Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

ANNUAL REPORT 2006 2007

Rosa Luxemburg

Next to Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg was the most important representative of left-wing socialist, antimilitaristic, and internationalist positions in the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) before 1918. She was a passionate and convincing critic of capitalism as well as anti-democratic and dictatorial tendencies within the Bolsheviki. She confronted the compelling logic of economical laws and political strategies with the utopia of a new world. According to Luxemburg, this new world needed to be created in spite of widespread despair, deprivation of rights, cowardliness and the corruption of power.

Born on March 5th, 1871, Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jew and participant in the Russian Revolution of 1905, was a co-founder of the Social Democratic Party in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

Rosa Luxemburg was a leading theorist of the German SPD's left wing. She had a crucial role in the formation of the Spartacus League, the Independent Social-Democratic Party (USPD), and the German Communist Party (KPD) during World War I and the November Revolution. Her fate cannot be separated from the splitting in the German labor movement. Irreconcilable differences developed between the movement's different currents, leading to serious consequences.

On January 15th, 1919, Rosa Luxemburg was murdered by the same circles of the militarist Volunteer Corps that later openly supported the National Socialists' seizure of power.

Impressively, Rosa Luxemburg combined political commitment, scientific analysis, and the quest for empowerment as a woman. She saw herself as being in conflict, fighting both on a scientific and political level and her everyday life was always essential to her. Throughout all her actions, she never shunned tenderness and sensitivity.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation still draws inspiration from the radical passion with which this »political poet« (Else Lasker-Schüler) insisted on combining political freedom with social equality.

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Annual Report 2006/2007

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Dr. Evelin Wittich
Executive Member of
Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's
Management's Board

As an Introduction

As left, socialist foundation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation considers itself in particular to be committed to the values of equality and solidarity. This is reflected in the thematic focal points that were decided on at the general assembly in November 2006 and which the work of the foundation will concentrate on in the coming year. The annual reports of the foundation also deal with these emphases and focus on one core topic. With the foundation's projects and events that have already been implemented in mind, but also on the basis of footage, graphics and posters, the topic of sustainability will this year be central to the annual report.

In terms of a left democratic and socialist current we take our role as actor in a progressive critique of society extremely seriously and are looking for alternatives that will help to prevent the depletion of nature and the environment as well as the exploitation and exclusion of people. Planning regional offices in all western Länder and founding a local political academy are expression of our aim to develop deep roots in society. We are concerned with the matter of the social perspective of an ecological and united society. Environmental topics are inseparably linked to the social state of society. With its work, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is striving to sharpen consciousness and support communication and theoretical discourse in this area.

One milestone in this pursuit was the conference "Wie 'grün' muss DIE LINKE. sein?" (How green must The Left be?) on 12th May 2007 which was organised together with the parliamentary group and took place in Berlin. Here scientists, politicians, and representatives of environmental organisations discussed the position of environmental politics and its relationship to the pursuit for social equality. Over 130 participants debated from different perspectives on topics such as the consequences of climate change, which is threatening the foundations on which many peoples lives depend, discussed the link between environmental and economic policies and thought about the development of renewable energy.

In the past year the topic of sustainability was also significant in the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's area of publications. The book "Theoretische Grundlagen nachhaltiger Entwicklung" (theoretical foundations of sustainable development) edited by the Karl Dietz Verlag in the manuscript series came about on the basis of the discussion group of the same name's seminar on sustainability in May 2006. The link between the social dimension in society and policies designed with sustainability in mind was here also picked out as a central theme.

In the certainty that policies which are in line with environmental concerns and sustainability should and cannot exist only within national boundaries, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has the



Heinz Vietze Director of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Management's Board

aim of playing an international part in projects and events that deal with this topic and make people aware of it. During 2007, the foundation for example participated in the training programme for environmental education in Tam Dao/ Vietnam and provided training courses in environmental management for local decision makers, teachers and managers in various cities in China. Other educational projects based on the transformation of resource policies in favour of disadvantaged population groups are being planned until the end of 2007, for example in Mexico.

In our work what concerns us primarily is the aim of empowering people to acquire the knowledge and abilities that will help them in their search for social alternatives – to get involved in politics. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation can look back on two years of productive work. Our target groups are more diverse and the demands for modern democratic-socialist political education are growing. There are enough challenges that need to be tackled.

Evelin Wittich

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Heinz Vietze

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At a Glance

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation...

is one of the main institutes of political education in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is recognized as the foundation related to DIE LINKE (The Left) and is active in the whole of Germany. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has its origins in the association »Social Analysis and Political Education«, founded in 1990 and works within a network of national foundations with foundations and education institutes in all German Länder.

As a registered association...

the RLS has the non-profitable purpose of promoting political education, science and research. art and culture as well as international communication and co-operation. Its highest body is the Assembly of Members, which makes fundamental decisions on the foundation's work and elects the Executive Board and the Management Committee. A Board of Trustees advises the foundation, voting occurs together with the regional foundations and the regional associations, and takes place in the council of the regional foundations.

The foundation consists of...

the following departments: education, political analysis, international relations, scholarship, archive and library, the administrative department, and the department responsible for finance and

controlling. The foundation currently employs 95 employees. The departments are a point of contact for developing and realising events both nationally and internationally, for questions on scholarships, for scientific projects, for projects of a scientific nature and publications, or for research material on democratic socialism.

The foundation's scholarships...

were first granted in October 1999. At the end of 2006, the foundation was sponsoring a total of 439 scholarship holders. Besides 331 scholarship holders and 106 postgraduate students, 33 scholarship holders could be assisted using grants provided by the foreign office.

Public Funds...

In 2005, public funds amounting to 11,830 million euros were at the foundations disposal. The budget for the year 2006 comprised a total of 13,926 million euros. Of this, 3,845 million euros were granted by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and 2,796 million euros came from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research; these were granted specifically for use as student grants. For its international work, the foundation was granted a total of 6,348 million euros by the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, and 479,000 euros came from the foreign office for projects and scholarships. In order to develop contemporary historical archives of the work of the parliamentary group DIE LINKE (The Left), the foundation was able to use 157,000 euros from the administration of the German Bundestag.

Events of political education...

are at the core of the foundations work. In its monthly pamphlet, "rls-programm", the foundation publicises the events that are organised in the association of foundations — these amount to more than one thousand conferences, lectures, forums and workshops a year, which together attract a few thousand participants.

Over 400 external projects...

apply for assistance from the foundation every year. In 2006, 69 projects were sponsored with a total of 105,000 euros. In the first six months of 2007, 97 projects amounting to a total of more than 208,000 euros had already been sponsored.

Political memory...

is the foundation's archive of democratic socialism, which so far has gathered together around 580 running metres of archives of the Linkspartei.PDS (left party.PDS) (party executive, parliamentary groups, legacies and collections). The related library primarily collects work by and about Rosa Luxemburg, literature concerning the Linkspartei.PDS and material on democratic socialism.

Left political publicity....

is encouraged by the foundation in a variety of ways: around 20 books and brochures are published by and on the work of the foundation every year, and about 10 further publications receive assistance. The monthly magazine »UTOPIE kreativ« and the quarterly journal »RosaLux« are published by the foundation, a website amounting to 15,000 pages is tended to and a number of left internet projects are sponsored.

Symposia and workshop discussions...

Are held for example on issues of social equality, the development of the Linkspartei.PDS and WASG, the political left's re-formation, the perspectives of democracy or the didactics of political education. In this way, the foundation makes its mark as a place of learning, left analysis and expertise in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Under what conditions are social equality and political freedom reconcilable?

This question of re-founding democratic socialism, as regards political objectives as well as practices, is the central concern of the foundation's commission for the future. In close cooperation with activists from social movements, trade unions and left parties beyond Germany's borders, analytical studies and concrete reformative alternatives are being developed.



The Management's Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, elected on 18th November 2006

The Foundations's Bodies

The General Assembly is, according to the articles, the highest body of the association »Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e.V.«. It convenes at least once a year. The Assembly is responsible for the elections and by-elections of the management board and the board of trustees; the removal from office by election from these bodies; and the admission or if need be the exclusion of association members. The General Assembly discusses the focal points of the association's work and receives the management board and board of trustee's fields of activity. It approves the annual accounts and discharges the management board and is also responsible for decisions taken on membership applications, changes to the articles of the association or even the dissolution of the association.

The General Assembly

The Management Board manages the affairs of the association and administers its resources. It is elected every two years. Members of the management board are currently: Heinz Vietze, MdL (president), Prof. Dr. Michael Brie (vice president), Claudia Gohde (vice president), Dr. Evelin Wittich (executive member), Dr. Lutz Brangsch, Stefanie Ehmsen, Dr. Thomas Flierl, MdA, Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein, Dr. Sabine Reiner and Bosilika Schedlich.

The Management **Board**

The Board of Trustees advises the management board on important association matters, supports the work of the association and mediates in cases of conflict.

The Board of Trustees

Trustees are: Prof. Dr. Christa Luft (president), Hüseyin Aydin, Christine Buchholz, Ilsegret Fink, Sandra Fuhrmann, Dr. Bärbel Grygier, Thomas Händel, Prof. Dr. Uwe-Jens Heuer, Klaus Höpcke, Dr. Kurt Hövelmans, Steffen Kachel, Dr. Sabine Kebir, Prof. Dr. Klaus Kinner, Prof. Dr. Hermann Klenner, Dr. Gesine Lötzsch (MdB), Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek, Dr. Hans Modrow, Dr. Detlef Nakath, Almuth Nehring-Venus, Helga Nowak, Iris Nowak, Dr. Harald Pätzolt, Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf, Dr. Irene Runge, Dr. Albert Scharenberg, Winfried Schebesch, Sahra Wagenknecht (MEP).

Sustainability

Sustainability and the idea of an ecological, social and united society In February of this year, the former vice president of the USA received an Oscar for his film »An Inconvenient Truth«, which broached the issue of climate change in a very clear way. More recently, Al Gore was also able to celebrate being given the Nobel peace prize for his commitment in this area. This he shares with the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. In this way, famous juries are making it clear that only by protecting the environment will humanity's living conditions and natural resources be safequarded in a way that will promote peace. On the one hand, the commitment of a growing number of people from environmental organisations, from science, politics and the media regarding the issue of the environment is contributing to an increased recognition of the problems connected with this. On the other, climate change and the ensuing environmental catastrophes are noticed by, and result in great concern on behalf of large parts of the population. The wish to counter these disastrous developments in some way is being articulated with increasing frequency. Political summits or high-ranking conferences, which in past decades have never been suspected of pursuing particularly ecological or even sustainable aims, have all of a sudden adopted the topic on their agendas. Such was the case for the G8 Summit which took place in 2007 in Heiligendamm, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania with the aim not least of talking about policies that might counteract climate change. Even in the USA, which has traditionally been known for its reluctance on matters of ecology and environmental protection, some movement on this issue can be detected. Merely naming the problem, however, is not enough. Ulrich Brand points out that the western and increasingly global model of production and consumption is not being challenged, in the style of: »Let me have my cake and eat it too«.1

Environmental policy alone cannot solve current problems. Joachim Spangenberg, head of the »Sustainability Europe Research Institute SERI – Deutschland«, and writer for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, describes sustainability as being the most challenging concept of society's development in the present and for the foreseeable future.

A holistic approach to sustainability obviously does not fail only as a result of global power political and economic interests. Not to be dismissed is that very few people in the modern western world would be prepared to do without the conveniences that have become available today at the cost of the environment. It cannot be assumed that televisions, washing machines or electric ovens will rest unused in order to save energy. Just as difficult to imagine is swapping the car for the far more

¹ Compare: Brand, U. (2006). Wie »grün« muss DIE LINKE. sein? In rls standpunkte, 6.

environmentally friendly horse. After all, economic rationalisation processes did and do bring with them immense gains in productivity and have granted people with ever growing freedom and leisure time for many years. Ulrich Schachtschneider therefore quite rightly recognises a discrepancy between peoples' environmental consciousness and their actions².

A large part of the political left has however not yet registered this fact in all its seriousness and with all its consequences. Although it is precisely the link between ecological alternatives with social, democratic and emancipatory, therefore left approaches, that can fill the term sustainability with meaning and thereby make it comprehensible. This is another reason why the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, through its work, is attempting to promote political education and to enable and strengthen theoretical discourse in this area. It is constantly working to develop its own profile in the sense of a democratic, socialist current and thereby to develop a wide and varied range of activities on the topic of »sustainability and social equality«. A first highlight of this focus was the international conference, »Nachhaltigkeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit im 21. Jahrhundert« (»Sustainability and social equality in the 21st Century«) in 2002 during which the main features of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's profile on this topic were developed. Subject of dispute was whether social equality is in fact a substantial part of sustainability. The resulting answer to this question was yes, and the foundation's approach was thus endorsed and enforced.

However, the attempt of developing a left approach to sustainability has its roots in the founding consensus of our foundation, which has been actively contributing to putting ecological concerns in a social context since 1990 (as »Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e.V.«), as well as striving to make the development into an emancipatory society be understood as a mixture of social, ecological and economic processes. Focus until the mid 1990s were topics which dealt with the global dimensions of environmental problems and that were concerned with population development in the 3rd World or the neglect of environmental issues in the policies of the GDR, for example relating to energy from brown coal or the chemical industry. Subjects of intense discussion were the relationship between sustainability, scientific development and innovation in connection with the philosophical problems of technological developments and the attempt to develop a contemporary concept of progress. By actively accompanying the transformation of the former coal mining region in the Lausitz to a region for regenerative energies, we have managed partially to link the results of former discussions

² Compare: Schachtschneider, U. (2007). Wie »grün« muss DIE LINKE. sein? In rls standpunkte, 7. 7/2007

with the present requirements of the interaction of social, economic and environmental interests. Processes of education and research should be accompanied on the one hand by showing those that are presently employed in the mines socially acceptable alternatives and economic prospects to their present occupation, but also in allowing the landscape to be reshaped to form an environment in which it is worth living.

Feminist critique of technology and, in general, a feminist understanding of sustainability was and still is another facet of this topic. It provides the whole discussion with extra depth and intellectual wealth. Within educational work, particularly on ecological subjects, there were some innovative methodological approaches such as the future workshop developed by Robert Jung, which participants met with great approval and enthusiasm. Within the framework of these future workshops, Prof. Ossip K. Flechtheim, founding member of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, discussed his scenarios of a possible development of society.

For the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the results of the discussion group »sustainability and regional development« (»Nachhaltigkeit und regionale Entwicklung«) was one of the milestones of examining the current requirements of sustainable development. The two seminars, which made it their task to draw up a theoretical foundation of sustainable development, provided an opportunity for important left, ecological strategies for society to be formulated and discussed. The results of the first seminar were published in May 2006 in a publication which in many ways is extremely useful also to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's work in the area of political education. Under the focus of sustainable development, the foundation therefore managed to give an idea of the present state of research and to create an awareness of the problems' social dimension. A necessary interdisciplinary approach links up knowledge from the natural and social sciences, as well as from law and engineering science. It is also important to discuss the political dimensions and thereby focus on left policies and political objectives. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has increasingly been able to involve politicians from various political directions in the debates. The publication also reflects the present state of discourse within the foundation and a significant part of left discussions on this topic. In his review in the national newspaper »Neues Deutschland«, Jörg Staude summed up that the publication provided an excellent theoretical foundation for tackling the ecology of equality.

Also of significance for the development of a sustainable concept of society was the conference which was organised together with the parliamentary group DIE LINKE. The conference was called »Wie grün muss DIE LINKE. sein?« (How green must The Left be?) and took place on 12th May 2007 in

Berlin. The disputes during the planning stages of the conference prove that the subject of sustainability can by all means be explosive for left organisations. Not only did the groups argue about the punctuation in the title, but the combination of the colours green and red for a new left were critically guestioned. However, in her opening speech, Gesine Lötzsch already expressed no doubts that the linking of environmental and social policies must be at the centre of the left's political programme. An active peace policy should not least be understood as being a significant part of environmental policy.

Eva Bulling-Schröter noted that energy transition was a highly explosive matter socially. At the moment an increase of about 6 °C in temperature is being forecast for the next 100 years. Massive conflicts are inevitable if this development were to endanger the basic resources on which the lives of millions of people depend. Not only for this reason is a conflict over the distribution of shrinking resources to be expected. Renewable energies would therefore not only be important in order to counteract climate change, but also to avoid an escalation of social conflicts. Thus, the use of energy should under no circumstances become a luxury for the poor. Participants also agreed that sustainable environmental politics would only be practicable if all fields of politics were to be regarded under the aspect of the environment. The dispute that arose in the planning stages of the conference of whether the colours red and green were compatible was finally resolved by Wolfgang Methling, in saying that his favourite colours were red and green.

Essentially, this conference contributed to a public discussion about firmly rooting sustainable development in left policies.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation resolves to take seriously its duty to provide education opportunities for an ecological society co-existing in solidarity.



Foto: Flickr.com Ben McLeod »Water!«

Political Education

In previous years the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and its cooperative partners have held 1,366 events in the Länder and reached 42,442 participants. There are also the numerous publications, several exhibitions and the website.

Organizer	20	06	2005		2004	
	Number of events	Participants	Number of events	Participants	Number of events	Participants
Eastern foundations	756	22.967	676	19.800	725	19.500
Western organisations	260	8.412	220	6.950	159	4.600
RLS	172	5.923	220	7.500	158	4.600
Clubs (particularly in the western German Länder)	96	3.027	89	2.800	63	1.500
Youth educational institutes	71	1.745	81	1.950	83	2.670
External projects	11	368	7	250	8	250
	1.366	42.442	1.293	39.250	1.196	33.120

Even if the venues in Eastern German Länder dominate, a range of West German cities are to be found amongst the most frequent events.

About 76 percent of the events in 2006 took place at these 24 locations. Here the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is able to draw on the growing number of regular participants in recent years. In this respect the gradual development of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's presence in the West German Länder is proving to be a promising project.

Most frequent locations 2006 compared to 2004 and 2005

Venue	2006	2005	2004
Berlin	380	370	343
Leipzig	105	103	105
Chemnitz	48	33	28
Halle	43	46	36
Hamburg	41	50	30
Magdeburg	41	49	42
Bremen	37	53	43
Potsdam	37	23	32
Dresden	35	31	45
Bonn	29	29	3
Rostock	24	23	21
Senftenberg	23	28	8
Köln	23	13	11
Jena	22	14	23
Tübingen	21	7	5
Dortmund	17	17	16
Schwerin	15	9	12
Erfurt	14	17	19
Greifswald	13	15	14
Bielefeld	10	12	10
Brandenburg	10	6	7
Hermsdorf	10	10	6
Saarbrücken	10	11	7
Wuppertal	8	12	12

Land Number % Number % Number % 2006 2005 2004 Berlin 27.82% 28.62% 28.68% 380 370 343 204 14.93% 14.23 % 16.39% Saxony 184 196 North Rhine-Westphalia 8.35% 5.60% 145 10.61% 108 67 Sachsen-Anhalt 125 9.15% 9.98% 9.78% 129 117 Brandenburg 122 8.93% 108 8.35% 144 12.04% Thuringia 101 7.39% 72 5.57% 93 7.78% Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania 71 5.20% 77 5.96% 67 5.60% 57 36 Lower Saxony 44 3.22% 4.41 % 3.01% Hamburg 41 3.00% 51 3.94% 30 2.51% Baden-Württemberg 41 3.00% 17 1.31% 9 0.75% 37 2.71% 53 4.10% 3.68% Bremen 44 16 2.17% 1.42% Hessen 1.17% 28 17 Rheinland-Pfalz 0.95% 5 0.39% 8 0.67% 13 Saarland 12 0.88% 12 0.93% 8 0.67% 9 9 0.70% 9 0.75% Bavaria 0.66% Schleswig-Holstein 3 0.22% 6 0.46% 6 0.50% 2 7 2 0.17% Abroad 0.15% 0.54% 1,366 1,293 1,196

Events in the Länder 2006 compared to 2004 and 2005

The constellation of subject areas that are discussed at the events is proving largely stable. A clear focus is on topics of contemporary history. Here, we are also able to register an unshakeable interest on behalf of younger people, which is demonstrated particularly in the case of the active interest for projects of biographical study.

Events 2006 according to category and type

Index	Info	Seminar	Conference	Other	Total
Contemporary history	220	9	20	28	277
Capitalism	146	31	16	0	193
Regions/Länder	169	7	8	9	193
Political players	135	29	15	7	186
Culture	74	8	9	67	158
Social theory	82	15	4	2	103
Education	54	28	9	8	99
Social politics	74	7	10	4	95
Democracy	60	11	4	2	77
Globalisation	58	10	2	6	76
Gender politics	48	11	5	1	65
Extreme Right	41	13	5	5	64
War and peace	44	2	8	2	56
Local issues	31	16	5	3	55
Political communication	15	30	2	1	48
Sustainability	24	8	8	1	41
Democratic socialism	26	8	5	1	40
East Germany	31	0	7	1	39
Rosa Luxemburg	4	1	1	2	8
Total	1,336 368 double	244 70 double	143 49 double	150 20 double	

Index Number % 2005 in% 2004 in% Contemporary history 277 14.79% 15.09% 14.38% Regions/Länder 193 10.30% 8.87% 12.96% Capitalism 193 10.30% 8.26% 9.69% Political players 186 9.93% 10.74% 7.53% Culture 158 8.44% 8.81% 9.81% Social theory 103 5.50% 4.74% 4.88% Education 99 5.29% 4.63% 3.77% Social politics 95 5.07% 5.23% 3.95% Democracy 77 4.11% 4.19% 3.02% Globalisation 4.06% 3.46% 76 2.59% Gender politics 65 3.47% 5.67% 3.70% Far right 64 3.42% 4.74% 2.84% War and peace 56 2.99% 3.36% 3.15% Local issues 55 2.94% 3.52% 5.56% Political communication 48 2.56% 2.26% 3.21% Sustainability 41 2.19% 1.82% 2.41 % 2,14% Democratic socialism 1.93% 2.78% 40 East Germany 39 2.08% 2.92% 2.22% Rosa Luxemburg 8 0.43% 0.66% 0.68% 1,873 100.00% 507 double

Index of events 2006 compared to 2004 and 2005

The principal types of events are those where people can inform themselves about current political processes or basic political issues.

Types of events 2006 compared to 2004 and 2005

Events		Number	%	2005 in%	2004 in%
Information Events		968	70.86%	62.34%	67.14%
Of these	Lecture/Discussion	792	57.98%	49.34%	50.33 %
	Book launch	96	7.03 %	5.65%	7.27 %
	Discussion	50	3.66%	6.19%	8.53 %
Seminars	s/Workshops	174	12.74%	14.77%	12.88%
Of these	Seminar	116	8.49%	10.29%	9.78%
	Workshop	58	4.25%	4.49 %	3.09%
Congress	Congresses/Conferences		6.88%	6.50%	5.77 %
Other		130	9.52%	16.40%	14.21 %
Of these	Exhibition	47	3.44%	6.19%	
	Reading	29	2.12%	2.47 %	
	Film	17	1.24%	2.71 %	2.51 %
	Trip/Outing	15	1.10%	0.77%	0.67 %
	Meeting	11	0.81 %	1.62 %	2.34%
		1,366			

After the parliamentary elections of 2005 and in the course of the PDS/Linkspartei and WASG alliance discussions, a growing need for political discussion and information became evident. It was confirmed that the success of the election alliance and the crisis in the SPD, but also the fact that the first woman was leading government, was motivating people who had until then had a distant relationship to politics to inform themselves in more detail. In the second half of the year, in the course of the G8 summit that took place in June 2007, there was an increasing demand for events and information on the topic of globalisation. Here too, the emphasis was on the need for information.

Preparing for and staging an international conference on the occasion of Rosa Luxemburg's 135th birthday was the focus of the work of the foundation in the first half of 2006.

This day of commemoration and the level of discussions that had been reached at conferences in recent years were good reason for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to invite visitors to this international conference in Berlin. Numerous guests from Germany and abroad took part, for example from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Norway and Russia.

The event was organised as a mixture of music, musical-scenic elements, lectures and discussions and this made for the quality of the conference. This conference was in no way only staged in honour of Rosa Luxemburg. Various complex discussions took place at four modules and seven forums. Jörn Schütrumpfs contribution in particular painted a vivid picture of Rosa Luxemburg not recognised by many. Schütrumpf: "she was misused by many as an ornament of socialism, whereas almost until the end of the GDR, a verdict dangled over her thinking." Denounced, denigrated and purified of her work, even today she is still only bearable and useful to some as a mute icon. Yet, in the left's debates Rosa is more relevant than ever.

The second part was considered the highlight of the conference by many participants. In this part that was chaired by Dorothea Schmidt, Georg Fülberth and Michael R. Krätke faced nine questions on capitalism. The discussion developed into an educational event of a very high standard. At the end of the unit, Georg Fülberth stated: "What is left of Rosa Luxemburg? Many questions that she didn't answer«.

Central to the third section was one of these unanswered questions; that of the masses spontaneity and contribution. Gilberto Lopez y Riva, Andreas Trunschke and Dieter Schlönvoigt attempted to broach this issue with their contribution: »Mit lebendigen Klassenverhältnissen rechnen. Strategie und Taktik politischen Kampfes in der Tradition Luxemburgs«.1

»Eine neue Linke ist möglich! Rosa Luxemburgs Vision einer demokratisch-sozialistischen Linken«² The title of this fourth module was surely reason enough for Michael Brie not to leave a current Rosa Luxemburg and the left's discussions now

^{1 »}Counting on lively class relations. Strategy and tactics of political battle in the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg.«

^{2 »}A new left is possible! Rosa Luxemburg's vision of a democratic-socialist left.«

issue unanswered. In his speech, Brie dealt with the current Cuba debate from the point of view of the question: »What would Rosa have told us?«, and established that the time of arbitrariness and abstract explanations was over for the left. It would have to become more radical in the face of the growing threat to the foundations of human civilisation, without however, succumbing to extremism. And it would have to heed the inequalities of power. "The left is only left if it sees society from the point of view of those who are oppressed, exploited, excluded and degraded by the dominating circumstances« says Brie. A party which lobbied for the rehabilitation of dissidents after 1989 is not allowed to remain silent when other countries use the same means to pursue political dissidents. The fact that social and participative democracy is inseparable must not be forgotten.

Project in the subject area of gender relations/gender Central to the work in the area of gender relations/gender was the discussion about the gender political profile of a modern left and the demands of emancipative social politics. The point of reference was the realisation that with the regrouping of left forces in the Federal Republic, the political programme of left movements, left politics and left theory would encounter new debate. Under discussion was how left movements would, in the present reformation process, be able to overcome an often ignorant or merely additive handling of the gender question and to understand gender relations as a central dimension of all social relationships and thereby as an integral part of all left political projects. This involves a gender critical analysis of society. The question was which changed constellations and new contradictions had evolved in gender relations within neo-liberal capitalism.

Under the responsibility of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's discussion group "Women and politics«, the foundation attempted to get to the bottom of the different facets of this development at two socio-political forums in 2006 (March in Mainz, December in Berlin).

The socio-political Forum in Mainz »Neue Chancen – alte Kämpfe. Geschlechterverhältnisse in den Debatten der Linken« (New chances – old battles – gender relations in the left's debates) in cooperation with the Jenny-Marx-Gesellschaft Rheinland Pfalz, Wissenstransfer and the magazine »Sozialismus« was the first of these. Here, the basic line of the left's emancipative gender politics was discussed. What is the left's position vis-à-vis women and gender political issues? What is the background of knowledge and experience behind this? What are women's expectations of a left project? What types of associations between the genders are there in left cohesions and which terms, values, quidelines, and standards of political programmes does a modern left project need?

The following ideas can be put forward in the form of theses:

- The radical transformation of society implies massively changed circumstances of political action.
 As far as the problem of gender relations is concerned, the left's irritation at neo-liberalism having overtaking cannot be overlooked.
- 2. Nevertheless, current transformations devoid of gender as they may always be depicted, are sexualized and appear sexualising.
- A gender sensitive view of the left illustrates that the basic acknowledgment that there is such a thing as a hierarchical order of the sexes has not been registered in the programme of the WASG.
- 4. Neither is "being a woman" (of women politicians) in itself a guarantee of a politics of gender equality, nor do the divisions in society and with them the conditions for participation in society run merely along gender lines.
- 5. The power of language: political capital is today achieved to a large degree through a politics of discussion. Political debate primarily takes place at the level of language, symbols and values.

The socio-political forum in Berlin »Positionen testen – Streitgespräche um ein geschlechterkritisches Profil einer neuen Linken«, debates about a gender critical profile of the new left, discussed the requirements of a new gender-neutral social contract and the facets of a new model of a society of solidarity.

The forums aim to address party politically organised women as well as players from social movements and projects, and of course members of the general public who are interested in women's political issues.

Prof. Sylka Scholz's media analysis on the subject of Angela Merkel's road to being the first female chancellor and the aspect of gender in the election campaign in April 2006 proved to be a special kind of seminar.

As was shown in an impressive way by the well visited seminar with Prof. Sylka Scholz and students of Gender Studies at Humboldt-University, the social conflict surrounding the chancellorship produced a new phenomenon in 2005: competition between men and women for the highest political position. In the training seminar, this »Gender Trouble« was examined as an expression of the modernisation of gender relations. Conflicting write-ups in the media were looked at such as those of the Berliner Zeitung,

which described Angela Merkel as an angel of reasonable quality³, or the Stern: »physician of power« and »technician of polished steel«.4 The Spiegel stated that she was a »power woman« and that corpses paved her way. Analysed was not only the significance of gender within the election campaign that is ascribed in the words she and he and what this tells us about the position of women within our society. Another issue was the role that gender politics played in the election campaign of 2005. There was yet another novelty in this campaign: in the political career of a multiple outsider (female, East German, natural scientist, a newcomer to politics later in life) not only did the male recruitment practices and the internal male »games« for power come to light, but there was also criticism of a specific type of male politician, one embodied by the ex-chancellor Schröder. Do women's chances of political participation stand a chance of changing in the long-term after Merkel having been elected and Schröder being voted out?

After an introduction to the subjects of media, politics and gender, the participants together analysed the significance that gender and also East German origins had in the election campaign. This was done by the use of videos. Students of Gender Studies at Humboldt-University then presented their analyses for discussion on the following subjects: Angela Merkel and the women's issue; aspects of gender in the duel for chancellorship, Angela Merkel and the »East« issue.

The event was popular and met with a wide response especially due to its media clarity, a presentation that was well founded, challenging and of high quality, and the challenging and lively discussions.

The book on the study and the seminar was published by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation under the title of »Kann die das? - Angela Merkels Kampf um die Macht« and is likewise well received. The book was successfully launched at the Leipziger Book Fair in the spring of 2007.

Within a five part series of events, "Frauen und Entwicklung – eine globale Perspektive" (Women and development - a global perspective), the similarities and parallels, but also the differences in the personal circumstances of women were discussed. This took the form of different subjects (empowerment, work and precarious employment, the myth of overpopulation, free trade agreements and the Middle East conflict) and different learning opportunities (films, lectures, podium discussions). Central to the discussion were the challenges faced by women in the so-called developing countries, in the transformation countries of central and Eastern Europe and in Germany.

- 3 »Angela Merkel ein Engel von verständiger Güte« (Berliner Zeitung)
- 4 »Physikerin der Macht« und »Technikerin aus poliertem Stahl« (Stern)

The workshop "Made in Eastern Europe – global production chains, working conditions and women's struggles" took place as part of the European Social Forum in Athens in May 2006. Topics dealt with here were the merciless pressure on the market to drop prices and the pressure on delivery times, and how this determines the working day of female textile workers in Eastern Europe; how these women are the sole bread winners for their families despite low wages; how in this situation they are still able to fight for better working conditions; where the possibilities for intervention are for trade unions and what shape international solidarity can in reality take. Invited were: Vanja Lesic from the women's organisation Felizitas in Serbia, a foundation project partner, a textile worker and a Greek trade union representative.

The subject was continued in the series of events "High-Tech-Sweatshops in China. New subjects of work and organisation in world market factories", a cooperation project staged by WEED, the RLS NRW, the IGM Jugend Berlin/Brandenburg/Saxony and the theatre "Berliner Theater Hebbel am Ufer" with over 200 participants. Hundreds of thousands of migrant workers work in the factories of multinational corporations. China's economic success is based on low-wage costs and authoritarian conditions. Central issues and questions at the two evening events in Cologne and Berlin in November 2006 were the consequences of China's integration in the global division of labour on the development of the country, what the feminist perspectives of migration in China are, and approaches to organisation. Invited were two activists from Hong Kong: May Wong from the Asia Monitor Resource Centre and Pun Ngai from the Chinese Women Working Network. Central to the following workshop were discussions about international counterstrategies. The workshop was visited above all by activists from trade unions, organisations in the area of development policy, and social movements.

Alongside conservatism, liberalism and socialism, right-wing extremism was one of the intellectual and political currents of the 20th Century in Germany and internationally.⁷ Whether one likes this

Right-wing extremism and counterstrategies

- 5 Original title »Made in Osteuropa Globale Produktionsketten, Arbeitsbedingungen und Kämpfe von Frauen«
- 6 Original title: »High-Tech-Sweatshops in China. Neue Arbeitssubjekte und Organisierung in Weltmarktfabriken«,
- 7 »Fascism, right wing extremism and nationalist tendencies are not a passing trend but a phenomenon of the century. They are a large and powerful political current of developed capitalism all over the world, together with the three other significant political trends: liberalism, socialism and conservatism. n exactly the same way, the right is changing and at the same time staying the same.» Rilling, R. (2004). Die Rechte ist auch nicht mehr, was sie mal war. Zum Wahlergebnis von NPD und DVU bei den Landtagswahlen im September. standpunkte 15, p. 1..

current or not is of less importance than the fact that it might exist for longer. All other forces can therefore not avoid concerning themselves with right-wing extremism.

As is to be expected, right-wing extremism⁸ has maintained this exclusive place in society in the 21st Century. This realisation is the most important starting point for all deliberations on the place that this subject area could and should take up within the network of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

The political significance of right-wing extremism in the 21st Century is also relatively independent of the strength of influence that very small right-wing extremist parties (NPD, DVU, Republikaner) and organisations have in society. Much more important is exploring why right-wing extremist attitudes and opinions are increasingly widespread amongst many people of different ages, vocational status and world views.

The following were identified as decisive directions of our work:

- 1. Right-wing extremism and the social issue: it must be remembered here that right-wing extremist mentors consider the social issue, together with massive xenophobia, to be the most important aspect of their ideological work (right-wing extremists taking part in the Hartz-IV protests and Holger Apfel's demand for a minimum wage of 8,80, 88 = symbol for. Heil Hitler! are merely the most prominent examples of this).
- 2. The theoretical, ideological and political grey area between right-wing extremism and right-wing conservatism (Franz Josef Strauß: There should not be space to the right of us! ("Rechts von uns darf kein Platz sein!«) - right-wing think tanks, debates about basic values such as patriotism and nationalism etc.
- 3. Confronting the »new« as well as the traditional patterns of anti-Semitic attitudes within German right-wing extremism and ways of countering these from a left point of view (including the OSZE process on anti-Semitism).
- 4. The German contribution to an international network on the subject of right-wing extremism in the European countries, their differences and similarities.
- 8 The term right-wing extremism is used in Germany in politics, science and the media more or less synonymously with other terms: right-wing radicalism, neo-Nazis, far right. The term right-wing populism used in Western Europe for individual parties and currents usually denotes phenomena that are described as right-wing extremism in Germany.

In present studies, the local level is of central significance. On the 7th and 8th July, a conference at the University of Erfurt dealt with the issues of right-wing extremist developments and the possible counterstrategies at a local level. It was staged in cooperation by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Kommunalpolitischer Forum Thüringen (a local political forum in Thuringia).

At the start of the event, representatives of the local parliamentary groups of the CDU and the Linkspartei as well as local associations put forward their view of the problem. In the podium discussion headed by the author and film maker Jens- Fietje Dwars it became clear that the joint declaration of all local parliamentary party groups against right-wing extremism had not as yet been underpinned sufficiently by practical measures. It was still not clear whether the mobile advice centre against right-wing extremism in Thuringia would be provided for and maintained by co-financing from the free state of Thuringia during 2006.

The local policies of the NSDAP en route to power were examined. The researcher of fascism Manfred Weißbecker could not distinguish a real strategy on behalf of the Nazi party for the so-called rural area. He could however state that until 1933, the NDSAP had paid particularly close attention to the rural parts of Thuringia. This could also be backed up by the election results between 1927 and 1933. In rural areas and small towns, where neighbours have closer contact to one another than in the anonymity of the city and where a traditional community mindset was dominant, where individuals were able to have a larger amount of political influence, the NDSAP was stronger than in the urban city centres. It was also easier to cope with setbacks in rural areas.

The development of the NPD at present is no longer imaginable without neo-Nazi fellowships, stated Andreas Speit, a journalist from Hamburg. The local strength and deep-rooted position of right-wing extremists is not demonstrated only by the number of council seats won. Structural networks such as those in the area of Nazi rock as well as set locations like clubs, venues, and shops particular to the scene also play a large role. The "scene" has also become politicised: in the form of associations (for example to "maintain local traditions") and citizens' initiatives that give the impression of attempting to tune into the concerns of the local population. An increasingly stronger agreement between NPD officials and activists in the fellowships can also be detected. A growing popularity amongst women has further stabilised the scene. It can no longer be said that a skinhead leaves the scene on starting a family. On the contrary, the numbers of whole families taking part in Nazi events is growing.

Martina Renner drew attention to the fact that the synthesis of NPD and fellowships in Thuringia had been accomplished. The far right is strong both as far as their organisation as well as structure are concerned.

One possible counterstrategy, said Matthias Müller, was provided by the mobile advice centre in Thuringia for democracy and against right-wing extremism. The teams in the association are able to provide a range of services, but only at the request of individuals, a municipality or an association. These can include parents counselling and training sessions for education staff, youth workers, social workers and teachers. Müller made it clear that the activities of his association in the fight against right-wing extremism denote a specific contribution. »Antifascist groups and local politicians have other functions», he said. Müller pleaded vehemently for creating extra-party citizens unions against right-wing extremism with a clear local focus. In his experience representatives of the church can play an important part in co-ordinating and moderating such groups.

Bianca Klose reported on her experiences with a regional programme against right-wing extremism. The consultant at the mobile advice centre in Berlin against right-wing extremism described the way the problem is dealt with there. Under the present local red-red government there is a strong link between initiatives with activities in Länder politics and Länder administration. Contrary to the statements of the office for the protection of the institution, Länder governments and governing parties also seek advice from the mobile advice centre. In Berlin there also exist local action plans, for instance work together with schools. The question whether the Linkspartei's participation in government had had a positive effect on the fight against right-wing extremism was answered by Klose with an affirmative yes.

Gerd Wiegel referred to the far right as the actual losers of the football World Cup in Germany. As opposed to massive threats, the only public march was in Gelsenkirchen, and this with impressive counter demonstrations.

In two workshops, local alliances were introduced. Experiences were shared from Jena-Lobeda, Pößneck, Schleusingen and Berlin- Köpenick. Scientists, local politicians and alliance activists from Berlin, Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt and Mecklenburg Western Pomerania participated.

Contemporary history and biographical study After numerous events and projects of the different sides on the anniversary of the end of World War 2 in 2005, it was thought that the interest for events that deal with confronting the time of fascism would decrease. This was not the case. On the contrary, in 2006 topics on contemporary history of the time between 1933 and 1945 were not less frequented than was the case in 2005 or in the five previous years

One main method of working with dealing with contemporary history was by the use of personal biographies, work with contemporary witnesses, tracing historical youth education. This method in general has a long tradition going back 15 years in the RLS, as well and particularly for German postwar history. In 2006 however, the »onslaught« on contemporary witnesses of resistance in 1933 to 1945 was even higher than in 2005. Examples of this work with witnesses/players of contemporary history included:

- Memorial events together with DRAFD and VVN/BdA Berlin on the occasion of the fascist storm on the Soviet Union 65 years ago. With Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel, Wladimir Gall and Prof. Stefan Doernberg as contemporary witnesses who had experienced the time and discussed the events from different points of view.
- A year long project together with the Inselgalerie (Berlin), during which the writer Elfriede Brüning carried out events as witness of the times.
- For six years the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has been carrying out a yearly nationwide book tour with Wladimir Gall; 70 events in total took place with about 5500-6000 participants.
- Book tours with Adolf Burger as a project together with VVN/BdA, and in cooperation with the pupils network »MuT« and students of the Alice-Salomon-HS in Hellersdorf-Marzahn
- Prof. Arno Lustiger: »Die Vergessenen der Geschichte. Das Leben in den DP-Camps nach 1945« a project together with the Oskar-Schindler-OS and the association »Literatur im Hochhaus« (25.10.2006)
- Walter Ruge, a survivor of the GULAG, remembers a nation wide project of witnesses and film Ȇber die Schwelle«. Events in November/December 2006) in cooperation with our office in Baden-Württembera
- Gisela Karau, after a reading in the Inselgalerie in the RLS series together with the Inselgalerie »Widerständiges in der DDR-Nachkriegsliteratur« offered her support of anti-racist youth education events by reading from her novel for young people »Liebe auf Eis«.
- Prof. Hermann Weber/Gerda Weber*: Leben nach dem »Prinzip links«, book launch on 30.11.2006 at the RLS in cooperation with the RLS' management board /Dr. Wilfriede Otto.
- »70 Jahre Internationale Brigaden«: Joint Event of the KFSR and RLS in preparation of the pupils competition »Zivilcourage vereint« 2007.

Regarding the future of political education in the area of contemporary history, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is addressing the issue of working with memorial locations. Several workshops were staged on this issue as well as a workshop: »Menschenrechtserziehung in KZ-Gedenkstätten – Streiten

für universelle Menschenrechte« and an event to study people's experiences when visiting memorials. Within the context of our international work, there was a conference at the RLS office in Warsaw on the experiences of memorial policy in Poland.

»Economic alphabetisation«

In 2006, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation together with attac and other co-operation partners planned and implemented a course on economic alphabetisation. Plan was to develop a new calibre of education that meets the needs of today's social movements. The aim of this pilot project was to qualify activists who are involved in attac structures to become motors of emancipatory movements. Here, abilities in methodology and factual and thematic knowledge were to be closely linked and were to enable participants to acquire knowledge but also allow them to transfer this into political practice. Central to the course was the acquisition of skills to develop economic knowledge and learn modern methodological and didactic ways and techniques of working when handling this knowledge in different situations. At the same time the personal economic knowledge was improved and enhanced.

The course took place in the course of a year (June 06 to May 07) on six seminar weeks and two practical projects (preparing and implementing a workshop at the summer academy and work on a project of choice in the course of several weeks). Part of the course was to develop projects that the participants could then implement into attac structures by using the acquired knowledge.

The pilot project was prepared and accompanied by a group. The group was comprised of experienced trainers who had the task of advising and assisting the participants, provided contact to experts, developed educational material and took part in the process of evaluation.

The course began in May 06 with 15 participants. After the first seminar which served as an introductory and decision making seminar, 13 people (4 women and 9 men) decided to participate. Right from the beginning, diversity was a fundamental characteristic of the group:

- Diversity in the sense of their involvement with attac and other movements: a number of the participants at this point were not at yet involved in attac or other political groupings. A few were actively involved in local groups of attac, others were active at the national level in the council or in other groups.
- Diversity in age: the youngest participant at the start was 19, the eldest 66 years old.
- Diversity as regards previous knowledge, knowledge of the terminology and debates within the critique of globalisation and political economy: whereas a few participants wanted an introduction

to central themes and debates, others had already gained (some at university) knowledge of the basics and were more interested in consolidating discussions.

The course met with a positive response from the participants. Here are a few comments from participants reflecting on the course at the final seminar in Weimar at the end of April:

- I hope that we keep in touch. I thought the attac academy was very good. The course has had an influence on my life. I'll probably notice what I've learnt later.
- At times I'd have wished for more tolerance and acceptance. Sometimes I came across ignorance on behalf of the group concerning my lack of economic knowledge. I should have said that earlier.
- The course is very important to my life. It gave me impulses and knowledge which I couldn't have got in other ways.
- I'm happy that it's over. I was agitated after the seminars as I saw so many problem areas and gaps in my own knowledge. Now it'll take some time until everything is ordered and arranged in my head. That's why it's good to end the course. The group did a lot for me and I learnt loads through conflicts. It was a good impetus for my project, which has been going through my head for a long time now. I've come to know a wide political spectrum.
- The course took place at just the right time. I'd lost my local group and I otherwise only experience political practice sitting at my desk. I thought the cross section of topics was good and compact. I feel fit to tackle bigger things now.
- I've learnt to be more structured and focused. Normally I'm more of a silent type; here I could open up more.
- Most of what the course has done for me I'll probably only realise in retrospect, as they're longerterm issues. I don't think it's good that the course is over; I could keep going for the rest of my life.
- The diversity in the group is good and dealing with this was an unexpected objective.
- As for me, the course was the right project at the right time. It fits into my life. I've also learned things that I wasn't really intending to learn, because I wasn't aware of them. I've learnt that learning about economics is up to me, and that there's no point in waiting for gurus to come and explain it all to me.

Methodology and didactics of political education

1. Training seminar for social competence

The training of social competence goes beyond communicating knowledge. Here, selected knowledge, abilities and skills are developed so that they can be immediately put into practice within politics and working life. During the seminar participants will become acquainted with modes of acting, which through practice, will then lead to a change of skills.

Along with the annual seminars to develop the basic skills of

- communication,
- working in groups,
- conflict management,

there were additional training seminars in 2006 dealing with the socio-psychological aspect of topics focussed on in the area of political education.

The seminars

- Chairing open councils
- Talking with Nazis
- Chairing events against right-wing extremism

were basis for a long-term accompaniment of educational projects to deal with right-wing radicalism and the democratisation of budgetary policy. In the next years these will be extended and offered in the form of courses.

2. Course in political management

The subject area of political management is an area of the RLS' work that is in high demand. The demand is growing for advice, developing, concept development, taking on a chairing role and developing a programme to accompany the training (mentoring) and developing qualifications formats for a specific target group on site. The year long training course in political management is aimed at those responsible and employed at all levels in the areas of politics, administration, associations and organisations with leadership roles or those with aspirations to take on such roles. For this group we provide a part time course with at least 40 days of training. The certificate at the end confirms that the participant has successfully gained the specialist knowledge and has received training in modern communication behaviour and social competence. These courses are recognised as "paid educational leave« in the Land Berlin. Since the first course in 2001/2002 more than 100 participants have taken part in the training.

3. Political didactics for multipliers of political education

The course for intercultural education was particularly well received. In the seminars,

- Diversity Training (dealing with differences due to ethnic origin, gender, world views, religion, sexual identity),
- Betzavta (training for democracy and tolerance),
- Anti- Bias (de-learning discrimination),

the political relevance of an education towards democracy was reinforced.

The fact that "gender" has to do with economy, migration, work, and with political and social topics in general, what gender actually is and how gender hierarchies, the two-gender hegemony and heterosexual normativity are topics in educational work, were dealt with in the workshops in April: "Hat Politische Bildung ein Geschlecht? – Geschlechterreflexion in der Erwachsenenbildung" (does political education have a gender? Reflections on gender in adult education). In this training course for workers in political education, gender-reflecting, queer feminist educational concepts in educational work were discussed and practiced.

4. Conference: (Un)Sinn und (Irr)Wege linker politischer Bildung

This conference on the occasion of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's 15th anniversary questioned the modernisation debate of political education. How is political education able to transform society? What chances do enlightenment, a critique of society and emancipation have against cutbacks in resources and criteria of effectivity? Political adult education likewise is in a position of being threatened with cutbacks and is facing new demands on its meaningfulness and so-called effectivity. 50 people took part in the conference.

The conference was the start of a new phase, when the foundation began confronting issues such as these. In educational events in coming years, the foundations is planning to use the results of the conference and the networks of those working in the areas of political education built up there to deal with subjects such as the self image of political education and methodological didactic issues. In 2006, workshops on the topics "Widerstand und Politische Bildung" (resistance and political education), "Sprache und Politische Bildung" (language and political education) and "Ökonomie als Gegenstand Politischer Bildung" (economy as subject of political education) have already been im-

plemented. This was conceived in particular for teams and is also intended to qualify employees of the foundation and its cooperation partners.

Internet

The website is the foundation's information and communication platform and opens up the entire spectrum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's work. It informs visitors of current events, presents texts and topical features and also acts as an archive and organisation manual. Currently the website of the RLS has about 20,000 page impressions daily and the average number of visitors is around 6000 per day. Adjusted for seasonal fluctuation, the high level of visitors that was reached after the elections in the autumn 2005 was maintained (in respect of page impressions) or was increased (regarding visitors) by 30% since January 2006.

In 2006 the focus was on development – besides further expanding the topical issues – in the area of audiovisual content and collaborative publishing. The technical and social forms of online publishing have been undergoing a transformation in the last three years. More recently this has become known under the term of "Web 2.0". Keywords are participative editorial techniques (for example the online encyclopaedia "Wikipedia") and social networks (such as the closely linked area of weblogs). An increase in the content of sound and video, resulting from easier access to broadband internet connections, completes this development. During the last year the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has begun to adapt these techniques and forms of publication to the presentation of its topical issues.

The project site »Netzwerk Privatisierung und Öffentliche Güter« (network privatisation and public goods) as subject area was developed as a weblog for the first time. Now, half a dozen people regularly contribute texts, media snippets, links and comments on other political blogs. The weblog software is integrated into the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's content management system and besides being a workshop, serves as a test for similar projects in other subject areas (http://www.rosalux.de/cms/ index.php?ppq). Audio documentation is another new feature of the foundation's online work. Contributions (eq. from the World Social Forum) and sound recordings of important events were for example produced. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation will in the future concentrate on this last format and develop an audio database, which will increase the range and utility of lectures and discussions.

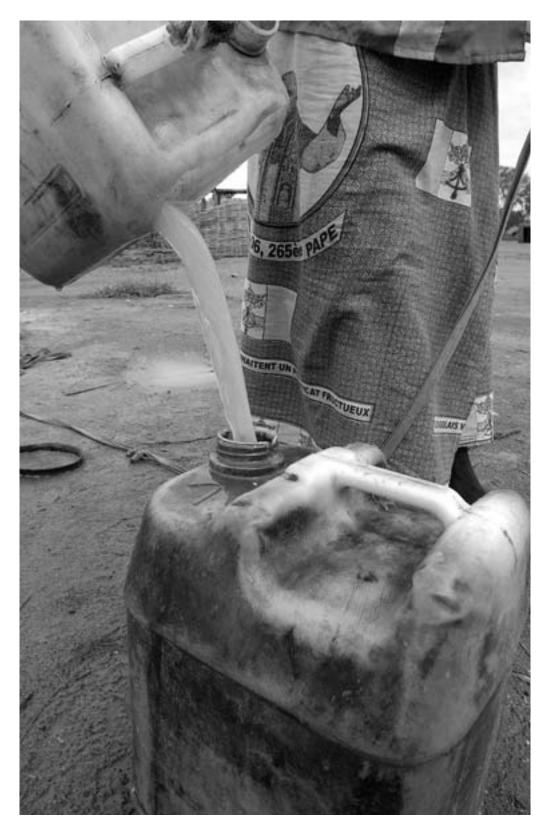


Photo: Flickr.com Pierre Holtz, UNICEF CAR »Water?«

Political Analysis

Mother Nature strikes back Capitalism, environmental market economy and crisis

In view of the campaigns of destruction resulting from capitalist expansion and the race against the natural world, Mike Davis at the end of the 1990's suspected that Mother Nature would strike back. For instance in Los Angeles, where the population was witness to »nothing less than a behavioral quantum jump«, when lions emerged »with a lusty appetite for slow, soft animals in spandex«.\(^1\) Mother Nature strikes back: tornados, as seen in New Orleans, pandemics like SARS or bird flu, floods and soil erosion, droughts and famines, wars over ever decreasing resources such as land and water, imminent streams of migration etc - Davis sees a clear correlation between capitalism, environmental collapse, and cultural conflicts and crises. The neo-liberal free market is encouraging a dynamic for an increasingly intensive exploitation of human labour and natural resources, but an increased pressure for maximum profit. Alternatively, according to Marx »Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth - the soil and the labourer.« (Das Kapital, MEW 23, 529f; Capital, Volume 1, Chapter 13). This interaction was the subject of a seminar on political analysis in Wittenberg, which ran for several days and was attended by concerned scientists and practitioners in order to explore future prospects and the possibilities of intervention.

There is no doubt that information technology and capitalist globalisation have led to an immense development in productivity, to a considerable increase in product supply but also of cultural diversity. Inseparably connected with this however, is the waste of social resources and an increase in destructive powers, leading to a global economic crisis, which will in the medium term hit back in waves of catastrophic destruction as heralded by hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005. The so-called Stern Report and the latest IPCC Report from the year 2006, elucidated that this also signifies an immense annihilation of capital and the longer this mode of production continues, the higher the costs of the environmental crisis will be for the economy. For this reason, environmental and climate protection have now become important topics in local politics.

Environmental organisations have reason to celebrate: during the third series of debates on the environmental crisis (after the protest movement of the 1980's and the global conferences following the so-called Rio Summit in the early 1990's) they have at last reached the centre of political power - from Blair/Brown to Merkel, from the G8 to the IWF and the World Bank, environmental politics is now the domain of leaders. Even George Bush Jr. no longer dares to ignore the climate crisis. And,

¹ Davis, M. (1998). Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster. New York: Metropolitan. Books, p. 249.

in order to remind him explicitly, the climate preacher Al Gore received the Nobel Peace Prize. This is nothing but empty words. The importance of taking steps towards sustainability are emphasised again and again. This subject was also prominent at the G8 Summit of world leaders. According to Sabine Nuss, and thanks to Angela Merkel, there were serious considerations to reinforce the previously decided points.² No more, no less! Unfortunately, symbolic politics normally prevails.

However, it is not as if nothing is done by those in power concerning environmental protection. On the contrary, national environmental politics was only institutionalised under neo-liberal hegemony. Here, the problem of environmental destruction is seen as a problem of dumping the ensuing costs on others. According to the economists Pigou and Marshall, environmental problems are described as external consequences, which do not figure in prices, and are therefore internalised by means of a suitable political framework – by attaching a price tag on nature. Entirely in the neo-classical sense, there is a need for acknowledging the equality of production variables such as labour, capital and nature. The neo-classical environmental economy sees the ecological problem as resulting from a partial failure of the market economy, which can be resolved by way of green taxes (Pigou, 1939), a system of certificates (Dales, 1968) or a more transparent classification of property rights (Coase, 1960). In other words, further economising and commodifying as well as the formation of social natural conditions, according to economic efficiency criteria, pave the way out of the environmental crisis. Intellectuals combine a highly selective growth and market strategy with an eco-technological market economy energy efficiency and competitiveness. They thereby aim to potentially unite capitalism, environmental as well as third-world political interests (e.g. the states of the »global south«), in order to secure the ruling neo-liberalism in a sustainable way, according to Ulrich Brand. The new potential for growth in the field of green economics is supposed to trigger a »green economic miracle«.3

One problem is that the environment as public good has seemingly unlimited availability, and is therefore plundered without consideration; a tragedy of the commons that is apparently not preventable.⁴ The reason, according to Nobel Prize winner Douglas North, is the inadequate definition

Environmental market economy and the privatisation of the world

² Compare: Nuss, S. (2007). »Die Herrschenden haben erwogen. Ernsthaft. Eine Bilanz des Treffens der G8 in Heiligendamm«, RLS Text of the Week, 27, www.rosalux.de.

³ Fücks, R. and Steenbock, K. (2007). »Die Grosse Transformation. Kann die ökologische Wende des Kapitalismus gelingen?« In: böll Thema, 1, www.böll.de.

⁴ Garret Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons", in: Science, New Series, Nr. 3859, 162. Jg., 1968, 1243-48.

and protection of private property and property rights.⁵ This, according to the World Bank, applies in particular to the energy and water sectors. Substantial investment is also necessary in order to put a stop to squandering and to improve the provision of clean energy and water. Only private investors could raise these kinds of sums, it would therefore be essential to consistently push for liberalisation and privatisation in order to obtain an appropriate price for its use and to realise an increase in efficiency by way of commercial organisation. It would surely be better to provide education, water, power etc in the developing world in this way than not at all. The GATT Agreement within the framework of the WTO strives to establish this on a trans-national level. According to the WTO, it serves to »overcome intra-social opposition to liberalisation«, by completely lifting controls on all service sectors for foreign investors, by introducing the so-called Non-Discrimination Act, as well as "necessity tests" (Article VI.4). This restricts state regulation measures by fundamentally questioning their necessity unless they have "proved" their superiority over market forces. This relates to everything that could be interpreted as an impediment to trade, from shop opening hours, building regulations to conservation requirements, from employment and health protection to occupational policy measures. The EU services directive functions along the same lines. The extent to which it is possible to quarantee the protection of natural water reserves and the efficient use of energy resources is questionable. Developments show that, on the basis of specific distribution systems of water and energy, the mono and oligo-political position of private water and energy providers is leading to exorbitant price increases. Environmental protection on the contrary is not apparent. An investigation by Barbara Dickhaus and Kristina Dietz, commissioned by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation shows that the deregulation of social and environmental laws results in obstacles to investments and ensures that disinvestments are often the result⁶. However, hardly any research on privatisation considers the environmental consequences (or even the impact on gender relations⁷).

Cases of polluted and contaminated water may still be regarded as "slip-ups", as are the large number of power supply system breakdowns, for instance in New Zealand, the USA and in Germany.

- 5 North, D. (1981). Structure and Change in Economic History. New York: Norton.
- 6 Dickhaus, B. and Dietz, K. (2004). Öffentliche Dienstleistungen unter Privatisierungsdruck. Folgen von Privatisierung und Liberalisierung öffentlicher Dienstleistungen in Europa, sponsored by Weed and the »Netzwerk Privatisation & Public Goods« of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Berlin; compare also Altvater, E. (2004). The Privatisation of Public Goods, RLS Policy Paper, 2.
- 7 Nowak, I. (2005). Selbstbestimmung braucht öffentliche Güter. Linke feministische Perspektiven, Manuskripte Nr. 55 of the RLS. Berlin.

Price increases do not protect natural resources but rather the acquisition of monopolistic pensions by private companies, while an adequate supply of drinking water and power for all people - the most essential public goods, has deteriorated in regions ranging from Bolivia to South Africa. The result is the privatisation and valuation of what were formerly public services, which comply with the search for over-accumulated capital according to new possibilities of utilisation and correspond more to an "economy of expropriation" (David Harvey) than ecologically sustainable development politics. Moreover, privatisation deprives critical areas of social production and reproduction of political and democratic influence by local parliaments and population groups, also with regard to green taxation possibilities, in particular of trans-national corporations. The promises of privatisation were not kept, the partially devastating consequences led to a new reluctance to privatise, for example, resulting in a privatisation crisis (as in the title of the most recent edition of our periodical RosaLux).8 The activities of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's international network »privatisation – public goods« (ppg) have made a small contribution. Political analysis is strictly concerned with the form and consequences of politics, as well as environmental politics according to capitalist and privatisation critical criteria, asking how the concept of sustainability is used by political parties both concretely and in their programmes.

The idea of a "green economy" continues to place its hopes on private enterprise; on the creativity of business corporations. In view of the depletion of resources, according to Ralf Fücks and Kristina Steenbock of the Heinrich-Böll Foundation⁹, they posit a "more effective management of resources". More likely, as revealed by the seminar in Wittenberg, as well as in debates within the Futures Committee of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, is the intensive struggle over resources that is already taking place (Altvater) and the increase of "imperial politics" (Rilling). However, Fücks and Steenbock hope that "whoever misses the environmental turning of the tide will be punished by the markets" – unfortunately this not currently the case for privatised energy corporations: they draw enormous profits thanks to price increases and they exert pressure in an absolutely unecological way for the operational life of nuclear power stations to be extended and for the construction of new coal power

Sustainable neo-liberalism? Environmental vs. social issue

⁸ Rilling, R. (2007). Die Eigentumsfrage kehrt zurück. Eine Zwischenbilanz der Politik der Privatisierung, RLS Standpunkte, Nr. 12.

⁹ Ibid.

stations. Even the high and mighty moralistic glossy brochures of a new »Corporate Responsibility«, which are supported by green modernisers, are about as useful as the well-chosen ecological greenwashing projects of BP or Shell. The fact that eco-bonds are successful in financial markets and that the large insurance firms are concerned about the costs of climate catastrophes, does not yet imply that they are »allies«. Rather, global liberalisation leads to a massive increase in returns on investments in favour of the shareholder, which in turn leads to a decrease in social and environmental standards. Moreover, it leads to the intensification of global trade and production chains and thereby to an enormous increase in transport and energy use, as well as leading to the exploitation of regions and ecosystems that had previously escaped industrialisation, be it in Brazil, China, Russia, Canada or in the inner peripheries of the core.

Against all evidence, the advocates of sustainable neo-liberalism believe in the watchdog system of global non-governmental environmental organisations. As in the »social civilisation of capitalism« in the 19th Century, a similar environmental civilisation is aimed for. The social version seems to be done for – the results of political analyses show that there is a return to and deterioration of social issues in view of the threat to work and life conditions, as well as a crisis of representation. A renewal of the European social model is necessary, as well as of public institutions in connection with a trans-national social and environmental restructuring of the means of production and way of life. Separating environmental and social issues has led to contradictory and consequently to unsatisfactory results in the last 30 years. The self-imposed restrictions on significant parts of the environmental movement, of non-governmental organisations and green parties to a narrow interpretation of environmental politics has promoted a joining of forces, with demands being represented in the media and thereby a recognition of the subject's importance. However, at the same time critical requirements for socioenvironmental reconstruction have been neglected. Without social justice, this restructuring will not occur on a global scale - it cannot be reduced to technical modernisation, but rather touches on social inequalities, asymmetrical and class-based power and rule systems, gender and production relations, as well as our consumerist lifestyle, which is focused on the acquisition of goods. Environmental politics in itself highlights the same old problems of justice, due to the fact that consequences and costs are unequally distributed.

A technologically abridged version of environmental politics, has undoubtedly facilitated compromises, while at the same time encouraging selective and economic processing, in the end aggravating the environmental crisis and moreover, the integration of fundamental parts of the movement into

neo-liberalism.¹⁰ The result is an additional exploitation of nature. To paraphrase Rosa Luxemburg, it can be concluded that the destruction of nature, its partial resurrection and artificial reproduction as well as protection from further environmental destruction are, in themselves, big business. The implementation of the carbon trade market is a good example of this. With this economical tool the pollution of the earth's atmosphere by highly industrialised states is institutionalised by way of purchasing pollution rights from states, which due to their low level of industrialisation have not yet exceeded their allocated carbon quota. Of course, the purchase of pollution rights in Russia, Brazil and Nigeria, with which the industrialised states or even corporations are able to comply with their obligation to reduce emissions in no way reduces global emissions of greenhouse gases. In principle, the idea is appealing; the failure of the markets to efficiently allocate resources is to be resolved by strengthening the markets in the hope of a more efficient allocation, which would secure the most effective deployment of resources – a tautology.

The liberalisation of market forces and the continuing exploitation of natural resources due to globalisation have, despite or rather because of selective environmental policies, intensified the environmental crisis. The globalisation of our means of production, consumption and way of life (as propagated by the industrialised states), the worldwide emulation of our »attractive« western system of development does the rest. China's aspirations towards motorisation to the level of western industrialised nations, does not lead to increased mobility but, in the end, to a collapse of the Earths ecosystems. According to Altvater, the environmental system of capitalist market economies cannot, for environmental reasons, be globalised. The accelerated environmental degradation limits the chances of so-called developing nations for their own development and, at the same time places them at an increased risk of environmental catastrophes. However, they are not only more threatened by the disastrous consequences of the environmental crisis, but also by the effects of environmental policies. This begins with the transition of our industry to clean technologies in the fields of information and communication technology or even environmental technologies, by means of which we will improve our environmental position (Weizsäcker), while scrap PC's and the »dirty« areas of industries (i.e. aluminium) are transferred east

Inequality and crisis

¹⁰ Compare: Candeias, M. (2004 revised 2007). Neoliberalismus. Hochtechnologie. Hegemonie. Grundrisse einer transnationalen, kapitalistischen Produktions- und Lebensweise, Berlin-Hamburg: Argument Verlag, pp. 261.

¹¹ Compare also Altvater, E. (1994). Der Preis des Wohlstandes, Münster: Verl. Westfälisches Dampfboot, p.142.

or southwards.¹² In the international division of labour, eastern and southern states not only deal with our requirements for raw and fossil fuels and must cope with the overexploitation of their natural resources (e.g. Nigeria), they now also provide our renewable bio-fuels. Result is the spread of gigantic monocultures, while the provision of basic foodstuffs (e.g. maize in Mexico; tortilla crisis) is acutely threatened. The consequences are not only unequally distributed between the core and periphery internationally, but are also evident within societies themselves. The allocation (free of charge) of tradable pollution rights has bestowed energy corporations with substantial profits (by way of rebates on fictitious costs) while price increases hit poorer households harder than wealthy customers like corporate clients who also obtain substantial price reductions. The examples of this are endless. The environmental crisis cannot be dealt with in this way. The limits of capitalism become clear. Especially fossil fuels, for instance oil, on which capitalism relies, are fast becoming scarce and expensive. It can therefore be expected that the insurance policy of the unrestricted appropriation of oil by imperial means is a fundamental goal of capitalist core states. According to Elmar Altvater, this strategy will, in view of the finite nature of oil reserves, not save capitalism's energy basis – but could signify the »end of capitalism«, at least »as we know it«. In this way, it could have repercussions in terms of radical changes that are difficult to evaluate, not only as far as energy is concerned, but also as regards all social conditions.¹³ Capitalism will probably survive this crisis, but this will presumably result in unequal societies, in which ruling and wealthy groups will protect themselves with the help of the military and police, privatised (power) regions of authoritarian eco dictatorships, which will leave the rest of the world to scrape a living in a destroyed environment. Not an impossible scenario of the future. All the more important is the development of alternatives. There are many approaches, ranging from a solar power revolution, to the beginnings of a solidarity economy, to deprivatisation and the reinstatement of local authority control, or the return to public services, to a lifestyle that is less consumerist and less focused on the acquisition of goods, deglobalisation etc, - however, so far, no coherent strategy has emerged. The field of political analysis and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's futures committee will continue to make their contribution in the future.

¹² This is also more efficient for neoliberal economists e.g. The World Bank. The export of environmental pollution results in fewer costs, due to lower wages in the "Third World"; their environment apparently continues to be "underpolluted" and thereby »inefficiently« utilised. In the end, the pollution burden is hardly significant, in comparison with other problems such as high infant mortality and low life-expectancy (citations from Vandana Shiva "The World on the Edge«, in: Hutton, W. and Giddens, A. (eds.) (2001) On The Edge. Living with global capitalism, London: Vintage, pp.112-129.

¹³ Compare Altvater, E. (2007). Das Ende des Kapitalismus, wie wir ihn kennen. Eine radikale Kapitalismuskritik. Münster: Verl. Westfälisches Dampfboot.



Photo: PhotoCase.com Gerti G. »Good prospects«

International Work

Within the scope of its international work, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is influential in various regions of the world - in the form of offices, close cooperation with local partners and by way of political educational activities. In Central and South America, southern Africa, in central and Eastern Europe and in the Post Soviet area, the foundation has already opened offices. More offices are currently being built up in Israel, Palestine, China, Vietnam, India and Brussels. A direct presence on site allows the foundation to stage educational events and work more closely with partners within the framework of a process of dialogue and advice.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation works together with more than 180 project partners every year in 40 long-term projects and about 150 educational activities. Building up »equal« dialogues with partners serves the mutual process of learning. Joint aim is the formulation of social concepts that enable everyone to have access to the necessary basic needs. Our partner organisations are mostly actors from civil society such as scientific institutes, non-governmental organisations, social movements, trade unions, parties and party near organisations. We prefer to work with state organisations at a local level. There is a wide variety of topics and this is orientated on the one hand on the themes decided on by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's General Assembly and, on the other, on particular local problems that the partners wish to work on with us.

Latin America

During 2006 and 2007, work with project partners again clearly showed: resource politics - that is: issues of distribution and access to resources, but also shaping social natural circumstances are not separable from social equality and alternative models of economic management. These issues are especially topical today as high prices result in a surge of investment in various infrastructural largescale projects, and in many countries the prolonged policy of privatisation of public goods is taking place. Transnational corporations are also still able to influence decisions regarding this resource policy to their favour. Not only in terms of energy, but also within agricultural policy, the main concern is getting a piece of the pie, but also concerns the fundamental issue of models of development and the appropriation of nature. This is why the landless movement in Brazil, which has been assisted in its educational work by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in recent years, is not only discussing the issue of access to land, to credits, technical assistance or increasing productivity, but also poses the agro-ecological question of the means of production.

In Latin America the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation promotes the activities of social movements, NGO's and left research projects on these topics on very different levels of political education. We support studies on transnational corporations – besides a study of the violation of employment rights at Unilever, an analysis of the effects of privatisation of the electricity sector in order to assist the educational work of the American network against free trade, the Allianza Social Continental. At a local level, the project partners have cooperated so that rural communities may inform themselves on how local happenings and changes are connected with larger projects of resource policy – whether in the bio prospecting sector, exploring natural resources, in road building, the changes in agricultural prices and expansion of cultivable land for large-scale plantations for agricultural export, or the construction of military bases. Different project partners introduced mapping processes and a geological analysis of fundamental educational work, such as Nuestra America with its seminars in the border regions of Argentina or Casifop and the Instituto Maya in different states in Mexico – especially those that are considered poorer areas and are populated by a majority of indigenous peoples.

The partner organisation Hic-AL illustrates the link between classical lobbying and work in local education. Within its educational work and publicity on planned dams, such as the controversial dam in La Parota in the Mexican state of Guerrero, Hic-AL works together with the population, whose villages and existences are threatened by the potential flooding of their area. It also passes on knowledge of the concrete situation and the legal and political processes to the UN special envoy for the rights of indigenous peoples and passes information on their comments, activities and legal references back to base.

During the last year various project partners came together in order to work on water issues from different perspectives – dam policies, provision of water as an issue of local participation (CESEM), or the expansion of megacities (Casifop). Together, they organised a workshop on the defence and local administration of water in rural and urban areas. Since the Mexican government has legally aided the privatisation of the provision of water, many municipalities have been confronted with the usual consequences: rising costs, the exclusion of poorer population groups from access to clean water, neglect of infrastructure and corruption. Our project partner Casifop has contributed to the discussion that ecological and social issues are just as inseparable as the development of rural and urban areas. Via workshops on »ecologia popular« or caravans through the satellite towns of Mexico City, they have pointed out that the enormous current expansion of urban settlements around Mexico City has led to a transformation of the agricultural landscape into an urban landscape, while ecological and socially sensitive urban planning elements are lacking. This wild urbanisation results in enormous environ-

mental strains on the population. Rubbish dumps, petrol station and roads come into being without considering the ground water reservoirs, or even other health strains on the residents.

Water policies were not only an important issue in Mexico. In 2006 and 2007, our project partner Casa Bertholt Brecht in Uruquay organised an international meeting on the issue of water as the »Octubre Azul«, the blue October, the international month on water issues. During the last year the meeting dealt especially with the uncontrolled exploitation of one of the world's largest underground water reservoirs, the Acuífero Guaraní, which encompasses the territories of Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil. Uruquay is an important example in water policies. In 2004, the population decided by plebiscite that water is a human right and that the provision of water should therefore remain under the control of the public authorities.

Besides this focus, other focal issues are currently being developed. Along with our established work on local participation and a broad political education for social movements, were are currently involved in developing the topics of economic solidarity, and human rights and migration as well as alternative media policies in Latin America.

South Africa

The RLS' regional office in Southern Africa established the tradition of the »Rosa-Luxemburg-Seminar« in 2004. Two seminars took place in Johannesburg. In March 2006 the third seminar on the accumulation of capital, a workshop on political economy and development, took place in Durban. The three day event was organised by the »Centre for Civil Society« (CCS) at the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal together with the regional office. Central to the discussions were the dynamics of the accumulation of capital and its social consequences in South Africa and the region. The seminar was begun by a scientific academic discussion. On the following two days, activists in social movements brought their positions into the discussions (about 100 participants). The most important aims were a critical appraisal of Rosa Luxemburg's writings on the accumulation of capital; the debate about significant processes of capital accumulation in South Africa as regards the specific circumstances of economic development in the Republic of Africa; and discussing strategies of resistance against the privatisation of public goods.

To a large extent, debates included participants' everyday experiences. The themes discussed ranged from a critique of present policies of »Black Economic Empowerment« concentrated on the elite, to the dichotomy of formal and informal economy and the ecological consequences of unregulated capital accumulation and the privatisation of public goods such as water and electricity. Ulrich

Duchrow's lecture on why it is necessary and how it is possible to resist the unchecked accumulation of capital concluded the workshop. The lecture prepared the ground for an emotional discussion about alternatives to the present socio-economic model of development. Of great importance was the question of how to achieve a better and above all reliable cooperation between an organised labour movement and groups from civil society.

The workshop was attended by a great number of participants who took an active part in the debates. The Rosa Luxemburg seminar enabled the demands and interests of the disadvantaged to be heard. Linking this protest with a systematic analysis of the problems is without doubt a significant asset of these seminars, which have precisely this aim: the interaction of scientifically conducted analysis with the activities of social movements.

The fourth Rosa Luxemburg Seminar in March 2007 in Cape Town was dedicated to the subject of political power – state, party and the power of the people. In this seminar the RLS' regional office worked together with all the partner organisations in Cape Town: »Alternative Information and Development Centre« (AIDC), »International Labour Research and Information Group« (ILRIG), »Labour Research Service« (LRS) and »Trust for Community Outreach and Education« (TCOE).

Dr. Evelin Wittich, executive member of Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's management board, introduced the seminar and gave an interesting insight into the various Rosa Luxemburg conferences worldwide, which are organised by the foundation. This created a successful transition to the first podium discussion, which dealt with Rosa Luxemburg's theories of the state, political power and democracy as well as their significance for current debates on society. The conference was attended by guests from Germany, Argentina and the USA. Prof. Peter Hudis (Chicago), an internationally renowned Luxemburg researcher was greeted with topically justified interest for Rosa Luxemburg's theoretical and political ideas. The Latin American scientists introduced case studies of the current political developments in Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, Bolivia and Argentina. German participants dealt with the issue of the relevance of parties in the political system as well as current trends in connection with the development of society and the party system in Germany (also against the background of the left party's process of reformation), which was met with varied and insistent questions on behalf of the approximately 150 participants.

The deputy general secretary of SACP, Jeremy Cronin and representatives of trade unions and the media were amongst those discussing the development of society in South Africa and the level of democracy in South Africa. Further debates touched on the relationship between political forces in

Cooperation with partners on five continents



the South African government coalition (ANC, COSATU, SACP), the relationship between state, ANC and the different left forces, as well as – in the sense of Rosa Luxemburg – the relationship between the women's rights movement and the state (formulated as a relationship of tension between reform and revolution).

On the final day, the debates that had been begun in the four study groups were continued even more intensively and then brought to a preliminary conclusion. There are, of course, still many unanswered questions. All participants seemed to consider it necessary to continue discussing the numerous problems raised especially amongst the left in southern Africa in an unblinkered way. The organisers have therefore invited participants to the next Rosa Luxemburg Seminar in March 2008 in the Eastern Cape Province.

The conference transcripts of the seminars are also very popular. At the beginning of 2007 the result of the meeting in Durban was published under the title of "The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa. Rosa Luxemburg's Contemporary Relevance«, edited by Patrick Bond, Horman Chitonge and Arndt Hopfmann. In September 2007, the transcript on the Seminar 2007 in Cape Town was already available. This was compiled by Leonard Gentle and Arndt Hopfmann. The materials are available to all interested persons at the RLS regional office in Johannesburg.

South Asia

The debate on fundamentalism and interreligious conflicts and their scientific, cultural and linguistic treatment has become a central theme since the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's project work started in India in 2002. Interreligious and intercultural communication are emphasised in particular in southern India. In the province of Karnataka, members of various religious and ethnic groups live in relatively close proximity with each other. Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Jains are among those who also belong to different language groups, such as Kannada, Konkani or Tulu. Despite their tendency to live closely together, these different groups' knowledge about each other is often poor. Because of this, it is easy for extremists to manipulate and to play parts of the population off against each other.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports three organisations with a Christian background in the region, which deal with interreligious education in schools, with promoting regional languages and the joint celebration of festivals as well as dance and theatre. The commitment and involvement of partner organisations is beginning to bear fruit. In this way, the regional language, Konkani, was recently recognised as a compulsory school subject in the Karnataka province. This was a significant



step in a region which attaches great importance to its regional languages, but which, due to the efforts of Hindu fundamentalists, has always had to fear the suppression of these regional languages. The local project work is also valued internationally. In June, John Fernandes, Director of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's project partner »Dharma Samanvaya«, was honoured with the »Für Freiheit in der Kirche« Award from the Herbert Haaq Foundation, for his commitment to interreligious exchanges between Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Jains.

In northern India, the NGO »Saajhi Duniya«, an amalgamation of intellectuals and activists in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, concerns itself with the topic of fundamentalism and women from a social scientific perspective. The teachings and customs of Hinduism and Islam, as well as of fundamentalist groups and their modes of influence, especially on the lives of women, are being investigated within the framework of a two-year study, and case examples are being documented. An integral aspect is the dissemination and public debate of the results. The Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists (NEFEJ) received its first transmission licence, after a seven-year battle, involving waiting and constant pressure on the Nepalese Government.

Radio Sagarmatha, as the station was called, thereupon became the first independent community radio station in Nepal to begin transmitting. Despite great governmental opposition and numerous conditions, transmission time increased from an initial 20 minutes to the current 18 hours per day.

The problem was and still is the lack of well-qualified journalists. Each year since 2003, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in conjunction with the International Institute for Journalism in Berlin - Brandenburg (IIJB) has supported various educational measures for Radio Sagarmatha and other community radio stations in Nepal. The aim of this collaboration is to push the further education of a new generation of journalists for democratic media, and above all to reduce the shortage of practical and manual skills in journalism. The social importance of the media and free radio stations in Nepal became particularly noticeable through the civilian protest movement in early 2005 as a result of the King declaring war. Bans and restrictions on transmission were imposed on the independent media, as well as on Radio Sagarmatha. Isolated arrests triggered off the first demonstrations and protests, which, in April 2006 finally led to the dethronement of the King and the reinstatement of parliament.

Radio Sagarmatha, one of the most popular free radio stations in Kathmandu, was, to some extent, able to circumvent the press restrictions by means of creative measures. In June, Radio Sagarmatha won the special prize of the One World Media Award 2007 in London for its extraordinary achievements within the movement for democracy, which contributed to paving the way for elections of a legislative assembly in November 2007.

South-East Asia

For many years, China and Vietnam have demonstrated significant economic growth. This economic development is changing both countries, opens new horizons and introduces challenges and problems for large sectors of the population. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, in collaboration with its partner organisations in China and Vietnam is taking up the pursuit for a sustainable society. Efforts to convey the idea and promotion of practical sustainable development are central to the projects shared by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and its partners: the Centre for Education and Communication on the Environment (CEACE) and Education for Nature-Vietnam (ENV), as well as the Shanghai Academy for Social Sciences. Special workshops and training courses were organised in various regions of Vietnam, for regional qualified personnel and executives, representatives of social organisations, teachers, and employees of Vietnamese national parks and nature reserves as well as for members of the media. These events provided information, amongst other things, on current environmental legislation and national regulations for the incorporation of environmental educational material into the Vietnamese school curriculum. Local and regional administrative employees

were sensitised to the involvement of local residents in environmentally relevant decision-making processes.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports training courses lasting several weeks on »Managing Sustainability in China«, which are run by employees of the Shanghai Academy for Social Sciences with the financial support of local institutions within the Anhui and Xinjiang Provinces. The aim of these training courses is to introduce concepts of sustainability and sustainable industries to members of regional administration and enterprises, and to encourage them to consider social responsibility and a careful treatment of the natural environment when making decisions. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, together with Hue University, supported efforts to create a more inclusive development process in Central Vietnam and to direct the attention of regional administrative bodies to the living conditions of several hitherto disadvantaged sectors of the population.

In 2006–2007 the German-Chinese dialogues on peace and security policies and contemporary social developments were continued in the form of international conferences with the partner organisations, Institute for World Socialism and the China Centre for Contemporary World Studies.

In view of this region's importance for international peace and security in the areas surrounding Europe, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has increased its activities here in recent times. Project work in the Palestinian areas, and in Israel, continue to be of central importance. In Palestine, especially in peripheral regions of West Jordan, women and adolescents were encouraged to increase their involvement in politics and to prepare themselves for an active role in the future Palestinian state.

Through the use of numerous educational events and with the help of publications, local partners are training for democratic interaction, peaceful conflict resolution strategies, mutual tolerance and respect for universally valid Human Rights. The partner organisations evaluated the democratisation of the electoral law that was announced in September as another successful outcome of their perseverance.

In Israel, disadvantaged sectors of the population, in particular Arabs, will be approached by the project partner organisations. The foundation supports endeavours to recognise and to actively distinguish legitimate rights within the framework of Israeli legislation. By means of numerous events, links were forged between Jewish and Arab residents in Israel, especially amongst young people.

Although the relationship continues to be complex and is frequently subjected to strains – such as during the Lebanon conflict in summer 2006 – the contacts formed since then have proved to be

Eastern Mediterranean resilient and full of promise for the future. By way of such activities, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is making a modest contribution in encouraging mutual understanding and thereby fulfilling the vision of a peaceful Middle East. In order to lend credence to this endeavour, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has started constructing two international offices in the region – one in Israel (Tel Aviv) and another in Palestine (Ramallah).

A conference in Cairo in February 2007, organised by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation together with the Arabic-African Research Centre, was dedicated to a critical assessment of European-Arab relations. Representatives of non-governmental organisations and scientists from ten Arab and six European countries together discussed the state and deficits of the dialogue with both sides of the Mediterranean and the development of alternative positions.

The conclusion of the first phase of the project in Turkey took the form of a conference in Istanbul during January 2007, under the name of »Dialogue unites, Solidarity strengthens«. Representatives of various trade unions in Turkey and Germany as well as scientists and journalists, discussed the possibilities of an exchange of ideas and reciprocal relations within the context of a rapprochement between Turkey and the EU. The strongly felt desire on both sides for more coordination and mutual solidarity was sufficient grounds for the work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to be supplemented by a newly planned project and to involve new target groups such as women and adolescents.

Post-Soviet States. Caucasus and Central Asia The region that is covered by the international office in Moscow includes the south-west, from the Black Sea eastwards to the frontier with China and extends to the north towards Siberia. Religious allegiances range from Orthodox Christianity to Islam. More than 100 different ethnic groups live here and work arrangements must reflect this diversity. Therefore, conflict prevention is a central theme.

Here, political education is implemented by means of different forms of political action. Themes vary from the political situation in the Caucasus (Baku/Azerbaijan 2007) to the daily routines of Russian-German women in Stalin's army (Volgograd/Russia 2006). At the end of May, details of the political situation in the region and ways of tackling external activists were discussed in the Azerbaijani capital. Numerous Azerbaijani intellectuals and representatives from civil society took part in the conference.

This was a promising first step towards a continuing dialogue in a region that is dominated by the experience of war, conflicts between different nationalities and political unrest.

Workshops were organised, focusing on the discussion of human trafficking at frontiers, Petrosawodsk 2006, or to support the political involvement of women.

One annual highlight is the political education of young people in the region of Murmansk in the most north-easterly region of Russia, adjacent to Finland. Since 2004, there has been close cooperation with the humanistic Murmansk youth organisation.

Every year, the association organises two large series of seminars, as well as other smaller events to which German visitors are also invited.

One of these is the »Dialogue of the Cultures«. In spring 2007, film and video artists, graphic and fashion designers and musicians attended. Art is seen principally as a means of communication and a potential source of friction in the examination of politics.

In this way, the series of seminars »Art and Politics« offered contributions on »Art and Politics in the former Soviet Union«, »Dialogue-based political contemporary art« and »Popular culture and politics« by Shanna Ponomarenko from Murmansk and Mandy Gehrt and Gregor Henker from Leipzig.

The audio and video installation »News 21« which deals with the future of social systems within Germany, was made available to the public every afternoon. This inevitably led to discussions with visitors on social politics in Russia and in Germany.

The festival is part of one of the cultural highlights in the region and the attention and interest among the media and public is accordingly widespread.

In eastern central Europe, subjects such as modern society and social equality, gender equality, political youth education and bilateral German-Polish or German-Czech relations within EU stipulations have been central to project work in 2006/2007. The conference "The role and place of trade unions in a new political reality" was held with the Polish Miners Trade Union. Representatives of government and oppositions parties, of several trade unions, scientists and employers were involved in an exchange of ideas and experiences. An energy policy conference "Is coal the resource of the future" was held with the same collaborator, where European parliamentarians, regional politicians, trade unionists, scientists and employers discussed the impact of EU energy policies on the Katowice. This region is by far the largest coal producer in the EU and approximately 500,000 jobs depend on coal mining. Questions concerning the future of energy policies are of pivotal importance in this respect and cannot be solved without the participation of the trade unions. This was one of the first energy political conferences to be organised by a trade union in the country.

Eastern Central Europe In 2007, as part of the European Year of Equality and Equal Opportunities, educational programs for multipliers and public events were carried out throughout Poland, in collaboration with the Democratic Women's Union, the largest women's institute in Poland.

In the field of youth education, work focused on subject areas such as the consequences of globalisation, peacekeeping and international solidarity. The most important partner in this area, the politically independent Youth Organisation »Young Socialists«, has evolved into an active and, for young people, attractive participant in the left scene.

A conference on the »Chances and Risks of the EU Project« was held with the Institute for European Problems in Wroclaw. The revised conference materials were put forward for one of two Polish nominations for the European Bookprize in 2007.

In Prague, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, together with leading representatives of left parties from the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Germany discussed the perspectives and tasks of the political left within the enlarged EU. In collaboration with the Mihkel-Martna Foundation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation organised a workshop in Tartu, Estonia, which endeavoured to critically assess the first three years of EU membership. It was possible for Estonian participants to paint a rather different picture of the social and cultural reality within a country that is often depicted as exemplary among the new EU member states.

South Eastern Europe

As part of the Bosnian partner project, the organisations »PONS« and »Prijatelice« demand a Bosnian-Serbian dialogue through school cooperation. With the motto »An open society needs open communication«, and by way of workshops and seminars, the project contributes to deconstructing preconceptions between Bosnians and Serbs and works towards a more democratic cooperation.

Even twelve years after the end of the war, people who had fought on different sides continue to treat each other with scepticism and mistrust. Hardly 12 years have passed since the peace treaty in Dayton, which, in 1995, ended the war between these three groups. Too little time has passed for wounds to heal properly.

The domestic borders that were drawn at that time, also serve as lines of division between nationalities. Where once everyone coexisted next to and with each other, today there are regions that, as a result of expulsion, fleeing and retreat, are populated extremely homogenously. Everyday contact to the other sides cannot be taken for granted. Opportunities for mutual acquaintance are relatively slim. Our project partners bring people together, in eastern Bosnia along the border between the

Srbska Republic and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, parents, teachers and pupils.

Seminars on various subjects are offered in collaboration; school exchanges are organised, school inspectors are instated in the respective institutions. In the new project's first seminar, nine days were spent working on themes within the auspices of the »Alternatives to Violence« program such as conflict-free communication, active listening, teamwork, violence and prejudices. The knowledge gained by participants is to be incorporated into the continued everyday work within schools.

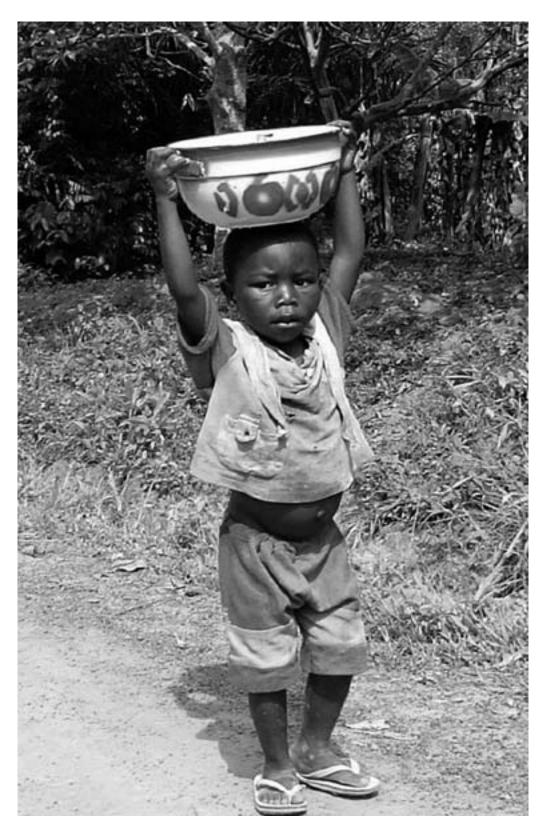


Photo: Flickr.com Anura Saliya »Without a chance«

Scholarship Department

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's scholarship department assists students and postgraduate students at home and abroad who excel by attaining a high level of qualification within their particular subject area and who exhibit a pronounced social and political commitment in line with the aims of the foundation. According to the foundation's basic principles: social equality and solidarity are achieved by giving preferential treatment to women, the socially needy and those with a disability—preference will be given to applicants from these groups with equal skills and qualifications in order to offset social, political or sexual discrimination. Students and postgraduates of any discipline and all nationalities may apply.

and all nationalities may apply.

However, demand always exceeds the number of scholarships available. In 2006, a total of 439 scholarship holders were assisted. Of these, 331 students and 106 doctoral candidates were financed using contributions provided by the Federal Ministry of Research and Education. 27 students and doctoral candidates from 20 countries were assisted using contributions from the foreign office. The latter

One important aim of the scholarships is to improve international exchange. The foundation therefore encourages and assists scholarship holders' trips abroad for study and research purposes as well as internships. In 2006, a total of 110 scholarship holders were financially assisted in this way. Focus of trips abroad is the USA and Canada as well as within Europe: Great Britain, France and Switzerland/Austria, followed by countries in South America.

were mainly from Russia, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Turkey, Africa and Latin America.

Besides providing financial assistance, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's scholarship department also offers scholarship holders the opportunity to take part in a wide variety of events. This helps to broaden scientific qualifications, allows an examination of the relevant social and political topics and enhances self-organisation. The aim of scholarship assistance from an ideological point of view is to build up networks within the left political spectrum and to acquire disseminators who lobby for social equality, living democracy and the freedom of critical thought. Highlights of scholarships in 2006/2007 once again were the international workshop and the holiday academy.

This year's workshop on the subject of left concepts of society in Europe took a group of students to Prague where, for one week, we concerned ourselves with subjects such as right-wing extremism and right-wing populism, G8, the globalisation-critical movements and human rights and leftist alternatives. Starting point was an analysis of the current political and social situation in the Czech Republic and its handling of right wing extremism, poverty and immigration. Besides discussions with scientists, we were

Promoting young talent

Scholarship holders: ideological assistance and activities

given the opportunity to speak with the mayor of Prague I (centre) about these issues. During a one-day workshop with the Polish "young socialists", the current situation and alternative concepts of politics and society were discussed. The programme was further complemented by an excursion to Lidice and Terezin Ghetto and included a talk with a survivor of Terezin and a reading of Jewish literature.

The holiday academy in 2007 took place in the youth education centre »Kurt Löwenstein« in Werftpfuhl near Berlin. As in previous years, the subject matter and organisational details of the workshop (a mixture of workshops, excursions, and cultural and leisure activities) were planned and implemented by a scholarship study group. At this academy, the study groups internationalism, left and nation, critical history, gender and identity, legal policy and human rights presented their previous years work. The workshops were complemented by contributions from external speakers and former scholarship holders. An excursion was offered to either the Brecht Weigel House in Buckow or the memorial place of the 20th July 1944 in Bendlerblock, Berlin. Concerts, theatre, sporting activities and a party completed the programme.

A study trip in June 2006 took a group of scholarship holders to Brussels. Part of the programme was an exchange of opinion with members of the European parliament and an intensive examination of the effectiveness of the EU at different levels. An alternative city tour showed the group parts of the city not included in any travel quide.

For the first time this year, the foundation organised regional conferences on subject matters such as sustainability, education, right-wing extremism, and basic social provisions, which orientate themselves on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's line of thought and are dealt with by scholarship holders and lecturers. The regional conference »Stadt in Bewegung?« (City in movement?) picked up on the for some time heatedly discussed phenomenon of the shrinking city. Besides providing information on the present state of research and developments, above all by using the example of the city of Leipzig, the issue was also broached of whether and how citizens of shrinking urban areas could be involved in the planning processes of urban redevelopment measures. Examples such as a Leipzig initiative »geöffnet e. V.«, which uses vacant buildings in a productive way for cultural events, and an excursion to the district Leipziq-Plaqwitz illustrated the opportunities and problems of urban de-growth in a very concrete way.

The congress »Ungleichheiten im deutschen Bildungssystem. Auswirkungen des Neoliberalismus auf Schule und Hochschule« (inequality in the German education system: the effects of neoliberalism on schools and institutes of higher education), took place on 29.9.2007 in Frankfurt a. M. Subjects discussed here were the consequences of restructuring the education system: the increasing exclusion

of those that are less privileged from universities, which has been enforced by elitist competition, excellence initiatives and tuition fees, and the privatisation of education that has become possible and necessary through GATS, participation in education and social position, the consequences of student structural reforms, as well as the function of schools on reproducing and ethnicizing social inequality.

Another focus of our scholarships programme is the seminar programme, which serves to promote the ultimate purpose of financial assistance (degree or doctorate). This consists of postgraduate seminars, workshops on methodology, research workshops, as well as seminars on time management and the techniques of scientific work. 39 postgraduate students working on their doctorate degree presented their work for discussion at the postgraduate seminars that were held in 2006 and 2007. The papers were published as a collection of essays, of which the doctoral scholarship holders are also editors.

The scholarship department also holds a seminar on methodology for the doctoral students working empirically and this is further enhanced by a research workshop. Postgraduates are given quidance tailored specifically to the needs of their particular research project. The study group that was formed in 2006 on methodology deals with the methodological problems of completing the dissertation itself.

The seminars on the techniques of scientific work address themselves particularly to students of lower years, who are provided with assistance in writing papers and presentations. The foundation also offers students and postgraduates seminars on time management and these are met with great interest.

The compulsory introductory seminars for newly sponsored scholars take place in April and October. At these seminars the students are informed about their rights and duties as well as the possibilities of financial and ideological sponsorship; this is when the scholarship department and the students self administration introduce themselves.

Scholarship holders are also expected to take part in the regional meetings, which as a rule are held every semester. These serve to promote an exchange of ideas and to build up networks with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundations regional structures. Individual course problems or those concerning financial assistance may also be dealt with here.

These focal points are complemented by events on current topics and tours. In the spring of 2007, we invited Jeff Halper, one of the representatives of the Committee Against House Demolitions in



Former scholarship holders

Sabah Alnasseri, born in Iraq, doctorate in Political Science on the crisis of the formation of society and new political players in the Arab region, is now professor for Middle East Politics and Economy at York University, Toronto.



Anne Schild, studied Geography at the Martin Luther University in Halle, is working as research assistant at the Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research in Leipzig

Gaza, who provided us with an extremely differentiated picture of the current situation in Israel and Palestine.

In 2006 we had already organised a tour of the district of Lichtenberg in Berlin with the PDS councillor Lompscher. During the tour we were informed of the initiatives of urban development in a district of Berlin that is especially affected by unemployment and poverty. On the occasion of Luxemburg's birthday in March we followed her tracks to her places of residence and activity, as well as to the site of her death. Another tour led to the exhibition on sexual forced labour in NS concentration camps at the concentration camp in Ravensbrück. This was organised by a former doctoral student. The programme also included tours of the German parliamentary building and the house of the members of parliament in Berlin with discussions with politicians.

Work with former scholarship holders is also an important part of the ideological work in the department. Here, the annual meeting for former scholars plays a particularly important role. At the meeting Ulrich Maurer, head of the fraction of the Linke in parliament and Stefan Lindner, member of the federal coordinating circle of Attac discussed the relationships and tasks of leftist movements and the left party. Of course, the meeting was also about future forms of cooperation between the foundation and the former scholarship holders. The meeting was concluded with a tour of the Brecht Weigel House in Buckow.

The foundations promotion of ideals also includes the programme of education provided by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, which is open to scholarship holders and where they also act as lecturers and facilitators.

In co-ordination with the foundation, the scholars also increasingly take part in the course »Political management« which qualifies them in the time of one year to take on leading roles in politics, administration, societies and associations.

Scholarship holder's self-organisation

Work within the scholarship holders' study groups is another focal point of our programme. These are organised by the students themselves. At present the following study groups exist: critical history, gender and identities, art and cultural politics, legal politics and human rights, left and nation state, internationalism, and qualitative methods. These study groups meet regularly during the year to discuss new issues arising in their fields and to prepare for the conferences and holiday academy. The results of the work are presented at the academy and other occasions. The scholar's plenary meeting and the council of scholars that is elected here has gained in importance and is a valuable complement to the work of the scholarship department.



Photo: PhotoCase.com Marco Heckler »over here ...«

Archive and Library

In his book "The King David Report", Stefan Heym describes the chaotic state of the royal archives which were stored in a stable built for King Solomon's horses. In these archives, where piles of clay tablets lay covered in dust and cobwebs and countless rolls of leather lay in terrible disorder, Ahaiah, Elihoreph and Etaph looked for the files of Seraiah, King David's scribe. While Elihoreph said he thought the files were in the third stall of the first row, to the left of the stalls, Ahaia said they were in the sixteenth stall of the third row, to the right side of the stall. The two men began to argue. The historian Etaph, the narrator, asks: "Is there not a listing of books and of files that are kept in the archives?".

There was none. But Elihoreph as well as Ahaia considered such a list extremely desirable. The story continues: »Ahaia said, he had heard that one was to be compiled when the archives were housed permanently in the upper storey of the great temple, which the wisest of Kings, Solomon, was erecting...«¹

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS) has not only had such a list, which Elihoreph and Ahaia deemed desirable, for a long time. The archivists of the ADS are working on indexing the archive, providing an index of keywords, and on making the archives accessible to scientific research by way of finding aids. The archives of the PDS the German Bundestag are central to the work.

In April 2007, the ADS presented its finding aid Nr. 7 for Dr. Gregor Gysi's records in the presence of the top politician. This record contains documents of the PDS Member of Parliament from October 1990 until he left parliament at the beginning of 2002 and amounts to 27.2 running metres. Not least in connection with the archive material of the PDS from the 12th, 13th and 14th legislative period of the German Bundestag, the records reflect Gregor Gysi's efforts to secure and improve the legal status of the PDS party group in government. The archives also document the authority and activities of this eloquent politician in combining the forces of the PDS' members of parliament in three decisive political areas in particular: peace, representing East German interests, and social equality. The records also emphasise the integration efforts of the politician, which were required to keep together »Gysis bunte Truppe« (Gysis chequered troop), which Stafan Heym (cited at the start) also belonged to in 1994/95.

In the years 2006 and 2007, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's archive and library continued to make its mark on the collective memory of the political current of democratic socialism, the party

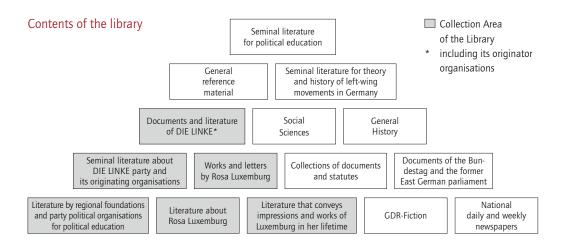
¹ Heym, S. (1997). The King David Report. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, pp. 101–102.

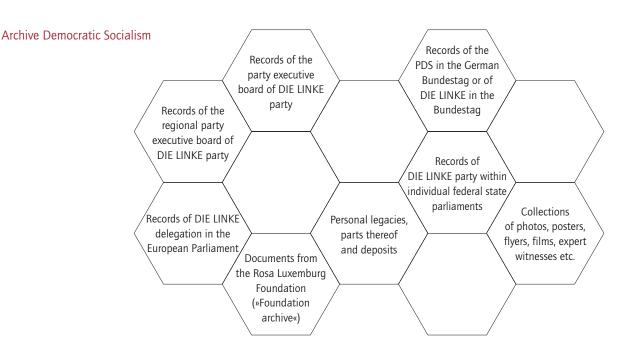
DIE LINKE (The Left), and its two forerunner parties. The ADS and the library of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is always the first address for those wanting to study the party DIE LINKE, with its diverse historical roots and to examine the idea of democratic socialism.

In 2006/2007, the ADS supervised about 50 users and responded to requests by mail and per telephone above all from scientists, media representatives, PDS members of parliament and their employees. Focus of interest for scientists, students and journalists from within Germany and abroad were the general political objectives of the PDS and its development, issues to do with the concrete political work of the PDS in the Bundestag, the European policy, the pensions policy and the local government policy of the party.

The staff of the ADS adopted more archive material, so that the archive material taken on grew to 580 running metres by the end of August 2007 (acquisitions not including the own collection; compare: end of August 2006: 510 running metres). The materials of the ADS (including its own collection) on 31st August 2007 altogether amounted to 591 running metres (31st August 2006: 531 running metres).

Integral part of the documents of DIE LINKE is a collection of small newspapers of that party and its environment. This collection today comprises about 290 titles. Of these, about 30% are published (or were published) in the "old" federal Länder and 60% in the new federal Länder. The collection is

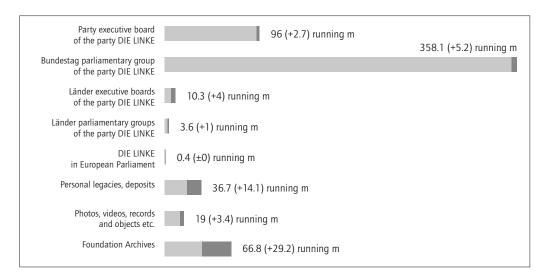




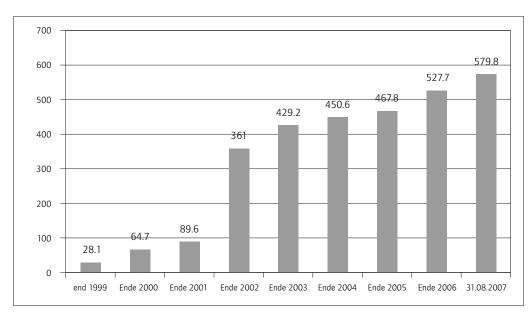
supplemented by diverse electoral campaign newspapers of various groupings of the party.

At the traditional autumn meeting of archivists on 16th November 2006, participants discussed the topic »archives and publicity«. Whereas archives in the time of King Solomon and many centuries later tended to operate in obscurity, modern archives in times of open access cultivate an intense exchange with the public. To this end, the ADS published a German presentation in the internet, complete with an English version and issued an archive flyer in English and German. The autumn meeting also dealt with the finding aid on the records of the member of the Brandenburg Landtag, Anita Tack, which at the same time reflects important regional political aspects of the history of the Länder executive of the party DIE LINKE. The meeting classified itself as an effort to coordinate the safekeeping of the transmission of the work of the party DIE LINKE and its two source parties as well as its parliamentary representation in the various groupings and at the different levels.

The foundations library now comprises about 30,500 media objects. Of these, 7,800 objects are catalogued and keyworded. The library records were further extended in the two areas DIE LINKE and its two forerunner organisations, and Rosa Luxemburg. Included in the extensive records of the library there are now 820 monographies on the PDS or the party DIE LINKE and more than 240 titles on Rosa Luxemburg. Those interested may also study current press articles on the party DIE LINKE and collections of articles on Rosa Luxemburg, after whom the foundation was named, which were compiled by the departmental staff.



Records of the ADS on 31st August 2007 compared with 31st August 2006



Development of the records in the archives of the ADS according to years (cumulative acquisition)



Photo: PhotoCase.com »... and over there«

The Network of Foundations

In 2006 and above all in 2007, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's work in Germany as a whole was characterised by a phase of further growth in the number of events staged. It also demonstrated a clear development in regional structures, especially in the »old« (former West German) Länder. The formation of the new party DIE LINKE continued to influence the sphere of work of the group of foundations. In contrast to the phase from 2004 to 2006, the number of events dealing directly with the party's reorganisation tended to be on the decrease, whereas analytical-reflective contributions on this topic made up a large part of the foundation's programme. An example of this is the discussion of the book »Die Linkspartei. Zeitgemäße Idee oder Bündnis ohne Zukunft?«, published by the wellknown political scientist from Göttingen, Franz Walter along with Tim Spier, Matthias Micus and Felix Butzlaff. The events organised in eight Länder on this topic were met with great interest. The podium discussion in Frankfurt »Germany is moving to the left!?« with André Brie, Ottmar Schreiner and Hans-Christian Ströbele in particular attracted a wide audience. More currently, the RLS is presenting its book, edited by Michael Brie, Cornelia Hildebrandt and Meinhard Meuche-Mäker: »Die LINKE: Wohin verändert sie die Republik?« in several events in Berlin, Bremen and Munich. The series of workshops »Forum Moderne Linke« in Bremen broached the issue of what the contemporary left must look like, not only regarding the party of the same name.

The activities of the RLS, the regional foundations and the Rosa Luxemburg Clubs are of course not just limited to accompanying the forming political party. However, this example illustrates clearly the federal character of the RLS' educational work. Here, the RLS sees itself as increasingly taking on the role of service provider and leader in matters of content and organisation vis-à-vis the other members of the network of foundations.

The financial basis for cooperation among the network of foundations is still unequally distributed. The RLS has only been given grants from the federal budget since 1999. The PDS related foundations in the East German Länder, founded largely at the beginning of the 1990s, received funds from the Länder or other contributions (in Berlin, funds from the lottery) in varying amounts from the time of being founded. The clubs and associations in the western Länder are entirely dependent on the help of the RLS. This meant that in 2007 those funds granted to the organisations in the west increased. In Bremen, RLS and RL initiatives will before long also receive regional funding, as a consequence of the Linke moving into a western Länder parliament for the first time. There is a consensus that building on employment opportunities in the west will be a focus in the years 2007 to 2009, without however jeopardizing the level reached in the East German regional foundations.

In the course of 2007, the development of a (in many ways still humble) full-time basis in the form of RLS regional offices was considerably intensified. After the east German foundations in Saxony, Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt and Brandenburg and the »Helle Panke« in Berlin had already existed on a full time basis for longer, and the RLS had established a regional office (Mecklenburg Western Pomerania) in Rostock in 2003, the RLS now (autumn 2007) has permanently staffed regional offices in 10 Länder (Mecklenburg- Western Pomerania, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Hamburg, Bremen, North Rhine Westphalia, Hessen, Baden-Württemberg, Saarland and Bavaria). Of these, those in Magdeburg and Erfurt are assisted by the personnel of the regional foundations Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. Once the regional offices in Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Rheinland-Pfalz have been created, the RLS will be represented in 16 Länder directly (RLS regional employees) or indirectly (RLS regional foundations with offices and staff) from the start of 2008

The cooperation in the Länder council increased in intensity and quality in 2006 and 2007. Despite the differences in the organisations' (quite legitimate) self-interest, the differences between east and west are no longer divisive. The work of the regional foundation's speaker's council presently comprised of Vera Haney (Thuringia), Meinhard Meuche-Mäker (Hamburg), Detlef Nakath (Brandenburg), Jörg Prelle (Hessen) and Norbert Schepers (Bremen) has proved effective. The speaker's council cooperates with the management's office and the departments of the RLS on current issues and questions or those concerning planning. It has on several occasions also conferred with the executive board on future work at a national level.

Central to the work of the Länder council are two annual work conferences. Here, a rhythm has been established whereby the spring meeting takes place in Elgersburg/Thüringen, and the autumn meeting in the »old« Länder (Bremen, Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Munich; in November 2007: Saarbrücken).

The Rosa Luxemburg Clubs are also part of the network of foundations, and these are enjoying growing interest. The cooperation between the clubs and the regional foundations/educational societies has developed in a positive and cooperative way: at least the RL-Clubs take on local or regional tasks for their respective regional foundations. This is especially the case for North Rhine Westphalia, where there are now almost 20 RL clubs and forums. Some of the clubs take on tasks which in the East German Länder are exercised by the regional offices of the Länder foundations, for instance Senftenberg/Lausitz in Brandenburg, Halle in Saxony-Anhalt and Dresden in Saxony.

In total, over 40,000 people took part in the 1300 to 1500 events that took place each year in

2006 and 2007. Regional focus here in the east is in Berlin, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Halle, Chemnitz, Dresden, Potsdam, Rostock and Jena, in the West particularly in Bremen, Hamburg and Frankfurt, but also in Thuringia, Hanover and several cities in North Rhine Westphalia.

A few of the network of foundations' events in 2007 especially worth a mention are:

- Future of work (series of events in Lowe Saxony), "Arbeit und Gerechtigkeit" (series of seminars in Thuringia on work and equality) and »Debatte um die ›Überflüssigen‹« (debate on the »superfluous« at a conference in North Rhine Westphalia).
- The future of the city and metropolis; the fourth part of the series of events on growing cities: »Wachsende Stadt« (Hamburg) and the conference »Mainopolis« (Hessen).
- History, politics of history and anti-fascism: series of conferences on German-German contemporary history (Brandenburg), the VII. Rosa Luxemburg conference on militarism and antimilitarism (Saxony), counter event to the hunting meeting in Mittenwald (»Bergfrei! Nie wieder Faschismus, nie wieder Horrido«) and events connected with the activities on the 100th anniversary of the socialist congress in Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg).
- Democracy and participation, for example the conference in Thuringia: »Krise und Perspektive der Demokratie« (crisis and perspectives of democracy), in Saxony Anhalt, several events on the topic of »Eine bürgernahe Kommune gestalten« (creating citizen friendly local institutions) and a series of seminars for local political players in various Länder.
- Past and future of socialism events to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the October revolution in Berlin and other cities and »Sozialismus des 21. Jahrhunderts« (socialism in the 21 st Century), or the situation of socialist movements in Latin America (including a conference in Mecklenburg Western Pomerania).
- The RLS, the regional office in Mecklenburg and many Länder foundations and clubs also took part in decentralised events to do with the G8 summit.

Alongside the network of foundations, discussion groups' activities on particular topics are growing in significance in the RLS' work at a national level. The expansion of these over-regional groups is a result of close cooperation with the Länder foundations and the regional offices. Three discussion groups dealing with historical and political historical issues will be used as examples of this. Historical-biographical study (coordinated by: Cornelia Domaschke), Expert commission on GDR history (Detlef Nakath) and the discussion group on history (Bernd Hüttner), which also serves as a hinge for the different political history players as well as being a discussion group. Besides the regional foundation, many present and former scholarship holders contribute to the work in these discussion groups.

With these Länder foundations, Rosa Luxemburg Clubs and discussion groups, the RLS has many ways of incorporating new players and interested individuals into the work on left political education. It is the intention of the foundation to also reach out to groups and individuals with no affiliation to the party and to link up to people, spectrums and positions that do not associate themselves with the left. Prerequisite for this is the foundations credibility and open-mindedness - in the sense of complying with the »rule of distance« to which party near foundations are subjected. The RLS also has different topics to address than the party related to it; topics that deal less with everyday politics. As far as similar topics are concerned, these are approached in a different way than occurs at the party level. In this way the foundation contributes to democracy education, and confronting right-wing extremism, racism and anti-Semitism in a sense that goes beyond party political borders.



Photo: iStockphoto.com »Future?«

Project Sponsorship

Within project sponsorship, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation co-operates with external actors in political education. Within the bounds of its financial means, it assists projects such as events, publications and research and also plays a part in shaping the content of these projects. It contributes to representing the wide spectrum of left issues in the political public. The projects and events made possible by project sponsorship complement the foundation's educational contribution thematically and regionally in a way that is specific to the target groups.

In 2006, about 450 applications for project assistance were submitted to the foundation. As the financial situation was unclear almost until the end of the year and a few projects that had already been approved could only be realised in 2007, fewer resources were deployed for project sponsorship than in 2005. 69 projects were sponsored with a total of about 105,000 euros. For 2007, a considerable increase in project sponsorship can be noted. By the middle of the year, the foundation had decided to sponsor 97 projects with around 208,000 euros.

The spectrum of projects sponsored by the foundation is wide: conferences, workshops and seminars, scientific research projects, studies and publications, documentaries, books and DVDs. There follows a summary of some of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's longer term and, comparatively more financially intensive project sponsorships with external actors in political education:

INKRIT e.V.: Publication of a historical critical dictionary of Marxism: Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuchs des Marxismus (HKWM)

Sponsorship 2006: 14,000 euros; sponsorship 2007: 15,000 euros

The HKWM aims to gather together the stock of desiderata of Marxist thought worldwide, the experiences of this and its consequences. Due to its high scientific standard, the HKWM has become a reference point of international debate on historical Marxism as well as for current debates amongst Marxists. It is an important foundation block of left political education. The complete works comprise 15 volumes; of which 6 are already complete (volume 6 is in two parts). Work on the keywords of volume 7 was continued in 2006 and 2007: here complex ideas beginning with the letter K are dealt with such as »Klasse« (class), »Kapitalismus« (capitalism), »Krieg« (war) and »Kommunismus« (communism). Volume 7 will be published in the late autumn of 2007 and in the course of 2008.

Peter Förster: 19th und 20th phase of the Saxony longitudinal study. Sponsorship 2006: 12,000 Euro; sponsorship 2007: 13,000 euros

The Saxon longitudinal study is an annual written survey of an adequately large and homogenous group of East Germans born in 1973. Since 1987, the study has been documenting the changing political mentality from the end of the GDR until the present day. It has been sponsored by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation from the 16th phase in the year 2002. The singular system of investigation allows a detailed portrayal of the changing processes of basic political attitudes, and the conditions and factors which influence these in a group of individuals now aged 33 and 34. The central result of the 19th and 20th phase is that the political distance from the capitalist system of society of the Federal Republic of Germany has persisted and that, under the effect of unemployment, accents critical of capitalism tend to be on the increase. This basic statement as well as detailed findings on the transforming attitudes under the changing government constellation come into play in Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's conceptual work, for instance within political education and the development of society and its alternatives.

LinksNet e. V.: linksnet.de – website for left politics and science Sponsorship 2006: 7,500 euros; Sponsorship 2007: 7,500 euros

Left scientific and political magazines and networks have been working together by publishing their articles on www.linksnet.de for several years. By sponsoring this internet presence, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is contributing to improving the effectiveness of the publicity of alternative thought. Currently, 37 magazines are involved in Linksnet and 2,800 articles have been published. Search functions help when using the article archive and, along with a photo gallery and a diary of important dates, there is also a weblog. A monthly newsletter sends interested parties up-to-date information on newly published texts. Linksnet has between 6000 and 7000 users a day.

Other larger projects in 2007 are/were:

- BUKO-Kongress »macht # netze« (06.–09.04.2007, Leipzig) (Congress »Power, networks«); Bundes-koordination Internationalismus; 5,000 euros
- work on a new issue of MEW volume 41 (until now supplementary volume 2) and 5 published by Karl Dietz Verlag; Rolf Hecker; 24,000 euros
- Research project »Theorie und Praxis der Gesellschaftstransformation. Die Gesellschaft der Bundes-

republik im 21. Jahrhundert - Alternativen und Perspektiven« (Theory and practice of a transformation of society in the 21st Century – alternatives and perspectives); Rolf Reißig; 12,000 euros

- Research project »Neues vom DDR-Patriarchat« (News about the GDR patriarch); isda e.V.; 5,000
- Conference »Das Jahr 1968 aus der Perspektive der Transformationsgesellschaften Mittel-, Ost-, und Südosteuropas« (The year 1968 from the perspective of the transformative societies in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe); Stiftung für Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts; 5,000 euros.

As projects on the subject of Migration had been sponsored repeatedly in the previous year, the focus of sponsorship in 2007 was »Migration – Interkulturalität – Antirassismus« (migration – interculturalism - antiracism). The invitation for proposals was announced in December2006/January 2007, and attracted 201 applications of which 15 projects were finally chosen to receive sponsorship. Here, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation endeavoured to do justice to the diversity of groups and subject matters as well as the different forms of political education. One important concern was to support the immigrants' activities of empowerment in their partly still fragile groups and organisations that exist under particularly difficult circumstances, for example in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg Western Pomerania. A few examples of project sponsorship are:

- Series of events for refugees, immigrants and those involved or interested in anti-racism. Information on the events relating to immigration in the context of the G8 protest (events in Bad Doberan, Güstrow, Schwerin, Rostock); Flüchtlingsinitiative Mecklenburg-Vorpommern; Aourfoh Watara; 2.000 euros
- Documentary »Die Situation afrikanischer Flüchtlinge und MigrantInnen in Brandenburg eine Bestandsaufnahme« (Title: The situation of African refugees and immigrants in Brandenburg: a report); Flüchtlingsinitiative Brandenburg, Christopher Nsoh; 2,000 euros
- Touring exhibition: poster competition of the campaign in Cologne: »kein mensch ist illegal« (noone is illegal) about life within illegality; Asyl in der Kirche e.V. Köln; 1,000 euros
- Publishing the dissertation »Deportation centres and communal accommodation for refugees as a modern and decentralised camp system in the FRG« by the Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot; Tobias Pieper; 1,000 euros
- Text »Warum starb Dominique Kouamadio?« (why did Dominique Kouamadio die?) Initiative gegen Rassismus und Ausgrenzung Dortmund; Rudolf Schneider; 500 euros

- »Aus dem Schatten! Illegalisierte MigrantInnen im neoliberalen Arbeitsmarkt« (Out of the shadow. Illegalised immigrants in the neoliberal labour market). Report of three studies and one exhibition; Christoph Marischka (Uni Tübingen); 2,000 euros
- »Leben ohne Angst« (Life without fear) Developing and building up a network for the group »Jugendliche ohne Grenzen Sachsen«; Sächsischer Flüchtlingsrat e.V.; 1,500 euros
- YazBerlin Network for lesbians, homosexuals, bisexuals, transsexuals and transgender originating from Turkey (18.-22.06.2007, Berlin); Gays & Lesbians aus der Türkei Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (GLADT); 1,000 euros

Another thematic focus of project sponsorship in the years 2006 and 2007 were projects dealing with the examination of right-wing extremism and anti-Semitism. Examples of projects sponsored are:

- DVD and pupils newspaper »No Nazis«, Initiative Musiker gegen Rechts ArGe, 3,000 euros
- Anti-racist project »Eye-to-Eye« (16.11.2006, Luckenwalde), Location for protestant youth work in the parish of Niederer Fläming, 500 euros
- Congress »Viel gehört und nichts gelernt?!« An examination of anti-Semitism within the context of schools (12.12.2006, Berlin) Bildungsteam Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (Education team Berlin Brandenburg) Study group for education against anti-Semitism, 500 euros
- Publication of the handbook »Keine Nazis in unserer Stadt« (no Nazis in our town) (Brochure and DVD); Arbeit und Leben Niedersachsen Nord; 500 euros
- Writing workshop for young anti-fascists; Verein zur Förderung politischer Bildung und Information e. V.; 800 euros.

Project sponsorship of activities on history and the politics of history proved extensive and thematically diverse. The following projects are examples:

- Research project »Spurensuche Neue Linke. Das Beispiel des Sozialistischen Büros und seiner Zeitschrift links (1969-1997)« (Looking for traces of the new left. With the example of the socialist bureau and its magazine left (1969-1997), Gottfried Oy, 2,000 euros;
- Carrying out and transcribing biographical interviews with anti-fascist Sudeten Germans, Alena Wagnerová; 1,500 euros
- Research and publishing project about Jakob Kindinger, history workshop at the Geschwister-Scholl-Schule Bensheim; 500 euros

- Work on the manuscript »Die Ära Honecker. DDR-Chronik 1971–1989« (the Honecker era. Chronicle of the GDR 1971 to 1989), Kerstin Ohms; 2,000 euros
- Edition of the series of books »Vergessene Sozialproteste in der Bundesrepublik zwischen 1955 und 1989« (Forgotten social protests in the FRG between 1955 and 1989) VSA-Verlag; Peter Birke; 3.500 euros
- Publication of the book »Völkermord statt Holocaust. Jude und Judenbild im Literaturunterricht der DDR« (Genocide not Holcaust. Jews and portrayal of Jews in literature lessons in the GDR); Matthias Krauß; 1,500 euros
- Congress »Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus Perspektiven der Vermittlung« (Resistance against national socialism - the perpectives of intervention (17./18.03.2007, Frankfurt/Main); Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand 1933-1945; 1,000 euros.



Photo: iStockphoto.com »Future!«

Discussion Groups

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has created thematic discussion groups with its aim in mind of securing considerably stronger capacities for itself and other actors within the relevant fields that are of strategic importance in influencing the fight for hegemony in society. Also important to the foundation is promoting emancipatory players' discussions about their experiences, concepts and strategies.

According to the matter to be addressed in the respective panel, the RLS's discussion groups can be assigned to a subject area that is a thematic focal point of the foundation's work. The discussion groups »migration«, »precarity« and »work and life« move within the subject area »strategies for a fairer world«. According to the specifications stipulated at the general assembly, the principal task of a discussion group is, of course, to create a social space which enables left activists, scientists and many other interested parties to hold intensive discourse about social alternatives. The discussion groups' tasks may be more concretely summed up as follows:

- a) observing, analysing and holding conceptual discussions on the respective topic;
- b) suggesting a long-term and short-term plan of events and, if applicable, implementing these within the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's respective subject area;
- c) functioning as visible structures of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation at home and abroad that are available for cooperation and exchange on the particular subject area;
- d) pooling the results/output of the discussions' contents in educative materials for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation;
- e) developing scientific and political documentation of relevant publications, papers etc. as part of the foundation's information system; identifying the most important sources of information and partners and building up an exchange with these.

In principle, anyone who feels capable of conducting intense discussions in a particular subject area with the aim of political education, while taking into account the different facets and viewpoints discussed, can become a member of a discussion group. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's management is responsible for co-ordinating the discussion groups and at the same time acts as the central point of contact. This is where all the discussion groups' material is collected and the managing committee is continuously informed of their activities, work and the dates of events.

An outline of the discussion groups

Subject/Name of the discussion group	Primary responsibility
History	B. Hüttner
History for the future	C. Domaschke
Expert commission on the history of the GDR	M. Brie/D. Nakath
Women and politics	E. Wittich/E. Schäfer
Peace and security policy	E. Crome
Work and life	A. Trunschke/S. Holuba
Rural areas	L. Brangsch
Sustainability and regional development	E. Wittich/K. Meier/M. Tietz
Parties and social development	C. Hildebrandt
RLS Committee for science, and philosophy and education	W. Girnus/R. Mocek/K. Meier
Right-wing extremism and social issues	H. Helas/D. Rubisch
Migration	S. Spindler
Precarity (in planning)	M. Candeias-Bechstein
Media policy (in planning)	L. Brangsch
RLS Cultural forum (in planning)	T. Flierl
Economic policy (in planning)	S. Reiner

Discussion groups by subject area

Critique of capitalism and social structural analyses, political objectives of democratic socialism, left players	Parties and social movements
Strategies for a fairer world (reforming society, democracy,	Women and politics
migration, communal policies for more solidarity, reforming gender relations and projects of alternative	Work and life
economy)	Precarity
	Migration
	Economic policy
Methodology and didactics of left political education	
Tasks of the parliamentary opposition and its cooperation with the extra-parliamentary opposition	Parties and social movements
Sustainability and regional development	Ländlicher Raum
	Sustainability and regional development
Science, education, media and culture in the sense of maintaining and extending public space	Philosophy and education/RLS Committee for science
	Cultural forum
	Media policy
Peace, security, strengthening democracy in international cooperation and the development of the European Union	Peace and security policy
Intellectual-political examination of right-wing extremism and its prevention	Right-wing extremism and social issues
History and politics, and contemporary history	History
	History for the future
	Expert commission on the history of the GDR



Photo: Flickr.com Pierre Holtz, UNICEF CAR »Why?«

Public Relations

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's encouraging development and the growing interest in its work have occasioned new demands on the foundation's work in the area of public relations. The challenges of making the foundation's national and international work accessible to as much of the general public as possible have been met with an information and communication strategy that mixes a variety of media.

www.rosalux.de

The website www.rosalux.de is the foundation's information and communication platform and allows access to the entire spectrum of our work. Besides announcing and documenting events and projects, and presenting texts and features on particular subjects, the website also has the task of being an organisation handbook and archive. User statistics: on average 7000 visits a day and 22,000 page impressions. This clearly demonstrates that www.rosalux.de has gained in popularity.

Visitor groups

Visiting the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation also appears to be popular. A visit to Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 in Berlin has become an integral part of visitor groups' programmes to various members of the German Bundestag and other establishments. In the period under report, we were delighted to welcome about 1500 visitors. Not forgetting the visits paid by participants of the international parliamentary internship in the German Bundestag. During this international and extremely popular internship, participants spend the duration of their internship with members of the German Bundestag and visit seminars at the partyrelated foundations along with events at Berlin's universities. In the period under report, the Parliamentary interns again showed a pronounced interest in the events on offer from the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

RosaLux

In 2007, the decision was made to adjust our scope of information to new requirements. From the beginning of 2007, we changed our nationwide programme of events to the Leporello format. This







Main Topics RosaLux 1_2007 Baustelle Linkspartei RosaLux 2_2007 Prekär leben RosaLux 3 2007 Krise der Privatisierung

also resulted in news and information of the foundation's work being published in a quarterly journal, RosaLux, also brought out by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Each issue is dedicated to one main topic and the different journalistic elements represent the diversity of our foundation. The journal was very well received by users and visitors alike, and we are presently considering increasing the print run from 5,000 to 10,000 copies per issue.

Rosa Luxemburg's quest for political freedom and equality is still of the utmost topicality today. With its permanent exhibition (35 boards) in our offices bearing the title "Rosa Luxembug, a life for the socialist idea", the foundation wishes to provide for this. The exhibition has also been lent out to several interested establishments throughout Germany in the form of a travelling exhibition. Many secondary schools use the material in the exhibition during lessons.

Exhibition

When UTOPIE kreativ was founded as a new theoretical monthly, the status of party magazine was rejected as result of experiences with the SED. Instead, it was suggested that the project, which at least in the east of Germany, was innovative, would be declared as being party related. This "classification" developed into the magazine's "trademark". The magazines task of bringing into being a podium where the historical and theoretical aspects of the project "democratic socialism" could be debated, without being understood as being a possible consequence of the failure of all socialist, social democratic, anarchist, socialist-communist and religious socialist endeavours of the 20th Century. For this reason the folio within the territory of left magazines was not another magazine pertaining to a particular line of thought, but, as pointed out by the phrase "Discussing socialist alternatives", a magazine open to all anti- and non-totalitarian left currents. Its original name, "UTOPIE konkret" after Ernst Bloch, was its agenda. This intellectual as well as political claim has been observed until now.

200 magazines »UTOPIE kreativ. Discussing socialist alternatives«

Right from the beginning one central point which has not lost in relevance was the project »modern socialism«. In the meantime a project of transformation out of capitalism has emerged, which is anchored between revolution and reform and which is taking shape. The approach for a political left that is open to social realities, plural and anti-totalitarian has proved viable until today. The magazines beginnings fell into a time of political depression and theoretical lack of orientation – with partly also an abstinence of and adverseness to theory. The developers, who were working on a voluntary basis, were quite aware that this was an unprofitable and labour intensive project. Despite the existential problems, a place of continuous and well thought out work emerged. Right from the beginning, plans

were not made for the present but for the future. After all, the events of 1968 in the west and 1989 in the east already had proved how little sense it made when a spontaneous movement encountered an unprepared left and then quite rightly only gives it the cold shoulder.

In the first years, giving the debates momentum was only enduringly achieved on historical issues, and here fairly successfully, so that an anti-Stalinist basis to the democratic socialism in development was quickly brought about, taking on an irreversible character for the magazine.

A radical reduction in the average age of the readership took place when the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation decided to publish the magazine in 1999. By collaborating with tutors, the magazine's authorship was also transformed in a lasting way. From the beginning, UTOPIE kreativ has been an author's magazine that does not pay for papers and has therefore only commissioned a very small number of enthusiasts. Since September 1990, 200 monthly magazines of 96 pages (26 of these as double issues of 192 pages), four special issues and two books have been published. UTOPIE kreativ's editorial team, which is made up of volunteers, has always invited and welcomed participation and will of course continue to do so in future.

Publications

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's publications were published by the Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin as the series »Schriften« (scripts), »Texte« (texts) and »Manuskripte« (manuscripts).

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's important publication projects are presented to the public at the Leipzig book fair in the spring and the Frankfurt book fair in the autumn. Within the series »Schriften«, 2 volumes have been brought out on the relationship of the left to Keynes and Bourdieu, in which the results of international conferences held by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation on these topics are published. The titles that have appeared in the series »Texte« (texts) and »Manuskripte« (manuscripts; in the form of brochures) are expression of the diverse range of central subjects of left political education. The »Standpunkte« series is a small version of the policy paper, in which the foundation may quickly and simply react to mainly current issues. »Standpunkte« have been available since 2002. As a rule, the papers are 2 to 12 pages long and are available free of charge. Alongside the printed version, the rls-Standpunkte also appear on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's website. So far, 84 papers have been produced, and alone in 2007, over 20,000 copies have been distributed. They have become an educational material with a high level of response.

The following publications have appeared in the period 2006 to 2007:

Sylka Scholz (Hrsg.)

»Kann die das?«

Angela Merkels Kampf
um die Macht
ISBN 978-3-320-02103-0
153 S., 9,90 Euro

Texte 33

Texte 34 Klaus-Detlef Haas (Hrsg.) Wie Spuren im Stein Das literarische Werk von Erik Neutsch ISBN 978-3-320-02099-6 79 S., 9,90 Euro

Texte 35
Peter Hochmuth,
Gerhard Hoffmann (Hrsg.)
Buchenwald, ich kann dich
nicht vergessen
Lebensbilder
ISBN 978-3-320-02100-9
246 S., 14,90 Euro

Texte 37 Anika Walke Jüdische Partisaninnen Der verschwiegene Widerstand in der Sowjetunion ISBN 978-3-320-02114-6 189 S., 14,90 Euro

Texte 38
Rainer Ferchland (Hrsg.)
Sozialberichte: Was sie benennen und was sie verschweigen
Studie des Instituts für
Sozialdatenanalyse e. V.
Berlin – isda
ISBN: 978-3-320-02115-3,
383 S., 19,90 Euro

Texte 39 Michael Brie (Hrsg.) Schöne neue Demokratie Elemente totaler Herrschaft ISBN 978-3-320-02116-0 207 S., 14,90 Euro Serie Manuskripte (Manuscripts)

Manuskripte 63 Heike Weinbach Social Justice statt Kultur der Kälte Alternativen zur Diskriminierungspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland ISBN 978-3-320-02911-1 126 S., 9,90 Euro

Manuskripte 64 Klaus Meier, Evelin Wittich (Hrsg.) Theoretische Grundlagen nachhaltiger Entwicklung ISBN 978-3-320-02107-8 290 S., 9,90 Euro Manuskripte 66
Tim Engartner, Diana Kuring, Thorsten Teubl (Hrsg.)
Die Transformation des
Politischen – Analysen,
Deutungen, Perspektiven
Siebentes und achtes DoktorandInnenseminar der
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
ISBN 978-3-320-02105-4
140 S., 9,90 Euro

Manuskripte 67
Hella Hertzfeldt,
Katrin Schäfgen,
Sandra Thieme (Hrsg.)
Europäische Wege
Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede in der Entwicklung
Polnisch-Deutscher Workshop des Studienwerks der
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
in Kraków 2004 und Łódź
2005
ISBN 978-3-320-02106-1
206 S., 9,90 Euro



Serie Schriften (Scripts)

Günter Krause (Hrsg.)
Keynes als Alternative(r)?

Argumente für eine

272 S., 19,90 Euro

Schriften 15

Effi Böhlke, Rainer Rilling (Hrsg.)

gerechtere Wirtschaft

ISBN 978-3-320-02111-5

Bourdieu und die Linke

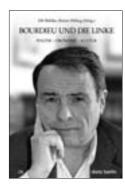
Politik - Ökonomie - Kultur

ISBN 978-3-320-02112-2 320 S., 24,90 Euro

Schriften 14

Serie Texte (Texts)

Texte 32
Oskar Lafontaine,
Jean-Luc Mélenchon
Französisch lernen!
Ein Gespräch
über die Linke in Europa
ISBN 978-3-320-02900-5
60 S., 6,90 Euro



Texte 36 Georg Fülberth, Michael R. Krätke Neun Fragen zum Kapitalismus ISBN 978-3-320-02102-3 71 S., 6,90 Euro



Michael Brie, Cornelia Hildebrandt, Meinhard Meuche-Mäker (Hrsg.) DIE LINKE Wohin verändert sie die Republik? ISBN 978-3-320-02123-8 319 S., 19,90 Euro



Manuskripte 65
Hella Hertzfeldt,
Katrin Schäfgen,
Sandra Thieme (Hrsg.)
Recht im Diskurs.
Rechtstheoretische und rechtspraktische Untersuchungen, dargestellt an internationalen Beispielen Sechstes DoktorandInnenseminar der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung 2006
ISBN 978-3-320-02095-8
96 S., 4,90 Euro



Auf den Spuren der »Solidarność«
Auslöser der Transformationsprozesse in Mittel- und Osteuropa? Internationaler Workshop des Studienwerkes der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Gdańsk/Polen 2006 ISBN 978-3-320-02108-5 133 S., 9,90 Euro

Robert Ristow,

Katrin Schäfgen (Hrsg.)

Manuskripte 70 Rolf Badstübner Clash

Entscheidungsjahr 1947 ISBN 978-3-320-02117-7 149 S., 9,90 Euro

Manuskripte 71 Martin Neumann Sorben/Wenden als Akteure der brandenburgischen Bildungspolitik ISBN 978-3-320-02118-4 149 S., 9,90 Euro

Serie Standpunkte 2006

Raimund Köhn Soziale und ökologische Nachhaltigkeit (1/2006)



Horst Helas Rechtsextreme in der Mitte der deutschen Gesellschaft (2/2006)

Corinna Genschel Chance für feministische Politik? Die »Initiative für ein Berliner Sozialforum« (3/2006)

Raina Zimmering »Von unten und von links« Die Zapatistas - Konstrukteure einer alternativen Gesellschaft? (4/2006)

Klaus Lederer Privatisierung der Berliner Sparkasse? (5/2006)

Bernd Hüttner Einheit. Vielfalt und die Geschichte der Linken (7/2006)

Horst Helas Was nun? Was tun? Wahlerfolge von Rechtsextremisten. Informationen und Vorschläge für Gegenstrategien (8/2006)



Standpunkte 2007

Reiner Zilkenat Neues zum Antisemitismus - Zustände in Deutschland (1/2007)

Dieter Klein/Michael Brie Elementare Fragen neu bedenken Kapitalismus, Sozialismus, Eigentum und Wege der Veränderung

(2/2007)

Klaus Lederer Der »Fall« Sparkasse Berlin: Lackmustest für die Glaubwürdigkeit einer neuen Linken (3/2007)

Jörn Schütrumpf Rosa Luxemburg, die Patin des Terrors? (4/2007)

Judith Dellheim Bedarfsorientierte Soziale Grundsicherung versus Bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen (5/2007)



Ulrich Brand Wie »grün« muss DIE LINKE. sein?

Zur Frage der Gerechtigkeit: Verkürzungen der aktuellen Klimadebatte und Herrschender Nachhaltigkeit (6/2007)

Ulrich Schachtschneider Wie »grün« muss DIE LINKE. sein? »Grün« muss links sein! (7/2007)

Werner Ruf Islamische Bedrohung? (8/2007)

Lutz Brangsch/Michael Brie In der Sackgasse – oder: Mittel beherrschen Ziele (9/2007)

Peter Birke, Bernd Hüttner Brennend aktuell: die »1968er Jahre« in historisch-politischer Perspektive (10/2007)

Bernd Hüttner, Norbert Schepers Die Bürgerschaftswahl in Bremen 2007. DIE LINKE im Westen angekommen? (11/2007)



Rainer Rilling Die Eigentumsfrage kehrt zurück

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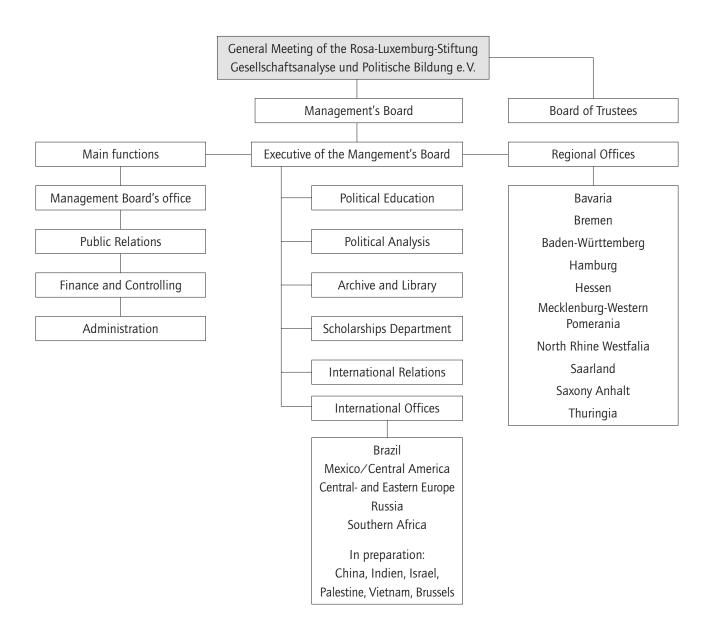
Heinz Hillebrand, Axel Troost Demokratischer Sozialismus - Metamorphose eines Begriffs (17/2007)

Dieter Klein Das Eigentum - Alternativen zur Privatisierung (18/2007)



Photo: Marco Heckler/Flickr.com »That's why!«

Organigram



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The Foundation's Budget

As a political foundation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is related to the political party DIE LINKE. As is the case for the other political foundations, it is financed by the federal budget. The foundation receives grants from the budgets of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), for Education and Research (BMBF), from the Federal Foreign Office (AA) as well as from the Administration of the German Bundestag. Prerequisite for funding a political foundation is that it must represent a significant and longer lasting intellectual and political current within society. The decision, which criteria to use when allocating funds to foundations resides with the German Bundestag. In political practice, the indicator used for measuring a political currents longevity and importance is that the political party related to the foundation must have been represented in the German Bundestag repeatedly, and then at least once with enough seats to be officially recognised as a political party.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's related party, DIE LINKE, re-entered parliament in parliamentary party strength in 1995. There followed a step by step increase in the annual amount of contributions allocated by the Federal ministries, with the aim of treating all politically affiliated foundations equally.

In 1998, the party affiliated foundations passed a collective declaration in which they committed themselves to quaranteeing the reliability and the disclosure of the grants allocated to them and their uses. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation also signed this declaration.

The most important grants come from the BMI (Federal Ministry of the Interior: so-called general funds), the BMZ (Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the AA (Federal Foreign Office). The general funds are the backbone of political education within Germany and are used to finance the maintenance of the offices. The funds allocated serve to finance the implementation of events, conferences and colloquiums, are used to purchase teaching and learning materials and awarded to research projects with a socio-political aim, particularly in the area of educational research. The resources from the BMZ and the Foreign Office are used by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation to maintain a network of international relations. This includes financing the international offices, projects with partner organisations and international events. Grants from the BMBF (Education and Research) are used for scholarships for talented and postgraduate students. Lastly, the Administration of the German Bundestag provides funds for use in processing the records of former MPs and for international parliamentary internships. Alongside these grants from the Federal Government, foundations may also use contributions from the regional Länder budgets. These are used by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's East German regional foundations, which are recognised by the regional associations of DIE LINKE as independent party related education institutes.

The foundation has statutory tasks to fulfil, independently of its related party as far as organisation and personnel are concerned. Neither is it 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 committed to having our accounts checked annually by an independent chartered accountancy firm. For the year 2006, the accountant confirmed that the general funds coming from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the funds for administrative costs from the other ministries had been economically allocated as stipulated in the legal regulations, and that all 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.

Capital Account 31.12.2006

Assets	31.12.2006 in €	31.12.2005 in €
A Fixed Assets		
I Intangible assets		
Computer software	15,034.00	25,203.00
II Tangible assets		
Equipment	165,649.00	123,170.00
Net assets	180,683.00	148,373.00
B Entitlements and other assets		
I Entitlements from the BMI due to independent		
revenues against BMI	363,532.43	217,590.47
II Miscellaneous assets	8,687.71	5,860.18
III Accrued assets	21,183.47	20,863.93
Sum financial assets	393,403.61	244,314.58
C Liquid Assets		
Cash	5,003.63	1,994.04
Sparkasse 23230282	22,918.68	30,182.58
Sparkasse 12508209	32,319.29	32,083.33
Sparkasse 13025970	362,628.38	219,484.65
Sparkasse 13029665	738,264.92	705,267.71
Sparkasse 13029851	57,221.97	1,333.97
Sparkasse 13034260	606.265,79	190,219.44
Sparkasse 13031104	52.776,48	70,039.43
Total liquid assets	1,877,399.14	1.250,605.15
D Deferred Assets	0.00	0.00

Liabilities	31.12.2006 in €	31.12.2005 in €
A Net assets		
I Previous year	423,748.94	367,488.14
II Surplus/Deficit	354,028.36	56,260.80
Net assets	777,777.30	423,748.94
B Advances and contributions from donations		
I Intangible assets	15,034.00	25,203.00
II Tangible assets	162,455.00	119,681.00
Sum advances and contributions	177,489.00	144,884.00
C Accrued liabilities		
Miscellaneous accrued liabilities	36,790.48	35,854.68
D Liabilities		
I Liabilities from deliveries and services	685,679.78	342,229.00
II Miscellaneous liabilities	15,561.14	1,564.73
III Federal grants	86,113.05	47,011.38
Sum liabilities	787,353.97	390,805.11
E Accrued Expenses	672,075.00	648,000.00
Sum	2,451,485.75	1,643,292.73

	2006 in €	2005 in €
Revenues	13,925,850.88	11,830,227.96
Federal grants	13,869,626.16	11,784,567.13
Donations/Subsciptions	5,929.88	5,567.49
Miscellaneous revenues	50,294.84	40,093.34
Expenditures	13,571,822.52	11,773,967.16
Expenses from statutory activities	9,435,600.03	8,231,035.24
Conferences and seminars	316,125.28	280,620.22
Publications	269,083.08	244,466.83
Research projects	88,442.05	144,222.79
Transfer of general funds	615,473.01	569,945.65
Funding of students and postgraduates	2,568,623.88	2,324,881.16
International co-operation	5,273,894.69	4,375,470.89
other	303,958.04	291,427.70
Staff costs	3,105,158,39	2,769,389.46
Administrative costs	934,879.10	729,960.74
Operating expenses	195,168.69	200,193.36
Other (including rent, repairs, maintenance costs, travel expenses and the like)	739,710.41	529,767.38
Investment	96,185.00	43,581.72

Annual accounts 31.12.2006 Revenues/Expenditures

The annual accounts were confirmed by the certified accountant Dr. Wolfram Klüber, Berlin on 27.08.2007.

Audit report

Human resources development

Number of employees compared to previous year	zum 31.12.2006	zum 31.12.2005
Employees	75	56
Employees in offices abroad	5	4

Number and types of leading positions occupied by members of the Bundestag, Landtag and Land governments or the national executive committee or the regional executive committee:

- Foundation's board of managers: 1 MdL Brandenburg, 1 MdA Berlin, no other members in leading positions;
- Foundation's executive board and heads of department: none of the above in leading positions;
- Party leader, party secretary and treasurer of the party DIE LINKE are not members of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, in agreement with the decision of the Federal Constitutional Court passed in 1996.

Figures and explanatory statement

Federal payments

For 2006, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation received the following Federal grants:

	2006 in €	2005 in €
Contributions from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	3,845,000.00	3,480,000.00
Contributions from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research	2,795,482.47	2,504,303.62
Contributions from the Administration of the German Bundestag for archives	183,737.00	0.00
Contributions from the Administration of the German Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	997.22	0.00
Contributions from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (projects)	6,348,000.00	5,261,565.00
Contributions from the Foreign Office for projects	294,843.00	294,872.00
Contributions from the Foreign Office for scholarships	183,976.00	193,826.51

The grants included the following administrative cost allowances/payments:

	2006 in €	2005 in €
Federal Ministry of Education and Research	334,822.45	299,419.74
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	888,720.00	736,261.14
Foreign Office (projects)	41,269.76	41,282.08
Foreign Office (scholarships)	25,847.90	27,185.84

Membership subscriptions, proceeds from the sale of publications and revenues from the implementation of events in cooperation with third parties were reinvested in political education.

Other revenue

Funding students and postgraduates

Money for funding came from contributions of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and payments from the Foreign Office.

Expenses of statutory activities

International Co-operation

International co-operation includes

- Implementing projects abroad using contributions from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and from the Foreign Office;
- Supervising foreign interns working at the German Bundestag using contributions from the Administration of the German Bundestag.

Transfer of general funds

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has transferred general funds to the following cooperation partners:

- Rosa-Luxemburg-Forum Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart
- Kurt-Eisner-Verein für politische Bildung in Bayern e.V., München
- »Helle Panke« zur Förderung von Politik, Bildung und Kultur e.V., Berlin
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e.V., Potsdam
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative. Bremer Forum für Bildung, Gesellschaftsanalyse und -kritik e.V., Bremen
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Bildungswerk. Hamburger Forum für Analyse, Kritik und Utopie e.V., Hamburg
- Forum für Bildung und Analyse Rosa Luxemburg in Hessen e.V., Frankfurt am Main
- Forum für politische und interkulturelle Bildung e.V., Rostock
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Bildungswerk in Niedersachsen e.V., Hannover
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung NRW e.V., Duisburg
- Peter Imandt Gesellschaft. Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e.V., Saarbrücken
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e.V., Leipzig
- Bildungsverein Elbe-Saale e.V., Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt, Magdeburg
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V., Jena

Revenues	in €
Payments from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	4,492,000.00
Independently generated revenues from 2006	363,532.00
Payments from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research	3,017,324.00
Payments of the Administration of the German Bundestag for archives	243,000.00
Payments of the Administration of the German Bundestag for international parliamentary scholarships	28,840.00
Payments from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	8,517,000.00
Payments from the Foreign Office for projects	474,474.00
Payments from the Foreign Office for scholarships	297,000.00

Overview of all expected revenues and prospective expenditures in the budget of 2007

Expenditures	in €
Staff costs	3,459,875.00
Administrative costs	1,057,500.00
Investments	120,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees	12,915,795.00
Education programme	2,517.218.00
Scholarships	2,676,163.00
Projects of international co-operation	7,722,414.00

Support the Work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Membership

For many of its activities the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation requires financial resources exceeding the capacity of state grants. By becoming a member either as an individual or as an organisation, you will 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 will 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 relevant annual report
- Notes and invitations to events
- Project information.

If you have further enquiries please contact: Dr. Evelin Wittich Geschäftsführendes Vorstandsmitglied Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 10243 Berlin Tel. +49 30 44310-139

Appeal for funds

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

Publishing Details

Published by: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Franz-Mehring-Platz 1, 10243 Berlin (V.i.S.d.P.)

Editor: Murat Çakir

Title page design: Dieter Feseke, umbra dor

Typeset and layout: Heike Schmelter

Printed and bound by: MediaService GmbH BärenDruck und Werbung

Translation: Karen Tiedtke 30th September 2007

www.rosalux.de