

# **ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**

**WWW.ROSALUX.DE**

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**ROSA  
LUXEMBURG  
FOUNDATION**

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# ROSA LUXEMBURG

Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919) continues to polarise the political landscape to this day: by some she is considered a Bolshevik terrorist, for others she is a left wing icon. Although many of her writings have been reprinted, her thinking and intentions are currently by no means always accepted with great seriousness.

Instead, the clichés persist. Both the Stalinists, who even invented a demonised «Luxemburgism» for Rosa Luxemburg, and the political right loathe her concept of democracy. Rosa Luxemburg desired a society in which political freedom and equality would not be abolished, but rather complemented by social freedom and equality – a demand which has still not been fulfilled today. She considered democracy to be an essential prerequisite for all human coexistence. Rosa Luxemburg is often mistakenly considered to be German; hardly anyone knows that she was actually Polish. Many of her letters are even translated from German into other languages, although they were originally written in Polish. She came from an assimilated eastern Jewish family from Zamosc in Russian-Poland. The National Socialists, who renamed the city «Himmlerstadt», after 1939 with their usual brutal methods tried to transform this Polish territory into the first «pure Germanic settlement area». The major extermination camps were located around Zamosc: Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor.

Rosa Luxemburg was a successful journalist, a brilliant orator – both in Polish and German – and an often misunderstood economist whose accumulation analyses today reveal surprising vision. However, she had no intention of being any of this.

In 1890, Rosa Luxemburg left Warsaw, the city of her childhood and youth which was occupied by Tsarist Russia, to go to Swit-

erland and study botany. At that time, women only had access to higher education in Switzerland. However, after only a short time, her love for Leo Jogiches, a revolutionary from Vilnius who had taken refuge in exile in Switzerland, finally drew her into politics. This was to predetermine the rest of her life.

In 1905, long since had their relationship completely shattered, she wrote to him full of bitterness: «In particular I hated the whole *politics* that stopped me from answering mother's and father's letters for weeks and I never had time for them because of these momentous tasks (and nothing has changed). And you I hate for being the person to have chained me forever to this cursed politics.» By then, she had already been living in Germany for seven years. On 13<sup>th</sup> March 1898, the twenty-seven year old had come to the country where she was to spend most of her time in prison, which amounted to a total of forty-eight months, and where she would be murdered at the age of forty-eight.

Once at the border, the woman with the harsh accent had been able to identify herself as a Prussian citizen and thereby a German national. The extremely self-confident solitary traveller of small build yet great charisma had acquired the document as a result of a marriage of convenience. She took to signing hotel registration forms with the name «Frau Gustav Lübeck».

She had got on the train having joined the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP) – which had formed to fight for emancipation from all conditions in which human beings were deprived, enslaved, abandoned, worthless beings; for conditions in which needs were no longer subordinate to profit-oriented production, but where production is attributed to the satisfaction of needs – to find the political home which she was denied in her country of origin, because there she was wanted by the police.

Only seven years later however, after a truly pleasant honeymoon period, her relationship to Bebel and Liebknecht's party, the most

important socialist union in the world at the time, died a slow and inevitable death. The funeral was held on the date that the SPD Reichstag fraction voted in favour of the war bonds for mass murder on the battlefields of what, after the American civil war, was the second «modern war». The date was 4<sup>th</sup> August 1914.

Rosa Luxemburg differed from Lenin and his followers mainly on the question of the role of the elite, that is, the party. For Rosa Luxemburg socialism did not come about in political parties or at party circles. Central to the party's politics, so Rosa Luxemburg, was an increase in the self-confidence of the masses as well as its capacity for political action. The party should make suggestions to the class, but let the class, i. e. the individuals directly concerned, make the decisions – even at the risk of rejection, which should be accepted in any case.

According to Rosa Luxemburg, not the party could fight for socialism but only the entire class, while having a clear understanding of class. For Rosa Luxemburg class existed as a movement – or not at all. Those who took part in the class movement belonged to it no matter where their cradle had stood or how they earned a living. In 1922, in his introduction to the «Russian Revolution», Paul Levi explained why Rosa Luxemburg considered the freedom of those who think differently so important and why she did not want to exclude anyone from this freedom. With Paul Levi, who had been one of her lawyers since 1913, Rosa Luxemburg was involved in a (turbulent) love affair in 1913, which lasted only a few months. After Rosa's murder and after the murder of her first husband, Leo Jogiches (in March 1919 in Moabit prison), Paul Levi was elected Chairman of the newly-founded German Communist Party on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1919. In 1921 however, he was expelled from the Communist Party which was moving towards Bolshevism.

In his introduction to the «Russian Revolution», which was first published by him and was the best known and most important political

work by Rosa Luxemburg, Levi wrote: «She knew how to fight a battle as a battle; wage war as war; civil war as civil war. However, she could only imagine civil war to be a free play of forces, in which even the bourgeoisie is not banished to the cellar by the police, as only in the open battle of the masses can these grow and recognise the size and significance of their struggle.

She no more wanted the destruction of the bourgeoisie by unproductive terrorism, by the tedious business of the hangman, than the hunter in the forest wants to destroy the predators there. In the struggle with them, wild game will become stronger and bigger. For her, the destruction of the bourgeoisie, which she also wanted, was the result of social upheaval, which meant revolution.»

The Jewish Polish woman and socialist who abhorred all terror died at the hands of right-wing terrorists in German uniform on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1919 in Berlin's Tiergarten.





# **DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM**

Democratic socialism arose from a protest against capitalist society, against exploitation, oppression and war. It calls for freedom, equality and solidarity for each and everyone. According to Karl Marx, the categorical imperative of socialism is to «overthrow all relations in which man is a debased, enslaved, forsaken, despicable being.» Socialism was formed as a universal human rights movement in solidarity from below. It joined forces with the workers' movement, women, with colonial peoples in their struggle for liberation. Its goal is a society in which people have economic control and take their affairs into their own hands.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by a deep split in the socialist movement. On one side a communist wing developed which, under the impact of war and fascism, was prepared to implement a radical break with capitalism even by means of dictatorship and the oppression of dissent. Protest by workers and civil rights activists and democratic reforms in 1989 led to the collapse of state socialist societies in Europe. Centralised state ownership in the end proved to be an obstacle to its development. Social standards could not be maintained in the long term. On the other side, social forces wanted extensive social reforms and democratisation. However, they were not able to eradicate the dominance of profit and to control the economy effectively. It was thus not possible to prevent a neoliberal relapse into unleashed capitalism. Left-socialist forces supported councils, workers' autonomy, economic democracy and cooperatives, but could not implement a comprehensive alternative.

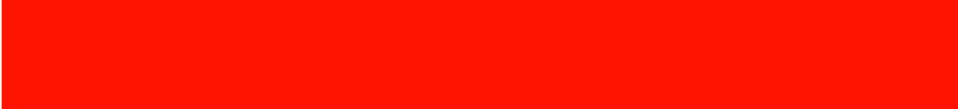
In the current crisis of capitalism and human civilisation new socialist movements are forming. Their basic position is: another world is not only possible, it is urgently needed. This socialism of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century fights capitalist exploitation, patriarchy, racism and environmental destruction. The objective is a world in which many

worlds can exist together, in which the free development of each and every individual becomes the condition of the joint development of all. Subordinating property and power relations to this objective, a socio-ecological transformation of production and way of life, the democratisation of democracy, a new internationalism, and an active peace policy are the main features of this new socialism. With the left party, a political force has arisen in Germany that is committed to democratic socialism. Representing the interests of wage earners, the socially weak, broad sections of society is linked to a policy of comprehensive transformation and the defeat of capitalism. It stands in the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg: equality without freedom is oppression. Freedom without equality is exploitation. Solidarity is the shared root of liberty and equality. The exploitation of human by human and of nature must be brought to an end collectively.

**The contempt of life and the brutality against human beings reveal mankind's capacity for inhumanity. It can not be and must not remain a means of resolving any sort of conflict.**

ROSA LUXEMBURG

Quote on the plaque of the Rosa Luxemburg memorial in Tiergarten Landwehrkanal, Berlin



# **ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is one of the six political foundations in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Foundation's main task is to provide political education. It is close to the left party. Since 1990, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has been active in keeping with its eponym, Rosa Luxemburg and represents the main current of democratic socialism with a deliberate international focus. The Foundation considers itself committed to a radical perspective of social processes and developments, and works within the tradition of workers and women's movements as well as anti-fascism and anti-racism.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is a registered non-profit organisation, whose most important body is the General Assembly. Its work is supported by the dedication and commitment of many volunteers nationwide.

With its work the Foundation promotes a critical analysis of society and fosters networks of emancipatory activists and progressive cultural approaches. It is active internationally in the field of development co-operation and equal dialogue, and with the help of the Archive of Democratic Socialism, it documents important political events. Within the framework of its Scholarship Department, the Foundation also provides grants to young scientists. Just as the other political foundations, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation seeks to further develop the classical concept of political education. However, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation here emphasises a critical analysis of society as its central task, a claim further underlined by its name.

Social change requires a reflective confrontation with today's capitalist society as a whole. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has set itself the goal of developing alternative concepts and approaches for processes of transformation which enable a more united and just society.

Education and training in socialist-democratic politics, analysis, information and policy advice are thereby basic tasks of the national and also international framework of the Foundation's work.

## The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation comprises:

- The General Assembly and the Executive Board and Scientific Advisory Council elected by it
- Currently about 130 full-time employees, including 14 heads of international offices and 15 colleagues in 13 regional offices in Germany
- Several full-time employees and numerous volunteers in the 16 state foundations of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, on boards and advisory boards, as active members and organisations of local education, and in the Rosa Luxemburg Clubs
- More than 40 employees and local personnel in the international offices of the Foundation
- About 120 tutors
- About 700 current and about 1000 former scholarship holders;
- Numerous other volunteers who are for example active in the currently 18 discussion groups of the Foundation.

## **GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

The General Assembly is the highest body of the foundation or the association. At least once a year, the almost 100 active members come together for a general meeting.

The Assembly's main tasks include determining the thematic focus of the association's activities, appointing the honorary board and the members of the Scientific Advisory Board, and electing the Executive Board. The General Assembly also receives the Executive Board's reports and decides on the admission of new

members. Besides, it is paid attention, that as many women, as men are considered. Currently, the membership of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation does not exceed 100 active members. Passive members are persons who are directly or indirectly in a permanent employment relationship with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The detailed rights and obligations of the General Assembly are regulated in the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's statutes. The General Assembly includes current and former politicians of the left, scientists, those active in the regional foundations of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and other personalities from a broadly understood democratic-socialist current, which extends beyond the immediate affiliated political party. An overview of the members can be found on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's website.

## **EXECUTIVE BOARD**

The Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is elected by the General Assembly for four years and consists of the chairperson, the two vice chairpersons, the executive director, and at least seven and a maximum of 9 further members. Currently (May 2010), the Board consists of 13 members.

With the exception of the executive director, the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is a voluntary committee. A balanced gender ratio is also observed when selecting the members of the board. The main task of the Executive Board is to manage the affairs of the association and to specify the basic course of the foundation's work. In this sense, the Executive Board decides on the fundamental structure of the foundation and the cornerstones of its financial and personnel structure. In observance of the requirements, members of the boards of political parties at a federal or state level may not sit on the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. For

the current structure of the Executive Board please consult the Foundation's website.

Chairman of the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation: **HEINZ VIETZE**

Deputies: **THOMAS HÄNDL (MdEP); NN**

Executive Board Member: **DR. FLORIAN WEIS**

## **SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY BOARD**

This honorary advisory committee of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was established by a resolution of the General Assembly in 2008. The Scientific Advisory Board consists of at least six and a maximum of sixteen members (May 2010: eight women and eight men). Association membership is not a condition for participating in the Scientific Advisory Board. In the same way as the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Executive Board, Advisory Board members are elected for four years. The Scientific Advisory Board supports the work of the Foundation in particular concerning aspects of a scientific and strategic nature. The council members elect one of their number as chairperson.

Head of the Scientific Advisory Board: **DR. ALBERT SCHARENBERG**

Deputy: **PROF. DR. IRENE DÖLLING**

## **COUNCIL OF REGIONAL FOUNDATIONS**

The 16 autonomous regional foundations are all members of the Council of Regional Foundations. Together with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, they organise educational programmes and networking in all federal states. Similarly to the head of the Scientific Advisory Board, the spokesperson of the Council of Regional Foundations attends the meetings of the Executive Board in an advisory capacity.

More information is available on the website.

Spokesperson of the Council of Regional Foundations: **NORBERT SCHEPERS**  
(Rosa Luxemburg Initiative Bremen)

Deputy: **DR. DETLEF NAKATH** (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg)

# **DEPENDENT FOUNDATIONS**

## **HERMANN HENSELmann FOUNDATION**

The lawyer Dr. Andreas Henselmann, son of the architect Hermann Henselmann (1905–1995), founded the Hermann Henselmann Foundation. The Foundation promotes an examination of issues concerning architecture, urban planning and social urban development. Here, the Hermann Henselmann Foundation does not only wish to remember the work of the architect, but also and above all seeks to deal with the social and cultural aspects of construction of the recent past and the present. The executive board of the Hermann Henselmann Foundation is comprised of Thomas Flierl and Andreas Henselmann. A scientific advisory board advises the foundation.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has fiduciary responsibility for the legally dependent foundation, which in the framework of its statute acts independently as regards content.

Internet: [www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de](http://www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de)  
E-Mail: [info@hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de](mailto:info@hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de)

## **MAX LINGNER FOUNDATION**

The Max Lingner Foundation seeks to maintain, represent and disseminate the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959) and to remember the art of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, which was shaped by emigration, war and prison camps, as well as the cultural awakening in the post-war period.

The foundation was established in 2007 by the art historian Dr. Gertrud Heider (1928–2007), after she had devoted decades to preserving, accessing and communicating Lingner's work. Today, as Gertrud Heider decreed in her will, the foundation is managed in trust by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Members of the board of the thematically independent Max Lingner Foundation are Dr. Thomas Flierl (Chairman), Dr. Stefan Hahne and Martin Groh.

They are advised and supported by a board of trustees in fulfilling the foundation's aim. The Foundation is located in the former home and studio of Max Lingner in Berlin-Niederschönhausen.

Internet: [www.max-lingner-stiftung.de](http://www.max-lingner-stiftung.de)  
E-Mail: [info@max-lingner-stiftung.de](mailto:info@max-lingner-stiftung.de)

## **CULTURAL FORUM OF THE ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION**

The Cultural Forum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is located in the Max Lingner Foundation. It organises projects, lecture series and publications on issues of cultural policy. The Cultural Forum contributes to a systematic examination of the cultural dimensions of social development. The emphasis in recent years was for example on aspects of the culture of remembrance and the politics of history. The Cultural Forum of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is headed by Thomas Flierl, employee of the Cultural Forum is Michaela Klingberg.

E-Mail: [kulturforum@rosalux.de](mailto:kulturforum@rosalux.de)

## **HARALD BREUER FOUNDATION**

The trust foundation was established in 2006. The objective of the Harald Breuer Foundation is to promote political education, science and research as well as international understanding and co-operation, and to contribute to promoting the development of free thinking and solidarity in a humanistic, democratic and internationalist spirit. The foundation is active on a national and in particular an international level. Special emphasis is on development co-operation. Together with INTACT e.V., the foundation is currently preparing and implementing a two-year project to end female genital mutilation in the region of Kolda in southern Senegal and

adjacent areas in Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. In 2010, the foundation also financially supported a project of the society «Berliner Entwicklungspolitischer Ratschlag e.V.» to create a commemorative plaque at the May-Ayim-Ufer in order to increase awareness of and examine colonialism and racism in the city.

Board: **DR. EVELIN WITTICH** (chair); **DR. GESINE LÖTZSCH**,

**DR. ARNDT HOPFMANN**

Founder: **PROF. DR. HARALD BREUER**

### **MICHAEL SCHUMANN FOUNDATION**

The Michael Schumann Foundation is a dependent foundation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The foundation's name, Michael Schumann, is a direct reference to one of the most prominent and respected politicians of the PDS, who lost his life in a tragic car accident towards the end of the year 2000.

Prof. Dr. Schumann held a path-breaking speech at the extraordinary party congress in December 1989. He demanded that the newly formed socialist party deliver a clear rejection of Stalinism. Michael Schumann also opposed any «superstitious belief in the potential of state instruments of force, which were deprived of all forms of democratic control». As a political intellectual, he authentically embodied the need to theoretically and ethically adjust the political practice of the party. He convincingly implemented his demands in his conceptual influence and his work as a member of the regional parliament in Brandenburg. In his spirit, the Michael Schumann Foundation aims to promote political education, science and research, international understanding and co-operation. In 2007, the Michael Schumann Stiftung purchased the Dietz Verlag.

Board: **PROF. DR. DIETER KLEIN** (Chairman); **HEINZ VIETZE**,

**DR. LUTZ BRANGSCH**

## **ERIK NEUTSCH FOUNDATION**

In May 2006, the foundation was established as a dependent charitable foundation. It seeks to encourage science and research, art and culture as well as international understanding and co-operation. With its establishment, Erik Neutsch also pursued the objective of contributing to the development of free thinking and solidarity in a humanitarian, democratic and internationalist spirit. Here, literature and art are to be given particular consideration. The artistic legacy of the founder is preserved and cared for under the trusteeship of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The Erik Neutsch Foundation also supports scientific events, awards research contracts, and assists talented literary scientists and authors.

Board: **DR. EVELIN WITTICH** (Chair); **KLAUS HOPKE, ANNE NEUTSCH, ERIK NEUTSCH**

EXHIBITION:

PALACE, PALAST DER REPUBLIK, HUMBOLD-FORUM  
MITTE SPREEINSEL BERLIN – A SITE OF HISTORICAL RUPTURES



PHOTO: GERHARD ZWICKERT



# **ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION**

The central task of the Academy is political education in the spirit of left political currents in Germany, which includes dealing with areas of social conflict by means of participatory, emancipatory and critical education. This does not only entail a diversity of methods and monitoring educational process while constantly being aware of what is new, particularly in groups, but also involves the task of consciously creating educational space. We aim to empower by enabling the acquisition of knowledge.

The Academy offers courses and training in the form of political education. It also organises conferences and workshops, and plans series of events and weekend seminars. Much of the work encompasses advice and expertise, creating educational materials and producing publications. The Academy also offers the opportunity to participate in various networks and projects. Committed art is also considered a part of political education.

### **The Academy's fields of activity include:**

- Politics – communication – management and providing basic adult education for political learning. We participate in a theoretical discourse on emancipatory political education, in particular via the discussion group Political Education.
- The Kommunalakademie (Communal Academy) picks up on the diversity of issues of local politics in basic workshops and seminars as well as the accompanying publication series «Crashkurs Kommune». In depth work is done for example on participatory budget policy, anti-privatisation, remunicipalisation and urban policy.
- The Jugendbildungswerk (Centre for Youth Education) offers nationwide events on the basis of promoting projects of youth education and a network of organisations connected to the association of foundations. It works with a view to

criticising, discovering alternatives, strengthening resistance and creating freedom.

## The social areas of conflict that are dealt with by the Academy include:

Social inequalities and the dimensions of economic and ecological crises, sustainability and regional development, the confrontation with neo-Nazism and ideologies of inequality. Gender inequality in society, politics and everyday life are interdisciplinary issues. We offer a space for discussing gender equality in areas such as economics and (new) work, the public and private, distribution and participation, the acceptance of lifestyles (body and sexuality). We are involved in a left-wing feminist discussion of values. Issues of contemporary history are for example approached with the help of contemporary witnesses and biographical learning. We discuss the processes and consequences of globalised production and reproduction, new international developments and social movements, and participate in the Social Forums at an international, European and national level. Work on and with the eponym of our foundation are also among the central tasks of the Academy.

## The basic service of the Academy includes:

- The Attacademie (course on «economic literacy» in co-operation with Attac)
- The Capital reading groups and an annual Marx autumn school
- The course «Politics – Communication – Management»
- The annual summer school in Wietow on sustainable development

The work of the Academy on Political Education is supported and accompanied by the discussion groups on women and politics, sustainability and regional development, history for the future, right-wing extremism, social issues and rural areas.

Director: **DR. EVELIN WITTICH** [wittich@rosalux.de](mailto:wittich@rosalux.de)

Contact: **STEFFEN KÜHNE** [kuehne@rosalux.de](mailto:kuehne@rosalux.de)



# **INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS**

The work of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis is based on critique – analysis and critique of the transformations in capitalism and society. This critique focuses on practice: developing basic approaches and central themes of socialist transformation research. Here, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis continues in the tradition of a critical, Marxist and feminist critique of capitalism and domination, while at the same time picking up on both the empirical and theoretical results of other modern social sciences. Within this context, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's IfG (Institute for Critical Social Analysis) considers itself to be a player of far-reaching research activities.

**Founded in 2008, the IfG is active in the following areas:**

- Analysis and critique of capitalism, approaches of socio-ecological transformation, in particular of alternative economic and property ownership
- Fundamental questions on the history of as well as present day basic socialist currents, emancipatory left actors, their strategies and projects
- Policy analysis and the democratic renewal of the economic system, of the welfare state, and of ownership and power relations
- Left strategies of the European Union's development, of peace and security policy and international co-operation
- Identity and difference: theoretical approaches and political, social and cultural practices of the players of emancipatory movements and changes in lifestyle.

The Institute seeks to develop an independent conceptual approach and guiding principles of research on socialist transformation. The staff invites you to join them to discuss transformational perspectives within Germany and internationally.

By way of workshops, conferences and publications, the IfG contributes to a continuous process of discussion of the left in Germany and abroad. It supports scientific projects of the left and provides teaching and training on left theory, politics and socialist perspectives. In terms of a radical Realpolitik, it draws up projects of concrete utopias and emancipatory ways of creating a caring society. The deep crisis of neoliberal financial market capitalism is seen in its dimension as a new historical situation, which besides harbouring new dangers also creates opportunities for intervention and extensive transformation.

Analysing these opportunities and dangers and then developing proposals is considered to be the central task of the Institute.

Director: **PROF. DR. MICHAEL BRIE**

Contact: **UTA TACKENBERG** [tackenberg@rosalux.de](mailto:tackenberg@rosalux.de)

全新上市



LANCÔM  
PARIS



PHOTO: TRANQUILLIUM PHOTOGRAPHY



# **CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CO-OPERATION**

The central concern of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's international work is to contribute to social and democratic development and to promote socio-political education and communication together with international partners.

With this in mind, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation funds projects with the aim of providing people with equal access to basic social goods such as democratic participation, peace and non-violence, employment, education, health, social security and an environment worth living in. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation therefore works primarily with trade unions, women's organisations, social movements, research and education institutes, and international organisations and parties.

Key themes of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's international work are an international examination of current neoliberal tendencies of globalisation, the creation of a social and peaceful Europe, democratic and social participation at a national, regional and local level, peace and the prevention of violence, and the full and equal integration of disadvantaged groups.

Inspired by the ideas and concepts of democratic socialism and united co-operation, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, which is close to the left party, is active internationally in order to:

- protect the rights of democratic participation
- secure access to public goods and lay the foundations for a self-determined life for all
- strengthen the networks of civil society actors and develop alternatives to the neoliberal economic model
- solve conflicts peacefully, and shape the present and future with historical consciousness

Currently, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is actively involved in over 50 countries and with about 200 partner organisations. It has 14 offices in the regions of Central and Eastern Europe, East and South Asia, western and southern Africa, South and Central America, and in the Eastern Mediterranean. For the implementation of projects in these regions, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has at its disposal funds from the budget of the Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development.

The supervision of co-operation projects abroad takes place in the regional departments in Berlin. A summary of the work, along with current analyses from partner countries, is available on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's website.

Director: **WILFRIED TELKÄMPER** (from July 2010)

Deputy Director: **JÖRG SCHULTZ**

Contact: **RENATE TILTSCH** [tiltsch@rosalux.de](mailto:tiltsch@rosalux.de)



PHOTO: ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION

## INTERNATIONAL REGIONS





# **SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT**

The scholarship department awards scholarships to students and postgraduates at home and abroad who are highly qualified and have a strongly developed social commitment. We aim to compensate for social, political and gender discrimination. Preference is therefore given to applications from women, students from non-academic backgrounds or those with a migration background, the socially needy and people with disabilities who demonstrate comparable achievements and commitment. Applications are actively encouraged from students and postgraduate students of all scientific and technical disciplines and graduates of technical colleges.

**The selection and sponsorship criteria are as follows:**

- Very good professional qualifications (proof of above average academic achievement either at school and/or university)
- Political and social and/or societal commitment in keeping with the ideals of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
- Personal/family background

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Scholarship department works on the principle of direct application. Information on grant eligibility requirements and application forms for the scholarship programmes can be found on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation website ([www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de)) on the scholarships page.

These documents will not be sent by post.

## **DEADLINES FOR APPLICATIONS**

For grants starting in the winter semester:

30<sup>th</sup> April of the same year

For grants starting in the summer semester:

31<sup>st</sup> October of the previous year

## **THE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMMES**

### **STUDY SCHOLARSHIPS FOR BILDUNGSINLÄNDER (EDUCATIONAL RESIDENTS)<sup>1</sup>**

Funding is available for students of all disciplines and all state approved institutes of higher education. The duration of the grant and amount of funding are based on law of the federal education support. Funding is possible from the second semester onwards.

### **PHD SCHOLARSHIPS**

The Scholarship Department awards grants to domestic and foreign PhD students of all disciplines (except medicine, dentistry and veterinary medicine). As a rule, funding lasts for two years, this may be extended twice for a period of six months in justified cases.

### **SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGNERS**

The Scholarship Department awards grants to foreign students and PhD students who are temporarily resident in Germany for study or research purposes.

### **STUDY OR PHD SPONSORSHIP SCHEME**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Scholarship Department offers their stipendiaries a wide range of support, consisting of events on political education and summer schools, workshops at home and abroad, symposia and educational trips. It also organises events on the development of key skills such as rhetoric and conflict management; time management and self-management; the development of scientific qualifications; PhD student seminars; text and writing workshops; and seminars on methodology.

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<sup>1</sup> Funding will be provided to persons who belong to the group of persons specified under § 8 BAföG as well as students with a migration background who have prospects of permanent residence in Germany. To a limited extent this fund may also be used to assist EU citizens.

Particular importance is given to the self-organisation of stipendaries and to working groups. The work of the scholarship department is assisted by almost 120 tutors nationwide as well as the staff of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and its network.

Director: **DR. KATRIN SCHAEFGEN**

Contact: **KATJA VOSS** [studienwerk@rosalux.de](mailto:studienwerk@rosalux.de)



**NATIONWIDE  
WORK**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is a party affiliated foundation which is active throughout Germany. The events, publications and other activities of our partners in the federal states are an important part of our political education programme. These include regional foundations, regional offices, Rosa Luxemburg Clubs and many other regular co-operation partners. This close co-operation allows more than 2000 events to be carried out annually throughout Germany. With this offer, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation addresses the immediate environment of the left party, as well as a general public interested in political education.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's network of foundations consists of 16 legally independent regional foundations along with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation at a federal level. The network is organised in a regional council in which each foundation has a voice. This regional council represents the regional foundations to the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. In most federal states (except for Berlin, Brandenburg and Saxony), the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation maintains regional offices with their own employees. The regional offices work very closely with the respective regional Rosa Luxemburg Foundations; they are the link between regional work in the respective federal state and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation at a federal level. As most of the other party affiliated foundations, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and regional foundations are not institutions in the sense of foundation law, but registered associations.

The Rosa Luxemburg Clubs organise education programmes at a local level. The largest number of clubs was founded in North Rhine Westphalia and Lower Saxony; however, there are also clubs in most other federal states. There, they usually represent the respective regional foundation and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation at a federal level. In some eastern states such as Brandenburg, Saxony

and Saxony-Anhalt this function is performed by local branches or regional offices of the state foundations.

The majority of the regional foundation and club's work – and thereby a large part of the nationwide presence of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is borne voluntarily.

The executive boards of the respective regional foundations, together with the regional staff of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and partly with their own staff (in Berlin, Brandenburg, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia), plan and coordinate the educational programme in their regions.

The work of all regional foundations is financed by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (from federal funds), to a lesser extent by capital resources (donations, contributions) and, finally, in some federal states (currently in Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia) by state funds of very different amounts and on the basis of vastly differing state regulations. The entry of the LEFT PARTY into most West German federal state parliaments means that other regional foundations now have the possibility of receiving funding for political education from federal state budgets. Consequently, the educational and network activities in these states can also be further expanded in future.

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CEREMONY TO MARK THE BIRTH OF OUR DEMOCRACY  
A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC



# **PROJECT FUNDING**

Project funding is an important form of co-operation with other institutions of political education. Within the limits of its financial means, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation supports specific individual projects of political education and cooperates in their organisation as far as content is concerned. Thereby, it contributes to a broad spectrum of left topics entering public opinion. The projects that are facilitated by project funding complement the Foundation's political education programme thematically, regionally and in being targeted at specific groups.

Besides several major scientific studies, the results of which are an essential element of the foundation's tasks, the spectrum of activities funded ranges from conferences, seminars and workshops, book publications and exhibitions to documentary films and DVD productions.

The variety of topics of the funded projects corresponds to the focus of the Foundation's work. Currently, the topics of crises, alternatives and sustainable social development are gaining in importance. For years we have been supporting external activities on the issues of migration and the fight against right-wing extremism. We also assist projects dedicated to the current problem of the history of left theory and practice.

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Contact: **BERT THINIUS** [thinius@rosalux.de](mailto:thinius@rosalux.de)

# **ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY**

For their orientation, organisations and movements require a memory. In the Archive of Democratic Socialism (Archiv des Demokratischen Sozialismus – ADS) and its library, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is establishing a collective memory of the basic political current of Democratic Socialism. In this context, the task of the ADS is in particular to collect and document resources on the development of the LEFT PARTY in Germany and its two source organisations, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and Arbeit & soziale Gerechtigkeit – Die Wahlalternative – WASG (Labour and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative), and make these available to the public (especially for research purposes). In keeping with its objective, the Foundation also takes on personal legacies and deposits. The ADS provides documents for publications, exhibitions, events on political education, as well as for radio and television.

The Archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS) is the youngest of the archives of the German political foundations. It was established in mid 1999. The archives of the ADS currently amount to a total of approximately 850 running metres. As a result of intense acquisition activity, the records of the parliamentary group the PDS and the LEFT PARTY in the Bundestag today make up over 50 percent of the entire holdings of the ADS. These include both records of the parliamentary group as well as documents of the members of the Bundestag such as Eva Bulling-Schröter, Dr. Gregor Gysi, Prof. Dr. Christa Luft or Dr. Heidi Knaake-Werner.

For research purposes, there is a collection of about 300 small newspapers of the PDS or the left and its immediate political environment.

In accordance with the terms of protection, the archives are usually open to anyone with a legitimate reason after 10 years. Legiti-

mate interests include scientific or journalistic interest as well as personal interests. Three workplaces are available for users of the ADS, of which one is equipped with a computer.

The Foundation library linked to the archive was conceived as a reference library, its main focus being the PDS or the left. The library currently houses some 36000 media items and more than 130 different newspapers and periodicals. The extensive holdings of the library now include approximately 1000 monographs on the PDS or the LEFT PARTY and 250 titles on Rosa Luxemburg. Literature is also available that has been published by the foundations and associations for political education which are close to the left party. The library also shelves literature on political education and on the theory and history of left movements in Germany.

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## **OPENING HOURS:**

### **ARCHIVE**

Monday – Thursday: 9:00 – 15:00

### **LIBRARY**

Monday – Friday: 9:00 – 15:00

DIEZ BERLIN | ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG

# grüner kap. krise, klima und kein en wachstums

GRÜNER KAPITALISMUS.  
KRISE, KLIMAWANDEL UND  
KEIN ENDE DES WACHSTUMS  
STEPHAN KAUFMANN  
TADZIO MÜLLER

EINUNDZWANZIG

# Texte

dietz berlin

Friedrich Burschil (Hrsg.)



## Stadt – Land – Rechts

Brauner Alltag in der deutschen Provinz

63

## LUXEMBURG 1

GESELLSCHAFTSANALYSE UND LINKE PRAXIS

2010

FÜR EINLINKES MOSAIK BOA SOUSA SANTOS | MARIO CANDIAS  
ANGELA KLEIN | EDGARDO LANDEO | MICHAEL LÖWY | MIGUEL  
PORCARO | BERND RUECKENGER | THOMAS SEBERT | HANS-JÜRGEN  
URBAN | ARA VELSON | MIYA YOSHIDA | FRANZiska WIETHOLD: U.A.

## ROSALUX

JOURNAL DER ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG

AUSGABE 1-2010



THEMA 100 TAGE SCHWARZ-GELB

## POLITISCHER KLIMAWANDEL

MIT GASTBEITRÄGEN VON GEORG FÜLBERTH, CORNELIA  
MOHRING, STEPHAN LESSENICH, WOLF-DIETER NARR U.A.

RÜCKBLICK KONGRESS ZUR KREATIVWIRTSCHAFT  
ANALYSE DAS SCHEITERN VON KOPENHAGEN  
STUDIENWERK REISE ZU NS-VERNICHTLUNGSLAGERN  
INTERNATIONALES FISCHER GEGEN THYSSENKRUPP

# PUBLICATIONS

**REIHE 21:** the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's series of books typically on current political topics.

**REIHE TEXTE:** this series presents largely completed research results on current and historical topics in paperback form.

**REIHE MANUSKRIPTE:** the manuscripts provide interim results on current and historical subjects and on specific fields of activity.

**These editions are published by the Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin.**

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**ROSALUX:** the journal Rosalux has been published quarterly since 2007 and focuses on current political topics and news and information from the Foundation, both nationally and internationally.

**KONTROVERS:** provides information on political education in socialist theory and practice.

**PAPERS:** working materials for educational events in more limited editions.

**LUXEMBURG:** social analysis and left practice intends to be a journal for the left. It seeks to combine friendly and incisive discussion and analysis and apply these in a productive way. The journal LuXemburg is published quarterly. The articles are also available on the internet:  
[www.zeitschrift-luxemburg.de](http://www.zeitschrift-luxemburg.de)

**REIHE STANDPUNKTE:** the series Standpunkte (Policy Papers) has been published since 2002. These are short opinion papers in which the Foundation takes a stance on current debates.

**STANDPUNKTE INTERNATIONAL:** an additional publication series since 2009 with analyses from the Foundation's international activities.

**All publications can be downloaded on [www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de).**

Contact: **DR. MARION SCHÜTRUMPF**

# **CENTRAL TASKS**

## **HEAD OFFICE**

The Head Office and its management board, which is elected by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's General Assembly, fulfils tasks for the foundation as a whole and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's association of foundations. Here, both internal and external aspects are of particular importance. Accordingly, administrative, political and representative tasks are carried out by the Head Office.

**Important tasks include:**

- Maintaining contacts with the LEFT PARTY and its political groups, other political foundations, the Federal Administrative Office, and the Federal Ministries that grant funding
- Managing the Foundation's conceptual and overall financial planning
- Responsibility for personnel and managing personnel development
- Responsibility for the nationwide political education programme
- Responsibility for internal organisation
- Prevention of corruption and privacy
- Instead of caring to inform the members of the association about all its activities
- Information on and co-operation with the Executive Board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
- Caring for the supporting members of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
- Overall responsibility for the discussion groups of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
- Planning and implementing the programme of international parliamentary scholarships of the German Bundestag for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

The central concern of the Head Office is to support the work of the Foundation at various levels to ensure that processes and

structures remain transparent. Cultivating contacts and close co-operation with internal and external partners is a further focus of the Head Office's work.

Executive Director: **DR. FLORIAN WEIS**

Secretariat: **VIOLA SIEBECK** siebeck@rosalux.de

## **PUBLIC RELATIONS**

The work of the department for Public Relations encompasses the Foundation's PR and media work as well as its internet presence and publications. Of particular significance are the publication series: Texte, Manuskripte, Reihe 21 and the journal Rosalux. These are available from the Foundation or can be ordered from the Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin ([www.dietzberlin.de](http://www.dietzberlin.de)).

Head: **RAMONA HERING** hering@rosalux.de

Press: **HENNING HEINE** Tel. 030 44310-130, heine@rosalux.de

## **ADMINISTRATION**

The administrative department carries out all tasks that are necessary for maintaining and planning the Foundation's work as a whole. Areas include event management, IT management, facility management, managing the allocation of funds and contracts. Prioritising economic efficiency and the use of modern information technologies are the main pillars of the administrative department's work. All projects in planning undergo a process of assessment and prioritisation based on quantitative and qualitative criteria before being implemented.

Within the Foundation as a whole, administrative procedures can be seen as a discursive process which integrates all those concerned and takes their different expectations into account.

Head: **ROSEL MITTELSTÄDT** mittelstaedt@rosalux.de

## **FINANCE AND CONTROLLING**

In the same way as all political foundations, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is mainly financed from the federal budget. The use of funds from the Ministries of the Interior (BMI), for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ), Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA) as well as from the Federal Bundestag Administration is bound to specific terms and conditions. The Finance and Controlling department is responsible for the general budget as well as:

- Planning and budgeting of funds for all structural units of the Foundation
- Controlling and monitoring the efficient and economic use of funds in accordance with the guidelines
- Securing cash flow within the network of foundations and its partners
- Accountancy of the Foundation

Head: **DR. KLAUS MEIER** meier@rosalux.de

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# **NETWORK OF FOUNDATIONS**

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**01 BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG**

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**02 BAVARIA**

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**03 BERLIN**

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**04 BRANDENBURG**

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**05 BREMEN**

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**06 HAMBURG**

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**07 HESSE**

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**08 MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA**

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**09 LOWER SAXONY**

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**10 NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA**

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**11 RHINELAND-PALATINATE**

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**12 SAARLAND**

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**13 SAXONY**

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**14 SAXONY-ANHALT**

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**15 SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN**

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**16 THURINGIA**

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## **01 BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG**

ROSA LUXEMBURG FOUNDATION BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG  
(FORUM FÜR POLITISCHE BILDUNG UND KULTUR E.V.)

Chairman of the Board: Erhard Korn

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(KURT-EISNER-VEREIN FÜR POLITISCHE BILDUNG IN BAYERN E.V.)

Chairman of the Board: Dr. Stefan Breit

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Managing Director: Birgit Pomorin

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## **04 BRANDENBURG**

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## **05 BREMEN**

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-INITIATIVE

(BREMER FORUM FÜR BILDUNG, GESELLSCHAFTSANALYSE UND -KRITIK E.V.)

Chairman of the Board: Norbert Schepers

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## **06 HAMBURG**

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(FORUM FÜR ANALYSE, KRITIK UND UTOPIE E.V.)

Chairman of the Board: Winfried Schebesch

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## **08 MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA**

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## **10 NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA**

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## **14 SAXONY-ANHALT**

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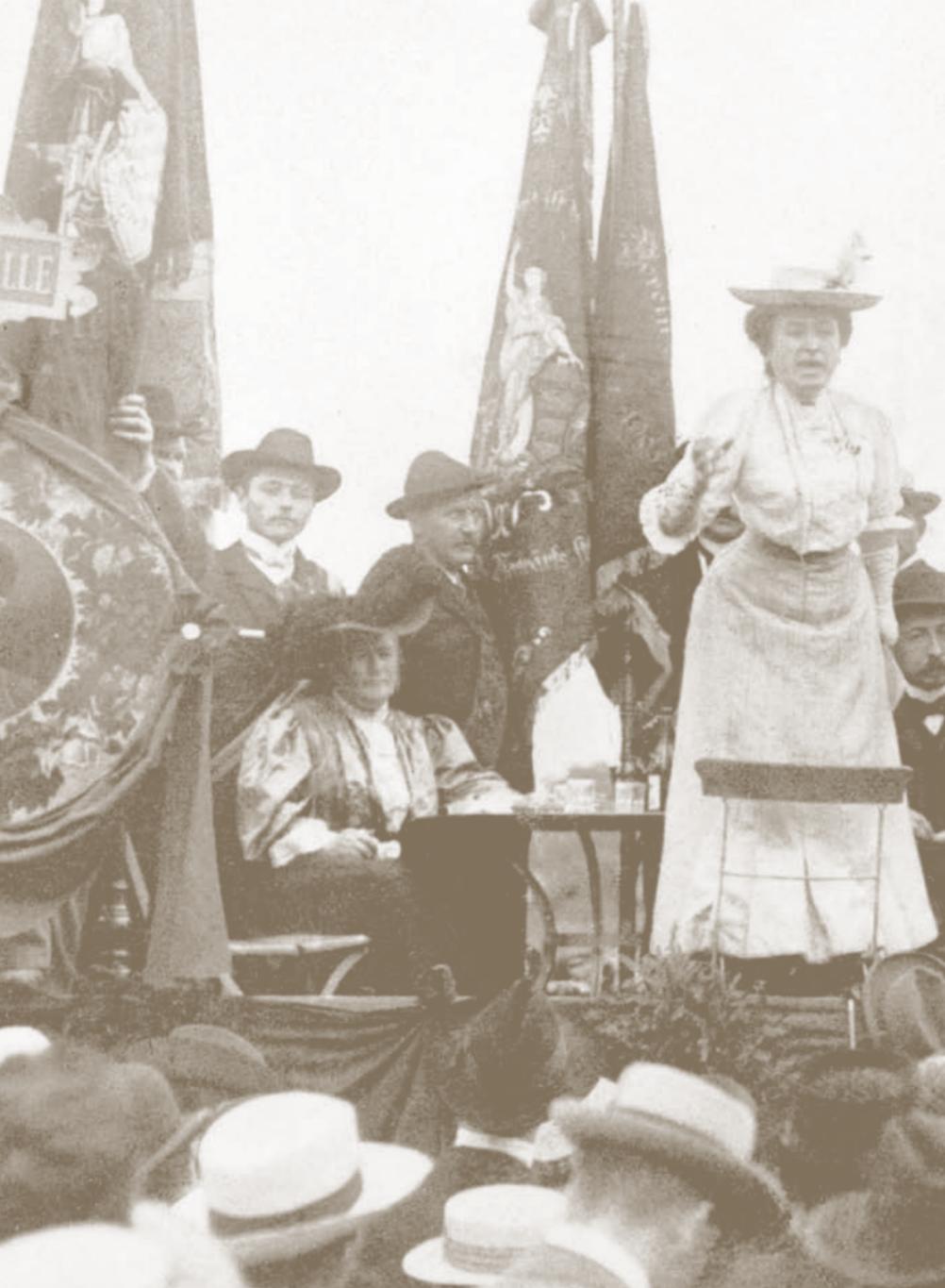
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**The only means of  
violence that will lead  
to victory is political  
enlightenment in the  
day to day struggle.**

ROSA LUXEMBURG, 1898 SPD PARTY CONFERENCE IN STUTTGART

