

ANNUAL REPORT 2013

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



ANNUAL REPORT 2013
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,
the results of the 2013 German federal elections have certainly been felt in the country's political foundations. In many ways, this is due to the 1986 Federal Constitutional Court judgment that recognized the political foundations as the expressions of basic political currents in German society. These currents were said to be voiced through the long-standing political parties and parliamentary groups that are represented in the Bundestag. In the case of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the institution's status as a political foundation is derived from its basis within the democratic-socialist political current represented by DIE LINKE (the Left Party). The party gained 8.6 percent of the vote at the last federal election, and now holds 64 seats in the Bundestag.

The Left Party's re-election to the Bundestag and its current position as the main opposition in parliament – the first time it has held this role – provides an impressive footing for the future of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Although the Foundation has been active for almost 24 years, and first received state funding in 1999, these new developments will enable the Foundation to focus on a truly long-term perspective, secure the continuity of its work, and strengthen its networks instead of merely reacting to short-term political and media events.

Since 2006, the Foundation has expanded continually; its growth has been particularly noticeable between 2011 and 2013. This expansion has led the Foundation to cover a larger number of issues than in the past, gain increased financing and new members of staff. However, these changes also mean that the Foundation's program and structure will need to become more systematic, consolidated, and focused. In the medium-term, this implies placing stronger emphasis on issues such as socio-ecological transformation, internationalist politics, and an approach that views democracy as inextricably bound to questions of equality.

Certain long-term trends in German society are causing a growing social divide. This is increasingly leading to highly divergent levels of participation in elections, and progressive digitization. Market deregulation and radicalization are stripping parliaments and committees of their powers and capacities, despite the fact that they are democratically legitimate institutions. These trends have been ongoing for many years; in some cases for decades. However, they need to be understood against the backdrop of declining voter turnout, and the development of often strong but localized protests that nonetheless have rarely developed into viable social movements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung responds to social and political problems such as these by developing solutions, and undertaking public relations work. In the future, the Foundation will need to appeal more to people who have withdrawn from



Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis

political processes, or who have been excluded from them. In this sense, the Foundation views democracy as inextricably linked to social and economic equality, and as impossible to achieve until everyone has the right to participate.

The 2014 European parliamentary elections took place in the context of two important commemorations: 100 years since the start of World War I; and 75 years since the beginning of World War II. Nevertheless, various right-wing nationalist, populist, and even openly fascist parties, all of which have become more noticeable in recent years, participated in the elections. There are numerous differences between the United Kingdom Independence Party and Alternative for Germany, just as there are strong differences between the National Front (France) and Golden Dawn (Greece). Nevertheless, these parties still thrive off the same or very similar prejudices. Moreover, the social and political conditions characterizing crisis-ridden Europe favor the growth of right-wing parties. The rapid rise of Golden Dawn was unthinkable until the EU Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund's austerity measures led to the destruction of social and democratic structures in Greece. However, the reasons behind widespread racism and fascism are complex, and austerity is certainly not the only reason behind the current success of right-wing parties.

Nationalism and racism are on the rise in many parts of Europe, and this has particularly been the case since the outbreak of the euro crisis. Even though the consequences of the crisis in Germany have been far less serious than in southern Europe, Germany is also facing increasing levels of welfare chauvinism. Furthermore, the National Democratic Party is attempting to escape from its isolation by organizing numerous protests against shelters for refugees; but widespread resistance means it has only been moderately successful. Nevertheless, a new party – Alternative for Germany – currently acts as a melting pot for groups ranging from market-radical opponents of the euro to nationalist, populist forces. Furthermore, the "Sarrasin debate", as well as the discussions about "bankrupt Greeks", demonstrate that attempts to link social issues

to certain populations and blame the economic crisis on particular cultures commands resonance in mainstream German society. Although links exist between highly conservative and neo-Nazi views on migration, Islam and Europe, significant differences exist between their views on minorities, anti-Semitism, and social and economic policy.

The racist murders committed by the National Socialist Underground (NSU) clearly demonstrated the deadly potential that exists within the neo-Nazi milieu. The trial of the NSU has brought to light a previously unparalleled degree of failure on the part of the state ranging from racist investigations, to the involvement of the secret service, and governmental misconduct. This demonstrates that the struggle against Nazism must become a central task of a democratic society; but it also underscores the need to take the perspectives of victims of racist violence seriously.

Political foundations can be suddenly and directly affected by the impact of international crises and upheavals. This has also been the case with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's international offices and their partners; however, this situation has led to a stronger demand for publications and speakers in Germany, and in some cases an increase in state funding. This particularly occurred after the Arab Spring in North Africa and the civil war in Syria, and is likely to happen with Ukraine, where the Foundation is intensively following current developments while avoiding premature and one-sided judgments. This annual report provides numerous examples of how this work can be done, through political education, further education in Germany, and the wide variety of events that have taken place, such as research-related activities; cooperation with students and lecturers; archival work; and, not least, the Foundation's publications. In 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized nearly 2,500 events throughout Germany, attended and shaped by almost 100,000 participants. Without the work of our regional foundations and volunteers, discussion groups, working groups, academic tutors, and of course the Foundation's members, none of this would have been possible. Finally, the Foundation also relies on the engagement of our staff in Berlin, our 13 regional offices, our international offices, and particularly our staff behind the scenes who ensure the continuity of the Foundation's work. We would like to sincerely thank you all for your commitment.

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the executive board

DR. FLORIAN WEIS
Executive director

FOCUS: THE SHIFT TO THE RIGHT IN EUROPE

A CHALLENGE FOR THE LEFT (AMONG OTHERS)

Many European countries are currently witnessing a rise in right-wing political parties, movements and campaigns. A shift to the right is occurring, and Europe, it seems, is under threat. Research into what this might actually mean generally lapses into endless lists of names, statistics, references, descriptions of new political parties, as well as the ups and downs of their protagonists and often short-lived right-wing splinter groups. Terms used to describe these people and their organizations include “right-wing populism”, “right-wing extremism”, “neo-Nazism”, “neo-fascism” and “völkisch nationalism”; however, these are rarely used consistently and this makes it difficult for the social and political Left (among others) to develop a common transnational approach. Research has concentrated on issues such as the SS veterans’ meeting that took place in Lithuania, and right-wing parties including Geert Wilders’ Partij voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom – PVV) in the Netherlands, the neo-Nazi Chrysi Avgi (Golden Dawn) in Greece, and the nationalist, racist, conservative Schweizerische Volkspartei (Swiss People’s Party – SVP) run by Christoph Blocher, the Swiss millionaire.

Although this research is on-going, it remains unclear as to whom terms such as “populist” actually apply to. The term “populist” is often used without thinking, and describes a variety of views, but should it also be applied to politicians such as Silvio Berlusconi? Or would a term such as “neo-fascist” or “corrupt oligarch” be more applicable? At the same time, can the Hungarian Fidesz party really be described as “conservative”? This is a relevant question, as the term “right-wing populism” hardly describes the party’s völkisch nationalist and at times (crypto-)fascist character. Similar questions arise from research into people such as Frank Stronach in Austria, and parties like Nea Dimokratia (New Democracy) in Greece, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), and Svoboda (Freedom) in Ukraine. Clearly, research into ethnocentric, isolationist, ultra-conservative, anti-immigrant, racist, anti-Semitic, sexist, and homophobic campaigns and election programs presents a permanent challenge for the work of political parties, anti-racists and anti-fascists, and researchers.

These points apply just as much to debates within Germany as elsewhere. The newly-founded party Alternative for Germany (AfD) has plugged the so-called right-wing populist “gap” that is said to have existed in Germany. Whereas other right-wing parties have previously made gains in regional elections, the AfD may well be heading for electoral success at the federal level. A further issue involves the recurrent question on whether to ban the NPD. Finally, these points also apply to the debate surrounding the appalling revelations of government involvement in the

right-wing, terrorist National Socialist Underground (NSU), which the Foundation's discussion group on right-wing extremism was engrossed with throughout 2013 while observing the NSU trial taking place at Munich's Higher Regional Court.

THE RIGHT AS THE POLITICAL CENTER

By staging itself as a taboo-breaker, the AfD has gained support from a variety of political camps that were previously dominated by a range of people and organizations and the "contributions" they provided to the debate. These have ranged from Thilo Sarrazin's "theories" to those of Alice Schwarzer, who described her "discomfort" with Islam in a book otherwise concerned with "the human rights that have been so arduously and bloodily won in the West over the last two hundred years." Moreover, influential democratic media such as the newspaper *Bild-Zeitung* and the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* have adopted a role that has normally been assumed by right-wing political parties. It is not only in debates about racist language in children's books, blackfacing in theatres and practices of "racial profiling" – stopping people because of their skin color and not because they are suspected

of having committed a crime – that inhumane ideologies are expressed in supposedly innocuous forms and gain relevance to people's everyday lives. The diffuse "discomfort" that is regularly expressed regarding "the Muslims" is certainly one such case. In Germany, traditional Christian-democratic and in some cases even social democratic parties are attempting to win over people who support such views. This has been the case with the Catholic-conservative campaigns against same-sex marriage in France, which brought several hundred thousand people onto the streets; but also the Russian law against "homosexual propaganda" in the summer of 2013, and the European debates on "poverty immigration", which mostly targeted Romanian and Bulgarian Roma. In Germany, similar examples include Bavarian Minister President, Horst Seehofer's statement that "defrauders will be deported". Prior to the opening of the German labor market to workers from Bulgaria and Romania on January 1, 2014, Seehofer's Christian Social Union (CSU) launched a campaign based on loosely disguised racist stereotypes. Moreover, before the campaign was started, some sections of the party advocated declaring the Western Balkans (Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina) as safe countries of origin for refugees. In fact, the rules that will be adopted by the cabinet at the end of April

Racism, anti-Semitism, and chauvinism are on the rise across Europe – but are not going unchallenged: protests in the Netherlands against the right-wing populist Geert Wilders



2014 will make it virtually impossible – for Roma from these countries in particular – to gain asylum in Germany, and instead their applications will simply be fast-tracked.

THE NEW EU ASYLUM PACKAGE

In the summer of 2013, the EU adopted a new asylum package. In Germany, this was accompanied by a nation-wide debate over a number of highly controversial issues. On the one hand, the debate on asylum in Germany has been characterized by increased confidence on the part of asylum seekers and people who have been granted exceptional leave to remain. Since 2012, migrants have organized a number of successful protests, and these have led to headlines in much of the German media. Some of the protests have even gained widespread local support; this was particularly the case with the “Lampedusa in Hamburg” demonstrations. On the other hand, the debate has also been characterized by high-profile reports about boats in the Mediterranean that have capsized, leading to hundreds of deaths. In 2013, these issues received far more extensive media coverage than has generally been the case. However, the demands to abolish refugee camps; to enable refugees to travel freely within Germany; and to halt deportations have sometimes been answered with attacks against refugees. In particular, violence erupted over the conscientious issue of how and where to house asylum seekers. This often resulted in attacks focused on asylum seekers in holding centers, especially in places where new centers were to be opened because of the rising number of asylum applications. At the meeting of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s discussion group on migration, activists from several German states pointed out that a number of campaigns against holding centers had not been locally organized, as assumed, but had actually been coordinated centrally by a single organization. These campaigns used the same materials, identical wording, and uploaded the same images onto their campaign pages on Facebook. In many places the current situation in Germany is reminiscent of the early 1990s. In fact, it is exactly 20 years since violent attacks against asylum seekers took place in both West and East Germany. These attacks were interpreted by the government of the time as indicating that asylum seekers constituted a problem. In 1993, this view resulted in the “asylum compromise”: the decision by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the CSU, together with the Free Democratic Party (FDP), basically to abolish the right to asylum. However, the new asylum laws would not have been possible without the support of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), which formed the opposition at the time.

Throughout 2013, the Foundation organized numerous events and publications on issues related to the situation of asylum seekers and people on extraordinary leave to remain, including employment, gender, discrimination, racism, and neo-Nazism. Examples of this work include the ninth volume of the series on local government entitled *Crashkurs Kommune*



In 2013, it wasn't just in Hamburg that refugees protested about their living conditions

(Crash course local politics), a booklet published as part of the *luxemburg argumente* series, as well as panel discussions and workshops, discussion groups, and externally funded projects. These have all focused on the individual, institutional, and structural levels of exclusion faced by migrants, especially that of asylum seekers and people on leave to remain. In addition, the discussion group on migration designed a series of seminars that will be offered to members of the Bundestag in 2014. The aim of the seminars is to inform parliamentarians about the reasons why migrants leave their home countries, as well as providing them with relevant statistics, laws and conventions, facts, lines of debate, and information on cooperating with migrant organizations.

THE NSU AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In 2011, a video by the National Socialist Underground was found that claimed responsibility for the racist murders of nine men of Turkish, Kurdish and Greek origin between 2000 and 2007, as well as the murder of the police officer Michèle Kiesewetter. Since the beginning of May 2013, the 6th Criminal Chamber of the Higher Regional Court in Munich has been dealing with the NSU case. Beate Zschäpe, the only survivor of the terrorist cell that was based in Zwickau, as well as the cell’s alleged accomplices Ralf Wohlleben, André E., Carsten S. and Holger G. are all standing trial. Friedrich Burschel, the Foun-



In memory of Abdurrahim Özüdoğru, who was shot in Nuremberg on June 13, 2001

dation's consultant on neo-Nazism and ideologies and structures of inequality, gained accreditation from the court at the beginning of the trial and has since reported on its progress for the Foundation's publications and those of other organizations. Furthermore, the Foundation is cooperating with other anti-fascist organizations as part of the online project NSU Watch. This project is currently focusing on the questions of whether, and the extent to which, systematically tolerated wrongdoing by secret service and law enforcement agencies can be properly addressed by a criminal trial. Friedrich Burschel is a freelancer with Radio LOTTE Weimar, and alongside this station, more than 20 other community media and public-access television projects regularly broadcast his reports from Munich.

A particular focus of the debate surrounding the NSU has been the treatment of the murder victims Enver Şimşek, Abdurrahim Özüdoğru, Süleyman Taşköprü, Habil Kılıç, Mehmet Turgut, İsmail Yaşar, Theodoros Boulgarides, Mehmet Kubaşık, Halit Yozgat, and their families. For the first time, this question has led to an intensive debate about how to ensure that remembrance and politics of memory can take the perspectives of those who are victims of racist violence and murders into account, while anchoring individual experiences of suffering into society as a whole. After the NSU murders and bombings had been disclosed, even the Left experienced a period of paralysis and helplessness that led to what could be described as an "anti-fascist silence". In one of the Foundation's position papers, *Für Trauer und Zorn* (For grief and an-

ger), this led Deniz Utlu to argue for a form of grief that "does not become confused with a struggle for a place in society, the appropriation of history or the negotiation of discourse."

This shocking trial, which is expected to last for two and a half years, certainly constitutes the most serious scandal ever to have been faced by the German Federal Republic's secret service. It is only since the deaths of the main suspects, Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Böhnhardt, on November 4, 2011, who killed themselves after committing a bank robbery in Eisenach, that the level of involvement of the domestic secret service, criminal investigative departments, and other state agencies has been made public. It is now clear that Germany's secret service possessed a close-knit network of informants within the NSU throughout the underground organization's ten-year existence. Moreover, it was these agencies' racism and unbelievable incompetence over a period stretching across one and a half decades that prevented the murders, robberies, and bombings from coming to light. These shocking revelations have been the focus of four parliamentary committees (one in the Bundestag, and the others in the state parliaments in Thuringia, Saxony and Bavaria). In addition, since the end of the NSU, hardly a month has gone by in which a new scandal concerning the authorities' entanglement in the right-wing terror organization has not been disclosed: files have been destroyed or discovered later to have sections missing; and officials have provided incorrect and incomplete information to the court despite being called as witnesses. These problems have been made worse by the ignorance, lack of awareness, and otherwise incomprehensible actions of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution – Germany's domestic intelligence agency – during its infiltration of right-wing terrorist and Nazi circles.

From the very beginning, the defense and the 50 or so people representing the co-plaintiffs have sought to unravel the level of state involvement in the NSU. Despite the apparent congruence of their approaches, the trial has tremendous psychological importance for the victims' families: for more than ten years the German authorities racially humiliated them and treated them as the prime suspects in the case. This led the authorities to label the brutal executions by the NSU as "kebab shop murders", which had been committed by the "immigrant milieu". The families probably view the court's attempt to unravel what really happened as an act of release and redress. In contrast, the defense's focus on state involvement in the NSU is nothing but a means of justifying its argument for mitigating circumstances: the more the state was involved in the murders, the defense argues, the lower the sentence the defendants should receive.

In 2013, the Foundation was involved in a number of events and publications regarding the NSU. Bodo Ramelow, a member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's executive board, edited two books on the NSU: *Schreddern, Spitzeln, Staatsversagen* (Shredding, spies, and government failure) and *Made in Thüringen* (Made in Thuringia). Additionally, the Foundation's discussion group on right-wing extremism organized a debate

in Munich on May 4, 2013, two days before the NSU trial started; one of the representatives of the co-plaintiffs also participated. In December 2013, a conference and a public event organized together with NSU-Watch also took place in Munich, this time aimed at international guests and entitled "A Glance from the Outside".

The danger that Germany and other European countries are currently facing is not merely intensified levels of racism, anti-Semitism, and chauvinistic discourses, or even a radicalization of existing right-wing extremists. At the level of the nation-state and the EU, decisions are being made about who belongs to Europe, and who does not. This is important in this context, because inhumane discourses in Germany are directly related to various approaches to EU integration and global/transnational relations that in turn are linked to issues ranging from access to resources, to divisions of labor, and even trade routes. If it is possible to divert the crises that Europe is facing towards something better, then it is time to transform the EU into an anti-fascist, anti-racist, and people-friendly union that is committed to global justice.

"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE NOT TO BE SHOCKED AND HORRIFIED"

AN INTERVIEW WITH FRIEDRICH BURSCHEL

Friedrich Burschel is the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's consultant on neo-Nazism and structures and ideologies of inequality. He has been observing the NSU trial in Munich since it began.

Why are you reporting from the NSU trial for the Foundation?

Burschel: For me it is quite clear that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's consultant on this issue should study the issues surrounding the NSU, and that, of course, includes the trial. Ultimately, we need to draw consequences from the disaster currently facing the authorities in terms of institutional racism, the social bankruptcy of everyday racism, and the immensely dangerous role that has been played by the German intelligence agencies. It is essential that the current situation be studied, that we draw the appropriate political consequences from the case, and that we ensure that they are implemented. But we need to understand the challenges that the consequences of the case pose for left-wing social currents and political education.

Covering the trial is very time-consuming: how does the Foundation support your work?

Burschel: My life has changed a lot since the beginning of the trial, and it is only because of the direct support of my employer – the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung – that it has been possible for me to travel to court on an almost weekly basis. This has basically meant that I have had to be exempted from around one third of my usual working hours in order to cover the NSU



Ceiling of the meeting room of the justice center in Munich where the NSU proceedings are taking place

trial. At the same time, the trial has also led to quite significant travel expenses, and the Foundation has also covered these as part of my rather unusual employment situation.

What is your view of the trial?

Burschel: The trial is sheer madness. So many unbelievable details are coming to light that it is impossible not to be shocked and horrified. The prosecution's evidence amounts to more than 300,000 pages; the indictment is almost 500 pages long; and 600 witnesses are due to be called. However, although we have already spent 85 days in court this year, another 110 days are planned between now and the end of 2014. But it is still unclear whether the trial will actually be over by then.

How are the families of the victims reacting to the trial?

Burschel: The relatives have faced a number of quite disdainful situations during the trial, the worst of which has probably been the unaffected and unconcerned manner in which Beate Zschäpe, the main defendant, has approached her trial. She often parades around the courtroom quite happily, seemingly enjoying the attention while flirting with her lawyer as if she were on trial for stealing eggs and not for ten murders, at least three devastating bombings and fifteen robberies, including bank robberies. I certainly doubt that the families are getting what they hoped for from the trial. It is unlikely the court case will comprise a full investigation of what really happened, and reveal the depths of state involvement in the NSU.

What has been the most moving part of the trial for you until now?

Burschel: The most harrowing moments are always those when survivors and family members are questioned in court. They describe the suffering that they faced after their relatives

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The latest information and Friedrich Burschel's reports on the NSU trial can be found under the heading "NSU-Komplex" on the Foundation's blog: <http://antifra.blog.rosalux.de>.
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Followers of the neo-Nazi party Chrysi Avgi (Golden Dawn) during a demonstration in Athens

were brutally killed, or their humiliation at the hands of the authorities. But even the everyday problems that they face are terrible. Some of these people have directly addressed the defendant – Beate Zschäpe – but she just continues to act as if she were not part of the trial. To be honest, though, I have been very surprised that the public and media have continued to focus on the trial, even after 85 days in court.

How are these experiences being woven into your educational work for the Foundation?

Burschel: I have given countless lectures throughout the country. These events have usually been full, and people really listen with tremendous attention. You can tell how seriously they are taking the situation; how unsettled they are by the shocking revelations and the incomprehensible inconsistencies that have surfaced since the beginning of the trial. They clearly understand the importance of this case. I always try to provide a critical left-wing perspective and publish on this issue. I think the most important aspect of my work is developing educational material, and providing space in which left-wing experts, activists, international guests, critical lawyers, and researchers can meet to develop approaches toward dealing with the NSU and its consequences.

THE RISE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS IN GREECE A LECTURE TOUR WITH DIMITRIS PSARRAS

In October 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Brussels, the Athens liaison office, and the regional foundations in Hesse, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg organized three events under the title: “Neo-Nazi mobilization in Greece.” The lecture tour, which visited Frankfurt am Main, Nuremberg and Stuttgart, was based on a report by Dimitris Psarras, an investigative journalist based in Athens, and editor of the Greek cooperatively run newspaper *Eleftherotypia*. Psarras’ report on the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn was published by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as part of the *Analysen series*.

At all three events, the audience, which consisted of young and old Greek and German anti-fascists, asked about Golden Dawn’s links to Germany. Psarras began by describing the situation behind Golden Dawn’s current strength as being based on the massive social cuts that have been promoted by the German government over the last few years and implemented by the European institutions. He argued that these policies had provided fertile ground for the rise of the party. In fact, Psarras maintained that the rapid rise of Golden Dawn – the party won 6.9 percent of the vote in the 2012 Greek parliamentary elections – would have been inconceivable without the drastic austerity policies implemented by the Troika, and the destruction of social and democratic structures that these policies have caused. In terms of Golden Dawn’s organizational structure, Psarras pointedly maintained that the party had good links to the NPD and particularly to the underground neo-Nazi group *Freies Netz Süd* (Free Network South); Golden Dawn had even attempted to build a party cell in Nuremberg, but to no avail. Finally, Psarras stated that Golden Dawn glorified the period during which Greece was occupied by the Nazis, as well as Greek collaboration.

Essentially, Psarras argued that it would be wrong to dismiss Golden Dawn as a right-wing populist phenomenon, and that even the label “fascist” could not properly describe the party. Instead, Psarras contested that Golden Dawn was a genuine National Socialist party that almost exclusively based its ideology on Hitler’s *My Struggle*, the works of the Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg, and the ideas of the Nazi’s former Propaganda Minister, Joseph Goebbels. In this sense, political violence against immigrants and the Left does not merely represent a political tool for Golden Dawn; it is its *raison d’être*.

Although Golden Dawn was founded in 1985, it remained in the political shadows until the euro crisis. However, the party has always maintained excellent relations with the “deep state” – the right-wing structures present in the police, military, judiciary, and church. Investigative journalists have also exposed powerful Greek members of the super-rich ship-

In June 2013, an event was held in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's lounge in Berlin entitled "Life as an outcast – gay in Russia". For more information see: www.rosalux.de/documentation/48689/.

ping industry as being among the party's financiers. At the same time, the established parties in Greece, such as the social democrats (PASOK) and the conservatives (Nea Dimokratia), paved the way for the rise of Golden Dawn by forming a coalition with the fascist LAOS party in 2011, and then partially subscribing to Golden Dawn's anti-migrant discourse. Although Golden Dawn has strong links to some parts of the state apparatus and to Nea Dimokratia, Psarras believes that the current court case involving Golden Dawn's leadership should be taken seriously, but that it is happening because Nea Dimokratia perceives its right-wing hegemony as being under threat. As such, the trial is certainly not aimed at protecting migrants and the Left from Golden Dawn's thugs. This last point became particularly relevant just a few weeks before the beginning of the tour, when the young anti-fascist, metal worker, and rapper Pavlos Fyssas was stabbed to death by members of Golden Dawn in Athens. Psarras described the successful anti-fascist demonstrations that occurred in the aftermath of the attack and argued that contacts between German and Greek activists must be strengthened, and called on activists to take part in discussions aimed at finding successful ways of fighting this neo-Nazi party.

EASTERN EUROPEAN AND RUSSIAN HOMOSEXUALS: TARGETS OF DEMAGOGUES AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS

Even if Eastern European homosexuals are no longer victimized by the law because of their sexuality, they still face exclusion and unrelenting discrimination in their everyday lives. The scenes from Russia that are currently circulating on social networks are one example: young, mostly right-wing extremist men film themselves stalking gays in order to humiliate and harass them. They then publish their recordings on the Internet, and although only a small number of people are involved in these crimes, the films reach a large audience. The situation in countries such as Russia is made worse by the fact that the perpetrators are able to assume that violence against homosexuals is sanctioned by the state. Ultimately, this is because of the law in Russia against homosexual "propaganda" that has made it illegal to even hint that homosexuality might be normal, if under 18s are present. Clearly, this law has further fueled homophobia in Russia. Furthermore, organizations working for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights in Russia are furthered hin-



An LGBT activist is attacked in the center of St. Petersburg in June 2013

dered by another new law stipulating that "politically" active organizations which receive money from foreign donors must also bear the title "foreign agent". This law particularly affects LGBT organizations, which are usually dependent on financing from abroad. At the same time, it is quite easy to view the commitment of these organizations as a form of political activity. The result is a situation in which LGBT activists are viewed as belonging to a Western-funded fifth column that is attempting to force the country to accept a way of life that undermines its own traditions and values.

This situation needs to be seen against the backdrop of the increased efforts that have been undertaken in recent years by influential Russian ideologues and political leaders to distance the country from the "decadent", "effeminate" West, which, they argue, will perish because of its tolerance, liberalism and its obsession with political correctness. These arguments are actually aimed at (re)constructing a particular form of "lost" Russian identity. Moreover, they also conveniently distract attention from the current problems facing Russia while portraying the political opposition as part of the "international gay lobby".

Instrumentalizing the LGBT issue has also proved successful in Ukraine, where obscure NGOs campaigning against closer ties with the EU have mobilized against what they see as "Gayropa" and "Eurosodom", instead of encouraging people to fight to protect their jobs. In Eastern Europe, it is still possible to use the LGBT issue to discredit people and their political approaches. Fake posters have been hung up all around Kiev claiming that gay marriage will "finally" be introduced into Ukraine, and a hitherto unknown NGO organized a bus to Kiev's Maidan laden with young men wearing wigs demanding "LGBT rights". But these actions were not organized as a means of defending LGBT rights. They were aimed at alarming the population about the results of closer ties with the EU, which, in the words of the chair of the Russian parliament's foreign affairs committee, would certainly lead to "gay parades in Kiev instead of victory parades".

Eastern European gays and lesbians need our solidarity. Although cooperation with partners in Russia has been made more difficult by official policy, it is still possible if the right approaches are taken to joint projects. Last year, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung worked for the first time with the renowned Center for Independent Social Research in Saint Petersburg on queer issues and gender studies. Work with partners in Poland has been far less complicated. The NGO Campaign Against Homophobia organized a number of events that took place within the framework of the Academy of Committed Parents (of gays and lesbians), which resulted in a poster campaign that attracted quite a lot of attention. At the time, the Polish parliament was debating a law on civil partnerships, which the Foundation's partner organizations had been involved in drafting; however, this time round, the law failed to gain a parliamentary majority.

FOCUS-RELATED FUNDING

- VVN-BdA Mülheim e. V. Brochure and exhibition "Nie wieder Faschismus – nie wieder Krieg. Widerstand und Verfolgung in Mülheim an der Ruhr 1933–1945" (Fascism and War – Never again. Resistance and persecution in Mülheim an der Ruhr 1933–1945) – € 750
- Regionale Arbeitsstelle für Bildung, Integration und Demokratie (RAA) Sachsen e. V. Exhibition in Zwickau: "Opfer rechter Gewalt seit 1990 in Deutschland" (Victims of right-wing violence since 1990 in Germany) – € 810
- Miteinander e. V./Mobile Beratung für Opfer rechter Gewalt. Production of the interactive website "Würdiges Gedenken für alle Opfer rechter Gewalt" (Dignified remembrance of victims of right-wing violence) – € 1,000
- Joachim Perels. Preparation of the manuscript *Der Nationalsozialismus als Gegenwartsproblem. Beiträge zur Analyse und Aufarbeitung des Hitlerregimes* (National Socialism as a contemporary problem. Contributions towards the analysis and processing of the Hitler regime) – € 2,000
- Berliner VVN-BdA. Public debate in Berlin with Polish and Bulgarian eyewitnesses on the 68th anniversary of the liberation from fascism (May 9, 2013) – € 500
- Publication of the book by Herausgeber_innenkollektiv: *Fantifa. Feministische Perspektiven antifaschistischer Politik* (Fantifa. Feminist perspectives on antifascism), edition assemblage, Münster 2013 – € 1,250
- Ariba e. V. Brochure: *Ich möchte wie ein Mensch behandelt werden. Antimuslimischer Rassismus, Diskriminierungs- und Gewalterfahrungen* (I want to be treated like a person. Anti-Muslim racism, discrimination and experiences of violence) – € 600
- Argumente Information und Bildung e. V.: Special supplement to the 100th edition of the *Antifaschistischen Infoblatts* (Antifascist information) – € 400
- Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg e. V. Booklet accompanying the DVD "ID WITHOUTCOLORS. Racial Profiling – Institutioneller Rassismus in Deutschland" (ID WITHOUTCOLORS. Racial Profiling – Institutional racism in Germany) – € 1,100
- Demokratisches Jugendforum Brandenburg e. V. A project about court cases on racist violence. Interviews with people who took part in the court case between 1999 and 2002 on the pogrom in Guben – € 1,000
- Erinnerungs-, Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte Alt Rhese e. V. Seminar "Die Mecklenburgische Seenplatte und die extreme Rechte" (The Mecklenburg Seenplatten region and the extreme Right) – € 500
- Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland Bund e. V. Discussion in Berlin on the continuity of racism and the history of black people in Germany – € 500
- Antifaschistische Initiative Nord-Ost. Discussion and presentation of the book *Das braune Netz. Naziterror – Hintergründe, Verharmloser, Förderer* (The brown network. Nazi-terror – background – people who play down Nazism and those who support it) – € 250
- Roter Stern Berlin e. V.: Discussion in Berlin with Matthias Wörsching as an introduction to fascism theory – € 50
- Alternatives Jugendzentrum e. V. Dessau-Roßlau: Workshops as part of the Polish-German youth project "Sinti and Roma in Geschichte und Gegenwart" (Sinti and Roma in history and the present) – € 650
- Initiative in Gedenken an Oury Jalloh e. V. Press conference in Berlin on Oury Jalloh and the struggle for truth – € 1,000
- Verein zur Förderung entwicklungspolitischer Zusammenarbeit e. V. BUKO 35. Internationalist congress on anti-militarism, anti-racism and struggles for resources, held in Munich – € 5,000
- Bundesarbeitskreis kritischer Juragruppen. Fall congress on jurists and political action with a focus on residency rights and racial profiling – € 500
- Book edited by Yves Müller and Reiner Zilkenat: *Bürgerkriegsarmee. Forschungen zur nationalsozialistischen Sturmabteilung – SA* (An army for the civil war. Research into the National Socialist SA), Peter Lang Edition, Frankfurt am Main 2013 – € 1,300
- Book by Hans Coppi and Sabine Kebir *Ilse Stöbe. Wieder im Amt. Eine Widerstandskämpferin in der Wilhelmstraße* (Ilse Stöbe. Back in office. A resistance fighter in Wilhelmstraße), VSA Verlag, Hamburg 2013 – € 5,500
- Berliner VVN-BdA e. V. Conference "Erinnerung an Vergangenheit baut Zukunft. Die Häftlinge des KZ und des Zuchthauses Sonnenburg" (Remembrance builds the future. The detainees of Sonnenburg Concentration Camp and Penitentiary) – € 2,300
- Manuela Bojadzijev. Workshops on anti-racism and emancipation – € 1,000
- Book by Manfred Wichmann *Waldemar Pabst und die Gesellschaft zum Studium des Faschismus 1931 bis 1934* (Waldemar Pabst and the Society for the Study of Fascism – 1931 until 1934), Edition Organon, Berlin 2013 – € 1,500

THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The ongoing crises have been interpreted in ways ranging from claims that capitalism is facing a systemic crisis to the view that the current situation simply represents business as usual. Although it would be wrong to argue that capitalism as such is in crisis, it is clear that the current direction of capitalist development, which has been on-going for the last 30 years, can no longer be continued. It is the specific form of transnational, informational and technological production and the way of life that currently characterize neo-liberal hegemony that have fallen into structural or organic crisis. This means that we will soon see a further transformation of capitalism, and that we should assume that the coming years will be characterized by a struggle over its future shape. Accordingly, it makes sense to discuss how a socialist transformation – in the sense of revolutionary Realpolitik (Luxemburg) – might be brought about, and to begin doing so now, irrespective of the current unfavorable balance of power.

This task has been taken up by the Institute for Critical Social Analysis (IfG). The IfG works with partner organizations to develop introductory projects that can be implemented immediately. The IfG's projects target specific problems and subjects and share the common aim of making direct improvements to people's lives. At the same time, these immediate measures are always embedded within an approach that points towards the necessary steps of achieving a far-reaching transformation of society in terms of revolutionary Realpolitik. At the same time, the IfG does not pursue a particular academic line; instead it advocates a political and strategic approach, and measures the effectiveness of its work according to its political impact. The Institute believes that this approach to socialist transformational research can provide essential support to the Left as part of its strategic realignment.

In 2013, the IfG focused on issues including the debate about an "orderly exit" from the euro, left-wing strategies in the crisis, new democratic movements, protests against the crisis, projects focusing on socio-ecological transformation and energy democracy, the major "renewal through strike" conference, and, of course, the second transformation conference on "organic crises of financial market capitalism". The contributions to this last conference have been published in book form.

In the majority of cases, the discussions about these issues were published in the IfG's magazine *Luxemburg*, which has recently established itself as the voice of a broad left-wing mosaic. The magazine will be free for subscribers as of 2014.

In 2014, a new team of directors will face up to the IfG's socio-political challenges. Conny Hildebrandt and Barbara Fried are to take on the posts of deputy directors, with Mario Can-



Mario Candeias (front), the new director of the Institute for Social Analysis

deias becoming director of the Institute. Michael Brie, who founded the IfG, has been working towards this generational change for quite some time, and is looking forward to having time to concentrate more on research and publishing on issues of transformation theory.

FELLOWSHIPS

Ayudya Fajri Anzas was a fellow at the Foundation, and a representative of the Institute for Crisis Study and Alternative Development Strategy, the think-tank of a left-wing political movement in Indonesia. The focus of her research was labor migration, an issue at the center of the shifts in labor and gender relations in Indonesia. In Indonesia, women often have to leave their families for many years in order to provide them with a modest level of well-being and secure an education for their children. Alongside organizing and political education, this issue is of central concern to the Indonesian Left.

Professor Dr. Ulrich Brand was put forward by the Left Party in the Bundestag as a member of the Bundestag's Select Committee on Growth, Prosperity and Quality of Life. In 2013, the committee submitted its report, which was marked by a minority vote in which Ulrich Brand played a decisive role. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung accompanied the work of the committee with research and other contributions to the debate, and further developed the concept of a socio-ecological transformation. For more information, see: Brand, U., Pühl, K., Thimmel, S. (eds.) *Wohlstand – wie anders? Linke Perspektiven. Bewertung der Enquete-Kommission "Wachstum, Wohlstand, Lebensqualität"* (Other paths to prosperity? Left-wing perspectives. An assessment of the Select Committee on Growth, Prosperity and Quality of Life) published by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Manuskripte, Neue Folge 5. This text is available in German at: www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/Manuskripte/Manuskripte-neu_5.pdf.

The Institute for Critical Social Analysis has offered fellowships since 2012 with the aim of strengthening the Foundation's work with researchers.

In 2013, **Professor Dr. Dieter Klein** brought out a book entitled *Das Morgen tanzt im Heute. Transformation im Kapitalismus und über ihn hinaus* (Tomorrow's world dances in today's. Transformation in capitalism and beyond). The book was published by VSA and is available at: www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/sonst_publicationen/VSA_Klein_Das_Morgen.pdf. This is the third monograph that Dieter Klein has published as a fellow of the Foundation. He also published an analysis of capitalist wealth production and destruction in 2006, and an early and clear-sighted analysis of the crisis in 2008. This new publication further develops the fundamental conception of socialist-oriented transformation research.

In 2014, the Westfälisches Dampfboot publishing house will publish the results of joint research undertaken by the Institute for Critical Social Analysis and its partners under the title *Futuring. Transformation im Kapitalismus über ihn hinaus* (Futuring. Transformation in capitalism and beyond). The first contribution in the book was written by **Professor Dr. Rainer Rilling**. He argues that "futuring" – anticipating what the future will hold – is possibly the most important technique that has been developed by the elite in its exercise of power. Rilling contends that it is essential to understand relationships of time as changeable and contested. A policy of futuring, he argues, would enable the Left to change the way in which time is ordered and contribute towards solidarity-based transformation. He maintains that this is the only way in which knowledge can become strategic, politics can be seen as being developed in a particular direction and action can become sustainable.

In recent years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has placed greater focus on the transformation of gender relations and the relationship between feminism and the critique of capitalism. In Germany, the concept of intersectionality – the interplay of various inequality relations – has been most strongly developed by **Professor Dr. Gabriele Winker**. Intersectionality is one of the most promising approaches to promoting transformational cooperation within the left-wing mosaic. During her fellowship, Gabriele Winker further developed this approach, and contributed to education on this issue through lectures and seminars, and in doing so has significantly influenced this field.

Dr. Uta von Winterfeld is a proven expert in the field of critical analyses of relations between people and nature, the colonialization of climate policy, and the links between ecology



The work of Antonio Gramsci is still regarded with sustained interest

and justice. During her fellowship, she undertook research into a manuscript by Wolf-Dieter Narr from 1989 – *Neun Tage politik. Probleme einer Herrschaftstheorie heute. Eine Einführung* (Nine days in politics. Problems in dominance theory today. An introduction). The book that resulted from her work is to be published by VSA.

READING GRAMSCI

A VERY SUCCESSFUL BOOK AND READING COURSE

It is only on very rare occasions that the chance arises to observe and learn from a brilliant mind at work; Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* provides one such chance. The book illustrates the way in which critical knowledge can be devel-

Reading Gramsci without despair: an introduction to *Prison Notebooks* for everyone who cannot or does not want to read 2,000 pages in order to explore the adventurous terrain of hegemony theory. This book is for people who want to apply these ideas by themselves and for those who prefer to do so in groups; it is for people who work in education, for end-users, and for people with and without knowledge of Gramsci.

oped, but also the effects of the special conditions (imprisonment) under which this particular knowledge was developed. However, the fragmentary character of Gramsci's work and the fact that it is comprised of thousands of different notes stretching across nine volumes makes Gramsci's ideas very difficult to access. This also makes it hard to know how and where to start.

Gramsci lesen (Reading Gramsci), which was edited by Florian Becker, Mario Candeias, Janek Niggemann and Anne Steckner, and recently published by Argument Verlag, makes Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* far more accessible. This new book is divided into twelve parts and includes excerpts from *Prison Notebooks* that link the various parts of Gramsci's theory of society. Gramsci focused on a wide range of themes with the aim of developing a comprehensive perspective on the struggle for hegemony that included economic, political, ideological, and cultural aspects. These various themes are interlinked and form a contradictory whole. Each section in *Reading Gramsci* is preceded by short passages from Gramsci's original text that help the reader to understand the terms and issues under development, and explain the passages from within a Marxist theoretical approach.

Gramsci lesen is an annotated anthology that was developed as part of the reading course run by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung under the same name as the book. However, the book also serves as a basis for other reading courses run by the Foundation, introductory weekend seminars by Verdi and self-organized seminars run by the SDS. *Reading Gramsci* is an attempt to build on Gramsci's understanding of Marxism as a critical social theory and link this understanding to fundamental changes in society.

Gramsci viewed the double shock to the socialist labor movement in the period between the two world wars – first, the failure of the revolts and the workers' councils in the West that followed the model of the Russian October Revolution, and second, the subsequent triumph of fascism – as having placed Marxism in a profound state of crisis. During this period, the forms of Marxism that had developed out of the Second International and dialectical materialism became ossified as part of a dogmatic theoretical structure. At the time, Marxism was characterized by economism (the idea that the economy completely determines social dynamics, and that politics, culture,

and ideology are mere reflections of economic development); and class reductionism (the belief that the working class constitutes a unified revolutionary subject, which in turn leads to other lines of conflict and relations of power, such as racism and patriarchy, being discounted). It was these views that robbed Marx's materialism of its critical aspects.

Gramsci's work was an attempt to re-found Marxism in a manner that focused on people's meaningful conduct and on their actions within specific social relations known as relations of power. His views, which have only survived in fragments, were developed at a time of great crisis, massive social upheavals and war. Whereas many of his counterparts were still awaiting the final crisis of capitalism (following the view that imperialism represented "the highest stage of capitalism"), Gramsci focused on Fordism, as he realized that it represented the start of both a new form of production and a new way of life. He developed an understanding of the passive revolutionization of capitalist rule, and in this context formulated views on the reorganization of subalterns and their social party.

Gramsci's relevance today is reflected in the fact that we are not only experiencing a major crisis, but the deepest since the Great Depression of the 1930s. In fact, neo-liberal ideology has been shaken; force is being used openly, especially in southern Europe, and authoritarian approaches are being strengthened everywhere. This situation has been made worse by the fact that the Left, which has been on the defensive for the last 40 years and is becoming increasingly divided, is still unable to change, organize properly, and effectively intervene in the situation so as to provide clear alternatives to society's current path.

Gramsci's works cannot explain the current crisis, nor do they provide direct answers to the struggles of our time. Nevertheless, it is still worth rediscovering Gramsci's ideas and addressing the problems and issues he brought up, as they can certainly help us understand present-day struggles. Returning to his work can help to demonstrate how seemingly detached results of the crises, as well as social upheavals and barriers to change, are actually linked to one another. This approach leads to an understanding of social relations that empowers people to act. One example of this is the focus on new social movements – from the Arab Spring to Occupy (the movement for real democracy which ranges from southern Europe and beyond to Chile). Gramsci's ideas help to shift the terrain towards movements "from below". However, this does not mean that his ideas on critical social theory should be separated from those of communist politicians and political strategists. Instead, Gramsci's theory of hegemony is based on a double perspective: it is about analyzing how power is maintained "from above"; but it is also about how a free society can be constructed "from below" in and through the struggles of subalterns, and how the relations between party, movement, and trade union should be configured as part of the reorientation of the Left.

In addition to the Foundation's projects on Marx and Luxemburg, these projects on Gramsci's works form essential build-



Protests against the policies to save the euro continue – here 2012 in front of the ECB

ing blocks of a non-dogmatic pluralist Marxism. Further reading courses on Rosa Luxemburg and annotated volumes that provide an introduction to the diversity of Marxist and feminist issues are also planned.

The first edition of *Gramsci lesen* sold out within three months, and the course was equally successful. Even though the large number of participants meant that two reading courses had to be run in parallel, some people still had to be put on a waiting list and others were unable to take part. The tremendous demand for the courses and the book demonstrates that the Foundation has filled a painful gap that has existed since the displacement of left-wing theory from the universities. Moreover, they also provided people in general – and not just students – with an opportunity to engage with Marxist theory.

LET'S USE OUR LAST CHANCE

LEFT-WING STRATEGIES IN THE EURO CRISIS

"The euro, but not like this!" is an old PDS campaign slogan. During the 1990s, the Left developed a strong critique of the form of monetary union that was to become enshrined within the Maastricht Treaty and the Stability Pact; this critique has proven accurate. The purely monetarist form in which monetary union was structured has meant that different levels of productivity between the member states and regions within the euro area can no longer be offset by exchange rate adjustments. The only compensatory mechanisms that remain are wage and tariff policies, or further reductions in social welfare standards in countries with current account deficits.

In a study prepared for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, *The systemic crisis of the euro – true causes and effective therapies*, Heiner Flassbeck and Costas Lapavistas demonstrated how the potential benefits of monetary union were wasted. The authors warned that although "It is not too late to change direction. [...] the chances of creating a successful turnaround dwindle with every day that we remain attached to the old, failed strategy."

If the possibility of developing a democratic and social Europe was not to be squandered, the authors suggested at least considering an "orderly exit" from the euro. This approach, they argued, could prevent the euro zone from fracturing uncontrollably, while enabling the countries in crisis to devalue their currency and regain competitiveness.

The study was presented on May 17, 2013 at the Federal Press Conference building by Heiner Flassbeck, Bernd Riexinger, Sahra Wagenknecht, and Sabine Reiner. It received extensive media coverage and sparked a heated debate about a possible euro exit. The Foundation was aware of the risks associated with publishing the study, and the idea that it could lead the Left Party to be stigmatized in the press as being against the European currency. To counter this potential problem, the Foundation worked together with the Left Party in the Bundestag to ensure that the debate was conducted more appropriately. A further press conference was held on May 31, 2013. This press conference was attended by the economist Theodore Paraskevopoulos, who put forward the perspective of the Greek left-wing party SYRIZA.

The Foundation also produced various publications on this issue during this period. The chair of the Left Party, Bernd Riexinger, pointed out afterwards that this had been the first time that a meaningful discussion over policy had been conducted by the Left Party and its supporters since the internal party disagreements at the Göttingen party congress. Riexinger argued that this demonstrated that the Left Party, unlike other political parties, was openly discussing alternatives to the euro and developing left-wing strategies aimed at resolving the euro crisis. Clearly, the Foundation's work provided a notable contribution to this debate. Moreover, the me-

dia coverage surrounding Flassbeck and Lapavistas' publication also ensured that the alternatives developed by the Left Party, the party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag, and the Foundation, gained much wider publicity than would have otherwise been the case.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON THE EURO CRISIS

THE SYSTEMIC CRISIS OF THE EURO - TRUE CAUSES AND EFFECTIVE THERAPIES

Research on the causes of the euro crisis and possible strategies to overcome them by Heiner Flassbeck and Costas Lapavistas
www.rosalux.de/publication/39478/the-systemic-crisis-of-the-euro-true-causes-and-effective-therapies.html

NO EXIT - WRONG OPPOSITIONS IN THE EURO DEBATE

Standpunkt 7/2013
<http://rosalux-europa.info/publications/articles/no-exit-candeias-2013/>

LEFT-WING STRATEGIES IN THE EURO CRISIS A COMMENTED OVERVIEW

Reihe Analysen
<http://www.rosalux.de/publication/39762/left-wing-strategies-in-the-euro-crisis.html>

THIS IS ABOUT EUROPEANS NOT THE EURO

Bernd Riexinger
http://www.die-linke.de/fileadmin/download/nachrichten/2013/130517_riexinger_euro_en.pdf

DOSSIER: LEFT-WING STRATEGIES IN THE EURO CRISIS. LET'S USE OUR LAST CHANCE

www.zeitschrift-luxemburg.de/linke-strategien-eurokrise/



IS THE WHOLE WORLD GOING BANKRUPT?

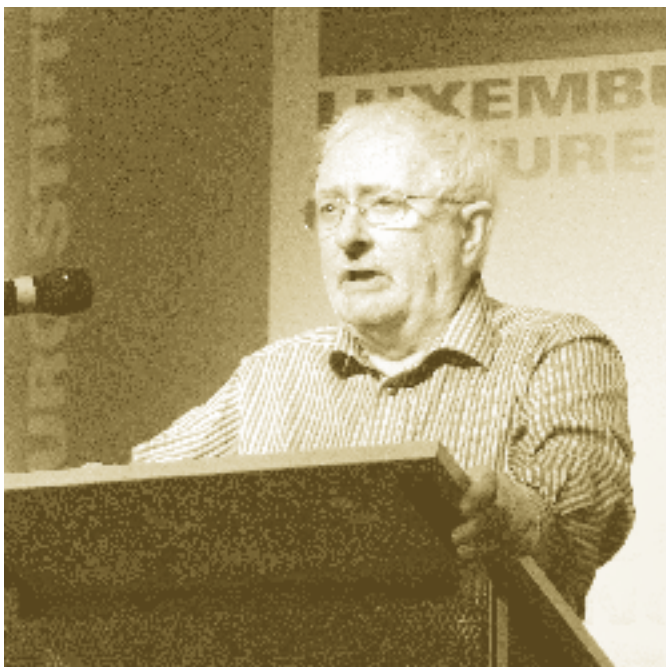
GOVERNMENT DEBT: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT FUNCTIONS
Reihe Luxemburg Argumente
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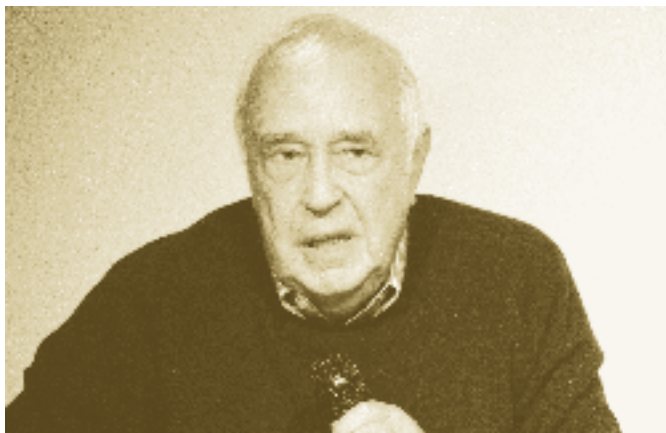
John Bellamy Foster



Medea Benjamin



Terry Eagleton



Sir Robert Skidelsky

LUXEMBURG LECTURES

For many years, the Luxemburg lectures have provided the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with an important forum for international political dialogue. The Luxemburg lectures present new academic approaches to central issues of socio-ecological and European development, the critique of capitalism, and alternative ways of life. The lectures are primarily aimed at the Foundation and the Left in Berlin.

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LUXEMBURG LECTURES 2013

MAY 8, 2013

CULTURE WARS

Luxemburg lecture with the literary theorist Terry Eagleton (Lancaster, UK)

MAY 28, 2013

THE ECOLOGICAL RIFT OR WHAT HAPPENS WHEN NATURE BECOMES A COMMODITY

Luxemburg lecture with the sociologist John Bellamy Foster (Eugene, USA)

OCTOBER 16, 2013

HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?

FROM THE GROWTH ILLUSION TO AN ECONOMY OF THE GOOD LIFE

Luxemburg lecture with the economic historian Sir Robert Skidelsky (London)

DECEMBER 10, 2013

DRONE WARFARE

ITS ORIGINS, CONSEQUENCES, AND WORLDWIDE RESISTANCE

Luxemburg lecture with the US peace activist Medea Benjamin

THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

Political education is the basic principle behind all of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work; it is offered by and developed through all of the Foundation's departments, regional offices, and regional foundations. The Academy of Political Education holds the responsibility for continuously developing and evaluating the Foundation's overall approach to political education. A central goal of the Academy is enhancing people's capacities to participate fully in socio-political debates. In recent years, the growing interest in our program, which ranges from day-long workshops and weekend seminars to long-term training courses, has been reflected in increasing numbers of participants.

The Academy highly values the opinions of people who participate in its events and wherever possible ensures events are free from hierarchy and remain open to people from diverse social milieus. Supporters of the Left Party and members of the trade union movement form just as much a part of the Academy's target group as people involved in social movements. The Academy's events are aimed at disseminating basic knowledge and identifying and opening up new approaches to politics and political commitment. This is done by breaking with the rigid separation of curricula development and teaching and using a range of methods to ensure that complex social relationships are made far more understandable.

The Academy is divided into a number of pillars, including the local academy, the working group "training for politics", and the Youth Education Network, with each pillar providing for different priorities and different target groups. However, all of the Academy's pillars share the common understanding that their diverse fields (economic literacy, contemporary history, gender relations, neo-Nazism and other ideologies and structures of inequality, migration and social movements, European politics, internationalism, and socio-ecological transformation) are all interlinked. Consequently, the Academy's work is interdisciplinary: it aims to break down the barriers that separate these diverse fields, while supporting processes of social change within them.

A key challenge for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is ensuring that structurally disadvantaged groups are also able to access the Foundation's program. In addition to individual formats that explicitly target specific groups (such as unemployed people, or people affected by racism), a working group within the Academy specifically deals with the question of how to reach out to new target groups while reducing spatial, linguistic, and other barriers and mechanisms of exclusion. Together with other departments, the regional foundations and the international offices, the Academy for Political Education initiates internal processes of learning focused

on providing medium-term organizational development and the highest possible level of inclusion in the Foundation's events.

CROSS_SOLIDARITY - INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY DURING THE CRISIS

Last year the regional foundation in North Rhine-Westphalia and the Academy for Political Education jointly organized a conference in Wuppertal entitled "Cross_Solidarity". The weekend conference, which took place in April, was attended by 150 political activists from around the world. The debate at the conference concentrated on the opportunities for and barriers to communication and cooperation across national borders, as well as the successes and failures of diverse past attempts to organize and campaign. However, the conference focused not so much on individual topics as on the various forms of praxis that characterize contemporary internationalism. During the debates, it became clear that the current crisis has made discussions about international solidarity even more urgent.

The conference had a number of strengths, these included the space it provided for sharing experience, its modular structure, and the methodological diversity of its presentations. It began with brief opening statements that were followed by a debate held in a talk show format on the question of internationalism (Praxis counts. Looking back with perspective). The Pecha Kucha talks were one of the highlights of the conference, as they provided an impression of the initiatives that were present and the issues on which they focused, which included work and income, housing and rights to the city, and displacement and migration.

The Cross_Solidarity conference underscored the many similarities between the struggles taking place in Germany and elsewhere, and highlighted the great need for networking. One issue that could gain from such an approach is housing in European cities. Struggles over such issues are often inseparable from those over rights to asylum and mobility, but are also essentially linked to struggles for sustainable and safe employment. The diversity, creativity, and tenacity of the resistance was as impressive as the participants themselves. In fact, the high proportion of activists at the conference resulted in a consultation being held on transnational strategies against fascist movements in Greece after the official program had ended.

It would have been impossible to stage the conference without the support of a wide range of partners. In particular, these include the Transnational Network (TIE – Transnational Information Exchange), the journal *//a*, and the Wuppertal Solidarity Committee and Information Office Nicaragua, which were all closely involved in the organizing the conference and preparing its program. Furthermore, Café ADA served as far more than just a venue. In order to deepen the discussions that took place at the conference, promote cooperation, and critically reflect on new forms of protest, a follow-up conference will take place between November 7 and November 9, 2014 in Bochum, Germany.

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Numerous films, photos and reports on the Wuppertal conference are available at: <http://cross-solidarity.net/wordpress/>.
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Cross_Solidarity: the conference program also included a solidarity walk through Duisburg-Bruckhausen, where dozens of buildings are being torn down



**THE MARX SPRING SCHOOL -
MARX'S AND PASCHUKANIS' CRITIQUE OF LAW**

Law penetrates into all areas of modern life. Most people live in rented accommodation, have to sign employment contracts, or receive benefits. Everyone has to conclude sales contracts, and many people are locked in struggles for residency permits. Whether in the context of daily confrontations, or as part of wider social struggles, the existence of laws is taken for granted. This is interesting, because people rarely ask what actually constitutes "law", whether in content or form. Moreover, the social causes of laws and the specific links between law and capitalism are seldom called into question. In early May 2013, this situation led the Marx Spring School in Berlin to devote an entire weekend to the subject.

Marx's critique of political economy goes far beyond a theory of economics; it is an attempt to develop a general analysis of bourgeois society, and includes a number of points of departure for a critique of law. According to Marx, capitalist exchange relations are inextricably linked to legal relations. The reason is that commodity owners interact as free and equal legal subjects because "commodities cannot go to market and make exchanges of their own account" (MEW 23: 99). The questions touched on by Marx were further developed by the Soviet legal theorist Eugen Paschukanis.

Although the Summer School focused on quite a specialized issue, the rush to register for the conference – resulting in 120 registrations and 150 participants – was much larger than the preparatory group had expected. The conference was attended not only by law students and lawyers, but by students of other subjects and people in non-university education, trainees, and pensioners. The Spring School opened with an introductory panel discussion, which also served as a point of reference for the five working groups. The second day saw a further expansion of the theme with the evening event entitled, "What is the origin of the state? The emergence and the form of law, state and commodities." This extremely well-attended public event took place at Humboldt University's Senate Hall. On the last day of the conference, a final panel discussion took place entitled "The critique of critique – the controversies surrounding Paschukanis". The debate focused on objections to Paschukanis' critique of law.

All in all, the participants provided positive feedback and expressed their interest in future events and focuses on law.

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More information is available at:
<http://www.rosalux.de/documentation/48148/rechtskritik-bei-marx-und-paschukanis.html/>.
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Marx and Paschukanis: poster for the Marx Spring School held in 2013

**LINKING THEORY AND PRACTICE:
THE WORK OF THE YOUTH EDUCATION NETWORK**

The Youth Education Network was founded in 2003 and closely cooperates with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Over the past year, the network has once again demonstrated how important emancipatory educational work and the presence of the network throughout Germany actually are to young people. One of the highlights of the Foundation's work with the Youth Education Network was the collectively organized weekend seminar on remembrance entitled "Because you're writing history". The seminar was held in September in Werftpuhl and attracted around 30 participants. The annual "network/workshop" used examples from the recent German past to help the participants to understand history as something "that actually happened", challenge historical myths, and study constructions of identity as well as hegemonic and counter-hegemonic strategies in historical discourses.

This event was attended by a number of groups that demonstrate what successful blends of theory and practice actually look like, including the association Sobi e. V. from Rostock and the Democratic Youth Forum Brandenburg (DJB). Some members of Sobi e. V. had witnessed the pogrom in Rostock-Lichtenhagen, and this led them to organize a workshop on this issue for the network/workshop in close cooperation with other participants who had had similar experiences elsewhere. The DJB, for example, had recently placed the research blog *Blühende Landschaften* online, and used the format to publish interviews

and comments on the situation in Brandenburg. These interviews were conducted shortly after the pogroms took place, and clearly address the racist sentiment on the streets at the time (see <http://landschaften.djb-ev.de>). Importantly, these groups both form part of this history and are its mediators. This form of left-wing remembrance and educational work has played a considerable role in the politicization and preservation of left-wing movements in the local area. Accordingly, these groups have become a thorn in the side of, among others, the CDU. This has resulted in a CDU-led smear campaign against Sobi e. V. in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, with the aim of ensuring that the association loses public funding.

The twelve organizations that constitute the Youth Education Network and the initiatives that support them form an essential part of contemporary social movements. The Youth Education Network's goal is to produce sustainable social change through education, and the way in which this should be done will be covered by another "network/workshop" in 2014, which of course will be open to all.

LEFT-WING EDUCATION

Left-wing education relies on people who are familiar with social theory and emancipatory educational approaches, but who also have the skills to ensure events remain participatory and linked to praxis. Moreover, such people also need to mediate relevant knowledge and skills as well as offer participants the opportunity to reflect on their own political work. Training and retraining such people is a major challenge, and one to which the Academy for Political Education has been committed for many years.

The Academy organizes events aimed at providing political further education to people in numerous areas that are relevant to emancipatory and left-wing political action. The Academy's broad range of seminars and inter-linked courses provide (learning) spaces that enable people to gain qualifications, reflect on their own praxis, and network with like-minded colleagues. The aim is to strengthen left-wing ideals and issues while supporting projects that attempt to create real social change. The Academy actively seeks out new participants from outside of the Foundation, and who work in other areas of society, including in and with schools. The results of the Academy's work can be seen in seminars such as the week-long "Fundamentals of Political Education", which offers beginners and volunteers the opportunity to acquire fundamental knowledge for their educational work in a praxis-based environment, while systematically developing their existing knowledge. The ten-month training course "Political Educational Praxis" was held for the third time in 2013 and focused on reflecting and developing the participants' own work in the context of educational and political theories. Among other issues, the participants studied the relations of education to power and power relations, in order to develop a socially critical, emancipatory approach to education. Other topics included the interplay of learning and teaching as well as basic models of communication and group dynamics. At the same time, this training course provided space for the participants to get to know one another better and discuss the Left's understanding of its role within educational work. The course is under continual development and particularly takes into account the participants' and the team's experiences of the course. The next course is planned for the fall of 2014.



THE FOUNDATION'S NETWORK

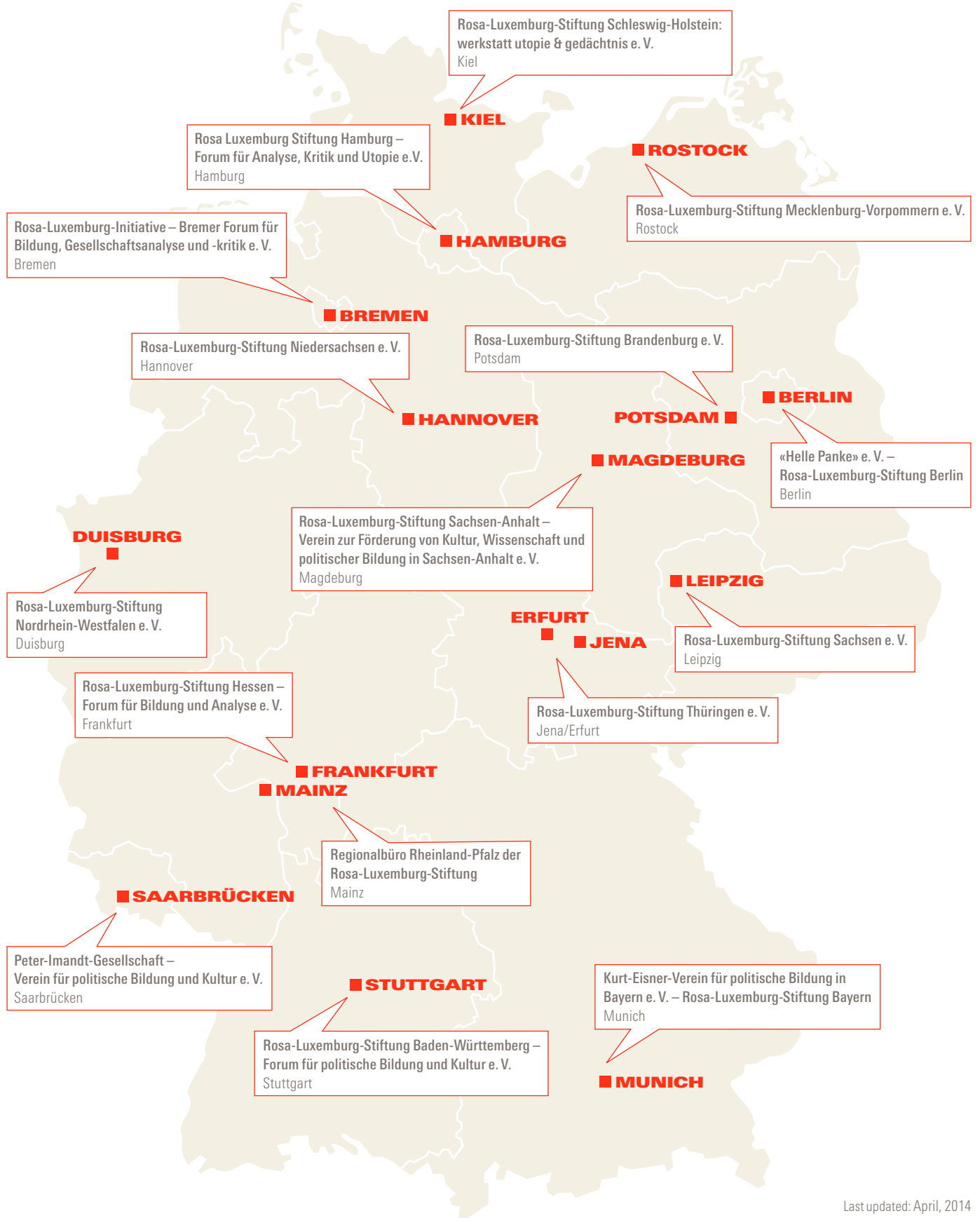
EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE FEDERAL STATES

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been working actively for many years in all 16 German states. The federal level is an important part of the Foundation's political educational work. In 2013, the legally independent regional foundations organized nearly 2,200 events, which were attended by around 100,000 participants. The Foundation's events are not only aimed at supporters of the Left Party; they also target a wide range of people interested in solid and innovative education. The regional offices and foundations act as an important point of contact for diverse left-wing groups in Germany such as initiatives, social movements, trade unions, education providers, local politicians, and policy-makers. They also cooperate with the other regional foundations belonging to the Foundation's network.

In some of the larger German states such as Bavaria, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Saxony, Rosa-Luxemburg-Clubs organize such diverse educational events. In addition, groups of friends, contact points, and educational circles in numerous towns and regions have developed into important partners and it is in these spaces that educational work actually occurs. Lectures and discussions are certainly the most common format used in this context, but workshops, day and weekend seminars, meetings, conferences, exhibitions, and excursions are playing an increasingly important role. Importantly, the vast majority of the extensive work carried out in the regions is undertaken by volunteers.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's department for "nationwide work" coordinates the Foundation's cooperation with the regional offices and the regional foundations, as well as the work between these organizations. The regional foundations are partly financed by grants from the Foundation in Berlin (in other words, through federal funds), and partly from the donations and membership fees they receive. In many regions, varying amounts of funding are provided by the respective regional government.

In 2013, the majority of regional events (330) focused on current issues and the politics of memory. However, between 130 and 250 further events were organized on each of the following issues: anti-fascism and anti-racism, international politics, economics, labor market and social policy, and gender relations and feminism. These were supplemented by diverse events on issues ranging from philosophy and aesthetics to culture and science. The proportion of women among the participants accounted for around 40 percent, with under-30s making up nearly 30 percent of all participants. These encouraging results now represent the typical range of participants at the Foundation's events.





Advertisement for the exhibition on the book burnings in Stuttgart



An unusual sight: an empty lecture hall at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

80 YEARS SINCE THE BOOK BURNING

“The book burning that took place on May 10, 1933 on Berlin’s Opera Square and other central locations in German cities was the start of a wave of expulsion and persecution of many authors whose works had been proscribed by the Nazi regime. It was a barbaric act, and its effects are still noticeable today. We call on you to remember this barbarism, racism and intolerance on May 10, 2013 and to remember people everywhere who are raising their voices for human rights and democracy around the world, whether writers, journalists, artists, or civil society actors who are still oppressed and persecuted.”

This call by Working Group Action May 10 was followed by numerous organizations and individuals from Stuttgart and the surrounding areas. It resulted in numerous actions under the motto “80 years since the book burnings: historical remembrance and responsibility today”. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Baden-Württemberg played a significant part in the organization of events such as book readings, a series of lectures at the University of Stuttgart, and an art competition held at adult colleges. The highlight was the opening of the exhibition “Burned Books – authors proscribed by the Nazis”, which was on loan from the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe e. V. in Berlin from May 10 to May 31, 2013 and displayed in Stuttgart City Hall. After the event had been opened by the mayor, Fritz Kuhn, the renowned historian Eberhard Jäckel discussed the meaning of the book burning and its role in helping to establish and consolidate the Nazi dictatorship. In closing, the journalist, Jürgen Serke (who has undertaken pioneering work with his books on authors persecuted by the Nazis) and the chair of the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe e. V., Lea Rosh, discussed the difficulties of conducting remembrance work in Germany.

BAVARIA

CRITIQUE AT AND ON THE UNIVERSITIES

Although the referendum against tuition fees in Bavaria was ultimately successful, the situation in Bavarian universities remains far from optimal. Third-party funding is increasingly placing limits on academic independence and neoliberal restructuring is turning universities into efficient “educational corporations”. The Bologna reform has led to stronger regimentation and increasing pressure to perform in exams. Underfunding, the shortage of places for students, precarious employment, and a lack of social infrastructure are commonplace. Moreover, Bayern is the only German state without student representation. In 2013, this situation led the Kurt-Eisner-Verein (KEV) to organize a series of events on critical higher education policy. The KEV and Nicole Gohlke, higher education policy spokesperson for the Left Party in the Bundestag, invited students and academics from six Bavarian university cities to discuss the current situation and develop approaches aimed at exerting political pressure on the universities. Unfortunately, as is so often the case in Bavaria, the debate was met with resistance: on the day of the event, the university’s administration in Erlangen reversed its decision to provide space for the debate. It seems that the discussion on whether the university should abandon military research and adopt a civil clause as part of its statute was too controversial, because of the support the institution receives from the armaments industry. Fraternities had even planned to disrupt the event that took place in Würzburg, referring to it as “left-wing extremist”; happily their threats remained just that. Political discussions are not normally allowed at Munich University, and so the discussion about the Bertelsmann Foundation’s influence on universities had to take place outside of the university. Further events were organized in Eichstätt, Passau, and Augsburg. Around 100 people attended the events, which represents an excellent result for left-wing events on Bavarian universities.



Useful for political education: Reinhard Kleist's comic *Der Boxer* (The boxer)

BERLIN

HOW SUBVERSIVE ARE COMICS?

Twenty years have passed since Art Spiegelman's *Maus* was translated into German. The comic uses the metaphor of animals to process the painful experiences of Spiegelman's parents during the Holocaust in Poland. This impressive work won several awards and was the first comic to win the Pulitzer Prize. The translation of *Maus* also represented the beginning of the huge success of graphic novels in German speaking countries. Since then, biographies, historical events and political struggles have been increasingly presented in comic form. This has led these issues to gain exposure to a wider audience and the market for political comics has seen impressive levels of growth.

Despite this, it is not so long ago that comics were generally suspected of harming children by exposing them to violent and sexual fantasies. Comics were viewed as a proletarian medium that mediated social brutalization. This led many comics to be banned outright, or at least to be barred from schoolyards. However, not all graphic novels are subversive, and they are not always produced "from below". On the contrary, the graphic novel is increasingly establishing itself as a celebrated educational institution. Historical comics such as the adaption of *The Diary of Anne Frank* have been accepted into the German school curricula. Today, even institutions such as the Regional Office for the Protection of the Constitution in North Rhine-Westphalia attempt to engage people with this art form – in this case through the Andi comics. The Bundeswehr also uses the graphic novel *Wave and Smile* in its public relations efforts.

The 20th anniversary of the translation of Art Spiegelman's *Maus* was celebrated by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Berlin – Helle Panke e. V. – with two events aimed at studying the political potential of comics. Among the guests was Reinhardt Kleist, the artist who drew the biography of the Auschwitz survivor Hertzko Haft; and Ole Frahm, the comic researcher and founding member of the Center for Graphic Literature at the University of Hamburg.



Heiner Flassbeck at the Potsdam colloquium on foreign policy

BRANDENBURG

TWENTY YEARS SINCE MAASTRICHT: THE EU IN CRISIS

The Potsdam Colloquium on Foreign Policy, which was held between October 10 and 11, 2013, focused on the current state of the European Union now that 20 years have passed since the Maastricht Treaty entered into force. André Brie (a former MEP), and Wilfried Telkämper (former vice-president of the European Parliament), presented the inaugural lectures in which they set out their respective views on the EU.

André Brie argued that the EU faced two possible scenarios: the continuing possibility that the EU will end in failure, or the construction of an actual alternative to the real existing European Union. According to Brie, the second option would entail making the EU a social, ecological, democratic, and human rights-based union. Brie argued that this was the only way in which the EU could continue to serve as a model for other regional processes of integration and contribute towards Jürgen Habermas's bold vision of the EU as "an important stage along the route to a politically constituted world society." In contrast, Telkämper argued that the EU is currently witnessing "the largest peace time continental migration." He described the common European labor market, not as an instrument of wage competition, but as a European social model through which labor and social standards could be jointly determined. The three panel discussions during the conference were conducted by the former state secretary at the German Federal Ministry of Finance and chief economist at the UN Conference on Trade and Development, Heiner Flassbeck; the Left Party's MEPs Gabriele Zimmer, Thomas Händel and Helmut Scholz; the former chair of the parliamentary group European United Left/Nordic Green Left, Francis Wurtz; and the researchers Iphigenia Kamtsidou, Lutz Kleinwächter, Hartmut Elsenhans, Stefanie Hürtgen, and Erhard Crome.



Quo vadis, Nato? International conference in Bremen

BREMEN

PEACE? NOT WITH NATO!

At the end of April 2013, the international conference entitled “Quo vadis NATO?” took place in Bremen with over 250 participants. The conference was mainly organized by the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA). It focused on the question of whether NATO and its member states’ plans, finances, and actions were in line with the promise of peace laid out in the German constitution and the UN Charter. The conference was attended by eminent panelists and a very diverse range of participants, and this enabled it to provide a significant contribution toward the current debate on peace and security.

One of the conference’s liveliest debates centered on the issues of whether law could be used to prevent war, and if so whether this meant that humanitarian intervention might need to be institutionalized as part of statute law. Dieter Deiseroth, a judge at the Federal Administrative Court, held a lecture on the legal relevance of the issue of “terrorism and anti-terrorism” and the course of the global “war on terror” which was particularly well received. Military research at universities and public institutions, and the use of combat drones were also important topics of debate, and Kristina Vogt, the leader of the Left Party on Bremen’s city council, described the various efforts which have been made to anchor a non-military clause in Bremen’s laws on education.

Bremen was a particularly important location for this event because of the particularly high concentration of armaments companies in and around Bremen. The economic output associated with the military is seven times higher in the region than the German average. This led the Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative (the regional foundation in Bremen) to organize a number of events in the run-up to the congress, and it continues to focus on the issues of international and security policy.



The port plays a very important economic role in Hamburg

HAMBURG

BASIC ECONOMICS

There has been a great expansion in the number of educational events on economic issues organized since the onset of the financial and economic crises. This has also been reflected in the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hamburg. The most common format for such events has been lectures and panel discussions, and they have often included prominent scientists, trade unionists or political actors.

In spring 2013, an introductory course in economics was offered for the first time in Hamburg. The event was held over six evenings, each of which focused on a different economic issue. These issues ranged from the market and market economy to neo-liberalism and Keynesianism, as well as the current situation and the most contentious issues associated with monetary union and the euro crisis.

People often lack the knowledge to discuss current economic issues and problems, and consider these issues to be too complex, abstract or to have little relation to their daily lives. In order to redress this balance, the introductory course focused on current economic problems, but also ensured that the participants understood basic economics. The aim of the course was to increase the participants’ familiarity with these subjects, and enable them to better understand current debates so as to further develop their own opinions.

The resonance that accompanied the course clearly demonstrated the need for introductions to economic issues for non-economists: on average, more than 20 participants took part in each event. The course was also well received, as 88 percent of the participants rated it as good, if not very good. This has encouraged the regional foundation in Hamburg to offer the course in 2014 under the direction of Rainer Volkmann.



A mural in Boston by Shepard Fairey of Angela Davis, who was guest professor in Frankfurt

HESSE

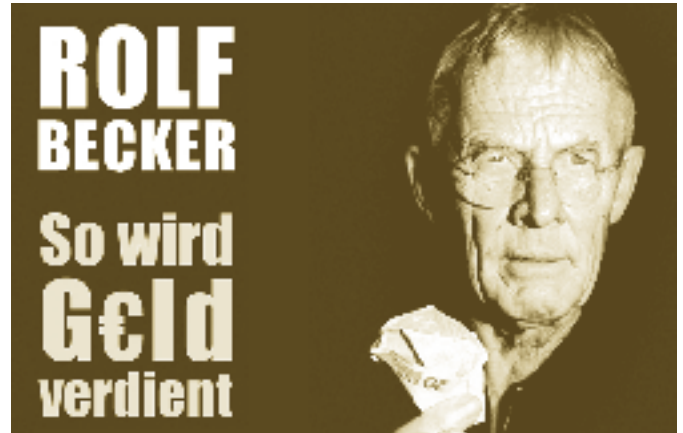
ANGELA DAVIS: SCIENTIST AND ACTIVIST

For the last three years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hesse has been strengthening cooperation with departments and student organizations at various universities in the region. In 2013, a series of events was organized with the University of Applied Sciences in Fulda and the universities of Frankfurt, Giessen, Kassel, and Marburg.

The highlight of the series was the public lecture by Angela Davis on December 3, 2013 that marked the beginning of her visiting professorship in international gender and diversity studies for the semester starting in winter 2013. The inaugural lecture took place at Goethe University on Frankfurt's Westend Campus and was organized by the Cornelia Goethe Center for Women's and Gender Studies, alongside the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hesse. More than two-thirds of the 600 participants were women under the age of 35. Angela Davis was formerly a student at Frankfurt, and the research that she has since conducted has provided the basis for on-going worldwide debates on race, class and gender. Her scientific and socio-political engagement with social justice and the fight against racism are highly respected in many countries including the US.

Angela Davis' professorship received a high level of public interest and was reported in regional and national newspapers, television, and radio. Angela Davis also gave numerous interviews to smaller media outlets.

In addition to the inaugural lecture, five other very successful events were held, with three courses taking place at Goethe University. In addition to members of the academic community, the 1,750 people who took part in these events also included numerous people who have followed Angela Davis' career, and members of political parties, as well individuals from politics and social movements.



A vivid introduction to the history of money and capital

MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA

POLITICAL ECONOMY – IN A LITERARY SENSE

Some people have (read) *Capital*, others have partly done so; even more have always wanted to. In January 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and Wismar Library invited these people on a literary journey. Under the title of "This is how money is earned!" Rolf Becker, the actor from Hamburg, provided rare insights into developments associated with money and capital.

Becker mentioned Heinrich Heine's poem about Mynheer van Koek, who realized he would still make massive profits if only half of his 600 African slaves were to survive the journey by ship to Brazil. Moments later a doctor informed van Koek that many slaves had died and that it would be better to provide the remaining slaves with fresh air than to let them die. The merchant agreed and immediately forced the slaves on deck. In doing so, he cried: "Spare their lives in Jesus' name. / Who died for our salvation. / For if I can't deliver three hundred head, / 'Twill be my ruination."

Heinrich Heine had been dead for many years when his friend Karl Marx quoted this famous passage from Heine's *The Slave Ship* in the first volume of *Capital*. Heine's poem is about capital and the desire for profit. It underscores the point that "With adequate profit, capital is very bold. [...] 100 percent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 percent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged."

Becker illustrated his philosophical and engaging lecture about political economy and numerous difficult economic processes with the help of literary greats spanning 2,000 years of civilization. The lecture was well received by the 100 guests, who described it as thought-provoking and highly entertaining.



Ultras: fan culture targeted by the police



German everyday life: increasing poverty in spite of economic growth

LOWER SAXONY

THE ULTRAS – A TESTING GROUND FOR REPRESSION

In November 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Lower Saxony organized a discussion about a particular group of football fans – the ultras. These fans are often assumed to be violent hooligans ultimately concerned with little else than causing lawlessness. However, the panel aimed to find out whether there was in fact something more to what currently constitutes the largest youth subcultural movement in Germany. The panel consisted of two ultras from the football team Hannover 96, and Jonas Gabler, a member of the expert group “fan culture and sports-related social work” from the University of Hannover.

The discussion particularly focused on the issue of violence and the repressive measures that are put in place against fans. The panelists stressed that the media held a highly distorted view of the ultras. They argued that although violence did exist on the part of fans, it was not nearly as pronounced as is claimed by the media and politics. They countered that many repressive measures against the ultras were excessive and had often been often declared illegal by the courts at a later date. Finally, they pointed out that there is far more likelihood of being injured during Munich’s Oktoberfest than while attending football matches.

Jonas Gabler argued that the police seem to be using football fans as a testing ground for their measures and strategies, before applying them to other areas of society. Furthermore, the panelists pointed out that ultras who are openly critical of their clubs or football associations stand in the way of the complete commercialization of football as a family event. At the same time, Gabler reminded the participants that the social engagement and active anti-racist work undertaken by ultras in the stadiums generally goes unnoticed.

The sometimes quite heated debate with the around 100 mostly young participants underscored the relevance of the issue and the importance of focusing on this topic in the future.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

CONFERENCE “THE VALUE OF POVERTY”

On November 23, 2013, a conference took place devoted to the detailed study of “The value of poverty” – the title of the conference – and the search for alternatives. The conference was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in North Rhine-Westphalia, the association of the unemployed Tacheles e. V., and the Centre for International Studies in Social Policy and Social Services at the University of Wuppertal. Karl-Heinz Heinemann, the head of the regional foundation, explained the choice behind the intentionally provocative title of the conference: “Poverty is not an accident; it is inevitably produced as part of a system based on accumulation. A new poverty regime emerged in Germany even before the implementation of Agenda 2010.”

The head of the Paritätischen Gesamtverband’s research center, Rudolf Martens, demonstrated that poverty continues to increase even when the economy grows. Michael Vester, the social researcher from Hannover, stated that society was becoming increasingly polarized and that the middle of society was currently falling apart. Furthermore, the event was attended by people such as the Jena sociologist Klaus Dörre, the educational scientist and critic of the *Tafel* movement Stefan Selke, and the social rights activist Helga Spindler, who mixed with dedicated people affected by the everyday practices of poverty such as Michaela Hofmann (Caritas Cologne), and activists from forums for the unemployed and self-help groups such as Tacheles e. V.

Most of the 170 participants were young, and although they included students, many people who rarely attend left-wing events were also present. In addition, numerous “professionals” from youth welfare and social administration such as those involved in self-help initiatives also attended the conference. Accordingly, the most important result of the event was that it promoted debate between diverse groups that are affected differently by poverty.



A prominent place of remembrance in Berlin: the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe



An open day in Saarland's Wadgassen

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

"DICTATOR PUPPET DESTROYED, DAMAGE AT A MINIMUM"

The politics of memory is ultimately about maintaining the power to define how events are interpreted, and constructing the past for political purposes; as such, it is a field of social conflict. In turn, this leads left-wing political praxis to focus on the construction and dissemination of alternative positions. Such work frequently involves analyses of National Socialism – and this was also the case with the event organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Rhineland-Palatinate on June 10, 2013 in Mainz. The event provided Lisa Bolyos and Catherine Morawek, the editors of *Diktatorenpuppe zerstört, Schaden gering* (Dictator puppet destroyed, damage at a minimum), the opportunity to present their book in the context of a Jewish cultural festival. The book, which was certainly well received, focuses on art and the politics of memory in post-Nazism, and particularly on art aimed at intervening in or disrupting the aftermath of National Socialism.

The discussions that followed the book presentation concentrated on the differences between social relations in Austria and Germany in post-Nazism and the implications of these differences for the praxis of the politics of memory. Bolyos and Morawek encouraged people to continually disrupt the post-Nazi consensus instead of managing memory through standardized memorials or monuments, which, they argued, were attempts to "overcome the past" once and for all. They called for the development of a different approach to the history of memory, and the production of creative forms that were not necessarily complete or consistent. In addition, Bolyos and Morawek supported more transnationality in debates about the history of memory and a realization that Nazi rule affected more than just the perpetrator countries.

SAARLAND

ORGANIC FARMING AND COMPANION PLANTING

It is rare that agricultural work attracts a large audience. But this is exactly what happened when the Peter Imandt Society in Saarland organized an open day on Marcus Comtesse's organic farm in Wadgassen at the end of June 2013. About 50 people – from consumers to seasoned farmers – turned up for the farm's open day to learn how organic farming can work in Germany today.

Marcus Comtesse's family farm has been worked according to the guidelines drawn up by the Bioland Ecological Association for two generations. Comtesse currently grows up to 17 different crops on about 100 acres of farmland. However, his farm is not only run according to basic organic principles: in 2003, he even dispensed with plowing. Patric Bies, who now works for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saarland, recommended that Comtesse plant camelina as a companion plant for his crops, and use it for oil. Camelina protects the main crop from the wind and rain by propping it up above the ground, which also makes it easy to reap with a combine harvester. Furthermore, the plant also protects against weeds, because oddly enough it only tends to grow in places that the main crop cannot cover. Moreover, this new method provides a further benefit: the oilseed, which is harvested at the same time as the main crop, yields highly marketable cooking oil.

Marcus Comtesse's expectations have certainly been met: the benefits of companion planting outweigh any associated costs. Although the yields are somewhat lower, they are of a particularly high quality. At the same time, the expenses that are unavoidable in other sowing and separating techniques are no longer necessary. Furthermore, in conventional agriculture, fertilizer, pesticides and fuel account for 50 percent of the costs; this expenditure is of course also saved with this method. Clearly, less *can* result in more.



Bernd Riexinger (right) in discussion with the social ethicist Friedhelm Hengsbach



Rosa Luxemburg, a committed speaker at the socialist congress in Stuttgart in 1907

SAXONY

FROM A WELFARE STATE TO A STATE OF COMPETITION

On April 16, 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saxony and the office of Falk Neubert, a member of Saxony's parliament, organized a discussion about the welfare state in Germany. Around 80 people attended the event in the Stadtpark Center in Frankenberg. The speakers were Friedhelm Hengsbach, a Jesuit and professor emeritus of Christian economic and social ethics; and Bernd Riexinger, chair of the Left Party and former director of Verdi's Stuttgart office. The panel discussion was moderated by the political scientist Susanna Karawanskij.

The debate began by looking into developments in Germany since the 1980s. Since then, the spread of radical market positions has triggered a campaign against the social security system, and this culminated in Germany with the Hartz labor law reforms. One of the first issues dealt with in the debate was the question of how to define the modern welfare state. The participants agreed that the consolidation of the welfare state must reflect the fundamental norms of justice and solidarity. Nonetheless, there were significant differences in opinions on the role that traditional employment can play in expanding and securing the welfare state.

Other topics included a non-means tested basic income, ideas about what constitutes work, various models of reducing working hours, issues of gender equality, and the role of trade unions. During the meeting, the moderator clearly identified the similarities and differences between the various positions. Interestingly, the event demonstrated that there are quite large and expandable points of contact between Catholic social teachings and left-wing party politics; many more than are perhaps commonly assumed. A recording of the event is available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=N7_HkDV1u3U/.

SAXONY-ANHALT

ROSA LUXEMBURG: A WIFE AND REVOLUTIONARY

Women's Day in Germany was initiated by the women's rights activist Clara Zetkin. The idea was then taken up by the 2nd International Socialist Women's Conference and the first Women's Day was held on March 19, 1911. It was not until ten years later that March 8 was designated International Women's Day. Some of the most important issues during this time were women's equality and the right to vote, and the issue of peace – especially during the First World War. Rosa Luxemburg was one of the most well-known opponents of war, and supporters of social justice. Her birthday – March 5 – was commemorated by the Rosa Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saxony Anhalt and the Left Party's parliamentary group in Saxony-Anhalt's parliament with a celebration of Women's Day. Nearly 180 people of all ages attended the event, from supporters of the Left Party to members of the regional foundation's numerous partner organizations.

The evening combined political education with art: Ursula von Rätin opened the event with a political cabaret. In addition to topics such as precarious employment and unemployment there was of course much debate about womanhood. The second part of the evening was dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg, during which Hanna Petkoff and André Zimmermann took the listeners on a journey back through time. Rosa Luxemburg's letters were read as part of a performance which provided gripping and emotional insights into Rosa Luxemburg's life. The letters illustrated her fighting spirit, her ideas and ideals, but also her desires and wishes. The latter in particular inspired many of the participants, as the stories of Rosa Luxemburg the revolutionary have rarely focused on her womanhood, and even less frequently portrayed her as a woman who often faced difficult relationships and who longed for her own children. The performance by Petkoff and Zimmermann provided much food for thought and certainly stimulated discussion.



Thinking in stereotypes is also common with regard to Islam

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

A SERIES OF EVENTS ON ISLAMOPHOBIA

When people in Germany speak about crime, “refusal to integrate” and gaps in education, the discussion often quickly moves to Muslims. Comments targeting Muslims are rarely viewed as prejudicial; they are greeted with tolerance, if not outright approval. Recent studies have confirmed increasing levels of Islamophobia in Germany, and stereotypes about “the Orient” are widespread. Both the realities found in Islamic countries and the everyday lives of Muslims in Germany are regularly denigrated in the media, which tends to reproduce stereotypes.

This situation led the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Schleswig-Holstein, alongside numerous partner organizations, to organize a series of events on Islamophobia. The events took place in Kiel’s state parliament in the first half of 2013. The focus of the events was the causes and effects of prejudice and resentment towards Muslims in Germany. The issue was examined from a number of different angles, with a focus on Islamophobia in society and in government institutions. On April 30, Marwa Al-Radwany, a member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s executive board, gave a lecture on anti-Muslim racism at the Christian Albrecht University in Kiel in front of about 100 people.

At the final event in the state parliament in Kiel, politicians from all of the parties represented in parliament discussed possible counter-strategies to Islamophobia. In total, about 400 people took part in this highly acclaimed series of events. The lectures were broadcast on *Offenen Kanal Kiel* and published as a brochure with the same name as the series of events: *Islamfeindlichkeit – Gegenstrategien und Handlungsbedarfe in Schleswig-Holstein* (Islamophobia – counter-strategies and the need for action in Schleswig-Holstein).



A performance with Luc Jochimsen, Bodo Ramelow and Peter Sodann (left to right)

THURINGIA

CHILE – A FESTIVAL OF SOLIDARITY

September 2013 marked the 40th anniversary of the military coup that put an abrupt end to the left-wing socialist experiment in Chile. The violent overthrow of the Allende government and the human rights violations of the Pinochet dictatorship led to the development of a global solidarity movement for the people who were being persecuted by the regime. The military coup, which was plotted by the secret service, stifled attempts to build a social alternative that could have been clearly different from Eastern European state socialism. Decades passed before this approach was to find a new beginning in countries such as Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador. On the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the coup – September 15, 2013 – the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Thuringia held a reading followed by a discussion. More than 100 people attended the event titled “Chile in 1973 and today – a festival for solidarity”, in Erfurt’s Schotte youth theatre. The original texts were recited on stage, and the performance was heightened with period radio and television broadcasts. The readings were given by, among others, Luc Jochimsen, Bodo Ramelow, and Peter and Franz Sodann. During the discussion that followed, Bernd Löffler from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung interviewed Alvaro Rojas, a journalist and eyewitness, and the sociologist Dasten Julián, about the time before and after the coup, and the consequences it has had for the Chilean Left and the current political situation in the country.

Many of the people present were moved by the event. During the pauses and the music played by Rodrigo Santa Maria, many of the people described the experiences they had had during this period. However, the discussions with Rojas and Julián made it clear that the political situation in Chile is changing once again and that a new phase of social mobilization has begun, 40 years after the military coup.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

One of the tasks of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation and its six regional departments is coordinating the Foundation's international offices. Since March 2013, Peter Shepherd has been in Tunis preparing to open the new North African Office. Shepherd is due to take up his post as director of the new office in the second half of 2014, and this will bring the total number of international offices run by the Foundation to 18.

In 2012, the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation also set up a further cross-sectional department, and since 2013 this department has been overseeing the new trainee program. The program provides two-year comprehensive training to junior staff from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's milieu and prepares them for leadership roles in the fields of international politics and development cooperation. Two six-month visits to two of the Foundation's international offices are important components of this program. On September 1, 2013, Wenke Christoph and Therese Wenzel became the first to take up training positions; and on May 5, 2014 it expanded to enable Florian Höllen to take up his place in the program.

In addition to the trainee program, the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation is also responsible for the two people sent annually by the Foundation on foreign assignments. In June 2013, the Foundation's executive board decided to send a specialist from Germany to Tunisia, on an assignment arranged in conjunction with the pilot project "Scientific Cooperation in North Africa". Khaled Chaabane, a former university lecturer, was selected for the position, and has been tasked with building contacts and exchanges between universities and research institutions in the Arab world and relevant institutions in Germany. Furthermore, Chaabane is also responsible for building links between left-wing Arabic-speaking researchers and their colleagues in Germany and other parts of Europe, as well as promoting the long-term development of joint research projects between the Foundation and its partners in North Africa. This project is committed to protecting and promoting the freedom of teaching and research as an essential aspect of a democratic, secular society.

The second assignment is focused on Rosa Luxemburg's life and work. In comparative terms, Rosa Luxemburg's writings in Polish have largely been neglected up until now. The task of rediscovering these works has been taken on by Holger Pollit, a role for which he is particularly appropriate, owing to his deep understanding of the history and work of Rosa Luxemburg and his excellent knowledge of historical and contemporary developments in Poland and its neighboring countries. This task has become more important recently due to the debates in Poland on democratic and social developments with-



Helmuth Markov (the Left Party), Minister of Justice for Brandenburg, was a speaker at the meeting to commemorate the third anniversary of the international office in New Delhi. More information is available at: www.rosalux.de/news/40292.

in Polish society. Consequently, it is even more important for the new sources that have recently become available to be presented to a wider Polish-speaking audience.

CONTINUOUS PROJECT WORK IN SOUTH ASIA

For the last three years, the international office in New Delhi has coordinated the activities of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in South Asia. The ten-member team, compiled and directed by Carsten Krinn, initiates and supports cooperation with projects in India, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. In addition to meetings with locals, it focuses on developing long-term cooperation with universities, institutes, community-based organizations, and other partners from the field of political education.

South Asia is politically divided and this situation is also – if not particularly – noticeable within the Left. Armed Maoists in the Himalayas belong as much to the Left as do courageous trade unionists with Trotskyist tendencies in Sri Lanka. The situation in South Asia ranges from small theory groups with 20 members who regularly meet in small rural towns all over India to large communist women’s organizations involving millions of

women. In the South Asian context, categories such as “the Left” are not always particularly helpful in understanding the political field. Political organizations and parties that consider themselves revolutionary may actually be characterized by outdated, ossified, and authoritarian structures; whereas grassroots initiatives that stand by the people in their everyday struggles and help them to develop their independent, critical thinking sometimes have little perception of themselves as belonging to the “Left”.

THE WORK OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG IN SOUTH ASIA IS FOCUSED ON THREE PARTICULAR AREAS

Labor affairs: The issue of Labor affairs is the most common topic taken up by the regional Foundation and its partners that focus critically on work. This theme is mainly focused on the so-called unorganized sector. This refers to economic and informal labor relations that are characterized by extreme precariousness and a high degree of exploitation. Although more than 90 percent of all employees in South Asia work in this sector, they have very low levels of traditional labor movement representation. Similarly, despite the political will, new approaches are often characterized by stereotypes, as political actors know very little about people’s real situation or their socio-economic context.

Concepts of left-wing practice: This includes programs and approaches aimed at strengthening the Left in South Asia in relation to certain problems and issues, and helping the Left in the region to develop and express public positions. The Foundation has partners in particular in the field of education, and these mainly focus on the negative consequences of privatization. Two seminar weeks on Marxist theory and praxis are planned for the coming year. In South Asia, left-wing politics is impossible without creative exchanges that disregard national and ideological boundaries.

Agrarian question(s): This area is reminiscent of Karl Kautsky’s *The agrarian question*, which focused on the “barriers to capitalist agriculture” and socialism over 100 years ago. The particular focus here is on whether the survival of poor smallholders can be secured using organic farming. Importantly, India faces not only poverty but also hunger, and although the country should be able to feed its own people, a quarter of the population remains undernourished.

With almost 30 partner organizations and a stable network in the region, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is working to analyze the current political situation, identify new social movements, find critical partners, and support applied research. In the highly competitive field of a strongly divided Left, the Foundation attempts to promote debate about alternative solutions and concepts that go beyond political boundaries and develop space for constructive debate.

ON THE DIFFICULTY OF FILLING A BARREL THAT HAS ALMOST RUN DRY

TRADE UNION WORK IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Kessie Moodley, director of the Workers' College in Durban, described the local situation of trade unions in the early 1990s thus: "It was as if the cork had been pulled out of the barrel, and all of a sudden it had run dry." The collapse of the apartheid system, Namibia's independence, and the fact that the ANC now formed the government in South Africa led the unions to lose a large number of highly qualified members all at the same time. These people entered the new governments or took up positions in the state apparatus. All of a sudden, southern African workers' organizations were losing their staff alongside the great store of experience that these trade unionists had acquired through their resistance to apartheid. Clearly, however, the unions urgently needed to retain this experience and their staff. This situation was confounded by the intensification of world-wide economic interdependence known as "globalization", which was also presenting significant challenges to southern African unions.

In this precarious situation, union-affiliated educational institutions took the initiative and devoted themselves to the systematic training of junior staff for unions. Labor diploma courses have been designed and implemented with the support of academics. To date, more than 500 people have graduated from the Workers' College in Durban (WCD), South Africa and the Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI) in Windhoek (Namibia). Since the beginning of its work in southern Africa, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has supported the labor diploma courses and contributed to the success of this educational initiative through its work with the WCD and LaRRI.

Over time, the world of work in southern Africa has of course changed. Many unions have moved significantly closer to the government's policies than previously or have taken up roles in the co-management of companies. A new generation of well-trained unionists is currently vying for leadership posts in the trade unions where a well-paid career awaits them.

What sense is there now in an educational program that mainly focuses on supporting trade unionists and their development "from below"? Are the "old" diploma courses still relevant, especially in the face of declining numbers of participants? In 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and its partners

tried to find answers to these questions by evaluating the current program; the results were impressive.

The courses are still a popular form of training that help graduates to better understand complex issues and develop their awareness and confidence in the workplace. As such, they provide graduates with the skills they need to promote the interests of the workforce. This significantly increases the effectiveness of the trade unions and their abilities to enforce and defend workers' rights.

The decline in the numbers of students attending the courses is more of a reflection of the current labor environment, which, for example, provides less and less support to workers who wish to take leave from work to study. However, some graduates feel ostracized or are regarded with suspicion when they return to work with their new knowledge and their enthusiasm to implement changes in the workplace. Moreover, some successful alumni have "switched sides", and used their education to gain lucrative posts in government and private companies. This has sometimes led to situations during negotiations in which a fresh graduate from the union is confronted by someone who also graduated from the labor diploma program but who has switched sides only to become a successful businessperson.

FREEDOM '63 REMIXED

THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICE IN NEW YORK CELEBRATES ITS ANNIVERSARY

On August 28, 1963, hundreds of thousands of people took part in a protest against racial segregation and racism. The remarkable March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (MOW) took place in Washington, and was led by Martin Luther King. The New York office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung commemorated the 50th anniversary of the protest by organizing a major event in Harlem on August 16, 2013. It was attended by approximately 400 people, including more than a dozen of the original protestors.

The event was opened by Dick Gregory, the famous comedian, and a close acquaintance of Martin Luther King, who not only took part in the MOW but was also involved in numerous acts of civil disobedience. Gregory addressed the historical movement as well as the current struggle for equality. His speech received a standing ovation.

Three dialogues between past and present activists stood at the core of the event. The first dialogue was between Jeanne Theoharis, author of *The Rebellious Life of Rosa Parks* (2013), and Gwendolyn Z. Simmons, who was active in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960s. The focus was on the role of women within the movement. Theoharis and Simmons agreed that it was no coincidence that little notice had been taken of the fact that the large majority of active members of this movement were women.

The second dialogue was led by Boots Riley, the rapper (The Coup) and activist, and Dorothy Zellner, who was also active



Making many people laugh: Hari Kondabolu (left) and Dick Gregory in Harlem



Conference in Haifa for a Near and Middle East without weapons of mass destruction

in the SNCC. Riley spoke about the social dimension of the movement and criticized the fact that class is often largely disregarded even within the Left today. Zellner pointed out how the speech of John Lewis, who was the SNCC representative at the demonstration, had been heavily censored.

Much to the amusement of the audience, the comedians Hari Kondabolu and Dick Gregory held the third dialogue. They succeeded in combining the funny side of the matter with the gravity of the situation. Dick Gregory compared Martin Luther King to a tortoise: hard on the outside, soft on the inside and courageous enough to stick his neck out. Finally, he asked the attendees to keep on struggling for social transformation in the United States and equal rights for African Americans. This appeal certainly fell upon fertile soil that evening.

More information and videos are available at: www.rosalux-nyc.org/freedom-63-remixed/.

FROM TRAUMA TO TRUST

THE ISRAELI OFFICE'S EVENT ON DISARMAMENT POLICY

An international conference on the highly sensitive topic “For a Near and Middle East without weapons of mass destruction” took place on December 5 and 6, 2013 in Haifa. It was hosted by the Emil Touma Institute for Palestinian and Israeli Studies (Haifa) and organized in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung alongside the International Association of Peace Messenger Cities and the Israeli Disarmament Movement. The 100 guests from the world of politics, science, and civil society included eight former and current members of the Knesset and 20 international guests, such as Wolfgang Gehrcke (member of the Bundestag for the Left Party). There was broad media coverage, and English, Hebrew, and Arabic newspapers reported on the event. A report was also broad-

cast on Israeli radio and on several television channels including Al Jazeera and Press TV.

In his opening speech, the former mayor of Hiroshima, Tadatoshi Akiba, warned of the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons: “No one will want to suffer what my compatriots have been through.” He added that it was the task of civil society to put pressure on governments to take appropriate action. Avraham Burg, the former speaker of the Knesset, also advocated public commitment and said that he refused to trust his government blindly. Burg argued that Israel’s nuclear strategy had grown out of the tense security situation that has persisted since the country’s foundation. He maintained that the agreements reached in Geneva in 2013, for example with Iran, would open up new possibilities for the region. Existing tensions, however, required rapid responses. If Israel were to transition “from trauma to trust” it would have to disclose its nuclear potential. Issam Mahhoul, the conference’s initiator, agreed with Burg. If Israel did not take a step towards Helsinki, Helsinki would have to approach Israel.

Several panels discussed the political and social implications of the intended liberation of the region from weapons of mass destruction. Participants debated curbing Iran’s nuclear ambitions, Israel’s nuclear weapons potential, the dangers associated with nuclear weapons in other states in the region, and networking between peace and disarmament initiatives. Members of civil society organizations proposed ways of increasing public awareness and enhancing mobilization. If the objective of liberating the Near and Middle East from weapons of mass destruction were to be achieved, they argued in conclusion, sufficient pressure would have to be put on the Israeli government.

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FUNDED PROJECTS

As much as our finances allow, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung regularly provides funding for events, publications and research projects undertaken by other political education institutions and also plays a part in determining their content. In 2013, the Foundation received 900 applications for funding. In total, 157 projects were supported with a total of € 356,900.

Five major projects received a total of € 135,160 (38% of the budget):

- Linke Medienakademie e. V.: for central and regional training events in media design – € 50,000
- INKRIT e. V.: for its historical-critical dictionary of Marxism – editorial work on volume 8/2 (“links/rechts” [left/right] to “Maschinerie” [machinery]), preparatory work on volume 9 – € 35,000
- Rolf Hecker: publication of *Jenny Marx. Die Briefe* (Jenny Marx. The letters) – € 28,000
- Office of Cultural Affairs, Altmark district Salzwedel: exhibition “Jenny Marx 1814–1881. Eine couragierte Frau zwischen Salzwedel und London” (Jenny Marx 1814–1881. A courageous woman between Salzwedel and London) – € 12,160
- Attac Trägerverein e. V. A training program run by the Attacademie – € 10,000

Thirteen projects were funded with amounts ranging from € 5,000 to € 9,999; 76 projects received funding of between € 1,000 and € 4,999; 49 between € 500 and € 999; and 14 projects received funding of less than € 500.

A SELECTION OF PROJECTS THAT HAVE RECEIVED FUNDING

BERLINER VVN-BDA E. V. CONFERENCE “ERINNERUNG AN VERGANGENHEIT BAUT ZUKUNFT. DIE HÄFTLINGE DES KZ UND DES ZUCHTHAUSES SONNENBURG” (MEMORY OF THE PAST BUILDS FUTURE. THE PRISONERS OF SONNENBURG CONCENTRATION CAMP AND PRISON)

Funding: € 2,300

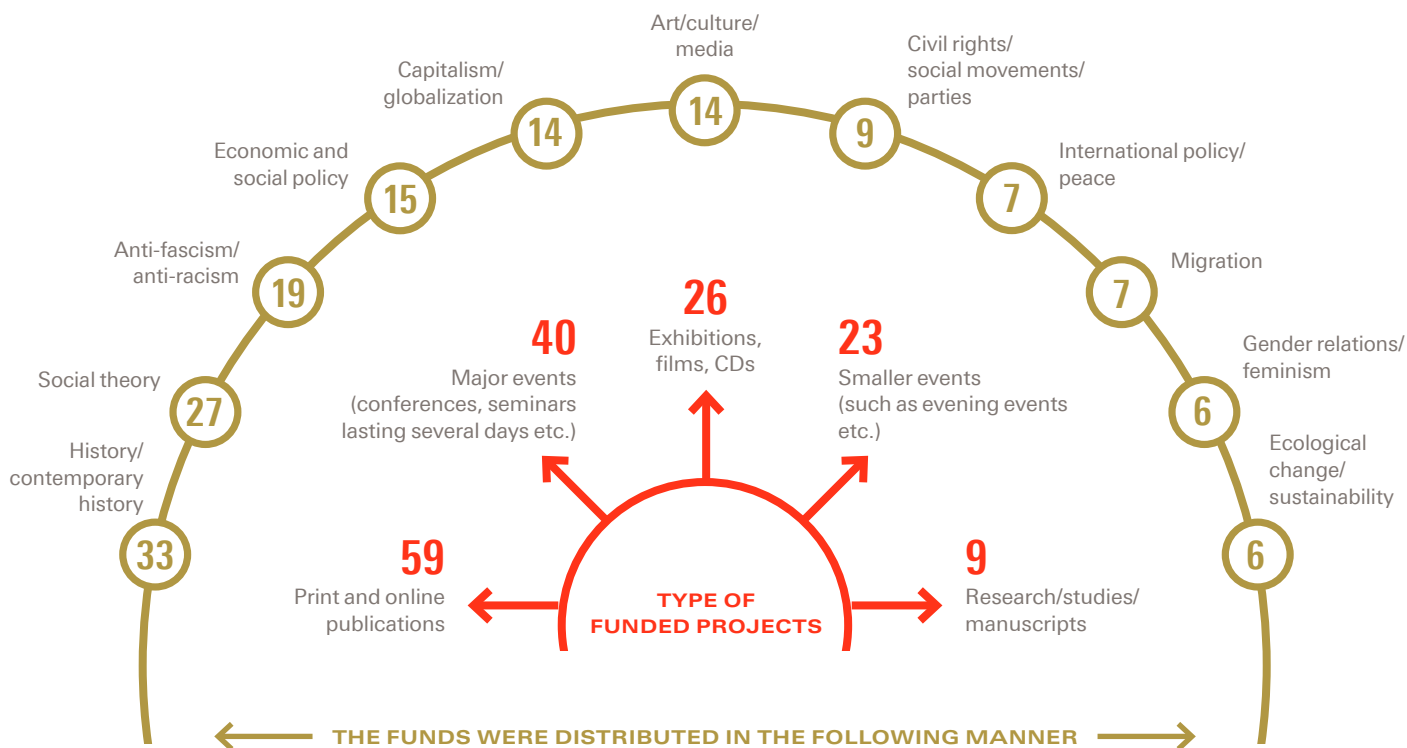
In 1933, a concentration camp was established on the premises of Sonnenburg prison in what is now Słońsk, 15 kilometers from Kostrzyn, Poland. The facility also held Carl von Ossietzky, Erich Mühsam, and Hans Litten. From 1934 it was used as a prison for political prisoners in particular, and from 1942 for resistance fighters from occupied European countries. In the night from 30 to 31 January 1945 – a few hours prior to libera-

tion by the Red Army – an SS unit shot 814 prisoners in the prison’s courtyard. This massacre brought twelve years of German fascist terror in Sonnenburg to a close in dramatic fashion. A museum was opened in 1974, and the people who died are remembered in an event that takes place annually. The purpose of the conference, which was organized with the municipal administration of Słońsk, was to heighten public awareness of this place of fascist terror and embed it into the German, Polish, and European cultures of remembrance. The 90 participants from Poland, Belgium, and Germany learned about the history of Sonnenburg camp, and relatives of former prisoners described their fate. In connection with the renovation of the museum and the exhibition, the conference also discussed how to increase the engagement of young people in commemorative activities. Besides providing networking opportunities for relatives, representatives of civil society, and historians, the conference also succeeded in laying the foundations for further development toward a European memorial site. Both the German and Polish press, as well as regional Polish radio and television channels, reported on the event. Details about the conference are to be published in German and Polish.

JÜRGEN BREITER: “EIN ORT ZUM LESEN 2.0” (A PLACE TO READ 2.0). PROJECT DEVELOPMENT FOR AN INTERACTIVE ROOM INSTALLATION IN MEMORY OF THE BOOK BURNING ON 10 MAY 1933
 Funding: € 2,000

In cooperation with the University of Applied Sciences in Berlin, Jürgen Breiter developed a multimedia production for a room located in the entrance to the Faculty of Law at the Humboldt University of Berlin. This site overlooks Bebelplatz – where the 1933 book burning took place – and Micha Ullman’s “Bibliothek” (library) monument. The books that are available there can be read on site or taken home. In cooperation with Bookcrossing, the number of books that are available is constantly being expanded. Moreover, as well as taking the “burned books” home, visitors can also add new books to the collection. As a next step, a multimedia terminal will be installed that will allow visitors to participate in the production of audio books. These books will then be accessible via WLAN. The project hopes that this idea will also be taken up at other book burning sites.

IN 2013 THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PROVIDED FUNDING TO 157 PROJECTS



ATTAC: ATTACADEMIE 7TH JOB-RELATED QUALIFICATION PROGRAM ON POLITICAL ECONOMY AND PRACTICE FOR ACTIVISTS FROM THE ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT

Funding: € 10,000

The Attacademie trains people who are actively critical of globalization to participate in panels, working groups, and Attac campaigns, and initiate political projects. The course lasts one year and comprises of seven seminars lasting between 3 and 5 days of independent work in project groups. The 7th Attacademie was entitled “Krise – und wie weiter?” (Crisis – and now?). The participants discussed alternatives and developed specific alternative projects on the basis of different approaches to interpreting political economy. Combining substantive, theoretical, and methodological training with practical experience within a fixed group enabled a special space for learning and reflection to be developed. Graduates of the Attacademie expand the pool of left-wing teachers, and the course results add to the range of educational materials available on central political topics.

**TEILHABE E. V.: SERIES OF SEMINARS
“LEBEN AM RANDE” (LIFE ON THE MARGINS)**

Funding: € 1,500

This educational project examines the situation of marginalized people in Europe regarding the issues of poverty, unemployment, homelessness and prison. In addition, it takes their forms of protest and resistance into account and attempts to demonstrate how they can move out of marginalization. One of the project’s themes was “crisis protests”, comparing the situation and actions of Arab and European countries. This area of the project focused on the Spanish movement against forced relocations; models of self-regulation in the field of health; and forms of anti-repression work. In contrast, “the city in crisis” session reflected above all on initiatives in Berlin against gentrification and uncontrolled rent increases. The project closed with a discussion on how forms of resistance that are based on clear analyses of relationships of power and domination can lead to constructive and sustainable improvements in society (with regard to participation and justice).

Examples of project funding on the key topic “history/contemporary history”

- Marga Voigt: editing the letters of Clara Zetkin from August 1914 to November 1918 for the publication: *Verliere keine Minute Zeit. Der Krieg steht vor dem Tore...* (Don’t lose time. War is on the doorstep), Karl Dietz Verlag, Berlin – € 5,000
- Wolfgang Dreßen: *Arisierung in Schlesien 1939–1945. Profit und Völkermord* (Aryanization in Silesia 1939–1945. Profit and genocide) – searching archive resources in Poland and the Czech Republic – € 2,500

- Zug der Erinnerung e. V.: conference and memorial seminar on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the mass deportation to the Nazi extermination camp Sobibór (Transport no. 15) – € 2,000
- Informationsstelle Lateinamerika e. V.: planning and setting up a website on Ernesto Kroch (1917–2012) – € 1,500

Examples of project funding on the key topic “social theory”

- Hans Leo Krämer: “Der Horizont unserer Handlungen: den Zusammenbruch des Kapitalismus denken” (The horizon of our actions: thinking about the collapse of capitalism), conference in Saarbrücken on the ideas of André Gorz – € 2,000
- Förderverein für Forschungen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung e. V.: “Demokratie – Wirtschaft – Staat. Demokratische Transformation als Strategie der Linken” (Democracy – economy – state. Democratic transformation as a strategy of the Left), honorary colloquium for Ulla Plener in Berlin – € 1,830
- Alexandra Schauer: “Keine Zeit für Utopien? Zum Verlust utopischen Denkens in der Spätmoderne” (No time for utopias? About the loss of utopian thought in late modernity), conference at the Free University of Berlin – € 1,000
- Markus Bauer/Andreas Förster: series of events in, amongst others, Nuremberg, Regensburg, Stuttgart, Freiburg, Mannheim, and Munich on the book *Schwarze Flamme. Revolutionäre Klassenpolitik im Anarchismus und Syndikalismus* (Black flame. Revolutionary class politics in anarchism and syndicalism) – € 960

Examples of books that received funding

- Udo Achten/Klaus Rose: *Unser Leben. Soziale Bewegungen und Arbeitskämpfe im Ruhrgebiet. 1965–1989* (Our life. Social movements and labor disputes in the Ruhr area. 1965–1989), Klartext Verlag, Essen 2013 – € 2,000
- Mario Kessler: *Ruth Fischer. Ein Leben mit und gegen Kommunisten (1895–1961)* (Ruth Fischer. A life with and against communists, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne, 2013 – € 1,500
- Christian Axnick/Liv Ditzinger/Kai Eicker-Wolf: *Schwarzbuch Vergabe. Wie die öffentliche Hand in Hessen Lohn-dumping betreibt* (Black book awarding. How public authorities in Hesse practice wage dumping), Büchner-Verlag, Darmstadt 2013 – € 1,000
- Werner Boldt: *Carl von Ossietzky. Vorkämpfer der Demokratie* (Carl von Ossietzky. Pioneer of democracy), Verlag Ossietzky, Hannover 2013 – € 1,000
- Ilker Attaç: *Ökonomische und politische Krisen in der Türkei. Die Neuformierung des peripheren Neoliberalismus* (Economic and political crises in Turkey. The restruc-



Information from initiatives in Berlin against gentrification and rising rents

turing of peripheral neoliberalism), Westfälisches Dampfboot, Münster 2013 – € 1,000

- Étienne Bablibar: *Marx' Philosophie* (Marx's philosophy), b_books, Berlin 2013 – € 1,000
- Michael G. Kraft (Ed.): *Soziale Kämpfe in Ex-Jugoslawien* (Social struggles in former Yugoslavia), Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna 2013 – € 750
- AfricAvenir International e. V.: *Widerstand, Revolutionen, Renaissance. Stimmen zum sozialen Aufbruch in Afrika* (Resistance, revolutions, renaissance. Voices on the social upheaval in Africa), Editions AfricAvenir/Exchange & Dialogue, Berlin 2013 – € 700

Numerous long-term partnerships were strengthened, such as those with Bundeskoordination Internationalismus, musical and social movements, Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen, and the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime/Federation of Antifascists (VVN-BdA). Furthermore, new and productive contacts were made with young people, which enabled the Foundation to support their work in political education. Whenever it has been possible to develop direct cooperation at the local level, financial assistance has been provided through the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regional foundations. The following sets out 26 projects that received a total of € 31,435.

- Heinz Ratz: Concerts and information events with musicians from refugee housing (in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Hamburg, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, Thuringia) – € 2,000
- City of Nuremberg: Anne Frank exhibition (Bavaria) – € 1,000
- Gregor Kritidis: Conference entitled "Vorschein des Neuen? Protestbewegungen und alternative Formen der Ökonomie im Europa der Krise" (Revealing the new? Protest movements and alternative forms of economy in the Europe in crisis) (Bremen) – € 500
- Sebastian Leierseder: Exhibition titled "Gegenwart und Grenzen in Europa" (The present day and limits in Europe) (Hesse) – € 500
- Engagierte Wissenschaft e. V. Leipzig: "Projekt Völker-schlacht" (Battle of the nations) (Saxony) – € 500

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The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's project sponsorship contributes towards ensuring that a broad spectrum of left-wing issues is present in the public political debate. All of the projects that have received funding cover regions and target groups that complement the Foundation's work in political education.

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Photos of the open-air photo exhibition "Wall on Wall", which between July 10 and September 13, 2013 presented a total of 36 panorama pictures by the Berlin photographer Kai Wiedenhöfer. They were installed directly on the back of preserved pieces of the Berlin wall on both sides of the staircase leading to the O₂ arena.





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THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

MATERIAL AND IDEATIONAL POSSIBILITIES FOR THINKING DIFFERENTLY

Since 1999, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has supported undergraduates and postgraduates with scholarships. The scholarship funds are provided by two governmental organizations: the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), which provides the vast majority of the funds, and the Foreign Office (AA).

Since 1999, the number of undergraduates funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been rapidly increasing. In 2013, 1,164 people received a scholarship. In line with the principles of the Foundation, when allocating scholarships particular emphasis is always placed on reducing social inequalities and injustices so as to ensure that disadvantaged groups, in particular people who are or have been disadvantaged in the educational system, receive a sufficiently large proportion of the funding. Thus, a total of 61 percent of the undergraduates newly admitted to the scholarship program came from non-academic families; and 43 percent came from a migrant background. Over 50 percent of scholarship holders are women.

In addition to financial support, every year the Scholarship Department offers students an extensive program covering theory to accompany their studies. Its four objectives are: strengthening scientific competences, developing skills, promoting left-wing education, and networking. The Scholarship Department also organizes a variety of events that are adapted to the needs of scholarship holders, often organized in close cooperation with other staff from the Foundation. At the same time, the department also ensures that scholarship holders are provided with the space that they need to organize their own work. Similarly, the Foundation provides funds and space for working groups, general meetings, and other activities of the scholarship holders.

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE FUNDING PROCESS AND JOBS FOUND BY SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS

In 2012, the Institute for Work and Society (INAG) undertook a study of almost 300 people who had formerly received scholarships from the Foundation. The study was supervised by an advisory board consisting of Christine Brückner, Peter Ullrich, Hella Hertzfeldt, and Moritz Blanke, and the former scholarship holders actively participated in the study. It served as the basis for the following figures and can be accessed at: www.rosalux.de/publication/38976/ehemaligenstudie.html.

Who was funded?

The participants were aged between 23 and 54. The average age of undergraduates who received funding was 31, with the average age of funded postgraduates at 37. According to the legal definition, 57 percent of scholarship-holders were women and 43 percent men. A good fifth of respondents had a migrant background.

Funding process

A good three quarters of the participants had achieved their primary study objective within the standard period of study. Ninety percent achieved a final grade of "good" or "very good". In contrast, the 3-year funding period for PhD undergraduates, as stipulated by educational policy, sufficed only in exceptional cases: 15 percent of respondents had finalized their dissertation within this time frame; whereas two fifths required an additional year; one sixth took five years, and the remaining participants needed longer still. The majority of degrees that were funded were completed with magna cum laude and summa cum laude.

Socio-political commitment during funding

The varying political parties and socio-political, social and cultural initiatives with which the funded undergraduates and doctoral students were engaged changed during and after the funding period. Many of them participated in the scholarship holders' working groups and the various bodies of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Transition to professional life

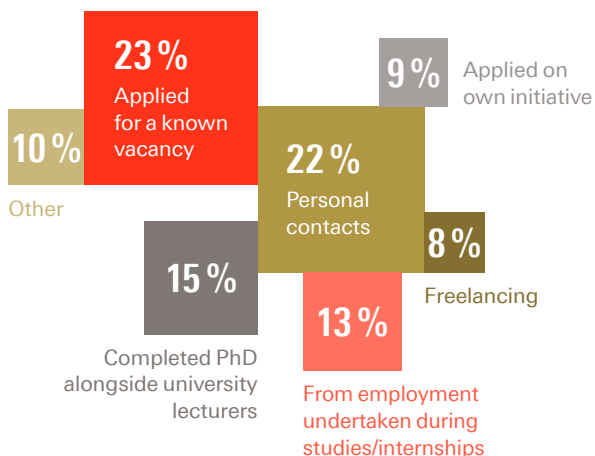
Half of the respondents took up employment immediately after completing their undergraduate degree and or PhD; almost a quarter searched for employment for about a year, and 3 percent for even longer. Significantly more respondents with a migrant background stated that they were involuntarily unemployed after completing their degree (46 percent compared to 29 percent without a migrant background). These figures refer predominantly to initial employment positions that were appropriate for their respective qualifications; personal contacts played an important role in this regard. However, 40 percent of respondents stated that their net initial salary was below € 1,000, and for a further 40 percent it was below € 1,500.

Academic careers

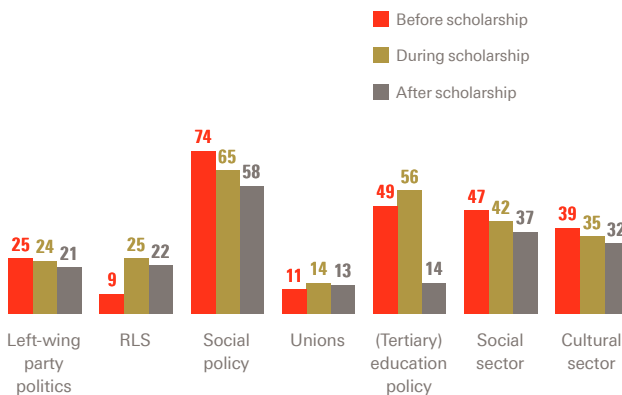
About two fifths of the undergraduates and half of the doctoral students continued their academic career after their scholarship had been completed. However, there were gender-specific differences. A larger proportion of women decided against an academic career. The following figures clearly reflect the "long road towards professorship": seven participants held a professorship, and 13 stated that they had applied for at least one professorship, nine of whom had been invited for an interview. Of these, 5 had been short-listed, and 3 had received and accepted an offer.

HOW DO SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS FIND THEIR FIRST JOB?

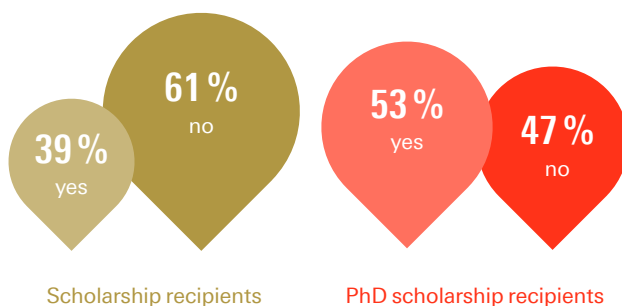
(Only includes recipients who have graduated/completed their PhD and who are in active employment)



LEVEL OF SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT (IN %)



NUMBERS AIMING FOR AN ACADEMIC CAREER

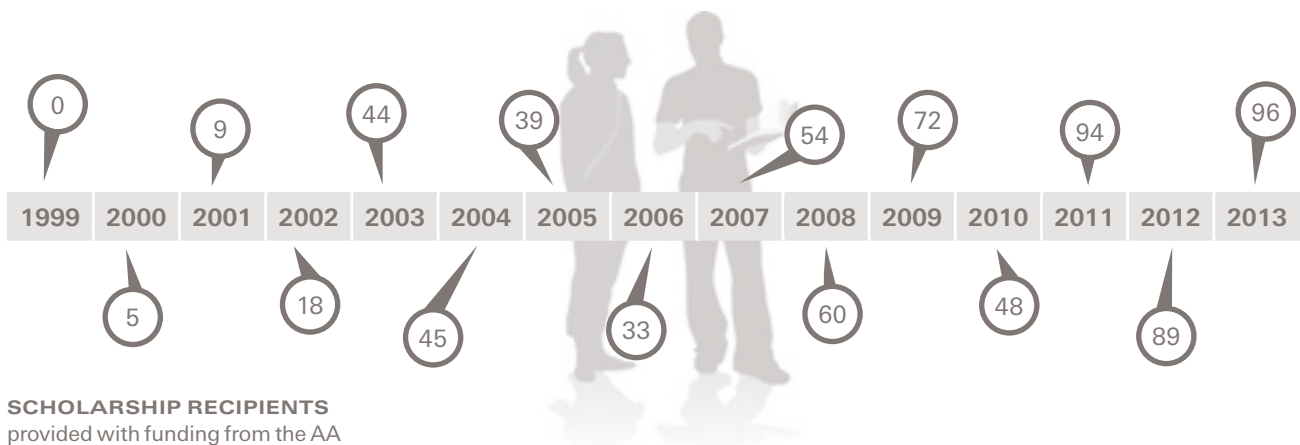
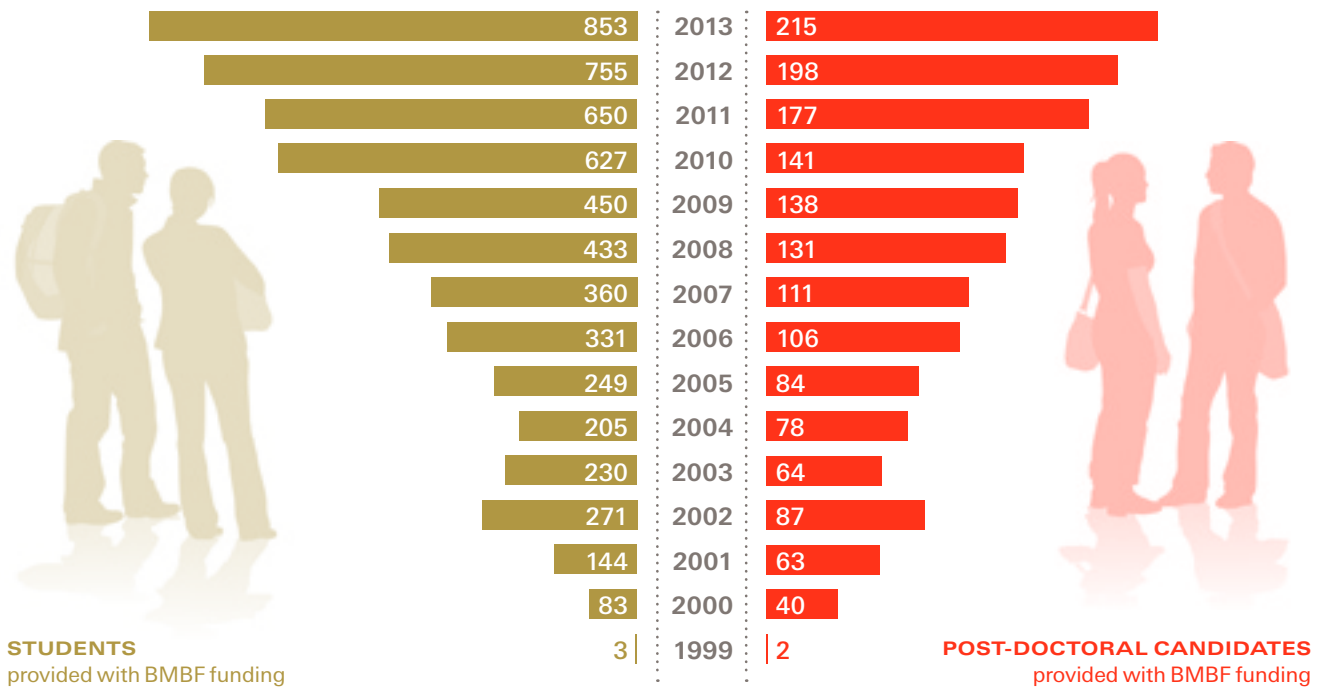


Conclusion and outlook

The authors of the alumni study concluded that, in general, the results of the survey on former scholarship holders painted a positive overall impression of the work of the Foundation's Scholarship Department. The objective data on the length of the participants' studies and grades, their professional development after the scholarship had ended and the type and extent of socio-political commitment among scholarship holders during and after the funding phase, demonstrated that the central funding objectives of the Scholarship Department have been achieved.

However, the results of the study also make it clear that the Foundation needs to become more active, in particular when it comes to providing support during the transition from academic to professional life. The career success of former scholarship holders with migrant and/or non-academic backgrounds, but also of women, must be more closely observed so as to develop further funding measures, if deemed necessary. At the same time, it would be useful to discuss measures such as mentoring by former scholarship holders, strengthening cooperation with ROSA Alumni e. V. and expanding the Scholarship Department's provision of networking and vocational support.

DEVELOPMENTS IN FUNDING





Stefania Maffeis, who has been an academic tutor since March 2010

AN INTERVIEW WITH STEFANIA MAFFEIS, AN ACADEMIC TUTOR

Dr. phil. Stefania Maffeis is a research assistant at the Free University of Berlin. Since March 2010, she has worked as an academic tutor for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Her position is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) on the topic of “transnational knowledge circulation in the work and reception of Hannah Arendt”. Maffeis’ research interests focus on political and social philosophy, and practical, theoretical-scientific and post-colonial approaches in particular.

What are the most important tasks of academic tutors?

Maffeis: The Foundation’s academic tutors play an important role in the application procedure, as well as in the supervision of scholarship recipients. They hold initial talks with candidates and supervise scholarship holders later in their studies. Some of us are also on the selection board that decides who should be awarded undergraduate or doctoral scholarships. In general, academic tutors act as mediators between the Foundation, scholarship holders, and applicants. On the one hand, we enjoy the trust of the Foundation and are tasked with representing its interests. In other words, this means that we identify good and committed undergraduates and doctoral students and help them to realize their potential. On the other hand, academic tutors are relatively independent, which enables us to accommodate the needs of undergraduates and doctoral students. We also assess their specific situation, competences, experiences, wishes, and requirements, and this means that we can take the scholarship-holders seriously.

The mediating position of the academic tutors can and should contribute to making the decision criteria and modalities of the application procedure more transparent and allow for more reflection.

How did you become an academic tutor?

Maffeis: A good friend who works for the Rosa-Luxem-

burg-Stiftung asked me whether I could imagine taking up this role.

What are the biggest challenges?

Maffeis: The mediating position of an academic tutor is sometimes ambivalent. It is not easy to clearly define the line between the interests and possibilities of the Foundation on the one hand, and the wishes and potential of the candidates on the other. Academic tutors are involved in an important decision-making process, which can have a considerable effect on people’s future. The fact that not all of the applicants receive material support on their path to self-realization increases the pressure on academic tutors to carry out supervisory activities in a particularly careful and responsible manner.

What do you like about your work?

Maffeis: I like the contact with the applicants and scholarship recipients, since they are generally interesting, intelligent, committed people with critical minds. I have also enjoyed and learned a lot from the cooperation with the Foundation’s voluntary and full-time staff, and with the Scholarship Department’s team and other academic tutors on the selection committee. The selection board has generally been very reflective in using its position. The working environment has been relaxed and productive and collective decision-making processes have generally been transparent and accountable.

What would you like to see done differently by the Foundation? How could the funding of undergraduates and doctoral students be improved?

Maffeis: As an academic, left-wing and non-native German speaker who tries to introduce critical and marginalized topics and perspectives into universities, I know that it is very difficult to succeed thanks to the climate of permanent competition. So, I would like to see the Foundation thinking more about the ways it could support academic careers at the post-doctorate level; in other words, on the way towards professorship. This could include a mentoring program, especially for women and migrants. It is also critical to support events for and by academic tutors, as well as jointly organized academic conferences and foundation-funded professorships.

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THE POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT

The main aim of the Political Communications Department is to provide the wider public with comprehensive and easily understood information on the Foundation's services, statements, and contributions. This forms the basis of the department's mission: to act as the link between the Foundation – as a left-wing educational institution – and the public.

Good communication “with the outside world” relies on intensive “internal” communication. This leads the department's staff to work with all other departments at the Foundation, at both the national and international level. Accordingly, the department's staff is responsible for a wide range of tasks at the Foundation and externally, both online and offline, and this often means making public appearances as presenters or speakers. Clearly, the department is far more than just a behind-the-scenes service provider.

The Political Communications Department is responsible for the Foundation's various publications. It also manages the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's online presence, oversees the journal *RosaLux*, prepares the annual report, and provides a monthly online newsletter. The department also ensures that the media at home and abroad are fully informed; it organizes advertising and giveaways; and provides support to exhibitions. Finally, the department also distributes the Foundation's materials and organizes information desks at events or the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's presence at fairs, congresses, and party and trade union conferences.

In 2013, the Foundation issued more than 100 publications – from the *Standpunkte* and *luxemburg argumente* series to the *Manuskripte* volumes and books in cooperation with publishing houses. The steady growth in the importance of the Internet for public relations work is reflected in the Foundation's provision of a wide range of online information. In addition to the various blogs and the website www.rosalux.de, the Foundation is increasingly making use of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Google+, YouTube, and SoundCloud to distribute information. Furthermore, audio and video documentation of events is becoming increasingly important, as it enables the Foundation's educational services to be used anytime and anywhere.

The Political Communications Department is also highly involved in the Foundation's key projects. This includes work on Internet policy issues, organizing the Festival of the Left (which takes place in the heart of Berlin, on Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz, and attracts thousands of visitors every year), setting the festival's agenda, and providing support to visitors from the constituencies of left-wing members of the Bundestag. The department has also been involved in optimizing planning procedures within the Foundation, preparing internal and external communication strategies, and developing a centralized database of addresses.



Patrick Stary from the online editorial staff browsing Web 2.0

“SOCIAL NETWORKS HAVE MANY POSITIVE ASPECTS”

AN INTERVIEW WITH PATRICK STARY

Patrick Stary has been part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s online editorial team since 2011. Alongside Erwin Heil, he is responsible for the Foundation’s social media channels.

What exactly does “social media” mean?

Stary: The term social media refers not only to social networks such as Facebook, the microblogging service Twitter, or the video platform YouTube, but also to the blogs of the 1990s. Generally, it refers to Internet content that is basically determined or at least co-determined by the users themselves.

How long has the Foundation been using social media?

Stary: The Foundation launched its first blog in the early noughties under: www.wemgehoertdiewelt.de. We have been using Twitter since July 2009. Our Facebook page was created in August 2009.

Which social media platforms does the Foundation use in its work?

Stary: We use Facebook, Twitter, SoundCloud, Google+, YouTube and Diaspora.

What is the benefit of these for political education?

Stary: The use of digital media is often met with high expectations. Just because people publish things that have been published previously but in a new format on the Internet does not necessarily mean that they will become more relevant or reach different target groups. If young or Internet-savvy target groups are to be reached, it is important to think about specific forms of communication on the Internet. But of course, social networks have many positive aspects! They enable people to improve their education without having to be at a certain venue at a certain time. On SoundCloud, you can download and listen to audio recordings of many of our educational events –

whenever you want. Studies show that the majority of social network users access political content through selection algorithms, such as the Facebook newsfeed. This enables people to be reached who are not explicitly looking for political content on the Internet. However, we still need to distribute political content via our own social network.

Do you think that this kind of network is useful for the Foundation’s work?

Stary: Just as with public relations work in general, you can always do more. However, we have achieved a great deal during the past few years with regard to digital public relations. Nevertheless, sometimes I would like to focus more on public relations and take into consideration how patterns of reception and communication have changed.

How are the Foundation’s services received?

Stary: There has been a rapid increase in the use of our social media channels and interaction with our contributions and content over the past years. The website <https://pluragraph.de/organisations/rosa-luxemburg-stiftung-rls> gives a good overview of the development of our channels.

Does this service predominantly target young people?

Stary: According to usage statistics, we predominantly reach people aged between 18 and 44, and within this group particularly people aged 25 to 34. However, we hardly reach anyone under the age of 18.

What do you enjoy most about your job?

Stary: I’m particularly happy that my work means that I get a good overview of the Foundation’s variety of services. My work is also really diverse and requires very different skills, even if I do spend most of the time on my computer.

Do online editors always have to be online?

Stary: This is a sensitive issue and concerns changing working conditions as well as the complicity of communications technology in this process. I spend a lot of time online, and there is often no clear separation between private and professional communication. Thus professional issues can enter our private life. As the relationship status setting on Facebook puts it: “It’s complicated.”

THE LUXEMBURG ARGUMENTE SERIES

The Political Communications Department developed a new format in 2011 – the luxemburg argumente series. The pilot issue in the series was entitled *Sell your islands, you bankrupt Greeks! 20 popular errors in the debt crisis*. The series soon turned out to be one of the Foundation’s absolute bestsellers, with some editions exceeding five figures. The success of these educational brochures does not only result from the fact that the topics relate to current and highly-debated political events; it is also down to how they are presented. The texts provide introductions, and are short, descriptive and offer a whole range of sound arguments to counterbalance the prevailing prejudice otherwise found in public discourse.

The first editions were mainly devoted to the euro and the debt crisis. Over time, the range of topics has been expanded and they now include issues such as poverty (*Armut* – Poverty risks of the energy transition) and the myths of the green economy (*Beautiful Green World*). Three new educational brochures were published in 2013. *Von wegen Casino* (Casino – No way) focused on popular errors relating to banks, the stock exchange and credit. *Gesundheit ist eine Ware* (Health is a commodity) is devoted to the problems of the commercialized health system, since in one of the wealthiest societies in the world benefits provided by statutory insurers were reduced and hospitals privatized. Volume 7 of the series, *Old people fill their pockets and young people always pay more!* deals with myths and facts about pension policy.

The concept of the *luxemburg argumente* series has not only been well received by German-speaking readers. *Is the whole world going bankrupt?* and *Beautiful Green World* are just some of the titles that are also available in English. In 2013, the first issue was even translated into Turkish. *Sağlık, kazançlı bir metadır!* (Health is a commodity) provides information about developments in the German health service and addresses the German Turkish-speaking community.

The series is to be continued and the topics will certainly be extended. Volume 8 is to be published in 2014 under the title *Flüchtlinge willkommen – Refugees Welcome? Mythen und Fakten zur Migrations- und Flüchtlingspolitik* (Refugees welcome? Myths and facts about migration and refugee policy).

THE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF POVERTY AND WEALTH THE FAILURE OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In March 2013, the Foundation published a large-scale media study in which the former head of communications at the German Federation of Trade Unions, Hans-Jürgen Arlt, and the former editor in chief of the newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Wolfgang Storz, examined reports and comments on poverty and wealth in six renowned newspapers. Their analysis of newspaper publishers was anything but complimentary: instead of freedom of the press, they argued, that there had been “A clear case of fear of the press.”

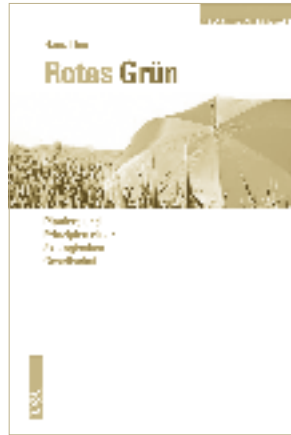
The authors of the study were not particularly enthusiastic about the standard of journalism they found, as the title of the study, *Portionierte Armut, Blackbox Reichtum – Die Angst des Journalismus vor der sozialen Kluft* (Divisions of poverty and blackboxed wealth – journalism’s fear of the social divide), clearly shows. The authors summarized their findings as follows: professional journalists worry more about the problems of the rich than about the social problems caused in the rest of society by the fact that private wealth is highly concentrated around a small number of people. On the other hand, although journalists do cover the issue of poverty with concern,



The consequences of private wealth for society are disregarded by the press

they tend to deprive it of its social explosiveness by limiting discussions on poverty to individual issues, such as child poverty, the poverty of welfare recipients caused by the so-called Hartz IV scheme, and lone parents. The study points out that the press generally only portrays women as poor if they are mothers. Only the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* was evaluated highly by the authors. All of the other print media examined as part of the study (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *Tagesspiegel* and *Der Spiegel*) were deemed as portraying a highly unsatisfactory picture of poverty. This was particularly the case with *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, whose editors consistently attributed poverty to individual failure.

In April, a discussion of the topic took place at a conference in Berlin. The conference was led by the authors of the study, and Sebastian Bödeker of the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and Ulrike Herrmann, a journalist from the newspaper *die tageszeitung*. They argued that the individualization of poverty and wealth particularly strengthens the capacity of the middle class to defend its privileges, while reinforcing the demarcation between the middle classes and those below them. At the same time, it also increases their hope of social mobility and their willingness to form alliances with people above them. The contributions to the conference were published by the Foundation in the volume *Zwischen Skandalisieren und Verschweigen* (From scandalization to concealment), as *Manuskripte Neue Folge 6* (www.rosalux.de/publication/39588). The detailed 100-page study has been made available online together with further comprehensive texts and expert interviews (www.rosalux.de/publication/39364). It has also been presented at lectures in towns such as Stuttgart and Erfurt.



SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

KARL DIETZ VERLAG

Helmut Bock
Freiheit – ohne Gleichheit?
Soziale Revolution 1789 bis 1989
 Trägödien und Legenden

Wladislaw Hedeler (ed.)
Lenin oder: Die Revolution gegen das Kapital

Hermann Weber/Andreas Herbst
Deutsche Kommunisten
 Supplement zum Biographischen Handbuch 1918 bis 1945

VSA VERLAG

Dieter Klein
Das Morgen tanzt im Heute
 Transformation im Kapitalismus und über ihn hinaus

Hans Thie
Rotes Grün. Pioniere und Prinzipien einer ökologischen Gesellschaft

Hans Coppi/Sabine Kebir
Ilse Stöbe wieder im Amt
 Eine Widerstandskämpferin in der Wilhelmstraße

PUBLICATION SERIES

Peter Dahlgren
Verbessern soziale Medien die demokratische Partizipation?
 Bedeutung und Schwierigkeiten einer realistischen Einschätzung

STANDPUNKTE SERIES

Lühr Henken/Peter Strutynski
Händler des Todes
 Rüstungsexporte als Mittel deutscher Außenpolitik: Schädlich und unmoralisch

Günther Salz
Müll für Menschen
 Überschuss und "Überflüssige" – Zur Kritik der Almosen und Waren-ökonomie am Beispiel der Tafeln

Deniz Utlü
Für Trauer und Zorn
 Plädoyer gegen eine Ökonomie des Gedenkens

Afriqeu-Europe-Interact
Krieg in Mali
 Wie Frankreich seine Vormachtstellung in Westafrika verteidigt

STANDPUNKTE INTERNATIONAL SERIES

Nadja Rakowitz
Gesundheit ist eine Ware
 Mythen und Probleme des kommerzialisierten Gesundheitswesens

LUXEMBURG ARGUMENTE SERIES

Sabine Reiner
Alte kassieren!
Junge zahlen nur drauf!
 Mythen und Fakten zur Rentenpolitik

Christoph Butterwegge
Gerhard Schröders Agenda 2010
 Zehn Jahre unsoziale Politik

ANALYSEN SERIES

Mario Candeias
Left-wing strategies in the euro crisis
 A commented overview.

Dimitris Psarras
The rise of the neo-Nazi party "Golden Dawn" in Greece
 Neo-Nazi mobilization in the wake of the crisis.

Catharina Schmalstieg
Partizipative Arbeitskämpfe, neue Streikformen, höhere Streikfähigkeit?
 Eine Untersuchung der Gewerkschaftsarbeit des ver.di-Bezirks Stuttgart am Beispiel von Arbeitskämpfen im öffentlichen Dienst

Tobias Haas/Hendrik Sander
Grüne Basis
 Grüne Kapitalfraktionen in Europa – Eine empirische Untersuchung

STUDIEN SERIES

Ingo Matuschek/Frank Kleemann/
Uwe Krähnke
 Gelebte Parteimitgliedschaft
 DIE LINKE als kollektiver Akteur

Mechthild Schrooten
Genug ist genug
 Studie zu den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Einkommensbegrenzung

PAPERS SERIES

Ulrich Duchrow/Franz J. Hinkelammert
Theologische Alternativen zum globalen Kapitalismus
 Der Kapitalismus als Religion

Arne Clemens Seifert
Wie stabil ist Zentralasien?
 Politische Prozesse in der Region und die Heimtücken der Kritik am Autoritarismus

Horst Kahrs (ed.)
Zwischen Skandalisieren und Verschweigen
 Beiträge zur Tagung "Zwischen Skandalisieren und Verschweigen. Reichtum und Armut im öffentlichen Diskurs"
 Manuskripte Neue Folge vol. 6

Michael Brie (ed.)
"Wenn das Alte stirbt ..."
 Die organische Krise des Finanzmarktkapitalismus
 Manuskripte Neue Folge vol. 8

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 This is a selection of the titles published by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2013. They can all be found on our website (www.rosalux.de) where most of the texts are available in full.

THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY

DOCUMENTATION AND COLLECTIONS

The archives of political foundations in Germany adopted and published a joint profile covering their holdings in June 2013. The archive is a service institution aimed at facilitating research on the historic development of particular parties and their associated political and social movements. In addition, the archive also provides services in the field of historical-political education. The Archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS) is special because it covers the period beginning with the milestone special congress of the SED-PDS, which took place in December 1989. The categorization of the collection forms the basis of the joint profile, and this is also reflected in the structure of the ADS. Some of the collections are described below, with a particular emphasis on work that has been undertaken during 2013.

Parties: This body of works comprises of records from the archive of the Left Party's executive; it serves as an interim archive. This archive is complemented by works from political groups at the regional level. Clearly, cataloguing these bodies of works helps to make them more accessible and in 2013, a further finding aid was completed on the *Bestand: Parteivorstand der PDS – Die Ära Gysi 1989 bis 1993* (Collection: The PDS executive – the Gysi era: 1989 to 1993).

Parliamentary groups: The ADS is working to acquire the records of the Left Party in the Bundestag, regional parliaments, and the European Parliament. A meeting took place in Brussels in November 2013 with representatives of the Left Party in the European Parliament.

Leading politicians: Given the short history of our archive, the ADS has only gained from a few personal estates (whether during a person's lifetime or posthumously). In 2013, the estate of the PDS politician Michael Schumann, who died in an accident in 2000, was provided to the ADS. The collection will be made available as soon as possible.

Library material with reference to party history: The collection of small-scale newspapers published by the PDS and the Left Party and its immediate political environment became part of the library's collection in early 2013. In general, the library collects all material on the PDS/WASG/the Left Party (in analogue or digital form), from the national to the regional level. This includes commercial publications as well as grey literature from and about the Left Party and its source organizations as well as on the history of democratic socialism. More information on further collections can be found on the website. The archive's main tasks, such as acquisition, cataloguing, and provision, determine the daily work of the ADS and require expertise and knowledge of each collection. As an archive and library, we want to be the first port of call for researchers on party history and at the same time a competent partner for all other areas of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.



Cover sheet of the joint publication by party-affiliated foundations

ONE-DAY COLLOQUIUM THE PDS AS THE SUBJECT OF RESEARCH

At a one-day colloquium on 14 November 2013, approximately 30 researchers, former members of the PDS, and members of the Left Party approached the topic “The PDS as the subject of research”. Although political scientists have produced an abundant body of literature on the PDS, a panel discussion moderated by Detlef Nakath began with a discussion between Christian Lannert and Horst Dietzel, who identified and discussed the “unchartered waters” of PDS research. Horst Dietzel argued that work still needed to be undertaken on historical-scientific aspects of the PDS’ parliamentary and governmental work, and that the development of the party’s positions in various policy fields had yet to be researched.

Christian Lannert, who completed his doctoral dissertation on the politics of the past of the PDS and the Left Party, referred to desiderata that have not yet been properly researched, such as readers’ letters in the newspaper *Neues Deutschland*. He also pointed out that a comparison has not yet been carried out between the PDS and the former ruling parties of Eastern Europe. After that, the former head of the Archive of Democratic Socialism, Jochen Weichold, presented the finding aid for the *Collection: The PDS executive – the Gysi era 1989 to 1993*. In order to stimulate interest in this collection, Weichold chose a central topic of European policy from the wide range of po-

litical issues that had been dealt with by the executive of the PDS and its committee. The PDS had faced the challenge of becoming emancipated from the European policy of the GDR and developing an independent European policy as a left-wing party within the Federal Republic of Germany and Europe. Importantly, the party’s positions regarding European politics still appear relevant today.

In June 1991, the party argued that economic internationalization made it necessary to internationalize the political framework (see *Europa – Wandel und Neugestaltung* [Europe – change and reorganization]). Only then would the unification of Europe arise as an objective process. At that time, the PDS was attempting to develop a policy of unification with which the vast majority of the continent’s population could identify. The paper brought out by the party argued that the unification policy must ensure that citizens’ rights, fundamental freedoms and human rights were effectively implemented, that quality of life was improved and that peace was secured. Europe could only grow together, the paper maintained, by overcoming its economic and social division. Weichold further explained that the PDS based its rejection of the draft Maastricht Treaty in 1992 on a resounding yes to Europe. The party argued that global as well as continental economic, social, and ecological problems could only be solved beyond the context of nation states.

Clips from the film “Gregor Gysi – Anwalt der Schwachen” (Gregor Gysi – Lawyer of the weak), which was produced by Deutsche Fernsehfunke (East Germany’s state broadcaster) as part of its Klartext series, provided convincing proof of the challenges facing the new leadership of the SED/PDS in the period between the party convention in December 1989 and the East German elections in March 1990. Sabine Katins, the film’s director, introduced the idea behind the film, its implementation, and the circumstances that prevented it from being shown in 1990 or later. The presentation of the material at the conference was made possible through cooperation with the German Broadcasting Archive. A second podium discussion, which was moderated by Florian Weis, addressed the topic “Was bleibt von der PDS in der neuen Linken? Erbe und Tradition als Last und Inspiration” (What is left of the PDS in the new Left? Heritage and tradition as a burden and inspiration). Viola Neu, Kerstin Kaiser, and Heinz Vietze each presented their views. Heinz Vietze emphasized the departure from Stalinism as the basic prerequisite for the party-building process of the PDS. He pointed out that this heritage must be conserved in today’s Left Party.

NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

THANKS TO JOCHEN WEICHOLD

Jochen Weichold, one of the founding members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, retired from his position as head of the Archive of Democratic Socialism in 2013. To mark this occasion, his staff organized a farewell gathering in the Foundation's lounge on October 24, 2013.

At the center of the event was an entertaining opportunity to reminisce, which was attended by long-standing colleagues from within and outside of the Foundation: Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, head of the Nationwide Work Department, Evelin Wittich, the director of the Academy for Political Education, Cornelia Hildebrandt of the Institute for Social Analysis, and the historian Horst Dietzel, as well as Heinz Vietze, the former chairman of the Foundation. They spoke vividly about their work with Jochen Weichold, who was a founding member of Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e. V. (Social Analysis and Political Education Association), and former chairman, division manager and co-author of numerous publications for the Foundation on the Bundestag, and on various parties' European parliamentary election programs.

In the 1990s, Jochen Weichold was intensively engaged in setting up a foundation that was affiliated to the PDS. He was above all interested in statutory matters, with the aim of establishing a foundation that was democratic at all levels; this meant a foundation that was based on gender justice, used quotas, and avoided individual leadership. The foundation was also intended to incorporate new topics, and address socio-ecological issues, for example. This comes as no surprise considering Jochen Weichold's activities at the Academy for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED, where he carried out research on radical leftists and the Greens in West Germany. This work increased his familiarity with debates on democracy and the main issues in environmental policy. Jochen Weichold continued to engage with the Greens even after the fall of the wall: he attended every party congress and tirelessly analyzed each election program.

It was some time before the Social Analysis and Political Education Association became an educational institution on a par with other party-affiliated foundations. The first government funds were received in 1999. Jochen Weichold was tasked with building an archive covering the PDS and designing a library – he accomplished both feats with great commitment and success. His objective and persistent way of preserving archived materials, his friendly but consistent manner of demanding the possible, and above all his awareness that a new Left had to learn about and publicize its history made him the predestined head of the library and the archive.

It is now 14 years since the Archive of Democratic Socialism was founded as a specialist academic library. The themed-



Jochen Weichold has shaped the Foundation from the beginning

based structure of its media collection is largely based on three main areas: the Left Party and its previous incarnations (PDS, WASG); Rosa Luxemburg; and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. It also comprises media on the theory and history of left-wing movements in Germany, in particular on democratic socialism, political education, and social sciences. In addition, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's library is owned by the Johannes-Agnoli library. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Archive of Democratic Socialism, which was set up in 1999, collects and makes available resources on the development of the Left Party and its two former organizations. The archive also includes a wealth of documents on the history of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, in which Jochen Weichold holds an important place. His contribution to the establishment of the Foundation, as well as its memory in the archive and the library, accounts for a significant part of his life's work.

THE HARALD BREUER FOUNDATION 2013

For some years, the Harald Breuer Foundation has been working with (I)NTACT e. V. to fight against female genital mutilation in West Africa, and above all in Senegal. In 2013, they reflected on their current work and discussed how to continue their projects in 2014. They decided to provide a bridging fund for their project partner in Senegal in order to secure the continuity of its work. The Foundation also provided financial support to the Afrika-Forum e. V. to restore the commemorative plaque in memory of the West African Conference (the Congo Conference), which took place 120 years ago.

The Harald Breuer Foundation's most important project was the opening of the exhibition "Kolonialgeschichte am Ufer: Von Gröben zu May Ayim" (Colonial history on the river banks: from Gröben to May Ayim) on December 2, 2013. The Foundation also supported the renaming of Gröbenufer in Berlin to May-Ayim-Ufer. The colonial pioneer Otto Friedrich von Grö-

At his farewell gathering, Jochen Weichold received a small commemorative publication entitled Findbuch 007. Bestand: J. Weichold (Finding aid 007: Collection: J. Weichold), which includes a detailed selected bibliography of the historian's publications from 1978 to 2013.



A street finally being renamed in Berlin-Kreuzberg

ben founded a base for Brandenburg's trade with slaves on the west coast of Africa in the 17th century. By renaming the street to May-Ayim-Ufer, the focus was diverted away from Gröber to the Afro-German poet May Ayim. May Ayim was a central figure in the German black movement, a teacher and activist whose poetry and scientific papers vigorously defied everyday racism and colonialism. The exhibition can be regarded as a paradigm shift in Berlin's politics of remembrance. The curator, Angela Martin, and the exhibition's designer, Hanna Sjöberg, provided insights into their research projects on Berlin and Brandenburg's colonial history and its impact on current society. The exhibition was funded and organized by the Verein zur Erforschung und Darstellung der Geschichte Kreuzbergs e. V. (Association for Researching and Presenting the History of Kreuzberg) and the Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain Museum.



Stefan Heym, who would have turned 100 in 2013

KIND MEMORIES OF STEFAN HEYM

THE FOUNDATION CELEBRATED 2013 – THE YEAR OF STEFAN HEYM – WITH NUMEROUS PROJECTS

Little needs to be said to emphasize the importance of Stefan Heym for the post-war societies of East and West Germany. It is enough to refer to his literature and encourage his works to be read; Heym's novels still speak for themselves even today. The political writer would have celebrated his 100th birthday in April 2013. However, he made it clear that death was nothing terrible if it followed a long life full of love, work, and struggle. Therefore, he said, we should not mourn his death, but rather remember him "from time to time" and "with kindness."

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung crossed paths with Stefan Heym for the first time in the early 1990s, and gladly embraces his wish. The Foundation aims to recall the fading heritage of the *romancier* (novelist), as he liked to refer to himself. Together with the parliamentary group of the Left Party and the actor and director Franz Sodann, the Foundation penned a dramatic reading titled "Einer, der nie schwieg" (One who was never silent). This reading was to undergo several revisions and be performed in various contexts in 2013, lastly with the actor Günther Schoß and a group of undergraduates in Blankenburg, Saxony Anhalt.

By the end of 2012, the blog <http://stefanheyms.blog.rosalux.de/> had been published online with support of the journalist Matthias Becker. Besides interesting anecdotes about the writer, the blog also includes information about current events.

Heym fled from the Nazis, first from Germany, and later from Czechoslovakia. It was precisely his experience of totalitarianism that solidified his deeply democratic understanding of society. He came into contact with communist resistance early on, but he did not allow himself to be used for its purposes. He always saw himself as a democratic socialist. His novel *Schwarzenberg* perfectly expresses his conviction. In 2013, the city in the Ore Mountains of the same name also remembered Stefan Heym and organized readings, and exhibitions about the novel. These events were supported by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

In order to assist young people in gaining an understanding of Stefan Heym, the Foundation, alongside a project group from Prenzlau in Brandenburg, prepared educational materials on the novels *Collin*, *Fünf Tage im Juni*, and *Schwarzenberg*. These materials interpret the works from an interdisciplinary perspective and offer ways of approaching Heym's work from different perspectives. Another highlight of the 2013 Year of Stefan Heym was a dramatic reading at the Deutsches Theater Berlin, which was a co-production between Neue Bühne Senftenberg, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and the Deutsches Theater Berlin. The project series culminated in a reading organized with the Left Party on Heym's position as the eldest member of the Bundestag in 1994, and the political intrigue that occurred in the run-up to acceptance of his position. Therese Hörnigk's book *Ich habe mich immer eingemischt – Erinnerungen an Stefan Heym* (I always got involved – memories of Stefan Heym) provides a voice to his former companions and friends and an impressive and dignified view on Stefan Heym as a person. The positive response to the Foundation's activities suggests that Stefan Heym has become a little more present in everyday life. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has no intention of portraying him as an icon, but instead of remembering him "with kindness."



Erik Neutsch (with the literary award winner Daniela Steinert) during his last public appearance on November 30, 2012 in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's lounge

OFF THE BEATEN TRACK - THE LIFE OF ERIK NEUTSCH

Erik Neutsch was born in early summer, on June 21, 1931. This was two years prior to the establishment of the so-called "Thousand-Year Reich". He and his family lived in modest circumstances. He studied social sciences, philosophy, and journalism in the former GDR. He worked at the district newspaper *Freiheit in Halle* for 7 years and then as a freelance author for 53 years. The recognition and social impact of his work reached its peak in 1964 with the publication of his novel *Spur der Steine* (Trace of stones). He continued to write tirelessly and worked until his death; he was unable to finish the fifth volume of the series of novels *Der Friede im Osten* (Peace in the East). In 2006, Erik Neutsch established an eponymous foundation as part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. He engaged in numerous readings and discussions about his works, and supporting young authors who addressed the social issues of their time became a matter close to his heart. In 2011, on his 80th birthday, the Erik Neutsch Foundation launched a literary prize, which was awarded for the first time during a ceremony in 2012. This was to be his last public appearance. Erik Neutsch died on August 20, 2013.

We were saddened by the passing of Erik Neutsch, the unconventional intellectual and writer, and will ensure that the work of the Erik Neutsch Foundation continues as he would have wished.

THE WORK OF THE ERIK NEUTSCH FOUNDATION IN 2013

During 2013, the Erik Neutsch Foundation was intensively engaged in the publication of the book *Was bedeutet das alles überhaupt?* (What does it all mean?), which combines the best contributions from the 2012 and 2013 literary competition. Following Erik Neutsch's passing, the executive board supported his widow, Annelies Hinz-Neutsch, with the burial ceremony. On November 30, 2013, the Foundation organized a memorial service in honor of Erik Neutsch under the title *Die unauslöschliche Spur* (The indelible mark). Eberhard Panitz, a friend and colleague, reflected on the life of Erik Neutsch and his literary achievements. Klaus Höpcke spoke about the book *Nach dem Großen Aufstand* (Following the riot), which Neutsch wrote in the 1990s about the painter Matthias Grünewald. Daniela Steinert and Karolin Bettge, winners of the young writers' contest, read some of Neutsch's unpublished poetry. Finally, the actor Renate Richter read from the little-known, but impressive story *Der Hirt* (The shepherd). Even on the day of his passing, Erik Neutsch had worked on the fifth volume of *Peace in the East*. The Erik Neutsch Foundation ensured that it was published in time to present it at a joint event with the newspaper *Neues Deutschland* on February 19, 2014.

UPHEAVAL ON TAKSIM SQUARE

A SERIES OF EVENTS ENTITLED “PLATZ DER TRÄUME – RÜYALAR MEYDANI” (PLACE OF DREAMS – RÜYALAR MEYDANI)

In early summer 2013, the plan to develop Gezi Park in Istanbul sparked a number of protests that also led the issue to be discussed in Germany. Last year, the series of events entitled “Platz der Träume – Rüyalar Meydani”, which was organized at the end of August by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Attac, and the Interventionistische Linke, was intended to respond to the great interest surrounding the debate. In total, more than 1,500 people came together in eight cities to learn more about the protests in Turkey.

The five speakers attributed the protests to developments within Turkish society over the last decade. Participants learned about the background of the protests: the expulsion of people on low incomes from the inner city, the liberalization of the labor market, the redistribution of wealth from the bottom to the top, and the culture of charity, which was introduced by the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) under Prime Minister Erdoğan. The speakers also pointed out that many people were directly affected by repression, such as university students, who were almost completely controlled by the governing party, and journalists, many of whom have been sacked or imprisoned.

.....
 Begüm Özden Firat, professor of sociology at the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul explained that “collective anger has developed, and now it has exploded.”

In Hamburg, more than 300 interested people came to “Park Fiction” in St. Pauli, which was renamed “Gezi Park Fiction” throughout mid-June 2013 in an act of solidarity with the struggles in Turkey. The speakers made it clear that they viewed their protest as part of the global protests that have occurred in countries ranging from Spain to Brazil. They argued that the slogans “We are everywhere” and “We will win” were about much more than just encouragement. The protest was predominantly organized by young people, women, the LGBT community, and the Alevi community. It was supported by the Turkish Left and fans of the Istanbul football club Besiktas, who mobilized tens of thousands of young people. They even succeeded in encouraging anti-capitalist Muslims to take part. Begüm Özden Firat also reported on attempts to establish grassroots democratic structures, such as councils, and organize regular fora. The people at the event were quite confident that the Gezi protests would actually have major consequences and stated: “We are currently experiencing one of the most important phases of the resistance movement. The fora have also spread to other Turkish cities.”

TRUST FOUNDATIONS

In 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung administered five dependent foundations with total assets of more than 2 million EUR, consisting of real estate, works of art and financial investments. The income from these assets is used in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to fund a variety of projects that combine to create positive effects.

In early December, the Michael Schumann Foundation, with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Brandenburg, the Left Party in Brandenburg’s parliament, and the publishing house WeltTrends in Potsdam organized a conference titled “Die Linke und die Nation” (The Left and the Nation). The Michael Schumann Foundation was founded in 2006 to commemorate Michael Schumann, one of the most prominent and respected PDS politicians, who lost his life in a tragic car accident toward the end of the year 2000.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is heir to Max Lingner’s estate. This includes the listed former home and studio of the painter and graphic artist in Berlin-Pankow, a listed building that was built in the 1950s. The Max Lingner Foundation was founded in 2007 and seeks to maintain, critically incorporate, and disseminate Max Lingner’s works and to remember the artists of the 20th century who experienced emigration, war, and prison camps. This is reflected in a book about Lingner, which was published in 2013. After 20 years in exile, his work in the GDR, in other words from 1949 onwards, was characterized by suspicion towards “migrants from the West” and the “formalism campaign” that shaped cultural policy.

Hermann Henselmann’s architecture shaped urban development in the GDR. The *Haus des Lehrers* (House of the teachers) on Berlin’s Alexanderplatz, for example, was constructed according to his plans. The foundation in his name aims to examine architecture, urban planning, and issues of community-focused urban development.

The Harald Breuer Foundation was established in 2006. Its purpose is to promote political education, science, and research, as well as international understanding and cooperation, so as to contribute to the development of free thought and solidarity in a humanistic, democratic, and internationalist spirit.

The Erik Neutsch Foundation was established in May 2006 and named after the East German writer. The foundation promotes science and research, art and culture, as well as international understanding and cooperation. The artistic legacy of the founder, Erik Neutsch, who passed away in 2013, is preserved and cared for under the trusteeship of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The Erik Neutsch Foundation also supports scientific events, awards research contracts, and assists talented literary scientists and authors.



Announcing the colloquium with Michael Müller, Berlin's senator for urban development and the environment

THE COEVOLUTION OF MODERNITY: KARL-MARX-ALLEE AND INTERBAU, 1957

In summer 2012, Berlin's Senate filed an application to have Karl-Marx-Allee and Interbau 1957 designated a world heritage site. This initiative was the subject of the well-attended 9th Hermann Henselmann colloquium, which took place at the Berlin Congress Centrum at Alexanderplatz on December 16, 2013. It was hosted by the Hermann Henselmann Foundation and its chair, Thomas Flierl, as well as the Hansaviertel Bürgerverein (Hansaviertel Citizen's Association), the Corbusierhaus e. V., the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and Environment, the State Office for Historic Monuments, and the Academy of Arts in Berlin.

According to the journal *Bauwelt* (4/2014), both the application and the conference were the result of "the commitment of different citizens' groups and [...] the remarkable cross-party alliance between two former city senators for cultural affairs: Thomas Flierl (the Left Party) and Volker Hassemer (CDU)." The initiative builds on the fact that it is only in Berlin that the competition between the Eastern and Western political systems so clearly left its mark on architecture and urban development. Over the course of more than 20 years, unique city ensembles were designed by renowned architects, such as the buildings in Karl-Marx-Allee (previously Stalinallee) in the eastern part of the city, and the Hansa district in the west (which was built within the framework of the International Building Exhibition in 1957), Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation close to the Olympic Stadium, the Congress Hall in Tiergar-

ten, and the Academy of Arts. What emerged in divided post-war Berlin as construction and counter-construction, in aesthetic and political confrontation – Karl-Marx-Allee between 1951 and 1956, Interbau in 1957 and the later work on Karl-Marx-Allee between 1959 and 1964 – is now understood as a modern co-evolution of traditionalism and modernism (the sub-heading of the UNESCO application) and can be reinterpreted as common cultural heritage.

Although the event provided space for politicians and experts to discuss architecture and urban development in divided Berlin and public and private responsibility for world heritage, essential space was also provided to residents of the area to air their views. Some of the participants pointed out that the views of the public were some of the most interesting expressed during the colloquium. *Bauwelt* reported that if the application was to be successful, architectural enthusiasts living in the region who reported critically but also enthusiastically on their district would have to play an active role – this includes people such as the photographer Wilhelm Schürmann who lives in the "Allee" (4/2014).

The application for inclusion as a UNESCO world heritage site was prepared under the guidance of Thomas Flierl, chair of the Hermann Henselmann Foundation; the application is available online (in German) at: www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de/archiv/176/.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

In 2013, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung met the challenge set out in its 2012 annual report of consolidating established personnel structures and taking account of its enormous growth as a result of targeted personnel and organizational development. A collective agreement was entered into in September on extended co-determination of a sort that has not been seen before in Germany. This may be due to the fact that both parties – employers as well as employees – are members of the Foundation, which of course is affiliated to the Left Party, and as such pursue similar principles: commitment to good work, good performance and broad co-determination. Consequently, a collective agreement is the appropriate instrument. It regulates four areas:

1. extended co-determination with regard to filling vacant management positions,
2. extended co-determination for the works council in staff-related matters and the Foundation's political aims,
3. the rights of staff,
4. the establishment of a system of conflict management and regulation.

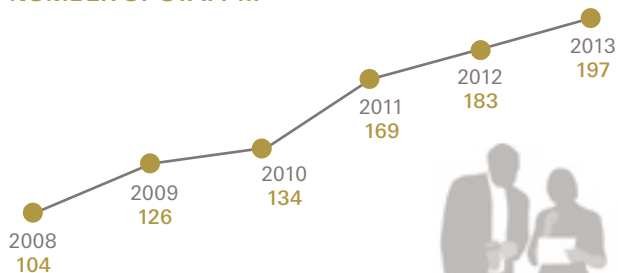
The Foundation's staff has extended rights to co-determination to the extent that current staff has to be included in the selection procedure when management positions are to be filled. Furthermore, the staff must give its permission before existing contracts can be extended or new appointments accepted. At the same time, the rights of the executive board and thus of the members of the association, are protected under the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's statutes. Section 118 of the *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (the Works Council Constitution Act) grants works councils co-determination rights in decisions on personnel. In addition, an economic committee is to be established, and remuneration for management above collectively agreed rates is to be stipulated as part of a works agreement, while existing wage agreements and works agreements are also to be applied to executive staff.

In addition, a works agreement will be concluded with regard to the conflict management system. It is to comprise the following instruments: initial counseling for all employees, access to trusted representatives, external counseling, and budget and works committees for conflict regulation.

The new collective agreement for extended co-determination poses ambitious challenges for the Foundation. The next steps will be agreeing on principles of good governance in the Foundation, developing an executive feedback system, and elaborating a study design that provides for an assessment of the quality and satisfaction of the Foundation's working environment.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 2008 AND 2013

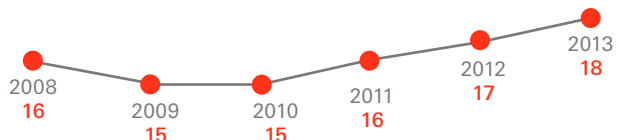
NUMBER OF STAFF ...



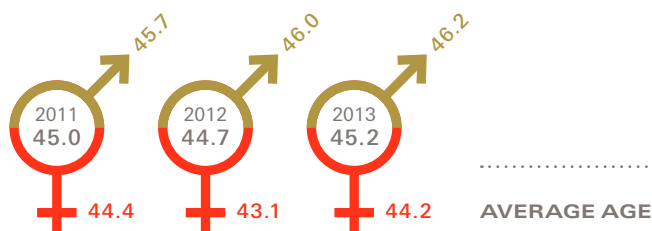
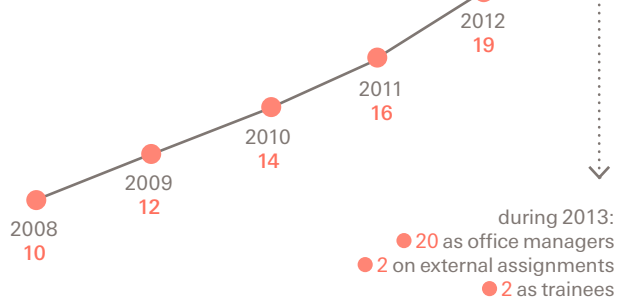
... IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT



... WORKING IN REGIONAL OFFICES



... WORKING IN INTERNATIONAL OFFICES



Percentage of total staff:	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Female staff	53%	54%	55%	51%	56%	55%
Male staff	47%	46%	45%	49%	44%	45%
Staff from a migrant family	8%	10%	11%	11%	15%	14%
Staff with permanent contracts	85%	82%	84%	81%	80%	77%
Part-time staff	21%	29%	22%	17%	20%	23%
Staff on parental leave				2%	3%	3%
Trainees				2%	3%	4%

Other forms of employment:	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Staff in limited part-time employment ¹	3	6	8	12	7	7
Internships ²	8	11	22	34	35	37

1 In accordance with the employment agreement and the Collective Agreement for Public Service Employees (TvöD)
 2 The total number over the entire year. In accordance with the DGB's guidelines and those of the Left Party

THE FOUNDATION'S BODIES

ON THE WAY TO A "LEFT-WING THINK-TANK"?

THE GENERAL MEETING ELECTS NEW EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

A special feature of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's general meeting is the statute stipulating that a quorum of 50% is needed to pass resolutions. In 2013, this was not an issue, since representatives of the 15 regional foundations attended the meeting for the first time as institutional members.

However, critique was certainly still expressed during the meeting. Thomas Händel, the Foundation's deputy chair, called for stronger participation in the debate about the European Union. Händel suggested the highly debated study on the euro by Heiner Flassbeck und Costas Lapavitsas, which was commissioned by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as a starting point for discussion. The Foundation's chair, Dagmar Enkelmann, concluded, "Although the Foundation is not yet visible enough as a left-wing think-tank, it is certainly on the right track." She stated that it was important that the Foundation's wide-ranging results be made available to a wider public. Long-standing executive board member Christa Luft stepped down from her post at the 2013 general meeting. However, she will continue working for the Foundation as an active member. She was thanked by Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis, among others, for her enduring commitment to the Foundation. Her departure meant that the general assembly had to elect a new executive board member. With the entering into force of the revised statute, the council of regional foundations had the right to propose a further member of the executive board. The general assembly elected the former ver.di manager of Baden-Württemberg, Sybille Stamm, and Ulrike Detjen, treasurer of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in North Rhine-Westfalia, which further increases the number of female board members.

Upon the executive board's recommendation, four other members were welcomed into the Foundation. Edgar Most was a board member of the GDR State Bank. Later, he was a board member of Deutsche Bank and honorary senator at the Viadrina University in Frankfurt (Oder). He has published various articles on the financial crisis. Margit Mayer is professor of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Free University of Berlin. She has published articles in a series of international publications on issues of North American and urban studies. Micheal Buckmiller is professor emeritus at the Leibniz University of Hannover and head of the Offizin publishing house. He directed the research project "Edition der Briefe von Wolfgang Abendroth" (Editing Wolfgang Abendroth's letters) and has published articles on the theory and social history of the labor movement. Janine Wissler is a political scientist and head of the Left Party in Hesse's state parliament.



Lively participation at the general meeting

MEMBERS

Ali Al Dailami
 Marwa Al-Radwany
 Dr. Dietmar Bartsch
 Dr. Peter Bathke
 Prof. Dr. Günter Benser
 Dr. Joachim Bischoff
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand
 Dr. André Brie
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brinkmann
 Sandra Brunner
 Christine Buchholz
 Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller
 Gerda Daenecke
 Sevim Dagdelen
 Daniela Dahn
 Birgit Daiber
 Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović
 Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe
 Richard Detje
 Ulrike Detjen
 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann
 Klaus Ernst
 Ilsegreg Fink
 Dr. Thomas Flierl
 Claudia Gohde
 Dr. Bärbel Grygier
 Dr. Gregor Gysi

Thomas Händel
 Karl-Heinz Heinemann
 Heiko Hilker
 Heinz Hillebrand
 Prof. Dr. Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff
 Dr. Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann
 Florian Höllen
 Klaus Höpcke
 Dr. Steffen Hultsch
 Dr. Gerda Jasper
 Dr. Lukrezia Jochimsen
 Kerstin Kaiser
 Dr. Sylvia-Yvonne Kaufmann
 Prof. Dr. Mario Keßler
 Katja Kipping
 Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein
 Dr. Thomas Klein
 Jan Korte
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Krambach
 Marian Krüger
 Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski
 Antonia Kühn
 Prof. Ingrid Kurz
 Oskar Lafontaine
 Caren Lay
 Dr. Klaus Lederer

Sabine Leidig
 Dr. Gesine Lötzsch
 Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
 Heidemarie Lüth
 Dr. Helmuth Markov
 Ulrich Maurer
 Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer
 Dr. Hans Modrow
 Cornelia Möhring
 Margret Mönig-Raane
 Dr. Edgar Most
 Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus
 Helga Nowak
 Gabi Ohler
 Dr. Wilfriede Otto
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Pätzold
 Dr. Harald Pätzold
 Petra Pau
 Prof. Dr. Dörte Putensen
 Peeter Raane
 Bodo Ramelow
 Jürgen Reents
 Dr. Sabine Reiner
 Prof. Dr. Rolf Reißig
 Bernd Riexinger
 Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling
 Prof. Dr. Jörg Roesler
 Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf

Dr. Bernd Rump
 Dr. Monika Runge
 Bosiljka Schedlich
 Dr. Birgit Schliewenz
 Dr. Dieter Schlönvoigt
 Fritz Schmalzbauer
 Horst Schmitthenner
 Christiane Schneider
 Dr. Ursula Schröter
 Dr. Karin Schüttpelz
 Dr. Reinhard Semmelmann
 Kathrin Senger-Schäfer
 Dr. Petra Sitte
 Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann
 Prof. Dr. Susanne Spindler
 Sybille Stamm
 Regina Stosch
 Heinz Vietze
 Vera Vordenbäumen
 Dr. Sahra Wagenknecht
 Dr. Jochen Weichold
 Dr. Florian Weis
 Janine Wissler
 Dr. Dietmar Wittich
 Dr. Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabi Zimmer

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg e. V.
 Kurt-Eisner-Verein e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern
 «Helle Panke» e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative e. V. Bremen
 Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Hamburg e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hessen e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen e. V.
 Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft e. V., Saarland
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein e. V.

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Dr. Kurt Hövelmans
 Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek

RESTING MEMBERSHIP

Dr. Lutz Brangsch
 Prof. Dr. Michael Brie
 Dr. Mario Candeias
 Wenke Christoph
 Dr. Cornelia Domaschke
 Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen
 Kadriye Karci
 Dirk Rumpf
 Norbert Schepers
 Dr. Jörn Schürumpf
 Dr. Marion Schürumpf
 Dr. Evelin Wittich
 Fanny Zeise

Last updated:
 1. December, 2013



DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN

**THE MEMBERS OF
THE EXECUTIVE
BOARD**



HEINZ HILLEBRAND

Last updated: 31. December, 2013



BODO RAMELOW



DR. FLORIAN WEIS



SYBILLE STAMM



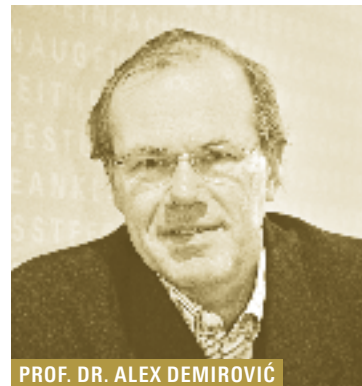
ULRIKE DETJEN



THOMAS HÄNDEL



MARWA AL-RADWANY



PROF. DR. ALEX DEMIROVIĆ



DR. SABINE REINER



DR. PETRA SITTE



KERSTIN KAISER



PROF. DR. FRANK DEPPE



PEETER RAANE

ENHANCING THE FOUNDATION'S PROFILE

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD TAKES PART IN
THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

In 2012, a dedicated commission worked on a comprehensive amendment of the statute, which was adopted by the general meeting. In a way, this marked a turning point in the executive board's work. Full-time operations and the day-to-day work of the Foundation were clearly separated, the allocation of functions was changed, and new procedures were specified. In 2013, the newly elected executive board was tasked with establishing the Foundation's profile and deciding on which issues it should focus. It was clear for the board that it should take on a collective role and not merely assume a supervisory function; consequently, the executive board would have to be actively engaged in the Foundation's decisions on content. This led two board members, Sabine Reiner and Marwa Al-Radwany, to participate in the restructuring of the Foundation's planning process in 2013, which had initially been organized internally. Following consultation with the working group on planning, the executive board decided to strengthen the focus on Europe as an independent topic. This step was also intended to demonstrate that the Foundation was working on a left-wing vision for Europe. In 2013, the executive board attached particular importance to projects and methods that furthered the participation of structurally disadvantaged groups. This includes basic courses on "economic literacy", which were designed by the Academy for Political Education and will complement the Foundation's work in the area of political education. Besides debates on content, the executive board also planned the construction of its own office building. Board members Bodo Ramelow and Florian Weis, alongside four other members of staff, are responsible for managing the construction project. Negotiations with the federal authorities on funding are currently underway. Some of the board members played a new role as regards the elaboration of a collective agreement for extended co-determination of the Foundation's staff. Thomas Händel, Sabine Reiner, Florian Weis and Peeter Raane, with Katrin Schäffgen, and Annegret Rohwedder, represented the "employer side".

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Foundation's academic advisory council, which was last elected in December 2012, decided at its constituent meeting to follow up on the work and challenges of the former advisory council and make them the basis of its activities. Accordingly, in 2013 it focused on providing expert advice to the Institute for Social Analysis and supporting the Foundation's Scholarship Department.

The academic advisory council also participated in a book project which was designed by the IfG in 2013 and summarizes the most important findings of the Institute's previous conferences on international transformation. Members of the former and new advisory councils also made their own contributions as authors.

In 2013, the academic advisory council also contributed to the Foundation's planning process in developing content and setting its focus. The council began by concentrating on the issue of socio-ecological transformation and social reproduction. The discussions resulted in a resolution specifying that the advisory council would actively engage in the next transformation conference in June 2014. In addition, along with the IfG, the council is also addressing the task formulated by the general meeting of developing criteria for recruiting new fellows, and is participating in the selection process. The advisory council, which strongly supports the Foundation's fellows program, has agreed on a list of fellows for 2014 and submitted selection criteria for new fellows to the 2013 general meeting in consultation with the IfG. The advisory council also participates in the Foundation's selection board, which was tasked with awarding scholarships to undergraduates and doctoral students. Advisory council members also play an active role in the Scholarship Department's summer academies and in 2013 they provided themed-based workshops. Clearly, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's academic advisory council has continued to develop as a body that uses its scientific expertise to develop and promote the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's specific objectives and projects in 2013.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL Last updated: March 31, 2014

Professor Dr. Irene Dölling: born in 1942, chair of the academic advisory council, professor emeritus for women's studies and the sociology of gender relations at the University of Potsdam. Main research interests: personality theory, cultural theory, sociology of gender relations, transformation processes in East Germany.

Professor Jörg Hafkemeyer: born in 1947, journalist and filmmaker, honorary professor of cultural journalism at the Berlin University of the Arts, and guest lecturer at the Berlin School of Journalism. He also trains reporters and moderators for Schweizer Rundfunk and for Deutschlandradio Kultur, works for ARD, Deutschlandradio Kultur, and various newspapers including *Cicero*.

Professor Dr. Frigga Haug: born in 1937, professor emeritus of sociology at Hamburg University of Economics and Politics, chair of the Institute for Critical Theory (InkriT), co-editor of the journal *Das Argument*, and the *Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuchs des Marxismus* (Historical-critical dictionary of Marxism); member of Attac's academic advisory council. Main research interests: Marxist theory, women and feminism, labor, interventional social research.

Dr. Stefanie Hürtgen: born in 1970, political scientist, researcher at the Institute for Social Research at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt. Main research interests: the sociology of labor and economics, trade union theory, Europe, transformation research.

Professor Dr. Michael Krätke: born in 1949, professor of political economy at the University of Lancaster and director of the Institute for Advanced Studies. Co-editor of various magazines including SPW and the book series *Historical Materialism*. Main research interests: political economy, Marxism, anti-capitalism.

Dr. Rainer Land: born in 1952, philosopher and economist, works at the Thunen Institut für Regionalentwicklung e. V., co-founder of the East German Research Network, and a member of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung's Green Academy. Main research interests: social economics, evolution theory, transformation research.

Professor Dr. Birgit Mahnkopf: born in 1950, professor of European social policy at the University of Economics and Law in Berlin; member of Attac's academic advisory board, the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF), and the Labor Research and Advisory Center in Vienna. Main research interests: globalization, European integration, the informal economy, industrial relations.

Dr. Ingo Matuschek: born in 1961, researcher on the project "external flexibility and internal stability in the value system of the Automobile" (EFIS) at the University of Jena, and a member of the Institute for Work and Society (INAG) in Chemnitz. Main research

interests: flexibility and the subjectification of work, qualitative methods, political action in everyday environments.

Professor Dr. Margit Mayer: born in 1949, professor of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute of the Free University of Berlin. Main research interests: US and comparative politics, urban policy, social movements.

Professor Dr. Rainer Rilling: born in 1945, associate professor of sociology at the University of Marburg and until 2011 academic advisor at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung; editor of the journal *LuXemburg*, co-editor of various magazines including *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, member of Attac's academic advisory council. Main research interests: analysis and critique of capitalism, international relations.

Professor Dr. Birgit Sauer: born in 1957, professor of political science at the University of Vienna. Main research interests: theories of the state and democracy, governance and gender, comparative gender policy research, multiculturalism.

Dr. Sylka Scholz: born in 1964, research associate at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Dresden, a member of the academic advisory council of the journal *Frauenforschung und Geschlechterstudien*. Main research interests: gender relations in East Germany and Eastern Europe, masculinity research, media and politics, qualitative methods.

Dr. Thomas Seibert: born in 1957, philosopher and ethnologist, an employee of Medico International, activist with Attac and the Interventionistischen Linken (IL). Main research interests: political philosophy (Marxism, existentialism, deconstruction).

Dr. Michael Thomas: born in 1951, research associate at the Center for Technology and Society, and the Berlin Institute of Social Studies (BISS), member of the board of trustees of the BMBF program for research into continuing education in employment, coordinator of the network East Germany. Main research interests: comparative regional development, cultures of learning.

Dr. Axel Troost: born in 1954, economist and politician, honorary president of the Working Group Alternative Economic Policy (Memorandum Group) and board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne, member of the national executive board of the Left Party, member of the Bundestag, the Left Party's parliamentary spokesperson for finances, and member of the finance committee in the Bundestag.

Professor Dr. Susanne Völker: born in 1964, professor at the University of Cologne for methods in education research and social research methods with a special emphasis on gender studies. Main research interests: qualitative research methods, processes of social transformation and social inequalities, changes to (paid) work and gender arrangements.

“OPEN AND VERSATILE TOPICS”

DISCUSSION GROUPS OFFER A FORUM FOR EXCHANGE

In 1990, when the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was founded as an institution for political education, its staff undertook its work without pay. Voluntary participation is still essential for the Foundation's continued work. Whether it is as part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Clubs, the Foundation's regional structures or discussion groups – committed volunteers give up their time for a specific project, discussion or issue, as they view these as more important than financial gain.

Currently there are 20 such discussion groups – and this number has remained constant over the last three years. Some are led by speakers from the Foundation and others by volunteers or by a combination of both. The great diversity of subjects addressed is certainly worth a mention, as they enable the Foundation to work on issues that would otherwise have

to be disregarded due to a lack of staff. In 2013, the Foundation succeeded in bringing the discussion group “culture” to life, following several years of formal existence. Its launch event took place at the beginning of November 2013. This discussion group aims to foster discussion about left-wing understandings of culture with representatives from (cultural) political and scientific contexts and trade unions. A further discussion group “right-wing extremism” works on a completely different topic: in 2013 it focused on the trial of the National Socialist Underground in Munich. This discussion group otherwise concentrates on anti-fascist initiatives and fosters relations between them. The establishment of a discussion group dealing with religion and its relationship to the political left is planned for 2014. The discussion groups play an important role in the Foundation, as to some extent they undertake the preliminary work toward the development of policies for the Left Party.

DISCUSSION GROUPS**LABOR LAW/LABOR CODE**

Steffen Hultsch, Fanny Zeise (zeise@rosalux.de)

EDUCATION POLICY

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LEGEND

- Voluntary structures
- Management structures
- Full-time structures
- Trust foundations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

DATA PROTECTION OFFICER

WORKS COUNCIL
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

SUPPORT PROGRAM

HEAD OFFICE

DEMOCRACY AND STATE

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DEPARTMENTS

INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

THEORY AND HISTORY OF SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

EDUCATION POLICY

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POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWS

REGIONAL OFFICE LATIN AMERICA

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MEXICO CITY

LUXEMBOURG JOURNAL

EDITED BY THE RLS EXECUTIVE BOARD

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THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political foundation affiliated with the Left Party. As is the case with other party-affiliated foundations, the Foundation receives most of its financing from the federal budget. This includes funding from the Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF), the Federal Foreign Office (AA), as well as from the Bundestag administration. Foundations only receive funding if they represent a significant and sustained intellectual and political current in society. What this means in practice is decided by the Bundestag.

Evidence of the durability of an important political current is provided in practice by a political party's repeated entry into the Bundestag, particularly in the form of a parliamentary group. The amount of funding the foundation then receives is dependent on the election results from the last four federal elections of the party to which the foundation is affiliated.

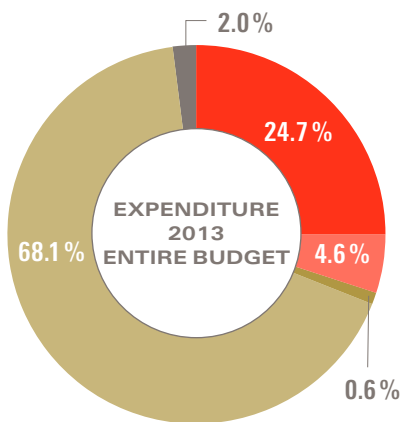
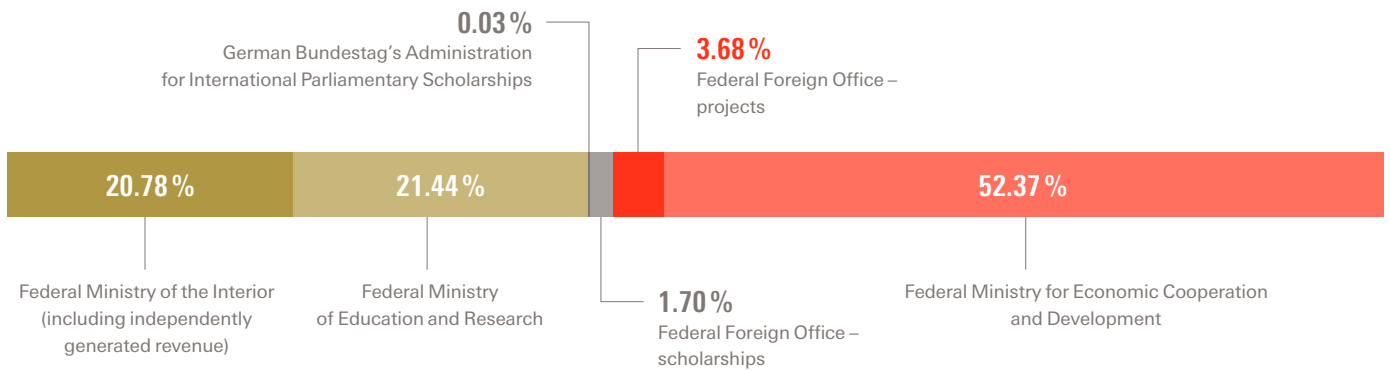
Following the successful re-entry of the Left Party into the Bundestag as a parliamentary group in 2005, as well as the increased number of votes that the party gained in the national elections in 2009, the annual grants provided by the federal ministries have been adjusted accordingly. The eventual goal was parity with the foundations affiliated with other political parties; this finally occurred in 2011.

For the period until 2014, the Foundation will receive 9.5 percent of the total grants provided by federal ministries to political foundations. Compared with 2010, this represents an increase from 30.6 million EUR to 46.5 million EUR in 2013. In a 1998 joint statement, the party-affiliated foundations committed themselves to publishing details of their revenues and expenditures in the name of openness and transparency, and this has been done ever since. By publishing details of the Foundation's accounts, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also fulfills the obligations to which it committed itself as part of this agreement.

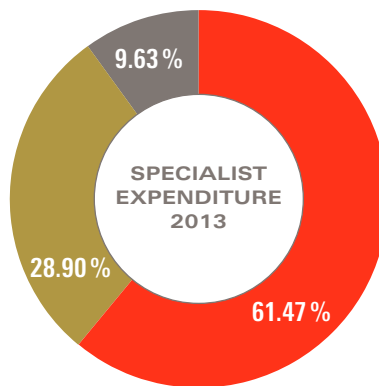
The Foundation's largest grants come from the BMI (so-called general funds), the BMZ, the BMBF, and the AA. These general funds constitute the backbone of the Foundation's political education budget in Germany and fund the Foundation's offices. The funds are used to hold seminars, conferences and colloquiums, provide teaching and learning resources, and award research grants to projects with socio-political objectives, especially in the field of educational research.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also uses funds from the BMZ and the AA to maintain its international network. This includes funding the Foundation's overseas offices, projects with partner organizations, and events held abroad. The grants from the BMBF are used to provide scholarships to highly gifted undergraduates and doctoral undergraduates. In addition to these federal funds, party-affiliated foundations can also be

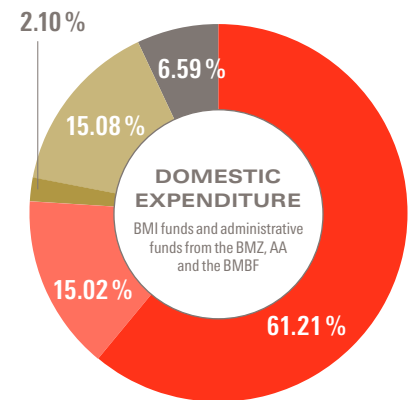
REVENUES 2013



- Personnel expenditure
- Administrative costs
- Investments
- Specialist expenditure
- Transfer of general funds to regional foundations



- International projects
- Supervision of students and PhD candidates
- Domestic political education



- Personnel expenditure
- Administrative costs
- Investments
- Specialist expenses
- Transfer of general funds to regional foundations

provided with funding from regional budgets. These funds are used by the eleven regional associations that constitute the Foundation's network at the regional level. The Foundation is required to fulfill its statutory responsibilities without resorting to using organizational resources or personnel from the party with which it is affiliated, and it is prohibited from providing its party with funds or money-equivalent services. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives the annual grants set out in its grant notification, which are accompanied by supplementary provisions ensuring that funding is properly monitored and used for its stated purposes.

As a political foundation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to ensure that its annual accounts are independently audited. For the 2012 fiscal year, the auditor confirmed that the general funds provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and administrative grants provided by other ministries were used sparingly and in accordance with the legal guidelines, and that all other requirements were met. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung uses a controlling procedure that is suitably equipped and staffed to ensure that the relevant funding guidelines are correctly adhered to at all times.

ASSET AND LIABILITY STATEMENT AS OF 31.12.2012

Assets	31.12.2012 in EUR	31.12.2011 in EUR
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Computer software	37,858.74	108,790.95
II Tangible assets		
Furniture and fixtures	817,450.08	852,328.02
Total fixed assets	855,308.82	961,118.97
B Accounts receivable and other assets		
Total accounts receivable	590,999.83	738,204.17
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	3,502,088.03	3,075,709.36
D Prepayments		
Total	4,949,850.84	4,775,032.50

Liabilities	31.12.2012 in EUR	31.12.2011 in EUR
A Net assets		
I Previous year	1,057,231.80	744,767.02
II Asset accumulation/depreciation	-554,049.63	
III Surplus/deficit	241,979.19	312,464.78
Net assets	745,161.36	1,057,231.80
B Advances and contributions from donations	855,308.82	961,118.97
C Provisions		
I Other provisions	127,876.58	90,219.91
D Liabilities		
I Accounts payable	1,112,778.31	1,701,866.89
II Other liabilities	33,435.53	49,168.22
III Federal grants	0.00	30.75
Total liabilities	1,146,213.84	1,751,065.86
E Deferred income	2,075,290.24	915,395.96
Total	4,949,850.84	4,775,032.50

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE BALANCE SHEET AS OF 31.12.2012

		2012 in EUR	2011 in EUR
I	Revenues	43,279,715.72	41,624,618.29
1	Federal grants	42,890,030.18	41,534,836.44
2	Donations	4,831.40	10,174.48
3	Other income	384,854.14	79,607.37
II	Expenses	-43,037,736.53	-41,312,153.51
1	Expenses for statutory activities	-30,223,414.24	-29,173,324.74
	for conferences and seminars	-850,085.76	-899,416.17
	for publications	-630,222.55	-783,137.59
	for research projects	-488,128.47	-527,774.95
	for the transfer of general funds	-916,703.16	-1,067,501.95
	for students and postgraduates	-7,365,022.80	-6,592,621.36
	for international cooperation	-19,371,396.93	-18,791,324.44
	other	-601,854.57	-511,548.28
2	Personnel expenditure	-10,624,589.82	-8,947,375.89
	for wages and salaries	-9,175,397.34	-7,682,578.72
	for social security contributions	-1,449,192.48	-1,264,797.17
3	Administrative expenditure	-1,981,076.91	-2,528,603.04
	for operating expenses	-314,229.41	-434,883.94
	for other administrative expenditure	-1,666,847.50	-2,093,719.10
4	Investments	-208,655.56	-662,849.84
III	Net income/loss	241,979.19	312,464.78

INCOME IN 2013 (PROVISIONAL)

I	Income in EUR	46,553,249.20
1	Grants	46,512,763.31
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (including independently generated revenue)	9,664,133.36
	Federal Ministry of Education and Research	9,972,487.91
	German Bundestag's Administration for International Parliamentary Internships	16,147.48
	Federal Foreign Office scholarships	792,500.00
	Federal Foreign Office Projects	1,710,000.00
	Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	24,357,494.56
2	Donations	6,962.04
3	Membership fees	15,145.72
4	Other income	82,131.18
5	Revenue deductions	-63,753.05

EXPENDITURE IN 2013 (PROVISIONAL)

II	Expenditure in EUR	-45,614,447.83
1	Staff costs	-11,257,067.07
	Of which domestic	-8,511,283.14
a)	Wages and salaries	-9,430,192.34
b)	Social security contributions and others	-1,826,874.73
2	Administrative costs	-2,098,912.35
2.1	Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables	322,350.34
	Network, software and system support	-150,625.83
	Agency fees	-42,840.00
	Maintenance fees and repairs	-16,854.94
	Office supplies and consumables	-32,841.52
	Rented equipment	-60,563.69
	Tools and small appliances	-13,253.66
	Books and teaching materials	-5,370.70
2.2	Operating and maintaining land and structural facilities	0.00
2.3	Other administrative expenditures	-1,776,562.01
	Costs of premises	-751,222.68
	Cleaning	-16,778.98
	Maintenance of facilities	-18,151.41
	Insurance	-5,350.26
	Contributions and other duties	-47,756.94
	External contracts/service contracts/administration	-157,056.52
	Repair and maintenance of technical equipment	-170.06
	Advertising	-45,504.21
	Promotional costs	-31,376.62
	Hospitality expenses	-2,927.75
	Travel expenses	-162,343.79
	Vehicle hire	0.00
	Courier service	-4,215.51
	Training costs	-94,822.70
	Postage/telephone/Internet costs	-115,553.69
	Magazines/books/media	-33,898.67
	Legal advice/auditing/accountancy	-75,268.59
	Incidental costs of monetary transactions	-9,818.86
	Other taxes	0.00
	Other expenses	-204,344.77
3	Income from fixed assets	-293,726.46
4	Specialist expenses	-31,048,130.66
	Conferences and Seminars	-840,654.62
	Publications	-571,027.87
	Research contracts	-240,605.36

Other specialist expenses	-253,117.59
International projects	-19,651,170.49
Supervision of students and PhD candidates	-9,236,914.86
for domestic scholarships	-8,571,327.31
for international scholarships	-651,040.07
for international parliamentary internships	-14,547.48
Conceptual support of scholarship recipients	-254,639.87
5 Transfer of general funds	-916,611.29

NOTES

In 2013, the following organizations and foundations were provided with funding for political and democratic education: ■ Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft – Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative – Bremer Forum für Bildung, Gesellschaftsanalyse und -kritik e. V. ■ Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Hamburg – Forum für Analyse, Kritik und Utopie e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt – Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg – Forum für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hessen – Forum für Bildung und Analyse e. V. ■ Kurt-Eisner-Verein für politische Bildung in Bayern e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein: werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e. V. ■ Max-Lingner-Stiftung ■ Michael-Schumann-Stiftung ■ «Helle Panke» e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin.

OVERVIEW OF ALL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE EXPECTED IN THE 2014 BUDGET

Revenue*	
Funding from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	9,496,000.00
Funding from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (predicted)	11,000,000.00
Grants from the German Bundestag's Administration for International Parliamentary Scholarships	17,294.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	24,183,000.00
Grants from the Federal Foreign Office for projects	1,425,000.00
Grants from the Federal Foreign Office for scholarships	754,000.00
Other income	60,000.00
Expenditure (excerpt)	
Personnel costs	-9,750,000.00
Administrative costs	-2,300,000.00
of which investments	-200,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent staff)	-33,510,000.00
of which for the educational program	-2,500,000.00
of which scholarships	-9,300,000.00
of which for projects for international cooperation	-21,710,000.00

* not including independently generated revenues

PHOTO CREDITS

Cover: Crime scene – the florist Enver Şimşek was killed by members of the National Socialist Underground (NSU) on this road in south Nuremberg on September 9, 2000. In summer 2012, a flower stall installed on the site was the only point of remembrance for Enver Şimşek. (Photo: Mark Mühlhaus/attenzione).

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All data and figures are current as of December 2013 unless otherwise stated.

“In order to divert public attention from political conflicts, and from class and political antagonism, the counterrevolution brought forth racial hatred, racial antagonism and anti-Semitism.”

ROSA LUXEMBURG