

2018 ANNUAL REPORT

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



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ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	4
FOCUS: MARX200	6
On the Shoulders of Karl Marx	6
Multimedia Marx – The Web Portal	8
The Congress <i>Marx200: Politics – Theory – Socialism</i>	9
Marx200 around Germany	10
<i>K is for Karl</i> – A Series of Films by Paul Mason	10
Marx for Everyone! – Educational Materials for Beginners	11
A Classic in its Jubilee Year – <i>Capital</i> Reading Courses and the 11 th Autumn School	12
Projects Supported by the RLS in 2018 as Part of <i>Marx200</i>	12
Publications Related to <i>Marx200</i>	13
INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS	14
Connective Class Politics	15
Fellows	16
New Authoritarianism and the Radical Right	17
“We Accuse!” – The Healthcare System on Trial	18
Luxemburg Lectures 2018	20
THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	22
The Case is Not Closed! – Sentencing at the Munich NSU Trial	23
Shaping the Future through Leftist Professional Development	23
Local Politics: A Crash Course	24
In the Right(s): International Movements for Global Justice	24
A Society of Many Different Strengths	25
THE HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM	26
100 Years of Revolution in Germany	27
1968: A Global Awakening	28
1938: The Year Before the War	29
THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY	30
Baden-Württemberg: Political Academy for Young Activists	32
Bavaria: The Bavarian Revolution and the Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1918/19	32
Berlin: The Red-Red-Green Coalition and its Housing Policy: Taking Stock	33
Brandenburg: Structural Transformation in Lusatia	33
Bremen: City/Data/Explosion	34
Hamburg: Strategies for Combating Anti-Feminism	34
Hesse: Authoritarianism and Resistance in Turkey	35
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: The Role of the Judiciary in the Munich NSU Trial	35
Lower Saxony: “Actively Impeding”	36
North Rhine-Westphalia: Democracy in Germany: Anniversary Celebrations	36
Rhineland-Palatinate: Black History Month	37
Saarland: Bye-Bye, Glyphosate	37
Saxony: Grand Opening – Postcolonial Goods	38
Saxony-Anhalt: The Expulsion of the Bauhaus from Dessau in 1932	38
Schleswig-Holstein: Working Hours 4.0 – My Life, My Time	39
Thuringia: #r2g – Taking Stock and Looking Forward	39

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION	40
Looking at the Relations of Production in Agriculture	41
Social and Transformative Justice	41
Why Government Austerity Policies Hit Women Twice as Hard	43
Connecting Resistance Movements	43
The Foundation's New Office in Prague	44
Working in a Rapidly Changing Environment	45
Our International Offices	46
FUNDED PROJECTS	50
THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT	62
Experiments in Education	64
Capitalism and Natural Destruction	65
Affiliate Lecturers	66
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	68
The New English-Language Website	69
Fair Work for Freelancers	69
Selected Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Publications	71
DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG	72
What Are We Doing This For? — Thoughts on the Direction of the Foundation's Activities	72
New Building Takes Shape	74
Removal of Zamość Rosa Luxemburg Memorial Plaque	74
Learning on the Road — Educational Tours with the RLS Regional Foundations	75
A Master of Dialectical Analysis — Remembering Dietmar Wittich (1943–2018)	77
“Stay True to Yourself and Be Cheerful ...” — On the Passing of Annelies Laschitzka (1934–2018)	77
The Subsidiary Foundations	78
An Important Force in Urban and Architectural Policy	79
HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT	80
COMMITTEES	82
Meeting of the General Assembly	82
Members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	83
Executive Board Sets New Priorities	85
Members of the Executive Board	85
The Academic Advisory Board	86
Members of the Academic Advisory Board	86
Discussion Groups	87
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART	88
FOUNDATION BUDGET	90
IMAGE CREDITS/COLOPHON	96

EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

“There’s never been so much Marx”. That was what a recent newspaper headline proclaimed, and we might have had something to do with that. The 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx set the tone for much of the foundation’s work in 2018, particularly that of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. There was the big *Marx200* congress in Berlin in May, five regional Marx conferences in Jena, Cologne, Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Leipzig, and countless seminars, workshops, and other educational and discussion events both throughout Germany and the world. As an institution that seeks to foster critical analyses of contemporary capitalism and spark discussions addressing the path towards creating a contemporary form of democratic socialism, the double centenary was a welcome opportunity to re-discover Marx and demonstrate his significance for the democratic-socialist groundswell we are currently experiencing. We believe Marx’s theories are central to gaining an understanding of contemporary society and all of its problems, but even we were often pleasantly surprised by the level of interest in this world-famous thinker from Trier.

Alongside the aforementioned events, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (RLS) brought out a number of publications (including a double issue of *LuXemburg* magazine), curated exhibitions, organised educational trips, and supported projects such as the historical film *The Young Karl Marx*. Our online project *Marx200*, which included a “Marx blog”, was also well-received. Of course, we have certainly been capitalizing on the revived interest in Marx to further our own work; examples include our *Capital* and Marx reading courses, which continue to be as well-attended as ever. *Marx200* also caused a splash on the world stage. In Saint Petersburg, for example, more than 70 participants from Russia, Bulgaria, Japan, Moldova, Mexico, Ukraine, and Germany spent three days in late May and early June tackling topics such as the historical classification of Marxism and Marx’s reception in Russia.

2018 was also a year of climatic challenges for the foundation, both political and meteorological. The political climate in Germany has become more coarse—a result of the electoral success of Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). Their entrance into the Hessian state parliament saw a right-wing party comprehensively establish itself for the first time in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Through their targeted provocations, they have succeeded in effecting a rightward shift, both in terms of the tenor of public discourse and the boundaries of what is acceptable to say in public. And while the AfD’s leadership systematically attempts to give right-wing extremism a respectable face, far-right demonstrators in Chemnitz allowed their masks to slip. Who would have predicted at the beginning of the year that by August a fascist mob would be marching through the streets of Chemnitz and hunting people for sport? I didn’t think it was possible. Such events make it clear that



Dagmar Enkelmann

democracy is not something we can take for granted, and that democracy and its institutions must be defended.

A heartening sight was the huge demonstration *#unteilbar – For an Open and Free Society: Solidarity, not Exclusion!* that took place in Berlin in October, in which many of the foundation's members, friends, and employees took part. The demo was also a source of encouragement for our work as a Germany-wide and internationally active organization of political education, since we understand ourselves as a discussion forum for critical thinking and political alternatives, for progressive social analysis and change. We accept the challenge. Through providing emancipatory, anti-fascist, and inspirational opportunities to get educated and active, our Academy for Political Education seeks to oppose the inhumane, racist, and anti-Semitic ideologies and mentalities that exist in our society.

Extreme right-wing parties and autocratic governments have also been gaining ground in other countries, which has impacted not just our own work in these countries, but also that of political foundations and non-governmental organizations more broadly. The Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation, the international arm of the RLS, is active around the world, often working with hundreds of partner organizations, political actors, and individuals on a long-term basis. Our foreign offices support emancipatory movements in their struggles for democratic and social rights. Shortly after the Brazilian presidential election, I made a long-planned visit to our office in São Paulo. My schedule included discussions with our partner organizations, such as the Landless Workers' Movement (MST), with whom we have been working for years. During the election campaign, now-president Bolsonaro had designated the MST and other civic initiatives as terrorist organizations. There is reason to fear that these organizations will be forced to close.

In many regions and countries, we now have to think about how we can safeguard and continue to develop our partnerships in difficult circumstances. To this end, we are engaging in in-depth dialogues with other political foundations who have often had to deal with the same problems.

Despite these challenges, we were able to successfully continue our international work in 2018. One central focus

was strengthening international networking and trans-regional collaboration in areas such as "food sovereignty" and "positive peace". Our online dossiers provide insight into the current developments and debates pertaining to these topics and the diverse range of activities that we organized around them. This work corresponds to the board's strategic considerations, namely to expand the cross-departmental work occurring within the RLS along a number of thematic axes. Presently, the output of our work relating to the four thematic focuses of *Socio-Ecological Transformation, Democracy and Equality, Europe, and New Internationalism* is being evaluated. One thing is already clear: we're on the right track.

Heisszeit (lit. 'hot times', a play on the German word for the Ice Age) was the German word of the year in 2018—and for good reason. It describes the long, hot, and dry summer that meant climate change was at the centre of public discourse for months. Whereas the consequences of climate change were usually only experienced as images on the TV screen, they could now be felt as soon as people opened the front door. Our foundation has long been concerned with this issue, working under the slogan of "climate justice". Climate change is not simply an environmental problem, but one of the central political challenges of our time. Over the next 12 years, we need to reduce global carbon emissions by 45 percent. Even with a temperature increase of 1.5 degrees, we will be forced to live in a world defined by climate catastrophe, with grave consequences for people, animals, and plants alike.

A delegation from our foundation took part in last year's UN climate summit in Katowice. Given the global climate crisis currently taking place, with extreme weather conditions such as droughts, the rising sea levels threatening coastal regions and islands, hurricanes, and massive crop losses, expectations were high. The outcomes, however, were rather disappointing. Considering the alarming statement released by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the international community needed to send a strong signal that they stood behind the objectives of the Paris Agreement, despite trends that indicate the contrary. The rapid advance of climate change threatens the livelihoods of millions of people. Despite this, the summit in Katowice showed once again how determined the global elite are to defend their profitable fossil-fuelled business model.

Dear readers, this annual report seeks to provide you with an overview of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work over the previous year. For us, it functions both as a summary of our work to date, and a source of motivation to keep going. We want to both spark your curiosity and invite you to find our more about what we do and how you could work together with us in the future.

DR DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the Executive Board

FOCUS: MARX200

ON THE SHOULDERS OF KARL MARX

Certain anniversaries have a particular historical and political significance. Through the commemoration and reinterpretation of past events on such days, political and ideological power relations are simultaneously reproduced or transformed in the present, which determines the scope of conceivable future developments. The commemoration of the outbreak of World War I is a good example of this. Right from the outset, the question of who bore responsibility for the war was hotly contested. From the 1960s onwards, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the work of historian Fritz Fischer played a key role in Germany's process of coming to terms with its war guilt. The publication of Christopher Clark's book *The Sleepwalkers* in 2013 made a significant contribution to the relativization of the critiques made by Fischer and other critiques of the German elites. Clark maintained that the European governments of the time had all more or less slid into war, and that it was impossible to make a definitive attribution of guilt—at least that was the message that was heard in the German public sphere in 2014. That year, Clark's book shaped commemorations of the outbreak of World War I like no other before it. The German translation appeared at a moment when there was a prevailing mood that Germany needed to take on more "responsibility" on the world stage, which included an increased military presence in conflict areas. Indirectly, the book contributed to the increasing normalization of imperialist politics in Germany.

Following the 2014 commemorations around World War I, and in light of the reactionary shifts in the political-ideological situation in Germany since the "Summer of Migration" in 2015, there was cause to fear that conservatives would make use of the 2017 commemorations of the Russian Revolution and the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, as well as the 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and the centenary of the German Revolution in 2018 to launch an all-out assault on critical and emancipatory forces. Although the culture industry was able to thoroughly exploit the aforementioned anniversaries, conservatives failed to utilize any of these occasions to strategically time the release of any books which, promising to become a new "standard text" in the field, would have had the same kind of resounding success as Clark's. As for Marx, it is also doubtful whether the bourgeoisie are (still) capable of critically engaging with his work in any meaningful way. Many liberal-conservative critics make reference less to Marx than to a particular caricature of Marxism, and we need to look a long way back to find even vaguely credible non-Marxist or anti-Marxist critiques of his work.

Let's take, for example, discussions around value theory. Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, one of the founders of the Austrian

School of economics, published his critique of Marxist value theory as early as 1896, one year after the appearance of the third volume of *Capital*, edited by Friedrich Engels, with Rudolf Hilferding responding from a Marxist perspective in 1904. Further debate was primarily shaped by the publication of Piero Sraffa's 1960 book *Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities* and the subsequent work of the neo-Ricardians. Since the critical discussion of these interpretations, which were often also connected with a much more philologically precise reading of Marx's texts based on a new historical-critical collected works of Marx and Engels, little has been achieved on this front.

Relevant critiques identifying some of the limitations of Marxist theory have come not so much from the liberal-conservative side, but from emancipatory movements such as feminism, and from within Marxism itself. In these instances, the aim was less to discard Marxist theory than to use it as the basis to further develop critical social theory

Discussions often revolve around what Marx is seen as completely having failed to consider and achieve: his work lacks a theory of the political realm or of the state, or he did not consider gender relations or the relationship between society and nature. Classic texts are distinguished by the way they can be continuously reread and reinterpreted: in this sense, the works of Marx are classics. Every generation has its own Marx, not only because everyone interprets him differently, but because each generation has also had a different textual foundation, based on different editions of Marx. This has continually generated new discoveries and theoretical turns. In this way, ecologically-oriented Marxists in earlier decades were able to argue on the basis of Marxist theory that through its prioritization of exchange value over use value, rampant exploitation, and endless accumulation of capital, the capitalist mode of production leads to ecological crisis. They also usually added that Marx himself said little about ecological issues. It wasn't until Marx's excerpts on "The Agrarian Question" were published in the new collected works of Engel and Marx that Marx was revealed to actually be more strongly concerned with ecological issues than previously thought, as Kohei Saito outlined in his book *Karl Marx's Ecosocialism: Capital, Nature, and the Unfinished Critique of Political Economy*.

When Marx is criticized for neglecting an issue and not having covered it in his work, it is often forgotten that Marx's limited lifespan and finite energy forced him to constrain himself. As a young man, he formulated the "categorical imperative to overthrow all relations in which man is a debased, enslaved, forsaken, and despicable being." This suggests that he had a wide array of exploitative and power relations in mind. In his *Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*, he concentrated on depicting the "internal organization of the capitalist mode of production, its ideal average, as it were." This revolved around the relation between capitalists and "doubly free" wage labourers, despite this being the dominant



Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung: papier-mâché replica of the famous monument for the *Marx200* congress

social relation in relatively few countries at the time. Marx correctly identified, however, the egregious dynamic of the relation of capital and its tendency towards creating a world market and destroying or subordinating traditional modes and forms of production.

In his critique of political economy, Marx was also forced to restrict himself. He was unable to implement his plan to write six books on capital, wage labour, land ownership, the state, foreign trade, and the world market, which he began pursuing in the late 1850s. As we know, Marx was only able to publish one of the three planned systematic volumes of *Capital* and a fourth theoretical-historical volume himself, with volumes two and three published by Engels.

When critics note that certain aspects are lacking in *Capital*, they often underestimate the importance of abstraction for Marx's mode of representation. Making an analogy to modern biology, Marx speaks of locating the "anatomy of bourgeois society" within political economy. Legal relations and state forms cannot be grasped in isolation, but are rather rooted in their "material circumstances" – thus Marx's focus on "the economic structure of society, the tangible base" on top of which the legal and political "superstructure" positions itself. For bourgeois society, the "commodity-form of the product of labour or the value-form of the commodity" is "the economic cell-form". Because the "wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails" appears as an "immense accumulation of commodities", Marx's examination begins with an analysis of the commodity. In depicting the commodity as the "cell-form" of bourgeois

society, Marx necessarily had to first of all draw abstractions from the diverse range of factors that form the conditions of the capitalist mode of commodity production. In *Capital*, however, these presupposed conditions, from which Marx abstracted at the outset, were gradually integrated into his account. Marx progressed from the abstract to the concrete, beginning with the simplest relations and gradually closing in on more complex ones.

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“We all stand on the shoulders of Karl Marx”, as Oswald von Nell-Breuning, the father of Catholic social teaching and certainly no Marxist once put it. It is our task to continue the unfinished project of critiquing political economy and not to simply stand still. It is necessary not only to examine the anatomy of bourgeois society, but also its physiognomy, for, as Lenin once said, the “concrete analysis of the concrete situation” is the “living soul of Marxism”. This analysis is necessary if we are to purposefully intervene in our own present moment, in order to come closer to realizing Marx’s categorical imperative.

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For this reason, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s engagement with Marx is not restricted to anniversaries, but instead constitutes one of our permanent core focuses. Nevertheless, for the RLS, 2018 was about stamping our own mark on the celebrations to mark 200 years since Marx’s birth, and to appropriately pay tribute to him as the founder of critical social theory and the natural intellectual leader of the labour movement—as the following pages will attest.

Marx called Aristotle an “intellectual giant”. Marx himself is also one such intellectual giant. In his prison notebooks, Antonio Gramsci wrote that Marx had opened up a new era, one which would supposedly last for centuries—until the point at which the societies ruled by the capitalist mode of production finally realize that the “free development of any given person is the condition for the free development of all”, and in this endeavour, the following principle applies: “From each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs”

MULTIMEDIA MARX—THE WEB PORTAL

If you type “200 years of Karl Marx” into a search engine today, you’ll get tens of thousands of hits. In the year in which Marx’s 200th birthday was celebrated, he was omnipresent—in the media, at conferences, in exhibitions, and (of course) online. In the aforementioned search results, there are two websites that are right at the top of the list: the website “Karl-Marx-Ausstellung.de”, and the web portal “marx200.org”. The former belongs to the state of Rhineland-Palatinate and the city of Trier, where Marx was born. On this site, a number of exhibitions were advertised. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had completely restored the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier. The anniversary project of the SPD-aligned foundation tweeted under the hashtag #Marx2018, while the RLS used #marx200. With both projects complementing each other well, this turned out to be a happy coincidence, not least due to the fact that they were promoting two completely different formats—one analogue, the other digital. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung developed the web portal “marx200.org” together with the RLS’s Berlin foundation “Helle Panke”, and was conceived from the outset as a totally virtual platform. Thematically, it focused on three key areas: 100 years of revolution (2017), 150 years of *Capital* (2017), and 200 years of Karl Marx (2018). The project’s centrepiece is the media library, which contains an extensive collection of films, some of which were sourced from previous educational events, and some of which were produced specifically for the project. Included among these are interviews with prominent academics, unionists, and activists, who answer questions about their views on Marx, their interpretations of his work, and his meaning in today’s world. Clips produced by British journalist and author Paul Mason explaining some of Marx’s key concepts as well as vox pops (with questions like: “have you heard of Karl Marx?”) also formed part of the collection.

The bilingual web portal—in German and English—went live in March 2017, with content being added continuously until the end of 2018. Alongside films, the portal also contained an wide-ranging selection of texts, beginning with texts by Marx and Engels that are no longer freely available, and continuing with a selection of key terms from the *Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism*, through to blog posts that responded to the media reception of the respective anniversaries with topical and entertaining commentary. The crowning achievement of the project was the digital storytelling segment “Marx as Migrant”, an audio-visual journey through the most important stages of Marx’s life, which received around 16,000 site visits on the year’s most important day of 5 May, Marx’s 200th birthday.

The web portal, developed over a period of almost two years, is an example of one of the foundation’s sustainable educational projects, where curious internet users can inform themselves about who Karl Marx was, his most important works, and how and to what extent his work was received around the world.



Not just for the anniversary celebrations: the Marx200.org web portal offers a permanent invitation to critically engage with Karl Marx's work and the history of its impact

Visitors to the portal also find a critical engagement with the history of his work's impact. Although the project came to an end with the close of the anniversary year, the content will remain permanently available online.

The 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx was also a historic date for Karl Dietz Verlag, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's in-house publisher. As the publisher of Marx's oeuvre, it is responsible for maintaining and updating the *Marx-Engels-Werke* (MEW) (Complete Works of Marx and Engels), famously known as the "blue volumes". After a 30-year break, a 44th volume was published in celebration of this anniversary. With this additional volume, almost the entire manuscript of *A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*, written by Marx between 1861 and 1863, is now included in the MEW. In addition, Dietz Verlag published *Springpunkte* by MEW editor Rolf Hecker, which includes essays on Marx-related research and discourses on *Capital*.

THE CONGRESS MARX200: POLITICS – THEORY – SOCIALISM

The central event surrounding the Marx anniversary for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was the congress *Marx200: Politics – Theory – Socialism*, which took place from 2 to 6 May 2018, and was partly organized in collaboration with the Hebbel am Ufer (HAU) theatre. More than 200 people, many

of whom were emerging academics, were involved in shaping the congress programme, presenting papers, moderating discussion, and organizing more than 80 workshops and panel discussions. The oldest speaker was 92-year-old Hermann Klenner, who gave a lecture on the Marxist dictum "The interest of the law is allowed to speak insofar as it is the law of private interest". Around 1,300 people took part in the congress, and there would have been more were it not for space restrictions. Despite this, it was still the largest event in Germany celebrating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx.

The central question of the programme was what Marx has contributed to political and theoretical practice in a range of fields, as well as what it means to be or become a Marxist today. Almost all relevant areas of social theory and practice were covered by the congress programme. Subjects included the critique of philosophy after Marx, the representation of Marxist approaches in a variety of disciplines (including psychology, sociology, literary studies, and criminology), and the relation between feminism or postcolonial theory and Marxism, as well as concrete analyses of the changing nature of class, specific policy areas (e.g. housing), or the state of the global economy as a whole. Key panel discussions centred around the relation between theory and changing forms of praxis, the question of the subjects of transformation/revolution, the art of "revolutionary realpolitik" (Rosa Luxemburg), of a new politics of class, and the trajectories

Parts of the conference were recorded and are available to watch online at: www.rosalux.de/dokumentation/id/38784/marx200-eine-dokumentation/

of socialist and communist perspectives. One aspect worth stressing is the international character of the congress, with participants coming from Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Canada, China, Columbia, Croatia, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, the UK, and the United States. Dedicated talks or workshops addressed topics such as the reception of Marxist theory and the further development of Marxism in Japan, China, India, Latin America, South Africa, the Arab world, and in Israel.

MARX200 AROUND GERMANY

Activities celebrating the 200th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth were a key aspect of our regional foundations' educational work in 2018, with around 200 individual events taking place in total. The *Marx200* conferences held by the regional RLS foundations in Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg, Saxony, and Thuringia in April 2018 were events that had considerable impact among the left in those regions and lasting educational effects. Each conference was able to reach around 100 participants—in some cases considerably more—through their diverse range of thematic focuses.

The Jena conference *Die Verhältnisse zum Tanzen bringen* (Make the Relations Dance) was organized around attempts by young academics to tackle current social problems using Marxist thought, both in terms of theoretical approaches and concepts, and through a conception of scholarship as a critique of social conditions. In Stuttgart, topics ranged from the popularization of Marxist thought in the early labour movement through to current questions of economic, social, and political class formation, with discussion also touching on changes in class structure, the role of unions, and strategies for fighting right-wing organizing. *Marx in Köln—Demokratie und Sozialismus* (Marx in Cologne—Democracy and Socialism) was the title of the conference organized by the RLS's regional foundation in North Rhine-Westphalia. In addition to reflecting upon of Marx's activities as a political editor in the 1840s, the two panel discussions on the current state of media and information policy and on left-wing visions of the future attracted a lot of interest from attendees. In Frankfurt am Main, the two-day event *Marx in Hessen* was framed as a wide-ranging academic-political conference. Interpretations of Marxist theory and its continued development in the



Impossible to miss: a billboard advertising the anniversary celebrations on the *Neues Deutschland* building at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1

field of critical theory and in the Marburg School around Wolfgang Abendroth were among the subjects of debate, alongside analyses of sexism, racism, and the development of current right-wing movements, and of global economic and social developments. Considerations of the opportunities for emancipatory struggle and the role, position, and self-conception of left-wing intellectuals were also examined. In contrast, the Leipzig conference concentrated on how social actors had been influenced by Marx's ideas, focussing in particular on how Marx was read and interpreted in East and West Germany respectively. Alongside case studies analysing the history of the New Left in West Germany, there was also an informed critique of Marxism-Leninism as a theoretical system and its legitimization as a state-political practice in East Germany.

For the RLS's regional foundations, the *Marx200* conferences were high points in their educational work. Two questions worth pursuing that came up as a result were: Which approaches to a critique of real existing socialism were developed within the social sciences in the GDR? And: How can a left-wing utopia be envisioned as the sublimation of the capitalist production of commodities?

K IS FOR KARL— A SERIES OF FILMS BY PAUL MASON

“Why is Karl Marx still important today?” asks British journalist and author Paul Mason in the five short films that he produced for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung under the title *K is for Karl* to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Marx's birth. Alienation, communism, revolution, exploitation, and our machine-driven future are the themes with which Mason seeks to show why Marx, who he designates as the most influential thinker in the modern world, is more relevant today than ever. To make these videos, Mason travelled to Berlin,



Still from Paul Mason's film series *K is for Karl*

Paris, London, and Manchester, places where Marx lived or was active. These cities provide the backdrop to Mason's explanations of key aspects of Marxist theory by way of quotations, contemporary examples, and illustrations. The videos are a wonderful and straightforward way to get to know Marx a little better, without having to pore over the hefty volumes of the *Collected Works*.

In the first film, titled "Alienation", Mason seeks out the roots of Marx's thought in Berlin, where he began to study in 1836. "For Marx, alienation doesn't just mean we get depressed, we hate our jobs, or that we feel bad about the world. It means we're constantly using our creative powers in the wrong way. We make things, but the things we make—machines, states, religions, rules—they end up controlling us." Mason cites smartphones as one example of this.

In "Communism", the second episode, Mason shows viewers locations and influences in London that contributed to the development of the *Communist Manifesto*. For "Revolution", the third episode, Mason travels to Paris, where Marx arrived on 8 March 1848, after which he became persona non grata in many countries, who held him partly responsible for the 1848 revolution. In the fourth episode of *K is for Karl*, entitled "Exploitation", Mason travels to Manchester to look at how the use of human labour power and the development of modern machines spawned modern capitalism, while in the final episode Mason uses the famous fragment on machines from Marx's *Grundrisse* to look at the meaning of the machine for capitalism, as well as its possible overthrow. Mason's short films proved very popular throughout the anniversary celebrations, with one viewer in Iran even translating them into Persian! Through these videos, Marx and his ideas are once again travelling around the world.

The five episodes of *K is for Karl* as well as an interview with author Paul Mason can be found at <https://marx200.org/mediathek/>.

MARX FOR EVERYONE!

EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL FOR BEGINNERS

What defines the capitalist mode of production? How does money become capital? What role does class and the class struggle play? And why are crises an inevitable aspect of capitalism? These sorts of questions are the focus of the sixth set of educational materials produced by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung under the title *Marx für Alle!* (Marx for Everyone!). The educational concept introduced in this set of materials is to use workshops or seminars to convey the fundamentals of Marx's critique of capitalism to newcomers who do not have prior knowledge of the concepts and/or a formal education. The concept is organized around flipchart posters on the key concepts of Marx's theory. Using the 17 posters, the central ideas and terms of Marxist economic theory can be worked through with participants via a range of methods. The educational material is aimed at practitioners in political education as well as those who wish to offer introductory seminars and educational events on Marxist theory as part of their political activities.

The starting point for the development of this concept was the fact that most educational material on Marx tends to be highly academic and require a lot of prior knowledge, and introductory events for people who are not able to attend time-consuming reading groups or are not familiar with academic teaching methods are scarce. This is not only a gap in left-wing educational work, but also a political problem. Left-wing movements need critical forms of economic education—ones that are suitable not only for a small circle of left-wing academics interested in Marx, but that are accessible to all who want to be involved in moving society towards the left.

In response to this, the idea emerged to develop a workshop that condenses the basic principles and concepts of Marxist critiques of capitalism and makes them digestible and easy to discuss. The workshop should enable participants to acquire Marx's economic theory as a dynamic analytical tool for understanding the capitalist mode of production both as it existed in the past and as it functions in the present. The educational concept is not intended to serve as a replacement for Marx reading groups or other educational formats, but rather to help overcome newcomers' fears surrounding Marx, and inspire them to engage with Marx's work and economic theory.

A CLASSIC IN ITS JUBILEE YEAR

CAPITAL READING COURSES AND THE 11TH AUTUMN SCHOOL

Alongside the many events and activities conceived and organized specifically to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Marx's birth, some of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regular offerings on the *Critique of Political Economy* also continued to run through 2018.

The *Capital* reading course started up again in February, with around 150 participants divided into five groups. One was working through the second and third volumes, while the other four were reading and discussing the first volume. The course participants met once a week to discuss the chapters of *Capital*, which they read in advance. In this collective effort, they initially sought to explain to one another how Marx proceeds through *Capital* and how the concepts that appear in the book can be understood. What exactly is a commodity? What is unique about the capitalist form of exploitation? How does accumulation occur, and how is it related to the

tendency of the rate of profit to fall? The participants debated these and other questions over a number of sessions. At a later date, they moved on to the relevance of Marxist analysis and his critique for the society in which we live today. Our Marx reading courses are one of our regular offerings, and usually run for 30 sessions, with the central focus always a critical engagement with a classic work that has often been declared dead, but which continually proves itself to be alive and kicking.

Over one weekend at the end of October, the 11th Marx autumn school took place, a reading seminar with a fringe programme organized in cooperation with a number of partners. "Helle Panke", the Berlin Verein zur Förderung der MEGA-Edition, the TOP-B3rlin group, and the facilitators of the reading course collectively decided on "The Global Market and Crisis" as the central theme. How did Marx define and understand the global market, which we would now call globalization? What are the positions and functions of crises in his critique of political economy? How does Marx's analysis differ in this regard from that of neoclassical economists? Such questions were discussed using a selection of passages from Marx's work in eight working groups that comprised a total of some 150 participants. On the Saturday evening, Heide Gerstenberger gave a lecture titled "Marx and Bretton Woods", and on the Sunday, Michael Heinrich and Klaus-Dieter Block discussed "Marx's Ideas on the Global Market and Crisis".

Poster announcing one of our most well-known Marx-related events: the Marx autumn school



**PROJECTS SUPPORTED BY THE RLS IN 2018
AS PART OF MARX200**

- Berlin Institute for Critical Theory e.V.: Publication of volume 9/1 of the *Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism*, "Maschinerie bis Mitbestimmung"; editorial work on volume 9/2 "Mitglied bis naturwüchsig" — €38,000
- Subbotnik e.V.: Conference/theory festival *Kantine Marx – Marx nicht kaufen! Marx denken!*, August 2018 — €1,000
- arbeitskreis 7kunst e.V.: Musical theatre production *Frau Kapital und Dr. Marx*, Quedlinburg, September 2018 — €500
- Kairos Europa e.V.: Conference *Verwerfungen des Kapitalismus im Zeitalter von 'Industrie 4.0': Die Wiederentdeckung des Humanum – mit Bibel, Koran & Marx*, Mannheim, September 2018 — €4,000
- Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg: 2nd Oldenburg Marx Conference *200 Jahre Marx, 150 Jahre "Das Kapital" – Der Stachel bleibt!* November 2018 — €1,000
- NaturFreunde Deutschland e.V.: Symposium *Arbeit gegen Natur? Marx und die ökologische Frage*, Berlin, December 2018 — €2,000



PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO MARX200

RLS PUBLICATIONS

Michael Brie, Alex Demirović
Karl Marx: Strategy and the Philosophy of Praxis
 Towards a re-appropriation of his thinking in order to provide a radical perspective for liberation
 Online publication 6/2018
 15 pages, ISSN 2567-1235

Christoph Ernst
Marx für alle!
 Ein Tagesseminar zur Einführung in Marx' Analyse und Kritik des Kapitalismus
 Bildungsmaterialien no. 6
 58 pages, pamphlet
 ISSN 2513-1222

Wolfgang Fritz Haug
Marxist*insein
 116 pages, pamphlet
 ISBN 978-3-9818987-4-3

Dieter Klein
"Kapital"-Logik und Transformation
 Wie hätte Marx das Ausbleiben erfolgreicher Revolutionen verarbeitet?
 Standpunkte 7/2018

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak
Marx global
 Unberechenbar, gefährlich: das Begehren gegen Das Kapital erlernen
 Analysen no. 45
 32 pages, pamphlet
 ISSN 2194-2951

"Marxte noch mal?!"
 LuXemburg: Gesellschaftsanalyse und linke Praxis 2–3/2017
 Double booklet to celebrate Marx's bicentenary
 196 pages, softcover
 ISSN 1869-0424

WITH KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Werke, vol. 44
 Edited by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
 532 pages, hardcover
 4 plates
 ISBN 978-3-320-02336-2

Vivek Chibber
Postkoloniale Theorie und das Gespenst des Kapitals
 382 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02356-0

Martin Beck, Ingo Stützle (eds.)
Die neuen Bonapartisten
 Mit Marx den Aufstieg von Trump & Co. verstehen
 272 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02348-5

Rolf Hecker
Springpunkte
 Beiträge zur Marx-Forschung und "Kapital"-Diskussion
 318 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02349-2

Antonio Labriola
Drei Versuche zur materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung
 Edited by Wolfgang Fritz Haug
 292 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02347-8

Angelika Limmroth
Jenny Marx: Die Biografie
 288 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02346-1

Sabine Nuss (ed.)
Der ganz normale Betriebsunfall
 Viermal Marx zur globalen Finanzkrise
 144 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02350-8

IN COOPERATION WITH VSA: VERLAG

Franz Segbers,
 Michael Ramminger (eds.)
"Alle Verhältnisse umzuwerfen ... und die Mächtigen vom Thron zu stürzen"
 Das gemeinsame Erbe von Christen und Marx
 248 pages, softcover
 ISBN 978-3-89965-790-6

For more on the *Marx200* focus, go to: www.marx200.org. Except for the publications released by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, all the publications can be downloaded free of charge on the RLS website, at: www.rosalux.de/publikationen.

INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Though they have been largely neglected for many years now, the concepts of class and class politics have returned to public discourse with force. One thing that stands out in this context is that many of the theoretical and political advancements in class analysis made in the wake of the 1968 movement have since been forgotten. Which is why debates about 21st century class societies are often conducted in a superficial manner.

In 2018, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Institute for Critical Social Analysis sought to tackle this problem—both through in-depth analysis and the elaboration of strategic political positions. Two focal points can be identified here: firstly, the task of crafting a class analysis adequate to the developments of our times; and secondly, examining questions concerning a connective class politics—particularly in the field of feminist praxis—with the aim of identifying strategic points of intervention for bringing about a socialist transformation.

To provide a little bit of context: both vertical and horizontal class-specific inequalities are increasing in almost all societies of the Global North and South. At the same time, political and trade union organizations built around the opposition of capital and labour are probably weaker than they have ever been at any point since 1949. This is due to the fact that in many countries, radical right-wing movements have succeeded in winning over sectors of the wage-earning population, and in making national belonging the criterion of an “exclusionary solidarity”. Increasingly, factions formed along the lines of differences and specific interests of individual groups are emerging among working class people. Such differences are politically reinforced by debates that revolve around a supposed opposition between identity and class politics, instead of conceiving of gender inequality and racism, the crisis of reproduction and the ecological crisis as integral elements of the social question, that is, as class questions.

We must recognize that old class formations are dissolving, but new, more fragmented and plural ones, inflected by gender, migration, and precarity are emerging in their stead. Accordingly, class struggle now takes place not only in production, but also in the field of reproduction; these new forms of struggle are organized around social infrastructure, care work, gendered divisions of labour, housing, maintaining a habitable natural environment, etc. The struggles that have to be fought are in turn also becoming more diverse. The composition of classes is changing, transnational structures of production and new productive forces (one need only mention the term “digitalization”) are also transforming jobs, and with this, connective subjectivities. All this ought to provide more than enough motivation to engage in a new analysis of class.



Protest for legal and free abortion in Argentina, Buenos Aires, June 2018.

CONNECTIVE CLASS POLITICS

Returning class experiences to the centre of an analysis focused on contradictions can provide us with points from which to draw connections with practices of solidarity. In 2018, a joint workshop of the RLS Institute for Critical Social Analysis (IfG) and the Institute for Sociology at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena explored the question of how a new analysis of class can empirically and theoretically accompany the now central strategy of a “connective class politics”. Plans have also been made to present and discuss new works of class analysis once a year. The discussions at two of the foundation’s most prominent and internationally attended major events: the *Marx200* congress (2–5 May) and the “future congress” *über:morgen* (13–15 September) were also shaped by debates around the search for a connective class politics. The play *Gesundheitstribunal* (The Health Tribunal) premiered at the latter.

International networking and training are also part of a connective class politics and organization. For this reason, the IfG organized a series of seminars for young trade unionists and two summer schools in 2018, in cooperation with the Centre for International Dialogue (ZID) and the Academy for

Political Education. The European summer school on feminist class politics in Belgrade (30 September–4 October), which the IfG organized together with the Europe Unit of the ZID, was particularly important. About 100 scholars and activists from Europe, but also from the hotspots of feminist activism such as Argentina, Chile, and the USA, discussed the prospects of forming a “Feminist International”. This currently forms the most visible antithesis to both global authoritarianism and neoliberalism. Much of the material discussed at this meeting on networking and strategy development was based on the issue of the journal *LuXemburg* titled “Am fröhlichsten im Sturm: Feminismusdepartment” (issue 2/2018), which was translated into English under the title “Breaking Feminism”. Issues of feminist class politics are examined both from an international perspective and with respect to issues such as family policies, reproductive justice, queer-feminist class politics, and struggles around care work. The collaborations established last year will lead to a large “Feminist Festival” in 2019, which will take place in September at the Zeche Zollverein in Essen. We hope that such a gathering will strengthen the positive political dynamics that already exist in this field, which found a visible expression in the global women’s strike on 8 March.



Alex Demirović

FELLOWS

Alex Demirović published the book *Wirtschaftsdemokratie neu denken* in 2018, the third volume in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's series on democracy conferences, and also contributed a fundamental essay to the book. The conference proceedings *Emanzipation: Zu Geschichte und Aktualität eines politischen Begriffs*, which he co-edited, were also published last year. His essay *Gramsci und die Migrationsfrage* was an important intervention in the highly controversial political debate on left-wing perspectives on migration. Both the *Marx200* congress and the edition of the magazine *Luxemburg* issued on the 100th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's assassination benefited greatly from his input. To mark the anniversaries of the birth of Marx and the death of Luxemburg, he wrote the influential articles "Zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung" and "Eine neue Zivilisation: Warum die Freiheit der Einzelnen Bedingung für die Freiheit aller ist". Finally, with his essay "Autoritärer Populismus als neoliberale Krisenbewältigungsstrategie", he provided an analysis of the current political situation that has led to a great deal of discussion.

Dieter Klein continued his work on his book project *Zukunft oder Ende des Kapitalismus? Kritische Diskursanalyse in turbulenten Zeiten* in 2018. He critically examines the foundations and strategic implications of the foundations of transformation theory proposed by Wolfgang Streeck, Paul Mason, and others, analyses the structure of their respective narratives, and draws conclusions for the continued development of transformation theory. He published an article in the *WSI-Mitteilungen* on the thesis of the "imperial way of life" developed by Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen, both former fellows of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. To mark this year's anniversary, he wrote several articles about Ernst Bloch. On the 100th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's death, he reflected on the legacy of Marx and Luxemburg for

contemporary political economy. The outcome of this work will be published in the journal *World Review of Political Economy*.

Miriam Pieschke designed a pilot project for organizing in disadvantaged residential areas in Berlin-Lichtenberg. Her research is guided by the question of the horizon of left-wing activism. This is also the case in the research project she has been coordinating since 2018, *Subjekt- und hegemonietheoretische Untersuchung des Rechtspopulismus und Entfaltung emanzipatorischer Gegenmacht*, an initiative founded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung together with staff members of the University of Applied Sciences Magdeburg-Stendal and local civil society initiatives. In the project's first research report *Reaktionär, rassistisch, rechts*, published in May 2018, she provides a description of the approach and strategic orientation of the AfD, while charting their development at the federal, state and local level. Work on the second research report is already underway. The project is now Miriam Pieschke's main focus in her work at the University of Magdeburg-Stendal.

Rainer Rilling devoted much of his efforts in 2018 to the future. In preparation for the "future conference" *über:morgen*, he was in charge of designing and implementing an online focus on the topic "Concrete Utopias of a Socialism to Come". Following his research activities in 2017, he had a hand in organizing the event "A common future will only exist if wealth is redistributed", which featured talks by David McNally (University of Houston), Cedric Wermuth (Social Democratic Party of Switzerland), and Ellen Ehmke (Oxfam). He wrote an annotated bibliography to the "rich lists" put out by publications such as *Forbes* magazine. In 2018, the bicentenary of Marx's birth, it seemed like a good time to take a look at the past in order to better anticipate the future. Rainer Rilling was involved in the conception and realization of the conference *Marx in Hessen*, and the Berlin congress *Marx200*. As he does every year, in 2018 he organized a week of seminars at the Villa Rosa in Volterra, Italy, on behalf of the RLS, this time under the title "Public, Media, Speaking: On Propaganda and Capital".

Axel Troost took over the coordination of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's new discussion group on "Economic Policy", which features a number of prominent members. At his initiative, the discussion group published the position paper *Zukunftsinvestitionen ermöglichen: Spielräume der Schuldenbremse in den Bundesländern nutzen!* in July 2018. The paper was authored by Sebastian Dullien, Dierk Hirschel, Jan Prieue, Sabine Reiner, Daniela Trochowski, Axel Troost, Achim Truger, and Harald Wolf. In addition, he presented three comprehensive analyses: "Chance vertan: Zehn Jahre Finanzkrise und Regulierung der Finanzmärkte—Eine Bilanz" (together with Rainald Ötsch) to mark the tenth anniversary of

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 Fellowships at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis have been available since 2012. They give political activists the opportunity to reflect critically and strategically on their practices.



Winnie Wong (left) and Claire Sandberg

the outbreak of the global financial crisis; “Versprechen nicht erfüllt: Zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Ostdeutschlands seit dem Herbst 1989” (together with Klaus Steinitz) in anticipation of the 30th anniversary of German reunification; as well as the retrospective summary “Umsteuern in Athen: Griechische Steuerpolitik unter Syriza und den Memoranden” in the run-up to the recent elections in Greece and for the European Parliament.

Steve Williams is a long-time organizer from San Francisco. **Steve Hughes** was an organizer for the Working Families Party in the USA, and has been based in Prague for several years, from where he has worked as a freelancer for left-wing parties and movements in Europe. Both are brilliant political educators. The aim of their fellowship in 2018 was to translate their practices of transformative organizing for the German and European context, and to use these for the further development of corresponding formats and projects in the party and in social movements. The seminars “New Kids on the Historical Block—How those most affected by neoliberalism take over politics, strategy, and organization” and “Crash Course: Transformative Organizing” are examples of this. Both of these seminars were offered at the RLS’s three-day “future conference” *über:morgen* in September 2018 and at the multi-day Berlin follow-up to the first European summer school in Madrid. The experiences and findings from these events will be incorporated into new educational materials on organizing, which are scheduled to be published in 2019.

Winnie Wong is co-founder of the national movement People for Bernie in the USA. **Claire Sandberg** was director of organizing for Bernie Sanders’s presidential campaign. The two of them have been systematically working through their knowledge and experience in several joint workshops, which have been adapted to suit organizing methods in Germany and Europe. This activity formed part of the workshop “How Campaigns Grow Legs” at the *über:morgen* congress, and

in the seminar “European Campaigns for Connective Class Politics: How Does it Work?” held in early December 2018 in Berlin. At an RLS event on the topic “Answers to the Rise of the Radical Right: Effective Strategies for Defending Democratic Values from a Leftist US Perspective” they presented and discussed strategies and successful practices of combatting the new authoritarianism.

NEW AUTHORITARIANISM AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

In the organic crisis of the old neoliberal project, we are witnessing the rise of a new authoritarianism almost everywhere in the world, with “strong men” such as Donald Trump or Sebastian Kurz at the top, political entrepreneurs who can rely on powerful capitalist interest groups to wield their power. It is important to distinguish these from the authoritarian nationalist regimes in Poland, Hungary, and Turkey, and these in turn must be distinguished from radical right-wing regimes such as the Front National (now Rassemblement National) in France, the Partij voor de Vrijheid by Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, the Lega in Italy, and the AfD in Germany.

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 At the Institute for Critical Social Analysis as well as at the RLS as a whole, we have been monitoring the development of right-wing tendencies for a long time now, identifying the common features and particularities of right-wing parties and movements. We look into the social causes contributing to the radical right’s recent success. How are these tendencies able to become a widespread phenomenon and increase their popularity among certain class factions or genders, and in certain countries and regions?



#Ausgehetzt (enough hatred) – for a Europe of solidarity: a broad alliance demonstrated against the AfD’s European party conference under this motto on 17 November 2018 in Magdeburg.

There are many approaches to explaining the rise of right-wing movements. Almost everyone has their own theory, and each one explains a certain aspect, but they often lack synthesis, and sometimes even contradict one another. Although the heterogeneity and rapid course of the phenomenon make it difficult to grasp according to a simple notion of cause and effect, from our point of view, there is a need to explore a specific relationship.

In 2018, we responded to the question “Why is it that right-wing movements have been able to become so significant right now?” with the working hypothesis that it had to do with a generalized culture of insecurity in an era in which class formations have been transformed. The moment of the organic crisis of capital is the culmination of this process. These transformations lead to insecurity in the world of work, in the family, and challenge traditional ways of life, (gender) identities, sometimes even one’s own history. This insecurity calls for individual and collective coping strategies. In this era of precarization, when class formations are being broken down and solidarity eroded, we can observe how the right wing’s claim of offering a way to maintain and expand one’s own restricted agency and its principles of reactionary self-empowerment are being met with overwhelming approval. The research project *Subjekt- und hegemonietheoretische Untersuchung des Rechtspopulismus und Entfaltung emanzipatorischer Gegenmacht* (An Investigation of Right-Wing Populism and the Emergence of Emancipatory Counter-Movements: The Nexus Between Subjects and Hegemony), initiated by the RLS in 2018, has also taken a closer look at these issues. The University of Applied Sciences Magdeburg-Stendal, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, party

representatives from Die Linke as well as various local initiatives are all involved in the project. The first research report was published in June 2018 under the title *Reaktionär, rassistisch, rechts: Die Entwicklung der Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in Sachsen-Anhalt und Stendal* (Reactionary, Racist, Right-Wing: The Evolution of the Alternative for Germany in Saxony-Anhalt and Stendal).

This and other RLS projects are founded upon the assumption that it is necessary and possible to approach this widespread insecurity from a left-wing perspective, and to develop practices of solidarity. “Take back control” is, so to speak, the promise of the radical right. But instead of turning into an authoritarian impulse, this desire can also be used in an emancipatory sense, and lead to democratic empowerment, to a common struggle based in solidarity that will help us regain control over our own living conditions. This struggle should not just take place on behalf of just a few, but for the many. To this end, we and many others at the RLS, such as the discussion group on “Right-Wing Movements” produced various analyses and hand-outs last year, organized educational events throughout Europe, funded dissertation projects in this area with funds from the Scholarship Department, and launched pilot projects and collaborations to promote left-wing organizational processes.

“WE ACCUSE!”

THE HEALTHCARE SYSTEM ON TRIAL

There are many people who are forced to physically experience the crisis of the healthcare system on a daily basis. This crisis

has been brought to the public's attention frequently thanks to repeated protests and new labour disputes in the hospitals. But public discourse on health policy is controlled largely by experts—people who are affected by it rarely get to have a say. Changing this was one of the main goals of the play *Gesundheitstribunal* (The Healthcare Tribunal), an artistic-political co-production between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, director Volker Lösch, and author Ulf Schmid.

The play premiered during the left-wing "future congress" *über:morgen* in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's courtyard in Berlin on 13 and 15 September to a crowd of some 600 people—the seats of the specially constructed open-air stage were filled to capacity despite some drizzle. Many people who work in the healthcare sector and are committed to achieving better working conditions and better care came to see the play. These people in particular gave really positive feedback about the play. The play accurately depicts the everyday experiences and feelings of many people who are professionally and/or privately involved in care work.

The project concept was developed on behalf of the RLS in close cooperation with activists from the Berlin Alliance for More Personnel in Hospitals. The challenge was to present the debate about the healthcare crisis in all of its complexity

in an accessible and entertaining format that would appeal to an audience that is interested in both culture and politics. The play is based on interviews with nursing staff working in Berlin hospitals, and even puts some of them on the stage as everyday experts, where they were able to express their concerns—amplified by acting and speech training. At the same time, it develops a dialogical format for current health policy debates: advocates and critics of the economization of the healthcare system exchange views about the pros and cons, theory and reality of hospitals that are supposedly optimized to produce efficiency and profitability. The play involved an element of audience participation—at the conclusion, after the onstage exchange of blows, they were asked to vote on the direction of health policy.

These first performances in Berlin were a test run for a potential larger project by director Volker Lösch, which deals with other aspects of the healthcare crisis. He intends to perform the play in "mobile formats" at other locations and in different social settings—for example, on specific occasions in the run-up to referendums or as part of campaigns on healthcare policy. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is discussing the prospect of providing further funding to these projects.

Director Volker Lösch puts the health system on trial: scene from the dress rehearsal of the play in September 2018



LUXEMBURG LECTURES 2018

The RLS invites intellectuals from all over the world to speak as part of our Luxemburg Lectures. In 2018, the focus was on feminist policies for fighting authoritarianism and austerity, eco-socialist perspectives, and left-wing populism.



Michael Hardt



Ariele Russell Hochschild



Gayatri Spivak

2 MAY 2018
Michael Hardt (philosopher and literary scholar, USA)
ASSEMBLY
In cooperation with Campus Verlag

3 MAY 2018
Wolfgang Fritz Haug (Marxist philosopher, Germany)
BEING A MARXIST

4 MAY 2018
Zhang Shuangli (philosopher, China)
**DIFFICULTIES WITH THE MARXIST JUSTIFICATION
OF THE SOCIALIST STATE**

4 MAY 2018
Ariele Russell Hochschild (feminist sociologist, USA)
MARX, CLASS, AND POLITICS

4 MAY 2018
Gayatri Spivak (feminist literary scholar and one
of the founders of postcolonial theory, USA/India)
GLOBAL MARX, CLASS AND POLITICS
With María do Mar Castro Varela

5 MAY 2018
Herrmann Klenner (philosopher of law, Germany)
**THE INTEREST OF THE LAW IS ALLOWED TO SPEAK
INSO FAR AS IT IS THE LAW OF PRIVATE INTEREST**

All Luxemburg Lectures mentioned on this page took place in the context of the *Marx200* congress in Berlin.

3 OCTOBER 2018

Chantal Mouffe (political scientist, Belgium/Great Britain)

LEFT-WING POPULISM

In cooperation with Suhrkamp Verlag,
together with Katja Kipping and Ingar Solty in Berlin

10 NOVEMBER 2018

Richard York (sociologist and eco-socialist, USA)

CLASS AND NATURE RELATIONS

In the context of the conference *Klasse neu denken—
Arbeitstagung zur neuen Klassenanalyse und -politik* in Jena

8 DECEMBER 2018

Julia Cámara Gómez (feminist scholar and organizer of
the women's strike in Spain) and Camille Alice Barbagallo
(feminist scholar and organizer of the womens' strike in the
UK)

**THE WOMEN'S STRIKE AND THE FEMINISM OF THE
99 %**

As part of the SDS congress *Geschichte wird gemacht 68/18*
in Berlin

15 DECEMBER 2018

Greg Albo (political scientist and eco-socialist, Canada)

**UNSUSTAINABLE CAPITALISM AND SOCIALIST
POLITICS**

As part of the conference *Der Springpunkt der Politischen
Ökonomie: Das Kapital gegen Arbeit und Natur* in honour of
Elmar Altvater in Berlin.



Julia Cámara Gómez



Camille Alice Barbagallo

Chantal Mouffe in conversation with Katja Kipping and Ingar Solty.



THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The mission of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is to provide a wide-ranging political education programme for everyone who is committed to democratic socialism in thought and action. Our objective is to strengthen participants' capacity to act with agency in the socio-political field.

The Academy for Political Education organizes evening programmes, day-long workshops, weekend seminars and module-based training programmes. We also develop educational and support material for facilitators. Activities are directed at specific audiences and respond to the issues and needs arising from everyday political praxis. Our guiding principles include critically respecting all participants, remaining attentive to hierarchical structures and establishing emancipatory forms of participation. Target groups include all those involved in Die Linke and trade unions, as well as in social movements, initiatives, and non-governmental organizations. The academy aims to convey a fundamental understanding of key political concepts and to open up new forms of access to politics and political activism. By challenging a rigid division between educational content and pedagogy and employing a diverse range of teaching methods, we are able to facilitate understanding of often complex issues. We also make an active contribution to debates on political education through our publications and public events.

As part of the further consolidation of our activities in local politics, our focus in 2018 included establishing a "Local Politics Network". Our activities in youth education placed an emphasis on developing teaching aids and organizing seminars and conferences. We were able to complete a two-year professional development course, and our established courses were customized to meet the needs of different regions. Furthermore, we have taken initial steps in "broadening the reach" of our educational programmes aimed at communities outside of major urban centres, and have expanded our work with digital formats.

In an effort to position the left at the forefront of social struggles as a means of confronting the global shift to the right of recent times, in 2018 we were especially concerned with working on the public visibility of our programmes and with developing new formats. We published several practice-based educational pamphlets, as well as videos and audio materials. In terms of content, emphasis was placed on the following issues: political economy and Europe, socio-environmental transformation, authoritarianism, nationalism and anti-feminism, migration and international politics, and global social rights.

THE CASE IS NOT CLOSED!

SENTENCING AT THE MUNICH NSU TRIAL

On three separate occasions, Ismail Yozgat yelled “for heaven’s sake”, loud enough for all in the courtroom to hear and interrupting Judge Manfred Götzl’s sentencing at the NSU trial. It was 11 July 2018, the 438th and final day of this “trial of the century” against five defendants accused of complicity or involvement in the crimes committed by the National Socialist Underground (NSU). The sentences handed down to the self-confessed Nazis André Eminger and Ralf Wohlleben, who had supplied the NSU with weapons, were lenient, certainly more lenient than expected. Conversely, the two “background figures” Carsten Schultze and Holger Gerlach received longer sentences than expected. Only Beate Zschäpe was sentenced as expected—due to the exceptional gravity of her actions, she was given a life sentence.

The judge’s four-hour “sermon” did not refer to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution once, nor were survivors and family members directly addressed with any explanatory remarks. The “NSU trial” had been boiled down to a mere large-scale criminal case, and there was nothing left of what might have been the greatest scandal—concerning the role of intelligence agencies, police, and undercover informants—in the history of right-wing terrorism in post-war Germany. Defendant André Eminger was ultimately convicted on the basis of just one charge, that of supporting a terrorist organization, receiving a prison sentence of just two and a half years. This was applauded by the many neo-Nazis in attendance, and while Judge Götzl did admonish the professions of sympathy for Eminger, he did not threaten to eject the perpetrators from the courtroom, as he had done with Yozgat. Till the very end, Eminger had been the closest confidante and supporter of the trio at the core of the NSU in Zwickau. His lawyers’ proclamation that he remained “devoted to his convictions with every fibre of his being” (*mit Haut und Haaren*—“with skin and hair”) was quite literally true. The tattoos covering his entire body were tabled in court as evidence. They included the phrases “Die, Jew, die” (in English), “I am nothing, my race (*Volk*) is everything”, and the initials “AH”. And this is the fanatic who was acquitted of several charges. Both the charges of being an accomplice to causing an explosion and of being an accomplice to attempted murder were dropped. The cowardly attack of 19 January 2001 on a grocer’s shop on Probsteigasse in Cologne left the 19-year-old Iranian-German daughter of the shop-owners with life-threatening injuries.

This partial acquittal was a slap in the face not only for those affected by the terrorism of the NSU, but also for the Federal Prosecution. The agency had demanded a twelve-year prison sentence for Eminger as a suspected fourth core member of the NSU cell. The roughly 25 survivors of the NSU attacks and the surviving family members of the ten people who were murdered left the court shocked, crying, and disappointed. It was only the relentless protests—loud and diverse—taking place outside



Demonstration in Berlin following the sentencing at the NSU trial.

the court building that slightly lifted the spirits of the dejected families and observers. The slogan “*Kein Schlussstrich!*” (The case is not closed!) showed clearly how important it would be to refuse to simply move on after such a sobering resolution to a trial that had evidently discarded with the commitment to “completely clear up” all the details of the case, as Chancellor Merkel had promised. Organizations such as NSU Watch, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and other groups and individuals that had been actively studying the NSU’s structures, the state’s involvement, and the judicial “investigation” of the events soon realized that interest in the broader context of the NSU, which is yet to be fully uncovered, remains strong. There is continuing demand for public events on the topic, for its documentation and reporting, and for workshops and educational programmes dealing with the matter.

As was to be expected, the conclusion of the trial did not spell an end to right-wing terror in Germany. Shortly after sentencing, Seda Başay-Yıldız, a lawyer representing some of the co-plaintiffs in the case, received repeated death threats by fax—signed “NSU 2.0”. There is evidence to suggest that members of the Frankfurt police force are behind these threats. Combine this with the revelations about the figure known as “Hannibal” and his “Uniter” network in the German armed forces and the rise of the racist and nationalist AfD party, and one thing becomes clear: there can be no talk of closing the books on right-wing terror. The case is certainly not closed.

SHAPING THE FUTURE THROUGH LEFTIST PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In June 2018, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung concluded its ambitious two-year programme “Becoming a Facilitator on the Left”. The issues highlighted are some of those that the foundation considers to be growing in importance: negotiating heterogeneity; educational programming in intercultural settings; the art of critically observing political processes;

and adapting educational programmes to contemporary social concerns. Having successfully completed 15 modules and practice-based stages, the 17 participants now form a special “skills pool” that the foundation will be able to draw upon in its work, for instance in relation to questions of digitization, approaches to combatting right-wing influences on communities, working in rural areas and small towns, or reaching new audiences.

This positive balance sheet is the result of a thorough preparation and planning period. As part of the selection process, attention was paid to accepting participants from a variety of different training and organizational contexts ranging from political parties to non-governmental organizations, from social movements to support groups. The combination of teaching fundamentals whilst also focusing in on topics that were of particular interest to individual participants proved especially successful. The five focus modules offered on topics such as “leadership” or “working abroad” also worked well. These served as a starting point for a range of practice-based projects, such as a pilot seminar on local politics or a week of dialogue with activists from Palestine engaged in training and education. As part of the programme, seven participants were also able to gain experience working abroad as part of RLS activities in Kiev, Hanoi and Ramallah, with others able to sit in on in our regional RLS branches across Germany. While such an extended training programme can certainly not run continuously, the learning processes that took place and the networks that ensued from it can nevertheless be chalked up as a strong investment in the future.

LOCAL POLITICS: A CRASH COURSE

Since 2009, several RLS publications on local politics have appeared as part of the series *Crashkurs Kommune* (Local Politics: A Crash Course), developed in collaboration with VSA-

Verlag. The series is directed at (prospective and early-career) local representatives and all others interested in municipal and local politics—that is, initiatives, associations, and individuals wanting to learn about what local politics can involve.

These publications aim to provide an overview of the legal and political fundamentals of a set of key issues in local and municipal politics. Further focus is placed on the challenges, limits, and possibilities of local politics in practice. The scope for action within and outside of left-wing committees is described, as are both the “pitfalls” encountered in practical engagement and best-practice examples from across the country. The publications—addressing topics such as municipal budgeting, internet, social and anti-discriminatory policies, a left-wing counter-public, and grass-roots strategies against right-wing forces, to name just a few—offer inspiration and support. Facilitators have drawn on the editions for educational purposes at events, seminars, and workshops.

Already a classic in the series is the volume *Linke Kommunalpolitik: Eine Einführung* (Local Politics from the Left: An Introduction), which was comprehensively revised in 2018. The authors are experts and facilitators who are experienced in political education. In light of the fact that many new local representatives will only begin their work after the various municipal elections that will be held over the next two years, the chapters on legal foundations and various aspects of the practice of local politics (such as working in committees, alone, or as part of a parliamentary group) have been updated. What’s more, a range of substantive additions have been made in response to recent social developments and debates. These include numerous revisions and additions to sections on migration, child poverty, equal opportunity policies, housing, climate, and energy policy.

The series *Crashkurs Kommune* hopes to show that a whole range of spheres of political action have far-reaching implications and effects for municipal and local politics. The publications attempt to motivate local engagement—both inside and outside of local governments.

IN THE RIGHT(S): INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENTS FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE

The atmosphere in the tavern on the premises of what used to be the Kindl brewery in Berlin-Neukölln is rather rustic. For more than a year, the Berliner Entwicklungspolitische Ratschlag (BER), an association of non-governmental organizations concerned with development policy, have been using this venue, which is part of the project “Berlin Global Village”. Drunken debate is replaced by open-minded discussions on global issues. The venue also hosted the event series “In the Right(s): International Movements for Global Justice”, organized as part of a collaboration between the RLS and the BER between June and December of 2018. The project, which was accompanied by a publication series of the



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 All volumes included in the *Crashkurs Kommune* series can be downloaded free of charge on the RLS website, at: www.rosalux.de/publikationen/crashkurs-kommune/.



Demonstration for global justice at the World Social Forum, Montreal.

same name, addressed the following questions: What do we currently mean by social justice? Is it a utopia? A possible goal of development policy? The true goal of left-wing politics? And does the concept of global social rights present a viable means of transforming unjust relations between the Global North and the Global South? These questions were debated by invited academics, unionists and activists as part of three well-attended events on sustainability, work, and migration. The occasions presented an excellent framework for dialogue about the possibilities and limits of concretely realizing (global) social rights in the fields of development policy, transnational workers' rights in international waters, and access to rights for migrants in so-called "solidarity cities".

For more information on the event and publication series, see www.rosalux.de/dossiers/globale-soziale-rechte/.

A SOCIETY OF MANY DIFFERENT STRENGTHS

Cooperation between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and self-organized groups in (pro-)refugee movements was further intensified in 2018. The feminist perspective formed the central focus of two conferences organized in conjunction with Women in Exile and the International Women* Space. A summer camp taking place in Brandenburg in early July and

organized in conjunction with the network We'll Come United sought to strengthen self-empowerment and independence among refugees on an educational plane. Our work in solidarity with the victims of the NSU network was also continued in 2018. These collaborations are an expression of the clear pro-migration stance of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and of our active commitment in the field.

In November 2018, the makers of the digital project *Young Migrants Blog* ran a BarCamp in Berlin—a conference featuring open workshops—and were able to establish networks with a number of other online anti-racist projects. Autumn also marked the beginning of a Berlin Salon on Die Linke's role in the current Berlin government. The potential for a city founded on solidarity was debated by the three senators Katrin Lompscher, Klaus Lederer, and Elke Breitenbach, as well as by state secretaries, borough mayors, and politicians in charge of integration policies—all from Die Linke—in conversation with representatives from tenants' rights movements, the Solidarity Cities network, refugee initiatives, academics specializing on issues of migration, and many others. The conversations were complemented by the online dossier *Migration und Metropolen* (Migration and Metropolises).

As part of the discussion group on "Migration", experts in migration policy and participants active in refugee struggles, media relations, or umbrella organizations debated a *Manifesto for a Society of the Many*, the aim being to provide a platform to the migrant perspective in the midst of our society's recent rightward shift. Alongside the Netzwerk Kritische Migrationsforschung, Solidarity Cities, and We'll Come United, the group also co-organized the *Grosse Koalition des Antirassismus* (The Great Anti-Racism Coalition), a Germany-wide networking meeting of anti-racist movements held in May 2018 in Göttingen.

The dossier *Migration und Metropolen* can be found at: www.rosalux.de/dossiers/migration/migration-und-metropolen.

The Young Migrants Blog BarCamp in Berlin, November 2018.



THE HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

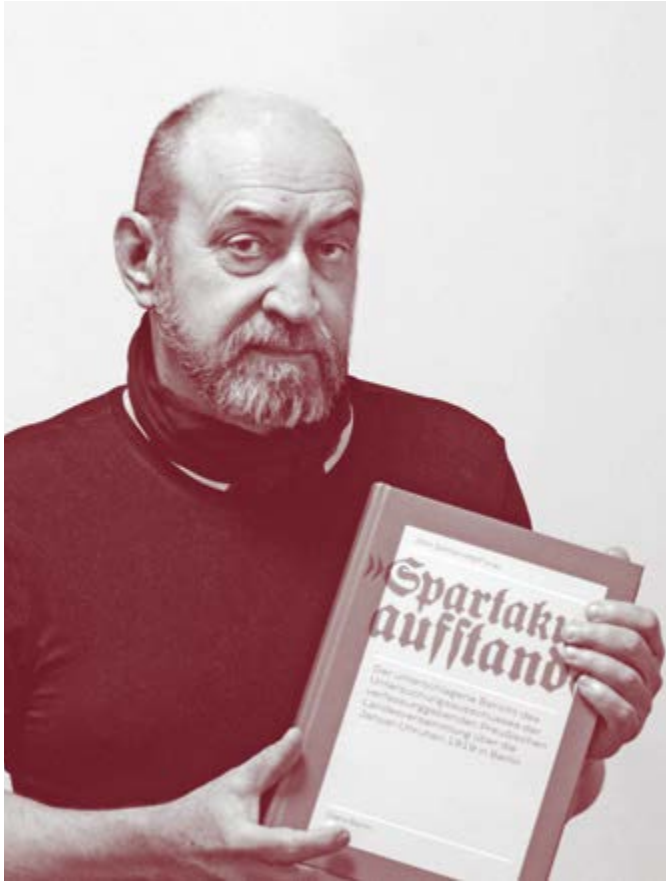
The Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism consists of an archive, a library, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg, and the History Department. Taking over from Florian Weis's term as provisional director, Albert Scharenberg will head the department from September 2018. The most important tasks of the 16 current staff members are to gather together the historical work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and to provide their own impetus to a strategic evolution of the foundation's historical focus.

The History Department is responsible for historical investigations. It works together with the "History" and "History for the Future" discussion groups, and it collaborates with numerous partners in the field of the politics of remembrance. The department also organizes events. In 2018, for instance, it held an event to commemorate 80th anniversary of the November pogroms, and the 100th anniversary of the *Reichsräte* Congress. It also releases its own publications.

The Archive of Democratic Socialism deals primarily with parliamentary archives, as well as those of the executive committee and the regional associations of the party Die Linke. In 2018, documents from several regional associations and the federal office of Die Linke were added, dating back to the early years of the PDS. This made it possible to digitize additional audio recordings of the extraordinary party conference of the SED/PDS of December 1989, thus securing them for future research and use. The library (library code: B 1599) features literature on left-wing history and theoretical education, with a particular focus on the party Die Linke and its associates, on the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and on its namesake, Rosa Luxemburg. The collection comprises more than 25,000 media items, supplemented by more than 1,500 journal titles. It is available to the public as a reference library. In 2018, as part of the series *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-Wing Literature in Conversation), the authors took part in several events at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Salon.

In 2018, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg concentrated on the German Revolution of November 1918, organizing numerous lectures and publications. This work involved the continuation of the series on Paul Levi, which resulted in the publication of a double volume of his speeches, writings, and letters from the revolutionary years.

A special highlight was the chronicle of the events surrounding the German Revolution, from 8 November 1918 (the day Luxemburg was released from prison) to 15 January 1919. The Historical Centre sends out a newsletter and is active on social media (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram).



Jörn Schütrumpf's book, published by Karl Dietz Verlag, provides a well-researched foundation for a re-evaluation of the Spartacist uprising.

the German Revolution, which was updated daily from 8 November 2018 to 15 January 2019, was very well received. And our next annual report will cover what happened during the *Homage to Rosa Luxemburg* in January 2019, as well as a number of new perspectives on Rosa Luxemburg's life and work that have recently been explored and developed.

1968: A GLOBAL AWAKENING

In 2018, the 50th anniversary of "1968" was a focal point of our historical education work. 1968 is an episode that had different manifestations in Eastern and Western Europe, and today it is remembered in different ways by each generation. In the mainstream media, the focus is less on the genuine debates of the time and more on interpretations oriented toward day-to-day political affairs: the movement of 1968 continues to be reduced to living in a commune, Uschi Obermaier, and cultural changes. At the same time, the positive outcomes of 1968 are being denounced by the AfD and other right-wing forces.

The anniversary also provided the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with an occasion to take a critical look at this key historical

event. From our point of view, "1968" stands for three things: firstly, for the desire for a radical break that emerged in the minds of many key figures for a short time, which was characterized by a fundamental opposition based on a global solidarity that transcended the East-West divide, and was also conveyed as such in the mass media. Secondly, 1968 in (West) Germany represents the rediscovery of repressed left-wing and feminist traditions from the pre-Nazi era, while for many in both East and West, the crushing of the Prague Spring in August 1968 caused them to lose faith in the Soviet Union—if they hadn't already done so after the events in Hungary of 1956.

Thirdly, it should be noted that many of the alternative (and green) ideas that we associate with "'68" nowadays only developed later on. Jürgen Habermas's "fundamental liberalization" of political culture in West Germany was neither the most important goal nor the core of the upheavals in the 1960s. This liberalization only occurred in the ensuing years, and was more something that occurred behind the backs of the protagonists of the movement. As a result of '68, a truly new left-wing movement emerged. The much-cited "march through the institutions" took place not only there, but also in people's homes, between built-in kitchens and television sets. The understanding that the 1968 breakthrough was a global one, that struggles across the world are connected and need to link up with one another in order to gain strength, has now become a common position. The connection between radical democracy and a socialist economy, which emerged in left-wing discussions in 1967/68, provides a source of inspiration for the debates and demands that are occurring and being made today. In particular, the concepts of a cultural revolution, of autonomous organization, and of socialization provide a good starting point for making links with the present—links that were also made in 1968 with "1918". However, neoliberalism can also be viewed as a consequence of '68: codetermination in the workplace, flat hierarchies, and the idea of individual fulfilment are today mechanisms of domination which the modern left needs to critically interrogate. The events of 1968 changed the world, but measured against the aspirations of the movement itself, it also failed.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has funded several publications on the subject, including one on feminism in the 1970s, a collection of interviews on left-wing radical industrial policy and occupational health and safety, and on the political current of the "Spontis". The regional RLS branches also held a number of events dealing with this topic.

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 The dossier "1968"—ein globaler Aufbruch is available online at: www.rosalux.de/dossiers/1968-einglobaler-aufbruch.

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In 1949, in the direct vicinity of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp, a memorial park was created where various countries commemorate their citizens who died in the camp. The monument, commissioned by the GDR, *Die Mutter*, by Fritz Cremer, was unveiled on 5 May 1967. Today, the majority of the delegations from the Federal Republic of Germany meet at this monument during the annual ceremonies in Mauthausen to commemorate the liberation of the camp.

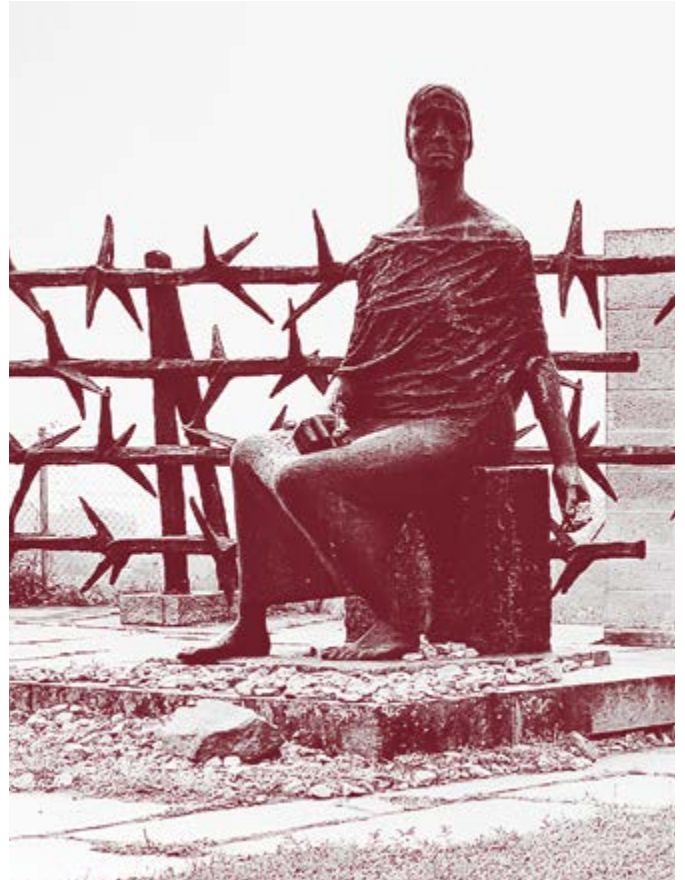
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1938: THE YEAR BEFORE THE WAR

In the field of “Historico-Biographical Education”, for years now, the RLS has offered teachers and other educators study trips addressing issues and policies related to the culture of remembrance. The aim is to combine innovative methods of historical-political education for young people with the school as a site of learning. A major part of this is the exchange of experiences among colleagues from within Germany, but also from neighbouring countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, and Austria. In 2018, this popular educational format included visits to sites of contemporary historical importance in Upper Austria and Vienna, combined with a short visit to the recently opened office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Prague.

Right-wing populist groups are on the rise throughout Europe, and in many places they have even been able to form part of government, such as in Austria in 2017. This has had consequences for the country’s policies on their culture of remembrance. On our latest study trip, the question of how historico-political education for young people can take place under these conditions was a common thread throughout the discussions with colleagues and anti-fascists.

80 years after the “annexation” of the first republic to Hitler’s Germany and 80 years after the construction of the Mauthausen concentration camp, the theme of the week-long study trip was “1938: The year before the war—Current issues and policies related to the culture of remembrance in the Second Republic of Austria”. In Vienna, the participants—inspired in part by historical graphic novels—went searching for traces of the lives and works of women who lived through the “century of extremes” in Vienna. During the guided tour of the Linz Schlossmuseum, Peter März, the curator of the exhibition *Oberösterreich 1918–1938: Zwischen den Kriegen* (Upper Austria 1918-1938: Between the Wars), emphasized that graphic novels are helpful in exhibitions, in particular for teachers who want to interest their students in contemporary history.



Additionally, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a reading tour with the Viennese author Evelyn Steinthaler. Her most recent graphic novel, *Peršmanhof: 25 April 1945*, a collaboration with the comic artist Verena Loisel, tells the story of a Slovenian family of farmers that supported partisans in the struggle against Hitler’s Germany, and was almost completely wiped out by fascists on 25 April 1945—on the very day when the armies of the Soviet Union and the USA were shaking hands at the River Elbe in Torgau. The author has already gone on a reading tour with the second edition to schools in Berlin, Cottbus, Senftenberg, and Werder, as well as at the youth culture project *Libertalia* at the Potsdam cultural centre freiLand. The evaluation of the various study trips showed that this format always has a lasting impact when projects are developed collaboratively by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, international partners, and the participating schools during the excursion itself.

One thing is certain: the rise of the radical right demands that we intensify our work in the field of the culture of remembrance, in order to counter the right’s relativization and lies with historical facts and a strong sense of historical awareness.

THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is active in each of the 16 federal states of Germany. Its 16 regional branches carry out educational work independently and in collaboration with partner organizations. In 2018, some 2,100 events were organized, reaching a total audience of 91,500 participants. The programmes target both supporters of Die Linke and the general public. The regional organizations collaborate with initiatives and social movements, unions, and other education providers, and, on occasion, with each other. In some of the larger German states, the network also includes local Rosa Luxemburg clubs. The diverse educational programme of the RLS in both urban and rural areas would not be possible without the tireless work of our volunteers. The RLS Network Unit coordinates the cooperation of the different departments of the foundation with the state-based foundations and the regional offices. The activities of the state-based foundations are funded by the national organization, by donations, and by membership fees. Many of the federal states of Germany supply their own additional funding.

In 2018, roughly 200 events were organized by our regional branches to commemorate the bicentenary of Karl Marx's birth. The *Marx200* conferences in Baden-Wuerttemberg, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, Saxony, and Thuringia were among the highlights. Roughly 580 events were held covering issues of inequality and social struggles. Among these, the analysis of capitalism and gender relations was especially important, with 130 events focusing on each of these issues. Topics on political history, which have always been a focus for the regional foundations, were well-represented, making up 440 events. Notably, in the year of the centenary of the German revolution of November 1918, the Vienna-based *portraittheater* toured Germany performing their play *Geheimsache Rosa Luxemburg* (Rosa Luxemburg Classified).

Issues related to the state and democracy were also among our focal points, with 220 events, while 320 events examined alternatives to the present social order. International politics also played an important role, with 110 of 340 events in the field dealing with displacement and migration. A *Speakers' Tour* addressed the political and social situation in Russia. Our international education programme also involved educational trips to Madrid, Rome, Catalonia, Belgrade, Athens, Tel Aviv, and Ramallah, and, retracing the footsteps of Rosa Luxemburg, to Berlin and Warsaw. The module-based educational programme *Political Academy for Young Activists*, which has been making its way through various regions of Germany since 2014, finished up in Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein in 2018, and started up again in Hesse at the end of the year. The following pages provide an overview of some of the highlights of the activities run by our regional branches.





Joint political reflection leads to greater agency: workshop in Stuttgart.



“Carved for the Unity of the Proletariat” – Revolutionary Workshop, Part II.

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

POLITICAL ACADEMY FOR YOUNG ACTIVISTS

Left-wing politics seeks to change the world. To achieve this, we need to understand the social order and power relations that we want to replace. We need activists who are willing to work together, and who have the practical tools required for political action. Finally, left-wing politics need to be anchored where politics is tangible for people: in grass-roots alliances and in local politics.

In five weekend seminars in Stuttgart, 25 youth activists from left-wing parties, organizations, and initiatives acquired knowledge of, and skills in, the following topics: “Left-Wing Politics: Past and Present”, “The Critique of Political Economy and the Analysis of Capitalism: An Introduction”, “Actors and Strategies of Change”, “Internationalism on the Left: International Politics and the European Union”, and “Get Involved: Local Politics”.

Linking larger issues and concrete practical examples from local politics proved especially productive. What is the relation between the financialization of capitalism and exploding rents, and what can local politicians do in response? What were the answers found by the “Red Vienna” of the 1920s to address Engels’s “housing question”? How can we succeed in strengthening local autonomy and public services against processes of de-democratization and commodification, and how do these processes relate to capitalism’s “laws of development”? In an era of growing migratory movement and burgeoning numbers of refugees, how can local communities act as a site of integration?

The *Political Academy for Young Activists: Change Begins on the Ground*, which was hosted for the second time in 2018, forms an important element of the educational activities of the regional branch Baden-Württemberg, and will be continued in the years ahead.

BAVARIA

THE BAVARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE BAVARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC OF 1918/19

The second instalment of an event series jointly organized by the group Plenum R—Revolution und Rätedemokratie and the Kurt-Eisner-Verein again tackled the period of the Bavarian revolution and the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Between 15 November and 22 December 2018, the series comprised 13 film and lecture nights, which were framed by two workshops and an exhibition. The *RevolutionsWorkshop* (Revolutionary Workshop) was open to anyone wishing to make an active contribution to developing a culture of remembrance around this period. The aim was to collectively develop a map of the Bavarian revolution.

The Department of Culture of the Municipality of Munich, the District Council of Munich-Sendling and the Sendlinger Kulturschmiede were also among the project partners. Indeed, the pre-war building of the Kulturschmiede provided the perfect setting, with the artist Wolfram Kastner presenting his exhibition *Baiern ist fortan ein Freistaat* (From This Moment Forth, Bavaria Is a Free State) on the walls, featuring painted portraits of Bavarian revolutionaries along with brief biographical sketches.

Public interest was overwhelming. Of an overall audience of 400, roughly half were women. The fact that this is a much higher proportion than seen at similar events may not least be due to the organizers emphasizing the role women played in the revolution. In 2016, a “Council Women” working group was formed as part of Plenum R, which now holds its own, regular meetings.

In the lead-up to the revolutionary anniversaries of 2018/19, the initial workshops that were held in 2017 had placed an emphasis on the Bavarian revolution, with more than 20 events being carried out that year. In 2019, the programme of the third *RevolutionsWorkshop* will centre on the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Preparations are already underway for a final event on the question: “What is Democracy?”.



Demonstration against “rent madness” at Berlin’s Hauptbahnhof, September 2018.



Evening campfire at the Göritz workshop.

BERLIN

A CRITICAL LOOK AT RED-RED-GREEN HOUSING POLICIES

In recent years, the housing crisis has come to dominate political discourse in Berlin. Hardly a day goes by without an article being published on the issue. Among the events organized by “Helle Panke” e. V., those on rent and housing have proven to be real audience magnets.

For us as an educational organization, it is exciting that our long-standing member Katrin Lompscher was made Senator for Urban Development and Housing in the new regional government in Berlin, and is now able to influence the political direction taken by the capital. On 29 January 2018, we invited her to the event *One Year of Housing Policies: What has been achieved, and what is still to be done?* held at Acud Macht Neu. Interest was so great that despite the large venue, many could not get in.

Katrin Lompscher was joined on stage by Julian Benz of the Mietshäuser Syndikat and Carola Handwerk of the working group on tenancy law at the Republikanischer Anwältinnen- und Anwälteverein, both of whom criticized what they saw as the senator’s tentative measures. Carola Handwerk suggested that over the winter months, the many now empty former administrative buildings should be opened to the homeless. Audience members also voiced criticism in light of continuing rent increases and unchecked property speculation. That said, the points of criticism put forward on this occasion differed markedly from those Katrin Lompscher usually faces from the local media, namely that there is too much bureaucracy, not enough being built, and not enough land being rubber-stamped for development. Even if Katrin Lompscher found herself repeatedly needing to justify her policies over the course of the evening, the lively discussion showed that local Berlin initiatives have not yet cut ties with the senator—indeed, they still have high hopes that she can achieve meaningful change. The event was chaired by Andrej Holm, once the nominee for state secretary for urban development and housing in the city’s red-red-green (SPD, Die Linke, and the Greens) coalition government.

BRANDENBURG

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN LUSATIA

What will come after coal? How do we want to live in Lusatia? These were the central questions addressed by a series of workshops organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg in the Lusatian mining regions.

It is often those critical of change who make their voices heard most loudly. Our workshops sought to listen to those who have been marginalized in the debates concerning the structural transformations in Lusatia involved in moving to a post-coal economy. For this reason, the series coordinated by social scientist Daniel Häfner worked with partners such as the CreativCentrum Göritz, the Grüne Liga-Umweltgruppe Cottbus, the Kulturhaus-Verein Proschim/Prožym, and the Sorbian Institute. The decision to address diverse regions (Göritz/Chórice, Proschim/Prožym and Senftenberg/Zły Komorow) reflects an attempt to shed light on the different ways in which these areas have been affected, and enabled a local, targeted approach to identifying development potential, and areas in need of support.

Participants were asked to name obstacles to creating a liveable Lusatia, and to develop ideas for how these might be overcome. Participants were provided with cards on which they identified fields of action and priorities. The points raised included greater openness to citizen input in shaping the structural transformation in the region; aspects of public infrastructure, ranging from education and mobility to social spaces; the desire for more innovation-friendly authorities and local government; and the necessity of accentuating the Sorbian/Wendish perspective in the transformation process. Counting the first workshop held in the Weisswasser/Běla Woda in Saxony, roughly 200 members of the public attended. The series is probably the most successful attempt to date at involving citizens in this on-going transformation.



The sixth instalment of “city/data/explosion” in 2018.



Anti-feminism is one of the core issues for right-wing parties.

BREMEN

CITY/DATA/EXPLOSION

The Bremen-based series “city/data/explosion” interrogates the relation between urban space, the public, and digital communication. It has its origins in an initiative by the Bremen art and cultural space Spedition im Güterbahnhof, and since 2016, has also been running in Hamburg. In light of the omnipresence of digital communication, which now pervades all spheres of our lives, including urban space, it is becoming necessary to examine how we want to position ourselves as agents in this context.

In 2018, the theme of the series was “Shared Infrastructure in the Electronic City”. Events included the launch of the anthology *Smart City—Kritische Perspektiven auf die Digitalisierung in Städten* (Smart City—Critical Perspectives on Urban Digitization), published by transcript Verlag. The Bremen contribution, “Shared Infrastructures, Digital Sovereignty, and Counter-Narratives”, collects interviews and conversations featuring groups and individuals from the US, Tunisia, Chile, the UK, and Germany, from which concrete demands concerning internet and urban policies are derived.

Co-editor Sybille Bauriedl provided an introduction to the discourse of “smart cities”, which in the world of urban planning brings together a number of the key promises of modernization efforts: increased quality of life, improved mobility, and optimized information streams. For IT firms and platforms, the “smart city” has become a business model, while cities are employing the term for promotional purposes in the hope of gaining a competitive edge on the global market. An emerging counter-narrative is that of the “informational right to the city”. Hardware and software developer Elektra Wagenrad gave a talk about emancipatory approaches to digital technology. For several years she has been involved in Initiative Freifunk (Initiative Free Transmission), and has developed a routing protocol for operating an open network. The aim of Freifunk, according to Wagenrad, is to establish a non-hierarchical, decentralized network run collectively by volunteers.

HAMBURG

STRATEGIES FOR COMBATING ANTI-FEMINISM

Across Europe, sexist attitudes are becoming increasingly acceptable in public discourse. This is evinced not only by the growth of (populist) right-wing and religious-conservative groups and parties such as the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). Indeed, one of the four events that were held as part of our series on anti-feminism shed light on how anti-feminism often functions as a bridge between the political centre and the far-right. The other three events each addressed a specific social movement helping to make anti-feminist discourses and practices socially acceptable: German rap, the “pro-life-movement” against abortion rights, and the so-called Identitarian movement. There was significant interest in the series, which ran through September and October 2018, with a total of 180 people attending the four events. The speakers were all highly knowledgeable about their topics, but also left space for audience participation and animated discussion.

All four speakers stressed the fact that anti-feminism not only reinforces, but also legitimizes, an already existing social inequality between genders, thus boosting the rise of the right. While anti-feminist practices are often perceived as “private” conflicts, anti-feminist movements have succeeded in building a Europe-wide network promoting inequality and reactionary positions. The struggle against egalitarian gender roles and LGBTI* rights has become central to the European right.

The series presented participants with the time and space to set about unmasking and identifying these ideas of female subordination within the broader public consciousness, and to discuss counter-strategies. For this reason, it was especially important that the speakers were able base their talks not only on their professional expertise, but also on their experience as activists.



Threatened and isolated by the Turkish state apparatus: HDP MP Ebru Günay.



After the NSU trial: more questions than answers.

HESSE

AUTHORITARIANISM AND RESISTANCE IN TURKEY

A workshop on “Authoritarianism and Resistance in Turkey” was hosted at the University of Kassel on 12 and 13 May 2018. Given the precarious situation of critical scholarship in Turkey, with many academics forced to live in exile, this workshop looked to discuss the political developments and struggles in Turkey, as well as to reflect upon current perspectives for a critical research practice.

The 20 papers and presentations from a variety of academic disciplines made for a dense programme. The first panel sought to describe the increasingly authoritarian character of the regime in Turkey. The discussions addressed the social preconditions for political authoritarianism, as well as the connections between this authoritarianism and the neoliberal transformations the country has undergone over the past four decades. In the second and third sessions, focus was placed on social actors and groups persecuted by the regime. The fourth panel looked at the international dimensions of authoritarianism. Discussions also addressed democratic and legal strategies for resistance in the face of electoral manipulation; the Gezi Park protests from the summer of 2013; and the continuing repression of academics.

The workshop concluded with an open discussion on how academics can continue to produce critical scholarship in exile. Having lost their social networks and confronted by a foreign culture, many of the participants experience the relation between their academic work and their social and cultural survival as a defining issue of their daily lives. In this respect, the conference considered not only the severity of the political situation, but also the social implications for those affected. At the same time, by providing an opportunity for dialogue and discussion, the conference helped to boost morale.

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

THE ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY IN THE MUNICH NSU TRIAL

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern was one of the regions in which the right-wing extremists of the National Socialist Underground (NSU) were active. On 25 February 2004, they shot and killed 25-year-old Mehmet Turgut in Rostock. One year later, NSU members Böhnhardt and Mundlos robbed a bank in Stralsund. The NSU trial has concluded—and has raised more questions than it gave answers. The NSU as a network, the role played by state institutions, the impact of both the crimes and the racist aspects of the police investigations on the families and communities of those murdered—these are all aspects that received almost no consideration in the trial. “This is largely due to the Federal Prosecutor’s Department”, argue Isabella Greif and Fiona Schmidt, authors of an RLS-funded study on prosecutorial approaches to right-wing and racist violence, specifically that of the NSU.

As the highest prosecutorial authority in Germany, the Federal Prosecutor’s Department was responsible for formulating the indictment, which means that they determined what was addressed in the NSU trial. Early on, the department settled on the hypothesis of an “isolated trio” interacting with only a small group of supporters. Questions concerning the role and complicity of the state’s security services—such as the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and its informants inside the Nazi scene—were thus explicitly kept out of criminal investigations. Right from the outset, there was a conflict between the co-plaintiffs’ desire for an investigation into the full breadth of the NSU network and the state’s aim to protect itself. Between 22 and 25 May 2018, the authors presented their conclusions in a tour of four different locations in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Attendance levels were high, and there was plenty of opportunity for discussion. Participants also included several of those involved in preparing the parliamentary investigation committee of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern state parliament.



Birger Höhn (right) of the Interessensvertretung Selbstbestimmt Leben in Deutschland e. V.

LOWER SAXONY

“ACTIVELY IMPEDING”

A satirical poster designed by disability rights activists states provocatively: “The perfect little cripple — grateful, well-behaved, slightly stupid, and easy to manage.” Of course, this has nothing to do with what people with disabilities are really like. They can also be loud, bold and defiant, and demand their rights.

Despite the notable achievements of the disability rights movement, people with disabilities still experience too many barriers, too much discrimination. They find themselves constantly having to negotiate exclusion, autonomy, and the promise of participation. The desire to paint a portrait of this constellation provided the impetus for the rather long (but now well-established) title for this event series, *Aktiv behindern: lieb, nett und ein bisschen blöd – Menschen mit Behinderungen zwischen Ausgrenzung, Selbstbestimmung und ‘Inklusion’* (Actively Impeding: well-behaved, nice and slightly stupid — people with disabilities between exclusion, self-determination, and ‘participation’).

The series, which is hosted at the Hanover University of Applied Sciences and Arts, has been running for one and a half years. It is a collaboration between the university’s Disability and Student Services Office, the interest group Selbstbestimmt Leben Hannover e. V., the university’s students’ union, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Lower Saxony. Three to four events take place each semester. The series has emerged as a platform where people with and without disabilities can come together to discuss disability policies and positions, and explore possibilities for effective interventions in the quest for full social participation for people with disabilities.

In 2018, the speakers were Kirsten Achtelik, Rebecca Maskos, Raul Krauthausen, Udo Sierck, Birger Höhn, and Wolfgang Jantzen. Their contributions addressed prenatal diagnostics, media representations of people with disabilities, the demand for gratitude, autism, emancipation, and self-determination. All presentations were followed by lively discussions. This important series of events will be continued in coming semesters.



Munich-based journalist Heribert Prantl commemorating the German Revolution of November 1918.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY—ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

Democracy in Germany was achieved as a result of the struggle of workers and soldiers — shouldn’t that be cause for the unions too to celebrate? Witich Roßmann, chair of the Cologne branch of the DGB (German Federation of Trade Unions), and Karl-Heinz-Heinemann, chair of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung North Rhine-Westphalia, initiated the event *Democracy Won — Democracy Threatened*. The idea was to move beyond the idea of the German Revolution of November 1918 as being merely an incomplete revolution, or even a betrayed revolution. The conference was co-hosted by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, and the Cologne *Volkshochschulen*.

On 7 November 2018, the opening event featured a talk by the head editorial writer of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Heribert Prantl, followed by a panel discussion. It was attended by more than 300 people. Prantl emphasized that the fact that the revolution had achieved what had failed in 1848 was good reason to celebrate. The revolution had created a more socially minded Germany, fundamentally reformed the world of work, and introduced female suffrage. At the same time, Prantl conceded that the elites in the state, the military, and the economy remained unaffected — partly due to the role played by Friedrich Ebert.

Ebert and Rosa Luxemburg were sworn enemies, RLS representative Michael Brie pointed out; yet today, the foundations named after Luxemburg and Ebert had come together in the struggle to defend the democratic order won in 1918. For Brie, democracy needs to show it is able to deal with the challenges presented by climate change, migration, and social divisions. The other speakers on the panel, Anja Kruke of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, and Anja Maier, chair of the DGB North Rhine-Westphalia, agreed. Indeed, all participants agreed that 9 November should be declared Germany’s national holiday. It is the date on which the republic was proclaimed, yet also the date of *Kristallnacht*, and of the Fall of the Wall — a date, then, that combines these heterogeneous aspects of German history.



Angelina Jellesen and Thomas Ndindah at a Black History Month event in Mainz.



Inspection of an organic farm in Saarland.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

Rhineland-Palatinate's first ever *Black History Month* took place in February 2018 with the aim of increasing the visibility of Black people in culture and society. Three evenings of events were organized in Mainz on this subject which is so often confined to the margins of educational programming.

The first of the events looked at everyday racism from both a global and a local perspective, ranging from the #BlackLivesMatter movement that emerged in the US in 2013 to the still unresolved murder of Oury Jalloh in a Dessau prison cell. In a conversation with Thomas Ndindah and Angelina Jellesen, our deputy chair Furat Abdulle also discussed the Mainz "logo debate" sparked by the racist company logo of the roofing company Ernst Neger.

The second night was dedicated to Black German history from the 19th century onwards. Historian Helena Ngoumou presented her research on Black organizations and personalities, among them Anton Wilhelm Amo, who was kidnapped and sold into slavery as a child, and later authored the treatise *De iure Maurorum* and taught in Germany as a philosopher. Ultimately, the unconcealed racism of German society forced him to return to Ghana. Another presentation focused on the project Each One Teach One (EOTO), the first Black library in Germany. It was founded in 1995 in Berlin from the estate of Mainz resident Vera Heyer, who was active with the Initiative Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland.

The third evening approached racism and sexism, but also faith, from the perspective of art. The spoken-word activist-artists in charge of the programme combined personal accounts of racism with social critique, their performances provoking both reflection and enthusiasm.

SAARLAND

BYE-BYE, GLYPHOSATE

In recent decades, shrinking profit margins in agriculture have led farms to expand, rationalize their procedures, and grow optimized crops, usually (unfortunately) with the aid of chemicals—to the detriment of both quality and the trust of consumers in foodstuffs that are approved for sale on the market. Marcus Comtesse, a farmer from Wadgassen, Saarland, and a member of the organic food association Bioland, is among the pioneers who are attempting to allow nature to resume some of the essential tasks of farming. For instance, he grows two or more companion crops on the same field, so that instead of competing with each other for light and nutrition, they complement each other. More and more, the technique of companion planting is being suggested as a possible alternative to the use of the herbicide glyphosate.

What companion planting means in practice is easiest explained by walking onto an organically farmed field in early summer. At the invite of the Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft, roughly 35 participants from agriculture in the region, environmental activism, craftsmanship, and trade—among them Saarland's best-known organic chef Sigrune Essenpreis—took a stroll through Comtesse's land in late June 2018. In his welcome note, Patric Bies, director of the RLS office in Saarland, underlined that companion planting could naturally prevent the growth of "weeds", replacing the need for mechanical or chemical weed control. Comtesse agreed, adding that "companion planting has increased the number of worms and nutrients in the soil. Rainwater is able to drain more quickly, meaning I have a good harvest even under unfavourable weather conditions." He added that his fuel costs had also gone down, as he no longer needed to plough. When working the fields, he can now almost solely concentrate on sowing and harvesting. On top of this, this form of agriculture ensures a rich diversity of flowers: which is good news for bees.



Post-colonial Dresden: anti-colonial and anti-racist “products” at EDEWA.

SAXONY

GRAND OPENING—POSTCOLONIAL GOODS

The interactive travelling exhibition EDEWA, *der Postkolonialwarenladen eröffnet erste Filiale in Sachsen* (EDEWA, the postcolonial goods store opens its first store in Saxony) was hosted by the Kunsthau Dresden between 13 and 28 March 2018, challenging audiences’ perceptions through a “visit to the supermarket”. The anti-colonial and anti-racist “products” could be picked up and touched, sparking discussion and critical reflection about the visitors’ consumption habits and perceptions. The aim was to take a closer look at issues of racism, colonialism, and discrimination through a range of formats.

The accompanying programme comprised films, lectures, excursions, and readings; it was organized by DRESDEN-postkolonial, the VVN-BdA Dresden, Dresden für Alle and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony. The documentary film *Afro. Deutschland* portrayed the everyday lives of Black people in Germany. *Roma in Deutschland—immer noch unerwünscht* (The Romani in Germany—Still Unwelcome), set in Saxony, is an emotive and chilling film presenting one individual’s struggle against deportation. A postcolonial city tour explored the enduring traces of colonialism in Dresden-Neustadt. A reading entitled *Afrokultur* sought to situate the present and future of Black German history in a global context. The events sparked intense discussion, one provoking tears when a young woman—who vehemently rejects racism and is active in anti-racist struggles—realized she had unwittingly made a racist remark. The debate that ensued illuminated how all of us carry within us unconscious forms of racism we need to expose and reflect upon.

The exhibition and the accompanying programme reached a total audience of about 550 people, including many women. The joint approach between several organizations worked very well in terms of thematic overlaps and organizational coordination. The different initiatives involved, moreover, were able to reach diverse target audiences.



Thomas Hupfer (left) and Thomas Zieler performing at the premiere in Magdeburg.

SAXONY-ANHALT

THE EXPULSION OF THE BAUHAUS FROM DESSAU IN 1932

“For this reason, we demand the greatest frugality and ... the immediate cancellation of all funding for the Bauhaus.” This is one of the proposed policies of the Nazi Party at the local elections of 25 October 1931. The “termination of the Bauhaus” was to “be initiated” immediately. Little more than a year later, the proposal turned into a reality. After the National Socialists had gained a majority in the Free State of Anhalt and the City of Dessau, they voted for the closure of the Bauhaus Dessau in August 1932. While the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) abstained, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) voted against the bill.

In March 1933, Fritz Hesse, the long-serving mayor of Dessau, a committed liberal democrat and Bauhaus supporter, was forced to retire. The Nazis set up an investigation committee and initiated criminal proceedings against him.

The approaching centenary of the Bauhaus provided an apt occasion for revisiting these events through a documentary play. The premiere was held on 17 November 2018 in the Bauhaus architecture of the former public bathhouse Gröninger Bad in Magdeburg. The play is set in the early summer of 1933, when the outcome of the investigations was still undecided. The Nazis threaten to take Hesse (played by Thomas Zieler) into so-called preventive custody. Hesse discusses the pros and cons of the Bauhaus with his lawyer and declared Bauhaus sceptic, Dr Eisenberg (Thomas Hupfer). The play is based on Lars Breuer’s archival research and makes use of original quotations and articles from the period to reconstruct the attacks from the right against the Bauhaus Dessau, as well as the political responses to these attacks.

The material shows the degradation of the political culture of the time. Many proclamations made by those involved, especially the agitation methods of the Nazi functionaries, are strikingly reminiscent of contemporary positions held by members of the AfD.



Hans-Jürgen Urban of IG Metall is a specialist in digital work processes.



Many were interested in taking stock of the red-red-green coalition government in Thuringia.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

WORKING HOURS 4.0—MY LIFE, MY TIME

In September 2018, in conjunction with IG Metall Unterelbe and ver.di, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a day-long seminar in Elmshorn for employee representatives. The day addressed current and future possibilities for regulating working hours in light of the digitization of the workplace.

Hans-Jürgen Urban, IG Metall executive board member, initiated proceedings by providing an introduction to the topic. Citing Marx, Urban re-emphasized that reduced working hours are a necessary precondition for workers' personal growth. Relevant issues were subsequently expanded upon in three working groups—focusing on the lived experience in the workplace, on shifting demographics, and on utopian ideas for the organization of working hours.

The collective agreement that IG Metall achieved in 2018 was an important step toward worker-centred policies on working hours, guaranteeing rights to reduced full-time hours, more days off, and additional days off for care and shift workers. These claims were only realized thanks to (warning) strikes involving 1.5 million employees.

The digitization of work processes is changing company cultures. "Agile companies" are seeking to deregulate (maximum) working hours as well as break allowances. The idea is that a better balance between family and work can be achieved, especially thanks to mobile working practices. The experiences of many colleagues, however, paints a different picture. They have criticized the deregulation of working hours, increased workloads and more intrusive monitoring of their work. Workers are also demanding a say in the use of digital technology.

An employee-centred policy on working hours requires reliable collective regulations that nevertheless grant individual autonomy, as well as a stable welfare state (from the nursery to the old-age home). The building blocks of this need to be the "golden triangle" of a 40-hour week, 8-hour working day, and 11 hours down time.

THURINGIA

#R2G—TAKING STOCK AND LOOKING FORWARD

Education and housing policy formed the focus of two events hosted as part of the series *Projects by the Red-Red-Green Coalition in Thuringia: Taking Stock and Looking Forward*. How do we create "good schools"? What are the steps the Thuringian government has taken, and how can we further improve our children's education opportunities? On 27 August 2018, more than 100 people came together in Erfurt to hear presentations from academia and politics, and reports of work on the ground. In small groups around thematically organized tables, they also discussed possible solutions, sketched out plans, and argued—for a total of four hours. Representatives of the Thuringia parliamentary groups of the SPD, the Greens and Die Linke were present, as was the Thuringian minister of education, Helmut Holter (Die Linke).

A previous event in June had already addressed the question of what regional and local governments can actually do when it comes to providing affordable housing, supporting ecological urban development, and democratic participation in development and housing policy. Infrastructure Minister in Thuringia, Birgit Keller of Die Linke, summarized the achievements to date of the state's red-red-green coalition government (#r2g), whilst also pointing out where work remains to be done. Representatives of alternative housing projects, academics, and practitioners from urban planning and local housing companies also brought forward ideas and suggestions. The series was kicked off in 2017 with a discussion on the red-red-green state government's transport policy. At that time, the series was a collaboration between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung came on board in 2018. The series will continue in 2019, with the three foundations looking at issues around digitization—with an explicit focus on how the state government's policies on these matters should move forward in the coming years, looking beyond the regional elections at the end of October 2019.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

Once again in 2018, the activities of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation focused on the question of how social rights can be strengthened around the world: be it through the regulation of businesses that violate human rights, through struggles for the rights of agricultural workers or through the interconnection of projects of resistance across the globe. At events in places like Beijing, Belgrade, and Bahia we discussed how left-wing forces and opposition to right-wing politics can be strengthened, not only in specific instances of industrial action, but also through theoretical discussions like those that occurred at the large-scale Marx conference, which took place in Berlin in May 2018.

In 2018, the RLS intensified its international promotional work so that these efforts could reach a wider audience. In March 2018, an English editorial team was created that promotes the diverse work being done around the world to an international audience, both on the website and via social media. International issues were introduced to a wide readership in Germany as well: since October 2018, the magazine *maldekstra* (Esperanto for “left”) has been published four times a year as an insert in the newspapers *neues deutschland* and *Freitag*.

These global perspectives are reflected in the foundation’s expansion of the structures of our international activity: at the end of 2018, a new office dedicated to projects in central Asia was built in Almaty, directed by Marlies Linke. The office in Manila, which initially focused solely on the issue of climate justice, will be developed into a regional office under the direction of Liliane Danso-Dahmen, starting in September 2019. The office in Beirut, directed by Miriam Younes, which has also had a thematic focus up until now, will also function as a regional office, which in addition to Lebanon, will focus on Syria, Iran, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula.

The following personnel changes were also made: in August 2018, Andreas Günther took over the role previously shared between Albert Scharenberg and Stephanie Ehmsen of director of the office in New York. In 2018, Torge Löding succeeded Gerhard Dilger as director of the office in São Paulo. In early 2019, Dilger relocated to Buenos Aires, where there is now an independent regional office. At the start of 2019, Ferdinand Muggenthaler replaced Karin Gabbert as director of the office in Quito. In March 2019, Philip Degenhardt took over the role of director of the office in Hanoi.

In addition, three delegations are in preparation, dealing with feminism, social rights, and international trade union politics, as is the establishment of a new office in Geneva. The new colleagues began their training in March 2019 in Berlin.

LOOKING AT THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE

THE WORK OF THE FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

One of the focal points of the foundation's international work is global social rights. Our aim is to protect and/or expand the social and democratic rights of exploited and marginalized classes. All over the world, a large portion of these classes lives in rural areas. For this reason it is no coincidence that organizations of smallholder farmers, indigenous groups, or agricultural workers' unions are important target audiences and partners in our project work (for example in Latin America, India, or East Africa).

With the creation of the Food Sovereignty Dialogue Programme in 2017, we wanted to take a strategic approach to this work. The concept of food sovereignty does not refer to trade autocracies controlled by nation states, but rather to the rights of people to produce and consume food, and their right to decide how the food system is organized. As a foundation, we want to repoliticize the relations of production in agriculture and in the food sector as a whole. In early 2018, the magazine *Luxemburg* published an issue connecting food sovereignty to a wide range of other issues related to social transformation. The issue included both authors engaged in critical scholarship and authors from social movements, and discussed topics such as the connections between food systems and financial capitalism, the role of feminism in the movement for food sovereignty, and the connection between rural regions and right-wing authoritarianism. The first edition of the magazine *maldekstra* was dedicated to these issues, and introduced work from the foundation's offices and partner organizations, such as work dealing with the struggles of migrant "slaves in the fields of Europe" in Spain and Italy.

Beyond merely intensifying our critique of individual corporations, we want to shine a light on the evolution of contemporary agrarian capitalism as a system. The *Agrifood Atlas*, published in 2017 in collaboration with the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung and *Le Monde diplomatique*, was published in English, Portuguese, and Spanish in 2018. Alongside the issue of financialization, the second "frontier" in this field consists of the use of digital technologies, which corporations are using to radically alter contemporary agriculture and food systems. Together with the Canadian group ETC and the NGO INKOTA, we published the study *Blocking the Chain – Industrial food chain concentration, Big Data platforms and food sovereignty solutions*. We invited the Canadian author Pat Mooney to Germany for events related to this study.

While discourses in politics or the media recognize the contributions made by smallholder producers to the global food supply chain, the "other half" of agricultural workers, the wage labourers, tend to go unmentioned. We are seeking to strengthen organizational networks amongst agricultural unions. To this end, we provided support to



"Uprising on the Dinner Plate": the foundation's second political summer picnic in Berlin

the NGO Women on Farms for their work with sugarcane unions from different countries in southern Africa in their quest to develop strategies in their struggles against sugar enterprises like Illovo, which systematically circumvent workers' rights. Together with the international federation of agricultural and food trade unions, IUF, we facilitated the first ever international Farmworkers Forum. Almost 100 agricultural union representatives discussed successful examples of organization and promotional work. The forum is slated to be repeated in coming years. It is also essential that union struggles around agricultural work reach a wide audience. To this end, in 2017 the foundation organized the first ever summer picnic *Aufstand am Tellerrand* (Uprising on the Dinner Plate), where union representatives and activists from all over the world had the chance to discuss forms of solidarity within agricultural supply chains.

SOCIAL AND TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN BEIRUT

From 13 to 16 November 2018, the RLS office in Beirut organized an international conference in the city to discuss topics such as social and transformative justice in contemporary historical conflicts and their aftermaths. Taking a comparative approach was one of the stated objectives of the conference: experts and activists were invited from countries such as Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, but also Bosnia, Columbia, East Timor, Rwanda, and Senegal. Also invited were experts from the fields of academia and politics who work on concepts concerning transformative and social justice, war and post-war economies, as well as on civil conflict resolution. Attempts were made to draw connections between the two concepts of social and transformative justice, which are often considered separately, in an effort to rethink the relationship between social (in)justice and socio-economic crises and conflicts.



Demonstration in Bustan Al Kaser, a district of Aleppo, in 2013; from a photo series by Syrian journalist Doha Hassan, who works as a freelancer for the RLS

The conference was attended by around 40 people. The majority of the programme took place in a conference hall in Beirut, with additional excursions organized within Beirut and to Tripoli. The conference began with two keynote speeches: Fawwaz Traboulsi, a political scientist at the American University of Beirut, used the example of the global fight against terror to talk about the connections between capitalism and war. Erin Daly, a legal scholar at Widener University, discussed the concept of dignity, and presented it as a way to think social and transformative justice together. Following this, the participants took part in four thematically arranged discussion panels. Panel 1 dealt with local struggles for social and transformative justice using the example of the estimated 17,000 people who disappeared in the Lebanese civil war. Panel 2 used the current opportunities and challenges facing Syrian civil society both within and Syria and abroad as a means of addressing the *shrinking spaces* available to civil society in conflict and post-conflict scenarios. Panel 3 analysed economic aspects of conflict and post-conflict situations. Panel 4 dealt with the tensions

and challenges inherent in concepts of dealing with civil conflict from a left-wing perspective. The conference was the prelude to a series of workshops on “positive peace”, which will be held once a year in Beirut. Over the past year, an online dossier with relevant publications, interviews and blogs was also prepared on this subject. “Positive peace” is more than the mere absence of war: modern violent conflicts have not only direct, but also indirect and structural causes, such as poverty, hunger, and political discrimination. The term “positive peace” takes these aspects into account, and aims at achieving a situation which not only puts a stop to direct forms of violence, but also permanently eradicates indirect and structural forms of violence.

The cooperation of academics, experts, activists, and politicians initiated by the RLS in 2018 will continue in the coming years. The aim is to use comparative analyses of forms of structural violence and regional conflicts to strengthen our knowledge of structural relationships, and to clarify what left-wing perspectives on peace might look like if they are to respond to the challenges of the 21st century.

WHEN THE BELT CAN'T GET ANY TIGHTER

WHY GOVERNMENT AUSTERITY POLICIES HIT WOMEN TWICE AS HARD

On 8 March 2018, several million men and women took part in a general strike in Spain under the slogan “Without us, the world stands still!” As is the case in many other European countries, government austerity measures, particularly in the education and care sectors, are forcing women in Spain to take on unpaid care work in the household, which actually ought to be provided by the state as part of their provision of public services.

With the onset of the financial crisis in 2007, many countries adopted policies of austerity. In Southern Europe and Ireland, austerity was mainly imposed by the European Union and the International Monetary Fund. In Eastern Europe, austerity was implemented both in response to a desire for rapid integration into the European market and by the pressure placed on the new member states by the EU to achieve economic success.

The mantra of using austerity as a means of achieving a balanced budget, improved competitiveness and debt avoidance has a devastating effect on women’s working and living conditions. This can be seen in the studies of different European countries which the RLS published in 2018. Under the title *Austerity, Gender Inequality, and Feminism after the Crisis*, the authors evaluated data on the women’s employment and income, paying particular attention to austerity measures that directly affect gender discrepancies, and examined changes in legislation and new regulations in this area.

How does austerity policy affect gender roles within families? Who provides education and care for young and old people when the state no longer offers support? What does it mean when equal opportunity officers and the support programmes they work for get cut? Where do women go when there are no shelters for victims of domestic violence? Who will raise the unwanted children when abortions are no longer permitted? Among other things, these studies formulate demands for a left-wing feminist politics based on social justice and gender equality. The results of the individual studies have already been discussed in some countries, and have also been presented in the European Parliament and at the 63rd session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in New York. This project is a collaboration between Cornelia Möhring (spokeswoman for women’s policy of Die Linke’s parliamentary group in the German Bundestag), the women’s policy section of Die Linke’s parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

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 Further information can be found at:
www.rosalux.de/austerity.



Pamphlets against the rampant austerity policies across Europe

CONNECTING RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

ACTIVISM IN WEST ASIA, NORTH AFRICA, AND GERMANY

Almost eight years ago now, a wave of protests seized many countries in North Africa and West Asia. Demands for social, political and economic justice and an end to neoliberal market doctrines shook the regimes that had ruled these regions for decades. As the Occupy movements in North America and Europe proved, it was not only people in Tunis, Sanaa and Damascus who took to the streets. Today, however, we are witnessing a resurgence of authoritarian regimes and the spread of right-wing populism in many parts of the world. This situation puts enormous pressure on emancipatory activists, intellectuals, and civil society as a whole.

Against this backdrop, it seems more urgent than ever to connect resistance movements and build alliances across borders. With this in mind, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and ALSHARQ organized a three-day conference in September 2018 entitled *Connecting Resistances—Emancipatory Activism in West Asia, North Africa, and Germany*. A total of 50 activists, journalists, and academics from over 20 countries and different fields came together in Berlin to exchange perspectives on local struggles and to work on new strategies for providing each other with mutual support. Key topics from the various contexts included activism under authoritarian regimes, feminism and youth movements, migration policies and state militarization efforts, as well as the possibility of continuing activism in exile.

The doctrine of neoliberal authoritarianism has been on the rise for some years now. However, struggles for social justice in many different places have caused this order to begin to crumble. In light of this, the aim of the conference was to support the exchange of ideas about these struggles. All participants emphasized how encouraging and valuable the discussions at the conference were. Despite the fact that repression and violence continue to be part of daily life

in many places, there was a sudden sense of confidence: the participants exchanged views on a very individual level about their most pressing concerns in their political work, and discussed concrete ways of supporting each other. The conference was characterized by the attempt to collectively overcome borders and to break out of one's own bubble.

The whole endeavour was also a great financial and logistical challenge. The visa applications were the most suspenseful part of the project. Despite all our best efforts, some individuals unfortunately had their applications rejected. Meanwhile, other participants feared that their political activities would lead them to be detained when leaving or entering their countries. The fear of authoritarian politics reached as far as Germany: Egyptian participants in particular asked to remain anonymous due to concerns about surveillance and being detained by security services in Berlin. For this reason, apart from the public closing event, the conference took place behind closed doors.

The term *shrinking spaces* has been used to describe the increasing restriction of civil society's scope of influence. In light of this phenomena, a safe environment was created in which participants were able to exchange ideas and experiences confidentially. Ways in which political activism and critical scholarship can support and complement each other were a particular concern. The aim was to strengthen international networking and solidarity, but also to focus the content and strategies of further cooperation. *Connecting Resistances* has initiated a valuable exchange—across national borders and across the divide between research and activism. Now it's a matter of how we talk to each other—and what we talk about.

STRENGTHENING ALTERNATIVE PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT

THE FOUNDATION'S NEW OFFICE IN PRAGUE

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Prague office opened in June 2018. At the opening event, Bodo Ramelow, Prime Minister of Thuringia, Gregor Gysi, President of European Left, and Kateřina Konečná, delegate of the European Parliament for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, all addressed the public. The event focused on how left-wing forces from the Czech Republic and Germany could cooperate in the context of their membership in the European Union, and on opportunities for regional cooperation more broadly.

The foundation has been cooperating with partner organizations in the Czech Republic since 2001, and the office's opening has provided new impetus for collaborations. Our main aim is to strengthen alternative and left-wing initiatives in a society that seeks to reach the same level of development as its German and Austrian neighbours as quickly as possible. In the Czech Republic, too, the economically liberal approach is being pursued,



Gregor Gysi at the opening of the new RLS office in Prague

underestimating and hurriedly sweeping aside the problems that this model produces, meaning that potential alternative solutions are rarely considered. Debates about economic policies that would strengthen social rights, about social policy and social justice, and about climate justice provide an important starting point for a critical analysis of the country's path of development since it joined the EU in 2004.

In addition to the Czech Republic, the Prague office will also coordinate with organizations and initiatives in Slovakia and Hungary. Analytical studies on social and political developments in these countries support the office in its efforts to stimulate discussions about different models of EU integration in the coming years. In this work, our focus is on activities in the respective civil societies in which alternative and left-wing initiatives can be strengthened.

These three countries underwent a profound social transformation before joining the EU. Many of the social fault lines in these societies can still be traced back to these drastic remedies, which ultimately led to a range of political phenomena that are not always easy to understand. The fact that the Hungarian government openly muses about the supposed advantages of an "illiberal democracy", for example, is only possible because sections of society have rejected the free-market-based attempts at economic development due to some of the social problems that this creates or ignores.

Continuing the debate on alternative visions of EU integration will be an important aspect of the work of the Prague office. The UK's EU membership was of great importance to countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary, because, unlike Germany and Austria, the country opened its labour market to the new EU citizens right after 2004.

WORKING IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

THE RLS OFFICE IN BEIJING

Since 2017, a law has been in force in China that tightens regulations on foreign non-governmental organizations in China. One of the aspects of this law is that it requires organizations to apply for registration. The Beijing office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been officially registered since May 2017. For the foundation's political work this means that legal guarantees and binding principles now apply where legal ambiguities and grey zones previously prevailed. On the other hand, the registration brought with it a mountain of new bureaucratic red tape as well as extensive authorization and reporting obligations, which set new limits on the practical work of the office. For practical considerations alone, this necessitated a reconception of the office, towards a focus on theoretical and political-strategic issues and partnerships with other institutions.

At the same time, the People's Republic of China is currently in a phase of historic upheaval and transition. After four decades of a unique economic and social modernization process, the growth and development model of recent decades is increasingly reaching its limits in terms of its function and claims to legitimacy. A new model of development must be found in which the societal relationship to nature and social

conditions are brought together and reshaped. This requires transition to a mode of development that is not just socially and ecological sustainable, but also based on cooperation and solidarity. Existing concepts, ideas and assumptions must be reconstructed and further developed in a critical manner.

In this environment of complex political-ideological exploration, the foundation's office in Beijing has evolved into an important critical-constructive dialogue partner for a large number of important institutions and powerful bodies — including the universities in Fudan, Tsinghua, and Beijing, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Central Party School, and the Central Translation Office.

In addition, the office is increasingly seeking to function as a hub through which not only expertise, visions, strategic approaches, and political directions in left-wing politics flow into China, but also, conversely, where various trends in Chinese discourse can be brought back to Germany, which may then have repercussions for debates in Germany and beyond. Finally, in view of China's size, population, and increasing importance on the international stage, it is important to gain an understanding of Chinese culture and politics that will enable our own, specifically left-wing perspectives on the country, including a German one.

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Along the two thematic lines of enquiry of "Modern Socialism" and "Social Ecological Transformation", the office strives to present and strengthen the visions and goals of democratic socialism within the discourse of Chinese socialism through joint workshops, conferences, research projects, and publications, thus opening up a space for the development of leftist theory in China.

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Workshop "Socialism: Analysis, Perspective and Strategy in the 21st Century" in Shanghai



OUR INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

MEXICO CITY

NEW YORK

QUITO

SÃO PAULO

BUENOS AIRES

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND NORTH AMERICA UNIT

LATIN AMERICA UNIT

ANDES REGION



Location: Quito, Ecuador
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela
Office director: Ferdinand Muggenthaler (since March 2019)
www.rosalux.org.ec

BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY



Location: São Paulo, Brazil
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Brazil, Paraguay
Office director: Torge Löding (since September 2018)
www.rosaluxspba.org

CONO SUR



Location: Buenos Aires, Argentina
Year founded: 2015
Project countries: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay
Office director: Gerhard Dilger (since March 2019)
Feminism programme director: Alex Wischnewski (since September 2019)
www.rosaluxspba.org/es

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, AND CUBA



Location: Mexico City, Mexico
Year founded: 2007
Project countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua
Office director: Sandy El Berr
www.rosalux.org.mx

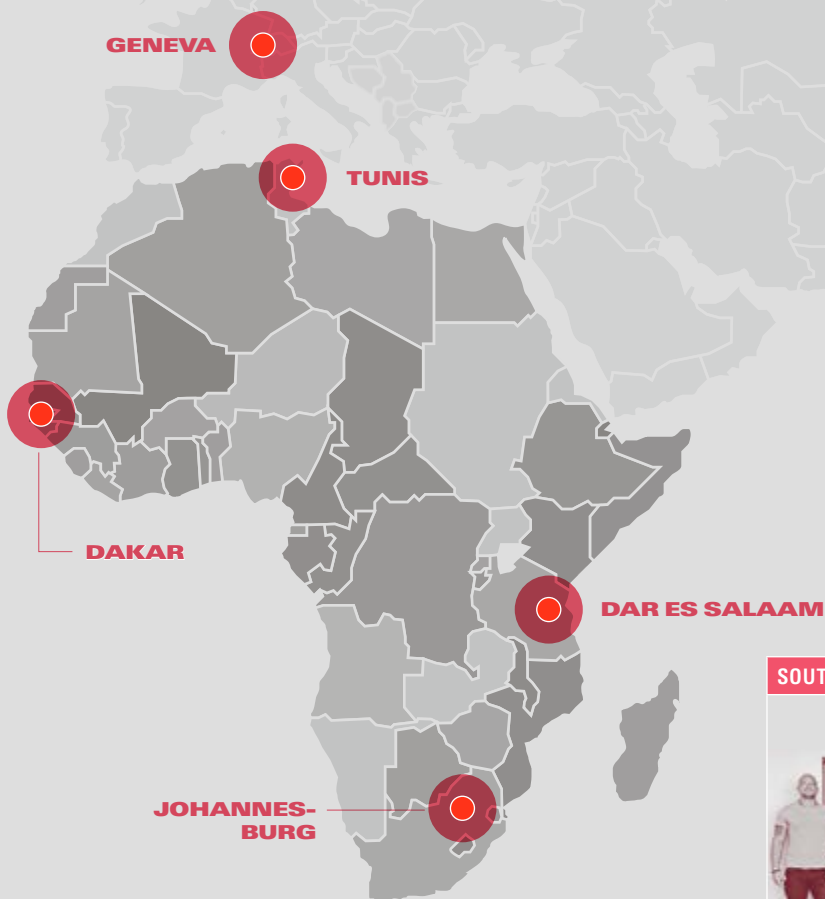
NORTH AMERICA AND UNITED NATIONS



Location: New York, USA
Year founded: 2012
Project countries: USA, Canada, UN locations
Office director: Andreas Günther (Since August 2018)
www.rosalux-nyc.org/de

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION POLITICS AND GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS

Location: Geneva, Switzerland
Year founded: Under construction
Project countries: UN locations
Office director and programme director of international trade union politics: Ulrike Eifler
Programme leader of global social rights: Eva Wuchold



AFRICA UNIT

EAST AFRICA



Location: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Year founded: 2012
Project countries: Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda
Office director: Dorothee Braun
www.rosalux.co.tz

WEST AFRICA



Location: Dakar, Senegal
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Cape Verde, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal
Office director: Armin Osmanovic
www.rosalux.sn

SOUTHERN AFRICA



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Botswana
Office director: Jörn Jan Leidecker
www.rosalux.co.za

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: South Africa, Zambia, Germany
Office director: Benjamin Luig
www.rosalux.co.za/food-sovereignty/

NORTH AFRICA



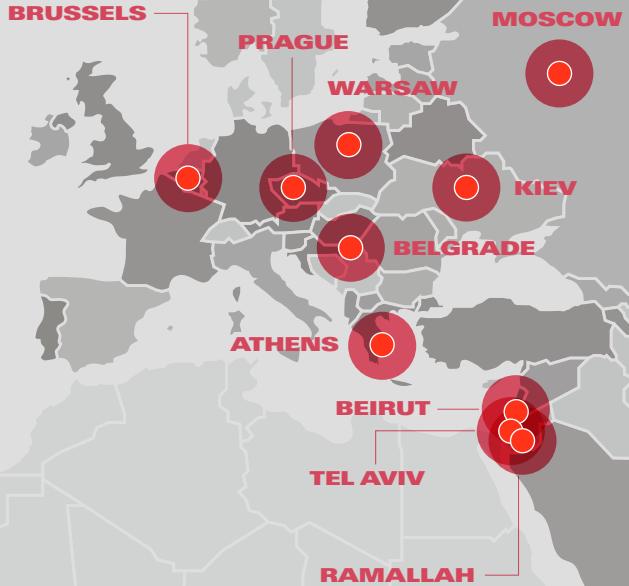
Location: Tunis, Tunisia
Year founded: 2014
Project countries: Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco
Office director: Ivesa Lübben
www.rosaluxna.org

ACADEMIC COOPERATION IN NORTH AFRICA



Location: Tunis, Tunisia
Year founded: 2015
Project countries: Tunisia, Lebanon
Office director: Nadia El Ouerghemmi
www.rosaluxna.org/academic-cooperation

EUROPE UNIT



SOUTHEAST EUROPE



Location: Belgrade, Serbia
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Romania, Kosovo, Montenegro
Office director: Krunoslav Stojakovic
www.rosalux.rs

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPA

Location: Warsaw, Poland
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia
Office director: Holger Politt
www.rls.pl

CENTRAL EUROPE



Location: Prague, Czech Republic
Year founded: 2018
Project countries: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary
Office director: Joanna Gwiazdecka

RUSSIA, BELARUS AND SOUTH CAUCASUS



Location: Moscow, Russia
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Armenia
Office director: Kerstin Kaiser
www.rosalux.ru

GREECE



Location: Athens, Greece
Year founded: 2012
Project countries: Greece and the Mediterranean
Office director: Maria Oshana
www.rosalux.gr/de

WESTERN EUROPE



Location: Brussels, Belgium
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: Belgium, Netherlands, France, Italy, Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland
Office director: Andreas Thomsen
www.rosalux.eu

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Location: Madrid, Spain
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: Spain, Portugal
Programme Coordinator: Vera Bartolomé
www.rosalux.eu

UKRAINE

Location: Kiev, Ukraine
Year founded: 2016
Project country: Ukraine
Programme Coordination: Nelia Vakhovska
www.rosalux.org.ua/ua



WESTERN ASIA UNIT

ISRAEL




Location: Tel Aviv, Israel
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Israel
Office director: Tsafir Cohen
www.rosalux.co.il

SOUTH ASIA



Location: New Delhi, India
Year founded: 2010 (registered 2012)
Project countries: India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan
Office director: Stefan Mentschel
www.rosalux.in

PALESTINE



Location: Ramallah, Palestine
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: Palestinian Territories, Jordan
Office director: Ute Beuck
www.rosaluxemburg.ps

EAST ASIA



Location: Beijing, China
Year founded: 2008
Project country: China
Office director: Jan Turowski
www.rosalux.de

LEBANON



Location: Beirut, Lebanon
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia
Office director: Miriam Younes
www.rosalux-lb.org

SOUTH EAST ASIA



Location: Hanoi, Vietnam
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos
Office director: Liliane Danso-Dahmen
www.rosalux.vn

DIALOGUE PROGRAMME FOR POSITIVE PEACE

Location: Beirut, Lebanon
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia
Programme director: Delegate forthcoming
www.rosalux-lb.org

ASIA UNIT

DIALOGUE PROGRAMME CLIMATE JUSTICE



Location: Manila, Philippines
Year founded: 2018
Project countries: Philippines, Indonesia, UNFCCC
Office director: Laura Geiger
www.rosalux.de/en/dossiers/climate-justice/

CENTRAL ASIA



Location: Almaty, Kazakhstan
Year founded: 2017 (team created in 2019)
Project countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Office director: Marlies Linke

FUNDED PROJECTS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung collaborates with various political education organizations throughout Germany by providing project funding. In 2018, we received more than 1,200 enquiries, which resulted in 510 funding applications. This provides us with an insight into the broader political education landscape around the country, into the issues concerning the different groups, and the focuses they set in their programmes. At the same time, we are also able to supplement our own educational work to better address the concerns of different groups and regions.

Last year, we were able to provide funding to a total of 137 projects, 47 of which were supervised by regional branches of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. A total of €290,500 was awarded, of which €244,000 went into external project funding, with €46,500 being provided to the regional branches as core funding.

Three major projects were provided with a total of €83,000 (29 percent of the total budget):

- Berlin Institute of Critical Theory (InkriT): for the *Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuchs des Marxismus* (Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism), publication of volume 9/1 "Maschinerie bis Mitbestimmung", editorial work on volume 9/2 "Mitleid bis naturwüchsig": €38,000
- two projects by the Left-Wing Media Academy: the LIMA education week 2018 *SYSTEM-FEHLER* (System Error), and the development of the online programme *Alternative Medienbildung online* (Alternative Media Education online) for further education in media skills and media practice: €45,000 (combined funding for both projects)

Five projects received funding between €5,000 and €9,999, 32 projects RECEIVED between €2,000 and €4,999, 70 received between €1,000 and €1,999, and 27 projects received between €500 and €999.

EXAMPLES OF THE PROJECT FUNDING ON THE FOCUS TOPIC *MARX200*

KAIROS EUROPA E. V.: CONFERENCE *VERWERFUNGEN DES KAPITALISMUS IM ZEITALTER VON 'INDUSTRIE 4.0': DIE WIEDERENTDECKUNG DES HUMANUM – MIT BIBEL, KORAN & MARX*, (FAULT LINES IN CAPITALISM IN THE ERA OF 'INDUSTRY 4.0': THE REDISCOVERY OF THE HUMAN – WITH THE BIBLE, KORAN AND MARX")
SEPTEMBER 2018 IN MANNHEIM: €4,000

KAIROS Europa defines itself as an ecumenical platform for working towards justice, peace, and the preservation of

creation in Europe. The conference focused on the rapidly advancing digitization of the economy and society. Speakers outlined the social, economic, and ecological dangers of a profit-oriented “fourth industrial revolution”. Methods of coping with digitization and automation were discussed from the perspective of religion and a world-view based on justice and equality, and particular attention was paid to the notion of a universal basic income as a means of achieving social transformation. The conference was attended by around 70 representatives of social movements, trade unions, environmental associations, churches, and the ecumenical community.

Saxony, which collaborated with the local organizers on the ground. The conference included introductory seminars on Marx’s *Capital*, as well as lectures and workshops with discussions about Marxist analyses of various socio-political and socio-economic issues of our time. In the evening, readings were held that sought to approach Karl Marx from a literary perspective. All in all, it was a vibrant and diverse programme that was very well received, and it will be continued in 2019 under the title *Kantine Luxemburg*.

CONFERENCE/THEORY FESTIVAL KANTINE MARX - MARX NICHT KAUFEN! MARX DENKEN!” (MARX CANTEEN –DON’T BUY MARX! THINK MARX!) AUGUST 2018 IN CHEMNITZ: €1,000

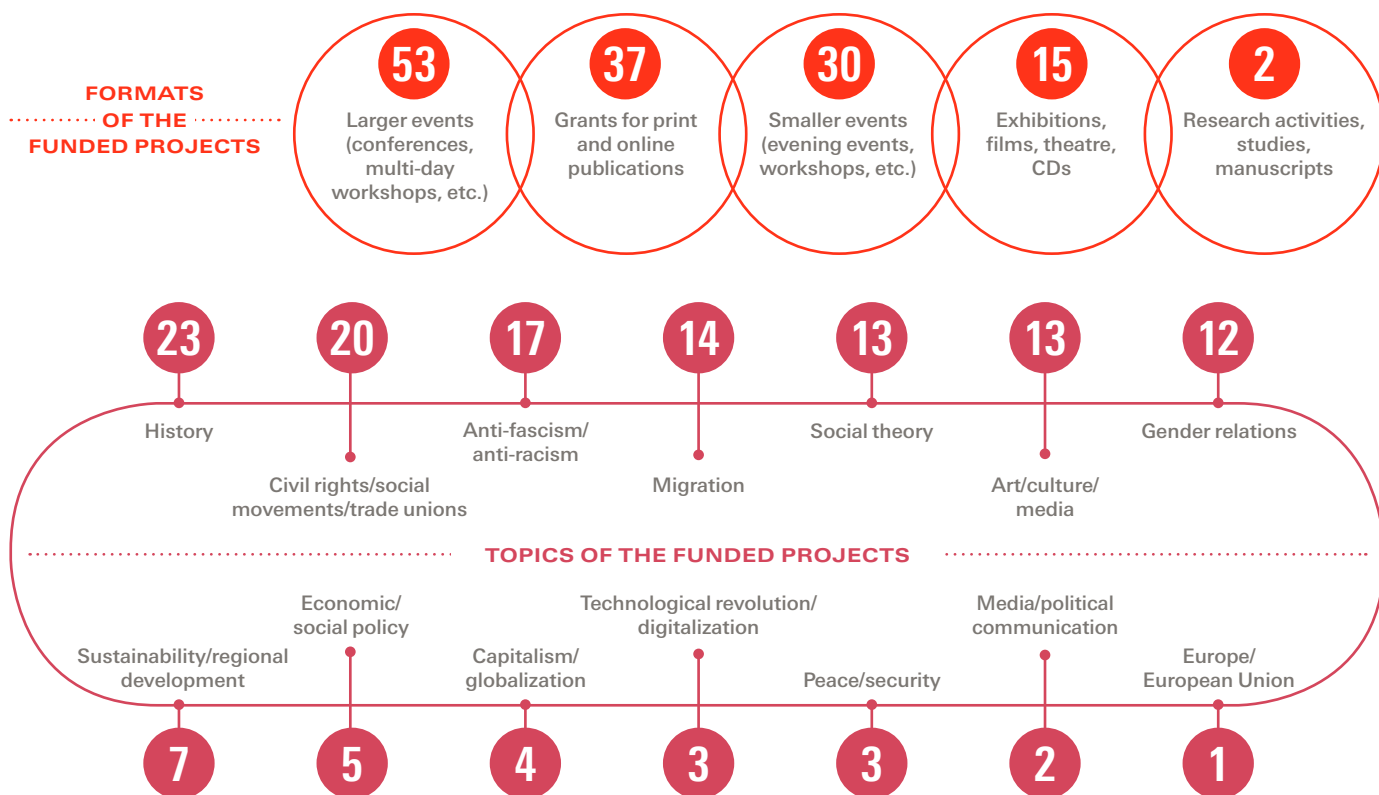
This theory festival, organized by various groups from Chemnitz, such as Subbotnik e. V., Verein zur Wiederbelebung kulturellen Brachlandes e. V., and the Student Council of the Technical University of Chemnitz, is one of the projects for which funds were provided to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

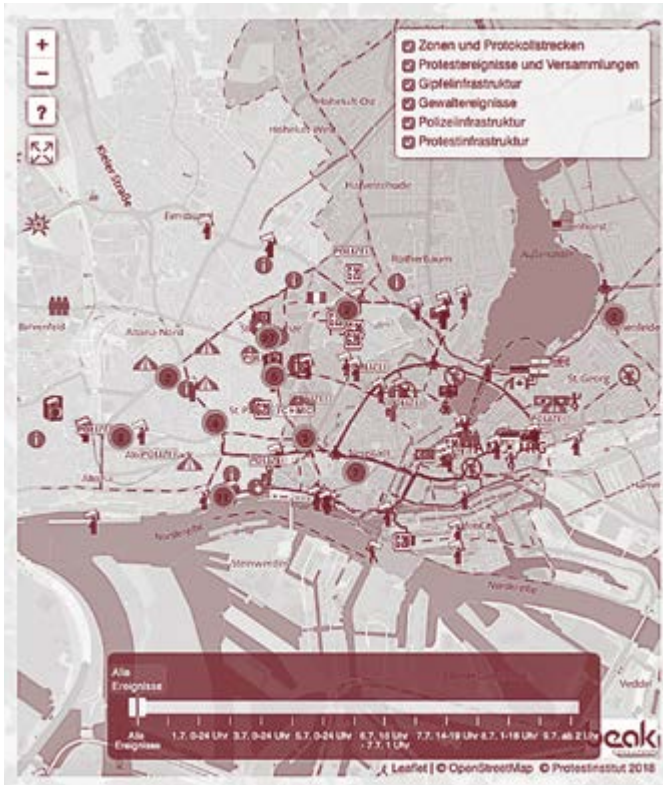
PROJECT FUNDING IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS/ SOCIAL MOVEMENTS/TRADE UNIONS

VEREIN FÜR PROTEST- UND BEWEGUNGSFORSCHUNG E. V.: PROJECT WEBSITE MAPPING #NOG20: €5,000

The project *Mapping #NoG20* deals with the escalation of violence during the protests against the G20 summit in Hamburg in 2017. It documents and analyses the logic behind the actions and interactions of heterogeneous groups of actors as well as the spatial and temporal development of events. The investigations reveal which conditions led to violence, how violence was used and by which groups, and

IN 2018, THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 137 PROJECTS.





The interactive map displays the events around the G20 summit in Hamburg, providing a wealth of information and an analysis of how the violence escalated.

how the media's reporting focused on the issue of violence. The RLS sponsored the presentation of the project results on a website (<https://g20.protestinstitut.eu>). An interactive map is used to create a detailed reconstruction of the course of events of the G20 protest week, and to provide information on the protests, infrastructure, incidents of violence, and the events that led up to them.

CLEANING FILM FESTIVAL: ERSTER FRANKFURTER FRÜHJAHRSPUTZ (THE FIRST FRANKFURT SPRING CLEAN), MAY 2018 IN FRANKFURT: €1,000

In May, the first ever "cleaning film festival" took place in the autonomous Frankfurt cultural centre ExZess. It was organized by a group formed specifically for this project, in collaboration with groups such as Ladies: Kulturelle und politische Bildung für Frauen e. V. The aim of the festival was to shed light on something that usually remains invisible: cleaning. Office spaces, public buildings, and universities are often cleaned when nobody is around. Cleaning is a poorly paid form of wage labour, and the working conditions are typically precarious. The majority of employees are women, with many of them migrants. In the private sphere, women also carry out more reproductive labour than men. The festival featured both Hollywood productions and experimental short films, providing a stage for this form of

work in the truest sense of the word. The screenings were followed by discussions with the audience and a workshop titled *Putzen wie die Profis* (Clean like the Pros). With their programme, the organizers were able to address a diverse audience and spark discussions.

With 23 projects and €38,875 in funding, projects on (contemporary) history were the biggest group. In this category, funded projects included:

- Nadja Tenge: documentary film collage *Andrées Protokoll – Exiljahre des GDR-Schriftstellers Stephan Hermlin*: €3,500
- Berlin-Brandenburger Bildungswerk e. V./Reiner Zilkenat (ed.): *Die Novemberrevolution und ihre Räte: Publikation mit Tagungsbeiträgen der gleichnamigen Tagung am 9.5.2018*, Buskow bei Neuruppin: edition bodoni, 2018: €3,000
- Oliver Dürkop/Michael Gehler (eds.): *In Verantwortung: Hans Modrow und der deutsche Umbruch 1989/90*, Vienna: StudienVerlag, 2018: €3,000
- Die Buchmacherei Berlin: Nikolaus Brauns/Murat Çakır (eds.): *Partisanen einer neuen Welt – 150 Jahre Linke und Arbeiterbewegung in der Türkei*, Berlin: Die Buchmacherei, 2018: €3,000
- Aktion Dritte Welt e. V.: Anniversary Gala *Fünzig Jahre in Bewegung: 50 Jahre iz3w*, March 2018 in Freiburg: €2,000
- Anna Opel: *Ich war, ich bin, ich werde sein – Rosa Luxemburg auf der Spur: Ein Audiowalk durch den Tiergarten*, preparatory work and production: €1,600
- Kommunikationszentrum Meuchefitz e. V.: Website project *Verbrannte Orte: Ein Onlineatlas zu den Orten der nationalsozialistischen Bücherverbrennungen 1933*, sites in Schleswig-Holstein: €1,000
- Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland e. V.: 2nd Transnational Herero and Nama Congress *Koloniales Vergessen: Quo vadis, Hamburg?* March 2018 in Hamburg: €1,000

With 20 projects and €30,800 in funding, the topic of civil rights/social movements/trade unions was also one of the focal points of our project funding. Here are a few examples:

- Netzwerk Mieten & Wohnen e. V.: 3rd conference of the network Mieten & Wohnen *Boden Recht Wohnen – Ansätze für eine sozialere Mieten- und Wohnungspolitik*, February 2018 in Bochum: €3,000
- Kampagne für Opfer rassistischer Polizeigewalt/ Ariba e. V.: Discussion event *Wer kontrolliert die Polizei? Möglichkeiten einer unabhängigen Polizeibeswerdestelle in Berlin*, November 2018 in Berlin: €2,000

- Attac-AG ArbeitFairTeilen: Celebration *100 Jahre 8-Stunden-Tag*, October 2018 in Erfurt: €2,000
- leftvision e. V.: Documentary film *Hamburger Gitter* €2,000
- Institut für Bürgerrechte & öffentliche Sicherheit e. V.: 40 years of struggle for civil rights: 40 years of CILIP: Conference *Bürgerrechte und Polizei – Bilanz nach 40 Jahren*, December 2018 in Berlin: €1.500
- "labournet.de" Netzwerk für Bildung, Kommunikation in Betrieb & Gesellschaft e. V.: Website project/dossier *Japan: Fukushima und die Gewerkschaften – Interviews und Gespräche*: €1,300
- Andre Kruschat/Squatting Everywhere Collective (eds.): *Fighting for spaces, Fighting for our Lives: Squatting Movements today*, Münster: edition assemblage, 2018: €1,000
- Working group of critical lawyers at the University of Frankfurt am Main: Winter Congress of the Federal Working Group of Critical Lawyers: *Arbeitskampf und Klassenrecht*, November/December in Frankfurt am Main: €1,000

The funded publications covered a wide range of topics, here is a selection:

- Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum für europäisch-jüdische Studien e. V.: Gideon Botsch/Jan Raabe/Christoph Schulze (eds.): *Rechtsrock: Aufstieg und Wandel neonazistischer Jugendkultur am Beispiel Brandenburgs*, Berlin: be.bra verlag, 2019: €3,000
- Förderverein Bayerischer Flüchtlingsrat e. V., Bayerischer Flüchtlingsrat (eds.): *Magazin Hinterland*, issue #38, with a focus on "boys, girls, and..." and issue #39, with a focus on "education": €2,500
- Patrick Eser/Alke Jenss/Johannes Schulten/Anne Tittor (eds.): *Globale Ungleichgewichte und soziale Transformationen: Beiträge von Dieter Boris aus 50 Jahren zu Lateinamerika, Klassenanalyse und Bewegungspolitik*, Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2018: €1,000
- Verlag Assoziation A: Katharina Karcher: *Sisters in Arms: Militant Feminisms in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1968*, German translation by Gerhild Ahnert and Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass, Berlin/Hamburg: Verlag Assoziation A, 2018: €1,000
- oikos Leipzig e. V.: Maximilian Becker/Mathilda Reinicke (eds.): *Anders wachsen! Von der Krise der kapitalistischen Wachstumsgesellschaft und Ansätzen einer Transformation*, Munich: oekom verlag, 2018: €1,000
- Gesundheit und Dritte Welt e. V./BUKO Pharma-Kampagne (eds.): *Globale Gesundheit braucht Klimaschutz*, pamphlet: €1,000
- Karsten Krampitz (ed.): *Der Feuerstuhl. Hommage an B. Traven*, Aschaffenburg: Alibri Publishing House, 2019: €1,000

A number of long-standing collaborations have been continued, such as those with the Bundeskoordination Internationalismus, the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen, Amaro Drom, and the Feministische Herbstakademie. Additionally, we were able to establish new connections that have been beneficial for the work of the foundation, and provided support to young figures in political education. Through project funding, the regional branches of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung are increasingly making use of the opportunity to engage in direct dialogue with people involved in grass-roots political education. With the funds provided, numerous collaborative projects have been implemented right across Germany. Here are a few examples:

- Radio Dreyeckland Betriebs GmbH: *Banditi e Ribelli: Fotodokumentarische Wanderausstellung – Die italienische Resistenza 1943–1945*, March to May 2018 in Freiburg: €1,000
- Münchner Flüchtlingsrat e. V.: *Not Safe! Not Safe! Erste bayernweite Afghanistan-Konferenz*, July 2018 in Munich: €1,000
- CULTUS UG: anti-fascist summer camp: *janz weit draußen – Antifa heißt Landarbeit*, July 2018 in Kuhlühle, Wittstock: €1,000
- Ökumenische Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Asyl in der Kirche e. V.: Annual convention *Kirchenasyl zwischen Institution und Bewegung*, November 2018 in Hamburg: €1,000
- Melehat Kutun/D. Karatepe: *Conference Authoritarianism and Resistance in Turkey*, May 2018 in Kassel: €1,000
- Verein zur Förderung der Lehre im ökologischen Landbau e. V.: Event series *Heimat, Volk, Scholle – Rechts[d]ruck im ländlichen Raum*, from October to December 2018 in Witzenhausen: €1,200
- Kulturzentrum Pavillon: Interdisciplinary festival *CLINCH: [Post]Migrantische + Postkoloniale Perspektiven*, April 2018 in Hanover: €1,000
- Initiative Rheinmetall: Educational programme for the camp *Rheinmetall entwaffnen – Krieg beginnt hier*, August and September 2018 in Unterlüss: €1,500
- Türkischer Volksverein Solingen: Central commemoration ceremony *Solingen 1993 – UnutturmayaçaDız! Niemals vergessen!* to mark the 25th anniversary of the arson attack, May 2018 in Solingen: €1,500
- Bundesverband Freier Radios: Congress *Zukunftswerkstatt Community Media 2018*, November 2018 in Chemnitz: €1,000

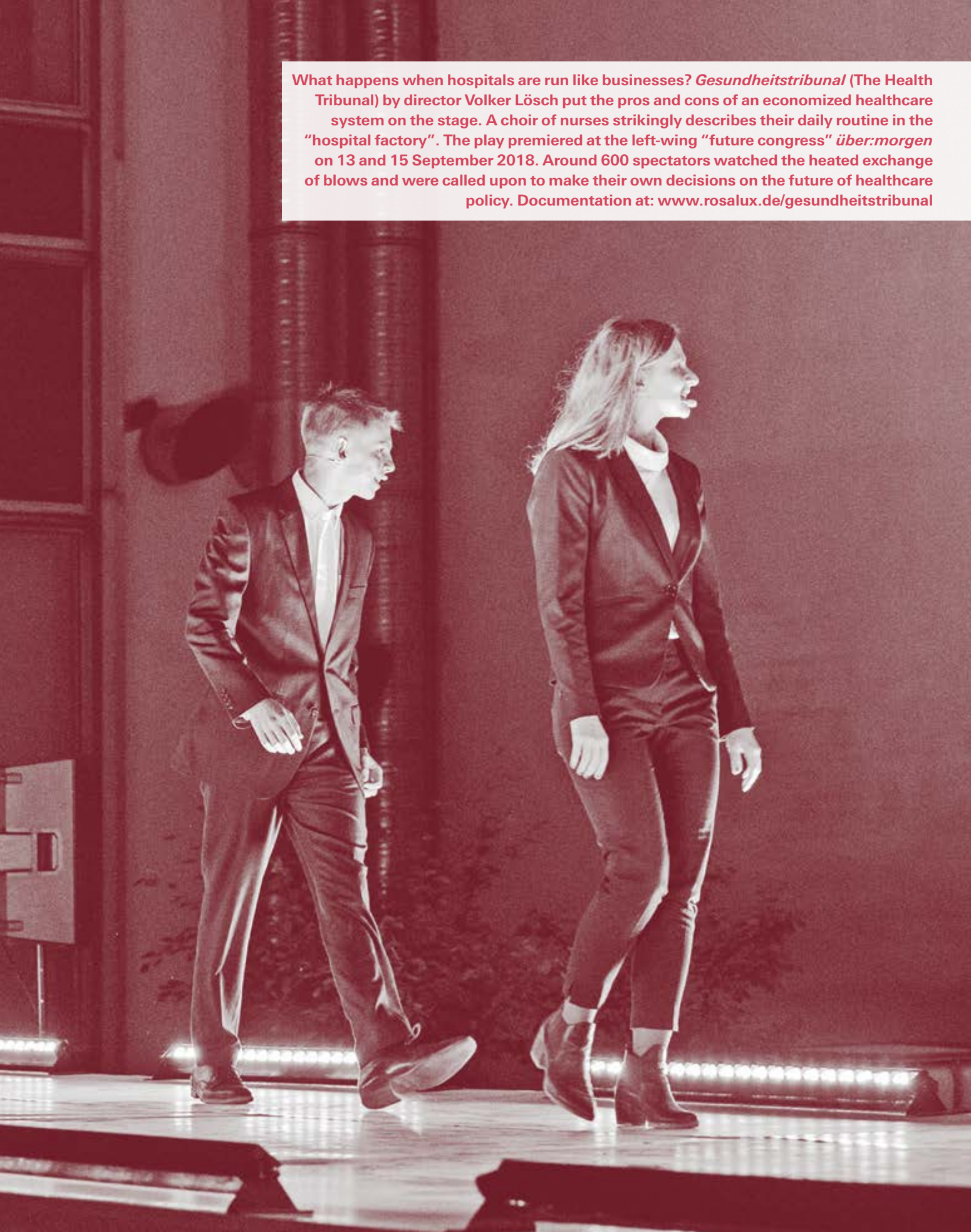
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Through its project funding, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung presents a broad spectrum of left-wing issues to the general public. The projects sponsored complement the range of political education programmes run by the RLS, offering programmes that respond to specific issues and groups with a regional focus.

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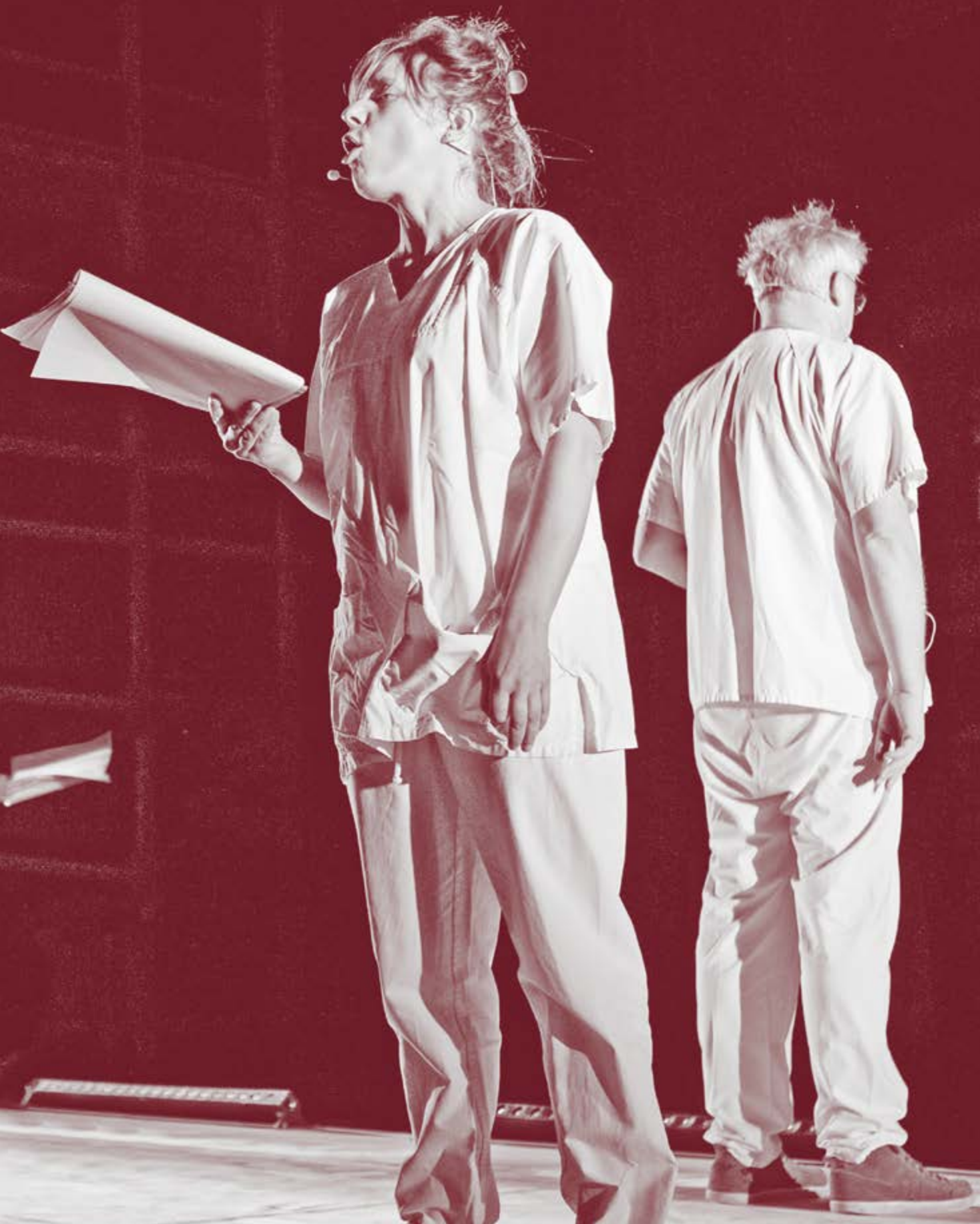
What happens when hospitals are run like businesses? *Gesundheitstribunal* (The Health Tribunal) by director Volker Lösch put the pros and cons of an economized healthcare system on the stage. A choir of nurses strikingly describes their daily routine in the "hospital factory". The play premiered at the left-wing "future congress" *über:morgen* on 13 and 15 September 2018. Around 600 spectators watched the heated exchange of blows and were called upon to make their own decisions on the future of healthcare policy. Documentation at: www.rosalux.de/gesundheitstribunal















THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

The central mission of the Scholarship Department of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is to provide financial and academic support to students and doctoral candidates from Germany and abroad, in particular those from the left of the political spectrum. In 2018, we provided financial support to more than 1,160 people, enabling them to study, pursue a doctorate, or participate in our political education programmes. We prioritize those who are most strongly affected by structural educational inequalities. Currently, 48 percent of our scholarship holders come from a migrant background, and 55 percent from families in which the parents do not have tertiary qualifications. In addition, a gender quota ensures that at least 50 percent of all scholarships are awarded to women.

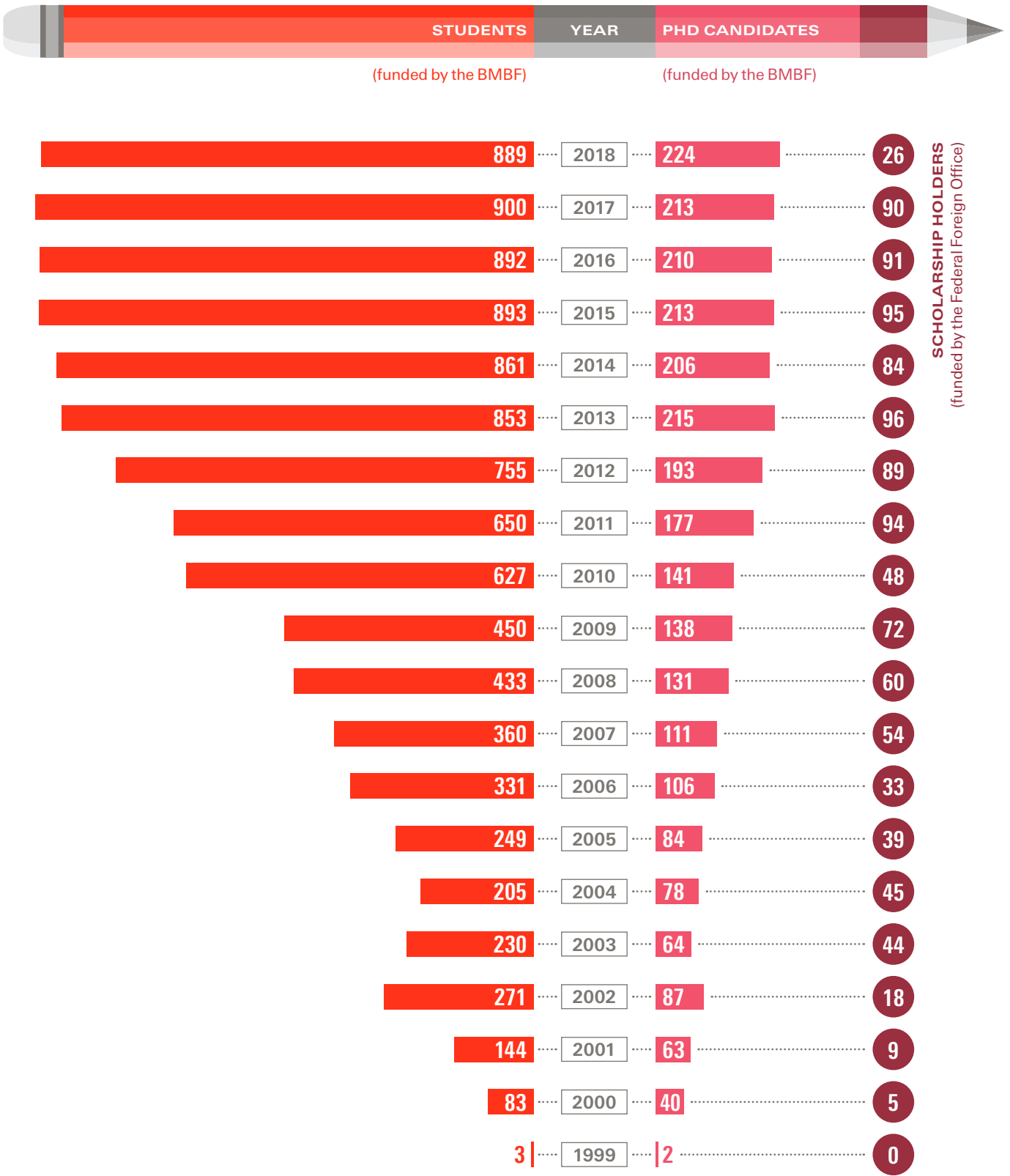
We now have more than 2,500 former scholarship holders, including university professors and lecturers, authors, federal and local politicians, social workers, and doctors.

Compared to other funding agencies, we stand out for our high degree of democratic decision-making processes, with scholarship holders having a say in the function of the programmes. We achieve this in particular through the creation of autonomous structures such as scholarship-holder working groups, and an example of this can be seen in the “holiday academy” organized collaboratively by scholarship holders and the Scholarship Department. In 2018, to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the academy addressed his theories in relation to feminism and racism. Short workshops on the topics of “Marxist Perspectives on the Global Appropriation of Social Reproduction”, “Escaping the Master’s House: Black Feminist Marxism”, and “Marxism-Feminism: Critical Reproduction Research and Feminist Economic Criticism”.

In order to tackle the structural disadvantages created by the German education system, we also offer educational activities tailored to the needs of specific target groups (for instance, students who are the first generation of their family to gain a tertiary education) and aimed at empowering them. Our educational programmes also help to establish and consolidate personal and professional networks (through regional meetings and collaborations with the RLS’s regional branches), and take place both across the country and abroad (through partnerships with international organizations).

Our work—both in the selection of scholarship recipients and in guiding them during their studies or research—would not be possible without the support of our affiliate lecturers. They have made a significant contribution to the fact that we now have a significant network of left-wing academics in Germany. We would like to thank them for their indispensable commitment by mentioning each member of our network of more than 170 affiliate lecturers here in the Annual Report.

FUNDING RECIPIENTS OVER THE YEARS





Marcus Hawel (Scholarship Department) and Stefan Kalmring (Academy for Political Education) jointly coordinate *Salon★Bildung* and *Bildungswerkstatt*.

EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION

TWO NEW EVENT PROGRAMMES TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT EDUCATION

Launched two years ago, the event series *Salon★Bildung* (Education Salon) and *Bildungswerkstatt* (Educational Workshop), once again delivered results in 2018. These new programmes were created to provide a platform where people involved in different areas of the education system—not just teachers and students, but also practitioners and theorists—can come together and share their experiences.

It goes without saying that the events are therefore not only aimed at the foundation’s scholarship holders and lecturers. These participatory initiatives focus above all on people who suffer from the neoliberal strictures of the education system, and are involved in various struggles for education.

Salon★Bildung consciously carries on the tradition of the political salon: we invite people who have something engaging to say about emancipatory education and discuss their ideas in a pleasant atmosphere. Four well-attended events took place in 2018. The range of topics was broad: from Herbert Marcuse’s Paris lectures on “Capitalism and Opposition” to the latest findings from educational inequality research to the contradictions in understandings of democracy and totalitarianism, to the demands for a critical methodology of teaching political economy in the classroom. The salons are islands of relaxed reflection where participants have the freedom to explore and experiment, seeking to find their way,

and to arrive at common ground, without having to give up their own ideas and convictions. The outcome of the salons is a shared pool of knowledge and opinions aimed at countering neoliberal capitalism, while establishing connections between knowledge, facts, and resistance.

The same applies to the *Bildungswerkstätte*: the workshop format is explicitly experimental, and is committed to open (independent) learning processes, and allows different methods to be used (for example from the field of theatrical education) and to facilitate group-run processes. This reduces the threshold for participation and increases the fun factor.

After the first educational workshop *Auf den Schultern von Riesen* (On the Shoulders of Giants) in February 2017, where over 200 participants set out on the search for a theoretical foundation for left-wing educational praxis, the second workshop, *Verbindende Bildung* (Connective Education), in February 2018, brought together more than 170 participants to discuss transformational learning in the left-wing context. They discussed various types of praxis, forms of organizational logic, and contextually determined forms of action that generate collective agency without compromising diversity.

The basis for both programmes, which are coordinated by Marcus Hawel (Scholarship Department) and Stefan Kalmring (Academy for Political Education), is the notion of taking the time to think things through, to try things out, to take detours and to go astray, and not to make everything about immediate implementation, performance, or marketability.



"Without socialism, sustainability is not possible." Christian Stache

CAPITALISM AND NATURAL DESTRUCTION

AN INTERVIEW WITH FORMER PHD SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER
CHRISTIAN STACHE

Your PhD deals with capitalism and the destruction of nature. Why is capitalism so relentless towards nature?

Stache: It has to do with the historically unique relationship of the owners of capital to each other and to nature. Bourgeois society is a class society in which the real producers of wealth, the workers and nature, are alienated from each other and are exploited to an ever-increasing degree in the interests of maximizing private profit. In this process, the particular qualities of nature and the impact of production, circulation, and consumption play no role for capital as a class. Yet nature as source and sink is finite. Its qualities are partially at odds with the demands of capital accumulation.

Are we perhaps heading towards a future in which it is no longer possible for humanity to preserve the earth as a habitable planet?

Stache: If you consider the key findings of climate research, there is no doubt about it. And the working class is already suffering all over the globe from the consequences of capitalist development, and that includes climate change. The situation is even worse in the peripheries, of course.

Nature has been destroyed in many ways, while the ruling class builds its islands of salvation and cordons itself off in its metropolises. In the face of this, we should not fall into a state of shock. Rather, we need to actually allow panic to set in, so that we can take the crisis of the relationship between society and nature seriously, and question whether this model of society itself is able to survive.

In view of all these crises, what can we learn from researching the relationship between society and nature?

Stache: First of all, that business as usual is not an option. Capitalist class relations in production, the private ownership of nature, and the market as organizer of the labour of society and as distributor of the product of labour have already proven their insufficiency. We can also learn that disputes in the eco-socialist class struggle with capital must first be waged at the level of production, because that is where coal is being mined, animals exploited and killed, and resources appropriated for car manufacturing. In order to understand today's situation, in terms of social theory, we must preserve the insights of a politico-cultural critique of power, while grounding them through theories of exploitation and through socioeconomics.

Is humanity capable of reaching this level of sustainability without overcoming capitalism?

Stache: Essentially, the climate policy of the last 30 years has not combatted the ruthless destruction of nature, but facilitated it. So there is no need to beat about the bush: without socialism, sustainability is not possible.

When it comes to visions of a peaceful utopia in society's interaction with nature, at the conclusion of your work you are extremely taciturn. What is the reason for this?

Stache: To a certain extent, I adhere to the image ban of critical theory. The task of theory is the analysis and critique of existing conditions and the ideological forms that distort them, not utopianism, the legitimization of prefigurative subcultural scenes, the staging of new subjectivities, or "leftist" political consulting. When critical theory adapts to the political weakness of the left, it abandons itself.

- Dr Werner Abel**
Political science
- Prof Ravi Ahuja**
University of Göttingen,
modern Indian history
- Dr Freia Anders**
JGU Mainz, history
- Prof Jörg Arnold**
MPI Freiburg, criminal law
- Dr Felix Axster**
TU Berlin, medieval and modern history
- Dr Dario Azzellini**
Social science
- Prof Kurt Bader**
University of Lüneburg, psychology
- Andre Baier**
TU Berlin, philosophy
- Dr Nils Baratella**
University of Oldenburg, philosophy
- Prof Klaus Bastian**
HTWK Leipzig, mathematics
- Prof Helga Baumgarten**
Bir Zait University, Palestine,
political science
- Dr Gisela Baumgratz**
HS Fulda, intercultural education
- Dr Johannes M. Becker**
UMR, associate professor in peace
and conflict studies
- Prof Julia Becker**
Osnabrück University, psychology
- Prof Lale Behzadi**
University of Bamberg, Arabic studies
- Prof Bernd Belina**
Frankfurt University, human geography
- Dr Sebastian Berg**
Ruhr-Universität Bochum,
English studies
- Dr Elisabeth Berner**
University of Potsdam, linguistics
- Prof Rita Bernhardt**
Saarland University, biology
- Dr Peter Bescherer**
University of Tübingen, sociology
- Prof Henning Best**
TU Kaiserslautern, sociology
- Dr Margrid Bircken**
Literary studies
- Dr Peter Birke**
University of Göttingen, sociology
- Prof Manuela Bojadzijev**
University of Lüneburg, political science
- Prof Dieter Boris**
UMR, sociology
- Prof Ulrich Brand**
University of Vienna, political science
- Prof Thomas Bremer**
University of Halle, cultural studies
- Prof Micha Brumlik**
HU Berlin, educational science
- Prof Hauke Brunkhorst**
University of Flensburg, sociology
- Prof Christian Brütt**
HS Darmstadt, social work
- Prof Michael Buckmiller**
Leibniz University of Hannover,
social science
- Prof Wolf-D. Bukow**
University of Cologne, social science
- Dr Zülfukar Cetin**
University of Basel, sociology
- Dr Georgia Christinidis**
University of Rostock, cultural studies
- Dr Antonia Davidovic-Walther**
Cultural anthropology
- Prof Alex Demirovic**
Social science
- Dr Christian Dietrich**
Viadrina European University,
modern and contemporary history
- Dr Ina Dietzsch**
TU Chemnitz, ethnology
- Dr Thede Eckart**
UMR, psychology
- Dr Andreas Eis**
University of Kassel, social science
- Prof Esra Erdem**
ASH Berlin, social science
- Junior Prof Karim Fereidooni**
Ruhr-Universität Bochum,
social science/social studies
- Prof Andreas Fisahn**
Bielefeld University, law
- Prof (retired) Dr Peter Fleissner**
TU Wien, computer science
- Dr Fabian Frenzel**
University of Leicester, social science
- Dr Jens Gaitzsch**
University of Basel, chemistry
- Dr Udo Gerheim**
University of Oldenburg, sociology
- Dr Stefanie Graefe**
FSU Jena, sociology
- Prof Andreas Griewank**
HU Berlin, mathematics
- Prof Melanie Groß**
Fachhochschule Kiel, social science
- Dr Ayla Güler Saied**
University of Cologne, social science
- Prof Encarnacion Gutierrez Rodriguez**
University of Giessen, social science
- Dr Noa Ha**
TU Berlin, social science/social studies
- Prof Felix Hanschmann**
HU Berlin, public law
- Prof Johann Hartle**
HFG Karlsruhe, philosophy
- Prof Susanne Heeg**
Frankfurt University, geosciences
- Dr Stefan Heinz**
FU Berlin, political science
- Prof Arne Heise**
Universität Hamburg, economics
- Prof Annette Henninger**
UMR, political science
- Dr Jutta Hergenhan**
University of Giessen, political science
- Dr Cordelia Heß**
University of Greifswald, history
- Dr Andreas Heyer**
TU Braunschweig, political science
- Prof Uwe Hirschfeld**
EHS Dresden, political science
- Prof Rainer Hoffmann**
University of Göttingen, social science
- Prof Wolfgang Hofkirchner**
TU Wien, computer science
- Dr Christian Horn**
CAU Kiel, history
- Junior Prof Martin Horsch**
American University of Iraq, Sulaimani,
computer science
- Dr Anne Maximiliane Jäger-Gogoll**
UMR, literary studies
- Dr Carsten Jakobi**
JGU Mainz, literary studies
- Prof Dirk Jörke**
TU Darmstadt, political science
- Prof Ingrid Jungwirth**
HSRW Kleve, social science
- Junior Prof Olaf Kaltmeier**
Bielefeld University, social science
- Prof Juliane Karakayali**
Ev. HS Berlin, social science
- Dr Serhat Karakayali**
HU Berlin, social science
- Dr Ismail Karatepe**
University of Kassel, social sciences
- Adjunct Prof Mario Keßler**
History
- Prof Klaus Peter Kisker**
FU Berlin, economics
- Prof Raimund Krämer**
University of Potsdam,
social science/social studies

- Prof Jürgen Krause**
Nordhausen University of Applied Sciences, automation engineering
- Prof Franz Krönig**
TH Köln, educational science
- Prof Ingrid Kurz-Scherf**
Gender studies
- Prof Friederike Kuster**
University of Wuppertal, philosophy
- Prof Kirsten Lehmkuhl**
TU Berlin, educational science
- Prof Thomas Lemke**
Frankfurt University, sociology
- Prof Stephan Lessenich**
LMU Munich, social science
- Prof Manfred Liebel**
FH Potsdam, sociology
- Prof Volker Lüderitz**
FH Magdeburg, agricultural science
- Dr Carmen Ludwig**
University of Giessen, social science
- Dr Jens Maeße**
University of Giessen, social science
- Dr Stefania Maffei**
FU Berlin, philosophy
- Prof Wolfgang Maiers**
FH Magdeburg, psychology
- Prof Angela Martini**
Cultural studies
- Dr Reiner Marx**
Literary studies
- Prof Nicole Mayer-Ahuja**
GAU Göttingen, social science
- Prof Konrad Meisig**
JGU Mainz, South Asian studies
- Dr Jana Mikota**
Siegen University, German studies
- Prof John P. Neelsen**
Tübingen University, social science
- Dr Dieter Nelles**
University of Bonn, social science
- Prof Karoline Noack**
University of Bonn, linguistics and cultural studies
- Prof Frank Nonnenmacher**
Political science
- Dr Salvador Oberhaus**
History
- Prof Michaela Ott**
HFBK Hamburg, aesthetic theory
- Dr Marc Partetzke**
University of Bremen, political science
- Dr Stefan Paulus**
FHS St. Gallen, sociology
- Prof Martin Pinquart**
UMR, psychology
- Prof Jan Pinseler**
FH Magdeburg, communication studies
- Dr Andrea Plöger**
ASH Berlin, development policy
- Dr Heike Raab**
Tübingen University, social science
- Dr Matthias Rätzer**
TU Chemnitz, social science
- Dr Jan Rehmann**
New York University, philosophy
- Dr Katrin Reimer**
FH Magdeburg, social science
- Prof Ursula Reitemeyer**
Uni Münster, educational science
- Prof Tilman Reitz**
FSU Jena, philosophy
- Prof Steffi Richter**
Leipzig University, cultural studies
- Dr Dominik Rigoll**
History
- Prof Eckhard Rohrmann**
UMR, educational science
- Prof Karla Rost**
TU Chemnitz, mathematics
- Prof Emeritus Werner Ruf**
Social science
- Prof Oliver Rump**
HTW Berlin, museum studies
- Prof Ulrich Ruschig**
University of Oldenburg, philosophy
- Dr Reyhan Sahin**
Universität Hamburg, general and comparative linguistics
- Prof David Salomon**
Uni Hildesheim, political science
- Dr Martin Sauber**
Universität Hamburg, economics
- Prof Wolfram Schaffar**
Political science
- Prof Barbara Schäuble**
ASH Berlin, social science
- Prof Renatus Thigh**
FH Magdeburg, journalism
- Prof Tilman Schiel**
University of Passau, Southeast Asian studies
- Dr Anja Schmidt**
University of Halle, law
- Prof Jörg Schmidt**
Anhalt University, Economics
- Prof Reimund Schmidt-De Caluwe**
University of Halle, law
- Dr Imke Schmincke**
LMU Munich, social science
- Prof Lars Schmitt**
HS Düsseldorf, social science
- Dr Rainer Schnoor**
History
- Prof Volker Schöppner**
Uni Paderborn, engineering science
- Dr Jörg Schröder**
University of Rostock, sports science
- Dr Frank Schubert**
University of Potsdam, media studies
- Klaus-Dieter Schubert**
University of Halle, transportation
- Prof Erika Schulze**
FH Bielefeld, social science
- Prof Volker Schürmann**
DSHS Cologne, philosophy
- Dr Christian Seipel**
University of Hildesheim, social science
- Dr Alexander Silbersdorff**
University of Göttingen, statistics
- Prof Hans-Dieter Sill**
University of Rostock, mathematics
- Dr Robert Sommer**
HU Berlin, history and cultural studies
- Prof Ruth Sonderegger**
ABK Vienna, philosophy
- Prof Susanne Spindler**
HS Düsseldorf, sociology
- Dr Chris Tedjasukmana**
FU Berlin, film studies
- Prof Andreas Teubner**
FH Zwickau, law
- Dr Angelika Timm**
Political science
- Prof Patrizia Tolle**
FH Frankfurt a. M., nursing and health science
- Dr Ben Trott**
University of Lüneburg, philosophy
- Dr Vassilis Tsianos**
Universität Hamburg, philosophy
- Dr Pinar Tuzcu**
University of Kassel, sociology
- Dr Peter Ullrich**
TU Berlin, social science
- Professor Dr Roland Verwiebe**
University of Vienna, sociology
- Prof Fabian Virchow**
Hochschule Düsseldorf, sociology
- Prof Friedemann Vogel**
Siegen University, German linguistics
- Prof Hans Walz**
HS Weingarten, social science
- Prof Klaus Weber**
FH Munich, psychology
- Prof Martina Weber**
HS Emden, gender studies
- Prof Barbara Wedler**
FH Mittweida, social science
- Prof Klaus Weinhauser**
Bielefeld University, history
- Dr Wolfgang Weiß**
University of Greifswald, geography
- Dr Christa Wichterich**
Sociology
- Dr Maria Katharina Wiedlack**
University of Vienna, gender studies
- Prof Hanns Wienold**
Social science
- Prof Kathrin Wildner**
HCU Hamburg, economic geography
- Prof Werner Winzerling**
HS Fulda, computer science
- Prof Markus Wissen**
HWR Berlin, social science/social studies
- Dr Markus Wöhr**
UMR, psychology
- Dr Safiye Yildiz**
Tübingen University, development policy
- Private Lecturer Dr Aram Ziai**
University of Kassel, social science
- Dr Birgit zur Nieden**
HU Berlin, social science/social studies

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The conditions and demands of political communication have changed in recent years, and the staff in the department have risen to this challenge. Above all, 2018 saw the expansion of the foundation's online presence and social media activities. Key projects included media support for significant historical anniversaries, such as the 200th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth, and the centenary of the German Revolution of November 1918, with topic pages, live-streams, an online chronicle, and video documentation of related events. Our series of monthly online dossiers, successfully introduced in 2017, was continued—covering topics like *Ein Jahr Donald Trump* (A year of Donald Trump) in January, the *NSU-Komplexe* (on the far-right terror group the National Socialist Underground) in July, through to *Weltklimagipfel* (Global Climate Summit) in December. Our website, www.rosalux.de, was visited around 2 million times, with 10 million page views. Our social media presence was further expanded. By the end of 2018, we had 67,500 fans on Facebook, 18 percent more than in the previous year. Our Twitter following has grown to 20,673 users, 4,562 more than in 2017. Also, the groundwork was laid for expanding the foundation's digital communications.

Events programming and publications are among the main tasks of the Political Communication Department. The high point of the 2018 events calendar was the five-day *Marx200* conference, which had over 1,300 participants, and the *Fest der Linken* (Festival of the Left), with its vibrant programme of political and cultural activities. We also tried some new things: in the political play *Das Gesundheitstribunal* (The Health Tribunal), professional actors and health workers came together on stage, with enthralling results. On average, the Event Management Department organized two conferences per month, and ran 11 salons. In addition, 43 groups of visitors were hosted.

The Publications Department put out more than 80 publications over the course of the year. The RLS *Materialien* series included literature on the growing strength of the European right, the centenary of the German Revolution of November 1918, as well as visions for a peaceful German foreign policy. A new booklet by Jan van Aken, part of the *luxemburg argumente* series, cleared up myths and misconceptions around the issue of German arms exports. Publications on topics that are particularly important and attract high levels of public interest are now being released in editions of 10,000. Online publication was expanded; with almost every second publication now being online-only. The RLS continued its cooperation with left-wing publishers such as VSA and Unrast, as well as presenting its publications at the Leipzig and Frankfurt Book Fairs. The event series *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-Wing Literature in Conversation) also met with a large positive response in 2018.

A RELIABLE SOURCE

THE NEW ENGLISH-LANGUAGE WEBSITE

As a left-wing, globally active institution for political education, with regional and national offices in more than 20 locations across the world, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung website offers analysis, background information, and other content related to contemporary issues. For a long time, this material was only sporadically published in English, and without editorial oversight. Since spring 2018, a two-person English-language online editorial team has been tasked with ensuring a more systematic and coherent presentation of the RLS's work to an international audience.

As well as English translations of the German-language web content, articles on German topics specifically aimed at an international audience are provided so as to foster a broader understanding of current discussions in Germany. This makes the work of the foundation more understandable and accessible to its international project partners, while also boosting the foundation's profile as a reliable source for news, political analysis, and engaging content.

By professionalizing our English-language internet presence, we are also attempting to do justice to the increased international significance and standing of the RLS. As an organization that operates globally, only a fraction of our partners speak German. Meanwhile, the quality of our English-language articles varied strongly depending on the author, and planning the content or delivering more complex forms of publication like the thematic online dossiers was impossible without an independent English-language editorial team.

As a first step, the existing English-language presence of the RLS was carefully read through and revised. Following this, new texts in English were planned, written or commissioned. A further advantage of the new editorial team is that internally produced English texts can be more rapidly edited and proofread. Currently, the English editorial team is working continuously on the expansion of the foundation's English-language presence, in order to professionalize it and fill it with content.

In addition, the English editorial team maintains two social media channels—a Twitter account (@rosalux_global) and a Facebook page (@rosaluxglobal). These have proven to be highly effective in increasing the number of visits to the main website: since their launch in late September 2018, the daily number of website visitors has almost doubled.

A series of collaborations with publishers and other media partners is planned for 2019, in order to increase and consolidate the foundation's visibility on the international stage. Central to this will be the contribution of the international offices, which will work closely with research projects in Germany to open up national discussions and introduce international perspectives, in order to provide a strong voice for left-wing answers to global problems.

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG ON SOCIAL MEDIA



FACEBOOK

www.facebook.com/rosaluxstiftung



TWITTER

twitter.com/rosaluxstiftung



DIASPORA

diasporafoundation.org



YOUTUBE

www.youtube.com/user/rosaluxstiftung



FLICKR

www.flickr.com/photos/rosalux



SOUNDCLOUD

<https://soundcloud.com/rosaluxstiftung>

FAIR WORK FOR FREELANCERS

INVESTIGATION INTO THE SOCIAL AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF FREELANCE STAFF AT GERMANY'S PUBLIC BROADCASTERS

A broadly conceived study commissioned by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and Die Linke has addressed the social situation of freelance workers at Germany's public broadcasters. Between June and August 2018, Langer Media Consulting surveyed more than 2,600 freelancers for the study, who work for more than a dozen broadcasters nationwide—including Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (rbb), Bayerische Rundfunk, MDR, WDR, ZDF, and Deutsche Welle. The survey included freelance editors, authors, video editors, moderators, recording engineers, newsreaders, and directors, who answered more than 100 questions regarding their employment situation, income, pension plans, working atmosphere, experiences of discrimination, and career prospects.

The outcomes of the investigation, made available in the 60-page publication *Beschäftigte zweiter Klasse? Gute Arbeit auch für Freie* (Second Class Employees? Good Working Conditions for Freelancers), are disturbing: more than 50 percent of those surveyed said that they are unable to make ends meet. It is not unusual for freelancers to have to work for upwards of two or three clients at the same time. Two thirds of the freelancers saw themselves as disadvantaged in terms of remuneration in comparison with their salaried colleagues, despite doing the same amount of work. Four out of five freelancers did not expect to be able to save enough money for their retirement. Overall, surviving as a

freelancer is not conducive to happiness: around 70 percent of respondents said they would prefer full-time employment in their profession.

.....
However, without good working and living conditions for everybody working at public broadcasters, it is impossible to guarantee a well-produced, well-researched, and therefore trustworthy service. Or, as Dagmar Enkelmann, chair of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, put it at a press conference: "it is a matter of quality, not quotas."
.....

Of the 42,000 or so staff at the German public broadcasters, some 19,000 are freelancers. Some are contracted according to collective bargaining agreements in a manner similar to full employees, while at other broadcasters the collective agreement is not used, either due to ignorance or a lack of representation of workers' interests; to make matters more complicated, there are 30 different collective bargaining agreements across the country. Other freelancers work for flat monthly or—even more precariously—daily rates. For these cases, there are 12 different payment frameworks nationwide. No less alarming are the results in regards to freelancers' experiences of discrimination: around every second respondent reported having witnessed abuses such as

bullying or sexual harassment at least once. More than 500 of those surveyed reported having been victims of discrimination themselves. Many provided explicit descriptions of instances of sexual harassment or sexual assault, of discrimination on the basis of skin colour or age, or of humiliation in the workplace.

The investigation received significant media attention, from reports in the *tageszeitung* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* through to a segment that was broadcast on the rbb subsidiary Radioeins. At a well-attended event in Berlin, both Doris Achelwilm, the Die Linke parliamentary group spokesperson for media policy, as well as media expert and RLS member Heiko Hilker gave an overview of the survey results. The event included a public discussion, attended by some 70 people, of the assessment of work conditions and the prospects for their improvement. The panel also included representatives and employees of public broadcasters, including the representative for freelancers at ARD, Dagmar Bednarek, acting head of personnel at rbb, Nikolaus Bielefeld, and Jan Metzger, the Director of Radio Bremen. "Our everyday consultation work coincides exactly with what the study has brought to light", Bednarek emphasized.

Play reading to open the panel discussion for the publication of the study *Gute Arbeit auch für Freie*.





SELECTED ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PUBLICATIONS

RLS PUBLICATION SERIES

Timo Daum
Das Auto im digitalen Kapitalismus
 Dieselskandal, Elektroantrieb, autonomes Fahren und die Zukunft der Mobilität
 Pamphlet, 96 pages
 ISBN 978-3-9818987-3-6

Jochen Weichold
Die Weisheit der Partei
 Ein Abriss der Geschichte des Ältestenrats der Linken
 Pamphlet, 163 pages
 ISBN 978-3-9818987-6-7

Christa Luft
Wider den Marktradikalismus
 Herausforderungen für ökonomische Theorie und linke Wirtschaftspolitik
 Analysis no. 46, 36 pages
 ISSN 2194-2951

Rainald Ötsch, Axel Troost
Chance vertan
 Zehn Jahre Finanzkrise und Regulierung der Finanzmärkte – eine Bilanz
 Analysis no. 47, 44 pages
 ISSN 2194-2951

Klaus Steinitz, Axel Troost
Versprechen nicht erfüllt
 Zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Ostdeutschlands seit dem Herbst 1989
 Analysis no. 48, 40 pages
 ISSN 2194-2951

Felix Syrovatka, Etienne Schneider, Thomas Sablowski
Ten Years of Crisis
 European economic integration between silent revolution and breakup
 Analysis no. 49, 32 pages
 ISSN 2194-2951

Jan van Aken
“Not a Single Tank Is Going into Conflict Areas”
 luxemburg argumente no. 16
 40 pages, ISSN 2193-5831

Horst Adam (ed.)
Kritische Pädagogik 4
 Fragen – Versuch von Antworten
 Manuskripte (new series) No. 21
 130 pages, ISSN 2194-864X

Mario Candeias (ed.)
Understanding the Rise of the Radical Right
 Dimensions of a generalized culture of insecurity
 Materialien no. 24, 64 pages
 ISSN 2199-7713

Bernd Hüttner, Axel Weipert (ed.)
Emanzipation und Enttäuschung
 Perspektiven auf die Novemberrevolution 1918/19, Materialien No. 25,
 64 pages, ISSN 2199-7713

Ingar Solty (ed.)
Eine Welt ohne Gewalt
 Perspektiven friedlicher Außenpolitik und zivile Ansätze der globalen Krisenprävention
 Materialien no. 26, 32 pages
 ISSN 2199-7713

PUBLICATIONS WITH KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

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Ohne einen Tropfen Lakaienblut
 Schriften, Reden, Briefe – Band I/1 und Band I/2: Spartakus
 Edited by Jörn Schütrumpf
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Kate Evans
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PUBLICATIONS WITH UNRAST-VERLAG

Günter Piening
Die Macht der Migration
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 Paperback, 112 pages
 ISBN 978-3-89771-249-2

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 All publications, with the exception of those appearing with Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, can be downloaded free of charge.

DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

WHAT ARE WE DOING THIS FOR?

THOUGHTS ON THE DIRECTION OF THE FOUNDATION

Like all political foundations, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has certain assigned tasks, which arise from both its own objectives and the pre-established frameworks that govern its activities, as set out, for example, by the Constitutional Court, budgeting legislation, or by funding eligibility conditions.

The tasks of the RLS can be broadly summarized in seven points: social analysis, political education, political consultation and guidance, international dialogue, work with our network and partners, talent development, and archival work. Typically, any one institution would pursue only two or three of these tasks. This means that there is no other type of organization that combines all of these areas of activity—not in the field of political education, nor in development cooperation, nor in academic support programmes—only the politically aligned foundations cover this broad scope. The peculiarity of Germany's politically aligned foundations consists in the way they bring these various aspects together. Understandably, this also presents a number of challenges; each of these tasks requires specialized knowledge and specific processes. But it also means that the RLS is able to create connections that make us fundamentally more interesting, and open up an incredibly diverse range of possibilities, if we are prepared to depart a little from the logics of these discrete spheres of activity.

At the same time, it is clear that in its political orientation, the RLS is directed at a different constituency from the other foundations, coming from the democratic-socialist grass roots movement and our proximity to the party Die Linke. Since its foundation in 1990, the goal of the RLS has been to strengthen the grass-roots democratic-socialist movement in Germany, in Europe, and across the world. We see ourselves as part of the tradition of resistance to capitalism, oppression, and war. Our understanding of democratic socialism is influenced by the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg: equality without freedom is oppression; freedom without equality is exploitation. Solidarity binds together freedom and equality, and is a central basis for action. This requires a transformation of social conditions. For the RLS, this means working towards a perspective that will speak ever more explicitly of socialism, of a form of socialism, of course, that involves a great many people, inviting them to embark on a common search, a common journey. A democratic socialism of this kind starts from rights that secure equality and freedom, from a clear utopian vision, and a thorough understanding of real existing capitalism—its growing susceptibility to crisis, its lack of solutions, and its growing social injustice. At the same time, we are only too aware of the wrong turns that were taken and the crimes that

were committed over the course of the history of socialism and communism.

For the RLS, this process of searching for a socialist perspective has to include openly addressing contradictions and conflicting aims. Contradiction is nothing new in the history of socialist and other emancipatory movements, and they were treated in a more or less productive manner at different historical moments. Diverse interests and starting points for efforts at emancipation should first of all be recognized as legitimate, without immediately categorizing them according to whether they are supposedly fundamental or incidental. Once the legitimacy of these different interests has been recognized, we then need to start the work of negotiating these positions to develop a connective vision of equality and democracy, and a unifying form of socialist politics. Feminist and queer positions have their place here alongside the socio-economic interests of employees; and ecological emergencies are just as important as the demands of migrant communities and activists. These bonds will always be fragile, always be based on difference, and therefore require constant renegotiation. Self-representation will form a part of these negotiations, but is not sufficient on its own. The RLS can also make a contribution to this. This includes showing respect to those whose work or living circumstances receive too little attention, as well as the need to strengthen them by increasing their visibility, and portraying and embodying an inclusive form of diversity.

On the basis of the aforementioned range of functions, the RLS pursues a plurality of tasks and themes, addresses diverse constituencies and contexts, and works across a range of locations. Such complexity distinguishes us from other political organizations, which are able to operate in a more focused way. Diversity does not make our work easier; but it is an important quality, and though it might seem paradoxical at first, it actually sets us apart. At the RLS we can support people in their development, helping them to achieve their potential and make professional and personal connections, without being paternalistic or imposing pre-established categories. We should be thinking ever more strongly in terms of categories like encouragement, empowerment, networking, and development, and sometimes a little less according to a logic of projects and themes. Some of our youth education initiatives—projects like the *Young Migrants Blog*, the work done outside the major urban centres to “broaden our reach” through the RLS regional branches and Rosa-Luxemburg-Clubs, collaborations with smaller-scale initiatives in the form of external project funding—all of these are, in addition to the provision of research grants and scholarships, at once important contributions and examples of why we should be working even harder. This also means accepting that sometimes keeping track of all the different work and the diverse opinions will be somewhat difficult. It also means facilitating the concomitant administrative demands and allowing for experimentation

We at the RLS are proud of the particularly high number of scholarship and grant recipients who come from families of



Academics in Cologne stand in solidarity with the struggle of Nuriye Gülmen and Semih Özakça against their dismissal in Turkey

which they are the first members to have the chance to embark on tertiary study. Our programme *Lux like Studium* has been a key part of this. This also forms part of creating a foundation which supports many and diverse groups, and sees its partners not only among political activists and the traditional, educated left-wing bourgeoisie—two of the main groups we work with—but also looks to reach beyond these groups. To achieve this, we will have to transform the way we work.

Encouragement also means both symbolic and practical solidarity with those who are acutely threatened by nationalism and hatred, regardless of which country they live in and which group is threatening them. In concrete terms, this means, for instance, that as a foundation we extend solidarity to Turkish academics and activists vulnerable to governmental persecution, even though we are aware that our contribution can only be a small one when compared to the enormity of the problems these groups are facing. In other instances, it is a question of supporting those within Germany who are actively working to create vital projects on democracy and diversity in the fields of culture and education, and who are increasingly under attack from the adherents of ‘illiberal democracy’.

Which is also why our job—apart from the tried-and-tested events, publications, educational trips, seminars, and thematic approaches—is to encourage and develop people and their networks, and to intensify these impulses. To broaden the circle of people and groups with whom we collaborate, and whom we thereby want to provide with support. What’s needed is an analytic and intellectual openness, a process of exploration and conceptualization, even when this turns out to be politically painful—for without convincing diagnoses, we cannot develop remedies or counter-strategies against the widespread rightward shift that is currently occurring. And in no small part, it is a matter of mustering a little more courage for moments of experimentation, and of accepting the risk of failure.

Florian Weis

Laying the foundations on the 147th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's birth. On 5 March 2018, the chair of the RLS Executive Board Dagmar Enkelmann and managing board member Florian Weis embedded a time capsule in the foundations of the new building. The ceremony's some 80 attendees also included Dietmar Bartsch, chair of the Die Linke parliamentary group, acting party chair Gesine Löttsch, federal treasurer Thomas Nord, and the chair of Die Linke in the Berlin state parliament, Katina Schubert. The building will comprise some 3,500 square metres of floor space, divided among nine floors and a basement. Apart from office spaces there will be a publicly accessible space for exhibitions and events, a library, and an archive.



NEW BUILDING TAKES SHAPE

RLS STRUGGLES WITH THE CONSTRUCTION BOOM

Building is always a complex affair, which is something the RLS is currently experiencing first hand. Back in 2016, a design competition led to a commission being awarded to the young architectural team of KIM Nalleweg & Trujillo. However, despite the fact that the Bundestag had approved a sum of 20.4 million euros in 2014, it was not until August 2017 that the foundation received the final confirmation of the funding from the federal government. The complicated earthworks extended into March 2018; the nearby railway line at Ostbahnhof, as well as the high groundwater level, made this a complex and demanding civil engineering project. Finally, in early April 2018, the construction of the shell was able to commence, after the foundation stone had been laid on 5 March, the 147th anniversary of the birth of Rosa Luxemburg. Due to the present construction boom in Berlin, however, finding the right specialist contractors has proved difficult. Prices current in March 2017 were already ancient history by the following year. So even when contractors do submit bids for the foundation's public tenders, their quotes are usually well beyond the original figures in the budget—mark-ups of 20 percent are par for the course. Nevertheless, the building continues to grow, storey by storey. In coordination with the electrical and heating engineering companies tasked with installing the ductwork and concrete core activation, the shell construction company takes around one month to complete each floor.

All up, the new Berlin headquarters of the RLS will boast nine floors. One of the particular challenges of the project is carrying out the internal fit-out of the lower floors at the same time as construction is being carried out on the shell of the remaining four floors. Planning to this effect was necessary because the shell construction company's concreting work has taken considerably more time than anticipated. The principal can at present take a somewhat

more optimistic view of the financing of the build, as the cost explosions on the market have not escaped the attention of the federal government either. Thus the Bundestag, in agreement with the funding authority, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, made an additional four million euros available to the foundation. Now, while the architects are examining the quotes in detail in order to formulate contracting recommendations for the carpentry, flooring, and paintwork, the RLS is discussing media and event technology, the construction of the library, and the management plan. In total, the new building will provide space for more than 150 RLS employees. However, because the foundation has grown significantly in recent years, it will not relinquish its current location at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1, and in the future will be able to make use of two Berlin locations. The RLS expects to move into the office and event spaces at Postbahnhof in spring 2020. Until then, it is a matter of keeping a firm grip on the reins of the overall plan.

REMOVAL OF ZAMOŚĆ ROSA LUXEMBURG MEMORIAL PLAQUE

In March 2018 in Zamość, the city where Rosa Luxemburg was born in 1871, a plaque in her memory was removed. The removal was ordered by the government-appointed voivode of Lublin, who invoked a law prescribing the removal of historical traces of Communism from public space. The plaque only stated the year of Rosa Luxemburg's birth in the city, and that she had been an eminent representative of the international workers' movement. This was sufficient for the national-conservative government, at the height of its anti-communist frenzy, to banish the plaque from public view.

Poland's 1997 constitution includes an article that bans political parties whose programmes are based on totalitarian practices. After the national conservatives came to power in autumn 2015, this constitutional ban was unceremoniously twisted



Because it constituted a crime of “Communist propaganda”, Rosa Luxemburg’s commemorative plaque in Zamość was removed in March 2018

into a comprehensive ban on any advocacy of communism. In order to implement this ban, the federal government interfered in the jurisdiction of local entities, as in the case of the Zamość plaque. Primarily at issue are the names of streets, squares and buildings, as well as monuments and commemorative plaques. The names of institutions are yet to be affected by the ban, but government representatives have already threatened that these will be next.

The memorial plaque remains the property of the city of Zamość, but according to the government, may only be shown in a museum or in a cemetery. It is important to note that the plaque was not destroyed, but is currently being kept at a secure location. Since the opposition parties, also invoking the constitution, have announced that if they manage to form government after the upcoming elections they will immediately return legal jurisdiction on questions of public remembrance to local municipalities, there is still hope that the city of Zamość will once more be able to publicly honour its world-famous daughter.

LEARNING ON THE ROAD

EDUCATIONAL TOURS WITH THE RLS REGIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Athens, April 2018: the 20 participants in the “Greece and the Crisis of European Migration Policy” educational tour visit the City Plaza Hotel, a building in the city centre currently inhabited by 400 refugees, including some 185 children. The accommodation is entirely self-organized, refugees and activists work together to ensure that there are three meals a day and essential medical care, that language courses and workshops are offered, and on top of this, they also run a café. The hotel, which was occupied in 2016, has not only become a symbol for the struggle for refugees’ rights in Greece, but also a symbol of hope. We speak with Elena from the squatters’ communications group; she gives us a tour

of the building and reports on the history of the occupation, the challenges of self-organization, and the project’s political goals. In the café, spontaneous conversations break out with the residents, who tell us about their experiences living as refugees in Athens.

The visit to the City Plaza was part of a series of talks, lectures, walking tours, and site visits on the five-day Athens trip, and gets to the heart of what makes these educational tours unique: the focus was on learning through observation, dialogue, and sharing experiences. Classic study formats are supplemented by a large proportion of informal, incidental, and unforeseeable learning. The change in location provokes a change in the learners’ own perspectives. New questions, views, and insights are inspired and promoted.

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Since 2012, the RLS regional foundations have organized some 60 week-long educational tours, mostly in other countries within Europe. Around 1,000 people have had the chance to benefit from this intensive and substantial educational programme. Despite the comparatively high personal financial outlay required from the participants, the demand for these tours has risen sharply. Many of the tours are approved under state laws regulating paid educational leave.

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12 trips took place in 2018, both within Germany and abroad. Pairings of theme and destination included Barcelona and the Catalonia conflict, the cooperative economy on Crete, neo-fascism and the growth of the right in Rome, the living conditions of Romani people in Serbia, a trip organized around Rosa Luxemburg’s political biography that travelled to Warsaw and Berlin, a trip to Israel and Palestine focussing on the Middle East conflict, and a two-week tour through Russia covering the country’s history, politics, and culture. As in previous years, the tours’ main topics consisted in current political issues and developments, including questions

related to asylum and migration, and the rise of the right in Europe. Aside from these, historical themes are frequently in focus, above all the violent crimes of National Socialism in Europe, anti-fascist resistance, and the history of the left. With these educational tours, the RLS regional foundations offer an educational programme that represents an outstanding and sustainable expansion to the existing programmes. Particularly when the tours engage with controversial political topics for which there are no simple answers—ones embedded in a contested (left-wing) history, and that are emotionally moving—this creates the possibility for unique educational experiences with repercussions for the participants' own socio-political activity. Exemplary in this regard is the educational tour "Views Across Visible and Invisible Fences and Borders", organized through a long-standing cooperation with our regional offices in Tel Aviv and Ramallah. The trip is unique for its political and cultural shift of perspective, and through visits to Israel and the West Bank, challenges participants to learn from a context of conflict and contradiction. The realization that a

conflict the German left all too often interprets in binary terms is actually impossible to grasp through either/or answers is made concrete and tangible for the participants through visits to Hebron and Tel Aviv.

The Israel-Palestine trip forms part of the regular schedule of educational trips offered by the RLS regional foundations. Along with the other collaborations with our foreign offices, it represents an interdisciplinary cooperation which is of benefit to both sides. The RLS regional foundations have the chance to work with cooperation partners in Europe and around the world, and thereby to develop educational programmes that afford exclusive insights into the political, historical, and cultural situations in the various destinations. On the other hand, this gives the overseas branches the opportunity to present their own work and that of their civil-society partner organizations to an engaged German audience. For 2019 and 2020, therefore, the main focus for the regional foundations in terms of the development of educational travel programmes will be to continue and expand the existing cooperation with our overseas branches.

A trip to Hebron as part of the educational tour through Israel and Palestine in November 2018





Dietmar Wittich, one of the founding fathers of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung



The great Rosa Luxemburg expert, Annelies Laschitza

A MASTER OF DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS REMEMBERING DIETMAR WITTICH (1943–2018)

“For anybody who wants to tackle the problems of class formation and class analysis, there is no getting around the classic text on these themes, the *Communist Manifesto*. ... And I would venture the prognosis that the question of class will be among the central questions of the coming decades”, wrote Dietmar Wittich in 1998—and he was proven right. For at least two years, left-wing socio-political debates have been strongly influenced by the idea of a renewed class politics, spurred on not least by the terrifying electoral success of the openly racist and nationalist AfD party. The latter development, too, was foreseen by the sociologist Wittich, with his characteristic clear-sightedness. He was dedicated to carrying out a continuous analysis of structural social transformations since 1990, particularly in East Germany, and to analysing the related problem of the agents of social change. In the late 1990s, in his class analysis, he coined the concept of the information worker, and was involved in incorporating these insights into left-wing policy.

In his numerous analyses he also dealt with the constituency of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). Here, he continually emphasized that the PDS—in its function as a “homeland” to voters from the East—compensated for many things over the years; identifying the fact that as soon as the left lost its ties to the populace, discontented voters did not drift towards Merkel’s “centrism”, but rather swung all the way to the extreme right of the political spectrum. When added to the 17 to 20 percent of the population who are already committed to right-wing positions—this was Wittich’s worry—we could soon enough find ourselves back in the early 1930s, with upwards of 30 percent of the vote going to the far right. We can only hope that with this prognosis, Dietmar Wittich will not be proven right by historical developments once more.

Since 17 April 2018, we have been mourning a person for whom high academic standards and political intervention were not mutually exclusive, but two sides of one and the same coin.

“STAY TRUE TO YOURSELF AND BE CHEERFUL ...” ON THE PASSING OF ANNELIES LASCHITZA (1934–2018)

It was not until March 2018 that the second edition of Annelies Laschitza’s *“Sich treu bleiben und heiter sein”—Erfahrungen und Entdeckungen durch Rosa Luxemburg in mehr als 50 Jahren* appeared as part of the Rosa Luxemburg research reports series. In it, Annelies Laschitza recounts the story of her academic career, and with the title “Stay True to Yourself and Be Cheerful”, she reveals her life’s motto. With Annelies Laschitza, the last of the great Rosa Luxemburg researchers has died—after Günter Radczun (Berlin, 1978), Feliks Tych (Warsaw, 2015), and Narihito Ito (Tokyo, 2017). All of them uncovered paths into a cosmos in which we are continually bumping into new stars: such as Leo Jogiches, Paul Levi, Ines Wetzell, or Valeria Marcu. And Rosa Luxemburg—the central celestial body—also remains surprising, revealing ever-new secrets: black holes; rays that suddenly blaze around corners... With Annelies Laschitza, research into the work and life of Rosa Luxemburg was in the best of hands. Her reputation as an outstanding historian endured beyond the end of Soviet-influenced state socialism. Laschitza’s research—in particular, her collaboration on the eight-volume *Geschichte der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (History of the German Labour Movement)—also led her inexorably into those zones where taboos were touched on and the courage had to be mustered to speak about, and above all publish, facts that were unpleasant to those in high places. Likewise, it is thanks to Annelies Laschitza that Luxemburg’s text “On the Russian Revolution” was included in the first, five-volume edition of Luxemburg’s works in the 1970s. Laschitza stressed that Luxemburg’s “very human character” had also personally lent her “strength as a biographer”. The great revolutionary’s understanding for others, her impeccable education, and the fact that despite this, she remained down to earth—these are the things that will remain. The same can be said of the great dame of Rosa Luxemburg research, Annelies Laschitza.

THE SUBSIDIARY FOUNDATIONS

As trustee, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is responsible for six subsidiary foundations. The cooperation serves to develop shared potential models for work in political education. The coordinators are Meinhard Tietz (meinhard.tietz@rosalux.org) and Andrea Reimann (andrea.reimann@rosalux.org).

The **MAX-LINGNER-STIFTUNG** is dedicated to conserving and promoting the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959). In addition, it works with the Hans-und-Lea-Grundig-Stiftung, for which it administers the Hans-und-Lea-Grundig-Preis.

Chair: Thomas Flierl

Email: info@max-lingner-stiftung.de;

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Nana Verkhviashvili (nana.verkhviashvili@rosalux.org);

Henning Heine (henning.heine@rosalux.org)

www.max-lingner-stiftung.de

The **HERMANN-HENSELMANN-STIFTUNG** promotes engagement with questions around architecture, urban planning, and social urban development.

Chair: Thomas Flierl

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Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:

Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)

www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

The **HARALD-BREUER-STIFTUNG** is active nationally and internationally, and contributes to international understanding and development cooperation.

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:

Andreas Bohne (andreas.bohne@rosalux.org)

www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/harald-breuer-stiftung

The **ERIK-NEUTSCH-STIFTUNG** deals with questions of art and literature as well as the conservation of the work of Erik Neutsch.

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:

Christine Gohsmann (christine.gohsmann@rosalux.org)

www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/erik-neutsch-stiftung



Max Lingner, Head of a Young Man Wearing a Cap, circa 1947

The **MODROW-STIFTUNG** promotes cultural remembrance of, and reflection on, everyday life, work, art, the media, and culture of the GDR.

Chair: Hans Modrow

Email: info@modrow-stiftung.de

Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:

Cornelia Domaschke (cornelia.domaschke@rosalux.org)

<http://modrow-stiftung.de>

The merging of the Michael-Schumann-Stiftung and the Wolfgang-Abendroth-Stiftungsgesellschaft resulted in the **CLARA-ZETKIN-STIFTUNG** (for the commemoration of democratic socialists). The foundation is concerned with German and European history of the 20th and 21st century, in particular the biographies of labour and union movement representatives.

Chair: Detlef Nakath

Email: detlef.nakath@rosalux.org

Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:

Andrea Reimann (andrea.reimann@rosalux.org)

www.rosalux.de/news/id/39808

AN IMPORTANT FORCE IN URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL POLICY

THE HERMANN-HENSELMANN-STIFTUNG

The Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung has become an indispensable fixture in the landscape of Berlin's urban development policy and architectural history. Founded in 2005 by Andreas Henselmann, son of the architect Hermann Henselmann (1905–1995), it engages with questions to do with architecture, urban planning and social urban development. The annual highpoint of the foundation's activities is the *Hermann-Henselmann-Kolloquium*, which took place at the beginning of March 2018 for the 14th time.

The non-profit, legally dependent foundation is administered by the RLS on a fiduciary basis, but works independently in terms of its content, as stipulated by its statutes. Henselmann, a leading architect in the Stalinallee project (today Karl-Marx-Allee), was appointed chief architect by the Greater Berlin municipal authorities in 1953, and is among the most influential "GDR architects".

In 2018, the Henselmann-Stiftung was one of the first institutions to take a critical look at the upcoming "100 Years of the Bauhaus" anniversary in 2019.

The Bauhaus was founded in 1919 as an art academy in Weimar, moved to Dessau in 1925, and was shut down in

1933 due to pressure from the Nazis. The 11-part series *Bauhaus Lectures*, launched in October 2018, is a cycle of lectures, discussions, book launches, and guided tours scheduled to run until June 2019. It presents the results of recent research on the history of the Bauhaus and its broader reception, and presents its eventful history against the backdrop of new cultural perspectives.

A further contribution by the Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung to the Bauhaus anniversary is the new magazine *Henselmann*, offering an extensive preview of the 100th anniversary of the Bauhaus, and published in cooperation with the RLS to coincide with the opening of the *Bauhaus Lectures*. Among other things, *Henselmann* takes a critical look at the politics of remembrance surrounding the Bauhaus centenary. The social connections that drove the founding of the academy will be highlighted, as well as the Bauhaus's divergent reception in East and West. There is a focus on the school's second director, Hannes Meyer, and his Bauhaus concept. Further contributions are devoted to the role of women working at the academy, and the answers that the Bauhaus proposed to the housing question. In addition to the Bauhaus anniversary, in 2018, the increasingly explosive housing shortage in Berlin and other issues, such as the redesign of Berlin's Mitte district, also formed part of the Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung's agenda. In addition, the city walking tours on the history of housing and housing policy in Berlin, conceived and carried out jointly with "Helle Panke" e.V., were continued.

Since 2018, the magazine *Henselmann: Beiträge zur Stadtpolitik* has been designed by Dieter Feseke

The image shows a collage of magazine covers and articles from 'Henselmann: Beiträge zur Stadtpolitik'. The central focus is on the 'BAUHAUS LECTURES' series, with a large graphic reading 'HAUS BAU'. Other visible titles include 'BAUHAUS UND GESELLSCHAFTLICHE RATIONALISIERUNG' by Max Welch Guerra and 'DIE LEERE MITTE DAS BAUHAUS UND DIE WOHNUNGSFRAGE' by Kathrin Gerlof. The layout features bold typography and historical architectural images.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

DIVERSITY: MORE APPEARANCE THAN REALITY?

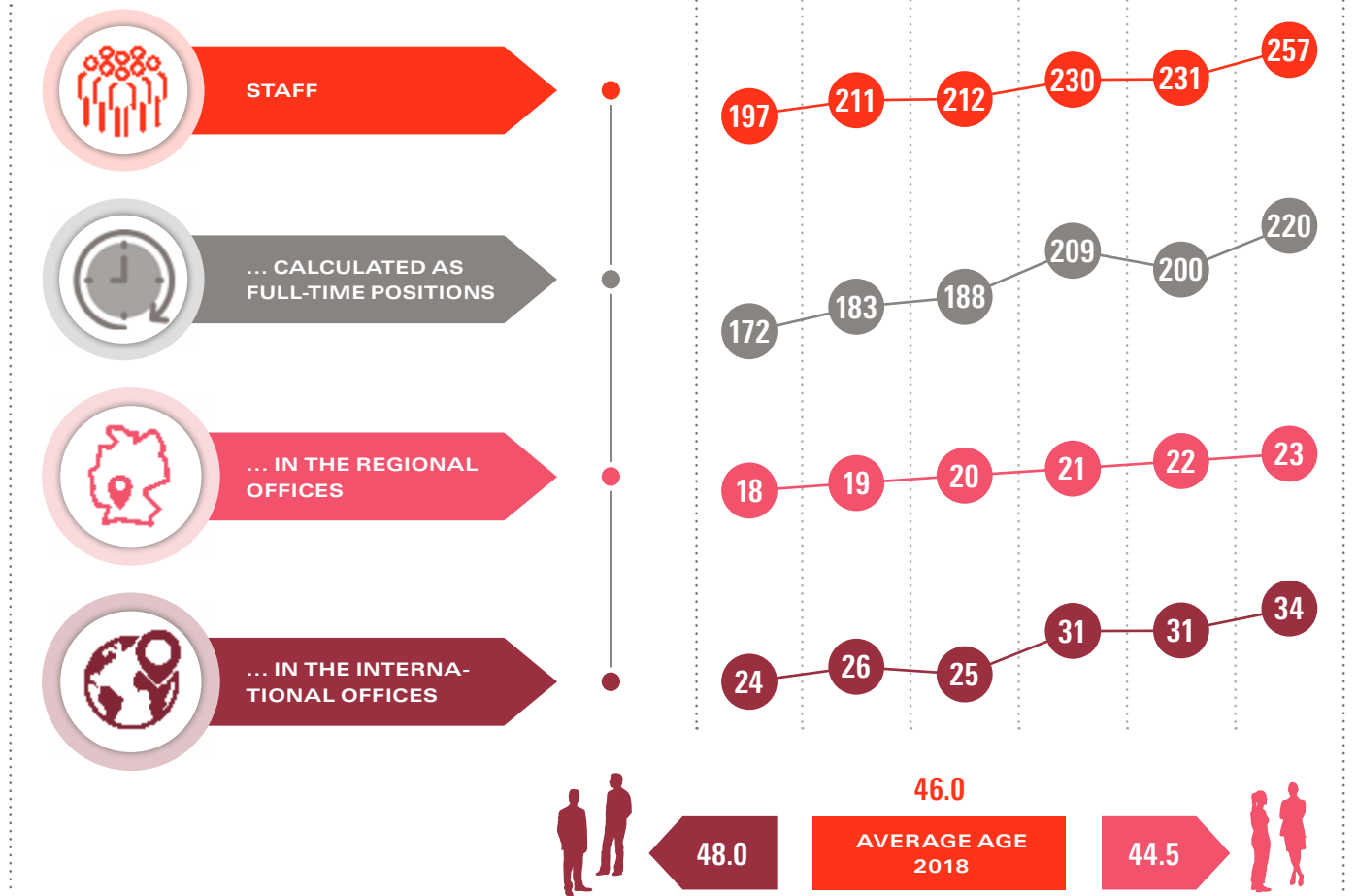
A group of female students from Universität Hamburg approached the RLS requesting permission to carry out research on diversity within the organization. They took their cue from English-language studies demonstrating that the diversity publicly promoted by non-profits is often not matched by the experiences of those who work for them—contrary to what one would hope for from organizations which are supposed to be guided by principles of solidarity. The students wanted to find out whether this phenomenon—as is suggested by some statistical data—was also prevalent in Germany. And they felt that a political foundation would make an ideal case study.

Through comprehensive analyses of documents, interviews with relevant RLS employees and a group discussion with staff to discern collective attitudes towards diversity, the researchers sought to answer two questions: to what extent is the diversity that the RLS externally advocates represented within its own human resources management and structure (internal diversity)? And what are the reasons for any possible discrepancies?

At the risk of spoiling the conclusions of the study: the authors were unable to identify any such discrepancies, because we explicitly address the topic of diversity in our interactions with the public, while at the same time working on these within the organization—despite the fact that we don't have any specific diversity policy per se. The study thus reached the following conclusion: "The investigation shows that, despite lacking a diversity strategy, in many areas, the RLS is organized in a manner that meets diversity expectations, and also mainly operates in a manner that meets these expectations. The diversity which it demands externally is therefore also represented internally ... The significant discrepancy that had been postulated ... could therefore not be confirmed in the case of the RLS." The authors of the study explained the congruence they discovered with reference to the culture of the foundation, to which its "left-wing character is a strong contributing factor". The study's remarks about our lack of a diversity strategy, however, have motivated us to take action. In our human resources plan for 2019, we have set ourselves the task of elaborating a diversity plan that will create a discrimination-free workplace, proactively combatting discrimination, and fostering diversity in the make-up of our staff, including those who suffer from acute disadvantage or discrimination on the labour market. Despite our pleasing diversity outcomes, we believe things could be even better—more reality than appearance.

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The study can be found online at: <https://bit.ly/2Q9aM6c>.
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HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, 2013 TO 2018



Proportional composition

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Female employees	55%	56%	55%	56%	56%	55%
Male employees	45%	44%	45%	44%	44%	45%
Employees with a migrant background	14%	15%	15%	16%	15%	17%
Permanent employees	77%	76%	78%	73%	80%	82%
Part-time employees	23%	24%	29%	30%	24%	39%
On parental leave/sabbatical/leave of absence	3%	3%	3%	1%	3%	4%
Trainees	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Partial retirees in the "passive phase"		1%	1%	2%	1%	0%

The staff also includes

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Interns ¹	37	36	34	39	19	23
State-funded volunteers					1	2

¹ Calculated over the entire year, paid internships in accordance with the directives of the DGB (German Trade Union Confederation) and Die Linke.

COMMITTEES

MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The general assembly convened on 1 December 2018, focusing its attention on current challenges facing left-wing politics in view of the upcoming local, state and European elections. The discussion also touched on the demands of left-wing political education, for example in relation to particular regions and political developments, such as the situation in the former East German states after the Fall of the Wall, positive developments in collaborations with unions, the strengthening of left-wing organizations beyond urban centres, and the significance of introductory courses at local and state level. Following short presentations from Daniela Dahn and Oliver Nachtwey, discussion focussed on ways of dealing with the right wing in politics and civil society. Ninety-three voting members were in attendance, a record turnout representing more than 70 percent of the total voting membership. Elections and new intakes were not on the agenda this year.

Dagmar Enkelmann drew attention to the successful work carried out in 2018. Together with the party and the parliamentary group, she said, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provided an important space for dialogue and discussion, as well as delivering strategic tools, analyses of domestic and international affairs, and engaging discussion partners, all of which were useful for debates concerning politics and policy. The foundation, she said, had developed into a centre of expertise related to important social and political issues, had created an expansive left-wing network, and was visible in a variety of ways, for example in debates on climate change and the structural transformations that are under way. She said that the foundation's public relations work had been excellent on topics like the German Revolution of November 1918 and the centenary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg. She thanked staff and the many volunteers working at and around the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for their dedication.

Florian Weis emphasized that significant gains had been made when it came to strengthening partners in various areas of society. The Scholarship Department, he said, was an important means to this, as it made it possible to support (not only, but especially) younger activists and to help them build networks. In this context, he mentioned successful projects such as the *Young Migrants Blog*. He also advocated for the approach known as "connective class politics", which aims to bring together social struggles that until now have been much too isolated from one another—ecological, feminist, and LGBT movements, new forms of (post-)migrant self-organization, solidarity and protest initiatives, as well as various social milieus—by addressing common interests without obscuring the fact that these various social demands can have conflicts in terms of their aims and interests.



Rapt attention at the AGM on 1 December 2018 in Berlin.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

FULL MEMBERS

Jan van Aken
 Marwa Al-Radwany
 Dr Dietmar Bartsch
 Prof Dr Günter Benser
 Dr Joachim Bischoff
 Steffen Bockhahn
 Dr Marcel Bois
 Prof Dr Ulrich Brand
 Dr André Brie
 Prof Dr Ulrich Brinkmann
 Sandra Brunner
 Christine Buchholz
 Prof Dr Michael Buckmiller
 Dr Carolin Butterwegge
 Kate Cahoon
 Gerda Daenecke
 Daniela Dahn
 Prof Dr Alex Demirović
 Prof Dr Frank Deppe
 Richard Detje
 Ulrike Detjen
 Sophie Dieckmann
 Dr Dagmar Enkelmann
 Klaus Ernst
 Ilsegreg Fink

Dr Thomas Flierl
 Wulf Gallert
 Wolfgang Gehrcke
 Claudia Gohde
 Dr Stefanie Graefe
 Dr Bärbel Grygier
 Dr Gregor Gysi
 Sofia Hamaz
 Thomas Händel
 Karl-Heinz Heinemann
 Heiko Hilker
 Heinz Hillebrand
 Prof Dr Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff
 Dr Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann
 Dr Barbara Höll
 Florian Höllen
 Klaus Höpcke
 Dr Steffen Hultsch
 Dr Gerda Jasper
 Dr Lukrezia Jochimsen
 Kadriye Karci
 Dr Andreas Keller
 Katja Kipping
 Prof Dr Dieter Klein
 Dr Thomas Klein
 Katharine Kolmans
 Jan Korte
 Marian Krüger
 Prof Ingrid Kurz
 Caren Lay

Dr Klaus Lederer
 Dr Steffen Lehndorff
 Sabine Leidig
 Monika Lent-Öztürk
 Katrin Lompscher
 Dr Gesine Lötzscher
 Prof Dr Christa Luft
 Dr Helmuth Markov
 Ulrich Maurer
 Prof Dr Margit Mayer
 Sahra Mirow
 Dr Hans Modrow
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 Margret Mönig-Raane
 Prof Dr Oliver Nachtwey
 Dr Detlef Nakath
 Helga Nowak
 Dr Onur Ocak
 Dr Harald Pätzolt
 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 Reyhan Şahin

Prof Dr David Salomon
 Bosiljka Schedlich
 Dr Birgit Schliwenz
 Horst Schmitthenner
 Christiane Schneider
 Dr Ursula Schröter
 Siri Schultze
 Dr Karin Schüttpelz
 Dr Reinhard Semmelmann
 Kathrin Senger-Schäfer
 Dr Petra Sitte
 Prof Dr Susanne Spindler
 Sybille Stamm
 Regina Stosch
 Gabriele Gün Tank
 Güldane Tokyürek
 Daniela Trochowski
 Eva Völpel
 Vera Vordenbäumen
 Dr Sahra Wagenknecht
 Dr Jochen Weichold
 Dr Florian Weis
 Janine Wissler
 Dr Evelin Wittich
 Dr Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabi Zimmer

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

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

HONORARY MEMBERS

Dr Kurt Hövelmans
 Prof Dr Kurt Krumbach
 Prof Dr Reinhard Mocek
 Prof Dr Manfred Neuhaus
 Dr Monika Runge
 Fritz Schmalzbauer
 Dr Wolfgang Spickermann
 Heinz Vietze

NON-ACTIVE MEMBERS

Dr Lutz Brangsch
 Prof Dr Michael Brie
 Dr Mario Candeias
 Wenke Christoph
 Dr Cornelia Domaschke
 Evelyn Edler
 Dr Stefanie Ehmsen
 Kerstin Kaiser
 Prof Dr Mario Keßler
 Stefan Nadolny
 Norbert Schepers
 Dr Jörn Schüttrumpf
 Dr Marion Schüttrumpf
 Fanny Zeise

As at March 2019



DR DAGMAR ENKELMANN

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD



DR FLORIAN WEIS

As of April 2019



JAN KORTE



DR BARBARA HÖLL



SYBILLE STAMM



ULRIKE DETJEN



PEETER RAANE



GABRIELE GÜN TANK



PROF DÖRTE PUTENSEN



DR SABINE REINER



THOMAS HÄNDEL



HEINZ HILLEBRAND



DR DETLEF NAKATH



PROF RAINER RILLING

EXECUTIVE BOARD SETS NEW PRIORITIES

The current Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has now been in office for around two years. Previously that would have meant that only half of the term of office had been completed, but after a rule change in 2016, the board will now be re-elected every three years by the General Assembly. In addition to the chair Dagmar Enkelmann, her deputies Sabine Reiner and Thomas Händel, and the managing board member Florian Weis, ten other members work on the board in a voluntary capacity.

Eight meetings are held annually, some of them running over several days. The foundation's statutes invest the board with a number of responsibilities. These include discussion and decision-making on personnel planning as well as key decisions on budgetary and financial issues. Meanwhile, it has also become customary for at least two board meetings to be held as joint meetings with the RLS's department heads, in order to devote more attention to substantive planning of the foundation's work. In light of changing social issues, the board agreed in 2018 to the establishment of a new thematic focus: *Connective Class Politics and Social Struggles*. Moving forward, the foundations work on the topic of *Democracy* will concentrate on the cooperative initiatives *The Radical Right*, *Authoritarianism*, and *Anti-feminism*, *The Society of the Many*, and *Dialogue Between World Views*, thus also taking account of recent shifts to the right. At the request of the board, work on the topic *30 Years Since the Fall of the Wall/A New Discourse on East Germany*, which also includes an analysis of the history of the *Treuhandanstalt*, is to be strengthened over the next two years.

Thanks to last year's increase in funds and the additional revenues expected for 2019 (the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's share in the total available BMI funds rising to 10.64 percent, the highest level to date), further temporary priorities have been set for the next three years: strengthening the various state foundations and regional offices and an effort to "broaden the reach" of the RLS; expansion of analysis and research-related activities (through a postdoctoral project on *A Welfare State for the 21st Century*, an international knowledge-production programme, etc.) as well as more intensive work on the topics of digital education and digital communication.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Ulrike Detjen: born in 1952, industrial bookbinder; from 1999 to 2018 manager of a prepress house, an active member of the North Rhine Westphalia municipal policy forum and the North Rhine Westphalia regional organization since 2008; member of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2013.

Dr Dagmar Enkelmann (Chair): born in 1956, historian; member of the Bundestag from 1990 to 1998 and 2005 to 2013, from 1998 a city councillor in Bernau bei Berlin; a member of the RLS and chair of its Executive Board since 2012.

Thomas Händel (Deputy Chair): born in 1953, electronics engineer, studied at the Akademie der Arbeit, Frankfurt; director of the trade union IG Metall during several periods between 1987 and 2012, founding member of WASG; member of the European Parliament since 2009; deputy chair of the Executive Board of the RLS since 2007.

Heinz Hillebrand: born in 1954, industrial manager, went on to study history, German studies and philosophy; founding member of WASG, director of the political education department at the federal head office of Die Linke; member of the Executive Board of the RLS since 2012.

Dr Barbara Höll: born in 1957, studied philosophy; from 1990 to 2002 and 2005 to 2013 member of the Bundestag; member of the RLS since 2014 and of its Executive Board since 2016.

Jan Korte: born in 1977; member of the Bundestag since 2005; deputy chair of Die Linke's parliamentary group from 2013 to 2017, head of the group since 2017; member of the Executive Board of the RLS since 2014.

Dr Detlef Nakath: born in 1949, historian; from 2003 to 2006 researcher at "Helle Panke" e. V., from 2006 to 2015 head of the Brandenburg regional foundation; member of the Executive Board of the RLS since 2014.

Prof Dörte Putensen: born in 1949, historian; associate professor for the history of modernity at the University of Rostock, member of the executive board of the Brandenburg regional foundation from 2010 to 2014; member of the Executive Board of RLS since 2014.

Peeter Raane: born in 1941, studied business administration; from 1967 secretary for collective bargaining at the trade union Gewerkschaft Holz und Kunststoff (IG Metall since 2000) and a member of its Executive Board; member of the executive board of the North Rhine Westphalia regional organization from 2007 to 2012; member of the Executive Board of the RLS since 2008.

Dr Sabine Reiner (Deputy Chair): born in 1962, studied political science and economics; secretary of the trade union ver.di from 2002; member of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2004, Deputy Chair from 2012.

Prof Rainer Rilling: born in 1945; from 1983 to 1998 head of the Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler; associate professor of sociology at the University of Marburg from 2002; since 2004 member of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Sybille Stamm: born in 1945, studied political science; from 1973 secretary, from 2001 to 2007 regional director at ver.di in Baden-Württemberg, co-editor of the journal *Sozialismus*; member of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2014.

Gabriele Gün Tank: born in 1975, journalist; integration commissioner in Berlin's Tempelhof-Schöneberg district since 2007; from 2016 head of Neue Deutsche Organisationen; member of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2014.

Dr Florian Weis (Executive Director): born in 1967, historian; employed at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 1999, executive director since 2008.

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

The Academic Advisory Board is responsible for supporting the academic work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the intersections of research, education, and politics. In accordance with the decisions it has made regarding its own mode of operation, the Academic Advisory Board met in Berlin three times in 2018.

At the February meeting, the board discussed changes in industry and working conditions. Dieter Sauer was invited to give a talk on the dominant discourses around "Industry 4.0". Further contributions to the discussion were made by Alexandra Wagner, Gerhard Richter, Birgit Sauer, Lia Becker, and Florian Wilde. The discussion of new forms of the organization of work and the development of businesses was continued with debates over left-wing strategies for responding to these changes.

At the two-day retreat in October, Florian Weis presented thoughts on the coalition movement *Aufstehen* from the perspective of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Further topics included developments in rural areas and under specific working conditions, with talks by Axel Krumrey, Axel Troost, Peter Birke, and Sarah Schilliger. The significance of free software in public administration and at the foundation was also discussed following a presentation by Markus Euskirchen and Olaf Barz. Christina Kaindl, member of the strategy department of *Die Linke*, gave an overview of the preparations for the European Parliament elections in May 2019. Finally, Jörn Schütrumpf reported on the activities of the foundation on the anniversary of the German Revolution of November 1918 and the centenary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg.

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

Prof María do Mar Castro Varela: professor of social work and pedagogy with a focus on diversity, in particular gender, at the Alice Salomon University Berlin; affiliate lecturer at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Associate Prof Alex Demirović: head of the academic advisory board, senior fellow at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis; research interests: social theory, democracy, and socialism; affiliate lecturer at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Prof Andreas Fisahn: professor of public law, environmental and technology law and legal theory at the University of Bielefeld; affiliate lecturer at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Prof Jörg Hafkemeyer: lecturer at the Berlin University of the Arts and Deutsche Journalistenschule in Munich; member of Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie.

Dr Stefanie Hürtgen: political scientist and sociologist of work; assistant professor at the University of Salzburg.

Prof Michael Krätke: professor of political economy at Lancaster University and director of the Institute for Advanced Studies; thematic focuses: political economy, Marxism, and anti-capitalism.

Prof Margit Mayer: professor emeritus of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Freie Universität Berlin; research interests: US and comparative politics, urban policy, and social movements.

Prof Wolfgang Methling: professor emeritus of animal health at Rostock University, minister of the environment (1998 to 2006) and deputy premier (2002–2006) in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

Dr Gerhard Richter: research interests: participation and economic democracy, innovation and transformation, regional and sectoral development.

Prof Steffi Richter: professor of Japanese studies at the University of Leipzig; affiliate lecturer at the RLS.

Prof Birgit Sauer: professor of political science at the University of Vienna; research interests: theories of democracy and the state, governance and gender, comparative gender policy research, and multiculturalism.

Dr Wolfram Schaffar: professor of political science and development research at the Institute for International Development at the University of Vienna.

Dr Sarah Schilliger: sociologist, researches on migration, care, citizenship policy, and social movements from an intersectional perspective; in 2018 visiting researcher at York University in Toronto.

Dr Susanne Schultz: teaches at the Institute for Sociology at the Goethe University Frankfurt; a former member of the RLS's staff in the Latin America Unit; active in several organizations: respect, the Solidarity City network, and Genethisches Netzwerk.

Dr Thomas Seibert: philosopher and ethnologist; works with *medico international*; activist at *attac* and the Interventionist Left (IL); main research focus: political philosophy (Marxism, existentialism, deconstruction).

Dr Axel Troost: economist and politician; honorary director of the Alternative Economic Policy Working Group (Memorandum Group); member of the federal executive committee of *Die Linke*.

Dr Alexandra Wagner: labour market researcher at the Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut (Economic and Social Science Institute–WSI); Institut für angewandte Trainingswissenschaften (Institute of Applied Training Research–IAT) and the International Labour Market Research Group in Berlin; founding member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Dr Christa Wichterich: freelance author, lecturer at various universities in Germany and abroad; research interests: development cooperation, women's rights, gender equality, and rural development; affiliate lecturer at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Prof Markus Wissen: professor of social sciences with a focus on socio-ecological transformation processes at the Berlin School of Economics and Law; affiliate lecturer at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

There are currently 18 active discussion groups at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Originating primarily in voluntary structures, since 2007 they have established themselves as permanent forums of communication in which experts are able to discuss topics of both historical and current significance with interested groups and individuals. Their mostly semi-public character creates secure spaces that also allow for the exchange of divergent perspectives. The strong involvement of volunteers and of individuals from the political and intellectual milieu of the foundation means that the discussion circles tend to exhibit certain similarities. Nonetheless, they differ with regard to the issues they address, their structures, and the relationships they enable between public events and internal communication.

Some forums operate primarily internally, but most prefer a mixture of events for a wider public and discussion of relevant issues in a more closed circle. The field of these circles is undergoing constant change and is oriented towards the need for discussion on specific issues: following the founding of the “Education Policy” discussion circle in 2017 and the momentum it had gained in 2018, at its July meeting, the Executive Board decided to establish a circle on the “Future of the Car—Mobility—Environment”, coordinated by Stephan Krull. In light of the public debates over the diesel scandal, particulate pollution in large cities and the upheavals in mobility brought about by the digital revolution, this circle promises to provide interesting discussions and outcomes.

LABOUR LAW

Steffen Hultsch; full-time contact person: Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

EDUCATION

Karl-Heinz Heinemann (heinemann@rls-nrw.de); Pedagogy Working Group—coordinators: Simon Kunert, Manuel Rühle (AK-Kritische-Paedagogik@rosalux.org)

EUROPEAN POLITICS

Johanna Bussemer (johanna.bussemer@rosalux.org), Franziska Albrecht (franziska.albrecht@rosalux.org)

FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Ingar Solty (ingar.solty@rosalux.org)

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (bernd.huettner@rosalux.org)

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke (cornelia.domaschke@rosalux.org)

CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Horst Kahrs (horst.kahrs@rosalux.org)

COUNCIL ON ACADEMIA/PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus, Klaus Meier; full-time contact person: Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (gerd-ruediger.stephan@rosalux.org)

CULTURE

Michaela Klingberg (michaela.klingberg@rosalux.org)

MIGRATION

Massimo Perinelli (massimo.perinelli@rosalux.org)

PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Harald Pätzolt, Cornelia Hildebrandt (cornelia.hildebrandt@rosalux.org)

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Friedrich Burschel (friedrich.burschel@rosalux.org)

SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

URBAN POLICY

Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)

DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORLD VIEWS

Jürgen Klute, Cornelia Hildebrandt (cornelia.hildebrandt@rosalux.org)

ECONOMIC POLICY

Axel Troost; full-time contact person: Mario Candeias (mario.candeias@rosalux.org)

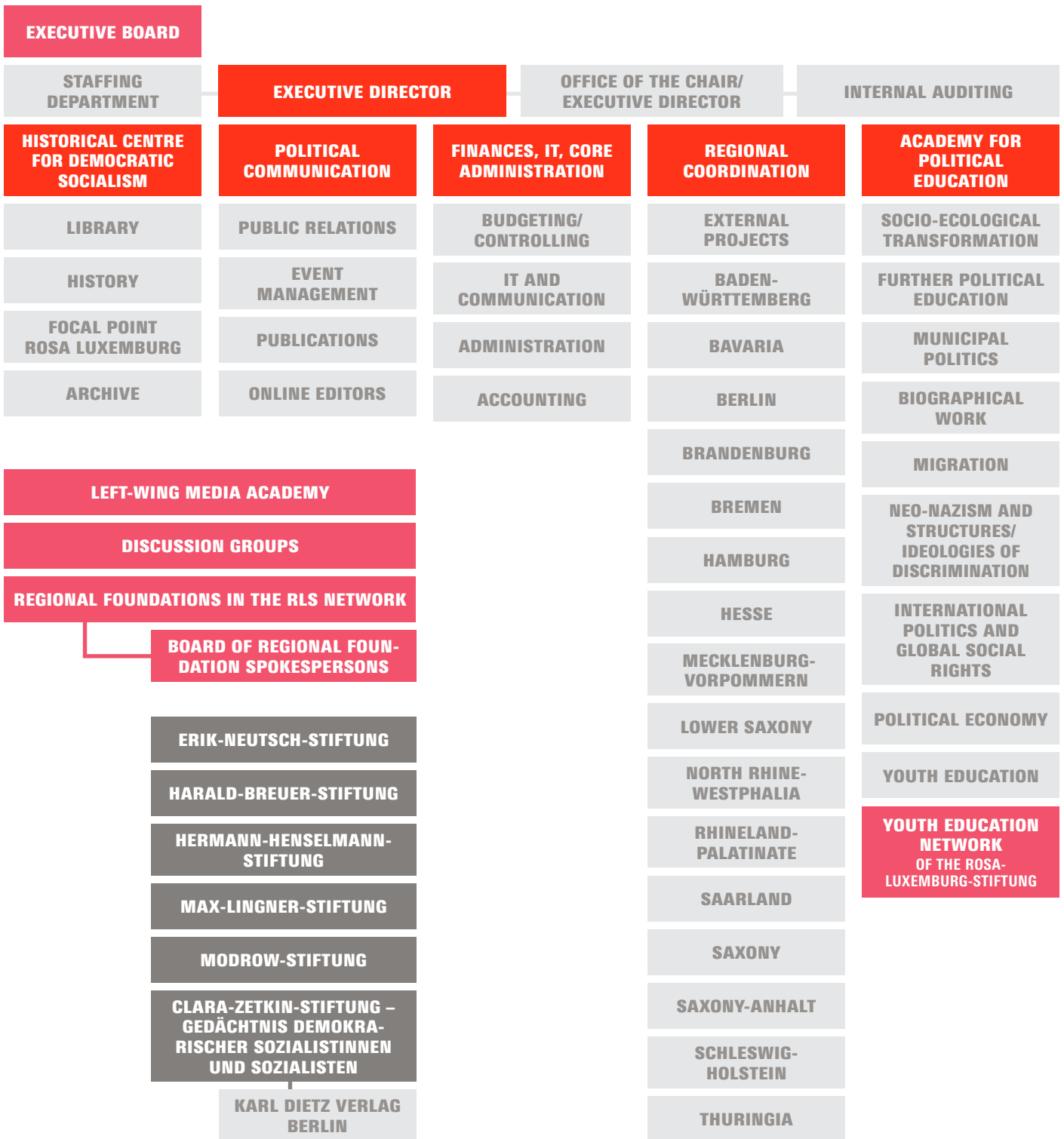
FUTURE OF THE CAR—MOBILITY—ENVIRONMENT

Stephan Krull; full-time contact person: Mario Candeias (mario.candeais@rosalux.org)

ADMINISTRATION OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LEGEND

- Volunteer structures
- Management structures
- Full-time structures
- Trust foundations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

BUILDING DEPARTMENT

DATA PROTECTION OFFICER

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG WORKS COUNCIL

INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

LUXEMBURG
MAGAZINE
ED. RLS EXEC. BOARD

ADDITIONAL SUP-
PORT PROGRAMME

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

PARTIES AND SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

ALUMNI NETWORK

UNITS/REGIONAL OFFICES

DEMOCRACY AND
THE STATE

AFFILIATE TEACHING
STAFF
OF THE ROSA-
LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

AFRICA UNIT

LATIN AMERICA UNIT

THEORY AND HISTORY
OF SOCIALIST
TRANSFORMATION

SCHOLARSHIP
HOLDER WORKING
GROUPS

SOUTHERN AFRICA, JOHANNESBURG
FOOD SOVEREIGNTY
PROGRAMME OFFICE

ANDES REGION, QUITO

SOLIDARITY
ECONOMY

SELECTION
COMMITTEE

WEST AFRICA, DAKAR

BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY,
SÃO PAULO

ONLINE EDITORS

EAST AFRICA, DAR ES SALAM

CENTRAL AMERICA/MEXICO,
MEXICO CITY

COMMONS/
SOCIAL STRUCTURE
ANALYSIS

NORTH AFRICA, TUNIS
ACADEMIC COOPERATION
PROGRAMME OFFICE

CONO SUR, BUENOS AIRES

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND
NORTH AMERICA UNIT

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WEST ASIA UNIT

NORTH AMERICA AND THE UN,
NEW YORK

FEMINIST ANALYSIS
OF SOCIETY AND
CAPITALISM

ISRAEL, TEL AVIV

EUROPE UNIT

POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF GLOBALIZATION

LEBANON, BEIRUT

WESTERN EUROPE, BRUSSELS
THEMATIC DELEGATION ON
TRADE AND ECONOMICS

SOCIAL INFRASTRUC-
TURE AND CONNEC-
TIVE CLASS POLITICS

PALESTINE, RAMALLAH

GREECE, ATHENS

CENTRAL EUROPE, PRAGUE

PEACE AND
SECURITY POLICY

ASIA UNIT

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE,
WARSAW

HOUSING AND
URBAN POLICY

EAST ASIA, BEIJING

RUSSIA, BELARUS AND
TRANSCAUCASIA, MOSCOW

TRADE UNIONS/
LABOUR/
PRODUCTION

SOUTH ASIA, NEW DELHI

SOUTHEAST EUROPE, BELGRADE

SOUTHEAST ASIA, HANOI

CENTRAL ASIA, ALMATY

PHILIPPINES, MANILA
CLIMATE JUSTICE
PROGRAMME OFFICE

UKRAINE, KIEV

FOUNDATION BUDGET

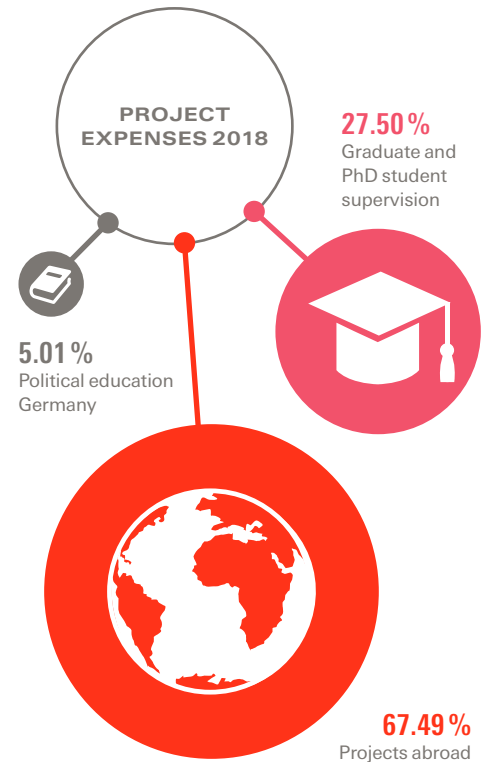
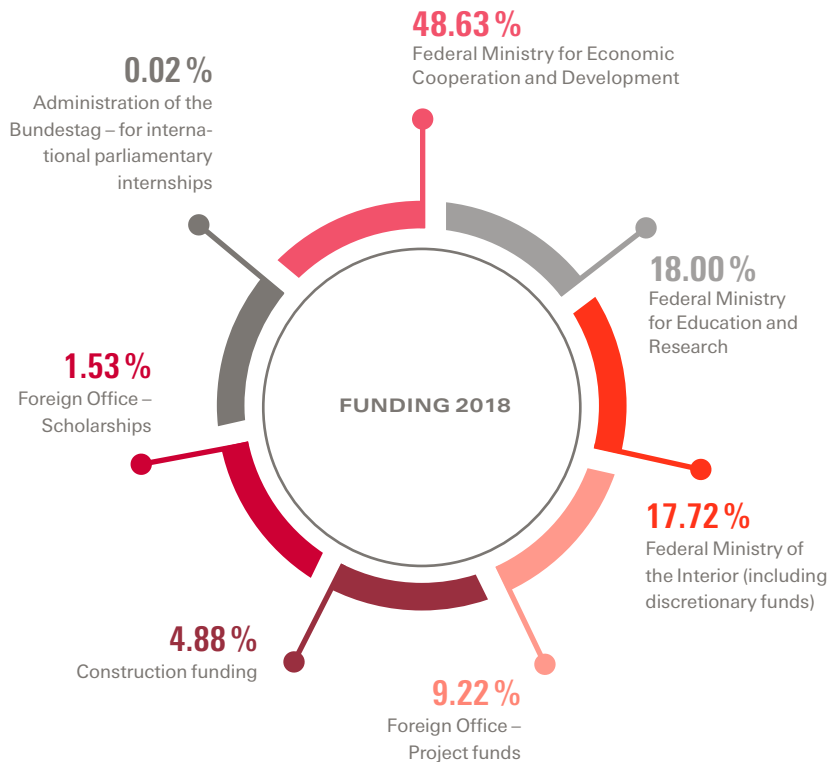
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political foundation associated with the party Die Linke. Like other foundations associated with political parties in Germany, it is mainly financed through the federal government budget. Specifically, the foundation's funds come out of the budgets of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (German initialism: BMI), the Federal Ministries for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and for Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA), and from the administration of the Bundestag. Only foundations that represent key, long-term intellectual-political currents in society receive funding. What this means, exactly, is determined by the Bundestag.

In practice, it has been treated as an indication of the longevity of a significant current if the party associated with a political foundation has repeatedly been elected to the Bundestag and has achieved the size and status of a parliamentary group (*Fraktion*) at least once. The level of funding for the foundation is based on the electoral results of the party at the last four federal elections.

Following the successful return of Die Linke to parliamentary group status in the Bundestag in 2005 and an increase in its share of the vote in 2009, annual contributions from federal ministries were stepped up, with the aim of ultimately providing funding on par with that received by the other parties' foundations. This goal was reached in 2011.

Contributions thus rose from €30.6 million in 2010 to €67.4 million in 2018. By reporting on its income and expenses, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is fulfilling its voluntary commitment as a politically aligned foundation to publish and make transparent its use of funds, a practice to which all the party-aligned foundations agreed in a joint declaration in 1998, and to which they have since adhered. The most important financial contributions come from BMI (referred to as core funding), BMZ, BMBF and the Foreign Office. The core funding forms the backbone of our political education domestically, as well as for the maintenance of the foundation's offices. The core funding supports the running of seminars, conferences and colloquia, the purchase of teaching and learning materials, and the allocation of research funding with social and political goals, in the field of education research in particular.

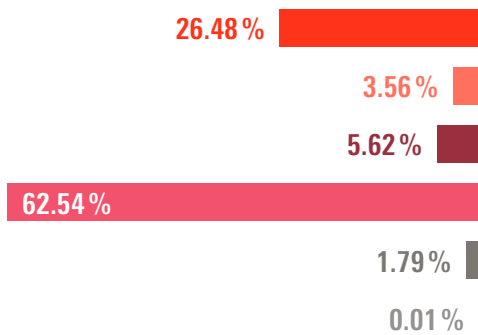
With the help of funds from the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Foreign Office, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintains a network of international relationships. This includes financing its offices abroad, projects with partner organizations, and events abroad. Contributions from the Ministry for Education and Research are allocated to fund scholarships and grants made to talented graduate and PhD students. Besides these federal funds, politically associated foundations are also able to make use of funds from



state budgets. These funds are distributed through the National Network of Foundations (the RLS *Stiftungsverbund*) to ten regional offices and partner institutions. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to pursue its statutory objectives while remaining independent—both in terms of organizational structures and in terms of staff—of the party with which it is associated. Nor is it permitted to provide this party with funds or in-kind benefits. The foundation receives annual grants in the form of funding agreements that include conditions designed to ensure that funds are restricted to the purposes set out in the agreement, and that

also provide for oversight of these uses. As a politically aligned foundation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to have its financial management independently audited on an annual basis. For the 2017 financial year the auditor confirmed that the core funding from BMI and the funding provided by the other ministries to cover administration costs were used efficiently and sparingly, in accordance with the regulations and legal requirements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put in place management accounting procedures that are equipped with the requisite staff and means for ensuring that funding conditions are being met in a timely manner.

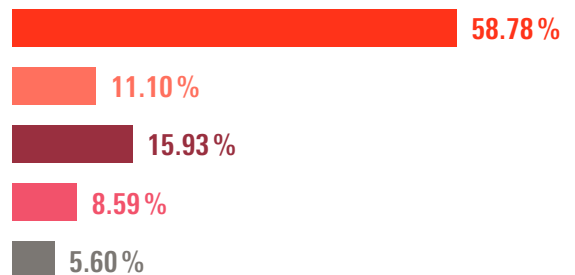
2018 EXPENDITURES: OVERALL BUDGET



- Staff costs
- Other administrative costs
- Spending on investments
- Project funds
- BMI core funding for distribution to regional foundations
- Asset management expenses

2018 BUDGET EXPENSE STRUCTURE FOR GERMANY

BMI and contributions to administrative costs from BMZ, AA and BMBF



BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31.12.2017

Assets	31.12.2017 in euros	31.12.2016 in euros
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
Software	694,208.81	579,293.41
II Tangible assets		
Office equipment	421,679.98	670,685.31
Advance payments for assets under construction	0.00	0.00
III Financial assets	0.00	0.00
Investments	7,373,567.66	4,897,097.59
Total fixed assets	8,494,456.45	6,152,076.31
B Receivables and other assets		
I Other receivables	0.00	0.00
a) Discretionary funds made available by BMI	1,446,857.00	2,146,857.00
b) Unused discretionary funds (BMI)	-1,446,857.00	-2,146,857.00
II Receivables from grants	0.00	100,000.00
II Receivables from affiliates	1,153.92	0.00
III Other assets	226,266.48	196,163.17
Total receivables	227,420.40	296,163.17
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	3,904,655.88	2,683,577.87
D Accrued revenue and deferred charges	43,898.64	21,354.17
Total	12,670,431.37	9,153,171.52

Liabilities	31.12.2017 in euros	31.12.2016 in euros
A Net assets		
I Balance from previous year	105,644.76	333,541.12
Funds carried over from 2015	0.00	-100,780.49
II Surplus/deficit	51,922.35	27,723.73
III Reserves	88,450.02	15,819.71
IV Reserves	127,209.29	45,000.00
Total net assets	373,226.42	321,304.07
B Additional funds from grants	8,494,456.45	6,152,076.31
C Provisions		
Other provisions	238,862.62	444,691.43
D Liabilities		
I Liabilities with credit institutions	5,899.45	5,035.25
II Liabilities from goods and services	1,854,138.82	1,630,151.96
III Other liabilities	86,387.18	178,003.99
Total liabilities	1,946,425.45	1,813,191.20
E Accrued expenses and deferred income	1,617,460.43	421,908.51
Total	12,670,431.37	9,153,171.52

EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS AS AT 31.12.2017

		2017 in euros	2016 in euros
I	Receipts	61,713,831.79	57,674,218.70
1	Federal government grants	60,965,473.35	57,200,662.65
2	Donations	40,943.90	62,857.25
3	Membership fees	16,897.50	14,675.00
4	Other revenue	38,011.98	52,883.00
5	Income from the liquidation of the special reserve	652,505.06	343,140.80
II	Expenditures	-61,694,309.64	-57,646,494.97
1	Costs arising through statutory activities	-39,344,882.47	-38,536,676.33
	Project expenses paid out of core funding	-1,742,491.53	-2,327,319.74
	Transfers out of core funding	-1,030,828.33	-1,196,406.61
	Grants to students and PhD students	-11,451,877.79	-10,554,445.89
	International cooperation	-24,915,980.09	-24,168,105.39
	Other project expenditures	-203,704.73	-290,398.70
2	Staff costs	-16,249,101.98	-15,168,493.33
	Wages and salaries	-13,708,579.06	-12,719,832.85
	Employment benefits	-2,540,522.92	-2,448,660.48
3	Write-downs	-652,505.06	-342,455.71
4	Administrative costs	-2,452,934.93	-2,327,985.93
	Office equipment and supplies	-309,326.33	-323,480.34
	Running and maintenance of properties and buildings	-13,064.14	0.00
	Other administrative costs	-2,098,144.26	-2,004,505.59
	Other costs	32,400.20	0.00
5	Investments	-2,994,885.20	-1,270,883.67
III	Surplus/deficit for the year	19,522.15	27,723.73

INCOME IN 2018 (INTERIM)

I	Income in euros	67,445,227.88
1	Grants	67,328,285.45
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (including discretionary funds)	11,928,005.59
	Federal Ministry for Education and Research	12,115,939.80
	Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	16,171.71
	Foreign Office scholarships	1,029,005.00
	Foreign Office projects	6,206,000.00
	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	32,748,192.93
	Construction funds	3,284,970.42
2	Tax-free income/donations	233,432.59
3	Membership fees	16,836.00
4	Asset management income	5,083.74
5	Other income	75,149.86
6	Revenue reductions	-213,559.76

SPENDING IN 2018 (INTERIM)

II	Expenditure in euros	-66,674,307.36
1	Staff costs	-17,656,087.18
	Of which staff costs Germany	-12,509,780.33
	a) Wages and salaries	-14,764,175.89
	b) Employment benefits and other costs	-2,891,911.29
2	Other administrative costs	-6,118,216.58
2,1	Office equipment, supplies, consumables	-4,117,553.04
	Network, software, systems administration	-256,811.43
	Maintenance and repairs	-6,414.09
	Tools and small appliances	-20,592.39
	Office supplies and consumables	-25,325.25
	Equipment rentals	-62,949.70
	Allocation to special reserve for investment	-3,745,460.18
2,2	Operation and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,391.35
	Street cleaning/winter street maintenance	-1,852.67
	Property tax	-2,538.68
2,3	Other administrative costs	-1,996,272.19
	Other expenses for staff	-174,925.44
	Office rent and room costs	-920,463.30
	Insurance	-7,900.88
	Fees and other levies	-34,276.01
	External services, contract work, administration	-287,120.64
	Advertising	-54,637.07
	Promotional costs	-28,447.09
	Hospitality costs	-2,648.63
	Travel costs (falling under other administrative expenses)	-165,748.49
	Postage, telephony, internet	-142,294.73
	Journals, books, media	-48,712.74
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-64,682.84
	Monetary transaction costs	-15,922.52
	Other costs, fees, donations	-23,924.97
	Vehicle costs	-11,807.22
	Other administrative costs	-12,756.35
	Other expenses	-3.27
3	Project costs	-42,891,009.46
	Total BMI project costs	-1,829,117.63
	BMI core funding allocated to third parties	-1,191,199.80
	Projects abroad	-28,143,633.99
	Supervision of students and PhD students	-11,464,931.42
	Scholarships Germany	-10,628,017.37
	Scholarships abroad	-822,326.35
	International parliamentary internships	-14,587.70
	Student networking and mentoring	-222,957.04
	Other project costs	-39,169.58
4	Asset management costs	-8,994.14

EXPLANATORY NOTE:

In 2018 core funding for political and democratic education were transferred to the following associations and foundations:

- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg – Forum für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V.
- Kurt-Eisner-Verein für politische Bildung in Bayern e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern
- “Helle Panke” e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg 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 Hessen – Forum für Bildung und Analyse e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen e. V.
- Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft – Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur 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 Schleswig-Holstein: werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V.
- Max-Lingner-Stiftung
- Michael-Schumann-Stiftung
- Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung
- Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung

OVERVIEW OF ALL RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES ANTICIPATED FOR THE 2019 BUDGET PERIOD**Income in euro***

Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	14,040,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (estimated)	12,100,000.00
Grants from the Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary interns	20,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	36,150,000.00
Project grants from the Foreign Office	6,800,000.00
Scholarship grants from the Foreign Office	1,056,000.00

*excluding discretionary funds

Expenses in euro (partial list)

Staff costs	-19,600,000.00
Other administrative costs	-2,650,000.00
of which investments	-350,000.00
Project spending (excluding permanent staff)	-45,900,000.00
Educational programme	-4,000,000.00
Scholarships	-10,500,000.00
International cooperation projects	-31,400,000.00

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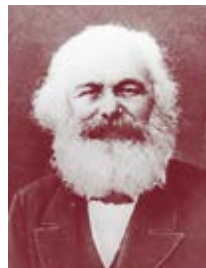
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([www.marxists.org/archive/marx/photo/marx/
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**“In place of the old bourgeois society,
with its classes and class
antagonisms, we shall have an
association in which the free
development of each is the condition
for the free development of all.”**

KARL MARX & FRIEDRICH ENGELS