights. ■■■ How can these deeply entrenched psychological traumas caused by bitter experience, suffering and degradation, reinforced by the media and neoliberal policies even on behalf of human rights, be overcome? There are no easy answers. ■■■ The differentiation in lifestyles, orientations and wounds need a multitude of strategies to heal and free them of traumas, illusory consciousness and the greed for power. This requires a new paradigm of anthropology and political economy for an economy that serves life which comprises a caring social economy, economic democracy and political participation from below. A draft of such a society was drawn up by Prof. Dr. Duchrow and later discussed. ■■■ This conference sees itself as building block for the start of renewed discussions about an alternative caring society.



### **AFTER BUSH**

WHAT DOES U.S. POLICY LOOK LIKE AFTER THE ELECTIONS?  
AND U.S. CAPITALISM IN THE FINANCIAL CRISIS?  
AND HOW ABOUT THE LEFT?

A few days after the election of the new U.S. President, the RLS held an event («After Bush») which was attended by almost 200 visitors. Speakers were left scientists from the U.S. and Canada: Harold Meyerson, Prof. Stephen Gill, Harriet Fraad, Professor Neil Smith, Prof. Robert P. Brenner, Prof. William K. Tabb, Professor Richard D. Wolff, Professor Stanley Aronowitz, Professor Barbara Epstein, Ingar Solty. This was probably the first time that an event with such a wide spectrum of international left-wing speakers was held in this country. ■■■ In general there was great relief at the defeat of the right-wing in the U.S, but considerable scepticism about the Obama project, and clear criticism of his planned political concept, which takes up too few alternatives and is not consistent enough in eliminating the consequences of President Bush's policies. A moderate central rightist policy could probably be expected in the medium term. However, more could be expected in some political areas: climate policy, accentuating green investment projects, reducing the strength of the executive at the expense of Parliament, foreign policy vis-à-vis Iran. There is much evidence to support the claim that the old political class in the USA would need longer to recover from defeat: it is in the defensive, only in control of parts of the state apparatus and splintered into its heterogeneous single parts. Demographic trends favour the Democrats. It is above all not in a position to develop its own path, which could offer a way out of crisis and a long-term alternative to the neoliberal economic policy under Bush. Once again, the left now has more room for manoeuvre. There was unanimous support of the view that the economic crisis in the U.S and beyond was only in its beginnings and would deepen in 2009 – re-regulating the financial market was not enough to stop the critical trend in the US economy. The (foremost North American) left is in the midst of overcoming its

weaknesses and can therefore only slowly adjust to the situation. Nevertheless, this crisis also holds the possibility of strengthening international cooperation and developing counterconcepts together. ■■■ It remains to be seen whether sufficient social dynamics will come about that could force the new administration to go beyond re-actualised Keynesian crisis solutions and confine the position of power of the military, oil and energy industries or even leave behind the tradition of classical, imperial liberalism, as maintained by the Democrats. This would be the model of a progressive, partly libertarian (green) capitalism – and, in contrary to the fossilised, neoliberal, belliscose capitalism of the Bush era, would be a big step in the right direction. The first personnel decisions and policy orientations of the Obama administration, especially in the areas of financial and foreign policy, certainly cast doubt on the chances of such a step being taken.

### **LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY - BEAUVOIR AND THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN FROM MALE DOMINATION**

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG  
FOUNDATION ON THE OCCASION OF SIMONE DE  
BEAUVOIR'S 100<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY

On 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> June 2008, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation held an international symposium where experts from France, the United States and Germany discussed the life, work and effects of Simone de Beauvoir. The work of the author, who is sometimes also referred to as an «icon of the feminist movement», was analysed and discussed from a political, historical and philosophical perspective. ■■■ The genesis, theory and the practical involvement of Sartre and Beauvoir were also looked at, above all during the period after World War II, for example during the Algerian and Vietnam war or in Beauvoir's case, in the movement for the emancipation of women. Was it the war or perhaps a guilty conscience for failing to or not having sufficiently been involved in the Résistance or opposing the persecution of Jews that drove them to such a degree of activity? This thesis was fiercely debated. ■■■ In contrast to this is the picture of Beauvoir as a woman in action, who radically fought against everything that endangered freedom both in theory and practice. She underwent a constant transformation: in the late 1940s, in «The Other Sex», Beauvoir had rejected feminism as a separate movement, as she considered the liberation of women to be a factor within the establishment of a socialist society. However, during her travels through the so-called real socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, she became increasingly aware that socialism did not automatically entail the liberation of women, but that even in these countries patriarchal structures were reproduced. ■■■ From a literary point of view, Simone de Beauvoir's work is extraordinarily diverse and includes many different genres such as diaries and memoirs. Her literary work is rich and unique as the titles of her works of fiction attest: «L'Invitée» [She Came to Stay, 1943],



«Le sang des autres» [The blood of others, 1945], «Les bouches inutiles» [the play: Who shall die? – premiered in the autumn of 1945]. These early writings by Beauvoir must be seen and understood before the backdrop of the historical and political context at that time, the period of German occupation and the liberation and immediate post-war period. ■■■ Beauvoir's independent contribution to historical science was another aspect taken into account when looking at her magnum opus («The Second Sex»), which represents a new type of historiography and stands out because of its multidisciplinary nature, as philosophical, historical and psychological considerations come together. In this work, Beauvoir spoke out against the naturalisation of gender differences and the inferior position of women. ■■■ Another part of the seminar dealt with Beauvoir's distinctive contribution to political and philosophical discourse on power, domination and violence. She applied this discourse, which is predominantly led by men, to gender relations between women and men. Here, she assigns women a certain status of subject even within the framework of power and dominance constellations. Women are not simply dominated by men and enslaved. According to Beauvoir, a certain degree of compliance and acceptance of this relationship on behalf of women is required for this power and authority to continue to function. ■■■ She called this constellation «voluntary servitude». What at first seems like a reproach, namely playing a part in one's own slavery and subjugation, is on closer inspection a call for women to free themselves from their own self (co-) imposed immaturity. ■■■ Logical prerequisite of this is the emancipation of women, their participation in professional life and thus their economic emancipation. The fact that 100 years after Simone de Beauvoir's birth much of this has not yet been redeemed means that knowledge of her work is all the more essential.









UNLINDING



TIMES SQUARE

WORLD-FAMOUS  
RESTAURANT  
& BAR

SONGS WE CAN AGREE ON

MY SPACE & TONAS BATHS

An advertisement for 'Songs We Can Agree On' featuring three people and a megaphone. The text includes 'SONGS WE CAN AGREE ON' and 'MY SPACE & TONAS BATHS'. The 'iHeartRadio' logo is visible in the top right corner of the ad.

iHeartRadio  
music

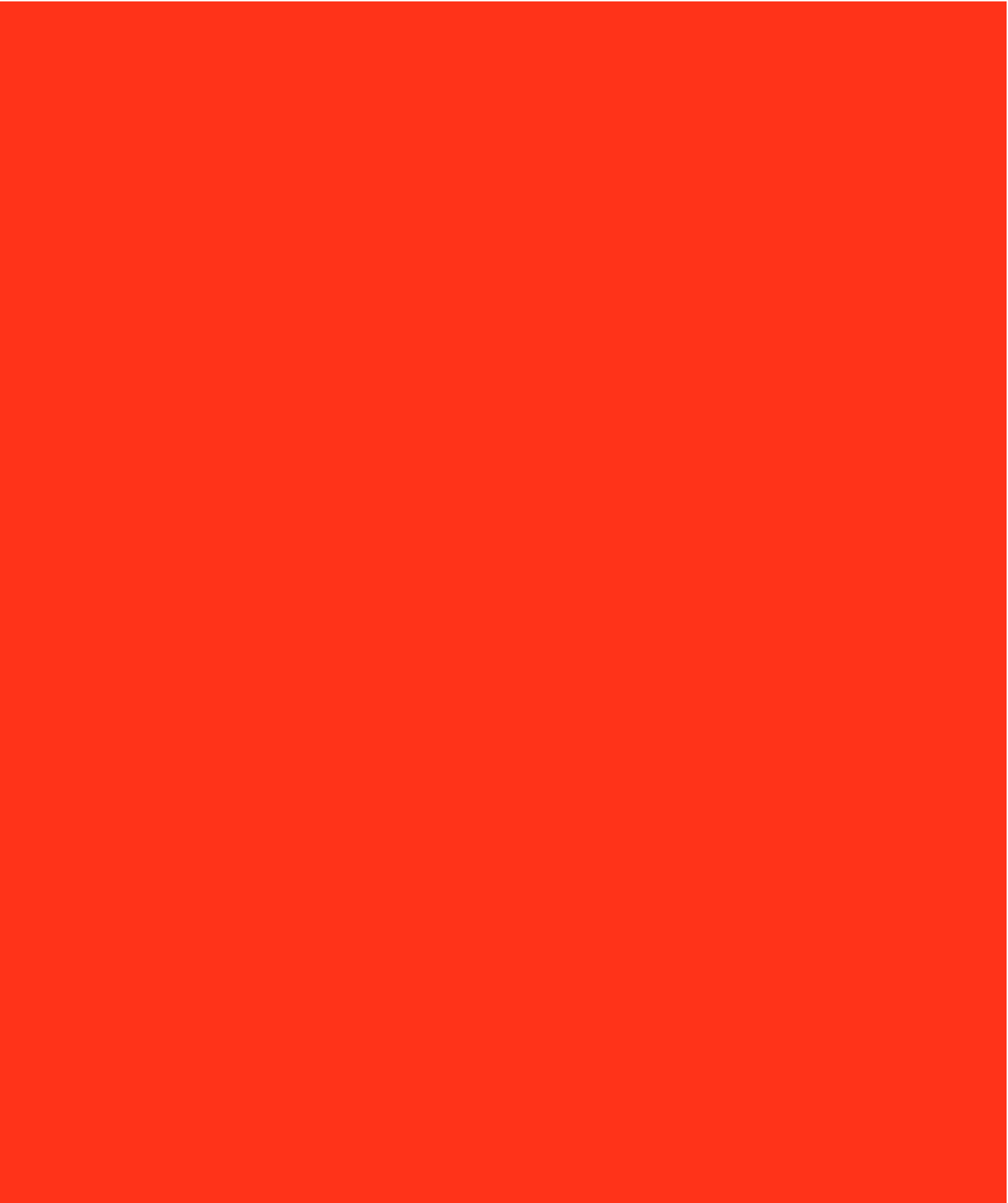
PLANET HOLLYWOOD

PLANET HOLLYWOOD









## TRAINING FOR THE LEFT

The newly founded Academy for Political Education promotes the principles of citizen participation. ■■■ The growing popularity of the political left in Germany is making significantly greater demands on left socialist education. At the same time, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's scope of activity has increased. In 2008, the General Assembly of the Foundation therefore decided to establish the Akademie für Politische Bildung [Academy for Political Education] which also includes the Kommunalakademie [Communal Academy]. The academy arose from the Foundation's department for political education. However, its existing realm of responsibilities has clearly expanded. The Erik Neutsch Foundation and the Harald Breuer Foundation were assigned to the Academy for Political Education, which also works closely with the Cultural Forum of the RLS, the Max Lingner Foundation and the Hermann Henselmann Foundation. ■■■ Issues of international politics – including developments in the World Social Forum and the European Social Forum – are included within its field of responsibilities. Topics such as right-wing extremism and sustainability will also be examined in detail. All in all, in 2008, current political issues took centre stage far more than they have in recent years.

### SOLIDARITY CAN BE LEARNED

The stated goal of the academy is to orientate the work of the RLS more consistently to implementing an emancipatory education. Acquiring the knowledge and the skills needed to use this knowledge in different situations and for instance applying this in actual projects of civic participation is essential. This also entails gaining the skills needed to act in solidarity, for self-organisation and an active intervention in social disputes. ■■■ The academy accompanies six thematic volunteer discussion groups. One of these discussion groups works on the topic of adult education («Erwachsenenpädagogische Fortbildung 2009») and conducted preparatory workshops on subjects such as «Antonio Gramsci: Marxismus als Philosophie der Praxis» [Antonio Gramsci: Marxism as practical philosophy] or «Politisches Lernen als Lernen am und im Widerspruch» [Political education as learning about and with conflict].

### EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION FOR LEFT PLAYERS

The Kommunalakademie [Communal Academy], an important focal point of work within the «Akademie für Politische Bildung», began work in February 2008 and has so far assisted or organised more than 80 seminars. It creates educational material, for use for example in the «Crashkurs Kommune» [Crash course for the local community], an introduction to local affairs for the left. ■■■ Training in policy management is also an important aspect of political education. 31 participants successfully completed the training course on political management in June 2008. Participants came from Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland. They included students and postgraduate students, employees of the Bundestag

and European Parliament, staff of local constituencies as well as university lecturers, civil servants and association managers. One of them, Irene Koeppel, looks back: «The course is an asset especially for young women. I have been given the tools with which I can assert myself politically in a man's world. The right communication helps to ensure that even plain Janes can become involved in political decision making processes. Left policy should aim to offer everyone the opportunity of active participation.» ■■■ Claus Dieter König was one of the participants of the course, which for the first time was carried out as two parallel classes. He says: «Political activity in political parties and movements requires the skills conveyed by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's course on political management. Conducting discussions in a focussed way, helping groups to formulate a common project, but also leading events, creating networks, and managing projects and campaigns – I've managed to do all of this in a better way as a result of the training and case studies. This course is above all about communicating effectively. I see this as a prerequisite for acting in solidarity and transforming society from the people, making them the protagonists in solving their problems.»

### THE RHETORIC OF EQUALITY COVERS UP UNJUST STRUCTURES

Gender relations in society and in the political sphere were another important topic for the Academy for Political Education. In 2008, new gender inequality and young women's view of their situation were discussed. A conference in October dealt with the radical enforcement of the market principle right down into the last areas of life and its gender-neutral representation. Inequalities between the sexes are becoming increasingly invisible. Women must reconcile this «rhetoric of equality» with their complex experiences of inequality. ■■■ This is why the conference aimed to make an interested public aware of the modernised forms of gender discrimination and experiences of gender inequality, to look for alternatives, and to support concrete utopias in their development. ■■■ The realignment of a new left raises complex questions. These include such questions as: What is required of the new left's profile of gender equality? What are the consequences of the new conditions of political activity for gender sensitive left activists' ability to organise and network? Which possible symbolic interventions could be explored? ■■■ An interesting, lively form of political education on gender relations was the summer school for women in North Rhine-Westphalia, which will be continued in the future. Work in this area is supported by the discussion group «Women and Politics».

### AGAINST RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Local politicians were sensitised to the topic «Rechtsextremismus im kommunalen Raum» [Right-wing extremism in local areas]. External speakers produced modules for the qualification of local politicians and local activists. In the series of events, «Antikapitalistische und antifaschistische Kultur» [Anti-capitalist and anti-fascist culture], artists from the left and alternative



spectrum who are normally excluded from the mass media were given a stage. ■■■ The Berlin Project «Stadtrundfahrten zu den Orten der Revolutionskämpfe 1918/20» [City tours to the sites of revolutionary struggles 1918/20] led to places of important historical battles and scenes, and thus turned history into a vivid experience. These tours met with great interest and found response among many, partly unexpected participants. ■■■ The educational events reached about 400 people aged 16 to 75 from all social strata and different political backgrounds. ■■■ However, political education was not only limited to events. Political initiatives, activists in anti-fascist work and individual groups were advised and expert speakers organised. ■■■ An election analysis on right-wing parties was compiled and made available to interested parties. This can also be found on the RLS website. ■■■ The volume «Neues vom Antisemitismus: Zustände in Deutschland» [News on anti-Semitism: the situation in Germany] was also published in 2008. It is a compilation of contributions to the above named conference in 2007.

#### HOW GREEN IS THE LEFT?

How «green» should the left be? This question, which was also discussed at a weekend seminar, was central to work on sustainability in 2008. Focus was the environmental crisis and its social and political consequences. ■■■ At the end of February 2008, a conference was held with the title: «Steter Tropfen höhlt den Stein – Frauen im Widerstand für ein Menschenrecht auf Wasser» [Constant dripping wears away stone – women in resistance for a human right to water]. The conference, which expounded the problems of the privatisation of water and restricted access to safe water, lasted several days and was attended by speakers from around the world. ■■■ Biodiversity was the topic discussed in «Linke Umweltpolitik im Gespräch» [Left environmental policy in discussion] as well as at the weekend event on the topic «Natur als Beute» [Nature as booty]. ■■■ Speakers from Mexico, Chile and Mali talked about the introduction of genetic engineering in agriculture and the

implications for plant diversity as well as its social consequences. As every year, the summer school was held in 2008 in the «Solarzentrum» in Wietow, this time on the topic «Grüner Kapitalismus – gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse im 21. Jahrhundert» [Green capitalism – social relationships to nature in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century]. ■■■ Nuclear policy and safety were also subjects that were primarily dealt with in respect to alternatives in energy policy. In collaboration with the Citizens' Initiative «Bürgerinitiative Umweltschutz Lüchow-Dannenberg e. V.», the RLS organised an event on the risks of nuclear power production and the storage of nuclear waste. Current policy in the FRG was compared to the situation in the Netherlands, France and Finland.

#### EVEN MORE CAPITAL? THE MARX-HYPE IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

##### CHALLENGES FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

As one bubble after another burst during the crisis, a further bubble has emerged right in the centre: the Marx bubble. Or so it was reported by the media when two things happened almost simultaneously in October 2008: the outbreak of the financial crisis and Karl Marx' Capital being sold out. ■■■ Fact: since the crisis, Marx is increasingly being taken out of the proverbial mothballs. Even middle-class players and the media are rubbing their eyes in amazement: not an outdated theory? The interest in Marx's Critique of Political Economy, however, did not emerge with the crisis, but has been evident for quite some time. Back in 2006, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation began organising Marx reading groups. Whereas at the beginning there were 50 applications for the first volume, in 2008 as many as 80 readers crowded into the seminar. The course had to be divided into several small groups that met from then on, week after week, in order to jointly work with material that was not always easygoing. Three to four times a year there are additional so-called satellite seminars. Here specific issues are analysed more deeply with external speakers (in 2008 these were Alex Demirovic, Rolf Hecker, and Michael Krätke). It is a mistake to think that one could come to a kind of universal explanation for the turbulences on the financial market just by taking a quick look at the Capital. On the one hand, Marx work is an analytical building site, a torso, everything but a theoretical and complete success. Secondly, Marx' interest in knowledge aimed at something different: he wanted to analyse capitalism in its «ideal standard», beyond its specific historical manifestations. What the Capital provides us with is the key to no less than understanding the basic relationships of the capitalist mode of production and its inherent vulnerability to crises. The widespread perception that the crisis has befallen people like a natural disaster, comparable to a tsunami or a cold, that the managers' greed is to blame for all the misery, can all be decrypted with Marx. The crisis is not a natural phenomenon, but a result of capitalist production itself. The «greed» of the manager is an expression of rational behaviour and that is



an expression of autotelic dynamics, to make more capital out of capital – and this without limit. Reading the Capital trains the eye for the social structures to which exploitation, profit maximisation and competition logically belong. These are not natural, but manmade. ■■■ Becoming aware of this and, despite all the structural constraints, still look for courses of action in all its ambivalence is made possible by left-wing political education using the Critique of Political Economy. Only when we know exactly what we want to overcome will we be goal-oriented and able to act. A change in society requires an understanding of its basic functional logic. And Marx's «Capital» makes an indispensable contribution to this.

**«Reading the Capital makes one more confident. It's stimulating. It's fun.»**

**«I wanted a theoretical basis to my critique of social circumstances.»**

**«The Capital shows capitalism from a different angle, a look at things that I would never have considered in this way.»**

**«You gain a good understanding of how capitalism works. Marx has a good style of writing and he's very cutting.»**

PARTICIPANTS' COMMENTS

## MEETING AT EYE LEVEL

RLS YOUTH EDUCATION FOCUSES ON THE PARTICIPATION OF PARTNERS

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation already decided in 2003 to take its own path in youth education. It does not want to choose between the roles of grant donor or education provider, but is pursuing both objectives. ■■■ Important is a high degree of participation of young people in organising issues that are relevant to them. Formative for this development approach is a body similar to a Committee on Youth Education, made up of Foundation representatives and supporters of youth education in equal parts. At the bi-annual meetings, the panel determines the criteria of eligibility and topics, evaluates projects and awards funds. ■■■ A second element of the participatory approach is the youth education network. In this network, a number of funded institutions, the RLS and select national foundations jointly organise youth projects. ■■■ About 75 percent of funds for youth education are awarded by the Committee on Youth Education through annual calls for applications and as short-term initiative funds. ■■■ In 2008, a total of 140 education projects with 42 partners were funded. ■■■ Typical events are day and weekend seminars, for instance on the subject of migration, types of intervention, anti-fascism and critique of capitalism. Larger individual projects were also



supported, such as a radio project or a girl's project with young women of non-German origin. ■■■ The initiative funds assist small-scale projects with a maximum of 500 euros, from evening events and seminars on exhibitions, street actions, and video productions to printing information material. ■■■ In January 2008, the youth education network organised a conference on «Bildung in Bewegung» [Education in motion]. This took a critical look at the education projects in the wake of the G8 mobilisation. It was followed in December by a NetzWerkstatt (Networkshop) on the subject «Organisierung durch Bildung» [Organising via education] in rural areas. The network also worked in three project groups. The project group Russia participated in two youth exchange projects in the Murmansk region, Russia, whereas the project group Latin America organised a project for an encounter with young people from Uruguay and Brazil in October 2008 in Berlin. ■■■ The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation complemented this offer of education with its own projects: the youth political seminar «System Error – Die Karten ganz neu mischen!» [System error – mixing the cards anew] together with the youth association «Die Falken», and the training course «Prozesslandkarten» for those involved in youth education. ■■■ In 2008, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation spent a total of 110,000 euros in the field of youth education. 3,860 young people participated in 148 events. 40.6 percent of the participants were female, 13 percent under the age of 18 and 66 percent under the age of 25.

## PUPILS WRITE SKETCHES ON ROSA LUXEMBURG QUOTES

COOPERATION WITH THE GRIPS THEATER DEVELOPED

At the International Rosa Luxemburg Conference in January 2009, pupils staged a two-hour programme, which was directed by them. It was based on a new education format in cooperation with the GRIPS Theatre. The work was the result of a visit to watch the play «ROSA» together with pupils and

teachers of the Robert Jungk School in Berlin Wilmersdorf and the Max Planck School in Berlin Mitte in December 2008. The piece was then discussed in a day workshop with theatre educators from the GRIPS Theatre. Pupils created their own sketches to quotes by Rosa Luxemburg and re-interpreted these. In other workshops, the pupils developed their sketches under educational guidance and worked on a staged reading of Rosa Luxemburg's life and work. The premiere took place at the international Rosa Luxemburg conference where actors from the GRIPS Theatre's piece also performed songs from the play ROSA. This was followed by a panel discussion with actors, playwrights and pupils of the Robert Jungk School and Max Planck School. ■ Closely linking the scientific concerns of the International Conference with both art and culture as well as the historical and political responsibilities of the youth movement livened up the conference debates with dramatic effect. For the Academy for Political Education and its many years of project work with schools, the cooperation with the GRIPS Theatre did more than merely establish another form of education. Close cooperation with the GRIPS Theatre has also resulted in new opportunities for our project work with schools as a whole. ■ On topics such as German-German post war history, students have previously not been offered such interesting and lively forms of education as on subjects dealing for example with the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Members of the discussion group «Geschichte für die Zukunft», mostly teachers and multipliers of historical-political youth education in March 2009 visited the play «Lilly unter den Linden» – the story of a 13 year old girl living in Germany who wants to go to her relatives in the GDR. This was discussed with theatre educators and dramatic advisors. Schools are to be made aware of the GRIPS Theatre's long-term school project on this play. In this way, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's offer to schools on the topic of German-German post war history is to be developed. «Lilly unter den Linden» was also presented to teachers at a training course by GRIPS Theatre educators in July 2009. Together, they also visited the play «Eine linke Geschichte», likewise in the GRIPS Theatre.

## ON THE CRITICAL USE OF MEMORY

### THE CULTURAL FORUM'S SERIES OF LECTURES AND BOOKS

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Kulturforum [Cultural Forum], has for the second year organised the lecture and discussion series «Politik und Kultur der Erinnerung» [Politics and culture of memory] together with the Professional Association of Berlin Artists (Berufsverband Bildender Künstler Berlin). ■ Whereas the first lecture season 2007/2008 looked at the West German and Western European situation, the 2008/2009 series examines Eastern Europe. The lectures are aimed in particular at those interested in history and culture and now have a regular core audience, particularly among students. ■ Official remembrance policy's reactions to the past «Age of Extremes» (Eric Hobsbawm) are often one-dimensional and thereby do not do justice to the complexity of remembrance and



the lasting effect of the past. The culture industry, anniversaries, art and teaching programmes all contribute to turning the memory of the past into a «life religion» of society. Remembrance thereby increasingly has a purely apologetic function: the memory of the past usually merely justifies the current social structure, rather than giving us the instruments needed to critically question and develop. The new interest in history nowadays is not sufficiently addressed at shaping the future. There are other ways of remembering, however. Ways that take hold of and develop the thread of utopian experiences of equality, revolt and organisation to counter the inevitability of inequality, affirmation and passivity. These forms of a sustainable appropriation of history, however, are often more discreet and subtle. The series of events «Politik und Kultur der Erinnerung» [Politics and culture of memory] reflects different segments of our collective memory, historiography and remembrance policies in an international context, and attempts to develop a critical and democratic perspective of remembrance policy. The current boom of memory is the flip side of a world that fragments lifestyles and contexts of experience, and thus extinguishes traditions. More than ever, collective memory and history has taken on a political dimension. The lectures discuss how different societies remember and deal with their own histories. Here, the authors appear to approach history not as finite, but as a permanent struggle of the present to understand itself. It is all about interpreting a past that has not yet passed, the interpretation of which is still contested in the present. ■ The first lecture series is published as a book by dietz berlin [authors: Thomas Flierl/Elfriede Müller, Enzo Traverso (Amiens), Régine Robin (Paris/Montreal), Volkhard Knigge (Weimar), Etienne François (Berlin), Sophia Schmitz/Steffen Kreuzeler (Berlin), Silke Hünecke (Berlin, Barcelona), Martin Schönfeld (Berlin)]. ■ This year's lecture series on the topics «Das Weltkriegsmuseum und die polnische Gedenklandschaft» [The World War museum and Polish political remembrance] with Holger Politt (Warsaw), Karol Sauerland (Warsaw, Thorn), Robert Trauba (Berlin), «Krieg der Erinnerungen und Antisemitismus in

Ungarn» [War of memories and anti-Semitism in Hungary] with Magdolna Marsovszky (Munich, Budapest), «Geschichtsdiskurse und Vergangenheitspolitik in der Tschechischen und Slowakischen Republik nach 1989» [Discourses of history and the policy of history in the Czech and Slovakian Republic after 1989] with Jan Pauer (Bremen), «Die künstlerische und politische Dimension der Protestbewegung in Jugoslawien (1968)» [Artistic and political dimension of the protest movement in Yugoslavia (1968)] with Kuroslav Stojakovic (Bielefeld) and «Erinnerungspolitik in der Ukraine» [Remembrance policy in the Ukraine] with Franziska Bruder (Berlin) will also be published. ■■■ In coming years, the Cultural Forum is planning to develop the concept of locations of shared memory for Eastern Europe, in particular in order to enquire into a joint critical remembrance of the period of state socialism.

#### **HERMANN HENSELMANN FOUNDATION:**

##### **A PLATFORM FOR DEVELOPING DEBATES ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

The RLS dependant foundation established by Andreas Henselmann, son of the GDR architect and urban planner Hermann Henselmann (1905–1995) is platform for issues in the field of architecture, urban planning and urban social development. This year, the fourth Hermann Henselmann Colloquium was organised. It was dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the plan «Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin», adopted by the CDU-SPD Senate as an urban model for Berlin in 1999, which has been the topic of intense debate ever since. Politically, the revision of the plan has been on the agenda by the Red-Red governing Senate since 2002. Fundamental principles of the plan – moving away from the car friendly city, further developing the inner city as a residential area and limiting de-urbanisation as a result of the migration of the urban middle classes to the countryside, preserving historical buildings, a pedestrian friendly development of public spaces etc. were less controversial. The declared critical reconstruction («kritische Rekonstruktion») of the city was understood as a duplication of the pre-modern and city structure of pre-GDR urban planning. The plan was thus an instrument of neoliberal urban restructuring and revision of post-war history. Following the demolition of the Palace of the Republic and the decision for reconstructing the Berlin City Palace, significant parts of the former city centre of East Berlin were made available. The Henselmann Colloquia, held in the Academy of Arts or the Chamber of Architects, managed to create a wide professional alternative public sphere. The coalition parties SPD and The Left have now decided to revise the plan and work towards restoring the central area between the Spree and Alexanderplatz to comply with a development that works with existing structures. The educational work of the Herrmann Henselmann Foundation has played more than a small part in this positive development. ■■■ As is symbolised by the symposium poster, it is also important to go beyond limiting the plan to the historic city centre area, but to include the whole of



the inner city within the Berlin Ringbahn, and to regard the numerous Berlin projects (Media Spree, conversion of Tempelhof Airport etc.) in context. The idea is to revise the plan and to point the way for a conceptual orientation to urban planning: Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin 2.0. ■■■ Dr. Thomas Flierl (MDA) was Arts and Science Senator in Berlin from 2002 to 2006. Since 2006, he has been on the Board of the Hermann Henselmann Foundation together with Andreas Henselmann and, since its establishment in 2008, manages the Cultural Forum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

#### **CEREMONY OF THE BIRTH OF OUR DEMOCRACY**

##### **«REKONSTRUKTION DES ANFANGS DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK» [RECONSTRUCTING THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC] – READING ON THE 90<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY**

The idea of staging a commemorative event to mark the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the constitutional debate in Weimar at the historic site of the German National Theatre Weimar emerged in the parliamentary party The Left. It was supported particularly by Lukretia Jochimsen, MP. Attempts were made to organise a special meeting of the German Bundestag in the German National Theatre. There was the idea of holding a joint debate of the Committee on Legal Affairs and the Cultural Committee of the German Bundestag in the German National Theatre. There were efforts to co-host a joint event with foundations affiliated to parties represented in the Bundestag. ■■■ All these efforts were ultimately without success. A cooperative project was therefore conducted by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, The Left in the German Bundestag and the parliamentary group The Left in the Thuringian regional parliament: «Festakt zur Geburtsstunde unserer Demokratie» [Ceremony for the birth of our democracy]. Passages were selected from the deliberations of the Weimar National Assembly and turned into a script. The work was directed by Franz Sodann,





playwright and director. The fact that the ceremony was to be held at the original location, the German National Theatre Weimar, was undisputed. The event remained exciting and humorous from the minute it began until the end two hours later. This was thanks to the excellent dramatic direction, a good selection and assignment of actors and actresses, and not least the authentic location of the event. Far more people had come to this event than could be housed by the National Theatre. Unfortunately, some were refused entry due to lack of space. The hosts had underestimated the appeal of their own programme. Introduced by a film on the events of 1919, the first reader, Gregor Gysi, took the part of Friedrich Ebert (President of the Weimar Republic), Katja Kipping read a contribution by MP Luise Zietz, and Elfriede Begrich a letter from Rosa Luxemburg. Uwe Steimle competently moderated the reading. ■ Peter Sodann had the task of reading poems and texts which completed the rigorous documentation. For two hours, the birth of our democracy, the Weimar National Assembly, vividly came to life. A democracy, still in its infancy, that failed and could only find new beginnings after the Second World War in Germany. ■ Of the many activities on this day in Weimar, the ceremony clearly gained the most attention. The event met great media interest: national and local newspapers, several television stations and radio stations, live broadcast on Phoenix ... Voices in the media examined the event closely and were factual and open minded. The discussion, which the RLS and the left in general must examine, is the issue of their attitude towards democracy. This issue will play a special role in future intellectual discussion of society. In this respect, the ceremony was also a valuable stimulus within the left.

## **NATURE AS BOOTY**

«If in the developed countries you want to eat GM maize because you think it's a good thing, then do, but leave us alone», concludes Ousmane Samaké, employee of a non-governmental organisation IRPAD (Institut de Recherche et de Promotion des Alternatives de Développement), in his contribution to the international workshop organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Berlin in May 2008. He and representatives of Cenami/Mexico, the Fundación Sociedades Sustentable in Chile and the Genetical Network in the alliance of Planet Diversity, had come directly from the alternative convention «Planet Diversity» in Bonn, which stages workshops as a critical accompaniment to the so called «MOP 4». Behind this acronym, so characteristic of the language of international intergovernmental negotiations, hides a battle between states concerning the Cartagena Protocol on Bio-safety. The protocol is part of the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) and is intended to regulate the trade of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) in international trade. The protocol is primarily concerned with the issue of who is liable for damages incurred if GMOs accidentally cross borders and then contaminate other crops. ■ In Berlin, international guests reported on the MOP 4 and the alternative congress, Planet Diversity, where people from all over the world opposed genetically modified

seeds and backed an alternative agriculture. ■ Maria Isabel Manzur from Chile reported on the fact that the negotiations on liability in damages are difficult and lengthy. She said that representatives of science and industry could not agree on what exactly «damage» was and whether one could in fact speak of «damage» if genetically modified seeds manipulate other seeds. ■ The spread of genetically modified plants is not just an issue for so-called developing countries, but also affects the industrialised countries (and above all emanates from these). Currently, biotech crops are grown on over 114 million hectares globally, where herbicide tolerant and insect resistant crops dominate. Seven out of ten transgenic plants protect themselves against pesticides. Cultivation allows the use of total herbicides, which means all plants are destroyed except the GM. Seed companies such as Monsanto profit from patented transgenic plants. A lot of money is made, and not on salt and drought-resistant crops for small scale farmers. The main concern here is not finding a solution for food problems, but a return on investment. The losers of this business are kept quiet about. Thus, the increased industrialisation of agriculture is leading to fewer jobs, less diversity of crops and monotonous landscapes. Those who are unable to keep up are displaced from their land. Farms in the so-called first world, but also small farmers and smallholders in the south are forced into a fatal dependency. ■ The dependency on individual companies goes hand in hand with dependency on the world market. Traditional cultivation of food is displaced, instead genetically modified seed products are grown for export. A typical example of this dependency as a new form of slavery is Mali, as Ousmane Samaké describes: small farmers and farmers had grown food according to traditional cultivation methods until they entered the structural adjustment programme of the IMF. From that date on, cotton was cultivated for export on the world market. Due to the low commodity prices, the cultivated goods can not be sold at prices which cover the production costs. Producers borrow to buy imported foods they had previously grown themselves. This is the only way they can now meet their own needs and buy seeds for the next harvest. In a comparison of many countries, it became clear that not only the natural livelihood for much of the population is at stake, but also social and cultural structures that have existed for centuries in the communities concerned. ■ The speakers from Mali, Chile and Mexico advocated the concept of food sovereignty and opposed the economisation of nature and price fixing as planned by the CBD. The people should and want to decide for themselves what is produced for whom and for what purpose and in what manner. Only thus can the safeguarding of food be guaranteed for all. One thing is certain: the food that nature yields would be enough for all if it were fairly distributed.

## **CONSTANT DRIPPING WEARS AWAY THE STONE WOMEN IN RESISTANCE FOR A HUMAN RIGHT TO WATER**

«Access to clean water is a human right – a (gender-) fair distribution is a human duty!». This was one of the key messages of

the conference, «Constant dripping wears away the stone – Women in resistance for a human right to water» held from 22<sup>nd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> February, 2008 in Berlin. ■■■ Participants from science, trade unions, women's, environmental and human rights groups – among them women from Bolivia, Cuba, El Salvador, Mexico, Peru, Colombia and Uruguay – discussed the impact of privatisation, pollution and the waste of water on the living conditions of the regions concerned. ■■■ «Gender relations in water policy were until now not sufficiently taken into account in water management, the participation and involvement of women in decision-making was given little attention. It is high time for such a meeting!», Monika Schierenberg describes the reason for the seminar to the organisers. ■■■ In the South, women are directly affected by water shortages, competition for resources and the lucrative trade with «blue gold». It is in particular industrial agriculture, with its monocultures that need intensive watering, which causes water shortages in the global south. With this precious water, food is produced mainly for industrialised countries and energy crops to satisfy Western needs for mobility. «Paradoxically, the water-rich industrial countries with this food also indirectly import large amounts of water from the arid regions of the world and contribute to aggravating the situation there», stated Juana Vera from Peru, a doctoral student at the University of Wageningen in the Netherlands. ■■■ Although in 2002, 147 of states signed a United Nations agreement on the human right to water, the right to water continues to be violated. Following a referendum decision in 2004, access to water is now guaranteed in the constitution in Uruguay. Kim Weidenberg of FIAN said: «Human rights have priority over business profits. The right to water must be anchored in the national legislation of all nations. Germany has the duty to respect human rights and safeguard these in trade agreements and development cooperation.» ■■■ One important outcome of the meeting was that the networks of national and international resistance should be much more closely linked in order to effectively be able to proceed against all forms of unjust appropriation and exploitation of natural resources. Vera Morgenstern, head of the department for women and gender politics in ver.di, announced that the women's blue agenda on water issues will be linked to the trade union campaign for 'public services of a high quality' at a national and international level. ■■■ The seminar was jointly organised and held by Ecomujer, ver.di (department: women and gender politics), genanet, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's department for gender, environment, and sustainability, and the international human rights organisation FIAN.

## TOTALLY PLANNED

Participants discussions at the conference «Total verplant», held by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation on 26<sup>th</sup> June 2008, were highly controversial. Principal questions for example were: Can a plan replace the market? What does «market socialism» mean? Why have planned economies failed? How are

planning and economic democracy related? ■■■ The greatest challenge of this weekend was, despite the failure of previous projects of existing socialism, to venture back to the instrument of planned economy and explore its weaknesses and opportunities. All participants were unanimous at least in their dissatisfaction with the current economy.

## WHAT MAKES PLANNED ECONOMY SO DIFFICULT?

A plan is in itself not a problem. Every company and every economy makes plans. Problems arise when economic planning intends to go beyond the forms of regulation of the competitive conditions in capitalism. Planning at the level of society or economics is an expression of a certain level of the development of society and a certain degree of socialisation. ■■■ How does social planning as a task grow in a society dominated by market and competition, and how can social justice and sustainable development be integrated? ■■■ Crucial for the viability and the effectiveness of a plan is the design and organisation of the planning process itself. Planning, with its effects on the distribution of production facilities, labour and possibilities of consumption, always implicitly also has a social cost. Planning is not simply a quantifiable distribution process of money and goods following defined criteria, but a political, social and cultural process. ■■■ Albert Einstein, starting from a criticism of capitalist economy, characterised the problem as follows: «I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilised in a planned fashion. ■■■ Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that a planned economy is not yet socialism. A planned economy as such may be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the individual. The achievement of socialism requires the solution of some extremely difficult socio-political problems: how is it possible, in view of the far-reaching centralisation of political and economic power, to prevent bureaucracy from becoming all-powerful and overweening? How can the rights of the individual be protected and therewith a democratic counterweight to the power of bureaucracy be assured?» ■■■ Historical evidence that a planned economy is superior to a competitive economy is pending. Although the planned economies of real socialism were able to solve numerous, mainly social problems, they were not able to achieve social and political stability. The tension between centralisation and the autonomy of economic agents seems to be difficult to resolve. The same applies to the relationship between the needs of the population and the economic interests of businesses. ■■■ The use of five-year plans in the end turned out to be despotic. The interests of regions and the subjects of planning were not taken into consideration. In the end, planning culminated in compulsory labour, bureaucracy and cultural backlash (rigid family policy, conservative image of women). Personal responsibility and unconventional decisions became impossible. Consequently, the planning model of centralised state plan-

ning in the GDR could not be the basis for an emancipatory society. Two basic requirements for this remained unfulfilled in the GDR: 1. the possibility of democratic participation of all citizens in the planning and 2. an efficiency and rationality superior to capitalism. The availability of resources, especially decisions as to their use and exploitation, were essentially removed from democratic participation and social control. Thus, improvements in people's lives, such as pension increases, improvements for families with children etc., as a result of democratic decisions were not made possible by the economic results of work, but depicted and treated as a «gift» of the party and state leadership. The issue of a future planned economy and the value of the experience of real planned economies requires further analysis and discussion. ■■■ Is the concept of economic planning viable for future regulation? This presents enough material for continuing this event next year.

## **NEW FEMINISMS - OLD INEQUALITIES?**

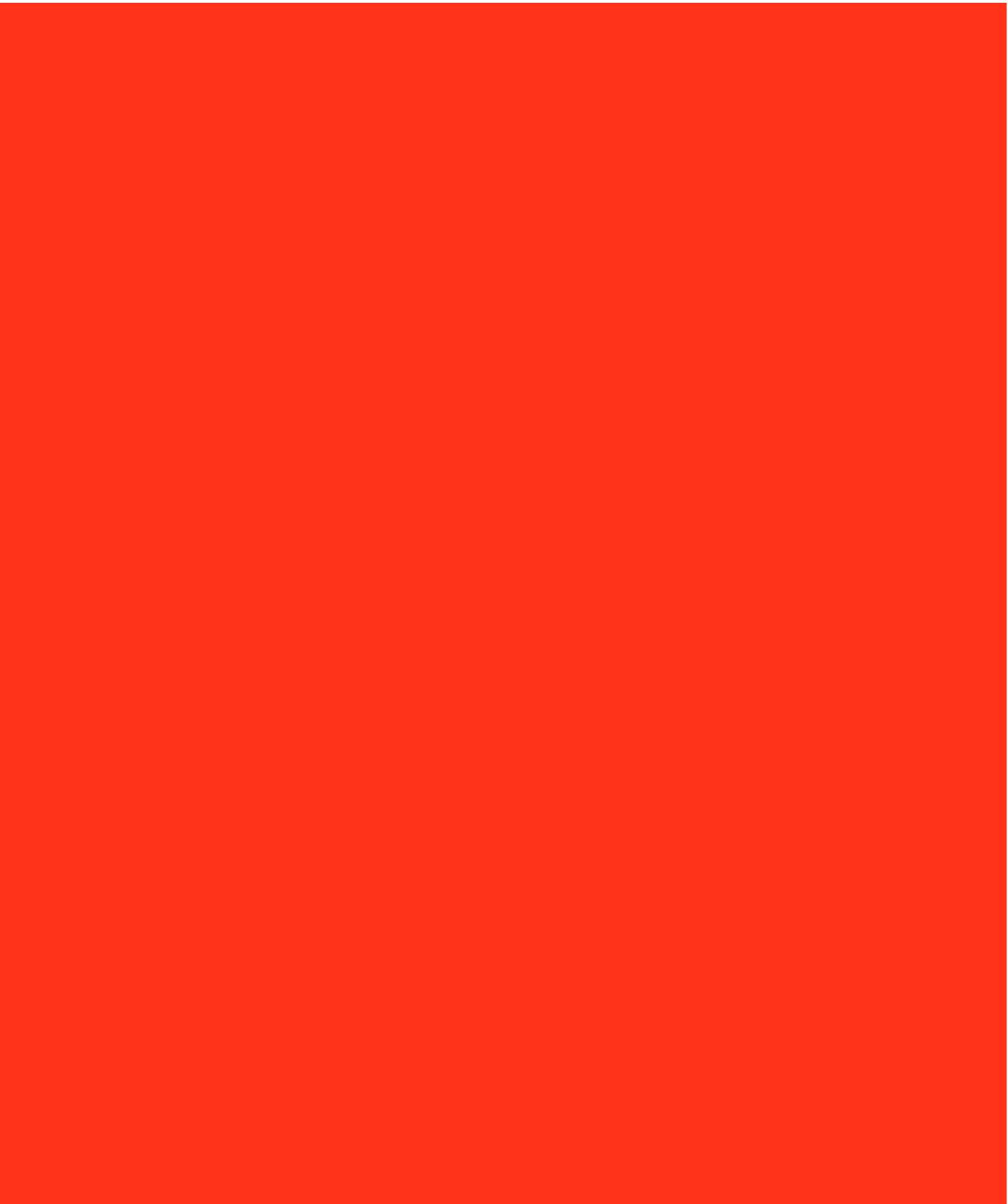
DISCUSSIONS AT A MEETING OF THE  
ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

Alpha Girls, the new F Class, pop feminists, physical self dramatisation modelled on Charlotte Roche. The «new feminisms» recently hyped by feuilleton and tabloids were reason for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's seminar on 17/18<sup>th</sup> October 2008 with its 100 participants to ask in more depth what constitutes the life of young women today and the extent to which this gender image reflects actual life. Do these colourful expressions of feminist articulation represent the third wave of feminist movement – as the likewise newly introduced term third-wave feminism suggests? How could it be that the not exactly feminism friendly popular tabloid press is celebrating these «new feminists» as the protagonists of a new female consciousness? And lastly and particularly from a left social analytical perspective: how do the «new feminisms» and these gender images taken up by the media fit into the radical change in the social, individual and gender relations which the left commonly refer to as neoliberal: economising public as well as private life, the enforcement of the market principle into the last remaining areas of life, and the associated restructuring of the individual self. ■■■ «The whole world as a single fluid market. Brand names and logos become place names of nowhere». De-localization, the rootlessness of the individual – in her contribution Kornelia Hauser (lecturer at the University of Innsbruck) establishes this as the key concept for the welfare and the constitution of the self in present day «new capitalism» or «neocapitalism», as she calls it. In the neocapitalist market formation of the self, employment is so central that the whole of life is organised around it. However: the precariat is everywhere, says Hauser in reference to Bourdieu. «Nearly two-thirds of the members of society are increasingly deprived of their disposal of space and time, that is, their ability to plan and draw up future projects.» When asked about their dreams for the future, 13- to 19-year-olds interviewed no longer oriented

their vision on the choice of a particular profession, but in the choice of social class. The social self, embedded in group contexts, movements, surroundings, values such as empathy and solidarity, is no longer present in this new private form of individualisation. Self-discovery and the relationship to the world fall apart. ■■■ An outwardly open self-reflection of one's own life does not seem possible in this context. ■■■ This was shown by the critical discussion of the study compiled by the magazine Brigitte entitled «Frauen auf dem Sprung – Männer unter Druck» [Women on the go – men under pressure] by Christine Puschmann (WZB). If 80 percent of young women asked say that they are now satisfied with their lives and expect that they will be satisfied in ten years time, this could mainly be an indication of the fear of being perceived as a loser, «If I say I'm missing something, then I obviously haven't done enough for its not to be missing.» (Hauser) ■■■ They thereby follow exactly the image of women as young motivated go-getters, the heroines of the new F class or the alpha girls who along the lines of everyone carves his own destiny and I've got it all under control (interview Allmendinger) are the new models of a media-individualised feminism. Franziska Rauchut (University of Lüneburg), PhD student and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation scholarship holder, in her analysis of a selection of publications of the «new feminists», demonstrated their congruency with hegemonic neocapitalist ways of thinking, in which every woman is an entrepreneur of herself and her success (or her failure – not addressed) owing exclusively to her own individual superiority (or inferiority, which is her own responsibility). In this individualised basic feminist understanding, according to Rauchut, the portrayal of the self is associated with de-politicisation, so that it appears logical to distance oneself from the old social women's movement which scandalises inequality. ■■■ So is there no third-wave feminism? Perhaps Ingrid Kurz-Scherf (University of Marburg) is right when she interprets the new «elite feminism» as the new «symptom of a growing unease with the state and progress of equality and a growing resentment to the subordination with which this problem was approached» – also and especially by the left and the Left Party. Based on her vehement criticism of the concept of neoliberalism so excessively used by the left, she draws our attention to a pending discourse on the transformation of society, in which the left and feminist connect in a new way. Consequently, the current crisis should not just be discussed as a failure of neoliberalism, but «as a crisis of the capitalist mode of modern societies in their androcratic foundations.»







## NETWORKED LEARNING

Last year, the scholarship department of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLS) once again supported significantly more home and overseas students and doctoral candidates than in the previous year. This was made possible by increased contributions from the Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) [Federal Ministry for Education and Research] as well as from the AA [Foreign Office]. In total, BMBF funds supported 619 applicants, including 433 students and 131 doctoral candidates. 34 Students and 5 PhD students were financed by Foreign Office grants. Students came from 30 countries, primarily from the autonomous Palestinian territories, Turkey, Ghana, Brazil, Argentina, Israel, Italy, Jordan and the USA. ■■■ In addition to granting scholarships, the scholarship department offers a wide-ranging programme of academic support, which serves to deepen academic qualifications as well as encouraging the discussion of socially relevant issues. At the same time, the RLS support programme promotes the national and international networking of socialist forces that support the aims of the foundation, i. e. to stimulate independent socio-political activities, a commitment towards peace and international understanding and to strengthen a unified and harmonic sense of togetherness.

## HIGH ACHIEVEMENTS AND A STRONG COMMITMENT

In keeping with the aims of the RLS, the scholarship department supports students and doctoral students who, in addition to having attained high academic achievements, show outstanding social and political involvement in accordance with the foundation's credo. ■■■ In agreement with its principles of social justice and solidarity, the Foundation aims to compensate for social, political or gender-related disadvantages by favouring applications from women, the socially needy and people with disabilities. Thanks to this strategy, the proportion of financially supported female students and doctoral candidates is at 54 and 52 percent respectively – a higher proportion than the national average. ■■■ The financial support of students from socially disadvantaged families is somewhat more difficult. A study from the Hochschul-Informations-System GmbH (HIS) [Higher Education Information Systems], carried out on behalf of the Action for Financial Assistance of Gifted Students 2009, revealed that 59 percent of RLS scholarship recipients come from a family in which at least one parent had themselves received university education. Admittedly, the proportion of students whose parents left school before gaining either a lower secondary general education certificate (Hauptschulabschluss), an apprenticeship or a certificate of skilled work, is higher among RLS Students than the national average and significantly higher than the average at all eleven Institutes for Financial Support of Gifted Students. ■■■ The proportion of RLS grant recipients with an immigrant background (outside the EU) is also high. It amounts to 14 percent for students and 23 percent for PhD students.

## INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE

The advancement of international exchange programmes is an important objective. In addition to the financial support for overseas students and PhD students within Germany, the support of scholarship recipients on exchange programmes for study or research purposes, for training or attending scientific conferences, comprises a significant part of our financial support system. ■■■ In 2008, a total of 148 scholarship recipients received financial support for overseas visits. Major overseas destinations are the EU countries, as well as Central and South America and most prevalently North America and Asia.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP AND SUMMER SCHOOL

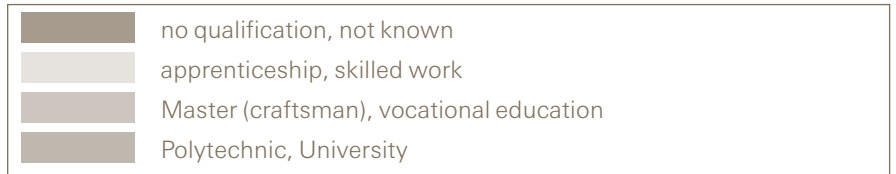
The International Workshop and the study trip to the European Parliament in Brussels were the highlight of conceptual support offered in 2008/2009. ■■■ The International Workshop with the theme «Privatisierung Öffentlicher Güter» [Privatisation of Public Services] took a group of Scholarship recipients to Mazuria in Poland, where, for one week, they studied the effects of the privatisation of energy suppliers and health and education systems on different social groups and on both men and women. ■■■ The 2008 Summer School in the European youth education and recreation area Werbellinsee, consisted of a mixture of workshops, excursions, culture and leisure activities. Themes such as freedom, anti-Semitism or the position of women in Islam were discussed, as well as the privatisation of public services, new work practices and problems inherent in dialectic and methodological work. The workshops were led mainly by scholarship financed workgroups, as well as external lecturers and former scholarship recipients. The options for day-trips were the Blumberger Mühle, which is managed by the environmental organisation NABU, the Sachsenhausen Memorial or the Kloster Chorin [Chorin Monastery]. Also on the agenda were cabaret, readings, sport activities or parties. ■■■ A study trip in June 2008 brought a group of scholarship holders to Brussels. They participated in discussions with members of the GUE/NGL party, focusing on the European constitution, immigration, social and employment politics, as well as poverty and lobbyism. They met an NGO that campaigns for maintaining the rights of immigrants without papers. In addition, the programme included discussions with representatives of the European network «transform!» and the European Socialist Party. Moreover, there was an alternative city tour with immigration and gentrification as central themes. ■■■ The priorities of the 2007/2008 workshops were far-right extremism, social security and sustainability. Fascist pseudo-capitalism criticisms were discussed in October 2007 in Cologne, under the title «Racism and far-right extremism: Insights and Controversies». National and social racism were highlighted, using the example of EU immigration politics and preventative strategies were developed. November 2007 in Hamburg, scholarship recipients discussed the topic «Social security – national and international dimensions» by looking at the controversy «Basic social security – basic income». They examined the idea of basic social security within international

## PARENTS EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

All students in the first semester

Scholarship holders in general

RLS scholarship holders



Source: HIS study: Financial Assistance of Gifted Students 2009, own calculation

developmental politics, as well as the reinforcement of the public employment sector as a social security strategy. A workshop in Bremen in July 2008, entitled «Sustainability versus Growth – a dialogue between social and natural sciences», dealt with debates on energy and raw materials audits, renewable development in agriculture in Brazil, climate change and economic growth. ■■■ A further focal point of the sponsorship program consisted of a series of seminars that support the main objective (i. e. degree or PhD completion). It comprises PhD seminars, method workshops, seminars on time management and the techniques of academic work. In 2008, for the first time, we offered a seminar for occupational aptitude, which aims to highlight potential employment areas for scholarship holders through a «Self-Check» utility. At the PhD seminars in 2007 and 2008, thirty PhD students presented their academic work for discussion. These presentations were published in the form of an anthology. ■■■ The methodology seminars, which are offered once per semester, provide PhD students with advisory consultations specific to their individual path of research. ■■■ Seminars dealing with the techniques of academic work are tailored specifically to new undergraduates – providing them with advice on preparing presentations and assignments. Seminars on time management for students and PhD students were met with intense interest. ■■■ The obligatory introductory seminars for newly admitted scholarship holders take place every April and October. Recipients can find out everything about their rights and obligations, as well as the possibilities of financial and academic support; these seminars introduce the foundation’s areas of interest and scholarship administration. ■■■ Scholarship holders are expected to participate in regional meetings in the federal states, which are nor-

mally held once per semester. There they will exchange information and network amongst themselves as well as with regional branches of the RLS. Individual problems with the course of study or scholarship can be resolved during informal consultations at the meeting. ■■■ These focal points of funding are supplemented by events dealing with current issues and guided tours. In November 2007, Thomas Flierl, former Senator for Science, Research and Culture in Berlin, led a tour through the new centre of Berlin, which aroused great interest. In December, a visit to the German Bundestag and discussions with members of parliament were organised. On the occasion of Luxemburg’s birthday in March, the educational department invited the biographer Annelies Laschitzka to take part in a discussion about the friendship between Rosa Luxemburg and Karl and Sophie Liebknecht.

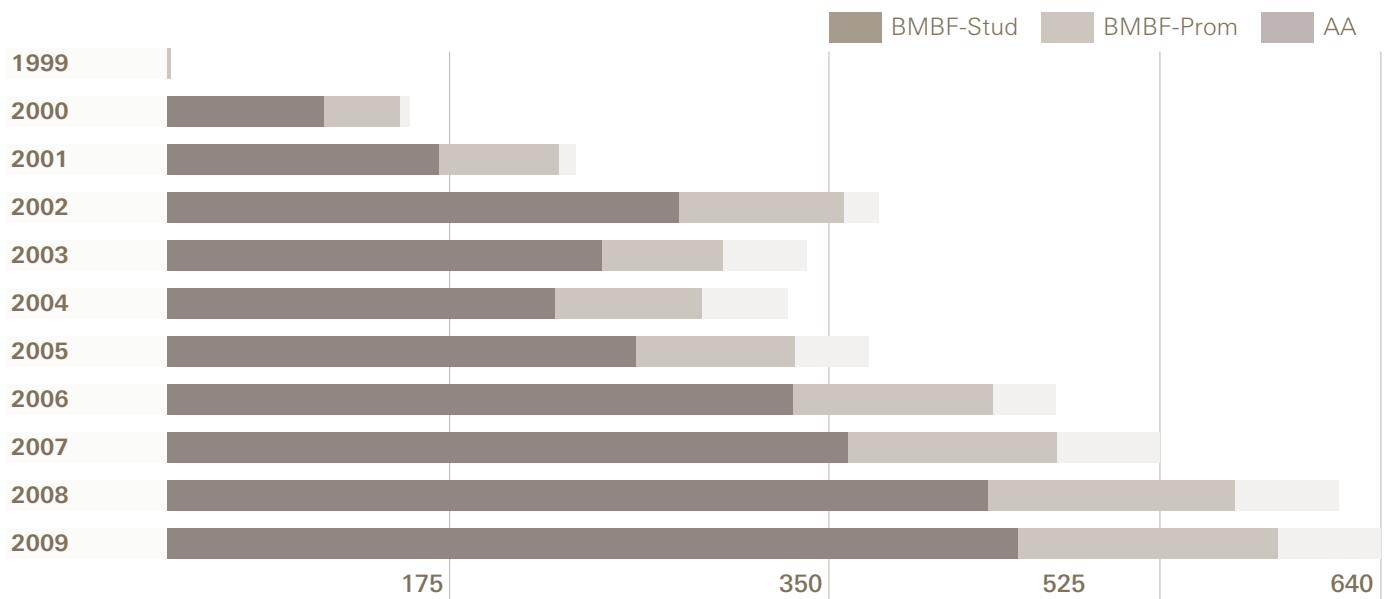
### PHD PROGRAMME

The first PhD programme was established at the University of Siegen in October 2008. Eight promising young academics presented their theses, entitled «Democracy and Capitalism» on German national environmental politics, critique of modern political economy, Bolivia’s natural gas policy, feminist utopias, anti-globalisation activism and the loss of communist ideals.

### ALUMNI CONTRIBUTIONS

Work with former students is another important focus of cultural support. Particularly important is the annual alumni reunion, which was organised for the first time in 2008 by a group of former students, under the title «Network – Patchwork». Various former students’ research topics were illuminated and ways and means of enhancing future networking discussed. At the

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS 1999 - 2009



same time, current developments within the foundation and academic work were illuminated. The programme was complemented with guided tours through the Liebermann Villa at Wannsee, including a film night and a hike to the house that played host to the Wannsee Conference. The educational programme of the RLS, in which scholarship holders can participate but to which they also contribute as lecturers and presenters, forms another part of the academic workgroup's cultural offering. Scholarship recipients increasingly play a part in the RLS Project Management course, which over the course of eighteen months provides qualifications for leadership posts in politics, administration, associations and clubs.

### SUPPORTING SELF-MANAGEMENT

Self-managed scholarship workshops form a further highlight for the support of grant recipients. Currently, scholarship holders participate in the following workgroups: Socialist Education, Digital Life, Gender and Identities, Art and Culture, Legal and Human Rights Policies, Anti-Semitism, Socialism and Nationalism, Internationalism, Venezuela and Qualitative Methods. These workgroups meet several times per year to discuss new issues in their subject area, and to prepare for conferences and the Summer School. The results of these tasks etc. are presented at the Summer School.



**«POLITICAL COMMITMENT IS PARTICIPATION»**

AN INTERVIEW WITH A RLS SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER

Ana Garcia from Brazil studied Political Sciences at the FU Berlin. She lived in Germany for seven years before returning to Brazil.

**Why did you come to Germany?**

I came to Berlin in 1998 for a language course at the Goethe Institute. I wanted to learn German, in order to better understand German history, but also to be able to read the works of important theorists such as Karl Marx in the original.

**What was your impression?**

Berlin fascinated me from the start, because you live and breathe the history and politics of the city. I had the feeling that world history had left its footprint on the city.

**What did you do after the language course?**

Even during the language course, I completed and passed the college admissions examination for the FU. After college, I started to study Political Sciences. My studies focused on Human Rights, democracy processes, political economy, as well as social organisations and movements.

**What are you doing now?**

After studying in Berlin, I started to work in the Regional Office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Brazil. We carry out political educational projects with important social activists in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, especially with Trade Unions, social networks and the refugee movement etc.

**So is your work now more practical, rather than scientific?**

Not only. Since last year, I have been doing a PhD in International Relations. My research focuses on transnational protagonists, regional integration and alternatives to neo-liberalism. In my research, I draw a comparison between the European Union, the Latin American trade alliance Mercosur and the alter-



native ALBA (Alternativa Bolivariana para las Américas). I consider them from the perspective of social movements and their participation and co-determination in regional integration processes. I would like to examine whether ALBA is a «post-neoliberal» project, which can act as an alternative to the market-oriented integration of the EU and Mercosur.

**Do you still have time for political activity?**

My commitment is part of my work in the Foundation’s office in Brazil, especially as I work closely with social networks. I am not a member of any political party, however, I am closely involved with the refugee pressure group MST and «Consulta Popular» movement. One topic which I have been strongly involved with in the last few years, is the role of transnational corporations in Latin America. This work is part of the social network EU-Latin America and of the People’s tribunal against transnational corporations. It was through this work that I started to research the role of Brazilian companies in South America. Currently I am discussing the new role of Brazil in world politics with the members of social movements in Brazil.

**«RECONCILIATION THROUGH UNDERSTANDING»**

AN INTERPRETER AS NEGOTIATOR BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Between 2003 and 2006, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation funded the training of the Czech translator and interpreter Barbara Molnárová for a total of 19 months. Since then, she has studied translation, conference interpretation and European studies at various universities in Europe (Prague, Moscow, Berlin, Leipzig, Granada). Currently, she is completing a post-graduate degree in «Resolution of Social and Political Conflicts» at the «Universitat Oberta de Catalunya» (UOC) in Barcelona.

**Why did you come to Germany?**

The reasons are quite mundane. I wanted to learn to speak German fluently and to learn about Germany and the Ger-

mans. I wanted to live in a German speaking environment, in order to learn the language of my former favourite authors, Ingeborg Bachmann, Franz Kafka, Max Frisch, Hermann Hesse etc. I knew that I would have to live in Germany if I wanted to interpret, as the language itself is only one part of a comprehensive understanding. You can only understand the meaning of individual words, when you know the mentality of the inhabitants and the history of the country. I also found it imperative to understand the country that has so much in common with my own country. I knew, even then, that I could only reconcile our common history through learning and experiencing. I also wanted to experience the culture and history of Berlin and after three years in Spain, I longed to be closer to Eastern Europe.

### **How long were you in Germany?**

A year in Berlin and one year in Leipzig. Since then I come back to visit or on business – quite often and regularly.

### **What are you doing right now?**

Since 2004, I have been working as a freelance interpreter and translator in the Czech Republic, Germany, Slovakia, Belgium, Spain and Austria. I mainly work as interpreter for Czech, German, Spanish, Russian, English and Slovakian. I am also learning French and Hungarian. The latter is important, as I come from the Hungarian speaking region in eastern Slovakia. Since 2008, I am also a freelance interpreter for EU Institutions.

### **How do you get involved?**

Until a year ago, I worked with the «European Social Forum» as a voluntary interpreter and as a «Babels» coordinator for Eastern Europe. Babels is an international network of voluntary interpreters and translators ([www.babels.org](http://www.babels.org)). I also interpret voluntarily for refugees and immigrants in the Czech Republic as well as working for many German-Czech non-governmental organisations and am preparing an event for the Ackermann-Community which campaigns for peace and reconciliation in Europe.

## **«TWO YEARS IN CHINA - WHY?»**

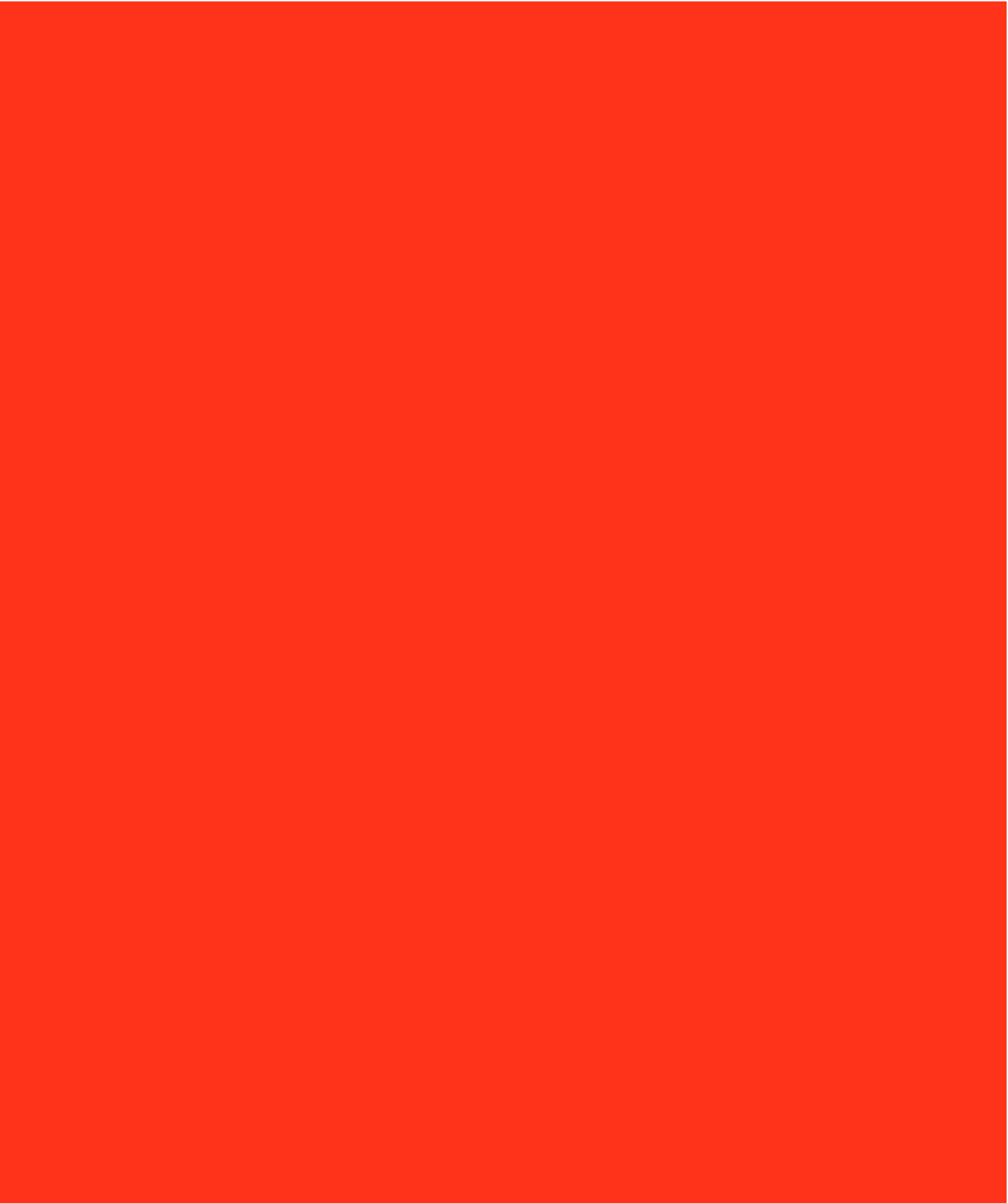
HILDEGARD SUY LAN HOPMANN – ROSA LUXEMBURG SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENT – TELLS OF HER STUDIES AT THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY OF CHINA

Two years in China – Why? Basically, I came here for two reasons. Firstly, my degree course, Sinology at the University of Hamburg is an old colonial subject and yet – or perhaps exactly for that reason – it is also one of the faculties which is often sought out by second or even third generation immigrant Asian-Germans. The other reason was my family, which is scattered throughout Asia and Canada and I only very rarely get the opportunity to meet with them. ■■■ For that reason, I spent most of my time in Beijing, the capital of China and according to most Chinese people, the political and cultural centre of the People's Republic. There I studied the Chinese language,



age, or to be more precise, modern Mandarin, as this is the most important basis for any possible future research in the field of Asian studies. However, I devoted the holidays to travelling and to seeing my family, so I met my aunts, uncles and cousins for the first time since my childhood and, at the same time, I was able to research my own family history a little more.

■■■ If I had to sum up my stay in Asia after two years, I would say that I very much enjoyed having spent such a long time here, even if I am left with the feeling that, on the whole, it had been too short. Even now, just before leaving I often think about returning. But this time, not in order to work on my language skills again, but rather in order to write my thesis. In that case, I would not visit the mainland again, but instead would go to Hong Kong or Taiwan, as research seems to be easier there. Even so, I'm sure that Beijing and I will meet again soon.





## **RISE IN INTEREST IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME**

### **ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION REGIONAL OFFICES NOW IN ALL WESTERN FEDERAL STATES**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is now present nationwide. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundations in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and Brandenburg and the «Helle Panke» as the Berlin Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, have already had their own offices for a long time. The RLS opened its own offices in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Rostock) and the Thuringian capital, Erfurt. ■■■ The new offices, which were opened in 2008 in Hamburg (April 2008), Mainz (June 2008), Kiel (October 2008) and Hanover (November 2008), mean that the RLS now has regional offices in all western federal states. This completes an important stage of nationwide work. Employees there are in close contact with the respective regional foundations. Their offices are the link between the regional work in each state and the RLS at the federal level. Regional offices and state foundations are the point of contact for the left in general beyond The Left party. They cooperate with initiatives and social movements, trade unions, other education providers and local politicians. ■■■ The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is active nationwide. Important elements of the political education offered are the events, publications and other activities of our partners in the provinces. Close cooperation with the country's foundations enabled more than 1,900 events to be implemented in the whole of the Federal Republic in 2008. With this offer, the RLS approaches the environs of The Left Party as well as a broad public interested in political education. The legally independent regional foundations together with RLS form the association of foundations. Its institution is the Council of State Foundations, in which each foundation has a voice, and which represents the state foundations vis-à-vis the Board of the RLS. ■■■ At a local level, the Rosa Luxemburg Clubs often organise the educational programmes. The majority of clubs were founded in North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony, but they also exist in most other federal states. There, they implement educational work locally mainly in the form of lectures and discussion meetings. In some eastern countries, such as Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt, field offices or regional offices take on this task. A great part of the work of the state foundations and clubs – and thus a large part of the RLS' nationwide presence – occurs on a voluntary basis. ■■■ The work of all the state foundations is financed on the one hand by the RLS (from federal funds) and to a lesser extent by its own funds (donations, contributions) and finally, in several states also with the use of federal state funds – in varying magnitudes and according to differing state regulations. Besides the foundations in Berlin and the East German states, the foundations in Bremen, Hamburg and Lower Saxony also receive funding for political education from the respective federal state budgets after The Left Party entered into several West German state parliaments. On this basis, the educational and networking activities in the federal states will in future continue to be expanded. ■■■ Forms of political education are diverse, ranging from print and



Internet publications to discussions on individual topics and all types of events. Central to the nationwide work in 2008 were interesting events on various topics. In the western German states, the number of participants rose to a total of 18,700 people taking part in about 680 events, significantly more than in the previous year, when 14,000 participants took part in around 500 events. A total of about 34,000 visitors came to the evening events, seminars, meetings and conferences which were offered by the association of RLS foundations in the eastern German states and Berlin.

### **STEREOTYPES AS INSTRUMENTS OF POWER**

**THE AUTHOR NOAH SOW READS FROM HER CRITIQUE OF RACISM AT THE INVITATION OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**

The reading «Deutschland Schwarz-Weiß» [Germany Black and White] with the author, musician and media critic, Noah Sow, was organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the RLS Lower Saxony in 2008 at three locations in Lower Saxony. In June, Sow read in Buxtehude and Hanover – here in cooperation with the AStA of Leibniz University in Hanover, the «Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften» (i.a.f. e. V.) [Association of Binational Families and Partnerships] and the cultural centre Pavilion as part of the «Festival Contre Le Racisme». The October reading in Osnabrück was held in connection with the founding of the «Osnabrücker Bündnis gegen Rassismus» [Osnabrück alliance against racism.] ■■■ The author presented a few chapters from her book, «Deutschland Schwarz-Weiß», which shed light on everyday racism in Germany. The intention was not to hold academic discussions on racism and its causes, but to present racism as an everyday experience and practice, which is exercised by people who themselves would vehemently protest against being referred to as racist. ■■■ Starting point was to pick out some terms which shed light on the relationship of definitions, and thus the

power relations which are reflected in these and their use. The privileges of white people that are taken for granted and thereby not perceived were examined in reflection of the special treatment and perception of black people. Racist behaviour can often be explained as a behaviour of dominance or a reflex. Stereotypes are basically instruments of power that provide those who use them with advantages. Noah Sow calls for greater intolerance to racist behaviour. ■■■ To illustrate this, the author suggests applying terms used in anthropological texts or encyclopaedia to their own culture, to thereby uncover a part of the less subtle post-colonial mechanisms of domination. ■■■ By means of her biting ironic presentation style, Noah Sow made the narrative easier to digest for the audience. Her clear words however render it impossible to ignore what is said.

### **DOES THE LEFT NEED AN ECONOMIC ETHIC?**

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM  
PREOCCUPY THE RLS SAXONY 2008

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony presented a great variety of programmes last year. Of particular note are four events in Leipzig. The colloquium «Wirtschaft und Moral – Zu den sozialetischen Grundlagen einer linken Gesellschaftspolitik» [Economy and morality – on the social and ethical foundations of a left social policy] was held in mid October 2008. ■■■ Focus was the tension between economy and morality in today's society. The central question was: does the political left need an economic ethic? As a consequence of the current economic crisis it was said that the economy needed to be rehabilitated in practice as well as in theory. Without discussing economic principles, this was very difficult from the perspective of the alternative left. ■■■ The former Minister of Economic Affairs of the GDR and later PDS Member of Parliament, Prof. Dr. Christa Luft, spoke on the subject of morality in the tension between self-interest and the common good [«Moral im Spannungsfeld von Eigennutz und Gemeinwohl»]. Jesuit and expert on social ethics, Prof. Dr. Friedhelm Hengsbach, dealt with the problem «Wirtschaft und Moral – zwei ungleiche Schwestern?» [Economics and morality – two unequal sisters?]. Karl Georg Zinn, professor of economics, examined the topic «Gesellschaftsethik und politische Ökonomie – Zu den moraltheoretischen Grundlagen eines humanen Wirtschaftssystems» [Social Ethics and Political Economy – on the basic moral theory of a humane economic system]. Philosopher, Wolfgang Kuhlmann, spoke about «Ökonomie und soziale Gerechtigkeit» [Economics and social justice]. ■■■ All contributions were published in: *Wirtschaft und Moral. Sozialetische Grundlagen einer linken Gesellschaftspolitik* (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen 2009, 96 p., ISBN 978-3-89819-318-4, Diskurs Heft 35, 5,00 euros).

### **LEIPZIG AND 1968**

At the end of October, the «VIII. Rosa-Luxemburg-Konferenz» was held by the RLS Saxony on «Leo Kofler und Wolfgang

Abendroth. Die sozialistische Linke und 1968» [Leo Kofler and Wolfgang Abendroth. The socialist left and 1968]. The year 1968 represents profound upheavals in post-war society nationally as well as internationally. In 1968, there culminated a process which began with the defeat of Hitler's fascism. Since its establishment, the RLS Saxony has adopted a tradition that goes back directly to 1968. ■■■ After 1945, a configuration came about in Leipzig that was unique in Europe. Scholars converged who embodied unorthodox left thinking at its highest level. The foundation examined this in a conference series, the «Walter-Markov-Kolloquia», and documented the results in numerous publications. Subjects of analysis were Walter Markov, Werner Krauss, Ernst Bloch, Fritz Behrens and Emil Fuchs. Wolfgang Abendroth taught only briefly at the University of Leipzig, then in Jena. Leo Kofler taught near the centre of Leipzig, in Halle. Both men should be of great significance especially for the development of the Left in the Federal Republic. Investigating a nationwide approach to left-wing thinking, which should prove significant for the Federal Republic of Germany with a view to 1968, is a task still to be tackled. The conference made a contribution to this.

### **A LOOK AT RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM**

In November 2008, the foundation dealt with the topic «Deutsche Dichterinnen jüdischen Schicksals: Else Lasker-Schüler, Gertrud Kolmar, Nelly Sachs» [German poets of Jewish fate: Else Lasker-Schüler, Gertrud Kolmar, Nelly Sachs]. Speakers were the author, Horst Nalewski and actress, Steffi Böttger. ■■■ The RLS Saxony contributed with an impressive event to commemorate the Kristallnacht 70 years ago in Leipzig. ■■■ Horst Nalewski presented his book «Deutsche Dichterinnen jüdischen Schicksals» (Horst Nalewski: «Deutsche Dichterinnen jüdischen Schicksals: Else Lasker-Schüler, Gertrud Kolmar, Nelly Sachs, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Saxony e. V. 2008, 229 p., ISBN 978-3-86583-311-2, 9,00 euros). ■■■ At the beginning of November, the RLS held a conference on «Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland – Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Befragung 2008» [Right-wing attitudes in Germany – results of a representative survey 2008]. Elmar Brähler presented the new study, «Ein Blick in die Mitte. Zur Entstehung rechtsextremer und demokratischer Einstellungen» [A look at the middle: on the emergence of right-wing and democratic positions]. This is a qualitative survey where individuals were also interviewed on the survey of 2006. (The 2006 study on the extent of right-wing positions in Germany was called «Vom Rand zur Mitte»). ■■■ In the whole of the Federal Republic a total of twelve group discussions were conducted with people who had chosen the options in the survey that were particularly right-wing, particularly anti right-wing or who had often chosen the middle answer, part-part. The analysis of these group discussions makes it possible to answer the following question: under which circumstances does a person develop right-wing or democratic attitudes? ■■■ The results are to be found in the publication «Ein Blick in die Mitte. Zur Entstehung rechtsextremer und demokratischer Einstel-



lungen.» A study by Oliver Decker, Katharina Rothe, Marliese Weißmann, Norman Geißler and Elmar Brähler. With the cooperation of Franziska Göpner and Kathleen Pöge. For the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Forum Berlin, May 2008.

### THE CITY IN NEOLIBERALISM

A SERIES OF EVENTS BY THE RLS THURINGIA

Town planning developments are gaining increasing importance within social disputes. Issues include the privatisation of public property, video surveillance of town squares and public spaces, the expulsion of «disruptive elements» from urban centres and consumer facilities. This topic is not new to alternative discourse. It discusses the defence of public ownership, the battle against the gentrification of inner cities and the fight for new and larger spaces for alternative concepts of life. ■ Reason for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's series of events in the autumn of 2008 in Erfurt, Thuringia, were developments in the city itself that shed light on the aims of the administration and political parties of this medium sized town. At first a new bye-law was enforced to prohibit drinking in public spaces. This had the intention of expelling punks and other young people who «loitered» (according to the city administration) in Erfurt's tourist area – the «Krämerbrücke». ■ Then, the few remaining elements of alternative culture became the target of urban interests: the «Kunsthau Erfurt» was threatened due to allegedly having wrongly or failing to pay off financial assistance. A cafe became victim to lucrative property privatisation. And finally, the «squatted» house in Erfurt was evicted using a great amount of repression. ■ The series of events was opened by Volker Eick, a political scientist at the Free University of Berlin. Social scientist, Eric Töpfer, described the motives and supporters of «optical-electronic surveillance», (better known as «video surveillance»), and showed the dangers of this for civil rights, social justice and democracy. In the Erfurt squat, the book «Besetze deine Stadt! – BZ dyn by!»

[squatt your city! – BZ dyn by!] about the housing struggle and urban development in Copenhagen (Birke/Larsen, Assoziation A, January 2008) was presented. Sociologist Andrej Holm also gave an account of the demands and positive responses to current social problems. The landscape gardener and artist Ella von der Heide presented the concept of urban community gardens. ■ All events were documented by Radio F.R.E.I.

### BULGING COFFERS, SKILFUL PR STRATEGY

HOW THE BERTELSMANN FOUNDATION INFLUENCES PUBLIC OPINION

The way in which the Bertelsmann Foundation and the «Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft» (Initiative New Social Market Economy) influence politics was discussed by sociologist Steffen Roski at a Rosa Luxemburg Foundation event in Saarbruecken in the middle of May 2008. ■ Correcting the image of a discreet and quietly working lobbyist is essential, said the Bertelsmann critic, Roski. Both the «Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft», financed by the federation of employers of the metal industry, and the Bertelsmann Foundation, are double dipping: apart from using classical forms of lobbying with agreements made behind the scenes, they do not fear being in the public eye. ■ Quite the contrary, the results of their informal agreements are openly presented in talk shows. Representatives of parties and industry «discuss» their views, sometimes very heatedly. However on close inspection they all say the same thing. Controversies at best serve to entertain the viewers. Their opponents see these lobbyists at work in all the agencies that could hinder the free development of capital: trade unions, social movements, parliaments etc. This, of course, is not publicly discussed. ■ Roski argued that, directly or indirectly, the «Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft» and the Bertelsmann Foundation are challenging the consensus that has prevailed until now that government action should have the aim of creating equal and good living conditions for all. They call for «saving» and this at the expense of wage earners, while at the same time relieving the burden on businesses. ■ To this aim, they make use of the entire repertoire of PR. The Bertelsmann Foundation «advises» policy makers, organises events and publishes scientific material about the alleged aim of «a sustainable society». ■ The «Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft» campaigns using advertisement, press releases, books, interviews and television coverage. By influencing presenters, the boundary between journalism and public relations often becomes blurred. ■ Whereas the «Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft» consciously presents itself as being independent of the government, the Bertelsmann Foundation emphasises its serious conservative nature. Both are financially well off and have an influence that exceeds beyond that of democratically elected institutions. Steffen Roski demands that the non-profitable status of the Bertelsmann Foundation, one of the largest media corporations in the world, be called into question.



### **POLITICS DOES NOT NEED PARTIES - 1968**

(ALTE LINKE - NEUE LINKE BREMEN/HAMBURG)

Hamburg Seminar discusses the transnational protest movements of 1968

«1968» and its consequences still arouse considerable interest. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's «Gesprächskreis Geschichte» [Discussion group on history] held an historical political seminar on 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> April 2008 at the University of Hamburg. The conference was organised together with the student representatives of Psychology from the University of Hamburg, and the state foundations RLS Brandenburg, Bremen and Hamburg. About 80 participants of all ages attended the event. ■■■ The meeting was less concerned with relating the sequence of events than intending to interpret the consequences of 1968 in a critical way. It was aimed at a professional audience of scientists and those active in social movements. Issues were discussed that have only recently been taken up by research, such as the significance of transnational communication and migration for «1968», or the role of strikes and workers' behaviour. The conference strove to maintain a transnational perspective, with the deliberate exclusion of the area Eastern Europe, since this had already been the topic of a separate seminar. ■■■ In their four lectures, Angelika Ebbinghaus, Juliane Schumacher, Giorgos Tsiakolos and Christian Frings covered topics that were later picked up on by the workshops. This ranged from the politics of remembrance in Mexico in 1968, through to the alternative movements of the 1970s, to the different concepts of critical media work, and the role and significance of wage labourers in the social struggles of that time. ■■■ At the beginning of the seminar it was stated that «1968» was a spatial and substantial global revolution that should be understood as a «pluralistic unity». Thus, there is an asynchronism in countries and different themes and levels of mobilisation. «1968», is characterised by the fact that protagonists had seen «world events as a foil of their own actions» and had discovered overall similarities: for example in the struggle

against war and colonialism, and particularly in the new role of counter culture and the critique of traditional gender relations. The temporal division into periods proved easier, many contributions distinguished between a preliminary phase of intellectuals providing catchwords and anti-colonial struggles, a peak from around 1967 to mid 1969 and the after-effects until the end of the 1970s. The aftermath included an increased level of labour unrest and immigrant struggles, as well as organisational political consequences. A discussion followed about these consequences, which mainly revolved around how and why it could then have been possible to contain this anti-authoritarian awakening in an authoritarian way. ■■■ In all contributions, «1968» was described as an anti-hierarchical movement that was at root critical of the circumstances prevailing at the time. In the global north, it was characterised by a diversity of protest forms. In the years of «1968», a «cultural revolution» occurred in the areas of consumerism and leisure, the prerequisite of which was economic growth and the expansion of education during these years. ■■■ Several contributions broached the subject that this «cultural revolution» had an impact on the working world, as well as emerging from changes within this. The role played by the media on the formation of a «global 68» was also debated. The protagonists of the revolution were internationally informed. Besides personal contacts, the mass media played a role that has until now been insufficiently examined. ■■■ All lectures shared the common issue of periodisation, the question of whether the «new left» had not in fact already existed before 1968. A thesis shared by many: these intellectuals, in their rejection of social democracy and an authoritarian party communism, had been marginalised before 1968, but later became ever more important. ■■■ In conclusion: «1968» was a global phenomenon. The demands of the revolts have not been abolished in the current order. Their wishes and experiences are still of significance and justified today. Changes in the left agenda triggered by «1968», including issues such as a criticism of progress, minority rights, renewed internationalism, and the critique of work, still have conse-



quences today that must be taken into account. ■■■ The issue of necessary organisational measures remains unresolved. «1968» and many of the resulting attempts at organisation mean that making politics no longer necessarily requires joining a party. The failure of authoritarian communist groups of the 1970s is only one cautionary example of this. ■■■ «1968» was the last transformative experiment that was based on a certain historical optimism and was also clearly located on the «left». All subsequent relevant social movements – whether Solidar-nosc, the West German movement against nuclear power, or even the «globalisation movement», did not and were not able to do this.

### **ON THE OCCASION OF SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR'S 100<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY**

WUPPERTAL – the RLC-Wuppertal/Bergisch Land honours the writer on women's day 2008

On 9<sup>th</sup> January 2008 she would have been 100 years old. To mark this occasion many new books and TV films appeared about Simone de Beauvoir. The event organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Club Wuppertal/Bergisch Land, at which Florence Hervé examined the work, personality and the time when Beauvoir's main oeuvre *The Second Sex* emerged, also met with great interest among women of all age groups. ■■■ The speaker is co-editor of the book «absolute Simone de Beauvoir» and considers a philosophy of intervention and action still of relevance today. Far from passé are the thoughts of the writer on the demystification of femininity, the autonomy of women, freedom as the determining basis for humanity, the responsibility of the individual and the possibility of change. ■■■ Florence Hervé read passages from *The Second Sex*, quoted chansons of the period and political opinions in the original. Questions about the role of the author in the resistance struggle, on her notions of social upheaval, her pacifism, her motives for writing such a book as well as an assessment of

her relationship with the philosopher and her partner Jean-Paul Sartre, dominated the discussion. ■■■ In her memoirs in 1972, Simone de Beauvoir wrote that she understood feminism as being the fight for the specific demands of women – in parallel to the class struggle – and that she considered herself a feminist. ■■■ The seminar concluded that 36 years later, this knowledge has unfortunately still not filtered through to many on the left – be they men or women.

### **SPEED DRAWING**

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN – a completely different book presentation in Rostock

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation held a completely different book launch in late February 2008 in Rostock with the cartoonist Sylvain Mazas. He illustrated his experiences in the form of a caricature on a board. The title of his book is: «Dieses Buch sollte mir gestatten, den Konflikt in Nah-Ost zu lösen, mein Diplom zu kriegen und eine Frau zu finden.» [This book should allow me to resolve the conflict in the Middle East, to get my degree and find a wife]. ■■■ The young Frenchman Sylvain Mazas had an ambitious task as part of his thesis at the University of Fine Arts in Berlin Weißensee. The fact that only one of his three wishes came true was not due to lack of activity or skill. Sylvain travelled to Beirut for three months, learnt Modern Standard Arabic and looked around in the Lebanese capital. Back in Germany, he described and illustrated his experiences in a book. ■■■ The end result is a book of nearly 200 pages in the form of a notebook, handwritten and full of illustrations and thought diagrams. This book is the beginning of a life project. He has obtained the degree, his first goal and is still working on the two other projects. ■■■ Sylvain Mazas was born in 1980 in Chambéry, in the French Alps. In 1999, he began studying as an illustrator in France; in 2004 he transferred to the School of Art and Design Berlin Weißensee, where he completed his studies three years later. Since 2004 he has worked

regularly in Stralsund with «Jugendkunst e. V.» and the Mücken-schweinverlag. Since 2007 he has lived and worked in Stralsund and Berlin. ■ Produced by hand, the book has now sold over 600 copies and was presented at the Leipzig Book Fair 2009.

### **THE LONG JOURNEY OF A WOMAN WITHOUT PAPERS**

**BREMEN** – The Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative Bremen encourages networking among immigrant supporters

The film «Mit einem Lächeln auf den Lippen» [With a smile on her lips] (Anne Frisius 2008) documents the journey of a woman without papers. She sued at a court for adequate wages for three years underpaid domestic work in a Hamburg family. The case of «Ana P.» shows that it is worthwhile fighting, but also highlights the urgent need for structures to be put in place that allow other «illegals» to fight for their rights. In Hamburg, the cooperation of anti-racist and union groups has enabled a point of contact for undocumented workers («MigrAr») to be set up. ■ A discussion took place following the film at the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative Bremen's event, which was held together with the DGB-Jugend and the Mayday-Bündnis in June 2009. Amongst those present were the filmmaker Anne Frisius, Mónica Orjeda (Ana P. supporter) and Peter Bremme of ver.di Hamburg or «MigrAr». They discussed the conditions of legal support on employment issues for «sans papiers». In a debate on the creation of similar projects in Bremen, it became clear that activists needed to step out of their niches and cooperate with other institutions in order to analyse social problem areas and change these in an emancipatory way. ■ More than 60 activists from trade union circles and refugee initiatives met in Bremen that evening. The enormous amount of interest demonstrates the topicality of the subject and the success of the cooperative event. Those present took first steps towards creating a network.

### **ON THE WAY TO A TRANSPARENT PATIENT**

**SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN** – are there alternatives to the electronic health card?

At a seminar by the «werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V.», organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Schleswig-Holstein, the planned introduction of an electronic health card was criticised from the point of view of data privacy as well as for being a tool for the continued economic restructuring of the health care system. The panel discussion at the beginning of September 2008 was held together with attac, the «Arbeitskreis Vorratsspeicherung» and the «Freie Ärzteschaft». ■ Thomas Herrmann from «attac» criticised data storage by the state. Central is the fundamental issue of how the new possibilities of technological development and new forms of communication could be used without ending in a technical disaster. He asks himself who is the master of communication: the

state, corporations or the «communication participants from below». ■ The data protection officer of Schleswig-Holstein, Thilo Weichert, defended the electronic health card as an example of good privacy. Originally, aspects of data protection had been completely ignored in the concept of the health card. However, this aspect had now been corrected. Thilo Weichert spoke of the health card's complete transparency. Data could be stored on a voluntary basis. The patient enters the card's PIN so that the doctor can read it. ■ Manuela Peters called the health card a prestige project of the federal government, which only serves to create new markets for the IT industry. Along with the doctor, Peter Reibisch, she criticised the impact of the e-health card on doctors' behaviour. Doctors, according to Reibisch, instead of looking into the patient's eyes would look at the screen. The classification of diseases required by this new technology destroys holistic diagnoses and treatment. ■ There were also intense discussions about the problems of data loss were the e-card to be lost. An external storage of data is undesirable from the perspective of privacy. Besides discussing the e-card, Weichert also criticised health insurance companies for keeping personal accounts. Here, data had been collected that could enable personal profiles to be created – as this had occurred without the necessary control and partly with the assistance of private providers in countries with an insufficient degree of data protection.

### **NEOLIBERAL LIES**

**UECKERMÜNDE/MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN** – Discussion with Sahra Wagenknecht about wealth and poverty in Europe

On 19<sup>th</sup> September 2008, the association Tacheles and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation held a joint event with the title «Neoliberale Lügen – Armut und Reichtum in Deutschland und Europa» [Neoliberal lies – poverty and wealth in Germany and Europe] at the Volksbühne Ueckermünde. More than 80 interested participants listened to a lecture by the MEP Sahra Wagenknecht. The member of the federal state parliament of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Torsten Koplin, and Gerd Walther, president of the association Tacheles Uecker-Randow eV also joined in the discussion. ■ According to the local paper «haff Zeitung», Sahra Wagenknecht at this event also struck out «sweeping attacks against deregulated capitalism». In actual fact, her lecture examined questions such as: recovery promises more jobs and rising prosperity for all, but who benefits from this? For the majority of the population the result is increasing prices for food, petrol, electricity and gas. Most newly created jobs are actually work in temping agencies or part-time work with supplementary benefits (ALG II). ■ In Ueckermünde claims such as the necessity of loan dumping or the privatisation of the public service sector and budget constraints due to a lack of public funds were refuted. ■ The event concerned itself with the victimisation of Hartz IV recipients, the introduction of a practice fee, which deters some

people from going to a doctor, or the financial burden of the increase in VAT on those with a low income. ■■ Wagenknecht pointed out that despite years of cuts in spending in the public sector, employees were still being dismissed and wages cut. An increase in unemployment benefits? Higher spending on education? The introduction of a minimum wage of 8.44 euros? More public investment? Unfortunately there is no money, is the state's answer. But all these questions have an answer: The public sector should take the money from where it exists in abundance, suggested Wagenknecht. ■■ Her thesis seemed to him to be unrealistic, said the reporter of the Haff Zeitung. In the bottom of her red heart she should know that German society would not undergo the radical change envisaged by her in the foreseeable future, he said. The economic and financial crisis followed only a year later and belied the claims of the reporter.

**THEO BERGMANN: THEN WE WILL START AGAIN**  
MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN – a film about the life of the communist Theo Bergmann

the documentary «dann fangen wir von vorn an. (Über)leben eines kritischen Kommunisten. Theodor Bergmann» [Then we will start again. The life and survival of a critical communist. Theodor Bergmann] was shown by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in the spring of 2008 in Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald. Every screening was followed by a conversation lasting about one and a half hours with the 93-year-old Theodor Bergmann and the Stuttgart filmmaker Julia Preuschel. Each event was attended by at least 45 participants. Central to the discussions were in particular questions concerning the «future of socialism» and the developments in China and India. ■■ Rosa Luxemburg believed socialist policies and socialism should emerge from the joint, voluntary and deliberate movements of all those who are underprivileged, from the direct action of the masses. Theodor Bergmann, witness of the last century, has been pleading for this ever since he joined the KPD opposition (which had split from the KPD and stood against Stalinism and advocated a broad union against fascism) in 1929 when he was 13 years old. Many of Luxemburg's scholars met in this party. ■■ Bergmann's life is now the subject of a film. Filmmaker Julia Preuschel accompanied Theo Bergmann, travelled to the places of his escape from the Nazis and shows him in discussion with people of all ages. She has succeeded in graphically portraying his life. ■■ During the discussion in Stralsund, Theodor Bergmann came across like a wise old man, who has a young and fresh air of someone just emerging from the revolutionary struggle. He answered questions with a factual knowledge that pushed all else into the shadows. The century was compressed. Contexts became evident and understandable. Bergmann responded to all questions patiently, without any hint of polemic. He addressed every little minor aspect. ■■ Why does a political movement die, why does a political party die out? Because they lose contact with the base. He analysed



these simple wisdoms so well that even those who believed that they had already lost all hope were once again convinced. It is not what is achieved in the parliaments that should be the measure of all things, said Bergmann, however it is what happens outside that is important. Look at strikes, go to the strikers, understand their working conditions, and support them with publicity. This is important, not taking part in the best possible allocation of the savings of capital. ■■ Parliamentarians have the mission of making public in parliament the conditions of the workers and the new precariat and pointing to the new and deepening class divisions. If instead you become involved in measures against the population, to apparently prevent something worse from happening, then you walk into a trap. Into the trap of parliamentary cretinism, as Rosa Luxemburg put it, and then you lose the consent of the disenchanting.

## CRASH 2008

HANNOVER – early analysis of the crisis of global capitalism

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Lower Saxony was ahead of its time with the series of events «Entfesselter Kapitalismus – ohne Alternative?» [Unleashed capitalism – no alternative?]. The events were organised by the RLS together with Attac, Hanover, and the DGB/Region Mitte in the first half of 2008 in Hanover. In this series of events, outstanding global speakers analysed global, increasingly unleashed capitalism, which is neither regulated by the welfare state nor takes the existential interests of workers into consideration. Pivotal was the search for political and economic alternatives. ■■■ In the first event of the series, Dierk Hirschel, chief economist of the DGB, spoke about «Crash 2008: Von der Immobilien- zur Finanzkrise – sind internationale Finanzmärkte kontrollierbar?» [Crash 2008: From real estate to financial crisis – can international financial markets be controlled?]. He shed light on the background and potential impact of the current financial crisis and then moved on to the question of the policies that would be needed to contain the hazards of international financial markets. At this point in time, prognoses were still being called for which could evaluate if and when the housing crisis in the United States would develop into a global economic crisis. Hirschel considered the basic causes of the development to be the increasing redistribution from bottom to top as a result of neoliberal policies. As an alternative model, he recommended a substantial increase in wages, with the introduction of a minimum wage playing a central role. He also called for reactivating an active Keynesian public investment policy that should be financed by an appropriate tax policy. ■■■ Sociologist Dr. Christa Wichterich dealt with the subject: «Frauen im globalen Kapitalismus – Arbeit und Geschlecht auf globalisierten Märkten» [Women in global capitalism – labour and gender on global markets]. The consequences of so-called globalisation for women worldwide are extremely inconsistent. Women's ongoing integration into the value chains of global production on the one hand have positive outcomes, such as empowerment, personal independence by having their own income, and the support of families. Women on the other hand suffer particularly from the negative consequences of capitalist globalisation, due to low wages, a lack of promotion prospects, multiple roles, and poverty in work and in old age. According to UNICEF, women account for 60 percent of all hours worked worldwide but receive only 10 percent of world income and own only 1 percent of world wealth. ■■■ The Jesuit, Friedhelm Hengsbach, head of the «Nell-Breuning-Institut für Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsethik» in Frankfurt until 2006, in his lecture «Reichtum global – eine andere Verteilungspolitik ist möglich und nötig» [Global Wealth – a different distribution policy is necessary and possible] revealed that the lack of adequate supplies of goods, food and public services to the global population was not a problem of production, but rather a problem of equal distribution. As the production and distribution of goods by transnational corporations only obeys the interests of profit and the

rules of international trade are specified for example by the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the concentration of economic power would have to be reversed by a new concept of mankind and a just state regulation. He considers the opportunities for political action to be based in regional initiatives of civil society and democratic international agreements.

## WHAT DOES THE FINANCIAL CRISIS MEAN FOR THE LEFT?

HELLE PANKE – workshop discusses consequences

Is the financial crisis really a crisis of the century? More than 60 participants discussed the cause, character and dimensions of the global financial and economic crisis at a workshop in late February 2009 in Berlin. The «Helle Panke» (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Berlin) and «WISSENTransfer», an association of academics and trade unionists for the analysis of capitalism and social criticism, had invited participants to the debate which was chaired by Richard Detje «WISSENTransfer» and Prof. Klaus Steinitz (Chairman of Helle Panke). ■■■ Dr. Joachim Bischoff from the magazine «Sozialismus» and Prof. Jörg Huffschmid from the Memorandumgruppe from Bremen opened the discussion. Those present were almost unanimous in determining the causes and nature of the present crisis. It is perceived as a profound, structural, global systemic crisis of financial market capitalism that encompasses all areas of social reproduction. The depth and specificity of the crisis arise from the fact that this systemic crisis coincides with a cyclic economic crisis. Views differed when evaluating the depth of the crisis and its duration. ■■■ The discussion yielded some important conclusions and suggestions for left-wing politics. A critical assessment of decoupling financial and real economy was called for. Opportunities must be found to prevent this separation in the future. The problems of the environment and climate should be given a prominent place when analysing the financial and economic crisis and its alternatives. ■■■ In the second part, the workshop turned to the issue of the alternatives for the political and trade union left. First to speak were Ulla Lötzer (Bundestag LEFT), Horst Arenz (research associate of parliamentarian leader of The Left in the Bundestag) and Michael Wendl (former Deputy Chairman of ver.di Bavaria). It became clear that the crisis has not had a positive effect for the left, for example by shifting the balance of political power. Is crisis generally not an opportunity for the left? Or can the reasons for their lagging behind politically be explained by the lack of quality and conviction of answers that the left have for the crisis, and their want of public acceptance? The discussion on this topic did not come up with satisfactory answers. ■■■ Many issues were identified which will have to be further discussed among the left. For example the relationship between nationalisation and socialisation, the contents and conditions of social regulation, and the control of the banking and financial system, the demands on international financial market regu-





lation, and the social and environmental requirements of the economic stimulus packages. ■■■ Contributions to the workshop have been collected in the book «Die Systemkrise des Finanzmarktkapitalismus und ihre Alternativen», Pankower Vorträge, Heft 130, «Helle Panke» e. V., Berlin 2009.

#### **ARTISTS AND REVOLUTION**

HELLE PANKE – symposium on the occasion of the anniversary of the november revolution

2008 was the year of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the German November Revolution. In the public sphere, questions were asked again about the nature and success or failure of the revolution. On this occasion the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation held a colloquium called «Die Novemberrevolution 1918/19 im Spiegel von Kunst und Publizistik» [The November revolution 1918/19 as reflected by art and journalism] in mid September 2008 at the Helle Panke in Berlin. Daniel Küchenmeister chaired the event. ■■■ As is the case for other historic events, the German revolution of November 1918 raises the question of how artists have contributed to preparing and shaping this event. ■■■ Those involved in the revolution included a few significant Expressionist writers and publishers, primarily Kurt Hiller, theorist of Expressionism in Berlin. Although not a writer, Rosa Luxemburg's journalistic work is today the best known. Poets and essayists who participated in the Bavarian Soviet Republic such as Gustav Landauer, Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam were also portrayed. ■■■ Heinrich Mann and Louis Rubiner were involved in the preparatory phase of the revolution. Artists such as Bertolt Brecht and Alfred Döblin worked with themes of the revolution. Walter Benjamin was dealt with in depth as an example of writers who were influenced by the revolution but not necessarily immediately involved, while indirectly attesting to its effect. There were also opponents of the revolution amongst writers and publishers; the most prominent of these was Ernst Jünger. ■■■ Literary scholars from five federal states of

Germany as well as from the United States presented latest research at the colloquium. The colloquium had no equal on the day of the anniversary in Germany. ■■■ The colloquium continued with its series «Literatur und Gesellschaft» [Literature and society], which in the past years had held eight conferences on the literary heritage for example of Goethe, Schiller, Heine, on journalism under Socialist law, on modernity, on the beginnings of literary science in the GDR, on the cultural relations between Vienna and Berlin etc. Results were published in the series «Pankower Vorträge».

## PROJECT SPONSORSHIP

### THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION AS A PARTNER FOR EXTERNAL ORGANISATIONS

Project support programmes are an important form of cooperation with other institutions of political education. Within the limits of its financial resources, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports events, publications and research projects and also plays a part in determining the content of these projects. It thereby contributes to representing the wide spectrum of left issues to the political public. Projects enabled by project sponsorship complement the Foundation's educational contribution thematically and regionally, and are aimed at specific target groups. Several in depth research activities are also carried out on project sponsorship, the results of which are an essential part of the Foundation's tasks. ■■■ In 2008, 610 applications were submitted and 89 projects funded. An increase in funds has so far been able to meet the growing demand. Whereas in 2007, 208,000 euros were made available for external projects, in 2008, this increased to 234,000 euros. This trend will continue in 2009 with the availability of about 300,000 euros. ■■■ Along with project sponsorship, an increased cooperation between regional players and the organisations and foundations in the Federal states was also made possible. For this purpose, the state associations and foundations received an additional 11,300 euros. Thus, the RLS Lower Saxony for example participated in the Braunschweiger Gramsci-Tage [Gramsci days Braunschweig]. The Kurt Eisner Association was involved in the series of events «90 Jahre Räterevolution München. War es nur ein Traum?» [90 years of soviet revolution in Munich. Was it just a dream?], and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg cooperated with the Brecht-Weigel-Haus in Buckow. ■■■ The range of funded projects is broad. Classifying the projects sponsored by the Foundation in 2008 according to their form results in the following overall picture:

- ■ ■ **Publication grants for books/magazines**  
26 projects
- ■ ■ **Larger events (conferences, seminars lasting several days, etc.)**  
20 projects
- ■ ■ **Smaller events (evening events, etc.)**  
13 projects
- ■ ■ **Research activities**  
18 projects
- ■ ■ **DVDs, films, exhibitions, websites**  
12 projects

## SOME EXAMPLES OF EXTERNAL PROJECT SPONSORSHIP

**Institut für Arbeit und Gesellschaft (INAG):**  
**Analysis of political opinion making in Germany**  
**Funding 2007: 15,000 euros**  
**Funding 2008: 23,500 euros**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation requires an empirical basis for its scientific analysis of social development and to develop an appealing and sustainable programme of education. In 2007, work was begun on the research project «Analysen zur politischen Meinungsbildung in Deutschland. Studien zu Zielgruppen linker Bildung» [Analysis of political opinion in Germany. Studies on target groups of left education] implemented by the Institut für Arbeit und Gesellschaft [Institute for work and society] in Chemnitz. In the first phase, 21 group discussions were held. The study based on this, «Politische Praxen und Orientierungen in links affinen Alltagsmilieus» [Political practices and orientation in links affinen Alltagsmilieus] [Political practices and orientation in an everyday left environment] was published in the series rls papers. It examines the attitudes and activities of groups who consider themselves to be left-wing. What is striking is the diversity of political orientations and behaviour. This becomes clear for example in the evaluation of paid work as a means of social integration. The relationship to capitalist dominated society ranges from acceptance to anti-capitalism. Research will continue and be further intensified in order to gain more insight into the milieu of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's activities of left critical political education and the area of the Left Party's political work. In the second phase, 60 qualitative interviews will be conducted with persons from the broad left spectrum. An extensive quantitative survey is also being planned for 2009.

**Lied und soziale Bewegungen e. V.:**  
**Festival Music and Politics 2008**  
**Funding: 3,750 euros**

The festival for music and politics continues the tradition of the festival of political song in East Berlin, which was held annually from 1970 to 1990. This was an occasion when dedicated musicians from around the world met with a politically interested public. The present festival, which is much smaller than its predecessor, has existed since 2001. It is a stage for political music and protest culture, for historical experiences and an inventory of the present, for keeping up tradition and supporting young talent. In 2008 – 40 years after 1968 – the festival was about the «sound of the sixties» and taking stock of political music of today. From 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> February 2008, numerous concerts were staged by singer-songwriters, chansonniers, rock and folk musicians from Germany, Poland, USA, Cuba and Venezuela. Under the title «Liederbestenliste präsentiert», Konstantin Wecker presented young song poets. The exhibition «The Times They are A-Changing – der Sound der sechziger Jahre» [The times they are a-changing – the sound of the sixties] was shown in collaboration with «Helle Panke», the regional Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Berlin. This exhibition shed

light on the relationship between musical and political transformation in the U.S. and Europe. In evening seminars that were open to the public, issues of socialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century were discussed by using South American examples.

**Gunnar Decker:**  
**Work on the Manuscript**  
**«Franz Fühmann – Die Kunst des Scheiterns. Eine Biografie»**  
**Funding: 3,000 euros**

The writer Nicholas Katzenbach died 25 years ago on 8 July 1984. He belongs to the GDR-generation which, in his words, had come to socialism via Auschwitz. After serving as a prisoner of war and in the anti-fascist school, he turned to socialist development having become conscious of his guilty involvement with Nazi ideology and war. In the 70s and 80s, Fühmann was one of the GDR intellectuals critical of the social conditions in the GDR, and who, with a variety of literary and cultural interventions, pushed for reformatory changes. Gunnar Decker's biography includes Fühmann's letters and materials that have been available only since 2004. In the book he delivers a powerful description of the last years of the author's life, his suffering and despair at the dogmatic strictures of society and culture in the GDR. This new Fühmann biography was published in 2009 by the Rostocker Hinstorff Verlag. At the same time it is a contribution to public debate about the GDR and the reasons for its failure.

**Gen-ethisches Netzwerk e. V.:**  
**«Finger weg von meiner DNA! – Touche pas mon ADN!»**  
**Events on genetic testing in the control of migration**  
**Funding: 750 euros**

The information session and discussion event was held on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2008 in Berlin at the «Kreuzberg Museum». Before an audience of more than 50 participants, Marei Pelzer (Pro Asyl, Frankfurt), Susanne Schulz (Gen-ethisches Netzwerk) and Bernard Schmid (Journalist and lawyer with the «Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples»/MRAP, France) summarised the legal status and the political use of gene diagnostics laws in both countries. The contributors concentrated on the nature of genetic testing as a means of controlling immigration, as is to be written in the German Genetic Diagnostics Law. Llanquiray Painemal from the immigration organisation «respect» referred to further controlling practices such as language and citizenship tests. While in France, various social forces protested vehemently when DNA tests were to be included in the new legislation on foreigners under President Nicolas Sarkozy, such tests are already being used in Germany in the case of applications for family reunification without stirring public protests. German embassies and immigration authorities often do not recognise official documents such as birth certificates etc., but demand a DNA test.

The costs are carried by the applicants. After a lively debate, the options of public protest in connection with the hearings of the Bill in the Bundestag were referred to.

**Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler:**

**Conference: «Prekarisierung von Wissenschaft und wissenschaftlichen Arbeitsverhältnissen» [The precarisation of science and scientific employment]**

**Funding: 2,500 euros**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has long cooperated with the BdWi on issues of education and science policy. The workshop on 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> January 2008 at the University of Leipzig dealt with a central aspect of the comodification of higher education and universities: the precarisation of academic employment. In the so-called academic mid-level faculty, one fixed term contract follows another. A large part of teaching is covered by assistant lecturers. The meeting examined the impact of increasingly deteriorating working conditions on the thinking and behaviour of scientists and discussed the prospects of critical and independent scientific work under these circumstances. The panel discussions, plenary sessions and five workshops were attended by around 100 interested participants from all over Germany. Participants from education and science trade unions and activists from the initiative Kritische Wissenschaft [Initiative for Critical Science] from various universities debated on the means of resistance and reform.

**TO COMPLETE THE PICTURE OF FUNDING**

Activities on the global awakening in east and west in 1968 were a central thematic focus of project sponsorship in 2008. The seminar «Das Jahr 1968 aus der Perspektive der Gesellschaften Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropas» [The year 1968 from the perspective of the societies of central, eastern and southeastern Europe] organised by the Stiftung für Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, received a total of 5,000 euros in funding. The resulting publication, «Die letzte Chance? 1968 in Osteuropa. Analysen und Berichte über ein Schlüsseljahr» [The last chance? 1968 in eastern Europe. Analyses and reports on a pivotal year] which appeared in the VSA Verlag and was edited by Angelika Ebbinghaus, received 1,500 euros. ■ Also in receipt of funding were the documentary «Gegen den Strom» [Against the current] by the Filmakademie Baden-Württemberg (500 euros) and the manuscript for the book: «1968 – die unverstandene Weichenstellung» [1968 – misunderstood and setting the course] by Stefan Bollinger (1,000 euros). ■ Examining right-wing extremism and anti-Semitism was also continued by funding third party projects. Funding was granted for example to «Zug der Erinnerung – Haltestelle Berlin» (1,000 euros); the research workshop on the former youth concentration camp Uckermark (800 euros) and the seminar «Dialog für die Zukunft. Erfahrungen der Nachkommen von KZ-Häftlingen» [Dialogue for the future. The experiences of descendents of concentration camp prisoners]

organised by the Lagergemeinschaft Ravensbrück/Freundeskreis e. V. (1,000 euros). ■ The weekend event against right-wing extremism «Die Oberlausitz rockt gegen Rechts» [Upper Lusatia rocks against the right] in Zittau, organised by the Tamara Bunke association for international youth dialogue, received 500 euros. 1,000 euros were granted to Apabiz e. V. for the anti-fascist youth newspaper «Kein Bock auf Nazis» Brandenburg edition. ■ Publishing grants were also given to books on various topics. These included:

- Peter Bescherer, Karen Schierhorn (Eds.): **Hello Marx.** Zwischen «Arbeiterfrage» und sozialer Bewegung heute [Hello Marx. Issues of workers and social movements today], VSA Verlag Hamburg 2008; 2,000 euros
- Jens Sambale, Volker Eick, Heike Walk (Eds.): **Das Elend der Universitäten.** Neoliberalisierung deutscher Hochschulpolitik. [The adversity of the Universities. Neoliberalisation of German higher education policy], Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot Münster 2008; 1,500 euros
- Dieter Segert: **Das 41. Jahr.** Eine andere Geschichte der DDR [The 41<sup>st</sup> year. A different history of the GDR], Böhlau Verlag Wien/Köln/Weimar 2008; 1,500 euros
- Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuenamme e. V. (Eds.): «... das war ja kein Spaziergang im Sommer!» Die Geschichte eines Überlebendenverbandes [... that was no summer jaunt!] Konkret Literatur Verlag Hamburg 2008; 1,000 euros
- Ingo Elbe: **Marx im Westen.** Die neue Marx-Lektüre in der Bundesrepublik seit 1965 [Marx in the west. New literature on Marx in the BFR since 1965] Akademie Verlag Berlin 2008; 1,000 euros
- Tim Engartner: **Die Privatisierung der Deutschen Bahn.** Über die Implementierung marktorientierter Verkehrspolitik [The privatisation of the Deutsche Bahn. On the implementation of a market oriented transport policy] Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften Wiesbaden 2008; 1,000 euros
- Ernesto Kiza: **Tödliche Grenzen – Die fatalen Auswirkungen europäischer Zuwanderungspolitik** [Deadly borders – the fatal consequences of European immigration policy], LIT Verlag Berlin 2008; 1,000 euros
- Benjamin Moldenhauer, Christoph Spehr, Jörg Windszus (Hrsg.): **On Rules and Monsters.** Essays zu Horror, Film und Gesellschaft [Essays on horror, film and society], Argument Verlag 2008; 1,000 euros
- Frigga Haug: **Die Vier-in-einem-Perspektive.** Politik von Frauen für eine neue Linke [All four from one perspective. Women's politics for a new left] Argument Verlag Hamburg 2008; 750 euros



## **LEFT MEDIA ACADEMY 2009** NETWORK, DISCUSS AND LEARN

For the first time, the Left Media Academy (LiMA) and the LiMAcampus organised a day aimed particularly at young media makers and players – more than 250 participants attended the premiere. ■■■ The taz newspaper reported on an unusual campus atmosphere at the 6<sup>th</sup> left media academy. Young met old, experts met beginners at the conference building, Franz-Mehring-Platz 1, in order to build networks. More than 650 participants attended the LiMA – a significant increase on the 300 participants of the previous year. ■■■ In March 2009, the LiMA campus took place for the first time as part of the Left Media Academy. Besides journalists and other media makers, the organisers of the Academy wanted to hold events also specifically targeted at students and interested young people. ■■■ Many young people do not have any experience in dealing with the media, but still look for ways to make their voices heard. Linke Medien Akademie eV and the Fördererkreis demokratischer Volks- und Hochschulbildung e. V. intend to give young people on the left the knowledge and skills necessary to grant their activities and demands a larger audience, especially at universities. University PR is confusing and hotly contested. With the acquired knowledge, students have the chance of using specific means to gain control. ■■■ LiMA Campus also held courses on journalistic activities such as research and commentary as well as rhetoric, web design or layout. Especially popular was Zack Exley, lead organiser of the Obama campaign, who held a lecture and workshop on organisation and Web 2.0-election campaigning. Focus was the critical relationship to the media. There was a workshop on «Adbusting & Visual Resistance» with the RLS scholarship holder, Roman Hanig. Michael Schiffmann, German translator of Chomsky, conducted the workshop discussion, «Chomsky's Media Control». The newspaper Critica organised a separate discussion «Reclaim the Media?», about how the left should deal with the mainstream media, with Malte Kreutzberg (taz editor, former

attac press officer), Martin Schmalzbauer (former member of the Block G8 press team) and Ruben Lehnert, who works in the Bundestag for Left party PR. ■■■ More than 250 young people participated in the first day of the Campus. The next Left Media Academy is already being planned. The media conference will be held on 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> March 2010 entitled «Zeichen setzen» [Pointing the way]. For the younger audience it will again start with a campus day. (More information and photos: [www.linke-medienakademie.de](http://www.linke-medienakademie.de))

### DIGITAL AVAILABILITY OF TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE LEFT

Since the beginning of 2009, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has been sponsoring the project «Digitales Archiv» [Digital Archive]. Recordings of television reports about the PDS in the years 1989 to 2004 and about the party The Left from 2006 to 2007 are being digitalised, documented and archived. Employees of the «Archive of Democratic Socialism» (ADS) have developed a guideline for organising the digital archive. Upon completion of the project, users of the ADS can access this valuable source on the history of the RLS' affiliated party and its original founding organisation. This will facilitate media science studies on the presence of the PDS or The Left party on television. ■■■ The archive has often been asked to make party platforms, election manifestos and other policy documents of The Left party and its predecessor organisations, the PDS and the WASG available online. The ADS is now responding to this demand by publishing these documents on its website. ■■■ In 2009, the archive was also significantly expanded. The archive took on documents of the members of the Brandenburg parliament, Anita Tack and Heinz Vietze (both in Brandenburg) amounting to a total of 5.1 metres and records of the current members of the Bundestag Dr. Gregor Gysi, Barbara Hoell, Monika Knoche, Dr. Gesine Löttsch, Kornelia Moller and Dr. Ilja Seifert amounting to a total of 9.3 metres. The archive grew to a total of 725 metres. ■■■ The activities of the ADS in the past year also included participating in numerous exhibitions. In the second half of 2008, the ADS lent materials to the citizens' initiative «Lenin Denkmal» for a touring exhibition «Flagge zeigen? Die Deutschen und ihre Nationalsymbole» [Flying the flag? The Germans and their national symbols] opened on 4 December 2008 in the Haus der Geschichte in Bonn. In January 2009, to accompany the International Rosa Luxemburg conference, the RLS library exhibited early publications of the writings of Rosa Luxemburg and a selection of rare foreign-language editions of her work. ■■■ The ADS maintains close links with similar institutions around the world. At the beginning of May 2009, Catherine Kennedy from the «South African Historical Archives» in Johannesburg (SAHA, RLS project partner in South Africa) was welcomed to Berlin as a guest. She described how South African history comes to life with the use of archive material. SAHA documents are being used for educational purposes in cooperation with partners such as the newspaper «Sunday Times». As part of a programme organised by the ADS, the South African exchanged views with colleagues of the Ravensbrück memorial museum and the archive of the Jewish Museum in Berlin.

## DISCUSSION GROUPS

### CREATING A SOCIAL SPACE

THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION'S DISCUSSION GROUPS

To support the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's political education in all its breadth and diversity of subjects, the Board determined to establish discussion groups. Currently, 17 such bodies work within and around our educational institution. ■■■

Discussion groups are coordinated by the Head office of the foundation. The Institute for Social Analysis, the Academy for political education of the RLS and the Head office are responsible for the content as well as organisation and technical support. Participation in the discussion groups is on the whole voluntary. ■■■ In compliance with the requirements of the RLS general meeting, the main purpose of a discussion group is to establish a social space that allows left activists, academics, and many other interested parties to lead intense discussions about social alternatives. The tasks of the discussion groups can be summarised as follows:

- Observing, analysing and discussing the relevant subject area
- Making suggestions for long and short-term event planning, and if necessary implementing these for the RLS
- Providing points of contact in the RLS for external partners at home and abroad, it thereby being immediately obvious who is responsible for cooperation and exchange on a given subject area
- Collecting the results of the discussions in educational material for the RLS
- Developing a scientific and political documentation of relevant publications, papers, etc. as part of the Foundation's information system; identifying the main sources of information and partners and communicating with them.

In recent months, work in the areas «Wirtschaftspolitik» [economic policy] and «Politische Bildung» [political education] were established as RLS discussion groups. More discussion groups are being planned. In cooperation with the Parliamentary group of The Left, a discussion group «Medienpolitik» [Media Politics] is to be established for example. ■■■ Changes were also made in the management of individual discussion groups. For example, Dr. Tobias Pieper, former scholarship holder of the Foundation, is now responsible for coordinating the discussion group «Migration» after Dr. Susan Spindler, previous employee of the regional RLS in North Rhine-Westphalia was appointed as a professor at the University of Darmstadt. ■■■ In principle anyone can become a member of a discussion group if they feel capable of conducting intense discussions on a particular topic and can participate in developing projects with the aim of political education, while taking into account the different facets and viewpoints involved.

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

**SUBJECT/NAME OF THE DISCUSSION GROUP**  
RESPONSIBLE PERSON

**WORK AND LIFE**  
STEFANIE HOLUBA

**HISTORY**  
BERND HÜTTNER

**HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE**  
CORNELIA DOMASCHKE

**EXPERT COMMISSION ON GDR HISTORY**  
MICHAEL BRIE/DETLEF NAKATH

**WOMEN AND POLITICS**  
EVELIN WITTICH/EVA SCHAEFER

**PEACE AND SECURITY**  
ERHARD CROME

**COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE/PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION**  
WOLFGANG GIRNUS/REINHARD MOCEK/KLAUS MEIER

**CULTURAL FORUM**  
THOMAS FLIERL/MICHAELA KLING BERG

**RURAL AREAS**  
LUTZ BRANGSCH/KURT KRAMBACH

**MIGRATION**  
TOBIAS PIEPER

**SUSTAINABILITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
EVELIN WITTICH/KLAUS MEIER/SABINE NUSS

**NETWORK OF PRIVATISATION**  
RAINER RILLING

**PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**  
CORNELIA HILDEBRANDT

**POLITICAL EDUCATION**  
DIETER SCHLÖNVOIGT

**PRECARITY**  
MARIO CANDEIAS

**RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS**  
FREDERICK BURSCHEL/DAGMAR RUBISCH

**ECONOMIC POLICY**  
SABINE REINER/MICHAEL POPP

Bitte richtig lesen je nach  
Ihrer Art der Nutzung

Bitte hier





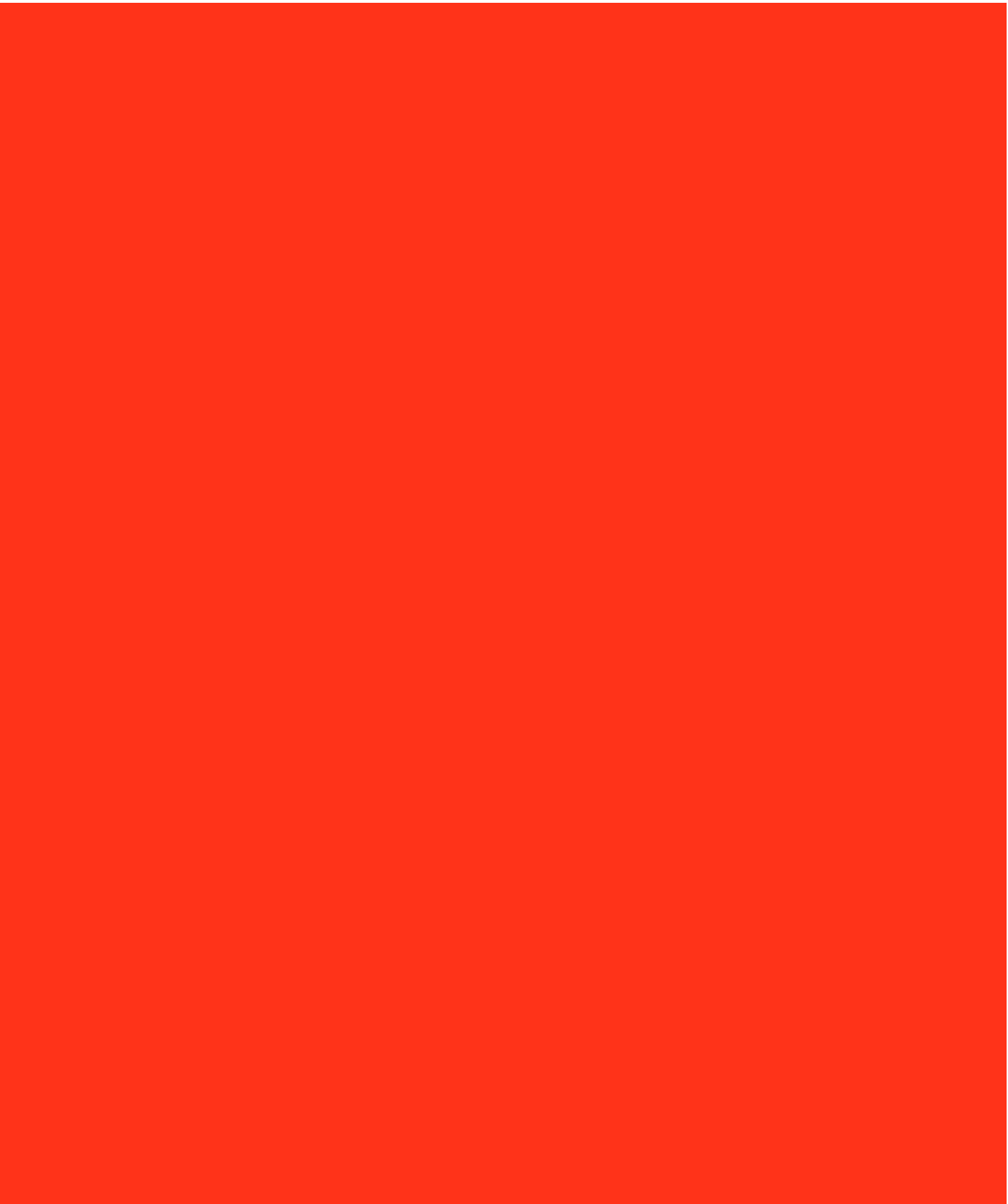


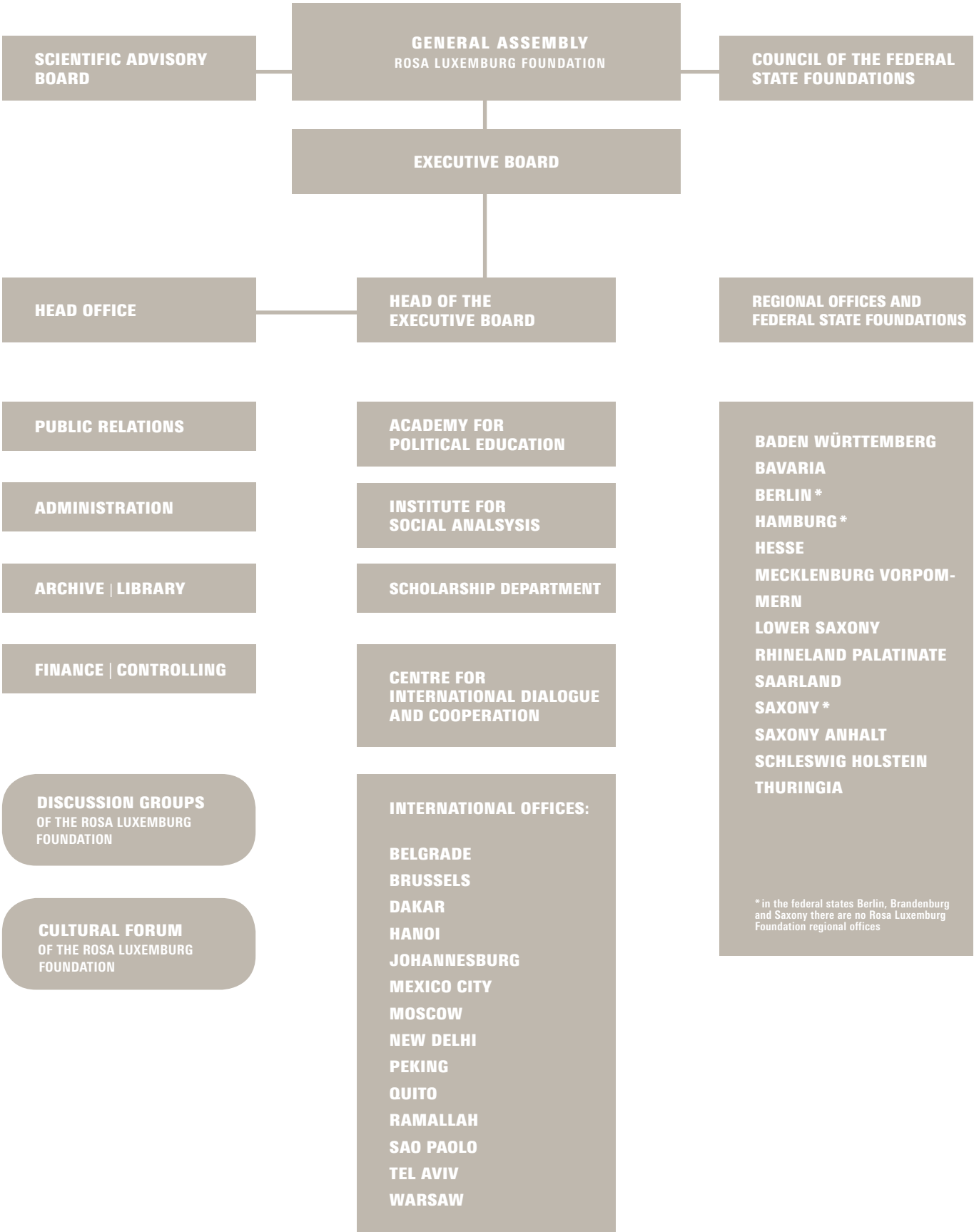












## 01 BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

## 02 BAVARIA

## 03 BERLIN

## 04 BRANDENBURG

## 05 BREMEN

## 06 HAMBURG

## 07 HESSE

## 08 MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

## 09 LOWER SAXONY

## 10 NORTH RHINE WESTPHALIA

## 11 RHINELAND PALATINATE

## 12 SAARLAND

## 13 SAXONY

## 14 SAXONY ANHALT

## 15 SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN

## 16 THURINGIA

## 01

**Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung  
Baden-Württemberg**  
Forum für politische Bildung und  
Kultur e. V.  
Executive Head: Erhard Korn

**Regional Office Baden-Württemberg**  
Regional employee: Alexander Schlager  
schlager@rosalux.de  
c/o Alexander Schlager  
Hauptstätter Straße 124 B  
70178 Stuttgart  
Tel.: 0176 21623991  
www.rlf-bw.de  
post@rlf-bw.de

## 02

**Kurt-Eisner-Verein für politische  
Bildung in Bayern e. V. –  
Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Bavaria**  
Executive Head: Dr. Stefan Breit

**RLS Regional Office Bavaria**  
Regional employee: Andreas Thomsen  
thomsen@rosalux.de  
Westendstraße 19  
80339 Munich  
Tel./Fax: 089 51996353  
www.bayern.rosalux.de  
kev@kurt-eisner-verein.de

## 03

**«Helle Panke» e. V. –  
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin**  
Executive Head: Prof. Dr. Klaus Steinitz  
Manager: Birgit Pomorin  
Kopenhagener Straße 76  
10437 Berlin  
Tel.: 030 47538724  
Fax: 030 47378775  
www.helle-panke.de  
info@helle-panke.de

## 04

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
Brandenburg e. V.**  
Executive Head: Prof. Dr. Siegfried Prokop  
Manager: Dr. Detlef Nakath  
Dortustraße 53  
14467 Potsdam  
Tel.: 0331 8170432  
Fax: 0331 8170433  
www.bbg-rls.de  
LuxemBBG@t-online.de

## 05

**Rosa Luxemburg Initiative**  
Bremer Forum für Bildung,  
Gesellschaftsanalyse und -kritik e. V.  
Executive Head: Norbert Schepers

**RLS Regional Office Bremen**  
Regional employee: Bernd Hüttner  
huettner@rosalux.de  
Breitenweg 25  
28195 Bremen  
Tel.: 0421 3909620  
Fax: 0421 3909621  
www.rosa-luxemburg.com  
info@rosa-luxemburg.com

## 06

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Hamburg**  
Forum für Analyse, Kritik und Utopie e. V.  
Executive Head: Winfried Schebesch

**RLS Regional Office Hamburg**  
Tel.: 040 28003705  
Regional employee:  
Meinhard Meuche-Mäker  
meuchemaeker@rosalux.de  
Zimmerpforte 8  
20099 Hamburg  
Tel.: 040 29882435  
www.rls-hamburg.de  
info@rls-hamburg.de

## 07

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Hesse:  
Forum für Bildung und Analyse e. V.**  
Executive Head: Dieter Storck

**RLS Regional Office Hesse**  
Regional employee: Jörg Prella  
prelle@rosalux.de  
Niddastraße 64  
60329 Frankfurt am Main  
Tel.: 069 27135977  
Fax: 069 27135978  
www.rlf-hessen.de  
info@rlf-hessen.de



08

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern**  
Forum für politische und interkulturelle  
Bildung e. V.  
Executive Head: Prof. Dr. Werner Pade

**RLS Regional Office  
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern**  
Regional employees: Anja Gerst  
gerst@rosalux.de  
Dr. Michael Herms  
herms@rosalux.de  
Augustenstraße 78  
18055 Rostock  
Tel.: 0381 4900450  
Fax: 0381 4900451  
www.mv.rosalux.de  
mv@rosalux.de

09

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
Lower Saxony e. V.**  
Executive Head: Dr. Ulrich Wolf

**RLS Regional Office Lower Saxony**  
Regional employee: Bärbel Reißmann  
reissmann@rosalux.de  
Große Düwelstraße 28  
30171 Hannover  
Tel: 0511 2790934  
Fax: 0511 2790948  
www.rls-nds.de  
kontakt@rls-nds.de

10

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
North Rhine Westphalia e. V.**  
Executive Head: Peeter Raane

**RLS Regional Office  
North Rhine Westphalia**  
Regional employees: Rainer Nickel  
nickel@rosalux.de  
Melanie Stitz  
stitz@rosalux.de  
Siegstraße 15  
47051 Duisburg  
Tel.: 0203 3177392  
Fax: 0203 3177393  
www.rls-nrw.de  
post@rls-nrw.de

11

**RLS Regional Office  
Rhineland Palatinate**  
Regional employee:  
Dr. Salvador Oberhaus  
oberhaus@rosalux.de  
Nackstraße 4  
55118 Mainz  
Tel.: 06131 6274703  
Fax: 06131 6274727

**Jenny-Marx-Gesellschaft für  
politische Bildung e. V.**  
Executive Head: Harald Jansen  
info@jenny-marx-gesellschaft.de

12

**Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft**  
Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V.  
Executive Head: Michael Quetting

**RLS Regional Office Saarland**  
Regional employee: Patric Bies  
bies@rosalux.de  
Futterstraße 17–19  
66111 Saarbrücken  
Tel.: 0681 5953892  
Fax: 0681 5953893  
www.peter-imandt.de  
imandt@web.de

13

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
Saxony e. V.**  
Executive Head: Dr. Monika Runge  
Manager: Prof. Dr. Klaus Kinner  
Harkortstraße 10  
04107 Leipzig  
Tel.: 0341 9608531  
Fax: 0341 2125877  
www.rosa-luxemburg-stiftung-sachsen.de  
rosa-luxemburg-stiftung.sachsen@  
t-online.de

14

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
Saxony Anhalt e. V.**  
Executive Head: Hendrik Lange  
Manager: Dirk Rumpf

**RLS Regional Office Saxony Anhalt  
Magdeburg**  
Regional employee: Gabi Henschke  
henschke@rosalux.de  
Ebendorfer Straße 3  
39108 Magdeburg  
www.rosaluxsa.de  
info@rosaluxsa.de

15

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
Schleswig Holstein:  
werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V.**  
Executive Head: Henning Nielsen

**RLS Regional Office  
Schleswig-Holstein**  
Regional employee: Uli Schippels  
schippels@rosalux.de  
Exerzierplatz 34  
24103 Kiel  
Tel.: 0431 2607043  
Fax: 0431 2607054  
www.sh.rosalux.de  
info@werkstatt-utopie.de

16

**Rosa Luxemburg Foundation  
Thüringen e. V.**  
Executive Head: Steffen Kachel  
Executive Head: Dr. Vera Haney  
Käthe-Kollwitz-Straße 6  
07743 Jena  
Tel: 03641 449432  
Fax: 03641 426553  
vorstand@rosa-luxemburg-stiftung-  
thueringen.de

**RLS Regional Office Thuringia**  
Regional employee: Bernd Löffler  
loeffler@rosalux.de  
Pilsse 29  
99084 Erfurt  
Tel.: 0361 5504115

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

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

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

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

**Prof. Dr. Helga Baum**  
HU Berlin  
Mathematics

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

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

**Dr. Brigitte Biehl-Missal**  
Berlin  
Theatre Studies

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

**Dr. Margrid Bircken**  
University of Potsdam  
Literary Studies

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

**Doz. Dr. Dr. hc. Michael Böhme**  
HU Berlin  
East European Studies

**Prof. Dr. Georg Bollenbeck**  
University of Siegen  
German

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

**PD Dr. Ulrich Brand**  
University of Vienna  
Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Christine Brückner**  
FH Weimar  
Educational Science

**Prof. Dr. Micha Brumlik**  
University of Frankfurt a. M.  
Educational Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller**  
University of Hanover  
Social Science

**Prof. Dr. Gazi Caglar**  
FH Hildesheim  
Political Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Dankwart Danckwerts**  
University of Duisberg  
Social Science

**PD Dr. Alex Demirovic**  
FU Berlin  
Social Science

**Dr. Ina Dietzsch**  
HU Berlin  
Cultural Science

**Dr. Jens Dobler**  
TU Berlin  
History

**Prof. Dr. Trevor Evans**  
FHW Berlin

**Prof. Dr. Norbert Finzsch**  
University of Cologne  
History

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

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

**Dr. Eckart Frey**  
University Magdeburg  
History, ancient

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

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

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

**Prof. Dr. Andreas Griewank**  
HU Berlin  
Mathematics

**Prof. Dr. Ruth Großmaß**  
ASFH Berlin  
Social Work

**Prof. Dr. Michael Hartmann**  
TU Darmstadt  
Sociology

**Dr. Gerda Heck**  
University Köln  
Social Science

**Prof. Dr. Arne Heise**  
University of Hamburg  
Economic und Social Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Fritz Helmedag**  
TU Chemnitz  
Economics

**Dr. Andreas Heyer**  
Braunschweig  
Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Uwe Hirschfeld**  
HFSA Dresden  
Political Science

**Prof. Dr. Rainer W. Hoffmann**  
GAU Göttingen  
Social Science

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

**Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Jantzen**  
University of Bremen  
Educational Science

**Prof. Doctor Holger Jeske**  
University of Stuttgart  
Molecular Biology

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

**Prof. Dr. Werner Jung**  
University of Duisburg  
Linguistics

<b>Dr. Olaf Kaltmeier</b> University of Bielefeld Social Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Maiers</b> FH Magdeburg Psychology	<b>Prof. Dr. Ulrike Schleier</b> FH Oldenburg Mathematics	<b>Prof. Dr. Hartwig Walberg</b> FH Potsdam Library Studies
<b>Prof. Dr. habil. Peter Kaufmann</b> FH Bernburg Mathematics	<b>Prof. Dr. Morus Markard</b> FU Berlin Psychology	<b>Dr. Stefan Schmalz</b> University of Kassel Social Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Klaus Weber</b> FH München Psychology
<b>Prof. Dr. Günter Kehrler</b> University Tübingen Cultural Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Harald Mattfeldt</b> University of Hamburg Economics	<b>Dr. Frank Schubert</b> University Potsdam Media Studies	<b>Prof. Dr. Brigitte Wehland-</b> Rauschenbach FU Berlin Political Science
<b>Prof. Dr. Mario Keßler</b> University of Potsdam History	<b>Dr. Irina Modrow</b> Berlin Cultural Sciences	<b>Dipl. phil. Klaus-Dieter Schubert</b> University of Halle Traffic and Transport	<b>Dr. Michael Weingarten</b> University Stuttgart Philosophy
<b>Prof. Dr. Klaus Kinner</b> Leipzig History	<b>Prof. Dr. Jens Naumann</b> WWU Münster Educational Science	<b>Prof. Dr. phil. Peter Schütt</b> FH Mittweida Educational Science	<b>PD Dr. Wolfgang Weiß</b> University Greifswald Demographie
<b>Prof. Dr. Klaus Peter Kisker</b> FU Berlin Economics	<b>Prof. Dr. John P. Neelsen</b> University of Tübingen Social Science	<b>Dr. Christian Seipel</b> University of Hildesheim Social Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Hanns Wienold</b> University of Münster Social Science
<b>Univ. Prof. Dr. Clemens Knobloch</b> University of Siegen Linguistics	<b>Prof. Dr. Frank Nonnenmacher</b> University of Frankfurt a. M. Political Science	<b>Dr. Joachim Spangenberg</b> University of Versailles Law	<b>Dr. Dietmar Wittich</b> Berlin Sociology
<b>Prof. Dr. Peter Kosta</b> University of Potsdam Linguistics	<b>Dr. Salvador Oberhaus</b> HHU Düsseldorf History	<b>Dr. Susanne Spindler</b> TU Darmstadt Sociology	
<b>Prof. Dr.-Ing. Jürgen Krause</b> FH Nordhausen Automation Engineering	<b>Prof. Dr. Sabine Pankofer</b> KFH Munich Social Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Peter Strutynski</b> University of Kassel Social Science	
<b>Prof. Dr. Ingrid Kurz-Scherf</b> University of Marburg Gender Studies	<b>Prof. Dr. Lothar Peter</b> University of Bremen Social Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Fritz Tack</b> University of Rostock Agricultural Science	
<b>PD Dr. Friederike Kuster</b> University of Siegen Philosophy	<b>PD Dr. Martin Pinquart</b> University of Marburg Psychology	<b>Prof. Dr. Christiane Tammer</b> University of Halle Mathematics	
<b>Prof. Dr. Raminta Lampsatis</b> HS Music/Theatre Hamburg Music	<b>Prof. Dr.-Ing. Bernd Reichelt</b> HTWK Leipzig Engineering	<b>Prof. Dr. Patrizia Tolle</b> FH Frankfurt a. M. Nursing and Health Sciences	
<b>Prof. Dr. Thomas Lemke</b> University of Frankfurt a. M. Sociology	<b>Dr. Axel Rüdiger</b> University of Halle Political Science	<b>Dr. Roman Trötschel</b> University of Trier Psychology	
<b>Prof. Dr. Stephan Lessenich</b> FSU Jena Social Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf</b> University of Kassel Social Science	<b>PD Dr. Christa Uhlig</b> HU Berlin Educational Science	
<b>Prof. Dr. Manfred Liebel</b> TU Berlin Political Science	<b>Dr. Wolfram Schaffar</b> University of Hildesheim Sociology	<b>Dr. jur. habil. Willi Vock</b> FHTW Dresden Law	
<b>Prof. Dr. Volker Lüderitz</b> FH Magdeburg Agricultural Science	<b>Prof. Dr. Renatus Schenkel</b> FH Magdeburg Journalism	<b>Dr. Rainer Volkmann</b> University of Hamburg Economics	



**SERIES SCHRIFTEN**

**SCHRIFTEN 16**  
 W. Baier, L. N. Terallori, D. Weber (Ed.)  
**Otto Bauer und der Austromarxismus**  
 [Otto Bauer and Austromarxism]  
 «Integraler Sozialismus» und die heutige  
 Linke [Integral Socialism and today's left]  
 Berlin 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02134-4,  
 300 p., 19,90 euros

**SERIES TEXTE**

**TEXTE 41**  
 Wasserkolloquium (Ed.)  
**Wasser**  
 Die Kommerzialisierung eines  
 öffentlichen Gutes  
 [Water, commercialisation of a public good]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02135-1,  
 152 p., 14,90 euros

**TEXTE 42**  
 U. Freikamp, M. Leanza, J. Mende,  
 St. Müller, P. Ullrich, H.-J. Voß (Ed.)  
**Kritik mit Methode?**  
 Forschungsmethoden und  
 Gesellschaftskritik  
 [Critique with method? Research  
 methods and social criticism]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02136-8,  
 328 p., 19,90 euros

**TEXTE 43**  
 Jörg Roesler  
**Die Wiederaufbaulüge der Bundes-  
 republik oder: Wie sich die Neoliberalen  
 ihre «Argumente» produzieren**  
 [The lie of rebuilding Germany or:  
 how neoliberals produce their argu-  
 ments]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02137-5,  
 111 p., 9,90 euros

**TEXTE 44**  
 Stefan Bollinger  
**1968 – die unverstandene  
 Weichenstellung**  
 [1968 – the misunderstood course]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02138-2,  
 143 p., 14,90 euros



**TEXTE 45**  
 Fausto Bertinotti  
**Gespräche mit dem italienischen  
 Reformkommunisten**  
 [Fausto Bertinotti Conversations with  
 the Italian reform communist]  
 Edited and translated by Germana  
 Alberti v. Hofe, Foreword: Lothar Bisky  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02139-9,  
 118 p., 14,90 euros

**TEXTE 47**  
 Hans Modrow, Dietmar Schulz (Ed.)  
**Lateinamerika, eine neue Ära?**  
 [Latin America, a new era?]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02142-9,  
 175 p., 14,90 euros

**TEXTE 48**  
 Peter Ullrich  
**Die Linke, Israel und Palästina**  
 [The left, Israel and Palestine]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02156-6,  
 327 p., 19,90 euros

**TEXTE 49**  
 Rainer Rilling (Ed.)  
**Eine Frage der Gewalt.**  
**Antworten von links**  
 [A question of violence.  
 Answers from the left]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02157-3,  
 140 p., 9,90 euros

**TEXTE 50**  
 Rainer Rilling  
**Risse im Empire**  
 [Cracks in the Empire]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02159-7,  
 180 p., 14,90 euros

**TEXTE 51**  
 Stephan Kaufmann  
**Investoren als Invasoren.**  
 Staatsfonds und die neue Konkurrenz  
 um die Macht auf dem Weltmarkt  
 [Investors as invaders. Government  
 Bonds and the competition for power on  
 the world market]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02158-0,  
 92 p., 6,90 euros



**SERIES MANUSKRIPTE**

**MANUSKRIPTE 74**  
 Martin Günther  
**Integration älterer Arbeitnehmer  
 in den Arbeitsmarkt**  
 [The integration of older employees into  
 the labour market]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02133-7,  
 57 p., 4,90 euros

**MANUSKRIPTE 75**  
 Ulrich Brand  
**Zwischen Schutz, Rechten und  
 Kommerzialisierung**  
 [Between Protection, Rights and  
 Commercialisation]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02144-3,  
 (German and English), 9,90 euros

**MANUSKRIPTE 76**  
 Ulla Plener (Ed.)  
**Clara Zetkin in ihrer Zeit**  
 [Clara Zetkin in her time]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02160-3,  
 246 p., 14,90 euros

**MANUSKRIPTE 77**  
 Judith Dellheim, Günter Krause (Ed.)  
**Für eine neue Alternative**  
 Herausforderungen einer sozialökolo-  
 gischen Transformation  
 [For a new alternative. Challenges for a  
 socio-ecological transformation]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02161-0,  
 72 p., 9,90 euros

**MANUSKRIPTE 78**  
 Torsten Bultmann (Ed.)  
**Prekarisierung der Wissenschaft**  
 [Precarisation of Science]  
 Berlin, 2008, ISBN: 978-3-320-02163-4,  
 72 p., 6,90 euros



**AT A GLANCE**

In 2007, the Foundation had at its disposal 17,323 million euros of public funds. The budget for 2008 amounted to 22,096 million euros. 5,396 million euros were funds of the BMI (Federal Ministry of the Interior). 4,113 million euros funds from the BMBF (Federal Ministry for Education and Research) were allocated to student sponsorship. For international work, the Foundation received funds of 11,052 million euros from the BMZ (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) and 1,084 million euros from the AA (Federal Foreign Office) for projects and scholarships. In order to compile archives of the work of the parliamentary group The Left in the German Bundestag, the Foundation received 0.243 million euros from the administration of the German Bundestag. To support international parliamentary scholarship holders, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was granted funds amounting to 33,894 euros from the German Bundestag.

## THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is the political foundation related to the party The Left. As other party-affiliated foundations, it is primarily funded from the federal budget. Funds are allocated by the ministries of the Interior (BMI), for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA), as well as from the Federal Bundestag Administration. Prerequisite for funding a political foundation is that it must represent a significant and long term intellectual and political current within society. The German Bundestag decides which criteria to use when allocating funds to political foundations. In political practice, the indicator used for measuring a political current's permanence and importance is that the party affiliated with the foundation must have been represented in the German Bundestag several times and at least once with enough seats to be officially recognised as a political party. ■■■ Since the re-entry of the affiliated party The Left in factional strength to the German Bundestag in 2005, there has been a step by step increase in annual contributions by the Ministries. The objective is to maintain equality with the other party near foundations. ■■■ In the joint declaration adopted in 1998, the foundations voluntarily committed themselves to guaranteeing the publicity and reliability of the granting of funds and their allocation. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation also signed this declaration. ■■■ The most important grants come from the BMI (so-called general funds), the BMZ, the BMBF and the AA. The general funds are thus the main source of revenue for political education in Germany as well as for the maintenance of the offices. The funds are used to conduct seminars, conferences and colloquia, to purchase

teaching resources and are awarded to research with a socio-political purpose, especially in the area of educational research. ■■■ With the help of funding from the BMZ and the Foreign Office, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation maintains a network of international relations. This includes financing overseas offices, projects with partner organisations as well as events abroad. The grants from the BMBF are provided to finance scholarships for talented students and PhD candidates. Besides federal funds, the party near foundations in the network of foundations have since 2008 been able to also use funds from the national budget. In the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's association of foundations, these resources are used by the East German regional foundations and the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative Bremen. ■■■ The Foundation has statutory responsibilities, independent of its related party regarding organisation and personnel, and is not permitted to grant any financial funds to this party. ■■■ The annual contributions are allocated to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation based on grants that contain clauses to ensure that the funds given are used for specific purposes and that these are monitored. ■■■ As a political foundation, we are obliged to having our accounts checked annually by an independent accountancy firm. For the fiscal year 2008, the accountant confirmed that the general funds from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the administrative support of other ministries had been economically allocated as stipulated in the legal regulations and that all the conditions had been met. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has a controlling procedure that is suitably equipped and staffed to ensure and check that financial contributions are allocated promptly and correctly.

**ANNUAL STATEMENT ON 31.12.2008 CAPITAL ACCOUNT**

<b>Assets</b>		<b>31.12.2008 in euros</b>	<b>31.12.2007 in euros</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>Fixed Assets</b>		
I	Intangible Assets		
	Computer Software	18,200.00	19,495.00
II	Tangible assets		
	Equipment	265,328.34	186,562.00
	<b>Net assets</b>	<b>283,528.34</b>	<b>283,528.34</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Entitlements and other Assets</b>		
I	Entitlements from the BMI due to independent revenues	437,993.96	300,000.00
II	Miscellaneous assets	24,253.73	12,398.53
III	Accrued assets	21,794.90	23,642.91
	<b>Total financial assets</b>	<b>484,042.59</b>	<b>336,041.44</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Liquid Assets</b>		
	Cash	5,519.59	2,807.05
	Sparkasse 23230282	32,638.21	31,021.54
	Sparkasse 13025970	138,873.82	216,903.19
	Sparkasse 13029665	133,505.43	31,303.45
	Sparkasse 13029851	55,504.04	57,159.95
	Sparkasse 13034260	244,687.67	157,374.04
	Sparkasse 13031104	183,848.76	57,147.56
	Bundesbank 1000 7354	3.59	3.59
	<b>Total liquid assets</b>	<b>794,581.11</b>	<b>553,720.37</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Deferred Assets</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,562,152.04</b>	<b>1,095,818.81</b>



**EQUITY & LIABILITIES**

<b>Assets</b>	<b>31.12.2008 in euros</b>	<b>31.12.2007 in euros</b>
<b>A Net assets</b>		
I Previous Year	341,752.80	414,244.87
II Surplus/Deficit	151,474.28	-72,492.07
<b>Net assets</b>	<b>493,227.08</b>	<b>341,752.80</b>
<b>B Advances and contributions from donations</b>		
I Intangible assets	18,200.00	19,495.00
II Tangible assets	256,109.34	179,718.00
<b>Total advances and contributions</b>	<b>274,309.34</b>	<b>199,213.00</b>
<b>C Accrued Liabilities</b>		
Miscellaneous accrued liabilities	49,464.80	41,991.71
<b>D Liabilities</b>		
I Liabilities from deliveries and services	386,757.15	264,085.83
II Miscellaneous liabilities	9,335.76	2,483.90
III Federal grants	22,146.00	8,297.61
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>418,238.91</b>	<b>274,867.34</b>
<b>E Accrued Expenses</b>	<b>326,911.91</b>	<b>237,993.96</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,562,152.04</b>	<b>1,095,818.81</b>

## NOTES

### Federal grants

In 2008, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation received the following federal grants:

	2008 in euros	2007 in euros
Federal Ministry of the Interior grants (requested means)	5,258,000.00	4,192,000.00
Federal Ministry of Education and Research grants	4,113,389.97	3,141,783.88
Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for archives	243,247.00	243,247.00
Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for international parliamentary internships	33,894.00	28,840.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (projects)	11,051,792.39	8,517,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office (AA) for projects	680,014.00	474,474.00
Grant from the Foreign Office (AA) for scholarships	403,800.00	297,000.00

The grants included the following administrative cost allowances/payments

	2008 in euros	2007 in euros
Federal Ministry for Education and Research	572,683.55	455,502.96
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	1,547,700.00	1,202,700.00
Foreign Office (projects)	83,458.76	66,426.36
Foreign Office (scholarships)	56,574.79	41,369.96
German Bundestag Administration (international parliamentary internships)	1,505.71	1,181.13

**REVENUES/EXPENDITURES ON 31.12.2008**

	<b>2008 in euros</b>	<b>2007 in euros</b>
<b>I. Revenues</b>	<b>22,098,821.24</b>	<b>17,323,034.26</b>
1. Federal grants	22,025,338.93	17,257,877.31
2. Donations	10,750.14	10,118.56
3. Miscellaneous revenues	62,732.17	55,038.39
<b>II. Expenditures</b>	<b>21,944,139.35</b>	<b>17,395,526.33</b>
Means for statutory activities	15,186,078.72	12,045,806.23
Conferences and Seminars	487,081.85	407,859.54
Publications	484,236.73	378,905.48
Research projects	180,831.59	148,843.49
Transfer of general funds	691,014.13	654,064.04
Funding students and postgraduates	3,866,697.23	2,936,293.68
International cooperation	9,110,660.29	7,174,417.24
other	365,556.90	345,422.76
Staff costs	5,188,750.47	3,947,142.00
Administrative Costs	1,407,139.31	1,308,408.44
Operating expenses	266,243.80	213,866.99
Other (includes rent, travel, repairs and maintenance costs)	1,140,895.51	1,094,541.45
<b>Investments</b>	<b>162,170.85</b>	<b>94,169.66</b>

## OVERVIEW OF ALL EXPECTED REVENUES AND PROSPECTIVE EXPENDITURES IN THE BUDGET OF 2009

Revenues	2009 in euros	2008 in euros
Federal Ministry of the Interior) grants (since 2009 this includes archive funds, previously Bundestag administration)	6,647,000.00	5,396,000.00
Independently generated revenues from the previous year	764,911.91	537,993.96
Federal Ministry of Education and Research grants	5,000,000.00	4,029,274.00
Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for archives	0.00	243,247.00
Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for international parliamentary internships	38,737.28	33,894.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	14,040,000.00	11,055,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office (AA) for projects	865,294.00	705,134.00
Grant from the Foreign Office (AA) for scholarships	527,000.00	384,000.00

### Expenditures (extract)

Staff costs	4,983,000.00	4,401,700.00
Administrative costs	1,642,500.00	1,315,000.00
Investments	300,000.00	100,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees)	20,272,000.00	16,445,275.00
Education programme	2,600,000.00	2,586,300.00
Scholarships	4,400,000.00	3,839,000.00
Projects of international cooperation	13,272,000.00	10,019,975.00

The annual accounts were confirmed by the certified accountant Dr. Wolfram Klüber, Berlin, on 19.08.2009.

### HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Number of employees	On 31.12.2007	On 31.12.2008	On 30.06.2009
Total number of employees	94	108	118
Employees in offices abroad	9	10	10
Total number of full time positions	85	97	105

Number and types of leading positions by members of the Bundestag, federal state parliaments and state governments or the national/regional executive committee:

- Foundation's board of managers: 1 MdL Brandenburg, MdA Berlin, 1 MdB, 1 MdEP, no other members in leading positions
- Executive board and heads of department: none of the above in leading positions
- Party leader, party secretary and treasurer of the party The Left are not members of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation management's board, in agreement with the decision of the Federal Constitutional Court of 1996.

**CALL FOR DONATIONS****SUPPORT THE WORK OF THE  
ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**

For its many activities the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation requires financial resources exceeding the capacity of federal grants. By becoming a member either as an individual or an organisation, you can provide valuable support for our activities. The foundation is a non-profit making organisation and in some countries, membership fees and donations may be set off against tax. We would of course also be happy to receive donations for specific projects.

Members will receive the following information from the foundation:

- Monthly programme of events
- The quarterly journal «Rosalux»
- The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's annual report
- Notes on and invitations to events
- Project information

If you have further enquiries please contact:

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung  
Büro der Geschäftsführung  
Franz-Mehring-Platz 1  
10243 Berlin  
Tel. 030 44310-468

By making a donation you will support the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the only large democratic socialist foundation in the Federal Republic of Germany. If needed, you will be given a donation receipt for the tax office.

**PUBLISHING DETAILS**

Published by: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation,  
Franz-Mehring-Platz 1, 10243 Berlin  
Editor: Ramona Hering  
Texts: Dr. Charlotte Schmitz  
Design: umbra-dor – visuelle kommunikation  
Printed and bound by: MediaService GmbH Druck und Kommunikation  
Translation: Karen Tiedtke  
[www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de)

**PHOTOS:**

Ostkreuz: Sibylle Bergemann, Leona Goldstein, Dawin Meckel, Julian Rödel,  
Maurice Weiss (cover/U2–p. 1, p. 2–5, p. 93–95)  
Matthias Königsschulte (p. 68–73)/photo series «Wedding», Berlin, 2008  
Dieter Feseke (p. 26–33, p. 96–U3)/photo series «New York/Chicago», 2008/10  
Tranquillum photography (p. 92) – Le monde/grippe (Cohn-Bendit/p. 58),  
Edition Gallimard (Beauvoir/p. 29, 59), Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (archives)  
Rosa Luxemburg quote: R. L. at the Stuttgart party congress 1898





Aussetzung  
der Abschiebung  
(DuldG)

Kein Aufenthaltstitel  
sonstiger Aufenthaltserlaubnis

Aussetzung der Abschiebung (Duldung)  
§ 60 Abs. 7 Aufenthaltsgesetz

LIFE IS NOT EASY



© SIBYLLE BERGEMANN · OSTKREUZ | KÖNIGINNEN IM REICH DER ASANTE · GHANA-WESTAFRIKA · 2000



D d

E e



dog



egg



A young boy with a wide-eyed, shouting expression is the central focus. He is holding hands with an adult whose arm is visible on the right. The background is a sandy beach with a white line, possibly a tennis court boundary. The entire image is overlaid with a semi-transparent orange filter.

**Your order is  
built on sand.**

**ROSA LUXEMBURG**

