

ANNUAL REPORT 2012

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**

WE ARE
ALL GREEKS



ANNUAL REPORT 2012
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| EDITORIAL | 4 |
| FOCUS: THE CRISIS AND EUROPE | 6 |
| Left-wing strategies in Europe | 6 |
| The work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Greece | 9 |
| Office opened in Greece | 9 |
| Crisis in the metropolis and crisis of the state | 10 |
| Event "Left-wing solutions" | 10 |
| Conference "Re-founding Europe" | 11 |
| New website europa-links.eu | 11 |
| Workshop "The changing working environment in the EU" | 12 |
| Focus – funded projects | 12 |
| INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS | 14 |
| Towards a leftist think-tank | 14 |
| Fellowships | 15 |
| Postdocs | 16 |
| Luxemburg Lectures | 17 |
| THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION | 18 |
| Us within the Foundation | 18 |
| Solidarity and solar energy. Left-wing perspectives on European energy policies | 19 |
| Politics for the city and the critique of racism: Conference "Decolonize the city!" | 20 |
| International congress on civil disobedience and on collectively breaking the rules | 20 |
| The work of the Youth Education Network | 21 |
| Marx goes PowerPoint: educational material PolyluxMarx | 21 |
| THE FOUNDATION'S NETWORK | 22 |
| Educational programs in the federal states | 22 |
| Baden-Württemberg: "When the state saw red" | 24 |
| Bavaria: Bavaria under arms! An economy without the armaments industry – an option? | 24 |
| Berlin: Common welfare over profit | 25 |
| Brandenburg: "Qualitative Leap by three steps" | 25 |
| Bremen: Capital lessons | 26 |
| Hamburg: "The company hymn deal" | 26 |
| Hessen: "Art in the crisis, the crisis in art" | 27 |
| Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: Urgent action needed | 27 |
| Lower Saxony: International meeting of radio activists | 28 |
| North Rhine-Westphalia: Football. Power. Politics. | 28 |
| Rhineland-Palatinate: Leftist singer songwriter meeting 2012 | 29 |
| Saarland: A friendly meeting at the border | 29 |
| Saxony: Marx Expedition 2012 | 30 |
| Saxony-Anhalt: Unequal life course perspectives | 30 |
| Schleswig-Holstein: How am I "me!" | 31 |
| Thuringia: Time for Radical Change | 31 |

| | |
|---|----|
| CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION | 32 |
| The principles behind the CID | 33 |
| The opening of the New York international office | 34 |
| 100 years of the ANC – from liberation movement to governing power | 35 |
| The conference on the Jewish Labor Bund in Warsaw | 35 |
| Sharing instead of owning. A conference in Mexico on the potential of free software | 35 |
| Rio+20: the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development | 36 |
| “People like Kathrin never die.” A testimony to Kathrin Buhl | 37 |
| The Foundation’s international offices | 38 |
| | |
| PROJECT SPONSORSHIP IN 2012 | 40 |
| | |
| THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT | 44 |
| “Report from an island” | 44 |
| The Lux like comic – (im)possible pathways in education | 44 |
| Work with alumni | 47 |
| Graduate academy 2012 | 47 |
| Academic tutors | 48 |
| | |
| POLITICAL COMMUNICATION | 54 |
| A small department with big responsibilities | 54 |
| “The media can never report enough.” An interview with Jannine Hamilton | 55 |
| Staying fit with Marx. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung on SoundCloud | 56 |
| Selected Publications | 57 |
| | |
| THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY | 58 |
| Two new finding aids | 58 |
| “You really learn something.” An interview with Pascal Paterna | 59 |
| | |
| NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION | 60 |
| Two premieres and a journey around the globe | 60 |
| The award of the Erik Neutsch prize | 62 |
| “But his words are still here.” Memories of the writer Stefan Heym | 62 |
| Camila Vallejo in Germany | 63 |
| | |
| PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT | 64 |
| | |
| THE FOUNDATION’S BODIES | 66 |
| The general assembly | 66 |
| The executive board | 69 |
| The academic advisory council | 69 |
| Discussion groups | 71 |
| | |
| ORGANIGRAM | 72 |
| | |
| THE FOUNDATION’S BUDGET | 74 |
| | |
| PHOTO CREDITS/IMPRINT | 80 |

EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

“Crisis without end” was what we wrote in our last annual report’s editorial, and little has changed. The finance crisis and the crises of the euro and the European economy in general were not overcome in 2012. These crises, with their increasingly threatening effects on the lives of many people and on the stability of parliamentary democracy in several European countries, are having a crucial impact on politics during the German election year 2013. Within this context, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung considered the opening in October 2012 – with additional Federal Foreign Office funds – of a further office in Athens as an important signal of solidarity. Our office there aims to strengthen collaboration on an equal footing between the various left-wing activists in Germany and Greece and to go beyond paternalism, presumptuousness, and nationalism. Our contacts are communal politicians, unionists, and anti-racism and anti-fascism activists, as well as left-wing parliamentarians.

The support granted to party-near foundations in and outside of Germany, which allows a plurality of opinions to surface and receive support, remains a strength of German politics, in spite of the need to continue criticizing – where necessary harshly – the dominant German and EU (government) policies. It is always worth remembering the German peculiarity of state funding for political foundations and the fact that although these foundations must of course adhere to the constitution as well as to specific subsidy, public-procurement, and budgetary regulations, they are nonetheless free to act independently from government policies. Moreover, though political foundations are closely related to a specific party and in the long run depend on that party’s success, they are nonetheless also independent from these (concerning staff, organizational questions, and funds) and therefore can maintain diverse contacts and forms of cooperation. In this regard, the participation of the German ambassador to Greece in the inauguration ceremony of our office in Athens – in the context of a politically difficult situation between Greece and Germany – is an expression of the high esteem in which the independent work of German political foundations is held.

As is true for our work in other European countries too, our work in Greece is based on the conscience of German responsibility for Nazi-era crimes and we therefore all the more firmly reject the implementation of patronizing and socially destructive policies in Greece. German occupation and repression between 1941 and 1944/45 and Germany’s failing to sufficiently address this history during the last decades are important reference points for our work.

Just a few days after the presidential and congressional elections in the US and the re-election of President Obama, we inaugurated our New York office. The office will coordinate



Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis

our work in the US and Canada and take care of communication with the UN. The head of the Left Party faction in the German parliament, Gregor Gysi, as well as the chair of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Heinz Vietze, spoke during the inauguration ceremony. Our work in New York will concentrate on building contacts and cooperation with unions, academics, and further – in a broad sense – left-wing people and organizations. Contrary to anti-US prejudices that also exist in the German Left, the plurality in some academic disciplines in the US is greater than at German universities. There are also a large number of unions, migrant organizations, and feminist and ecologic movements that can provide interesting and important impulses for the Left in Germany and Europe.

In all our international activities, the Foundation's broad approach in Germany forms the basis for our approaches elsewhere. This annual report contains selected examples of our political education work – both systematic academic training as well as numerous events – of our analytical and research-related work, of our cooperation with undergraduates, PhD students, and university professors, as well as examples of our function as an archive and, not least, the Foundation's publications. With a constant amount of over 2,500 events per year in Germany with over 100,000 visitors and participants, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is proud to be truly present across the whole of Germany. This would not be possible without the work of our individual state foundations and regional offices, without the volunteers in the state foundations, the discussion and work groups, without the academic tutors, and, not least, the members of the Foundation – in particular those working to secure the Foundation's services in the background. This would also not be possible without the dedication of the Foundation's employees in Berlin, in the 13 regional offices, and in the international offices. Our thanks go to all these people.

On December 1, 2012 the general assembly elected a new executive board for the coming four years and passed important changes to the statute. After six years at the head of the Foundation, Heinz Vietze did not stand for re-election. During the challenging and often difficult years of the Foundation's

growth, Heinz Vietze left his indelible mark on the changes that were necessary for an organization that was growing and continues to grow rapidly. When he was elected, the Foundation was just preparing for the opening of its fifth international office and only had a third of its current employee base. The general assembly and the executive board are very grateful for his exceptional efforts and dedication.

The general assembly elected Member of Parliament Dagmar Enkelmann, who had been the Foundation's deputy chair until 2010, as the new chair. Thomas Händel, member of the European Parliament, was re-elected as deputy chair, and the new female deputy chair is now Sabine Reiner. Not least, this expresses the growing importance that questions such as Europe, labor, and ecology now have in the Foundation.

To reflect the importance of a decentralized structure, the new statute includes for the first time institutional membership for the individual state foundations. Certain rules have now been anchored in the Foundation's statute such as, for example, a minimum quota for female members. With the membership base now raised to 150 members and the introduction of honorary memberships, the statute emphasizes the important role played by volunteers.

Moreover, the 2012 general assembly formulated tasks that the Foundation wishes to tackle more intensively and successfully than up until now. This includes developing stronger focuses for the numerous individual projects. The diversity of the Left offers a rich "mosaic," but it is important to create stronger links between activists. More emphasis will also have to be put on systematic education programs for communal politicians, the educationally deprived, and non-academic groups that are not sufficiently reached by the Foundation's traditional programs. Finally, we must and wish to react more systematically to the demands of the frequently cited digital revolution. No doubt these are important challenges, but our successful work during the last years leaves us confident that we can master them.

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the executive board

DR. FLORIAN WEIS
Executive director

FOCUS: THE CRISIS AND EUROPE

LEFT-WING STRATEGIES IN EUROPE

A new specter is haunting Europe: Syriza, the radical left coalition in Greece led by Alexis Tsipras. Last year Syriza was seen both as a danger and a hope for Europe. Authoritarian neoliberal powers feared that Syriza could create a precedent: Successful resistance to the draconian policies of social cuts by a single country could trigger an economic and political “domino effect.” The dispersed left-wing forces across Europe projected their hopes onto a country with organized and broad-ranging social movements that have enabled the Left to gain in elections. In Greece, clear opposition against the ruling policies and classes apparently does not lead to social isolation. By positioning itself against the authoritarian neoliberal EU and the power of finance capital – but in favor of Europe – Syriza circumvented the dilemmas that the Left in Europe usually gets caught up in.

For decades, the Left has adopted an ambivalent position towards the process of European integration. Rightly, policies of liberalization and deregulation were criticized. At the same time though, the Left, following its internationalist tradition, continued to uphold a pro-European position. It developed proposals for reforms and positioned itself against nationalism and right-wing protectionism targeting among others immigrants and “foreign” workers. Due to the negative development of the balance of power, such pro-European positions were and are likely to be taken as naïve and idealistic. Equally, in public debate, EU-critical positions were not always clearly distinguishable from right-wing nationalist criticisms of the EU. At the theoretical level, positions for a leftist European perspective and against the cutback of social rights in the member states could be conveyed, but in practice these two aspects have repeatedly been brought into false opposition. In the European crisis, the European Left is struggling to find an adequate and convincing strategic position – see for example “Europa.links” (in German) in the journal *Luxemburg*.

The policy of the German government, the Troika, the banks, and financial institutions all invert the causes and the effects. In their interpretation, the financial crisis is a crisis of state debt, and they play the people of the different countries off against each other. Whilst the European periphery sinks into a debt crisis and depression, crisis corporatism and management are fairly successful in Germany. The crisis and the fear of unemployment have a disciplinary effect. Wage restraint policies and the infamous Agenda 2010 are exalted as the pillars of German export successes and economic well-being. There is no mention of the central role played by current-account surpluses and wage dumping as causes of the crisis.



People in southern Europe in particular are taking to the streets against the consequences of crisis policies, such as on May 19, 2011 in Madrid

Alongside critical analyses, the Foundation has put a lot of work into organizing events and into publications to break the myth of the debt crisis, for example with the two publications “Sell your islands, you bankrupt Greeks!” and “Is the whole world going bankrupt?”

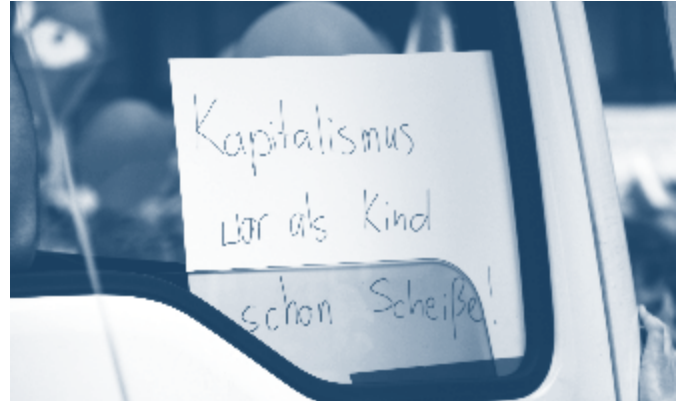
Currently, dominant policies have resulted in a spiral of misery. Youth unemployment has risen to over 60% in Greece and Spain; there have been mass layoffs in spite of an official unemployment rate of 25% and so on. Since 2008, 3.5 million people have lost their jobs in Spain alone. In the wake of austerity measures, labor market reforms to ease layoffs have been implemented and a further 850,000 people have become unemployed. This has been accompanied by drastic cuts in salaries and pensions, an extension of working hours for civil servants, cuts to labor, strike and social rights, a partial collapse of public services and even of healthcare, half a million evictions (in Spain), as well as higher charges and taxes. For many, the strain is unbearable. The number of cases of depression has exploded, suicides are the order of the day, and hundreds of thousands are leaving their countries (nearly one million have left Spain). But protests too are growing. Coordinating protests at a European level is proving difficult.

Various leftist parties have voiced their solidarity with Greece, as has the German Left Party, which authored a joint declaration with Syriza. During Chancellor Merkel’s trip to Athens, Left Party Chair Bernd Riexinger was among the demonstrators (he came to Athens for the inauguration of the Foundation’s Greek office). Riexinger criticized the German government’s policies – a fact that was warmly received by the Greek people. People dependent on state benefits and wage earners are made to bear the brunt of the crisis. Sahra Wagenknecht made this clear at one of our events during the “Festival of the Left” (Fest der Linken). The Left Party was the only German parliamentary party to vote against the fiscal compact that institutionally establishes Europe-wide austerity policies. The party has developed reform proposals, from the idea of a European clearing union up to an initiative for a European levy on capital and discussed these in the Foundation’s “Social Dialogues” (Gesellschaftliche Dialoge). A joint position of the European Left though is still lacking.

The lack of solidarity between European trade unions is worrying. Notwithstanding, November 14, 2012 saw an historic event in the history of the European Trade Union Confederation: the first general strike across various countries and



Alexis Tsipras and Bernd Riexinger at an anti-Merkel demonstration in Athens, October 9, 2012



Capitalism was shit, even when I was a kid! Blockupy Slogan, Frankfurt am Main, May 19, 2012

joint solidarity actions. Particularly German unions such as IG Metall are torn between a criticism of neoliberal austerity measures and the advantages that result from being bound into the German model of crisis management, albeit at the expense of others, which meant that they hardly participated in the protests. Some German trade unions spelled out their criticism of the EU and their solidarity with Greece in a public appeal (see www.europa-neu-begrunden.de).

With its "Marshall plan for Europe," the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) sketched out an investment and re-building program for Europe with a clear focus on enhancing public infrastructure and public goods, as well as going ahead with the European energy transition.

The Outraged movement, too, is trying to coordinate its protests on a European scale. Struggles at the nation-state level are only slowly and selectively becoming European. But this has not been without success, as the European action day to commemorate the occupation of the Puerta del Sol Plaza in Madrid and Blockupy Frankfurt in May 2012 showed. In both cases the Foundation provided support and organized international discussions. This was practical solidarity encompassing cooperation between new (democracy-oriented) movements, the no-longer-so-new social movements, the left-wing parties, and the unions – and this not only in Greece. In Spain, too, the members of Outraged have created a dynamic leading to the revitalization and reorganization of political movements, the Unified Left, and the unions. In France, the rebuilding of the Left Front under Jean-Luc Mélenchon shows how protests and open-party politics can be brought together to bring success in elections – not least thanks to a targeted campaign against the Front National. Among European movements, a rudimentary consensus over basic demands is developing. One possible focal point could be a campaign for a debt moratorium and a public debt audit.

Still, the dominant groups continue to uphold their policies of austerity measures that lack any perspective for the future. The "flows" of civil society organizing cannot reach the "solid institutions" (Mimmo Porcaro, fellow at the Institute for Criti-

cal Social Studies) of power. Therefore Axel Troost and Sahra Wagenknecht demand that "further powers in the areas of economy, finance, and social policies must only be allowed to shift to the European level if this will prevent further wage cuts as well as social and tax dumping." And what is to happen then? With regard to the struggles in southern Europe and the necessary Europeanization of protests (for example the AlterSummit in Athens in June 2013), demands and struggles must be fused and a re-foundation of Europe from below put on the agenda. This cannot be limited to individual demands such as an end to evictions, the annulment of state debts, or a European unemployment insurance, even though each of these demands in themselves represent something essential. This is because the institutions and those politically in power, at whom these demands are directed, are no longer listening. And even if they were, we could (no longer) trust them. A condensation of struggles and demands is therefore required.

A participatory constituent process of debate and organization from below diagonally connected – from urban neighborhoods to the regional, national, and European levels – would target the current form of domination in Europe, in its "head-quarters." This could be a point of condensation that combines the mobilization against existing institutions with their outright re-constitution. It connects the existing resistance with politics from below that demands and takes the time for democratic processes. At the same time it is – to borrow Walter Benjamin's term – a kind of emergency brake, a rupture within the permanently catastrophic machine of social cuts.

THE WORK OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG IN GREECE

After the protests in Greece against the austerity measures demanded by the Troika (the IMF, ECB, and EU Commission) began to get louder in 2011 – and when the German tabloid *Bild Zeitung* and others ratcheted up their campaign against the “lazy Greeks” – the Federal Foreign Office surprisingly granted additional funds. The foundations associated with German political parties were called on to use these funds to improve Germany’s image in Greece.

After intensive discussions with our Greek partners, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung decided to invest these funds into projects and activities to analyze the dramatic consequences of the austerity measures dictated by the European Union and the Troika on Greek society, publish the results, and become involved in active solidarity with those most affected. Because most of this work would have to be done on the ground in Greece, it was decided to open a small office in Athens. The office was inaugurated in October 2012.

By the end of October, the Foundation had already organized a workshop titled “Neo Nazism in Greece and Germany” lasting several days. There, in Athens, twelve German and around 40 Greek members of parliament, academics, antifascism activists, and journalists assessed the country-specific differences between right-wing movements, looking at their ideologies and the form they took. Not least, the workshop allowed participants to exchange their experiences in dealing with neo-Nazis. The Foundation organized a follow-up workshop focusing on strategies to deal with neo-fascism in schools, so as to give Greek and German experts in this area a chance to exchange their experiences.

Furthermore, at the beginning of December 2012, the office in Athens organized a seminar where German and Greek members of parliament, academics, and journalists discussed the problems connected to European migration policies and tried to develop solutions. The additional funds for work in Greece were also used for publications and projects in Germany. The booklet “Greeks are a fudge and they’re destroying our euro” (Schummel-Griechen machen unseren Euro kaputt) has become very popular in Germany, and, thanks to a Greek translation, in Greece too. The speaker tour “End the austerity dictate – build a social Europe” (Schluss mit dem Spardiktat – Für ein soziales Europa) provided a possibility for Greek experts and people affected by the crisis to speak to a broad German audience on the consequences of the crisis and the reality on the ground in Greece, aspects hardly ever covered in the German media.

Because this additional funding by the Federal Foreign Office was extended for a further two years, projects started during the last year can continue through 2013.



Alexis Tsipras during the inauguration of the Athens office

OFFICE OPENED IN GREECE

On October 9, 2012, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung opened its office in Athens. Bernd Riexinger, chair of the Left Party, Alexis Tsipras, chair of the Syriza-EKM faction in the Greek parliament, Wolfgang Dold, German ambassador in Athens, as well as Florian Weis, executive director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, all spoke at the inauguration ceremony. The main issues discussed were the dramatic rise in unemployment, the drop in wages and pensions, the cuts to social benefits and health care, and other measures causing poverty and despair for ever more people in southern Europe. A lot of people attended, and the inauguration caused a stir in the Greek and German media.

Chancellor Merkel paid an unexpected visit to Athens the same day. Bernd Riexinger and Alexis Tsipras both took part in the protests against this visit, thereby generating further media attention for the Foundation. Furthermore, the Left Party chair visited a hospital in Athens to see for himself the effects of the extreme austerity measures on healthcare.

Even before the official inauguration ceremony in the evening, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung had opened its doors to all interested visitors.

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CRISIS IN THE METROPOLIS AND CRISIS OF THE STATE

The third “Jena class conference” (Jenaer Klassenkonferenz) (October 19/20, 2012), organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Thüringen and the Institute of Sociology at the University of Jena, discussed, as did the two previous conferences in 2010 and 2011, the category of class. Faced with current unrest and upheavals, the conference’s main focus was on international classes, classes of states as well the cultural and urban precariat. Are governments, overstrained as they are by enormous debts, the right target for a remarkably diverse and in some cases not even politically articulated radical social protest? Can a promising class front or a social perspective be detected in the attacks on the state by the precariat and the have-nots?

Elaine Coburne (Paris) and Marcel van der Linden (Amsterdam) gave opening theoretical lectures describing the ruling transnational class and international workers. Kendra Briken (Bremen) and Berthold Vogel (Göttingen) talked about ruling classes, state power, and state finances, as well as the strategic alliances between the financial oligarchy and governments. Alexandra Krause and Tilman Reitz (both from Jena) discussed the notion of knowledge work, the cost of educa-

tion, and the issue of the growing *reserve army* of intellectuals. During the second part of the conference, the focus was on local and global conflict hotspots. Stefan Schmalz (Jena) looked into irregular labor conflicts in metropolises. Max Henninger (Berlin) and Moritz Altenried (London) talked about the riots in Paris and London, while the contributions by Mariona Ferrer (Barcelona), Pavlos Roufos (Berlin) and Naby Berdjas (Jena) focused on the rebellions in Madrid, Athens, and Santiago de Chile.

In closing, Tilman Reitz, who was extensively involved in the organization of the conference, made the point that as the situation of unemployed academics in Spain, Italy, or Greece showed, the issue remains an important topic. All of the contributions to the three “Jena class conferences” will be published jointly.

EVENT “LEFT-WING SOLUTIONS”

What kind of left-wing alternatives to the capitalist crisis are there? How can the struggle against the crisis become united and more successful? What experiences, perspectives, and approaches of other European left-wing parties are there? These were the central questions of the event series “Europe – Crisis – Hegemony” (Europa – Krise – Hegemonie). The events were developed by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hamburg because so far interest in these questions has not been great, just as there has been little cooperation among the Left. Even though the Left had correctly analyzed the crisis long before the Occupy movement or the FAZ’s feuilleton, people in their everyday lives were not conscious of such an analysis. The idea was to change this.

The opening event on February 16, 2012 united leading representatives of left-wing parties: Maite Mola, vice president of the United Left (Izquierda Unida, Spain), Nikolaj Villumson, member of parliament for the Danish Folketing (Enhedslisten), Christophe Ventura, chair of the Parti de Gauche (France), and Luigi De Magistris, Mayor of Naples (Italia dei Valori). Their positions differed in certain areas, for example with respect to social democracy. That the Spanish Izquierda Unida was able to nearly double its percentage of the ballot during the last election was, said Mola, mainly due to its clear policy line that distinguished it from the governing PSOE. In Denmark though, as Villumson described, the situation is totally different. Here, after achieving a good result, the socialist-green unitary list (Einheitsliste) decided to tolerate the social-democratic government.

The speakers from France and Italy emphasized the importance of directly including citizens in politics. De Magistris pointed to the meetings of people in different parts of Naples which had led to a mobilization mainly of young people, independently of political parties. He confirmed that “participatory democracy” and the “defense of common goods” were the cornerstones of his policies for the city

Poster for the third Jena Class Conference



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In 2012 the Academy for Political Education organized the Euro-political seminar “Racism and anti-Roma Resentments” in the Czech Republic.

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Participants of the seminar in Ostrava

CONFERENCE “RE-FOUNDING EUROPE”

“Re-founding Europe” (Europa neu begründen) – this petition by union leaders hopes to provide a positive take on resistance against the destructive austerity measures inflicted by European governments. So far over 3,000 people have signed this petition, demanding an offensive for more democracy borne by a citizen’s movement. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung North-Rhine Westphalia also supports this petition and has therefore, together with the union DGB in North Rhine-Westphalia, the initiators of the petition, and the student organization AStA of the University of Duisburg Essen, organized a conference that united around 250 people at Essen University on November 17, 2012. Many students but also many unionists took part. The professor emeritus for social philosophy, Oskar Negt, looked beyond the current problems of debt management and warned of the dangers for social relations, education, and culture growing out of the crisis in Europe. Instead of rescue packages for banks, what was really needed were rescue packages for education and for young people whose perspectives for the future are threatened by deregulation policies. He evoked the *realistic utopia* of a joint European process of learning.

From Greece, Theodoros Paraskevopoulos reported on the new forms of practical defense: barter markets and solidarity health care. Raul Zelik, the author and literary scholar, spoke about what he calls new social movements that “defend Europe against the EU,” now flourishing not only in Spain and that go beyond traditional parties and unions. Board member of the IG Metall union, Hans-Jürgen Urban, hopes the unions will embrace the new social movements and discuss new normative counter concepts to Merkel’s Europe. This conference initiated by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was a step in this direction.

EUROPA-LINKS.EU

On the initiative of our office in Brussels and with the participation of the Academy for Political Education, the website europa-links.eu went online in 2012. Jointly we aim for Europe no longer to be left to the “expertocracy.” Instead, we want to make European politics readily understandable while at the same critically appraising it. This is quite an ambitious project, because nearly all aspects of society and political and social life are to be described and scrutinized from a euro-political point of view. Europe is thereby approached through projects and activities, organized and spontaneous resistance, as well as through non-state organizations. We hope to show that it is possible to resist Europe in its current guise as the European Union and develop alternatives.

Contributions on different policies should help to organize projects and show their multifaceted dimensions. The organization MIGREUROPE, for example, works with people whose access to Europe is severely restricted by Frontex and European immigration policies. Once they do get here, they have to deal with different immigration regimes, the laws and regulations of which frequently contradict the European human rights convention (for example in Greece and Italy).

The website also features information on more than 200 NGOs, as well as international organizations such as the ILO, WTO, and the different European Union institutions and agencies. Finally, the site aids the organization of activities, the research of information, and workshops and seminars on the EU. In short, the site is a true educational opportunity in fitting with the Academy for Political Education.

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The new website is available here: www.europa-links.eu

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WORKSHOP “THE CHANGING WORKING ENVIRONMENT IN THE EU” (VERÄNDERUNGEN DER ARBEITSWELT IN DER EU) CHALLENGES FOR THE UNIONS

The joint Polish-German workshop near Warsaw between July 29 and August 3, 2012 follows in the footsteps of the scholarship department visits to Poland and the Czech Republic that have now taken place ten times since 2003.

This time the focus was on the euro crisis and how unions react to the free movement of workers. Scholarship students met in discussions with unionists such as Sabine Reiner (ver.di), Doritt Komitowski (DGB), Monika Fijarczyk (DGB), Tomas Tomilinas (SAMPRO, Latvia), Marko Kadanik (EAKL, Estonia), Ryszard Prątkowski (Attac Poland), Sylwia Garbart (OPZZ), and Piotr Janiszewski (OPZZ).

The country reports from Polish, Latvian, and Estonian union activists were impressive. They clearly showed the similar challenges that the liberalization of labor markets creates for the whole of Eastern Europe. Young, highly qualified professionals emigrate so it becomes difficult to find people for the various trade positions; there is nobody left to work in education or healthcare. This leads the resulting social problems to be individualized.

CATASTROİKA - PRIVATIZATION GOES PUBLIC

From September 28 to October 4, 2012 the film director Aris Chatzistefanou was invited by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to present his new documentary Catastroika – privatization goes public in Hannover, Oldenburg, Hamburg, Bremen, and Berlin. The film analyzes the transfer of government property into private hands and shows the social consequences this has. The great interest the film sparked and the discussions it provoked showed that “Greece’s Michael Moore” (according to the website of the German weekly newspaper *Zeit*) had hit the nail on the head.

Nationalist campaigns against emigration, like “Estonians go back to Estonia,” are widespread. In Poland, moralizing films tell parents not to leave the country because the mental health of their children could suffer. Existential problems such as low wages, a lack of perspectives for the future, and low social security standards, however, are not discussed. This is why the Eastern European trade unions need our solidarity.

FOCUS - FUNDED PROJECTS

- Jugend- und Kulturgemeinschaft e. V.: Workshop “Growing racism and nationalism in the focus of the economic crisis in Europe – what can be done?” (Wachsender Rassismus und Nationalismus im Focus der Wirtschaftskrise in Europa – was tun?), Berlin – 600 euros
- Motivés e. V.: Globalisation critical film festival “Globale Mittelhessen 2012.” Focus: State and financial crisis in Europe (Kirchvers) – 500 euros
- PapyRossa Verlag: Publication of the book by Peter Bathke/Anke Hoffstadt (Eds): “The new right-wing in Europe between neoliberalism and racism” (Die neuen Rechten in Europa zwischen Neoliberalismus und Rassismus) – 3,220 euros
- War Resister’s International e. V.: International conference against the militarization of youth (Hamburg) – 1,000 euros
- Südost Europa Kultur e. V.: Series of events featuring discussions with witnesses, academic lectures, and workshops, “Speaking out against the war” (Erzählen gegen den Krieg) (Berlin) – 500 euros
- Bremische Stiftung für Rüstungskonversion und Friedensforschung (Bremen Foundation for Armaments Conversion and Peace Research). Annual networking meeting ENAAT – against the selling of arms (Berlin) – 750 euros

- Attac Trägerverein e. V.: Symposium "Feminist Economics as a Perspective in the Crisis" (Feministische Ökonomie als Perspektive in der Wirtschaftskrise), Berlin – 3,000 euros
- Leoni Breuer: Summer school Critical Psychology "Subjectivity in the crisis" (Subjektivität in der Krise), Berlin – 2,500 euros
- Institute for Social Science Research, ISF Munich: Research project (2nd part): Study "Experiences of crisis and politics. Between work as usual and a criticism of the system – empirical findings" (Krisenerfahrungen und Politik. Zwischen Betriebsalltag und Systemkritik – empirische Befunde) – 17,813 euros
- Intakt e. V.: "Germany in private – Living illegally – Insights through theatre" (Deutschland privat – Lebenslage illegal – Theatrale EinSichten). Theatre project on the exclusion of people and social, national, and cultural relations, Cologne – 2,000 euros
- TIE – Internationales Bildungswerk e. V.: International strategic symposium on workers' rights in the Global South, Bad Homburg – 1,000 euros
- BdWi e. V.: Autumn academy "Occupy Transformation – theory and practice of transformation" (Occupy Transformation – Übergänge denken, Übergänge organisieren), Werftpfuhl – 6,000 euros
- Daniel Weidmann: Newspaper "Take the Square. Globally against the crisis, war and capital" (Take the Square. Weltweit gegen Krise, Krieg und Kapital) – 1,800 euros
- Jacob Huber: Video project "Authoritarian crisis responses. Troika austerity measures and the role of the German government" (Autoritäre Krisenpolitik. Das Spardiktat der Troika und die Rolle der Bundesregierung) – 1,100 euros
- Attac Trägerverein e. V.: Summer academy "Participation – Inclusion" (Teilhabe – Teil sein). Important questions: Putting the leash on financial markets, re-distributing wealth, defending democracy, and ecological transformation, Mainz – 4,000 euros
- Franziska Brückner, Network MiRA (Migration Research and Action): Cycle of lectures "Who has the power to make democracy? Critical migration research II" (wer MACHT demo_kratie? Kritische Migrationsforschung II), Berlin – 500 euros
- Bundesfachverband Unbegleitete Minderjährige Flüchtlinge e. V.: Conference "Future perspectives for unaccompanied child-age refugees in Germany" (Zukunftsperspektiven von unbegleiteten minderjährigen Flüchtlingen in Deutschland), Hamburg – 750 euros
- Globale Gerechtigkeit e. V.: Brochure "Border movements, transnational organisation for freedom of movement and fair development" (Grenzbewegungen – Mouvements autour des frontières. Transnationale Organisation für Bewegungsfreiheit & gerechte Entwicklung) – 500 euros
- Flüchtlingsrat Berlin e. V.: touring exhibition "Sitting on packed bags – living in custody pending deportation" (Auf gepackten Koffern – Leben in der Abschiebehaft), repairs and revision – 500 euros
- Gemeingut in Bürgerhand e. V.: Broschüre "... not for profit. FAME 2012 – Alternative water forum in March 2012 in Marseille. Documentation" (... nicht für Profit. FAME 2012 – Alternatives Wasserforum im März 2012 in Marseille. Dokumentation) – 1,035 euros
- Kairos Europa e. V.: Conference "Concrete socio-ecological transformation" (Ökologisch-soziale Transformation konkret), Mannheim – 5,000 euros
- Sarah Graber: Workshop on the research project "In the Same Boat? Shipbuilding and ship repair workers: a global labor history," Leipzig – 2,000 euros
- Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen e. V.: Symposium "A good life for all – without 'civic work'" (Für ein gutes Leben – ohne Bürgerarbeit), Bielefeld – 2,100 euros
- Verein zur Förderung des bedingungslosen Grundeinkommens e. V.: 14th congress of the Basic Income Earth Network "Ways towards a basic income" (Wege zum Grundeinkommen), Ottobrunn – 4,000 euros
- Stephan Lessenich, Universität Jena, Institute for Sociology: sub-project "Creating dialogue" (Dialog herstellen) in the mark of the research project "Work relations with solidarity" (Solidarische Arbeitsverhältnisse) – 9,418 euros
- Netzwerk vorsorgendes Wirtschaften e. V.: Publication "Ways towards a providing economy" (Wege vorsorgenden Wirtschaftens) – 1,500 euros

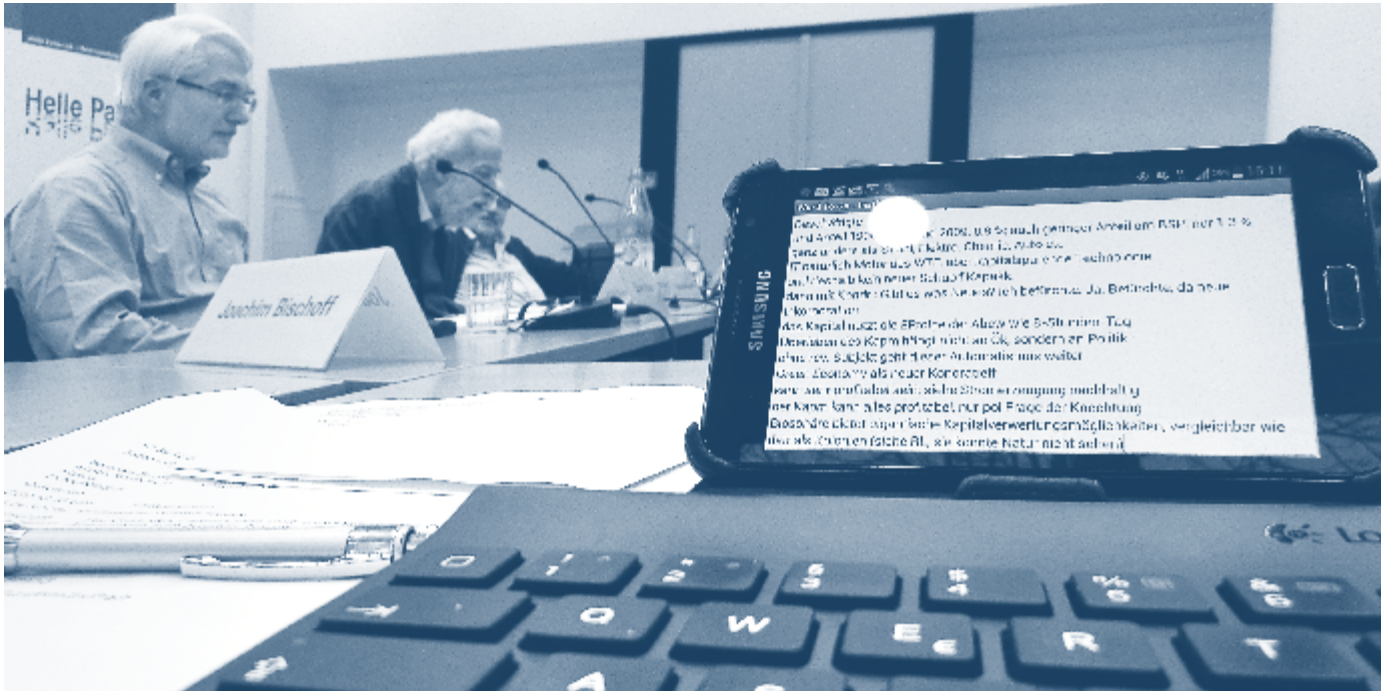
INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

TOWARDS A LEFT-WING THINK TANK

During 2012, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis concentrated mainly on two questions: It analyzed the strategies used by the dominant groups in society to confront the organic crisis of finance market capitalism and it looked into the tensions within the European Union indicating crisis. Two examples illustrate this well: Lutz Brangsch, Judith Dellheim, Joachim Spannenberg, and Frieder Otto Wolf presented a book that consistently develops a perspective from below, and that thereby opposes all other approaches that simply aim at changing how the dominant groups behave. Starting out with a characterization of the dominant capitalist oligarchy, they describe in “Den Krisen entkommen” (Escaping the crises) – part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung series *Manuskripte 99* – the socio-ecological transformation as an active process, a quest, in determined regions. This enables them to describe the struggle for social, ecological, and democratic standards as a *defensive assault* and as a defensive line within a struggle of interests.

Other approaches in the Institute complement this approach by analyzing the different forms of crisis management. Firstly, there are the attempts to basically leave finance market capitalism untouched, except for some minor adaptations (banking regulation etc.). Secondly, the dangers of decidedly conservative solutions to the crisis are analyzed. Such approaches support limited social alliances under the exclusion of a growing number of countries and groups in society. To a certain degree we are currently witnessing how these two approaches are becoming fused. Thirdly, there is an attempt to show the potential of “Green Capitalism” (Green New Deal), including social and democratic elements that the Left could also link up to. The already-underway energy transition in Germany is a good example of this, but also shows how rapidly such a project collides with austerity measures.

The Institute also closely collaborates with left-wing academic intellectuals, social movement activists, and unions, as well as with the partisan Left to develop a fourth, new strategy: a socio-ecological transformation of society, that is, a green socialism. These ideas are expressed in the proceedings of the Institute’s transition conference (‘Transformation im Kapitalismus und darüber hinaus’) as part of the Papers series. Fundamental to such an approach are analyses capable of linking such a strategic approach to the political analysis of left-wing parties, unions, and new social movements, as well as to changes in society itself. All these are part of the Institute’s journey towards becoming an effective left-wing think tank.



A productive working atmosphere dominated during the second transformation conference on November 23 and 24, 2012 at the Foundation in Berlin

FELLOWSHIPS 2012

Professor Ulrich Brand

Born 1967, Ulrich is a political scientist and professor of international politics at the University of Vienna. His main academic focus is global resources and environmental policy. He is an active member of the global economy focus of the German NGO BuKo (Bundeskoordination Internationalismus) and a member of the policy advisory committee of Attac Germany. In May 2011 he became co-editor of the German monthly publication *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*.

Projects: Criticism of a possible transition to "Green Capitalism;" brochure "Myths of the Green Economy" (Mythen der Green Economy), literature review into socio-ecological transition and possible research questions, as well as a study on the discussion of the limits to growth. He also contributes to the magazine *Luxemburg*.

Nicola Bullard

Born 1958, Nicola worked in a management-level position in Bangkok for the organization Focus on the Global South between 1997 and 2012. Focus on the Global South is a think tank for social movements in southeast Asia. Together with Walden Bello, she co-authored the book "Global Finance: New Thinking on Regulating Speculative Capital Markets" (2000); and also with Bello she coined the notion of "deglobalization."

Projects: The focus of her work has been on the Global South and the extent to which this concept can become a central

category in anti-capitalist practice and how this can help develop a post-capitalist narrative. At the symposium "Narratives of Post-Capitalist Worlds" (Narrativen postkapitalistischer Welten) in October 2012 she gave a talk titled "In the end was the word" (Am Ende war das Wort), see *Luxemburg* 3/2012.

Daniela Dahn

Born 1949, Daniela is a member of the authors' organization PEN and sits on the Advisory Board of the Humanist Union. She is vice chair of the Willy Brandt-Kreis and member of the International Commission for Fundamental Rights and Globalisation (Grundrechte und Globalisierung).

Projects: Property and the state, an unsolved question (*Der Staat und das Eigentum – ein offenes Problem*); proposals for a new concept of public ownership guided by the sovereignty of the people and the importance of such concepts for a transformational approach towards a change in property ownership. The book related to this project "We are the state! Why simply being the people is not enough" (Wir sind der Staat! Warum Volk sein nicht genügt) was published by Rowohlt in March 2013.

Professor Nancy Fraser

Born 1947, Nancy is a political scientist and one of the most well-known US-American feminists; currently she is professor of Political and Social Science at the New School for Social Research in New York. Together with Andrew Arato, she edits *Constellations*, an international journal on critical theory and

theories of democracy. Thematically she focuses on deliberative democracy, the development of transnational publics and feminist theory.

Projects: Luxemburg Lecture “Rethinking Capitalist Crisis” on November 22, 2012 at Pfefferberg in Berlin, and the workshop “From Crisis to Transformation: Resolving the Feminist Ambivalence” on December 7, 2012 at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. She also contributes to the journal *LuXemburg*.

Professor Bob Jessop

Born in 1946, Bob is professor of sociology at Lancaster University and the most well-known living Marxist state theorist. His aim is to develop a strategic relational approach to capitalist socialization.

Projects: Analysis of the restructuring of the capitalist state in the current crisis; research seminar for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung on “The state as a societal relation: Form analysis, critical institutionalism and relations of power;” related symposium on June 14, 2012; lecture at the symposium “Society – state – democracy” (Gesellschaft – Staat – Demokratie) on June 9, 2012 in Berlin; Luxemburg Lecture on July 6, 2012 on “Why has the Left failed in the crisis?” (Wieso hat die Linke in der Krise versagt?). He also contributes to the journal *LuXemburg*.

Professor Dieter Klein

Born 1931, Dieter is a political economist; he lectured at Humboldt University Berlin and until 1991 was pro-rector for social science.

Projects: a second “Great Transformation” and the Left: selected focuses for a leftist concept of transformation (a book titled “Das Morgen tanzt im Heute. Transformation im Kapitalismus und über ihn hinaus” – is to be published in spring 2013 by VSA); a study on sustainable energy economy in Brandenburg (Widersprüche auf dem Weg zu einer nachhaltigen Energie-wirtschaft in Brandenburg. Technologische Erneuerung oder sozial-ökologische Transformation?); publications “Contradictions of the energy transition in Brandenburg” (Widersprüche in der Brandenburger Energiewende) and “The Energy Transition in Brandenburg” (Energiewende in Brandenburg).

Mimmo Porcaro

Born 1953, Mimmo is an activist with the party Rifondazione Comunista and member of Punto Rosso; long-term partner of the Foundation in research into political parties, and he writes about party theory for the journal *LuXemburg*.

Projects: a book on the re-foundation of socialism in the 21st century, which argues that socialism implies an end to the private appropriation of society’s wealth and the abstract accumulation of wealth as the ultimate goal of production. Consequently, new forms of regulation are required such as the self-organization of society, a common goods economy, networks for horizontal cooperation, a centralized indus-

try policy, and elements of economic planning. An English version is due to be published.

Professor Rainer Rilling

Born in 1945, between 1983 and 1998 Rainer was chair of the Association of Democratic Academics and Scientists (Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler). In 2002, he became professor of sociology at Marburg University. He was co-director of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis and a member of the Foundation’s advisory committee.

Main focuses: political economy of property (commons) and current capitalism, international relations, and the development of the Left in western Germany.

Projects: Critique of capitalism and the commons debate from a leftist perspective; collaborates with the journal *LuXemburg*, organized and ran the seminar week on geopolitics (August 2012), collaborated with the Institute for Critical Social Analysis’s transformation conference.

Dr. Hans Thie

Born in 1957, Hans is an editorial journalist. He studied sociology and holds a PhD in economics. His special focus is greening the economy in the sense of Herman Daly and Hermann Scheer. He has advised the Left Party in the German parliament on economic policy for the past four years.

Projects: He is working on the book “Red Green. Pioneers and Principles for an Ecologic Society” (Rotes Grün. Pioniere und Prinzipien einer ökologischen Gesellschaft), to be published by VSA in spring 2013; his theories were discussed at the symposium of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. He also contributes to the journal *LuXemburg*.

POSTDOCS

Dr. Barbara Fried

Born in 1970, Barbara studied psychology at the Freie Universität Berlin. She earned her PhD in sociology at Leibniz University. Since 2011, she has lectured on the reproductive economy at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. She also temporarily took over from Christina Kaindl as chief editor of the journal *LuXemburg*.

Projects: Analysis of care relations as reproductive relations.

Dr. Tazio Müller

Born in 1976, Tazio studied political science at the University of Massachusetts, and global political economy at the department of International Relations and Politics at the University of Sussex. He earned his PhD in 2007 and is a founding member of the international network “Climate Justice Action.”

Projects: Energy democracy: actors and concepts for a (left-wing) energy transition with a focus on Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.



Nancy Fraser



Bob Jessop

«LUXEMBURG LECTURES» 2012

MAY 8, 2012

DEMOCRACY AGAINST CAPITALISM

THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NEW STRUGGLES

“Luxemburg Lecture” with the Marxist historian Ellen Meiksins Wood

JUNE 20, 2012

MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE

REPRODUCTIVE WORK, BIO TECHNOLOGY

AND THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOR

“Luxemburg Lecture” with the feminist theorist Silvia Federici and the sociologist Melinda Cooper (in co-operation with the group kitchen_politics)

JUNE 27, 2012

WHY HAS THE LEFT FAILED IN THE CRISIS?

“Luxemburg Lecture” with the Marxist theoretician of the state Bob Jessop

OCTOBER 10, 2012

HIGHTECH CAPITALISM IN THE MAJOR CRISIS

“Luxemburg Lecture” with the Marxist philosopher Wolfgang Fritz Haug

NOVEMBER 20, 2012

THE FABRICATION OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

“Luxemburg Lecture” with the political scientists Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin

NOVEMBER 22, 2012

RETHINKING CAPITALIST CRISIS

“Luxemburg Lecture” with the feminist Nancy Fraser



Silvia Federici



Ellen Meiksins Wood

THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

US ...

Political education develops knowledge and capacities and to a large extent consists of networking and communication. Discourses anchored in educational processes generate, share, and pass on knowledge and experience. The Academy for Political Education therefore plays an essential role in the fulfillment of the Foundation's key functions: the promotion of education, networking, and publicity; and the development of independent ideas.

To us, political education means discussing social areas of conflict. We achieve this through different programs and events where people can actively participate. We provide them tools for their emancipation, and enhance their capacity for critique and action. A diversity of methods, freedom from hierarchies, a radical critique of current society, critical appraisal, and solidarity are thereby the parameters our work is based on. Our target audiences are the politically involved in both remunerated and non-remunerated positions at all levels. We reach out to experts as much as to people from non-political milieus interested in gaining basic knowledge. This includes many school children and other young people as well as teachers. We develop new educational formats and materials through deliberation and internal seminars.

In 2012, 17 employees worked at the Academy for Political Education with an interdisciplinary and cross-departmental approach – always in search of ruptures offering an opening for left-wing socialist politics. Our focuses are contemporary history, European politics, migration, ideologies of inequality, gender relations, the socio-ecological transition, as well as the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg. The Youth Education Network, the Local Academy, and the Political Education and Training Program are also part of the Academy for Political Education.

... IN THE FOUNDATION

In 2012, together with colleagues from member foundations in various German states, we organized two German speaker tours. The first tour was organized with the Chilean student activist Camilla Vallejo, the second one with activists from the movements driving the "Arabellion" since 2011. This shows that to us, the cross-frontier exchange of experiences is a necessary condition for the development of leftist strategies. This was also the idea behind the umbrella project "Internationalist thinking for local action" that has been running for three years now. Together with the Centre for International Dialogue and Co-operation, the Institute for Critical Social Anal-

ysis, and the Foundation's departments for Work and Political Communication in Germany, we develop new publications and cooperation projects that are then implemented with our internal and external partners. As part of the umbrella project, we support the activities of regional study groups on Africa, Latin America, eastern, central and southeast Europe, North Africa, Asia, and Turkey. The Academy for Political Education also coordinates the discussion group "Women and Politics." Furthermore, we are part of the panel of the Foundation's study program and support the development of educational programs during vacation periods.

During the last year, the different training programs of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung were united under the title "Political Education and Training." We hoped that this would help us to reach a broader audience, develop new programs, and benefit from synergies, as well as expand our services. The program consists of five intertwined pillars: "Politics for Beginners," "Political Education in Action," "Reflecting on Practice," "Managing large Groups" and "Engaged and Local." In all these areas we offer systematic as well as individual training programs. We see our seminars and courses as places of encounter. In addition to the actual content, our events also always encourage learning through experience, inspiring insights through an interdisciplinary approach, and political alignment with other positions. Our experiences in the first year were, in this sense, very encouraging.

Further focuses in 2012 were the conferences "Decolonize the City" and "European Energy Policy," the publication of "Europa-Links" as an online educational resource (www.europa-links.eu), as well as the completion of the educational material "PolyluxMarx."

SOLIDARITY AND SOLAR ENERGY!

LEFT-WING PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN ENERGY POLICIES

During the last year, the North Rhine-Westphalia state foundation organized a meeting to discuss European energy policies together with the Academy for Political Education. The meeting was scheduled for the beginning of December in the Feuerwache in Köln and sought to analyze current developments and measures in terms of how ecological and socially sustainable they are and to what extent they counter monopolistic tendencies.

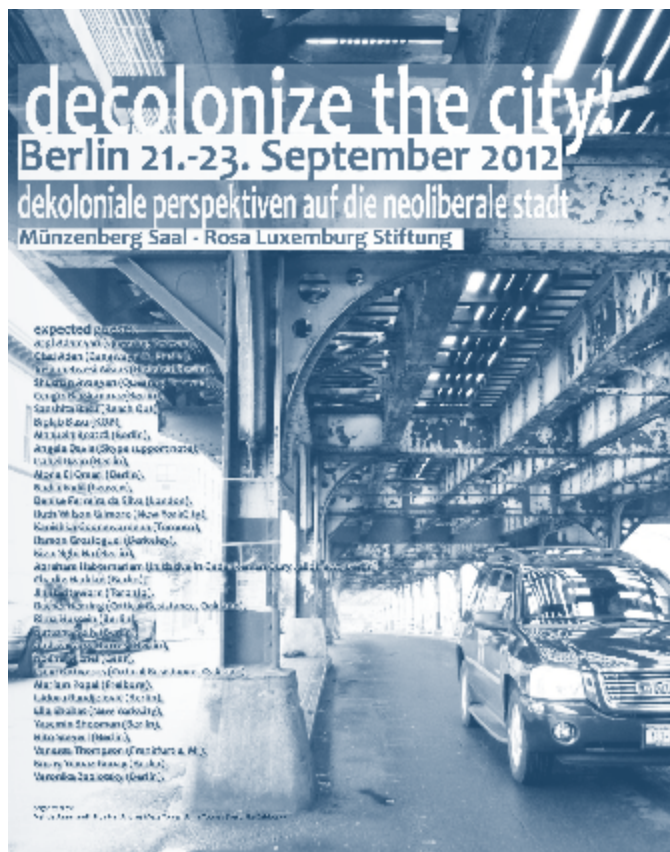
The pro-nuclear position of Maité Jauredy-Naudin from the French *Institut Français des Relations Internationales* ensured the conference's opening session "The Left and Nuclear Energy" got off to a controversial start. Later though, the focus of the workshops and lectures was on alternatives to today's dominant energy production and supply systems. The concept of "Green Capitalism" received less support here than the demand for a fundamental transformation of society and a democratically controlled and socially just energy transition.

Ulrich Schachtschneider, energy counselor, social scientist, and active member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung presented for the first time his study on the energy policy positions of leftist parties in Europe, and showed how different these positions are and that they are frequently still not fully developed. In many cases the debates surrounding energy policy have only just begun.

A detailed record of the conference can be found here: www.rosalux.de/event/46428.

Banner in the foyer of the University of Dresden during the "International conference on civil disobedience and collective rule-breaking" on January 28 and 29, 2012





Poster for the conference "Decolonize the City!"

URBAN POLICIES AND A CRITICISM OF RACISM: CONFERENCE "DECOLONIZE THE CITY!"

Rising rents, the commoditization of the public sphere and of security and hygiene policies have left their undeniable mark on many major cities. The phenomena often described by the terms "gentrification" and "touristification" have long been issues of interest for activists, academics, and communal parliaments alike.

Not so broadly discussed though is the question of how neoliberal urban policies are linked to the unchanged reality of racism in the country. Who has to retreat first? Who does the militarization of the police and police violence affect and how? What do urban memory policies point at? How about queer perspectives and the perspectives of post-colonial migrants and people of color?

Between September 21 and 23, 2012 in Berlin, the Foundation funded the international conference "Decolonize the City!" to discuss these very issues. For quite a number of people, this conference marked a "historic moment," because so far, in Europe and particularly in Germany, approaches to link a Marxist critique with a profound critique of racism have so far been rare. Another reason why this conference should probably be considered historic is the fact that over 300 people

participated and a further 1,000 people from all over the world followed the live stream. The program was based on dialogue nearly throughout. There were lectures, panels, and workshops, but also a city tour to explore colonial continuities, contributions by artists, and online guests such as Angela Davis. Childcare facilities and gender-neutral rest rooms departed from the standard conference format, and allowed for the participation of diverse audiences.

Substantial feedback demonstrated a reaction of positive surprise to this space within the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung – and more than anything else the wish to continue the discussion. Meanwhile, the program and lectures can be accessed online at www.decolonizethecity.de.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND COLLECTIVE RULE BREAKING

Dresden's renown is built on the successful blockades organized against Nazi demonstrations that turned the city into a symbol for a new spirit of civil resistance. Not surprisingly therefore the congress "Ungehorsam! Disobedience!" at the TU Dresden during the last week of January 2012 brought together some 350 people. The congress was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung together with Interventionistische Linke, Attac, Republikanischer Anwältinnen- und Anwälteverein, and Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie, and offered a pretty impressive program.

One year after the occupation of Tahrir Square in Cairo, Ola Shahba from Egypt and Aktham Abazzid from Syria analyzed the role of disobedience in the "Arab Spring." The celebrated Camila Vallejo brought Chilean student protests onto the stage in Dresden. Matthew Kearney analyzed the importance of the occupation of the local parliament in Madison, Wisconsin, for the current Occupy movement in the US. In teach-ins, activists from France, Greece, Italy, and Germany (from Stuttgart, the Wendland, and Dresden) presented other projects of civil disobedience that were complemented with a set of theoretical analyses.

In the closing debate on state repression, Bodo Ramelow, Anne Roth, and Corinna Genschel criticized the persecution unleashed in the German state of Saxony. In the aftermath of the blockade of a Nazi demonstration, house searches were conducted, Left Party members of the Saxony state parliament lost their immunity, and data from mobile telephones was massively collected. Alexander Schneider from the newspaper *Sächsische Zeitung* was the only one to defend the police and the legal reaction of the state, stating that the reaction was in accordance with the rule of law. The panel discussion was documented and is now available online: www.rosalux.de/documentation/45153/ungehorsam-disobedience.html.

THE WORK OF THE YOUTH EDUCATION NETWORK

The Youth Education Network developed out of a conference in 2003. Its work is currently supported by 12 associations engaging in left-wing political education. These associations are based in Berlin, Dresden, Erfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig, Rostock, Werftpfuhl, and other cities. Between their networking meetings (twice per year), the active members collaborate with other members in project groups. One of these groups currently works intensively on the critical expressions of political movements in Latin America and the methods of collective critical cartography. The group offers workshops, for example on how international cooperation between two partners can be achieved on an equal footing. The group "Political Economy" collected information for a set of events in Germany directed specifically at young people who were not part of the leftist scene. Furthermore, the group "Ex-Extremism" created a leaflet in 2012 directed at employees of youth welfare offices, teachers, and employees of other education-related institutions to inform them about the work of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Representatives of this agency are frequently invited to speak in school assembly halls. As experts, they then present their stereotypical views on "left-wing and right-wing extremists," and usually do not get their views questioned. Therefore the Youth Education Network expressly declares its solidarity with left-wing associations and projects frequently beset by the state on the basis of the official extremism doctrine.

Another aspect that characterizes the educational work by the associations supporting the Youth Education Network as left-wing or emancipatory is the attempt to reach as many young people as possible through the use of diverse formats and methods and to give young people the capacity to acquire and produce critical knowledge. This demands that the results of a particular event are not determined beforehand, but instead requires an openness for new insights. The general rule is to impart knowledge in a non-dogmatic fashion, always leaving room for this knowledge to be questioned. These educational formats promote the development of political attitudes and networking, and can also help to collectively organize young people. The Youth Education Network is also part of the board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung that decides which projects receive funding, which is something unusual. This expands the perspectives of the Foundation, allows for a better evaluation of project proposals, and promotes a greater proximity to youths as the target group. Furthermore, the network offers a space for important discussions on the challenges and problems for youth education from which all sides – the Foundation, associations, and educational institutions – profit. Therefore, the Youth Education Network will continue to be an essential partner for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's education programs.



A graphic version of Capital: "Polylux Marx"

MARX GOES POWERPOINT

POLYLUXMARX: EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL TO READ "CAPITAL" VOLUME 1.

The crises rocking the planet have led to an increased interest in Marxist analyses, and especially his main work "Capital." "PolyluxMarx" makes the first attempt to present Karl Marx's work in the form of a PowerPoint presentation. The CD and accompanying booklet – edited by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and published by Karl Dietz Verlag – help to illustrate Marx's central arguments. They also introduce texts and short references on the methods and didactics that make reading the original text easier and that are meant to be helpful for courses where Capital is read.

In Germany, but also abroad, we have registered a keen interest in "PolyluxMarx." The first German edition quickly sold out. A second revised edition appeared at the beginning of 2013. Following strong international interest, we have now translated this educational material into English. Meanwhile there have been requests for a Spanish edition from South America and for a Greek edition from Greece.

THE FOUNDATION'S NETWORK

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN THE FEDERAL STATES

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been active for many years in all 16 federal states. Here, an important part of the educational work takes place in cooperation with the legally independent state foundations. In 2012 there were nearly 2,300 events with around 95,000 participants.

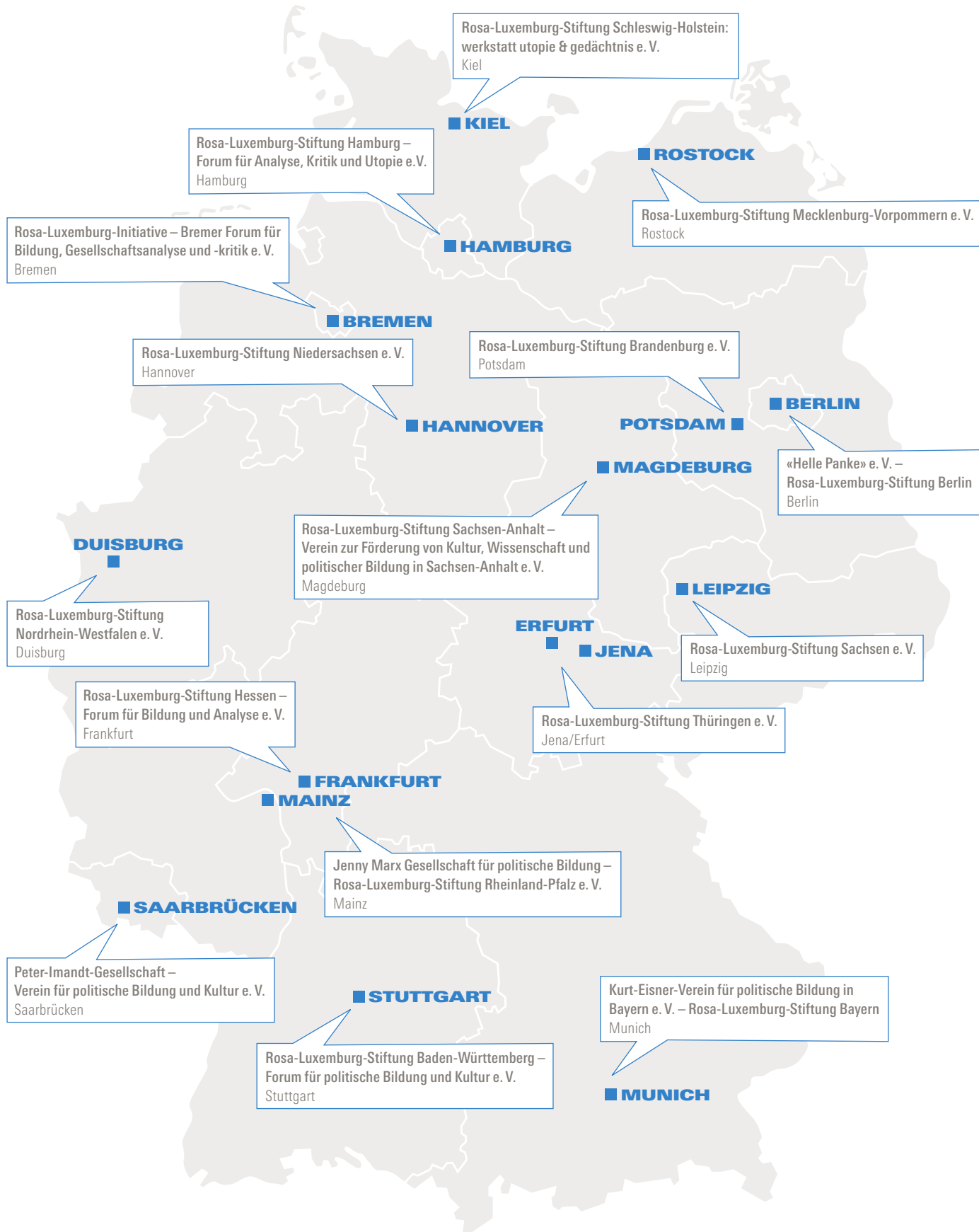
The Foundation's program is directed as much at people close to the Left Party as the broader public interested in a solid and innovative education. Moreover, the regional offices and the state foundations are, via the Left Party, a point of contact for a pluralistic Left in Germany. They cooperate with initiatives and social movements, unions, other educational institutions, politicians at the communal level, and sometimes also with foundations in the other federal states.

In the larger states such as Bavaria, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, or Saxony, so-called Rosa Luxemburg Clubs organize the diverse education programs at the local level. This has enabled groups of friends, contact points, and education circles in numerous locations to develop into important cooperation partners. This means, education work takes place "locally," mainly in the form of lectures and discussion events, but increasingly also in the form of workshops, all-day or weekend seminars, meetings, conferences, expositions, and excursions. The majority of the extensive work in the individual German states is carried out by volunteers.

The independent sector within the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Nationwide Work, coordinates the cooperation of all Foundation sectors with the regional offices and state-level foundations, as well as their cooperation with each other. The work of the state foundations is financed in part by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (i.e. with federal funds), and also with individual funds (i.e. donations and membership dues). In a number of German states, federal state funds can also be used to varying degrees.

The majority of events – nearly 280 – concerned the issues of anti-fascism and anti-racism, but in 2012 there were also around 150 to 250 events on issues such as history, contemporary history politics, social theory and philosophy, economic policy, labor market policy, and social policy, as well as gender relations and feminism. The Foundation also organized a rich program addressing social, cultural, and academic political questions, as well as international issues.

The proportion of female participants rose to about 40%, and 25% to 30% of participants were younger than 30. For 2013, the challenge will be to continue this positive trend.





Minister President Winfried Kretschmann was also affected by the "Radicals Decree"

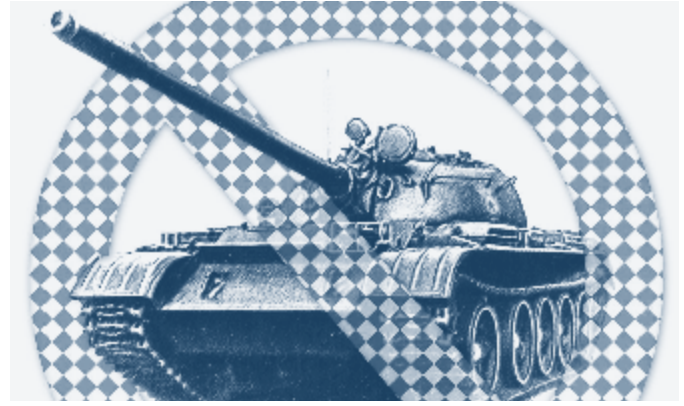
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

WHEN THE STATE SAW RED

Winfried Kretschmann is not only the Green Party's first minister president; he is also the first minister president of a German state to be affected by the decree against radicals. On January 28, 1972, the chancellor and minister presidents of the federal states passed the so-called radicals decree, which led to the screening of 3.5 million applicants for public service employment – most of them teachers – by Germany's domestic intelligence service (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz). Of these, 1,250 were then refused employment. Winfried Kretschmann, too, was threatened with a ban from working in his profession. This kind of legislation targeting people's convictions developed in the anti-communist atmosphere of the Cold War and continued the bad authoritarian tradition of the German state. The peak was reached in 1956, when the Communist Party of Germany was declared illegal – a unique event in the history of European democracy.

The 40th anniversary of the radical decrees offered a fresh opportunity to critically assess this period of German history. Without wanting to equate things, post-1945 German history can nonetheless only be understood as a single and mutually penetrating history of East and West. That the issue is still (or maybe, again) pertinent was visible in the great interest generated by the two events organized by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Baden-Württemberg. At both events, over 100 people took part in the discussions that followed the showing of "Als der Staat rot sah" (When the state saw red) by Stuttgart based filmmaker Hermann G. Abmayr. The documentary very clearly shows the fate and experiences of those who fell victim to the legal system during the Cold War.

Minister President Kretschmann has promised an "academic investigation" into the cases, although he rejected the calls by the group "40 years radical decrees" for a rehabilitation of the victims.



In Nuremberg alternatives to the armament industry were discussed

BAVARIA

BAVARIA UNDER ARMS! AN ECONOMY WITHOUT THE ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY – AN OPTION?

An important part of the German armaments industry is concentrated in Bavaria, and leaves a strong mark on the region's economy. A critical assessment of this industry in Bavaria is therefore long overdue. Not least, this is shown by the fact that a map showing the companies in the armaments sector for all federal states exists – except for Bavaria.

In cooperation with Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft – Vereinigte KriegsdienstgegnerInnen (DFG-VK), on November 24, 2012, the Kurt-Eisner-Verein (KEV)/Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bavaria organized the conference "Bavaria under arms! An economy without the armaments industry, an option?" (Bayern unter Waffen! Wirtschaft ohne Rüstung – geht das?). In the run-up, KEV had financed a study on the armaments industry in Swabia, Franconia, and Upper Bavaria. At the beginning of the conference the results were presented and provided a basis for the subsequent panel discussion "A perspective for disarmament – a perspective for the armaments industry." Among the participants were Rudi Lutz from the IG Metall Nuremberg trade union, Ewald Ziegler representing the Nuremberg Peace Forum (Nürnberger Friedensforum) and Inge Höger, member of the Left Party faction in the German Bundestag.

In times of restructuring, the workers and unions can easily become the most eager partisans of these deadly tools (for example the reform of the German army), this was only one of the experiences discussed. At the end of the conference, the participants agreed that arms conversion is an indispensable precondition for disarmament and peace. There are plans to consolidate the results of regional research in a separate KEV publication.

Because the issue met with such broad interest, research is to be extended to cover the areas "The German army and military," "Armaments research at universities," and "Peace movements and protests." The KEV website has further information: www.by.rosalux.de.



Tenants' protests Kotti & Co. in Berlin. Can housing cooperatives help against high rents?



China's ambassador Shi Mingde together with Detlef Nakath, chair of the Brandenburg regional foundation

BERLIN

COMMON WELFARE OVER PROFIT

Cooperatives are cool, hip, and modern. They are not the petrified reserves of a social economy. On the contrary: the cooperative as a company form is experiencing a renaissance because it is the most fitting type of organization for the new move towards collective self-employment. Over the last years, hundreds of cooperatives have been founded in Germany, most of them for the joint production of energy through wind and solar energy. Traditionally cooperatives have been among the key players in the housing sector. Currently in Berlin, around 10% of the total number of apartments is managed by cooperatives.

Against this background, on June 7, 2012, "Helle Panke" jointly organized a conference with the leftist faction in the Berlin city parliament titled "Housing cooperatives: Strengthening cooperatives – Common welfare over profit!" at Werkstatt der Kulturen. Directors of both large and small cooperatives came to speak, as did representatives of umbrella organizations. Three questions stood at the center of the half-day conference: What can housing cooperatives do to combat rising rents? What can be done to combat increasing gentrification? Is there a need to improve the legal framework conditions for cooperatives?

The answers to these questions were mostly sobering and only seldom somewhat optimistic. Within the individual cooperatives a lot is being done to provide affordable, reliable, and lively living quarters, but the overall influence of cooperatives on the development of the city is small. If the potential of cooperatives were tied more closely to Berlin state housing policies, then a lot more could be achieved. This could be done without changes to the legislative framework because a lack of political will is more of a problem than actual legislation.

BRANDENBURG

"QUALITATIVE LEAP BY THREE STEPS"

At the end of September 2012, the 16th Potsdam symposium on foreign policy took place with a focus on "German-Chinese relations in the past and present." The event was attended by around 120 people. The most prominent guest was the Chinese ambassador Shi Mingde. He discussed current questions concerning German foreign policy with Brandenburg's Minister of Economy, Ralf Christoffers, and Jan Rudolph from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Shi Mingde praised the regular government-level consultations agreed in 2010 as a "qualitative leap by three steps" in the development of bilateral relations. Many, however, he said, had still not realized that the Cold War was over. Particularly in the media, an outdated vision of China was still predominant. No state or superpower is able to solve the problems of humanity on its own.

Minister Christoffers talked about the relations between Brandenburg and China, and described how contact between medium-sized companies in Brandenburg with Chinese companies mainly in the energy technology sector and in food production had developed. He proposed to establish a "Chinese Week" in Brandenburg schools. Jan Rudolph described the principles of German foreign policy towards the People's Republic of China and praised the constructive role that China was playing in the crisis of the euro. Still, he said, there was potential for more collaboration.

In the course of the two-day conference Lian Yu-ru (University of Peking) and Sun Jin Song (Party University of the CP of China, Beijing) also gave presentations. Former Minister President of the GDR, Hans Modrow, and EU parliamentarian Helmut Scholz, as well as the academics Wolfram Adolphi (Potsdam), Gudrun Wacker (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin), Helmut Peters (Berlin), and Lutz Kleinwächter (Potsdam) also took part in the discussions.



Marx reading courses have taken place repeatedly in Berlin. In 2012 for the first time a course to read Capital was organized outside of Berlin by the Bremen regional foundation

BREMEN

CAPITAL LESSONS

In the context of the current crisis, capitalism is coming under more frequent criticism. Generally, this is dominated by a diffuse understanding of capitalist reality, mixed with resentments against banks, managers, and “those at the top.” So far in history though, anger and discontent alone have never been enough to positively change society.

During a one-year reading course, tutors Oliver Barth and Moritz Zeiler accompanied the reading and discussion of the first volume of Karl Marx’s “Capital. A Critique of Political Economy.” Between February and December 2012, the group read and discussed the complete first volume. Additional weekend seminars were organized covering all three volumes of “Capital” and included an introduction into the terminology of economic theory and analysis categories. Evening lectures on both the Marxian concept of fetish as well as the analysis of money in Marx, Keynes, and neoclassical economics complemented the reading course.

Mainly two aspects distinguished this course: 2012 was the first time that such a course on “Capital” had been offered by the Foundation outside of Berlin. For years such courses have been very popular in Berlin, and this was an attempt by the Bremen state Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to repeat their success. Second, the course was a continuation, albeit more intensively, of the program of events surrounding the critique of the state and the economy that have been successfully running in Bremen for years. These evening events and weekend seminars are organized by the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative/ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Bremen in cooperation with the event organizers “associazione delle talpe.”

The program covering Marxian economic criticism was very well received and will be continued in 2013. There will also be another course on reading “Capital,” which will again be accompanied by further events.

HAMBURG

THE COMPANY HYMN DEAL

“We are Kaisers Tengelmann and in our family everybody counts.” Whether it’s Edeka, Volkswagen, Henkel KG, Air Berlin, or Kaufland AG – they all have their company songs. These hymns make believe that it’s not stress, competition, or routine that dominates everyday work, but that instead workers find fulfillment in their jobs. The hymns suggest that workers identify with their company, are ready to work, and keen on “life-long” learning. The motto simply is: motivate through music, call for a team spirit, and strengthen identification with the company.

The play “The Company Hymn Deal” (Der Firmenhymnenhandel) by Thomas Ebermann deals exactly with this old company management technique and premiered on March 9, 2012 in Hamburg Kampnagel. As a cooperation partner of this theatre project, on March 20 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hamburg offered the opportunity to learn more about the play and its background as well as the use of a wholly new format to discuss things such as the working environment and modern capitalism. Between the reading of individual scenes, music videos, talks, and discussions, actors from the play presented selected parts of the text and new recorded versions of company hymns were played (for example by Bernadette La Hengst, Schorsch Kamerun, Dirk von Lowtzow, and Rocko Schamoni). Later, Thomas Ebermann (the director) discussed the play and the evolution of modern capitalism with those present. The discussion covered questions such as the changes to the working environment and social framework conditions. Other questions considered how the neoliberal ideology could be upheld in the workplace when the crisis and its consequences threaten employees, great fluctuations within companies take place, no security against layoffs exists, and even parts of the middle class become threatened. “A bright future lies ahead; there is a pioneer hidden inside every one of us” (An die Zukunft glauben wir, in jedem steckt ein Pionier); so goes the Henkel KG company song.



Flyer with the program from Documenta 13 from the regional foundation in Hessen

HESSEN

ART IN THE CRISIS, THE CRISIS IN ART

The presentation of the works and projects by over 160 renowned artists from around the world for 100 days turned the exhibition Documenta 13 into a center of international contemporary art. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hessen used this art spectacle as a multifaceted political education program. 14 readings, conversations, film presentations, and discussions were organized at five different venues and in cooperation with the group SPUNK, the Café Buch-Oase, the Freies Radio Kassel, the Kassel Friedensforum, the Kassel Magazin, the cultural centers Karoshi and Schlachthof, the Rosa Luxemburg Club North Hessen, and top e. V. Berlin. German and international guests also discussed the “bienalization of political art” based on an analysis of the two current large events, Documenta 13 Kassel and the Biennale 7 in Berlin; criticized the questioning of the social functions of aesthetic production in the event “Annihilation of Art” (Aufhebung der Kunst); considered the history of male and female socialist and antifascist artists; scrutinized the primacy of economics and “financialization;” pointed to the need for a leftist cultural practice in light of the crisis and its effects on the EU periphery; discussed the current problems of documentary films in Russia; and lectured on issues critical of capitalism as well as on peace political questions.

Together with the association top e. V. Berlin, a “POTRaum” was inaugurated that was accessible during the Documenta and that could be used for events, conversations, and as a contact point. Whilst queer feminist activists met on the “Trans*fläche,” members of the group SPUNK looked for “alternative approaches to a good life.” It was a very diverse program that met with a lot of interest.



Education work in the countryside – a task for the regional foundation in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

URGENT ACTION NEEDED

Let’s get this straight from the start: It was not the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern that discovered this group; it was the group that found the Foundation.

In Rothen, far from any of the large cities, an association has been active for the last 12 years. Its 58 members from East and West Germany have breathed life to a village in the midst of a region hit by far-reaching structural changes by rescuing a former farm and creating craft workshops, a café, and a football ground, thereby transforming the village into a regional intellectual, social, and cultural center. Events such as “Open Art” (Kunst Offen), the “Day of the Open Garden” (Tag des offenen Gartens), a children’s circus, or the “Regional Market” attract many visitors to the village.

The association Rothener Hof also raises questions about the living conditions in the region. Why are so many young people and the highly qualified leaving? What can be done about demographic change? What are the reasons behind the spread of right-wing ideology?

“Urgent action needed” (Was uns unter den Nägeln brennt) was then also the motto of the event at Rothener Hof that was developed with the support of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern state foundation and others. Over the course of one week, an information and opinion-building platform discussed questions such as “forgotten resistance and forgotten suffering,” the dignity of work, an unconditional basic income, women in Nazi structures, and not least the question: How do we wish to live? This was achieved through an exposition, documentary films, and a book presentation.

Print media and even the radio reported about numerous visitors to Rothener Hof and that a lot was being discussed there. Although the program was extremely dense and not all participants could take part during the working week, it was nonetheless a good start for the association’s upcoming yearly activities. It is great that the state foundation of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern can support this.



Radio activists from Latin America and Spain meet in Hannover

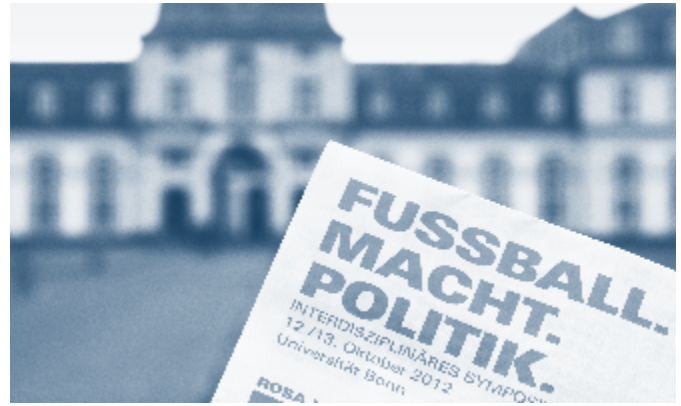
LOWER SAXONY

INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF RADIO ACTIVISTS

Between March 23 and 26, 2012, women from different Latin American countries, Spain, and Germany met for the “InterKoneXiones – International Womens’ Radio Meeting” in Hannover. The meeting was organized by radio flora (a Hannover internet radio station) activists and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Lower Saxony. The radio’s international contacts have grown through years of working together in projects and through cooperation with the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation. This allowed for the participation of women from Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Spain, and Germany.

In addition to information and exchange on the conditions surrounding feminist radio programs in the different contexts, participants used the opportunity to learn from each other (both technically and in matters of content) and to develop joint projects. In the self-organized workshops on issues relating to radio (including the technology of radio) and feminism, collective programs, features, and jingles were produced. There was also time for parties and demonstrations. The meeting concluded with a public event on gender relations, social conditions, and the political situation in the different Latin American countries, as well as the role played by radio in the struggle for women’s rights.

After the meeting in Hannover, some of the radio activists from Latin America travelled to other German states. Organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in these states, they met with further interested people. Overall the workshop weekend was good, successful, sustainable, and an excellent example of true international networking and solidarity.



A conference in Bonn in October 2012 was dedicated to the mass phenomenon of football

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

FOOTBALL. POWER. POLITICS.

From an interdisciplinary point of view, football as a social phenomenon is an extraordinarily good example of the power relations and problems in society. Proof of this was provided by the conference “Football. Power. Politics.” in October 2012 organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung North Rhine-Westphalia and the department for pre-Columbian American history and ethnology at the Rheinisch-Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Bonn.

Inspired by nine lectures, around 100 participants discussed the social, (power) political, discursive, and mythical structures of the popular sport. The focus was on an interdisciplinary and critical approach to football as a mass phenomenon as well as its social function. Ethno-historic lectures by Kerstin Nowack and Nikolai Grube on ball games in the pre-Columbian indigenous societies of Central and South America set the proverbial ball rolling for this two day conference.

Phillip Dezort looked at the different fan cultures of men’s and women’s football, while Simone Schöndorfer analyzed the representation of women’s football in the media during the 2011 World Championship. The economist Kerstin Lopatta explained how football clubs operate on financial markets. Julianne Müller talked about the role of football in the social integration of migrant communities in Spanish towns, and the sociologist Oliver Fürtjes investigated the myth of football as the sport of the proletariat.

A highlight was surely the talk by the sports journalist Andreas Rüttenauer, who in 2012 launched a very visible campaign in the media to become Chair of the German Football Association, running against Wolfgang Niersbach. In his talk he looked at patronage and corruption in German premier league football. Participants were really enthusiastic about the stimulating discussions provoked by the talks and the different positions towards football.



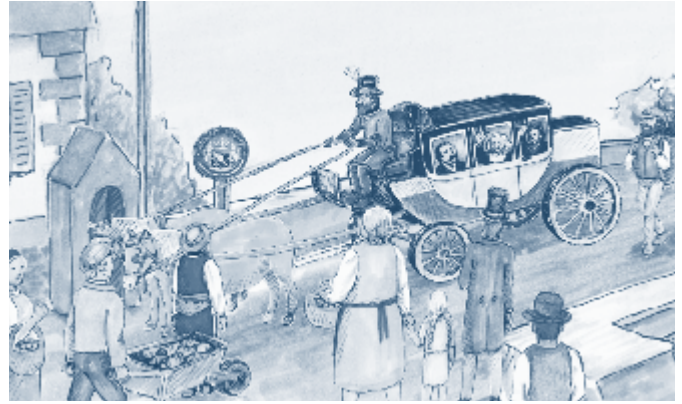
A whole weekend in the tradition of the Waldeck festivals of the 1960s and 1970s

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

LEFTIST SINGER-SONGWRITER MEETING 2012

“For a world of solidarity! Against exploitation and war!” was the motto of the 2012 leftist singer-songwriter meeting that took place on June 15 to 17 at Burg Waldeck in the German Hunsrück region. It was the fourth time this event had taken place. The festival stands in the tradition of the legendary Waldeck festivals of the 1960s and 1970s. It was organized by the Jenny Marx Gesellschaft für politische Bildung/the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rhineland Palatinate and the state foundation Hessen and the Deutsche Freidenkerverband RLP/Saar & Hessen. Roughly 150 people of different ages interested in left-wing songs, rock, and cabaret attended. It started with an evening of songs around the bonfire on Friday. On Saturday, a packed program of daytime workshops was offered. Erich Schmeckenbecher (called Zufpgeigenhansel) received a lot of applause for his talk on the question of romanticism in political song writing. He repeatedly interrupted his talk to sing a number of songs. Johanna Arndt interpreted “Songs to listen to and sing” (Lieder zum Zuhören und Mitmachen) to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of Hanns Eisler. Reinhard Frankl talked about “correcting and changing” songs in social movements. Jane Zahn revealed the secrets of political cabaret to her audience. Lutz Kirschner and Jörg Hauswald talked about the singer-songwriter movement in the GDR and livened up their talk with recordings from the time. Next on the program were songs from Latin American liberation movements with Romina Tabor and Daniel Osario. Street rock, too, was represented by the band Nümmes from Berlin.

The absolute highlight of the weekend was without doubt the evening on-stage performance in Burg Waldeck. Here, the seminar participants presented what they had jointly been working on during the day. At the end, late on Saturday evening, the reggae ska band Jelly Toast from Saarbrücken played and people danced the rest of the night away.



Marx and Engels crossing the border in Habkirchen in April 1848

SAARLAND

A FRIENDLY MEETING AT THE BORDER

It was a meeting that would certainly have received the approval of Karl Marx. On September 8, 2012, numerous people from Germany and France demonstrated together for greater social justice in Europe on the old bridge between Habkirchen in Germany and Frauenberg in France that used to mark the frontier between the two countries.

The cross-border “meeting of Marianne and Michel” was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung/Peter Imandt Gesellschaft from Saarland, the Jenny Marx Gesellschaft Rhineland Palatinate, and the education association L’Agora Citoyenne from Lorraine. Around 100 visitors from Saarland, Lorraine, and Rhineland Palatinate came to the bridge of friendship across the river Blies as a symbol of the networking of the political Left.

Red Jacobin hats and black nightcaps with a black, red, and gold cockade were distributed to get people in the mood. Michael Quetting, chair of the Peter Imandt Gesellschaft, recalled the crossing of the border in Habkirchen by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in April 1848. He connected Marx and Engels’ crossing of the frontier and their critique of capitalism to today’s euro crisis. Views among the Left in Europe differ strongly on how the European Union should now develop, which is precisely why the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is working to create a dialogue between the different positions. The Left Party member of the state parliament Barbara Spaniol took a more direct approach: “We need to rise up against social cuts that have now reached people everywhere in the country.” Kathrin Senger-Schäfer, a member of the German parliament from Rhineland Palatinate emphasized that the ideals of the French revolution – liberty, equality and fraternity – had also been the motto of the German bourgeois revolution in 1848 and were still valid today.



The Leipzig Marx expedition aims to provide "Orientation in Capitalism" (Orientierung im Kapitalismus)



Participants at the conference "Equality and perspectives for people's lives" (Gleichstellung und Lebensverlaufsperspektiven) in Halle

SAXONY

MARX EXPEDITION 2012

From April 19 to June 12, 2012, as part of the "Expedition Marx" series, the University of Leipzig organized lectures on the works and thought of Karl Marx. As the title suggests, the main aim of these lectures is an exploration in a double sense. First, it is an attempt to combat the absence of Marxian concepts in seminars and lectures on sociology showing that although Marx cannot explain every phenomenon of contemporary society, without him many questions can only be understood to a very limited degree. Second, the lectures are intended to create new impulses for a networked and profoundly academic debate about Marx.

The opening workshop was "Marx and the Financial Crisis" with Michael Heinrich. Ingo Elbe (Domination and Fetishism), Christoph Türcke (Dialectics), Christian Schmidt (Alienation), Alex Demirović (Morale), Ulrich Brieler (Empire Trilogy), Heiner Ganßmann (Capital and Labor), and Joachim Hirsch (The State) went on to present further elements of Marxian thought.

Last but not least, Klaus Dörre presented a summarized outlook on the limits to capitalist growth. In parallel to the event, a new "Capital" reading circle was established. In all, around 1,450 people took part in these lectures.

Unlike other leftist lecture series on Marx, which are often directed solely at experts and geared towards the discussion of the newest research findings, the main goal of this project was to spark an initial interest in Marx and his ideas particularly among students who so far had not had the opportunity to be inspired by one of the founders of modern social science. Further information – also on the continuation of this series – is available at: www.marxexpedition.de.

SAXONY-ANHALT

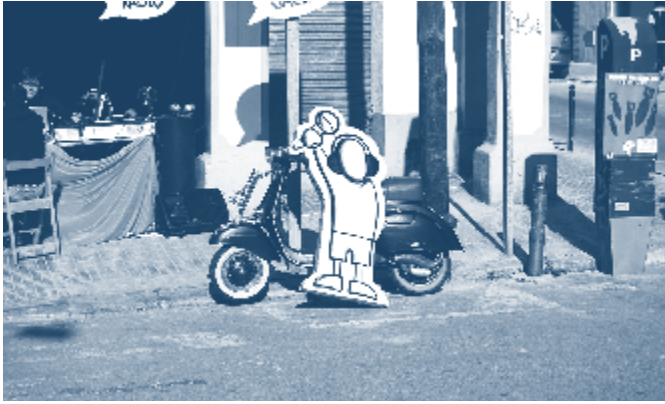
UNEQUAL LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVES

The German government's "First Report on Equality" (Erster Gleichstellungsbericht) published in August 2011 analyzes the existing inequalities between women and men and emphasizes the need for prompt action. Still, as is not surprising, the government has so far done nothing to implement the measures recommended in the report, which once again has provoked a reaction from civil society.

On January 26, 2012, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony-Anhalt, the association Dornrosa, and the women's council of Saxony-Anhalt (Frauenrat) organized a conference titled "Gleichstellung und Lebensverlaufsperspektive: Sorgearbeit und Rente in Zukunft entdiskriminieren" to consider and assess the possibilities for an implementation of the recommendations. The symposium concentrated on care work with small children and its effects on the later biographies of these children.

In her introductory talk, Marion Boeker presented the hardly surprising findings of the "Equality Report." The subsequent panel discussion confirmed how urgently a political solution to tackle continued discrimination is needed. Role expectations and the fact that in most marriages women earn less mean that women bear the brunt of care work. Women's career plans and their old age provisions and pensions are negatively affected – and frequently during more than one life stage, when they provide care to their children, elderly relatives, and their spouse. Such care work needs to be equally divided between women and men in society.

The second part of the event took a more practical turn. In her workshop "Aspects of Gender in early Childhood Education Work," Gesine Nebe presented gender-neutral children's stories and demonstrated easy exercises to challenge gender stereotypes in care work and other contexts.

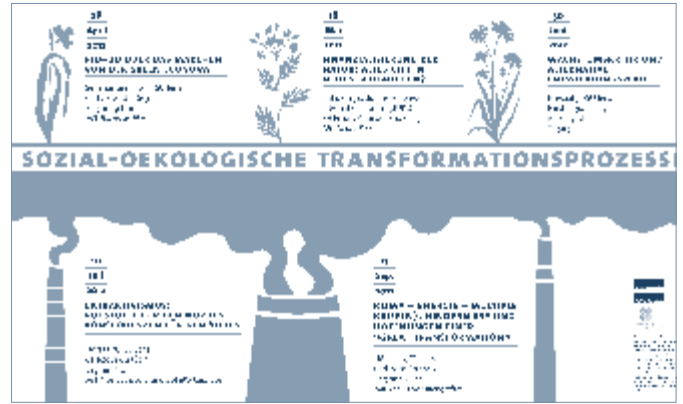


"Voice & Style" – Workshop at the Baltic Sea for young girls

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

"HOW AM I 'ME'!"

"Voice & Style," a workshop organized in cooperation with the Department for Equality of the city of Kiel, the Alevi Community Kiel, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein took place between November 23 and 25, 2012. It was directed at 13 to 17-year-old girls from different countries of origin such as Turkey, Russia, Poland, and Germany. Together with five tutors, the 13 girls spent one weekend in a small youth hostel on the Baltic coast, discussing and playing with questions surrounding body and voice. At the beginning of the workshop, the girls were asked to establish their own rules for dealing with each other and to express their expectations vis-à-vis the workshop. Greater self-confidence, a better handling of their voices, solidarity, and fun stood at the top of the agenda. With basic body and voice-training exercises, Jorinde Reznikoff created an "awareness space" for the girls to acquire a greater sense of self, before delving fully into voice and style work. Each workshop block consisted of introductory voice and body exercises and text production to reflect on experiences and express hopes and dreams. On Saturday morning the participants of the workshop left their pajamas on to test the effect of unusual styling, attitudes, and roles, such as improvised speeches on the advantages of "Pajamas for everybody." Then they rapped together with Olga Lay, a female rapper from Hamburg. Later in the afternoon, the girls discussed fashion, economic interests, and social attributions with Ursula G. T. Müller. Saturday ended with an enjoyable dance and singing performance. The workshop was a success. All participants took away positive experiences. We received very positive feedback from both the girls and our cooperation partners.



Poster about the series of events entitled "Socio-ecological processes of transformation" (Sozial-ökologische Transformationsprozesse)

THURINGIA

TIME FOR RADICAL CHANGE

20 years after the Rio Summit, the series of events dubbed "Socio-ecological Processes of Transformation" took a critical look at global environment policies. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thuringia, in cooperation with the German Research Foundation research group "Post Growth Societies" (Postwachstumsgesellschaften) at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony-Anhalt organized six events between April and November 2012 in Jena, Erfurt, and Halle.

To begin, Tazio Müller analyzed the "Fairytale of the Green Economy" and showed the dream of rescuing the global economy and ecology through a green market economy to be a case of unrealistic wishful thinking. Georg Kössler informed the audience about the ever-greater financialization of nature, and expressly warned against attempting to solve this via "innovative mechanisms of financing."

Starting out from a perspective critical of growth, Sabine Leidig, Christa Wichterich, Barbara Muraca, Friederike Habermann, and Bernhard Krabiell assessed possible alternative pathways for development. Alberto Acosta, a former energy minister from Ecuador, reported on how the hunger for resources of the Global North has been satisfied for hundreds of years at the cost of countries of the Global South. Meanwhile some countries with left-wing governments – particularly in South America – are attempting to channel income from the export of resources into social projects. Achim Brunengräber discussed the challenges and hopes of a "Great Transformation." In any case, he said, the multiple crisis was raising the pressure to act and could well represent a chance for alternative economic paths.

Jürgen Meier from the Forum for the Environment and Development (Forum für Umwelt und Entwicklung) closed the event with the diagnosis that a radical change is needed, but that it is still not clear what this change will look like.

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

2012 has seen the implementation of some fundamental changes to the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (CID). In addition to the Foundation's previous 16 international offices, there are now two new offices, one in Dar es Salaam (responsible for East Africa) and one in New York (responsible for the US, Canada, and the United Nations). In Moscow, Brussels, and Ramallah a change of management has taken place. With additional special funding from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the Federal Foreign Office (AA), a new cross-departmental structure was created within the CID. During the last year, the process of organizational development that started in 2010 proved to be challenging. Developing a concept for the organization was a part of this.

In July 2012, the Foundation inaugurated its regional office for East Africa in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) with a symposium on "Natural Resources, Development, and Social Justice." Alongside the Foundation's regional partner organizations, the event was attended by the Left Party executive committee and the German and European parliamentary factions, representatives from other political foundations based in Dar es Salaam, the Goethe Institute, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, the KfW Development Bank, and other development organizations. Klaus-Peter Brandes, the German ambassador to Tanzania, welcomed all visitors, in particular Siegfried Schröder, the director of the new regional office. The office will initially be responsible for Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, and aims to increase the democratic participation of civil society in social and economic development, particularly in rural areas.

At the beginning of April 2012, the long-time director of the regional office in Moscow, Peter Linke, handed over to Tiina Fahrni. To welcome the new director, a meeting of partner organizations took place, to which Foundation representatives from Berlin and members of the Left Party faction in the German Bundestag were also invited. Among these was the spokesperson for policies for the integration of the disabled, Ilja Seifert. The questions discussed during the meeting reflected the focuses of the Moscow office. The first issue was accessibility of the public sphere for the disabled and their participation in society, as well as the accessibility of public spaces for art, politics, and left-wing projects. These are currently quite important questions with regard to the numerous actions by artists and mass protests in Russia after the last elections to the State Duma and presidential elections. Memory policy was a further issue and was discussed under the banner of "Dialogue of the Generations – Continuity and Innovation." The discussion also addressed the question of

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

The process of organizational development that began in 2010 continued throughout 2012. This included developing a vision for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's overseas work – an important, but not an easy task. In September 2012, after a two-year-long consultation period that took place in a variety of environments including on the Internet, the vision behind the CID was finally presented to the meeting of the directors of the Foundation's international and regional offices.

**“Freedom is always
the freedom of dissenters.”**

ROSA LUXEMBURG

THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

The CID oversees the work carried out in the Foundation's international offices with the Foundation's partners.

OUR VISION OF THE FUTURE is a democratic socialist society in which the free development of the individual provides the basis for the free development of all. In such a society, emancipation, equality, and diverse forms of democratic participation constitute people's lived realities. This form of society ensures a meaningful, “good life” is permanently possible. Accordingly, our approach aims to overcome racist, sexist, colonial, and imperialist domination and exploitation, while providing everyone access to the goods they need in order to live freely and independently.

WE WORK TOGETHER WITH OUR PARTNERS to strive for a socio-ecological transformation of society that builds on specific improvements put in place in the here and now. We follow an internationalist approach based on our experience and expertise and that of our worldwide partners. Work with our partners is undertaken on an equal footing. This ensures everyone benefits from critique of the common challenges we face, and our differences.

WE FACILITATE AND SUPPORT emancipatory processes and social change. Democratic participation, education, health, and social security are elementary commons; dignified work belongs to a good, fulfilled life; and peace is more than the absence of war. We advocate a sustainable relationship between people and nature.

WE RESEARCH AND TEST socially and environmentally sustainable alternatives to capitalist forms of society. We critically analyze social processes in their complexity using diverse experiences and practices developed by the Left. Together with our partners, we ensure this leads to results that can be constructively applied as part of nonviolent action aimed at bringing about social change.

WE NETWORK AND PROVIDE SPACE to work together with emancipatory and democratic organizations, institutions, and individuals, with the aim of achieving global change through local and regional action. As part of internationalist networks, we provide space for trusting relationships to develop through dialogue and cooperation. By remaining open to critique expressed in solidarity, networking provides us with the opportunity to help define left-wing positions, learn from others, and work together to shape a viable future.

Motzen and Berlin, Germany. September, 2012

“Migration and Globalization”. All the partners thanked the long-time director Peter Linke, as well as the manager Florian Weis, on behalf of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and wished the new director Tiina Fahrni a successful start.

On June 20 at the Foundation’s central office in Brussels, the new director, Klaus Sühl, was welcomed. He replaces Birgit Daiber. Thomas Händel, member of the European parliament and vice director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, praised Sühl as a long-time and merited academic, expert on Europe, and former state secretary, who is now taking on the new challenge of becoming the director of the Foundation’s office in Brussels. Michael Brie gave a talk on “Rosa Luxemburg and leftist criticisms of capitalism today,” which led to a lively debate. Heinz Vietze, the Foundation’s chair, thanked Birgit Daiber in the name of the Foundation for her great ground-work in Brussels and wished her all the best for her active retirement.

In December 2012, the regional office in Ramallah also gained a new director. After four years of working in the Foundation’s international offices, Peter Schäfer has now been replaced by Katja Hermann. One of the focuses in Ramallah is critically reflecting on current approaches and processes associated with development, and in particular the impact of international aid on the Palestinian territories. The change in management provided the opportunity to organize an impressive workshop together with Palestinian partner organizations. The workshop’s aim was to highlight connections between the various projects supported by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and to demonstrate how they all build on one another. A discussion also took place about how to strengthen future networking between these projects. Representatives from partner organizations, as well as Wilfried Telkämper, director of the CID, thanked Peter Schäfer on behalf of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for his cooperation and work in developing the office, and wished Katja Hermann success in her work in this region faced by numerous conflicts.

In 2012 a new unit was set up under the directorship of Eva Wuchold. The unit receives specialist funding from the BMZ and the AA that is increasingly being provided by these ministries at short notice for specific issues and regions, such as climate policy, or North Africa and Greece. The unit has recently employed more staff, as the application, coordination, and finalization of such funding can be quite complex. In the medium term, this cross-sectional unit aims to promote theoretical exchange between the regional offices and help develop comprehensive strategies that can be applied throughout the work undertaken abroad, such as on the climate, environment and energy. In order to promote better networking, the unit also represents the CID in the Foundation’s key working groups such as ‘socio-ecological transformation’ and ‘planning.’ Whenever necessary, the unit also works together with external bodies such as the Left Party’s parliamentary group and funding agencies.



Gregor Gysi speaking with Stefanie Ehmsen and Albert Scharenberg, the co-directors of the Foundation’s New York office

THE OPENING OF THE NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE

In November 2012, after many years of preparation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s New York regional office celebrated its official opening. More than 250 guests attended the panel discussions about the Foundation’s international work, the Left Party’s manifesto, and the future of the European Union. The highlights of the event were Gregor Gysi’s keynote speech and Rosa Luxemburg’s letters, which were read out by the Broadway actress, Kathleen Chalfant.

The office in Manhattan is run by Stefanie Ehmsen and Albert Scharberg. It has a dual focus: it acts as the regional office for North America, and oversees the Foundation’s United Nations policy. In October, a major UN policy event took place, with 70 trade unionists from all five continents taking part in discussions on “energy emergency, energy transition.” In the future, the regional office aims to focus on cooperation with the Left in North American universities, trade unions, NGOs, social movements, and politics.

The New York office’s bilingual website is particularly worth a visit. The website – www.rosalux-nyc.org – publishes texts in English and German by such prominent authors as Barbara Ehrenreich, John Nichols, and Laura Flanders. The website’s main focuses include “global power and resistance,” “the future of labor,” “social movements and emancipation,” and “political analysis and alternatives.”

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The history of the ANC is more than just a history of elections such as the one pictured here in 1999. A conference was held to highlight this fact

100 YEARS OF THE ANC - FROM LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO GOVERNING POWER

In South Africa, 2012 marked the 100th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC); this strongly influenced the beginning of the year for the Foundation's regional office for Africa. On January 21, a conference was held in Berlin to celebrate the ANC together with AfricAvenir, SODI, and the Deutsch-Afrikanischen Gesellschaft. Denis Goldberg, who was an activist in the struggle against apartheid and a member of the ANC, stated that despite the justified critique of the ANC, the organization continued to remain true to the values on which it was founded: full civil rights and social prosperity for all in South Africa. According to the historian Hans-Georg Schleicher, the ANC continues to be strongly influenced by its experiences of the liberation struggle and exile, and this is key to the party's cohesion. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, calls are increasing for a renewal of the ANC. Many South Africans hoped for more social and political improvements than the ANC has been able to deliver. As representatives of these voices, former anti-apartheid activists Mercia Andrews from South Africa and Dorothea Kerschgens from Germany provided a link to current debates in South Africa. They argue that current housing policy and land reforms prevent the development of stronger social equality, and that the wave of strikes that took place during 2012 underscores the need for alternative labor-market, economic and energy policies.

THE CONFERENCE ON THE JEWISH LABOR BUND IN WARSAW

The Jewish Labor Bund is one of the forgotten chapters in the history of the European labor movement. The Bund was a social democratic party whose members were active during the Second World War and took part in resistance against the German occupation. However, the group almost disappeared from the political scene with the near annihilation of the Jews

in Eastern Europe. At the beginning of June 2012, the Bund was the subject of an international conference that took place in Warsaw.

The conference entitled "New Perspectives on the History of the Jewish Labor Bund" was opened by Paweł Śpiewak, director of the renowned Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw; Gertrud Pickhan of the Free University of Berlin; Jack Jacobs from the City University of New York; and Florian Weis from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The event was partly organized by the Foundation and mainly attended by academics and journalists from Europe, Israel, the US, Canada, Australia, and Argentina. There were many young people among the participants. Ezra Mendelsohn from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem spoke about the Foundation's celebration of the Bund as a pleasant paradox, because the Foundation's relationship with the Bund has been marked by numerous differences. During the discussions, it became clear that younger academics in particular were now using their research to keep the memory of the Bund alive as an important part of Jewish political life in Eastern Europe.

SHARING INSTEAD OF OWNING

A CONFERENCE IN MEXICO ON THE POTENTIAL OF FREE SOFTWARE

Between October 8 and 9, 2012 the Foundation's regional office in Mexico City organized an international meeting entitled "Software Libre" as a means of bringing together activists from social movements and political organizations with programmers from the hacker scene.

According to the director of the regional office in Mexico, Torge Löding, the long-term aim of this network is to develop a transnational forum for free software. Enrique Rosas, who co-organized the conference in Mexico, pointed out that "software with copyleft licenses can be freely distributed, reproduced, and modified." He argued that such software contributes "to the democratization of the Internet and the use of digital applications." The fact that software developers have control over the means of production, and that the "blueprints" (source code) are available to all, makes other forms of production possible. As a result, the intangible products they produce can be reproduced indefinitely and adapted to specific needs. At the same time, this can lead to experimentation and the development of new forms of solidarity-based practices of production.

The conference's positive conclusion encouraged the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to continue building this network. At the end of November 2012, a coordinating point was set up for digital commons projects dealing with free technology. A detailed report covering the conference (in German) can be found at: www.rosalux.de/news/38844.



RIO+20: THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In mid-June 2012, over 100 heads of state and government leaders as well as thousands of representatives from civil society met in Rio de Janeiro. This event took place 20 years after the epoch-making “Earth Summit” with the aim of finally getting around to saving the world. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was also there.

In 1992, the Earth Summit in Rio set the bar high: a number of pioneering – but ineffective – treaties was adopted, including the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity. In addition, a wave of global environmental enthusiasm was unleashed in the run up to the conference and afterwards. This brings us to the issue of “Local Agenda 21.” In the early 1990s, at the height of neoliberal power fantasies, Rio represented the institutional expression of the hope that global capitalism, now free from the constraints caused by systemic competition, could finally resolve “soft” issues such as “the environment,” “women” and “poverty” in a manner that was global, consensual, and even friendly. More-

In November, young Mexican environmental activists were invited to Berlin by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to the opening of an exhibition of their photography work entitled “The lost treasure.” Their photos document environmental destruction caused by international companies. Bi-lingual workshops were held with “Öko-Bande” in a number of schools in Berlin and Kiel and an event was also held in Warsaw. The events were very well received. More information is available in German at: www.rosalux.de/event/47273/der-verloreneschatz-2.html.

over, during the mid-1990s the state was generally suspected of useless inefficiency; consequently, old wine was poured into new bottles, and the “global civil society” was born.

What has happened 20 years on? The British eco-intellectual George Monbiot damningly summarized the results of the official summit in the following manner: “The draft and probably final declaration is 283 paragraphs of fluff.” He suggested that, “the 190 governments due to approve it have, in effect, given up on multilateralism, given up on the world and given up on us.” In order not to convey the false impression that the best ideas always come from below – from the social, environmental, and feminist movements – a summary of the alternative summit would only be marginally less critical. Despite the sharp, comprehensive, and angry analyses and critique developed during the alternative summit, hardly any further steps were taken on strategy – in other words, on the question of who should do what. The “Green Economy” was at the focus of the critique; it was also one of the official summit’s main issues. Participants at the alternative summit agreed that the green economy would not solve the environmental crisis. In fact, a recent publication (Ulrich Brand’s “Schöne Grüne Welt”), which was published by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for the Rio+20 conference, demonstrates how the green economy would actually have a detrimental effect on the social crisis for many marginal social groups. The vast majority of the NGO representatives present at the conference agreed, however, that Rio+20 represented a clear break with the former consensus of global governance. Whereas 20 years ago, NGOs had attempted to work with governments, now NGOs – both large and small, as well as organizations that both clearly and less clearly represented the Left – made it entirely clear what they thought of the final text: nothing. Wael Hmaidan from the Climate Action Network, who presented the NGOs’ resolution entitled “The Future We Don’t Want” at the official summit, harshly criticized the fact that, “we stand on the brink of Rio+20 being another failed attempt, with governments only trying to protect their narrow interests [...] The text as it stands is completely out of touch with reality.” The Foundation’s representatives at the alternative summit – Stefan Thimmel, Tadzio Müller, and Kathrin Buhl, director of the São Paulo regional office – also agreed with this statement.

“PEOPLE LIKE KATHRIN NEVER DIE”

A TESTIMONY TO KATHRIN BUHL

In 2007, Kathrin Buhl became the director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s regional office in Brazil. Shortly before Christmas 2012, she passed away suddenly in São Paulo. Kathrin’s commitment and her captivating passion enabled her to continually open the “window on utopia” (Eduardo Galeano). Although we sorely miss her solidarity, skills, and sense of humor, we hope to continue her work in the way she would have wanted. More than 40 partner organizations and people from Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile have written a letter together to mark her life. The letter is an impressive testimony to Kathrin Buhl as a person and to her work. The following is an excerpt from that letter: “We shared Kathrin’s passion to continually discuss the ways in which our dreams can be represented from an internationalist perspective. Kathrin inspired us to overcome our own particular interests – that was her way of contributing to our projects. She had something about her that seemed to suggest she came from another planet. Not only because she was born in a world that has already vanished (‘socialist Germany’), but because she led her life in a ‘carefree’ manner that seemed to suggest she was implying ‘I didn’t do it’. Although this sometimes made her seem naive, she certainly wasn’t. Kathrin was one of those people who strove hard not to be noticed or to become the center of attention. It was the respect that she showed us that left a particularly deep impression. She always cared about the women and men on the downside of life: the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. Kathrin sought to understand the specific reality of our America. She was genuine and wholehearted and had a unique sense of humor. She was engaged in the class struggle and revolutionary processes, and always in a manner that addressed the people. She was kind, sensitive, and respectful. That is why she was so close to us; that is why she was our friend. Her commitment remains with us. A commitment that was close to social movements and small organizations; it was combined with a willingness to take up the challenge of creating spaces for political education from below. Kathrin had something about her that reminded us of Janis Joplin: she was a unique blend of a hippie and a functionary of the foundation named after Rosa Luxemburg. Even though she lived in Brazil, her Uruguayan way of thinking enabled her to view the continent from the perspective of the least powerful. She was a feminist and socialist without a trace of fanaticism. Her convictions led her to continually sprinkle salt into the wounds of routine – especially that of the Left. We never had to haggle with Kathrin over financial plans, and we were never made to feel as if we were accountable to a functionary. Kathrin was our compañera, our companion on our struggles. We traveled with her through our countries and shared with her our hopes for a more just world. She had a fine perception of the differences between involvement and interference, and she



Kathrin Buhl at a meeting with partners in São Paulo in October 2012

was always prepared to discuss and understand our strongest arguments against Eurocentric colonialism. We highly appreciated her respect, her willingness to address issues and to listen and actively participate, as well as her revolutionary mistrust of dogmatic certainties. Most of all, we valued her radical critique of capitalism and patriarchy, along with her loathing of bureaucracy and hierarchy in the form in which they have been implemented in socialist political models. But also the way she strove to humanize social processes and her struggle for a solidarity-based dialogue with nature, something that we are all a part of ...”

Dear friends, people like Kathrin never die. They just move to another place and another time, where they will be waiting for us, where we will all be happy and at last be able to build the world we dream of. People like Kathrin are the proof that such a world is possible [...] Hasta siempre, dear compañera.



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PROJECT SPONSORSHIP IN 2012

Project sponsorship is an essential form of cooperation with other organizations providing political education. As much as our finances allow, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provides funding for events, publications, and research projects and helps develop their content. In 2012, the Foundation received around 800 applications for funding: 143 projects were provided with a total of around 365,500 euros.

Five major projects received a total of 145,413 euros (40 per cent of the budget):

- Linke Medienakademie e. V.: for central and regional training events in media design – 54,600 euros
- INKRIT e. V.: for its historical-critical dictionary of Marxism. Completion of work on volume 8/1 (from “Krisentheorien” to “Linie Luxemburg–Gramsci”); and preparatory work on volumes 8/2 and 9 – 35,000 euros
- Rolf Hecker: for completion of work on volume 40 of the new edition of Marx-Engels-Werke (Marx-Engels Collected Works) – 28,000 euros
- Institut für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung e. V. (Munich): for part two of the research project “Krisenerfahrungen und Politik” (Experiences of crisis and politics) – 17,813 euros
- Attac Trägerverein e. V.: for a training program run by Attacademie – 10,000 euros

Seven projects were funded with amounts ranging from 5,000 euros to 9,999 euros; 89 projects received funding of between 1,000 euros and 4,999 euros; 30 of between 500 euros and 999 euros; and 12 projects received funding of under 500 euros.

A SELECTION OF PROJECTS THAT HAVE RECEIVED FUNDING:

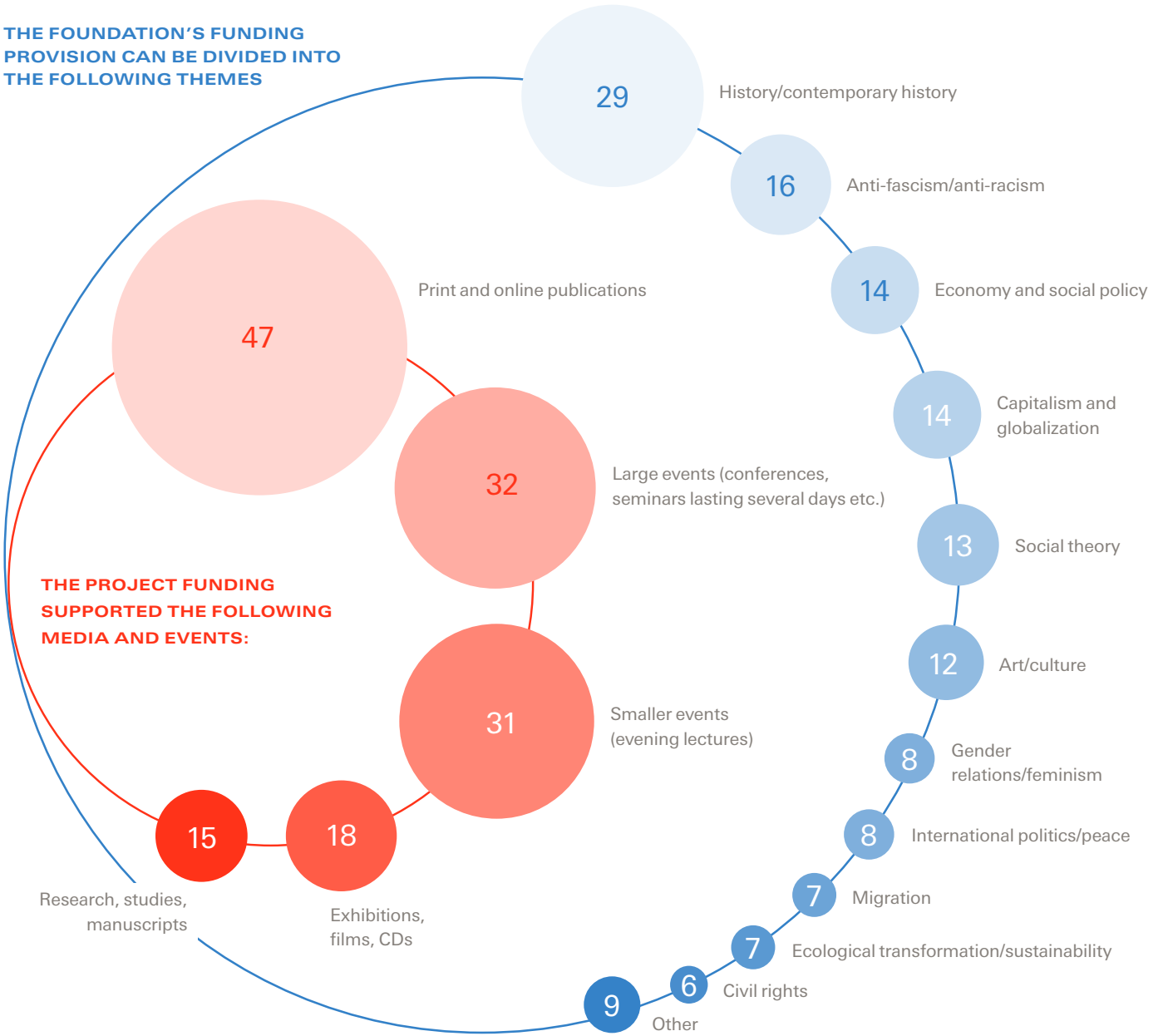
HOUSE OF THE WANNSEE CONFERENCE: DOCUMENTARY THEATRE PROJECT “THE WANNSEE CONFERENCE.”

Funding: 1,500 euros

This theatre project was developed for the 70th anniversary of the Wannsee Conference. The play was staged in January 2012 in the historic conference rooms. It was developed out of intensive research carried out by 15 young historians into the biographies and some of the materials belonging to the 15 people who took part in the Wannsee Conference and the debate on the “final solution of the Jewish question.” During the play, the 15 people involved in the project took their place on one of the 15 chairs still present in the former conference room. The

IN 2012, THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PROVIDED FUNDING TO 143 PROJECTS:

THE FOUNDATION'S FUNDING PROVISION CAN BE DIVIDED INTO THE FOLLOWING THEMES





Poster produced for the event marking the opening ceremony of the memorial to the Sinti and Roma of Europe murdered under the National Socialist regime

texts they read, which were biographies of the 15 specialists in genocide, clearly depicted the monstrous intellectual foundation of the genocide these people committed and the immense organization behind the policies of elimination. A program providing a commented version of the play’s text and information about the people who attended the Wannsee Conference was distributed to the audience. The play was performed five times at the House of the Wannsee Conference. Each performance was completely sold out, and the play was reported widely in the international media; it is also available on DVD. The project team has been invited to performances at the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin and other guest appearances.

REGIONALE ARBEITSSTELLEN FÜR BILDUNG, INTEGRATION UND DEMOKRATIE SACHSEN E. V.: TRAVELLING EXHIBITION: “BEATING UP THE TRAMPS - VIOLENCE AGAINST HOMELESS PEOPLE DURING NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND TODAY” (DEN PENNER FERTIGMACHEN ... - GEWALT GEGEN WOHNUNGSLOSE MENSCHEN IM NATIONALSOZIALISMUS UND HEUTE).
 Funding: 800 euros

Since 1990, five homeless people have been murdered in Saxony alone. As a means of illustrating the historical dimensions of these social-Darwinist motivated crimes, an exhibition was held in Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz entitled “Violence against homeless people.” The exhibition documented how during National Socialism people living on the streets were systematically branded as “asocial,” forced to undergo

the Nazi regime’s measures of “racial hygiene,” and murdered in concentration camps. Three further exhibition boards demonstrated how contempt for homeless people and their rejection today sows the seeds for social exclusion and leads homeless people to become victims of right-wing violence and murder. Several side-events focused on homeless people’s living conditions and clichés about the marginalized, as well as the motives of the people behind the violence. In addition to educating the public, the events also offered concrete advice and support to people threatened by violence.

ROMA INFORMATIONSZENTRUM E. V.: “DESPITE EVERYTHING, I’M STILL ALIVE.” A READING AND EXHIBITION OF WORKS BY CEIJA STOJKA MARKING THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE MEMORIAL TO THE SINTI AND ROMA OF EUROPE MURDERED UNDER THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REGIME.
 Funding: 1000 euros

Ceija Stojka was one of the first Rromnja and this has led her to shape the Roma’s collective memory. Her pictures, poems, and stories offer a variety of perspectives on the events that occurred during National Socialism and those that came afterwards. They also act as an archive of the injustices committed against the Roma, but also of their will to survive. The exhibition, which was funded by the Foundation, focused on the Porrajmos (the devouring) – the name of the genocide acted out on European Roma and Sinti during the National Socialist period. The exhibition’s opening event included a performance during which the association “IniRromnja” and members of Ceija Stojka’s family read from their works.

The field of history/contemporary history was most strongly represented, with 29 projects. Among others, the Foundation provided funding to:

- Golzower für Golzow e. V.: The traveling exhibition “The children of Golzow” – 9,000 euros
- recherche international e. V.: The traveling exhibition “The third world during the Second World War” – 5,000 euros
- Stefan Berger, Ruhr University, Bochum, Institute of social movements: A conference entitled “The History of Social Movements – a Global Perspective” (Bochum) – 2,000 euros
- Förderverein für ein Gedenken an die NS-Verbrechen auf dem und um das Tempelhofer Feld e. V.: A series of events linked to the remembrance policies affecting Tempelhofer Feld – 500 euros
- Jürgen Breiter: “A place to read” (Ein Ort zum Lesen). Participatory sculpture in public spaces to commemorate the book burning that took place on May 10, 1933 – 275 euros

Anti-fascism and anti-racism were among the focus of the funding; 16 such projects received sponsorship, including:

- Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg e. V.: "ID WITH-OUTCOLORS." A documentary film about institutional racism in Germany – 1,500 euros
- Mary Hahn, equality officer from Eisleben: "PER LA VITA." A concert held against the Right – 1,000 euros
- Initiative in Gedenken an Oury Jalloh e. V.: Conference entitled "Oury Jalloh and the fight for the truth" (Berlin) – 500 euros
- Roter Stern Leipzig e. V.: An analysis of discrimination and violence as part of "Projekt Roter Stern" (Leipzig) – 500 euros

Support was provided to a wide range of publications focusing on different themes:

- Friedemann Vogel: "Linguistik rechtlicher Normgenese. Theorie der Rechtsnormdiskursivität am Beispiel der Online-Durchsuchung," (Linguistics of Legal Norm Formation), De Gruyter, Berlin/New York 2012 – 2,000 euros
- Franz Josef Degenhardt: volume 3 "Oil and Seal oil" (Petroleum und Robbenöl); volume 4 "Deforestation" (Die Abholzung); volume 5 "The songwriter" (Der Liedermacher); volume 6 "The abuse" (Die Misshandlung), Verlag Kulturmaschinen, Berlin 2012 – 2,000 euros
- Kai Marquardsen: "Activation and social networks. The Dynamic of social relations under the pressure of unemployment" (Aktivierung und soziale Netzwerke. Die Dynamik sozialer Beziehungen unter dem Druck der Erwerbslosigkeit), VS Springer Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012 – 1,618 euros
- Aktion Dritte Welt e. V.: Dossier "Arab Spring 2.0." Published in the magazine *iz3w* – 1,500 euros
- Ulrich Brand, "Plurinational democracy in Bolivia. Social and state transformations" (Plurinationale Demokratie in Bolivien. Gesellschaftliche und staatliche Transformationen), Westfälisches Dampfboot, Munster 2012 – 1,500 euros
- Ariba e. V. (Berlin): "I wanted to be treated like a person. Anti-muslim racism – experiences of discrimination by people with Arab backgrounds." (Ich möchte wie ein Mensch behandelt werden. Antimuslimischer Rassismus – Diskriminierungserfahrungen von Menschen arabischer Herkunft), Berlin 2012 – 1,000 euros
- Andrea Scholz: "Re-measure the New World. On the recognition of indigenous territories in Guyana/Venezuela" (Die Neue Welt neu vermessen. Zur Anerkennung indigener Territorien in Guayana/Venezuela), Lit Verlag, Berlin et al. 2012 – 1,000 euros
- Stefan Paul: "The gender regime. An intersectional analysis using the example of measures aimed at

the work-life balance" (Das Geschlechterregime. Eine intersektionale Dispositivanalyse am Beispiel von Work-Life-Balance Maßnahmen), transcript Verlag, Bielefeld 2012 – 1,000 euros

- Teilhabe e. V.: "Longing to be different – Political and cultural dissidence from 1968 until the collapse of East Germany" (Das Begehren, anders zu sein – Politische und kulturelle Dissidenz von 1968 bis zum Scheitern der DDR), Unrast Verlag, Munster 2012 – 690 euros

Numerous long-term partnerships were strengthened, such as with Bundeskoordination Internationalismus, the association Musik und soziale Bewegungen, Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen, and the 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 was provided through the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regional foundations. A total of 18,000 euros was provided to 29 projects, including:

- Benjamin Winkler: BarCamp "Copyright and the digital society" (Leipzig) – 500 euros
- Informationsbüro Nicaragua e. V.: Conference – "Nicaragua Solidarity 2012" (Wuppertal) – 1,000 euros
- Silke Helfrich: Commons summer school (Bechstedt) – 1,000 euros
- Robin Wood e. V.: Study entitled (Recommunalization of the energy networks as a way of providing employment" (Rekommunalisierung der Energienetze als Chance für Arbeitsplätze) (Hamburg) – 1,000 euros
- Henrike Illig: "Forced labour, Exploitation and Weapons production." A workshop on the history and the history of remembrance of the former National Socialist concentration camp in Bremen – 700 euros

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The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's project sponsorship in 2012 also contributed towards ensuring a broad spectrum of left-wing issues was present in public political debate. All of the projects that received funding covered issues, regions, and target groups that complement the Foundation's work in political education.

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THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

We are very happy to announce that in 2012 the number of undergraduate, doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships supported by the Foundation increased again. For the first time, the number of students supported by the Foundation surpassed the one thousand mark. A total of 1,046 committed and hard-working young people were supported financially in their studies. A total of 67 per cent of the students came from non-academic families; whereas 25 per cent came from a "migrant" background. This means we were once again able to help reduce socially-determined inequalities – in accordance with the principles of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Similarly, particular emphasis is always placed on ensuring that more than half of the scholarship holders are women.

The scholarship funds come from two places: the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), which provides the vast majority of funds, and the Foreign Office (AA). As part of a new program launched by the Foreign Office aimed at transformation partnerships with Egypt and Tunisia, in 2012 three undergraduates and one doctoral student from these countries were provided with scholarships.

In addition to financial support, young academics benefit from an extensive and diverse theoretical program organized by the scholarship department together with other staff from the Foundation. Furthermore, many scholarship holders are actively involved in the Foundation's work, and the Foundation always ensures they are provided with plenty of space to organize their own work.

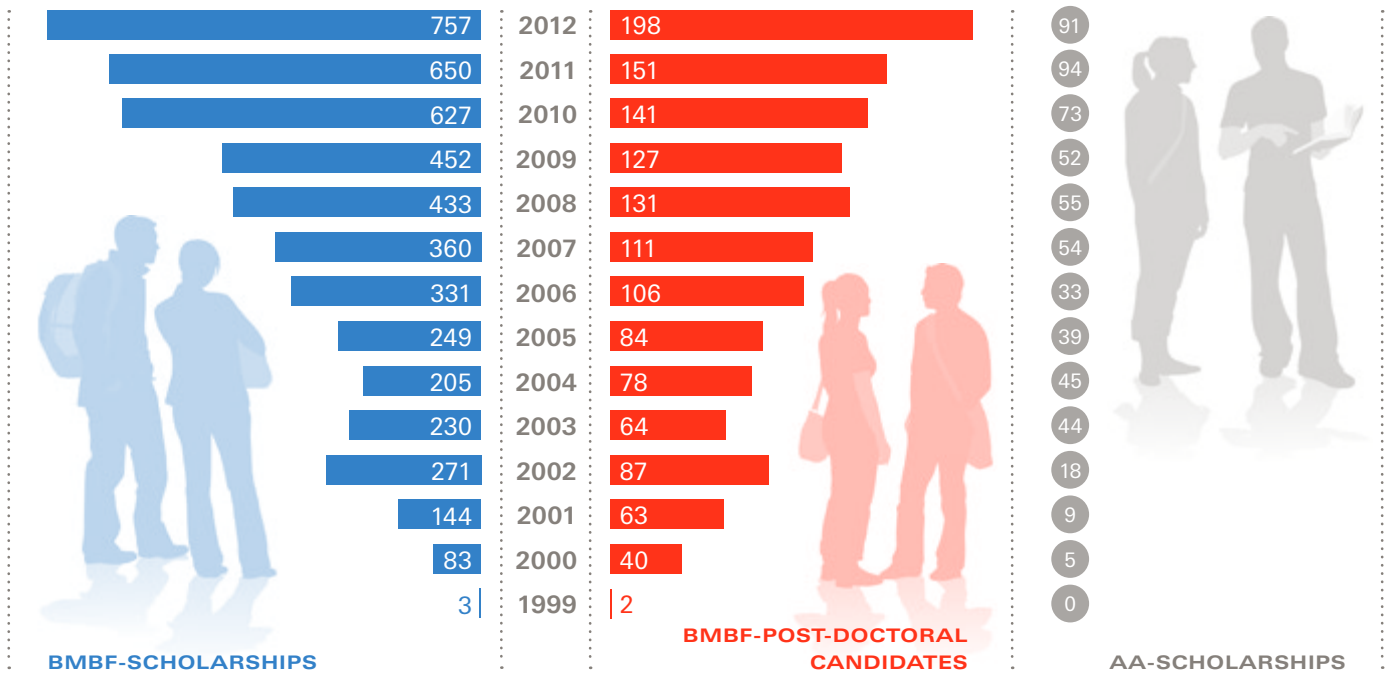
"REPORT FROM AN ISLAND"

At the end of September 2012, the scholarship department held a week-long summer school in Berlin on the issue of political participation. This issue was even put into practice during preparation, in that the participants were given the opportunity to decide which topics they wanted to cover during the summer school. Activists from Egypt, Tunisia, and Berlin gathered in the beautiful atmosphere provided by the Insel der Jugend (Island of Youth) in Treptower Park, in Berlin. The summer school provided plenty of time for the participants to get to know each other. The participants discussed pressing issues and conflicts faced by their respective societies and exchanged experiences of the various political struggles in which they have been involved. They spoke about their involvement in the Tunisian constitutional debate, in the ongoing preparations for the World Social Forum (in Tunisia in March 2013), about their work in political bodies, and about political education for young people in rural Egypt. Scholarship holders from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and activists



Participants from the summer school organized by the Foundation's scholarship department visit a tent set up by the refugee strike in Kreuzberg (Berlin)

DEVELOPMENTS IN FUNDING





A discussion held as part of the week-long summer school. The participants happily took up the chance to get involved in discussions

from Berlin from groups such as FelS – Für eine linke Strömung, Boats4People, the Antifaschistischen Linken Berlin, Afrique-Europe Interact and Via Campesina all took part in the event.

The participants visited the refugee support camp, the tenant's initiative "Kotti & Co" and the left-wing venue Südblock in Berlin-Kreuzberg to build contacts with other initiatives. The atmosphere at the summer school was both cordial and thoroughly relaxed. Lots of new contacts were made, and many of the participants arranged to meet each other again – at the World Social Forum in 2013!

THE LUX LIKE COMIC – (IM)POSSIBLE PATHWAYS IN EDUCATION

In 2012, as part of the Lux-like study program, a traveling exhibition was developed using comics to cover the issue of educational inequalities. Most people's future in Germany is still influenced by their origins, and inequalities still exist in access to education. As a result, (school) education remains an important factor in people's daily lives and it is something that everyone is confronted with long after finishing their schooling. Education and school leaving certificates play an important role in a person's life: they influence a person's circle of friends and place of residence, and are highly influential in defining employment relations, income and well-being. The exhibition attempted to go beyond the paradigm of 'Whoever tries, will succeed' to reflect on stereotypes, and provide those people with a voice who are normally only spoken about. The following comments were heard: "Does everyone who tries,

really succeed? If only. During my studies at law school, the situation was quite different. Many of the students' parents were also lawyers. Was that just a coincidence?" "Language really was a big problem. I have a strong dialect [...] and I had to learn to somehow lose it."

The exhibition was based around the lives of eight people speaking about their education. All of the interviewees share one thing in common: none of them had an academic background. By this we mean their parents did not go to university. However, the interviewees also mentioned a number of other inequalities that they had faced during their education, including their experiences of discrimination, problems with social spaces, financial difficulties, and gender.

The exhibition demonstrated the tension between structural inequalities and individual perspectives for action. It demonstrated that despite the inequalities that affect people's pathways, limit their potential, and make it difficult to intervene in education, people need to be encouraged to take their own (educational) paths, to work in solidarity together with other people, and to fight for structural change. The exhibition provided a starting point to discuss exclusion, people's own experiences of education, and/or educational and political strategies against educational inequalities. The language and concepts used in the exhibition were deliberately placed at a low threshold to appeal to as many people possible.

WORK WITH ALUMNI

The alumni meeting, which was held in Naumburg in 2012, was entitled “(a)typical left-wing career paths after graduation.”

Based on the assumption that it is difficult to distinguish between typical and atypical career paths, the participants’ diverse daily lives were placed in the focus of the discussion from the very beginning. Mia Unverzagt, a former scholarship holder, held an in-depth lecture about the possibilities and constraints faced by people during the transition from student to professional life. As an artist, Mia Unverzagt dedicates herself to social experiments and among other projects, encourages people to use photographs to track their personal decisions in life. During the alumni meeting, ROSAalumni, the Foundation’s alumni association, also held its annual meeting.

GRADUATE ACADEMY 2012

An important pillar of the theoretical work undertaken by the Foundation’s scholarship department includes providing funding for workshops and training sessions that teach specific knowledge and skills. The workshops and training sessions are aimed at both current scholarship holders and alumni. In 2012, the scholarship department also held its second graduate academy. The aim was to provide participants with the opportunity to get to know the Foundation’s various departments (better) and provide possibilities for networking, similar to those available during the launch event. Once again, there was plenty of time and space to share experiences and to strengthen cooperation with the Foundation’s committees. In 2012, the workshops included training on public speaking, self-management and time management, the trainer program Betzavta, as well as project management. This year, the feedback was even more positive than the feedback received for the pilot project the year before. One alumnus even suggested naming the whole event “rise up Academy.”

The exhibition “Lux like comic” uses eight people’s biographies as exemplary of educational paths



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- Dr. hab. Sebastian Berg**
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English Studies
- Dr. Elisabeth Berner**
University of Potsdam
German
- Prof. Dr. Rita Bernhardt**
Saarland University
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- Prof. Dr. Ralf Blendowske**
Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences
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- Doz. Dr. sc. Dr. h.c. mult. Michael Böhme**
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University of Hannover
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University of Siegen
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Psychology

ANZÜGE UND KRAWATTEN?!?

HALLO, ICH HEIßE ANDREAS UND SCHREIBE AN EINER DOKTORARBEIT ÜBER KLASSENDISKRIMINIERUNG.



UM MICH WÄHRENDDESSEN ZU FINANZIEREN MACHE ICH KNEIFENJOBS UND HALTE VORTRÄGE.



ABER ICH WILL ERST MAL ERZÄHLEN WIE ICH DAZU GEKOMMEN BIN.



DAS KLAPPT JA NOCH GANZ GUT, BIS ICH HABE ICH HANDBALL GESPIELT.



IN DIESEN ARBEITERBILDUNG HABEN WIR GEWOHNT.



ICH MUSS LOS. SPÄTSCHICHT.



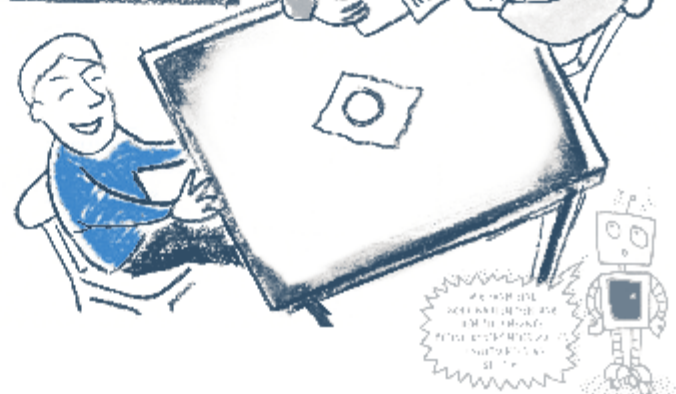
WIR WAREN ÜBER 100 KINDER, DEREN ELTERN IN DEN FABRIKEN DER TEXTILINDUSTRIE ARBEITETEN.



MEINE ELTERN FINGEN MIT 19 DORT AN ZU ARBEITEN. AKKORDARBEIT.

ICH WÜLTE EINEN ANDEREN LEBENSWEG ALS MEINE ELTERN, DIE NIE RAUSGEKOMMEN SIND. NICHT MAL IN DEN URLAUB GEHÄREN: WIR WAREN DREI MAL IM SAUERLAND.







WIR BEGEISTERTEN UNS AUCH GEGENSEITIG FÜR POLITIK UND DISKUTIERTEN VIEL



MEIN ABITUR MACHTE ICH DANN EIN JAHR SPÄTER.



DURCH MEINE BEGEISTERUNG FÜR BÜCHER
FING ICH EIN PHILOSOFIESTUDIUM AN.



ICH FAND IN MUNSTER EINE
WÖHNUNG UND GING DORT ZUR UNI.



ICH BIN ANDREAS
UND MÖCHTE MIT
MACHEN.

Fachschaft Philosophie



DAS IST SCHÖN, WIR REDEN GERADE
ÜBER SELBSTORGANISIERTES LERNEN: EINE
WEISE, ABER AUCH VON UNS.

MIT ANDEREN DISKUTIEREN UND LERNEN: ICH WAR GLÜCKLICH!



ICH HABE LANGE NICHT AUF EINEN ABSCHLUSS HIN
STUDIERT, SONDERN DAS GELESEN UND GELERNT,
WAS ICH INTERESSANT UND WICHTIG FAND.

ICH HABE MIR MEHR SORGEN UM DIE
WELT UND IHRE DRÖHNENDE ZERSTÖRUNG
GEMACHT, ALS UM MEINE KARRIERE.



ABER ICH MACHTE 2005 NOCH
MEINEN MAGISTER IN SOZIOLOGIE, UM
BESSERE CHANCEN ZU HABEN.



SCHON VIEL FRÜHER HABE ICH MICH FÜR
STUDIENDE ARBEITER*INNENKINDER EINGESETZT.



ICH BETREIBE NEBENHER DAS MAGAZIN
DISHWASHER. DAS IST ENGLISCH UND
BEDEUTET TELLERWÄSCHER.



"VOM TELLERWÄSCHER ZUM
MILLIONÄR". DAS IST
WAHRSCHEINLICHER, ALS
DASS EIN ARBEITER*INNENKIND
PROFESSOR*IN WIRD.



POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

A SMALL DEPARTMENT WITH BIG RESPONSIBILITIES

The field of political communication is the essential link between the Foundation and the public. The main aim of the department is to provide comprehensive and easily-understood information on the work and contributions of left-wing educational institutions. The department's staff works together with other departments at the Foundation and some other actors on a wide-range of tasks and responsibilities. These are undertaken at the Foundation or externally, both online and offline, and often include 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 various titles published by the Foundation, it manages the Foundation's online presence and the journal *Rosalux*, and prepares the annual report and 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. Handcarts are as useful to the department as high-tech equipment. Whereas handcarts are used to distribute information such as leaflets, programs, studies, and books along the corridors of the office building located at Berlin's Franz-Mehring-Platz to the events being held in the salon or seminar rooms, soon afterwards, the department's staff is likely to be using TV cameras and microphones to record a documentary, presentation, or conference. In 2012, the Foundation published around 140 titles – from articles as part of the Policy Papers series to the Luxemburg brochures, and the Manuscript volumes and books released together with other publishers. The steady growth in importance of the World Wide Web for public relations work is reflected in the Foundation's provision of a wide range of information on the Internet. In addition to the various blogs and websites available at www.rosalux.de, the Foundation is increasingly making use of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Google+, YouTube, and SoundCloud to distribute information.

The political communications department is also highly involved in the Foundation's key projects. This includes work on Internet policy issues, preparing the "Festival of the Left" in the heart of Berlin (which attracts thousands of visitors every year), 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 address database. Finally, the department is particularly important in the field of political communication.



Press spokesperson Jannine Hamilton at work

“THE MEDIA CAN NEVER REPORT ENOUGH”

AN INTERVIEW WITH JANNINE HAMILTON

Political education as top news, and the results of a study as the basis of a special media report – are these the dreams of the Foundation’s spokesperson? Since June 2012, Jannine Hamilton has been the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s contact for the press and media.

Do you enjoy your work as press spokesperson?

Hamilton: Yes, I really enjoy my work. It’s great to be able to help ensure our publications, events, and as such, fundamental left-wing positions reach the public. My work is more than just a job to me – it reflects the things that I personally consider important and right.

What is the difference between public relations work for a foundation and for a political party, an NGO, or a company?

Hamilton: Public relations work for a party is mainly aimed at ensuring differences are made clear to the public and focusing on specific issues. The idea is to address specific political positions, outdo competitors’ arguments, and highlight your own party’s positions. This sometimes means that press work almost serves as a substitute for actual political work. In contrast, public relations work for businesses is often more about image. I think the kind of work done at a foundation is most similar to that of an NGO. Although we represent basic left-wing ideas and are affiliated with the Left Party, we still need to be able to connect to other groups. We need to provide room for discussion and open up new options; we need to

highlight the paths in need of further development and those we are trying to build support for.

The studies produced by the Foundation are not always easy to understand. What challenges does this cause you in your work?

Hamilton: The challenge is to communicate complicated issues in a way that they can be understood by as many people as possible. The more analytical, theoretical, or specific a topic actually is, the more difficult this can be. We need to ensure that we always write and speak in a way that places barriers to understanding as low as possible. If we take the English-speaking world as an example, it is not common – and clearly not even necessary – to write English-language academic or political texts in a way that no-one understands them. In fact, English texts are even easy for non-native speakers to understand.

How would you rate the Foundation’s presence in the media? Is there need for improvement?

Hamilton: From the perspective of a spokesperson, the media can never report enough! Of course, I would really like to see regular daily news, radio reports, and reports on the front page of the newspapers. But we need to be realistic. First of all, we are not the largest foundation, and our ideas certainly do not reflect those of the mainstream. This turns ensuring a regular presence in the media into a permanent challenge. But if we ensure continuity in public relations work and provide new insights, such as through good studies and expertise, for example, on other countries, we’ll continue to broaden our importance. I’m certainly very optimistic about this.

What are the main difficulties in your work?

Hamilton: I would like to develop common standards in working with the press. But this would first mean promoting a greater understanding of the need for such standards, and then helping people to become more confident when speaking with the press. That is why I would like to have more time for the preparation of press events and for general discussions about the Foundation’s public relations work. This is not easy to organize alongside the everyday work.

What are your strongest motivations?

Hamilton: As part of the left-wing “family,” the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provides a major contribution to the development of social alternatives, supports young people, and provides a breadth of political education. I try to use my work to provide a bridge between these projects and the public.

Do you regret having taken on the job?

Hamilton: I would have regretted it very much if I had not applied for the job.



Lectures and discussions as audio files. Educational material is available (not just) for on the move

SOUNDCLOUD

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STAYING FIT WITH MARX

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG ON SOUNDCLOUD

Recently, a trade union secretary stated that he thought it was great that we had put a collection of tracks about Marx on SoundCloud. He said that at the current time, it was his only way of keeping up with critique of the political economy. He told us he always listens to the satellite seminars on the way to work. Since the Foundation’s online editorial team opened a channel on the audio platform SoundCloud in October 2011, the Foundation’s collection has been growing ever-more popular. More than 150 people have already subscribed to the channel. In order to listen to the recordings, all that is needed is registration with SoundCloud – and a basic account is free. Since the end of 2012, more than 100 audio files have been made available on the Foundation’s channel. The educational material provided as MP3s not only provides reading groups with access to Capital, it also opens up a new form of reception. People can listen to and comment on talks such as the Luxemburg Lectures, podcasts from publications such as “Is the whole world going bankrupt?” and material accompanying exhibitions whenever they want: even in the gym. Someone working for a Bundestag representative also stated that she had listened to Christian Fring’s satellite seminar on operaismo for 45 minutes on her cross trainer; apparently it was great fun. We really have no idea how many people listen to Marx while jogging, but why not try it out? The 22 lectures that have accompanied previous Capital reading circles undertaken by the Foundation since 2009 are available on SoundCloud.

Listen to Marx (in German):
<http://soundcloud.com/groups/hoermarx>

The screenshot shows the SoundCloud interface for the 'Hörmarx' playlist. The title is 'Hörmarx' by Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The description reads: 'Seit 2009 findet in der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Kapital-Krise statt... während in den Medien wird das Hauptwerk von Karl Marx, das Das Kapital, gemeinsam diskutiert. Teilnehmer:innen strukturieren die 5 Bände, die Teilnehmer:innen stellen die geliesenen Textabschnitte kurz vor...'. Below the text are several tags: #Kapital, #KapitalKrise, #Hörmarx, #RosaLuxemburgStiftung, #Marx, #Kapital, #KapitalKrise, #Hörmarx. There are also social media icons for Like, Share, and Retweet.



SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

KARL DIETZ VERLAG

Angelica Balabanoff
Lenin oder: Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel

Marx-Engels-Werke
Band 40
Überarbeitete und erweiterte
Nachauflage

Rosa Luxemburg
Nationalitätenfrage und Autonomie

VSA VERLAG

Maybritt Brehm/Christian Koch/
Werner Ruf/Peter Strutynski
Armee im Einsatz
20 Jahre Auslandseinsätze
der Bundeswehr

Alexander Gallas/Jörg Nowak/
Florian Wilde (Hrsg.)
**Politische Streiks im Europa
der Krise**

Yves Müller/Benjamin Winkler
Gegen Nazis sowieso
Lokale Strategien gegen rechts
Crashkurs Kommune 6

PUBLICATION SERIES

Stephan Kaufmann
**«Schummel-Griechen machen
unsere Euro kaputt»**
Beliebte Irrtümer in der Schuldenkrise
Reihe luxemburg argumente

Ulrich Brand
Schöne Grüne Welt
Über die Mythen der Green Economy
2., überarbeitete Auflage
Reihe luxemburg argumente

Peter Ullrich
**Linke, Nahostkonflikt,
Antisemitismus**
Wegweiser durch eine Debatte.
Eine kommentierte Bibliografie
Reihe Analysen

Alex Demirović/Thomas Sablowski
**Finanzdominierte Akkumulation
und die Krise in Europa**
Reihe Analysen

Eduardo Gudynas
Buen Vivir
Das gute Leben jenseits
von Entwicklung und Wachstum
Reihe Analysen

Manfred Maruda
Bürger-Kraft-Werke
Konjunktur der
Energiegenossenschaften
Reihe Analysen

Ulrich Busch
**Finanzindustrie – Begriff, volkswirt-
schaftliche Bedeutung, Kritik**
Reihe Standpunkte

René Schuster
Braunkohlerepublik Brandenburg?
Warum das Land sich gegen ein neues
Kohlekraftwerk entscheiden muss
Reihe Standpunkte

Horst Kahrs/Harald Pätzolt
Zurück zur Wählerschaft
Potenziale für DIE LINKE
Reihe Standpunkte

Rolf Reißig
**Ein umstrittener Dialog
und seine Folgen**
25 Jahre gemeinsames Grundsatzpapier
von SED und SPD
Reihe Standpunkte

Wolfgang Wippermann
Verweigerte Wiedergutmachung
Die Deutschen und der Völkermord
an den Sinti und Roma
Reihe Standpunkte

Alke Jenss
**Agroindustrie statt Agrarreform
in Kolumbien**
Umstrittenes Gesetz zur Landrückgabe
an Binnenflüchtlinge
Reihe Standpunkte international

Peter Schäfer
Ägypten hat einen neuen Präsidenten
Aber die Macht hat das Militär
Reihe Standpunkte international

Alexandra Martínez
**Widersprüchlicher Sozialismus
in Venezuela**
Reihe Standpunkte international

Fritz Burschel/Kira Güttinger (Hrsg.)
Vergessener Terror von rechts
Verharmlosung und Leugnung von
(Neo-)Nazi-Umtrieben in Deutschland
Reihe Papers

Helmut Matthes
**Krisen und notwendige Neuorien-
tierungen der Europäischen Union**
Reihe Papers

Thilo Janssen
**Was macht die politische Rechte
im Europäischen Parlament?**
Herausforderungen für eine
demokratische Linke
Reihe Studien

Dieter Vesper
**Politische Zielkonflikte bei der
Umsetzung der Schuldenbremse
auf Bundes- und Länderebene**
Reihe Studien

Sarah Rieseberg/Christine Wörten
**Energiewende:
Satte Rabatte für die Industrie**
Reihe Studien

Horst Adam, Dieter Schlönvoigt (Hrsg.)
Kritische Pädagogik
Fragen – Versuch von Antworten
Manuskripte Neue Folge 1

Ulla Plener
Demokratisierung
Beiträge zur Strategie der Linken
Manuskripte Neue Folge 3

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This is a selection of the titles published by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2012. They can all be found on our website (www.rosalux.de) where most of the texts are available in full.
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THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY

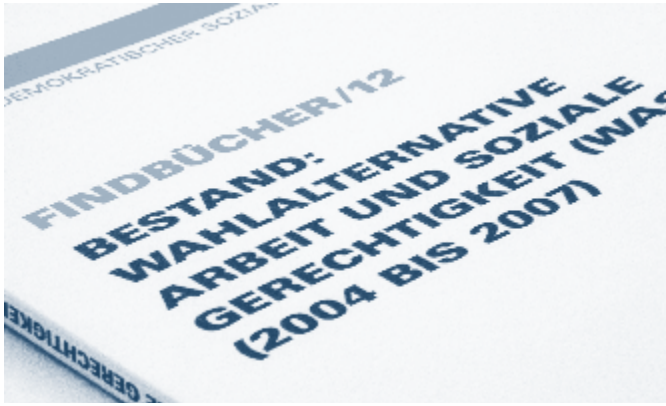
TWO NEW FINDING AIDS

In summer 2012, the Archive of Democratic Socialism at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung added two new finding aids to its collection. These finding aids will enable researchers to use the material held in the archives on the WASG (Labor and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative) from 2004 to 2007 and on Rosel Neuhäuser, the former member of the Bundestag. The material on Rosel Neuhäuser covers the period from 1994 to 2002. Both finding aids are available in a printed version and on the Foundation's website (www.rosalux.de).

The records set out in the WASG finding aid cover a length of files totaling around 4.7 meters. This material stems mainly from the archives of the former WASG federal office in Fürth, and was acquired by the archive in August 2010. The material consists of documents relating to the WASG association and its predecessors, as well as party documents, and documents and material on the processes associated with the foundation of the Left Party from the perspective of the WASG. The material on the party consists of documents relating to its conferences, minutes of its federal executive's meetings, and other documents covering the party's activities (such as legal matters, membership policy, correspondence, and public relations). This material also includes the minutes of meetings held by the WASG's regional council, documents related to the party's federal arbiter, ballots held by the party, as well as activities undertaken by some of the party's regional bodies.

The annex to the finding aid on the WASG includes a chronology of the party, an overview of its party conferences, information about its federal executive, and summary tables and graphics on the WASG's membership structure and the age of its members. The WASG finding aid was presented to the public during the left-wing book fair in Nuremberg on November 3, 2012 together with a book funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung containing interviews entitled *Was war? Was bleibt? Wege in die WASG, Wege in DIE LINKE* (What happened? What continues? Paths leading to the WASG, and paths leading to the Left Party). The WASG's co-founder, Thomas Händel, provided listeners with experiences and anecdotes from the exciting time when the party was being established.

The second finding aid is devoted to Rosel Neuhäuser, the former member of the Bundestag for Thuringia. The material indexed in this finding aid amounts to approximately 4.6 meters of files. It reflects the politician's work in the field of children's policy, in the Commission for Children's Concerns, as well as her work in the Committee on the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety. A copy of Rosel Neuhäuser's CV as well as a list of further reading is provided as an appendix.



A finding aid indexing the 4.7-meter-long files in the archive on the history of the WASG

“YOU REALLY LEARN SOMETHING”

AN INTERVIEW WITH PASCAL PATERNA

Pascal Paterna is one of three apprentices at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The 21-year-old is currently undergoing archival and library training as part of a specialist training in media and information services and specializes in archival work.

Why did you decide to train as a specialist in media and information services?

Paterna: After I finished school, I quickly realized that I didn't want to go to university and that I'd prefer to do an apprenticeship. I then started looking to see what might interest me. That's how I came across this apprenticeship.

How did you end up at the Foundation?

Paterna: Actually, I found out by accident that the Foundation offered this type of training. And of course, I found out about it on the day of the deadline! I quickly wrote a rather personal application, but it was obviously well received, as I was invited for an interview.

What does this type of apprenticeship consist of?

Paterna: It can be taken with one of five focuses: archival work, library work, photo agency work, medical documentation, and information and documentation. Training in archival work mainly means working with files and materials, as opposed to library work, which mainly means working with books.

What is your average day like? Do your colleagues just mainly send you to get breakfast?

Paterna: Of course not, you really learn something. I've been involved in decision-making processes since day one. Obviously, I didn't get the most exciting tasks to start with, but from the beginning I was accepted as a colleague. I really didn't expect that. I was involved in meetings straight away and was always asked whether I wanted to say something

about the points on the agenda. That made starting here really easy. Straight away I felt as if I could ask my colleagues anything I needed.

Do you have a fixed area of responsibility in the archive?

Paterna: I worked for quite a while on leaflets from the PDS, WASG, and the Left Party. The material stretches to six boxes similar in size to large shoe boxes. They were full to the brim with flyers produced since the final elections that took place in the GDR in March 1990. I arranged them according to various criteria and listed them in a document, which is now available on our website.

But work in an archive doesn't sound particularly exciting, or is that a misconception?

Paterna: It's like many things: if you go about it happily, it is exciting and interesting. When I first began indexing the leaflets, it was really interesting to compare what the PDS were writing at the time on housing issues in Berlin with what the Left Party is saying today. It's exciting to see how the party's language, its program, and approach have all changed. The main difficulty is stopping yourself from reading everything.

So the problem seems to be that you might quickly lose yourself in all of the material?

Paterna: Exactly, that's the difficulty. You just have to get a grip on yourself.

WHAT IS A FINDING AID?

A finding aid is a written record designed to help people retrieve archival materials. The term “finding aid” is a general term for various tools used to search archival holdings, such as delivery lists, finding lists, finding aids, and inventory overviews. Finding aids are produced to make it easier for archive users to locate archival material and to enable them to conduct targeted searches. Finding aids in print form usually consist of a preface, a table of contents including classifications, a register, and an index of people and objects. In addition to finding aids in print form, more and more are being made available over the Internet. A finding aid results from indexing a specific collection in an archive. Indexing refers to the task of processing information and making it accessible by placing in a specific order as part of an index. This is usually done with archiving software such as AUGEAS-Archiv or scopeArchiv.

NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

TWO PREMIERES AND A JOURNEY AROUND THE GLOBE

On September 20, 2012, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung celebrated two premieres. After about one year of preparation, the Foundation finally opened its salon at its headquarters in Berlin. The occasion was also used to introduce for the first time seven of the directors of the then-16 international offices at one meeting to an interested audience. As part of their annual meeting, the directors took the opportunity to publicize the Foundation's often-overlooked work in other countries. True to the motto of the evening, "In 365 minutes around the world. Reports from the Foundation's international offices," the directors of the Foundation's international offices took the guests on a journey around the globe. The evening was moderated by the charming *taz* journalist Eva Völpel, who competently developed the evening's theme around air travel. Earlier, Florian Weis, executive director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung had officially opened the salon. After the guests had enjoyed a snack and a drink at the bar, and were comfortably seated, they were ready to set off. The journey started in the Middle East before moving on to Africa; from there it continued to Latin America, Russia, China, and finally ended in the United States.

The aim of the evening was not to present a comprehensive overview of the work of the Foundation's international offices. Rather, listeners were treated to vivid, concise, and entertaining descriptions of current political issues from each of the regions; these were accompanied by photos, caricatures, and film. The reports from Tel Aviv, Sao Paulo, Johannesburg, Dakar, Moscow, Beijing, and New York covered power struggles, massacres, and military coups, as well as election campaigns, protests, and social movements. This created a lively overall picture of the Foundation's work abroad. Clearly, this had a lot to do with the style of the presentations. Sometimes the directors of the international offices spoke in rather dry and fact-oriented terms, but at other times they were enthusiastic and almost brazen; yet they always remained engaged and informed. This meant that although the event lasted six hours, it was anything but boring. As such, the first event in the new salon was well attended throughout. The numerous interested parties who were not regulars at Foundation events, but still found their way to the first floor of the ND building, proved a welcome addition to the many familiar faces.

All in all, the event provided an entertaining, informative and compelling journey around the world – without the risk of jet lag.



The first event held in the new salon belonging to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung on September 20, 2012 was attended by the directors of seven of the Foundation's international offices

**PRESENTATIONS HELD
AT THE OPENING CEREMONY**

ANGELIKA TIMM (TEL AVIV OFFICE)
**ISRAEL - WHAT HAPPENED TO THE SOCIAL
PROTESTS?**

CLAUS-DIETER KÖNIG (DAKAR OFFICE)
**TIMBUKTU AND THE ISLAMIST WARRIORS -
WHAT IS GOING ON IN MALI?**

ARMIN OSMANOVIC (JOHANNESBURG OFFICE)
**THE MASSACRE OF AUGUST 2012 IN THE NEW
SOUTH AFRICA**

KATHRIN BUHL AND GERHARD DILGER (SÃO PAULO OFFICE)
**A COUP IN PARAGUAY -
DID ANYTHING ACTUALLY HAPPEN?**

TIINA FAHRNI (MOSCOW OFFICE)
**PUSSY RIOT, PROTESTS, AND FOREIGN AGENTS -
TROUBLES IN THE FALL IN RUSSIA?**

LUTZ POHLE (BEIJING OFFICE)
**THE NEXT GENERATION -
LEADERSHIP CHANGE IN BEIJING**

STEFANIE EHMSSEN (NEW YORK OFFICE)
OBAMA VS. ROMNEY - A CHOICE OF DIRECTION?



**A SPACE FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS -
THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S SALON**

Many people have waited a long time for the Foundation to acquire its own event space. In the fall of 2011, the idea came about of turning 2,000 square feet of space that had been used for storage over two decades into a salon. The aim was to construct a lounge that would provide a sophisticated and casual atmosphere for special events in various formats. The Foundation put together a small team from the finances, IT and central tasks department, who worked together with other departments including the department of political communication to develop a coherent concept for the salon. Although construction began in March 2012, for a number of months it was only insiders who were able to recognize the progress being made on the building site. This led some people to even doubt that the project would go ahead. However, it increasingly took shape, and on September 20, we were finally able to officially open the salon. The concept has been a success. We have already held readings, concerts, film festivals, award ceremonies, and numerous political debates in 'our salon.' Due to the great demand, it is usually booked for weeks in advance.

The new salon in the ND building: from a storeroom to a representative space for events



The winners from left to right: Daniela Steiner, Karolin Bettge, Boris Matić

THE AWARD OF THE ERIK NEUTSCH PRIZE

In 2011, on the 80th birthday of Erik Neutsch (Trace of Stones, Peace in the East) the foundation named after him announced a literary prize for young storytellers. The prize was open to authors under 30 years of age, who were able to send in their work during the year on the fate of people within social processes. The entries demonstrated the colorful lived realities of young people today. They dealt with fears, deep abysses, scattered illusions, and lost values.

Three winning submissions were awarded a prize on November 30, 2012 in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's salon. After an introduction by the founder himself, and a speech by the author Eberhard Panitz, Dagmar Enkelmann and Evelin Wittich opened the award ceremony. Third place was awarded to Karolin Bettge (24, from Aachen) for her text "Fehler" (Error). Her text deals with a very unequal friendship between young people that ends in tragedy. Instead of awarding a second prize, the first prize was awarded twice: to Daniela Steinert (27, from Lüneburg) for her multi-faceted story "Die Geschwätzigkeit der Jahreszeiten oder: Warum nicht?" (The loquacity of the seasons, or why not?), and to Boris Matić (21, from Leipzig) for his insightful and impressive narrative of the war in Kosovo. The award ceremony was accompanied on the piano by Tom Rojo Poller, who played pieces by Bela Bartók and Aram Chatschaturjan.

"BUT HIS WORDS ARE STILL HERE"
MEMORIES OF THE WRITER STEFAN HEYM

The Left Party-affiliated Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung crossed paths with Stefan Heym in the early 1990s, during one of the lateral thinker's best years in politics. As a member of the parliamentary group of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), he aimed to provide East Germans with a voice. After his death in 2001, Heym seemed to gradually disappear from the public's perception. In 2013, he would have been 100 years old.



Stefan Heym would have been 100 years old in April 2013

Reason enough for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to remember him and his ideas.

Stefan Heym was something of a socialist idealist. He never simply adapted his beliefs or positions to those of his surroundings or through political constraints. Perhaps he should be considered a permanent dissident? As a political literary figure, he put across his values in all of his works. He devoted himself with great care to the German and Russian revolutions, often portraying the heroes of his stories with great respect. In order to place Heym firmly in focus without iconizing him, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized an event in May 2012 in the Volksbühne in Berlin. The event was proposed by the members of the Bundestag and Left Party representatives, Lukrezia Jochimsen and Thomas Nord. The aim of the event was to bring together Heym's old friends and companions and provide a diverse program in honor of the writer. In June, during the "Festival of the Left," the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a reading on stage at Berlin's Kulturbrauerei with the support of the Left Party's parliamentary group. Franz Sodann had painstakingly studied Heym's novels, interviews, and poems, enabling him to develop an overview of Heym's works. This provided the basis for a further reading held in December 2012, this time directed by the parliamentary group. It was even possible to involve such prominent figures as Christoph Hein, Friedrich Schorlemmer, and Jakob Augstein.

Clearly, the "Heym year" was initiated in a worthy manner – to the delight of Heym's widow, Inge Heym. Furthermore, the Foundation also set up a webpage; for during his lifetime, it was Heym's writing that moved people – as it still does today. In an early poem he wrote, "but my word is still there, the power of my language." It seems that the Foundation has remembered Heym just as he wanted: "with kindness."

CAMILA VALLEJO IN GERMANY

The British newspaper *the Guardian* named Camila Vallejo "Person of the year 2011." The worldwide media reported about this young woman after she mobilized 1.5 million people onto the streets of Chile. At the end of January 2012, she was invited to Germany by the Education and Science Workers' Union (GEW) and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. During her tour, Camila Vallejo spoke about the struggles of school pupils and students against tuition fees and for reform of the predominantly private Chilean education system. In 2011, protests against the unjust education system in Chile brought together unions, social movements, and left-wing political parties. This then led to a broad discussion about the tensions between neoliberalism and democracy. The visit to Germany by Camila Vallejo (vice-president of the Student Federation of the University of Chile), Karol Cariola (secretary general of the Juventudes Comunistas de Chile, and Jorge Murua (a member of the leadership of the trade union federation Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile) was extensively reported in the media. The visit was covered by media ranging from the *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Sonntagszeitung* with the title "The Face of Communism" to *n-tv*, which spoke of "The beauty and the beasts."

Large media coverage: Camila Vallejo visited Germany in January 2012



PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has become bigger, brighter, younger, and more diverse. In 2012, the Foundation continued its process of expansion that has been ongoing since its inception; we now have more than 180 members of staff. Since the beginning, the challenge has been to consolidate and deepen the Foundation's structures. At the same time, the focus has been on bringing about change through targeted human resources and organizational development. Despite these on-going changes, the Foundation has remained true to its underlying premises: the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung continues to view itself as a modern, left-wing, effective foundation, based on participation. Accordingly, in 2012 the Foundation began implementing the training and qualification plan that had been developed the year before. The plan takes both operational needs and the interests of individuals into consideration. The focus of this process of personnel development has been to develop general technical knowledge and abilities that are frequently required and generally-accepted as important, such as English language skills, skills in MS-Office applications, Web 2.0, and social media, as well as project management, facilitation, communication, presentation, and communication skills and journalistic writing. In-house training has also been accompanied by courses and preventative health measures such as back exercises. In fact, every employee is able to use up to 39 working hours a year to participate in these courses.

In addition, team development, collegial consultation, and coaching have become more common within various departmental training sessions.

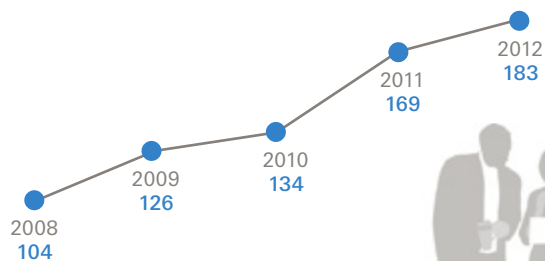
In 2012, the Foundation adopted staff guidelines that commit it to the principles of "decent work." These guidelines were first adopted in 2006 by the DGB federal congress as union guidelines. The aim is to provide a framework in which the Foundation's staff is able to develop their abilities, skills, and talents related to fulfilling their tasks at the Foundation. Furthermore, the guidelines are aimed at developing a fully participative working environment. The following principles of good management should make this possible:

- leadership at the Foundation should serve to create conditions that promote performance, motivation, creativity, team spirit, solidarity, and satisfaction among staff and volunteers;
- this means leadership needs to fulfill the Foundation's goals and developmental aims;
- leadership is a specific role: it implies consciously assuming responsibilities and decision-making powers, but also entails certain requirements;
- leadership should aim to create transparency and openness.

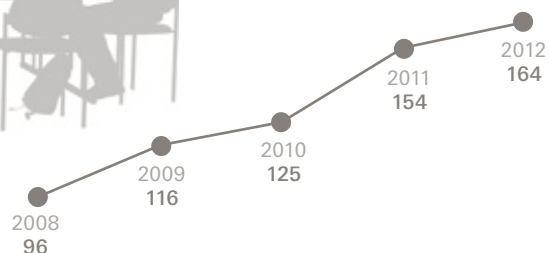
Although we made a great step forward in 2012, there is still much to be done.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 2008 AND 2012

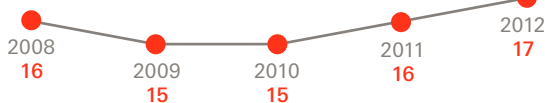
NUMBER OF STAFF ...



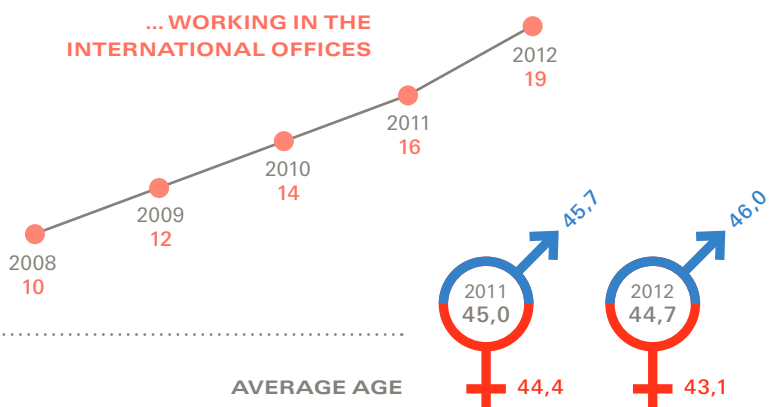
... IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT



... WORKING IN REGIONAL OFFICES



... WORKING IN THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICES



AVERAGE AGE

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

Other forms of employment:

| | | | | | |
|--|---|----|----|----|----|
| Staff in limited part-time employment ¹ | 3 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 7 |
| Internships ² | 8 | 11 | 22 | 34 | 35 |

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

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On December 1, 2012, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's general assembly elected a woman as chair of the executive board for the first time in its history. Dagmar Enkelmann, who is also an experienced parliamentarian, is to take on important tasks as chair of the executive board over the next four years. The previous chair of the Foundation, Heinz Vietze, announced some time ago that he wished to pass on the baton. Vietze highlighted the consolidation and expansion of the Foundation as having been the focus of his work. He views the establishment of work at the federal level as well as the cultural forum as the main achievements of his tenure, which began in 2006. The Foundation now also has 18 overseas offices. Heinz Vietze also reminded everyone that the Foundation is now "accepted" in the party-affiliated educational institutional field. He pointed out that the new chair now had the responsibility of developing the breadth of the Foundation's educational opportunities. According to the general assembly, this should be aimed at better reaching non-academic milieus using so-called low-threshold formats.

Dagmar Enkelmann will also be strongly supported by Florian Weis, as the general assembly confirmed his position once again as the Foundation's executive director. Together, they are to strengthen the Foundation's focus on the work of its namesake by establishing a "focal point Rosa Luxemburg." The resolution to establish the focal point stipulates that the new body should undertake "social-theoretical work on Rosa Luxemburg's writings on the political economy, the understanding of the state, revolution, democracy, and the party." At the same time, "links to the current developmental problems of the Left" are also to be a central aspect of the focal point's work.

After a year of intensive work, a special commission presented the general assembly with a list of proposed changes to the Foundation's guidelines. The decision was made to create a form of institutional membership for the Foundation's regional structures; to accept honorary memberships and to limit membership of the Foundation to a maximum of 150 people. A further change specifies that the general assembly may now appoint two chairs of the executive board. Furthermore, with a view to clearly distinguishing between the Foundation as a foundation and a place of work, questions relating to the extended participation of members of staff are no longer covered by statute, but instead are to be included in collective agreements.

The Foundation gained the following new members: Ulrich Brinkmann, Frank Deppe, Ulrike Detjen, Mario Kessler, Caren Lay, Dörte Putensen, Jürgen Reents, Bernd Riexinger, and Petra Sitte. Clearly, the Foundation has broadened its base in academic and scientific fields in particular.



The general assembly on December 1, 2012. One point for discussion was the election of a new chair of the executive board

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
 Wenke Christoph
 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

Ilsegrit 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 Krumbach
 Marian Krüger
 Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen
 Krysmanski
 Antonia Kühn
 Prof. Ingrid Kurz
 Oskar Lafontaine
 Caren Lay
 Dr. Klaus Lederer
 Sabine Leidig
 Dr. Gesine Lötzsich
 Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
 Heidemarie Lüth
 Dr. Helmuth Markov
 Ulrich Maurer
 Dr. Hans Modrow
 Cornelia Möhring
 Margret Mönig-Raane
 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 Schliwenz
 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
 Sahra Wagenknecht
 Dr. Florian Weis
 Dr. Dietmar Wittich
 Dr. Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabi Zimmer

HONORARY MEMBERS

Dr. Kurt Hövelmans
 Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek

RESTING MEMBERSHIP

Dr. Lutz Brangsch
 Prof. Dr. Michael Brie
 Dr. Mario Candeias
 Dr. Cornelia Domaschke
 Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen
 Kadriye Karci
 Dirk Rumpf
 Norbert Schepers
 Dr. Dieter Schlönvoigt
 Dr. Jörn Schüttrumpf
 Dr. Marion Schüttrumpf
 Dr. Jochen Weichold
 Dr. Evelin Wittich
 Fanny Zeise

Last updated: 30 April 2013



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THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

- 1 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann
- 2 Heinz Hillebrand
- 3 Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
- 4 Bodo Ramelow
- 5 Dr. Florian Weis
- 6 Thomas Händel
- 7 Marwa Al-Radwany
- 8 Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović
- 9 Dr. Sabine Reiner
- 10 Dr. Petra Sitte
- 11 Kerstin Kaiser
- 12 Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe
- 13 Peeter Raane



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THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Generally, the duties of an executive board are very broad. This also applies to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, which in a legal sense is actually an association and not a foundation. The Foundation's statutes state that one of the tasks of the unsalaried executive board is management of the association. In addition to structural changes, the rapid growth of our institution has also led to a reorganization of the division of responsibilities between the executive and full-time staff. In 2012, this led the twelve board members to discuss their own role and the Foundation's resulting statutes, rules of procedure, and distribution plan.

This also meant discussing the strategic direction of the Foundation's work, including the question of its future focus. A very important aspect in this process was the work on the three so-called "project roofs," which were adopted by the general assembly, and particularly focus on approaches to and ideas about social alternatives regarding scenarios of systemic transformation. In addition, the board is also responsible for overseeing the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work outside of Germany. Since the Foundation is highly visible in its work

in other countries, and regularly applies its experiences of working in these countries to educational approaches in Germany, it was very important that the board discuss the Foundation's regional strategies in detail. This work represented a third focus for the Foundation in 2012.

The board ended its four-year term with the general assembly that took place on December 1, 2012. The Foundation's chair, Heinz Vietze, had previously announced that he would not be running again. Similarly, Dieter Klein, Claudia Gohde, and Wenke Christoph were also no longer available to take up positions on the board, although they all remain closely linked to the Foundation. The election of a new executive board clearly represents a turning point. The new board now consists of 13 members, five of whom are new: Marwa Al-Radwany, Frank Deppe, Heinz Hillebrand, Kerstin Kaiser, and Petra Sitte. The central tasks for the new board and its chair – Dagmar Enkelmann – in 2013 will be developing so-called low-threshold training courses and continuing the discussion about the Foundation's strategic direction.

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

The advisory council is committed to critically accompanying the work of the Foundation, while providing scientific and political expertise to promote the Foundation's further development. In accordance with these aims, in 2012 the advisory council was active in a variety of areas. It analyzed the first issue of the journal *LuXemburg* and made proposals to improve its image and design. Together with the executive board, the Institute for Social Analysis, and the Academy for Political Education, the advisory council developed ways of ensuring feminist perspectives are further integrated into the work of the Foundation. It also participated in the commission tasked with awarding the Foundation's scholarships and was involved in discussions on developing a new scholarship selection process.

The advisory council is particularly involved in monitoring the Foundation's internal Institute for Critical Social Analysis. Advisory council meetings are regularly used to discuss the Institute's studies and analyses, particularly the results of research on processes of social transformation. The advisory council assists in the reorientation of research towards transformation, which is one of the Institute's central tasks. Although the advisory council views the Institute's general

conceptual direction as both positive and promising, it has made it repeatedly clear that the Institute's work needs a stronger empirical underpinning and a clearer focus on specific feminist issues. This critique led the Institute to produce texts on the importance of the reproduction economy for left-wing conceptions of transformation from the perspective of different disciplines. These texts were then used as a basis for discussions that took place during the last closed conference. The advisory council uses its special scientific expertise to provide the impetus for the Foundation's (further) development as a think tank and network for dialogue that is broadly aimed at the Left. Accordingly, the advisory council aims to provide even stronger support to the Foundation's departments in the future regarding these issues. In 2013, it plans to offer a series of events as part of the graduate academy run by the scholarship department. Furthermore, in future the advisory council will be continuing its close work with the Institute for Critical Social Analysis aimed at strengthening the Institute's scientific profile and alignment. This is to be done through joint conferences and discussions on basic conceptual issues.

**MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S
ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL** Last updated: 1 April 2013

Prof. 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, and transformation processes in East Germany.

Prof. 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, and works for ARD, Deutschlandradio Kultur, and for various newspapers including *Cicero*.

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

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

Prof. 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 Thünen 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, transformation research.

Prof. 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 and 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, and political action in everyday environments.

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

Prof. 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.

Prof. 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. Scholz Sylka: 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 German Bundestag, the Left Party's parliamentary spokesperson for finances, and member of the finance committee in the Bundestag.

Prof. 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.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

This form of education is certainly not self-explanatory. However, discussion groups run by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung are more than just coffee and a chat with friends. Rather, they express both the diversity of the work undertaken by left-wing educational institutions, and the importance of voluntary participation for their success. In short, discussion groups provide people with the chance to take part in regular discussions about specific topics, and as such, fulfill several of the Foundation's tasks.

First, they provide the Foundation with additional expertise. Second, they undertake the theoretical work involved in left-wing political education. Finally, they create a space for open discussion about socially relevant issues. In 2012, there were 20 discussion groups involving more than 400 partici-

pants. This included a number of new groups such as "European politics," "educational policy," and "social inequality." New discussion groups first require a board resolution defining the conceptual basis of the group's intended work. One third of discussion groups are run by volunteer coordinators, but every discussion group has a permanent contact person at the Foundation. The discussion groups do not all work in the same manner. For example, the discussion group "living time – working time" uses themed-based workshops to encourage creative people from diverse contexts to involve themselves in work on the tensions between economics and individual freedom. In contrast, the discussion group "trade unions" uses two major annual meetings to produce a certain amount of (issue-based) interaction between the Foundation and employee representatives. All of the discussion groups are open to everyone.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

LABOR LAW/LABOR CODES

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

EDUCATION POLICY

Marcus Hawel (hawel@rosalux.de)

EUROPEAN POLITICS

Gabriele Kickut (kickut@rosalux.de)

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Evelin Wittich, Eva Schäfer (schaefer@rosalux.de)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Erhard Crome (crome@rosalux.de)

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (huettner@rosalux.de)

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke (domaschke@rosalux.de)

TRADE UNIONS

Fanny Zeise (zeise@rosalux.de)

COLLEGE OF SCIENCE/PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus, Reinhard Mocek, Klaus Meier (meier@rosalux.de)

CULTURAL FORUM

Michaela Klingberg (klingberg@rosalux.de)

RURAL AREAS

Bini Schlamann, Michael Luthardt, Steffen Kühne (kuehne@rosalux.de)

LIVING TIME - WORKING TIME

Rosalind Honig, Axel Krumrey (krumrey@rosalux.de)

MIGRATION

Koray Yilmaz-Günay (yilmaz-guenay@rosalux.de)

SUSTAINABILITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Evelin Wittich (wittich@rosalux.de), Steffen Kühne (kuehne@rosalux.de)

POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Harald Pätzolt, Cornelia Hildebrandt (hildebrandt@rosalux.de)

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Stefan Kalmring (kalmring@rosalux.de)

LAW

Friedrich Burschel (burschel@rosalux.de)

SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Horst Kahrs (kahrs@rosalux.de)

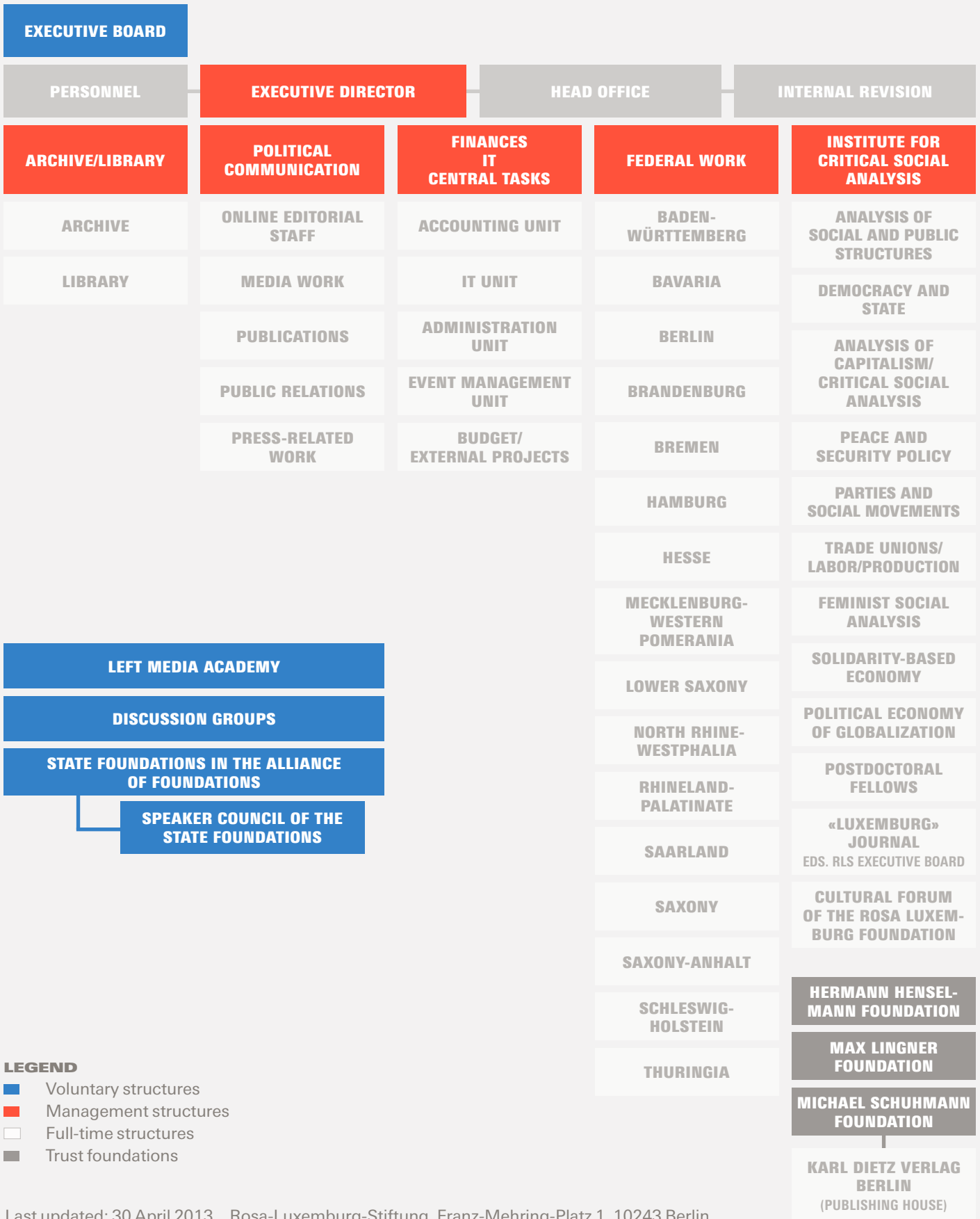
METROPOLITAN POLITICS

Katharina Weise (weise@rosalux.de)

ECONOMIC POLICY

Sabina Reiner, Michael Popp, Mario Candeias (candeias@rosalux.de), Antonella Muzzupappa (muzzupappa@rosalux.de)

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 FOUNDATION

ACADEMY
FOR POLITICAL
EDUCATION

SCHOLARSHIP
DEPARTMENT

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION
REGIONAL OFFICES REGIONAL OFFICES ABROAD

EUROPEAN POLICY

SUPPORT PROGRAM

RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA/
CAUCASUS
MOSCOW

THE POLITICS
OF HISTORY

ALUMNI WORK

REGIONAL OFFICE EASTERN,
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN EUROPE

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE
WARSAW

GENDER RELATIONS

EDUCATION POLICY

SOUTH EAST EUROPE
BELGRADE

INTERNATIONAL
POLITICS

SCHOLARSHIP
PROGRAM «LUX LIKE
STUDYING»

SOUTHERN AFRICA
JOHANNESBURG

YOUTH EDUCATION

ACADEMIC TUTORS
OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG
FOUNDATION

REGIONAL OFFICE
AFRICA

WEST AFRICA
DAKAR

LOCAL POLITICS

SELECTION
COMMITTEE

EAST AFRICA
DAR ES SALAAM

MIGRATION

WORK GROUPS
OF FELLOWS

REGIONAL OFFICE
MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA
AND TURKEY

ISRAEL
TEL AVIV

SUSTAINABILITY

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES
RAMALLAH

NEO-NAZISM
AND THEORIES OF
INEQUALITY

MEXICO/CENTRAL AMERICA/CUBA
MEXICO CITY

POLICY
MANAGEMENT

REGIONAL OFFICE
LATIN AMERICA

SOUTH AMERICA
SÃO PAULO

POLITICAL ECONOMY

ANDEAN REGION
QUITO

POLITICAL EDUCATION
AND TRAINING

VIETNAM
HANOI

CONTEMPORARY
HISTORY

REGIONAL OFFICE
ASIA

CHINA
BEIJING

YOUTH EDUCATION
NETWORK
OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG
FOUNDATION

SOUTH ASIA
NEW DELHI

EUROPEAN UNION
BRUSSELS

ERIK NEUTSCH
FOUNDATION

REGIONAL OFFICE EU, OECD,
NORTH AMERICA, UN

UNITED NATIONS/NORTH AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY

HARALD BREUER
FOUNDATION

THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political foundation affiliated with the German Left Party. As is the case of other party-affiliated foundations, the Foundation receives most of its financing from the federal budget. The Foundation receives funding from the budgets of 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 German Bundestag.

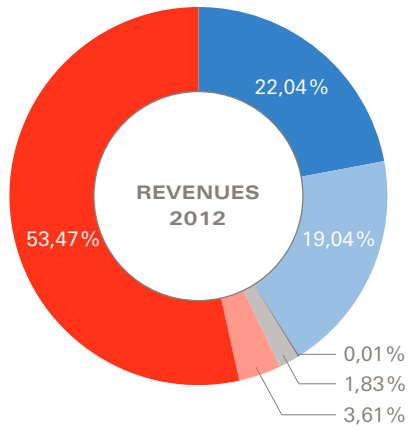
Evidence of the durability of a political current is provided by a political party's repeated entry into the Bundestag, particularly in the form of a parliamentary group. A foundation affiliated with such a party is highly likely to be recognized as a political foundation. The amount of funding the foundation 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.

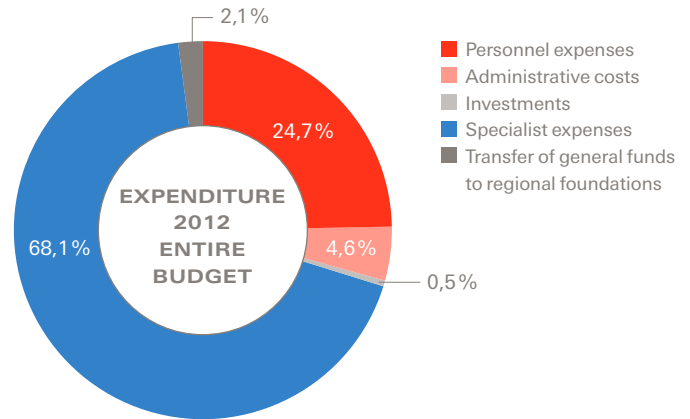
For the period until 2014, the Foundation will receive 9.5 per cent of the total grants provided by federal ministries to political foundations. Compared with 2010, this represents an increase from 30.6 million euros to 45 million euros in 2012. In a 1998 joint statement, the party-affiliated foundations 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 it committed itself to 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 in Germany and fund the Foundation's offices. The funds are used to hold seminars, conferences and colloquiums, provide teaching and learning resources and to award research grants to projects with socio-political objectives, especially in the field of educational research.

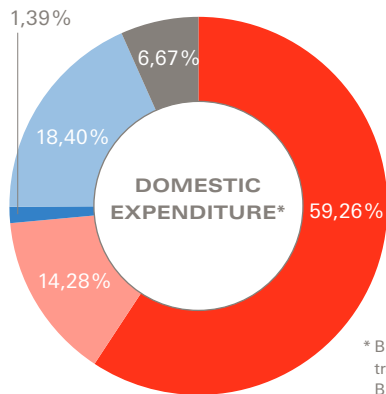
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also uses funds from the BMZ and the AA to maintain its international network. This includes funding the Foundation's overseas offices, projects with partner organizations, and events held abroad. The grants from the BMBF are used to provide scholarships to gifted



- Federal Ministry of the Interior (including independently generated revenue)
- Federal Ministry for Education and Research
- German Bundestag Administration for parliamentary internships
- Federal Foreign Office – scholarships
- Federal Foreign Office – projects
- Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development



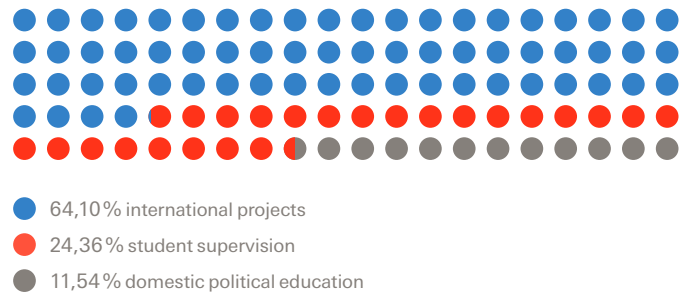
- Personnel expenses
- Administrative costs
- Investments
- Specialist expenses
- Transfer of general funds to regional foundations



* BMI funds and administrative funds from the BMZ, AA and BMBF

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

SPECIALIST EXPENSES 2012



undergraduates and doctoral students. In addition to these federal funds, party-affiliated foundations can also be 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.

Foundations are required to fulfill their statutory responsibilities without resorting to organizational resources or personnel from the party with which they are affiliated. Political foundations are prohibited from providing their 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 ensur-

ing that funding is properly monitored and used for their stated purposes.

As a political foundation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to ensure its accounts are independently audited. For the 2011 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 31.12.2011

| Assets | 31.12.2011 in EUR | 31.12.2010 in EUR |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A Fixed assets | | |
| I Intangible Assets | | |
| Computer software | 108,790.95 | 160,566.75 |
| II Tangible assets | | |
| Furniture and fixtures | 852,328.02 | 414,857.26 |
| Total fixed assets | 961,118.97 | 575,424.01 |
| B Accounts receivable and other assets | | |
| Total accounts receivable | 738,204.17 | 727,088.08 |
| C Liquid assets | | |
| Total liquid assets | 3,075,709.36 | 1,748,627.16 |
| D Prepayments | | |
| Total | 4,775,032.50 | 3,051,139.25 |

| Assets | 31.12.2011 in EUR | 31.12.2010 in EUR |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A Net assets | | |
| I Previous year | 744,767.02 | 784,459.49 |
| II Surplus/deficit | 312,464.78 | -39,692.47 |
| Net assets | 1,057,231.80 | 744,767.02 |
| B Advances and contributions from donations | 961,118.97 | 575,424.01 |
| C Accrued liabilities | | |
| Other provisions | 90,219.91 | 271,796.69 |
| D Liabilities | | |
| I Accounts payable | 1,701,866.89 | 521,431.26 |
| II Other liabilities | 49,168.22 | 12,963.28 |
| III federal grants | 30.75 | 791.84 |
| Total liabilities | 1,751,065.86 | 535,186.38 |
| E Deferred income | 915,395.96 | 923,965.15 |
| Total | 4,775,032.50 | 3,051,139.25 |

ASSET AND LIABILITY STATEMENT AS OF 31.12.2011

| | | 2011 in EUR | 2010 in EUR |
|------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I | Revenues | 41,624,618.29 | 30,594,753.62 |
| 1 | Federal grants | 41,534,836.44 | 30,414,594.49 |
| 2 | Donations | 10,174.48 | 12,590.38 |
| 3 | Other income | 79,607.37 | 167,568.75 |
| II | Expenses | -41,312,153.51 | -29,670,001.80 |
| | Expenses for statutory activities | -29,173,324.74 | -20,281,119.12 |
| | of which for conferences and seminars | -899,416.17 | -546,133.17 |
| | for publications | -783,137.59 | -527,454.98 |
| | for research projects | -527,774.95 | -210,418.41 |
| | for the transfer of general funds | -1,067,501.95 | -824,216.81 |
| | for funding under- and postgraduates | -6,592,621.36 | -5,150,660.19 |
| | for international cooperation | -18,791,324.44 | -12,272,024.33 |
| | other | -511,548.28 | -750,211.23 |
| | Staff costs | -8,947,375.89 | -7,628,468.63 |
| | of which wages and salaries | -7,682,578.72 | -6,366,559.83 |
| | for social security contributions | -1,264,797.17 | -1,261,908.80 |
| | Administrative costs | -2,528,603.04 | -1,605,045.05 |
| | of which operating expenses | -434,883.94 | -344,396.37 |
| | other administrative costs | -2,093,719.10 | -1,260,648.68 |
| | Investments | -662,849.84 | -155,369.00 |
| III | Net income/loss | 312,464.78 | 924,751.82 |

INCOME IN 2012 (PROVISIONAL)

| I | Income in EUR | 44,391,120.45 |
|----------|--|----------------------|
| 1 | Grants | 44,735,275.82 |
| | Federal Ministry of the Interior (including independently generated revenue) | 9,860,049.63 |
| | Federal Ministry of Education and Research | 8,515,858.37 |
| | German Bundestag Administration for parliamentary internships | 5,690.14 |
| | Foreign Office scholarships | 819,500.00 |
| | Foreign Office projects | 1,615,000.00 |
| | Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development | 23,919,177.68 |
| 2 | Donations | 4,826.40 |
| 3 | Membership fees | 11,848.22 |
| 4 | Other income | 373,005.92 |
| 5 | Revenue deductions | -733,835.91 |

EXPENDITURE IN 2012 (PROVISIONAL)

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----------------------|
| II | Expenditure in EUR | -43,041,522.04 |
| 1 | Staff costs | -10,624,589.82 |
| | of which in Germany | -8,139,228.06 |
| a) | Wages and salaries | -8,885,805.15 |
| b) | Social security contributions and others | -1,738,784.67 |
| 2 | Administrative costs | -1,988,643.10 |
| 2.1 | Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables | -314,229.41 |
| | Network, software, and system support | -159,064.85 |
| | Agency fees | -42,840.00 |
| | Maintenance fees and repairs | -12,377.65 |
| | Office supplies and consumables | -31,589.72 |
| | Rented equipment | -38,393.08 |
| | Tools and small appliances | -25,695.03 |
| | Books and teaching materials | -4,269.08 |
| 2.2 | Operating and maintaining land and structural facilities | 0.00 |
| 2.3 | Other administrative costs | -1,674,413.69 |
| | Costs of premises | -652,929.68 |
| | Cleaning | -12,584.78 |
| | Maintenance of space | -81,805.15 |
| | Insurance costs | -4,025.59 |
| | Contributions and other duties | -50,496.70 |
| | Work by third parties – contracts for work – administration | -228,822.82 |
| | Repair and maintenance of technical equipment | 0.00 |
| | Advertising | -35,177.54 |
| | Promotional costs | -29,562.31 |
| | Entertainment costs | -788.65 |
| | Travel expenses | -173,000.58 |
| | Other vehicles | 0.00 |
| | Courier Service | -5,958.05 |
| | Further training costs | -55,873.59 |
| | Postal fees/telephone/Internet costs | -114,245.33 |
| | Magazines/books/media | -38,322.00 |
| | Legal consultancy/auditing/accountancy | -80,545.62 |
| | Incidental costs of monetary transactions | -10,408.26 |
| | Other taxes | 0.00 |
| | Other expenses | -99,867.04 |
| 3 | Advances and contributions from grants for fixed assets | -194,645.28 |
| 4 | Specialist expenses | -29,315,739.81 |
| | Conferences and seminars | -851,156.76 |
| | Publications | -630,222.55 |
| | Research contracts | -488,128.47 |

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Other specialist expenses | -260,420.22 |
| International projects | -19,379,354.66 |
| Supervision of undergraduate and PhD students | -7,365,022.80 |
| for domestic scholarships | -6,655,455.32 |
| for scholarships abroad | -705,016.15 |
| for international parliamentary internships | -4,551.33 |
| Conceptual support of scholarship recipients | -341,434.35 |
| 5 Transfer of general funds | -917,904.03 |

NOTES:

In 2012, the following associations 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 ■ "Helle Panke" e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin ■ Jenny Marx Gesellschaft für politische Bildung – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rheinland-Pfalz e. V.

TOTAL OVERVIEW OF ALL REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES, EXPECTED IN THE 2013 BUDGET**Revenues in EUR***

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior | 9,496,000.00 |
| Grants from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (expected) | 10,120,000.00 |
| Grants from the German Bundestag Administration for parliamentary internships | 16,600.00 |
| Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development | 24,310,000.00 |
| The Foreign Office for projects | 1,710,000.00 |
| The Federal Foreign Office for scholarships | 820,500.00 |
| Other income | 60,000.00 |

Expenditure in EUR (extract)

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Staff costs | -11,100,000.00 |
| Administrative costs | -2,500,000.00 |
| of which for investments | -280,000.00 |
| Specialist expenditure (not including permanent staff) | -33,456,600.00 |
| of which educational programs | -3,750,000.00 |
| of which scholarships | -8,800,000.00 |
| of which projects of international cooperation | -20,906,600.00 |

* not including independently generated revenues

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All data and figures are current as of December 2012 unless otherwise stated.

“The socialist proletariat cannot dispense with class struggle and international solidarity, either in war or peace, without destroying itself.”

ROSA LUXEMBURG