

ANNUAL REPORT 2017

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



ANNUAL REPORT 2017
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	4
FOCUS: CITIES, PEOPLE’S LIVING CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL DIVIDE	6
The AfD gained traction in urban and rural areas in 2017	6
The “return” of the housing issue	9
Rebel cities	10
Who does the city belong to?	10
Smart cities	11
Discussion group: Urban policy	12
“Cartographie citoyenne”: How maps can become weapons for social movements	13
Publications linked to the focus	13
THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS	14
Social infrastructure—a strategic concept and the Institute’s focus in 2017	15
A new class politics	16
Fellowships	17
Luxemburg Lectures 2017	19
THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	20
The 10 th “Marx Autumn School”—on 150 years of <i>Capital</i>	21
Monitoring the court case against the NSU	21
Tribunal “Dismantle the NSU complex”	22
Online dossier migration	22
THE HISTORICAL CENTER OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM	24
The Historical Center aims to provide focus and to network	24
Focus Point Rosa Luxemburg	26
The Archive of Democratic Socialism	27
THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG’S NETWORK	28
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION	38
Asserting global social rights	39
Linking the red and green	40
European summer school in Madrid	40
Worker power needs organization	41
Defense of civil society spaces for action in Southeast Asia	42
Great challenges for the new office in Beirut	43
Our international offices	44
FUNDED PROJECTS	65
Examples of funded projects with a focus on urban/rural questions	66

THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT	60
Giving the city back to the people	62
How can business-driven cities provide housing?	63
Academic tutors	64
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	66
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s social media activities	67
Relaunch of the website	68
Select publications of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	69
REPORTS FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG	70
Read Luxemburg!	70
500 years of Reformation	71
“This is only the Beginning!”	72
“Rosa would be delighted”	73
Challenges in times of change	74
HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT	76
THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG’S STRUCTURE	78
General Assembly	78
Members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	79
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s executive board	81
Members of the Executive Board	81
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s academic advisory board	82
Members of the academic advisory board	82
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s Discussion Groups	83
ORGANISATIONAL CHART	84
BUDGET	86
PHOTO CREDITS	92

EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

The global trend toward authoritarian nationalism continued in 2017. Although the Bundestag election culminated in a right-wing populist party gaining representation in the German parliament, the continued rise of the Right has even eclipsed this result. Ten years after the global financial and economic crisis, the crisis in established politics is becoming ever deeper.

In some countries, right-wing populist parties are already in government. This not only aggravates the domestic political environment, but also deepens moves toward more rigid boundaries and starker divisions between countries. The Mediterranean, located on the southern periphery of Europe's "common region of growth and prosperity," has now become a mass grave. Moreover, prosperity continues to be unevenly distributed throughout Europe, resulting in diverging standards of living and unequal opportunities.

In Germany, there is a clear trend toward the center drifting apart from the periphery, and this is now reflected in a gradual change in voting behavior. Although the Left Party made gains in metropolitan regions, it lost votes in rural areas where socio-economic dynamics are comparatively weaker and where the party was less able to establish a presence and clearly set out its policy proposals. Moreover, voter turnout continued to decline in these areas in the run-up to the September election, especially among the unemployed.

The impending emergence of "regions that are devoid of democracy" poses a universal challenge to all institutions that provide political education. In 2017, our regional organizations adopted a key role in counteracting this trend: they arranged 2,000 events that attracted around 87,000 participants. These figures would not have been possible without the outstanding commitment of our volunteers, and we cannot stress the value of their work highly enough.

Our events around the country, but also our publications, studies and activities in Berlin, are focused on the key issues in today's society. The "right to the city" is particularly important at the current time. The fact that poorer sections of the population are being driven out of city centers combined with growing speculation in the real estate sector, especially in terms of housing, have led us to place these issues at the forefront of this year's annual report.

In 2017, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (RLS) and the Left Party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag commissioned a study into "new public housing," which was produced by Andrej Holm, Sabine Horlitz and Inga Jensen. A further brochure was published as part of the *luxemburg argumente* series entitled *Muss Wohnen immer teurer werden?* (Does Housing Always have to Become more Expensive?). Importantly, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung aims to continue to trigger debate about affordable housing, gentrification and other related is-



Dagmar Enkelmann

sues, together with the Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung, an organization linked to the RLS.

The city is a terrain that large technology companies can use to siphon off enormous amounts of data. Evgeny Morozov and Francesca Bria concentrated on this problem in a study produced for the RLS on “smart cities.” The study puts forward left-wing alternatives to the current situation, using examples from local government in Barcelona.

Debates about “organizing,” which is inspired by experiences in the US, Spain and the UK, are currently thriving in left-wing circles. The Institute for Critical Social Analysis has linked this debate to a “new class politics” that seeks to “untangle the knot between the different relations of domination” (Frigga Haug).

The year 2017 also saw the 100th anniversary of the February and October Russian revolutions. These revolutions had profound ramifications, primarily at the international level. The RLS marked these anniversaries with more than 100 events on their history nationwide and internationally. The RLS also brought out a number of publications, including the volume *Roter Oktober 1917* (Red October 1917) by Christoph Jühnke and Bernd Hüttner, *Anarchismus und Russische Revolution* (Anarchism and Russian Revolution) by Philippe Kellermann, *Die russische Linke zwischen März und November 1917* (The Russian Left between March and November 1917) by Vladislav Hedeler, *Diktatur statt Sozialismus – Die russische Revolution und die deutsche Linke 1917/1918* (Dictatorship instead of Socialism – The Russian Revolution and the German Left 1917/1918) by Jörn Schütrumpf, and *Lenin neu entdecken* (Rediscover Lenin) by Michael Brie. Furthermore, the exhibition “The Kids Want Communism” from Israel and the conference “Perspektiven auf den Roten Oktober” (Perspectives on Red October) dealt with the “unassailable and indisputable” legacy of the October Revolution.

Various events were organized to accompany the debate about the Reformation, which celebrated its 500th anniversary in 2017, and these even included a bus tour on Thomas Müntzer.

The highlight was a staged reading of the novel *Q*, edited by Thomas Ebermann, which was performed more than 20 times. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also participated in the German Protestant *Kirchentag*. The podium discussion with Bodo Ramelow about overcoming capitalism using the ideas of Luther, Marx and the Pope was undoubtedly among its high points. Furthermore, the RLS also published the book *Alle Verhältnisse umzuwerfen ... und die Mächtigen vom Thron zu stürzen* (Overthrowing Social Relations... and Toppling the Powerful) about the common heritage of Christianity and the Marxian tradition. Today’s turbulent times make our work at the international level more important than ever. This is particularly true in the face of what has become a new globally rampant form of authoritarianism. The Center for International Dialogue and Cooperation has begun focusing on five key areas with the aim of deepening the political links between its activities. This should bring together the activities undertaken in our international offices. Moreover, the international focus on global social rights will hopefully reinforce the common political contours of the work that these offices undertake.

New international offices have been opened in Beirut and Madrid, and more are in the pipeline for other locations. Our office in Beirut is responsible for covering the crisis region in the Middle East. Its main theme, therefore, is “positive peace,” which involves developing approaches to peaceful and just societies and conducting debates about conflict resolution.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is now active in more than 70 countries. In addition to concentrating on neoliberal and neo-authoritarian regimes, the RLS places networking between the Left and learning from one another at the forefront of our work. In 2017, this was reflected in the organization of the European Summer School in Madrid and the Belgrade conference “Keine Arbeitermacht ohne Organisation” (No Workers’ Power without Organization). Both conferences were intended to enable people to share experiences at the international level and to critically assess the success or failure of past projects.

The RLS also helped people to share their experiences and promoted joint learning during educational trips, for which there was a high demand. Spain (Catalonia and Madrid), Russia, Israel and Italy (Rome) were the destinations for these inspiring events in 2017.

The rise in racism, competition and exclusion in Germany over the last year means that the RLS is tremendously mindful of the need for political education. We stand for an approach to education that makes critical reflection possible, encourages contradictions, promotes empathy and enables perspectives to be discussed in solidarity. This annual report provides an overview of the events and publications that the RLS organized in 2017. We very much hope that you will enjoy reading it.

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the Executive Board

FOCUS: CITIES, PEOPLE'S LIVING CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL DIVIDE

THE AFD GAINED TRACTION IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN 2017

The gains that Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) made at the Bundestag elections led the debate about the distribution of inequalities between urban and rural areas to be posed anew. "East Germany" was suddenly thrust into the broader public debate, because of the rise of a new party on the right-wing of the CDU/CSU, a political party that has now become the second most popular in the region. Regional socio-economic disparities have attracted greater political interest in the attempts to explain the unexpected choices made by millions of voters at the polls. Many people were quick to pass judgment: AfD voters were either the "losers of modernization," "globalization" or "digitization," and were cast as seeking refuge in right-wing populist positions. Above all, they were people who had been "left behind" and who lived in "regions that have been decoupled from the rest of society"; clearly, the old contrast between urban and rural areas has acquired a new level of political explosiveness. But what evidence are these views based upon?

The first flaws in this argument appear as soon as the AfD's election results are studied in detail: the AfD did not score its best results in the poorest regions in Germany, but in the country's "most prosperous" federal states: in Saxony (27%) and in the three most important "donor states" to Germany's federal system of fiscal equalization—Bavaria (12.4%), Baden-Württemberg (12.4%) and Hesse (11.9%). However, studying the results that the party gained in the districts and municipal boroughs within these regions themselves demonstrates similar differences: in Saxony, for example, the AfD gained 18.3% in the city of Leipzig, but 35.5% in the rural district of Saxony Switzerland-Osterzgebirge. In Hesse, the AfD gained 8.4% of the vote in the city of Darmstadt, but 16.2% in the district of Fulda. Finally, 27 out of the 100 districts and independent towns where the AfD received the second-largest share of the vote (over 15.3%) are located in "West Germany." These include towns such as Straubing and Heilbronn that have some of the highest levels of per capita income in the whole country.

POLARIZED CITIES—NEWLY DIVIDED SPACES

The situation in Berlin clearly demonstrates the limited nature of unidimensional contrasts. Over the last ten years, Berlin has enjoyed a particularly pronounced increase in employment and gross domestic product, but also faces much higher rental and real estate prices. In Berlin, the AfD received between 6.3% and 8.2% of second votes in inner-city constituencies,



The latest election results demonstrate that the center and periphery are drifting apart

and between 13.7% and 21.6% of those located outside of the city center. The latter not only include high-rise housing estates marked by poverty, but also areas with low levels of unemployment, relatively high incomes and many large detached homes for wealthy families. Clearly, social polarization is also on the rise in cities.

Needless to say, there is a second aspect at play here: people's relationship to the dynamics and pace of economically driven change. Instead of merely explaining the situation in terms of polarization between urban and rural areas, it seems more appropriate to highlight the way in which the center and periphery are drifting apart. Rural districts on the outskirts of the "growing cities" are being pulled into this dynamic, which is why we now speak of Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig/Halle, Munich and Stuttgart as metropolitan regions. These regions are particularly strongly embedded within the cycles of the world market. As such, they are clearly contrastable with those on the North Sea coast, in Franken, the Palatinate and the Ruhr, which were negatively affected by opening up to the global market and, as of the 1980s, gradually lost their old industrial cores. Between 1991 and 1992, "East Germany" was abruptly thrust into a process of structural transformation. Nevertheless, some regions in Germany can still be described as winners of structural change, including the formerly underdeveloped southern Oldenburg districts of Vechta and Cloppenburg, primarily due to the expansion of the meat industry. Im-

portantly, the AfD achieved a below-average result (8.1%) in southern Oldenburg—which is even low for the federal state of Lower Saxony (9.1%).

Clearly, "downward-spiraling" cities exist alongside "rising" rural districts, because the socio-spatial economic division of labor changes over time and does not follow a simple urban contra rural dichotomy. It seems that the perception that a particular population has of its local area is not so much influenced by the position of the local area in absolute terms, than by their region's socio-economic dynamics compared to those of surrounding areas.

INDUSTRY AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Are there any other factors that explain the strong level of variance within the AfD's election results? A statistical analysis undertaken by the German Institute for Economic Research of all 299 electoral constituencies identified "hardly any correlation between unemployment rate, educational attainment, the proportion of foreigners, and different levels of support for the AfD." In western Germany, above-average proportions of AfD voters were generally found in "areas with low household incomes and a disproportionately high number of industrial employees." In eastern Germany, a clear correlation was identified between above-average results for the AfD "and areas with large proportions of elderly people and high densities of businesses related to trades and crafts."

How can these results be explained? Industrial employees have been under an extreme amount of pressure to adapt for decades due to, for example, growing competition on the world market and increasing automation. The diffuse uncertainty surrounding industrial employees' place in today's society, in other words, their social status in the much-vaunted change toward the "knowledge society", also plays a role in this situation. Moreover, people who own or are employed in small workshops are concerned about competition resulting from free movement in the EU and the EU Services Directive. They also place high hopes in (social) state protectionism.

Demographic changes that result in a shift toward an "excessively aged population" are associated with several factors that exacerbate regional economic decline: younger and more qualified people begin to move away from these regions, people face long commutes to distant workplaces in already sparsely populated areas, and birth rates begin to decline. In turn, these difficulties lead to boundary changes, the closure of schools, hospitals, offices and police stations and the disappearance of social services, as well as a lack of public spaces for communication and shopping facilities. It is easy to view regions characterized by such "excessively aged" populations, therefore, as having been "left behind" by community-based services and the government. This view has often been expressed with the metaphor of "the return of the wolf." According to a study by the Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, these



An abandoned factory in Muldenstein in Saxony-Anhalt. The pipeworks closed in 2000.

developments are resulting in the development of “regions that are devoid of democracy.” The everyday spaces in which social life takes place in today’s society, and the political spaces in which decisions are made, therefore, are continually drifting apart.

As such, is it fair to describe these regions as “decoupled from society” or as having been “left behind”? Ultimately, these terms imply that populations in these regions have no access to modern society—this is not entirely incorrect when viewed in terms of broadband coverage, for example. Moreover, it also suggests that these people have a semblance of the “backwoods” about them. Importantly, however, this question distracts from far more compelling issues such as: Why were entire regions left behind in the first place? And, who is politically responsible for the current situation?

In 1994, a majority in the Bundestag and the Bundesrat voted to amend Article 72 of Germany’s constitution and replace the goal of establishing “equal living conditions” with the aim of securing “equivalent living conditions.” Germany’s Federal Constitutional Court responded with a ruling that prevented the government from intervening in people’s lives unless these have “developed in a manner that considerably interferes with federal social structure” or if such a development is emerging. The constitutional amendment was said to be justified by the need to strengthen federalism; in practice, however, it has led to reduced solidarity and increased competition between federal states, districts, town and cities for investment. Rather than providing districts with adequate financial resources, the exodus from the countryside to large cities is eroding social cohesion and depleting resources that could

enable people in rural areas to help themselves. At the same time, it is also exacerbating competition for employment and housing, etc. Despite this, the government appears to accept these problems as mere side effects of economic change.

MENTALITIES AND “NON-SIMULTANEITIES”

Urban and rural are not merely socio-spatial concepts for the Left, but socio-psychological metaphors that are not necessarily viewed as conducive to emancipatory politics. A traditional saying in Germany links city air to freedom; and, as everyone knows, life in the city is anonymous, cosmopolitan and constantly in motion. Cities are not only modern and progressive, but also the centers of capital and its factories—for the Left, therefore, cities also constitute the site of class struggle. In contrast, the countryside stands for conservatism, social control and stuffiness. Marx viewed cities as places of enlightenment, distinct from the “idiotism of rural life.” Theodor W. Adorno viewed provinciality as closeness to a penchant for barbarism, at least in terms of the situation in Germany. Ernst Bloch approached the phenomenon with the concept of “non-simultaneity,” differentiating between “objective non-simultaneity,” which was coproduced by capitalism as “remnants of old forms,” and “subjective non-simultaneity,” which developed out of the rejection of the now. Bloch viewed the latter as present within critical, skeptical, and dismissive attitudes toward modes of capitalist processes of exploitation and the constant changes they undergo as well as within exaggerated, idealized, or idylized views of the past. The con-

cept of non-simultaneity led to a softening of the notion of linear development. Ultimately, David Harvey has defined the city as “the site where people of all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life.” In other words, if the city is a metaphor for the spearhead of capitalist hyper-modernization, the countryside stands for skepticism about whether all of this is even necessary. Clearly, a lot of countryside can also be found in the city—and the German anti-nuclear movement first became established in the countryside. Instead of contrasting urban and rural, therefore, it could be more fruitful for the Left to focus on people’s varying relations to capitalist-driven forms of modernization.

THE “RETURN” OF THE HOUSING ISSUE

It was not so long ago that experts pronounced that they had finished building Germany. In 2011, the housing situation in Germany was also described in these same terms. In fact, this was a time during which much was said about shrinking cities and the need to “decommission” housing blocks—a euphemism for demolishing people’s homes.

Today, over two-thirds of the population in Germany believes that the lack of housing is one of the most pressing social problems facing the country. Whatever the case, this issue will certainly continue to gather political relevance and urgency. Points that need addressing in this regard include the lack of housing in absolute terms, rent controls, forced evictions and the increase in housing cooperatives. None of these issues is particularly new, but the continued focus on financialization and privatization in the real estate sector, extreme increases in land prices in many regions, the lack of state intervention and the need to integrate refugees into the housing sector has resulted in an extremely tense situation in Germany, and not just in major cities.

In 2017, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung responded to these developments by setting up a new department within the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. This has led to a stronger focus on housing and rent-policy issues. The new department produces critical analyses, establishes contacts with groups active in urban politics, and continually highlights alternatives to the current situation. The widely acclaimed study on new forms of public housing, which Andrej Holm, Sabine Horlitz and Inga Jensen produced in 2017 on behalf of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, is a clear example. The study details the basic mechanisms and measures that would be required for a non-profit-based housing policy, makes very specific model calculations, and shows that housing can and must be made affordable. Nevertheless, the study also demonstrates that

implementation would require a socio-political turnaround involving the replacement of profit-oriented capital with the human right to housing and housing policies that reflect the common good.

This is also the thrust of the 2017 brochure by Andrej Holm published in the *luxemburg argumente* series under the title *Muss Wohnen immer teurer werden?* (Does Housing Always have to Become more Expensive?). The brochure tests popular claims such as “private ownership does it better” and “public housing has failed.” It is particularly useful as a handout for people committed to ensuring that housing policy better reflects people’s needs—either as part of their everyday life or in a professional or political capacity. The RLS has also adopted the goal of broadening contacts with the housing and rent-policy movements, as these span class, political, and generational boundaries. The varied activities undertaken by the RLS in 2017 in this respect are set out in the web dossier *Wohnen muss nicht teuer sein* (Housing Doesn’t have to be Expensive). The Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung is also active in the field of urban politics. The RLS promotes issues related to architecture, urban planning and urban development that reflect people’s needs. The legally dependent body is managed on a fiduciary basis by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, but acts



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Andrej Holm
MUSST WOHNEN IMMER TEURER WERDEN?
 MYTHEN UND BEHAUPTUNGEN ÜBER WOHNEN, MIETE, KAUFEN
 (Does Housing Always have to Become more Expensive?)
 Myths and Claims linked to Housing, Renting and Buying)
 luxemburg argumente No. 15, 50 pages, brochure with illustrations, June 2017, ISSN 2193-5831 (in german)

independently and is increasingly viewed as a vital actor in current urban policy debates, such as those about Berlin's city center and the *Kulturforum*. It regularly organizes evening events and publishes on topics such as participation and construction. In addition, since 2016, it has organized the annual Hermann Henselmann Colloquium, which focuses on key issues of urban development, as part of the conference and publication series *100 Jahre Groß-Berlin* (100 Years of Greater Berlin). The Colloquium has concentrated on "housing" (2016), "transport" (2017), and "green spaces" (2018) and will take up the issue of "planning culture" in 2019. A conference is planned for 2020 that will discuss the future of the metropolitan region of Berlin.

REBEL CITIES

The diverse movements demanding the "right to the city" and the electoral successes of left-wing parties and alliances at the municipal level in Europe and the US clearly demonstrate that local politics has regained its importance. The Left Party has been a member of Berlin's new government since 2016. Over the past year, urban movements have used the RLS's journal *LuXemburg* to draw their first conclusions about the city's new administration. The RLS has also produced studies and publications that deal with issues linked to Berlin's new coalition government in solidarity and has provided space for senators from the Left Party to share their views with other members of the party and movements. Since 2011, there has been a clear trend in local politics toward condensation: occupations and demonstrations in public spaces have helped various urban movements to gain traction and visibility, and this has been particularly the case in crisis-ridden countries. In addition, these actions have been accompanied by an understanding that it will only be possible to tip the balance of power by "increasing our numbers" and organizing as part of everyday life—in local neighborhoods, in schools and in workplaces, etc. Movements such as the Spanish PAH (platform for people affected by evictions) are exemplary of this and the RLS has documented PAH's impressive and successful activities in a film about transformative organizing, which we also advocate and implement as part of our political education. Transformative organizing is increasingly spreading among urban policy initiatives in "social hot spots" throughout Germany, and—albeit in a slightly different way—among "welcome initiatives" that support refugees, which are clearly still active. In the last few years, campaigns linked to referendums and popular elements have gained particular relevance, and they combine different approaches based on specific attempts to organize and develop common practices. In Berlin, these include the *Wassertisch* and *Energietisch* networks as well as the referendums on rent controls and personnel assessments in hospitals. At the same time, left-wing candidates in numerous municipalities have achieved impressive electoral success. Spain



A demonstration by PAH, the platform for people affected by evictions in Valencia.

(from Barcelona to Madrid), Italy (Naples and Palermo) and the US (from New York to Jackson, Mississippi) now have a new generation of progressive mayors. The award-winning documentary *Alcaldessa* about Barcelona en Comú and the election victory of its candidate Ada Colau in 2015, received considerable support from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. A further documentary was made in 2017 about the opportunities, limitations and experiences of people from institutions and movements who supported the entry of undogmatic left-wing politicians into the town halls. Furthermore, in 2017 the RLS also published an analysis by Vicente Rubio-Pueyo entitled *Munizipalismus in Spanien: Von Barcelona nach Madrid und darüber hinaus* (Municipalism in Spain: From Barcelona to Madrid and Beyond).

In order to ensure that they do not become trapped in local issues, left-wing actors are attempting to use organizing at the European level to link their local political interventions and, in particular, to a different approach—to a "Europe from below." *Ciudades rebeldes* (rebel cities), a network of left-wing cities, or "welcome cities for refugees", which range from Barcelona to Lampedusa and Lesbos, as well as the network of cities against TTIP and "fearless cities" are examples of future movements toward democratization. It is no coincidence that new, powerful social movements have emerged at the municipal and neighborhood level in recent years. The limited resources available mean that these are the obvious (albeit inadequate) choices for political organizing, as they unite participatory approaches with credible forms of interest representation.

WHO DOES THE CITY BELONG TO? THE IMPACT OF BUILDING LUXURY HOUSING IN SAARBRÜCKEN

For decades, virtually no new housing was built in the town of Saarbrücken. As the mayor was recently forced to admit, this has led to a lack of 4,000 social housing units in the town.

In contrast, new residences and lofts are springing up like mushrooms, and this is pushing people on low incomes to the outskirts of the city and into unpopular neighborhoods. At the end of August 2017, the Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft (the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saarland) organized an event to discuss ways of counteracting these developments. The discussion was led by Norma Brecht, an architect and political scientist from Leipzig, and Rico Rokitte, a PhD student at the Chair of Urban Studies and Social Research at Bauhaus University Weimar with a focus on urban development and theories of social spaces.

Around 80 people attended the event. The two speakers explained why new housing developments are excessively expensive and what needs to be done at the political level to enable less well-off people to be able to afford housing once again. Norma Brecht proposed rethinking energy-saving requirements as these result in increased costs. However, she pointed out that the requirements in each case should depend on who was behind the construction. Brecht and Rokitte argued that the claims of the housing industry and politics that private contractors constructed cheaper housing than public initiatives were myths. Instead, they pointed out that tax-exempt locally run service providers and cooperatives could build housing much more cheaply than private enterprises. Moreover, Rokitte also reminded the audience that private companies had far more to gain from constructing luxury housing.

Brecht and Rokitte were also critical of the way in which rent indices (*Mietspiegel*) are compiled in Germany. They pointed out that these surveys do not take into account rents that have remained stable over the last four years. Rather than acting as price brakes, therefore, rent indices push up the price of rented accommodation even further. At the event, which was moderated by the actor Peter Tiefenbrunner, the two urban researchers concluded that "Sustainable, low-cost housing is only possible when it is provided outside of market conditions." The public sector—above all at the national level—they argued, has a duty to do more to promote social housing. Nevertheless, action could also be taken at the local level: instead of simply stressing the need for government, such as in terms of development schemes, new housing developments can be linked to requirements stipulating that a proportion of new housing be made affordable to people on low incomes.

SMART CITIES

An event was organized for December 4, 2017 in Berlin to mark the publication of the study *Die smarte Stadt neu denken* (Rethinking the Smart City). The study was commissioned by the RLS and produced by Evgeny Morozov, publicist and noted internet and capitalism critic, and Francesca Bria, who has been working for several years as Commissioner of Digital Technology and Innovation in Barcelona's left-wing local government.

Links to the study and to a recording of the event:
www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/38134
 and www.rosalux.de/dokumentation/id/38157

Evgeny Morozov stressed that the smart city is not only closely associated with but also accelerates the dynamics of highly technological capitalism. In this respect, Morozov particularly emphasized the forms of privatization and expropriation that take place under the cover of digitization. He explained that politicians view smart cities as particularly attractive because they link them to factors ranging from efficiency and cost savings to participation and sustainability; thus, smart cities are assumed to offer solutions to some of the key problems faced by urban areas. Morozov argued that we are in the midst of a struggle over two resources that will be central to the next few decades: artificial intelligence and the massive amounts of data that it requires for "training" purposes. These issues are grounded in data extractivism which leads the entire urban area to be covered with innumerable sensors. However, the data that this is leading to is not being used for the public good; rather it is primarily being harvested for new data monopolists such as Google.

Francesca Bria pointed out that despite the overwhelming dominance of the internet giants, there is still space for left-wing political action, and highlighted specific initiatives from Barcelona as examples of the opportunities that are available.

Hot off the press: Evgeny Morozov's study, presented on December 4, 2017 in Berlin.





Rents are also rising in Leipzig, many people can no longer afford living space in the town, and are being forced to move to the outskirts or even leave Leipzig.

She called for technology policy not to be left to the technocrats and for the principle of technology sovereignty to be strengthened. This, however, would require a change in the relationship between public institutions and the people. Moreover, she proposed that a left-wing approach to the smart city would have to enable the provision of digital urban infrastructures using other forms of data ownership and open source and open standards. The aim would be to use smart technologies to democratize politics and to develop new municipal services, preferably by public or non-profit providers, which, unlike Uber and Airbnb, would meet the needs of the local populations. The evening event at Circular Economy House in Berlin's district of Neukölln was well-attended by around 800 mostly young guests.

DISCUSSION GROUP: URBAN POLICY

For many years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, including the regional organizations and international offices, has taken action on urban and housing issues. The Urban Policy Discussion Group was founded in 2013 to help people share their experiences and to support networking between experts in urban policy as well as party activists, social movements, and researchers with links to the RLS. Its regular meetings are chiefly intended to create a space in which people interested in concerns relating to left-wing urban development and local politics can speak about issues in a manner that transcends the boundaries of particular cities and occupational areas. In the past, the group has regularly discussed gentrification,

the urban-rural divide, local economics, migration, housing, cities' identities, and control and surveillance, as well as the challenges and implications associated with digitalization (keyword: smart cities). In recent years, the group has met in Leipzig, Hamburg, Suhl, Berlin, Halle and Dresden, resulting in different priorities in each case. Importantly, the group not only strives to focus on booming population centers, but also on the shrinking regions in the East and West.

Excursions and alternative city tours are a particular highlight of discussion group meetings. They offer participants with little prior knowledge insights into specific local political conflicts, as well as the opportunity to share experiences with various municipal political initiatives and actors. The group organizes well-attended public evening events on public policy concerns and disputes are taken up and discussed with experts from politics, critical researchers, and social movements from all over Germany.

In 2017, the Urban Policy Discussion Group met again in Leipzig. This time, the discussion centered on rent increases and migration, aspects of participation, and cooperation between diverse left-wing urban political actors and initiatives. The meeting further demonstrated the great interest in a platform that enables people to share their experiences at the national level and, thus, highlighted the group's continued importance.

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Contact: gk.stadtpolitik@rosalux.de and
stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org
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“CARTOGRAPHIE CITOYENNE”: HOW MAPS CAN BECOME WEAPONS FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The new Tunisian constitution provides people in the country with the right to access information, the right to a healthy environment, and to clean water. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of people in Tunisia still have to walk more than one kilometer every day to the nearest source of water. Moreover, tap water in the country is often undrinkable, and the water supply faces constant interruption during the summer.

If local groups and social movements are to change this situation, they need information—information that the government refuses to provide. Cartographie Citoyenne, which has been supported by the RLS's North Africa Office in Tunis since 2016, plays an important role in attempts to change this. The project calls on the authorities to provide information about various citizens' concerns, collects data, and organizes them using open source software. The resulting maps and charts, for example, highlight the links between environmentally harmful industries and illness, as well as the uneven distribution of income between the rich coastal regions in the East and the interior. The project is designed as a work in progress. Local initiatives provide the project with data and workshops are organized in different parts of the country on how to do so. Moreover, the activists on the ground decide which issues that the project should focus on.

A small town on the northern coast of Tunisia—Ras Jebel—provides a good example. In the past, many young people emigrated to France due to a lack of work. Today, people move to the town from the surrounding area to find employment in the Lee Cooper textile factories sewing jeans. At the cartography seminar held in 2017, participants used city maps, satellite imagery and statistical data to investigate the impact of this new industrial settlement. They dealt with displacement (such as the disappearance of local arts and crafts, and the changing labor market), social issues (safeguarding workers in the textile factories and informal sector), and the ecological consequences of the new factories. The town's cancer rate is higher than the national average due to the presence of heavy metals in the water and soil, and the workshop included locating the polluters on maps. The workshop ended with discussions about questions such as: How can we stop environmental pollution? Which laws are needed in order to protect the environment? Would cooperatives help prevent the demise of traditional crafts?

In May 2018, local elections will take place in Tunisia for the first time. Activists from Cartographie Citoyenne hope that many city and local councils and initiatives will use the maps and statistics to ensure a more socially just form of urban development. This project has a simple message: knowledge is essential for participation, and it is a fundamental right; and statistical data is common property.

PUBLICATIONS LINKED TO THE FOCUS

Harald Bodenschatz and Klaus Brake (eds)
100 JAHRE GROSS-BERLIN – BAND 1: WOHNUNGSFRAGE UND STADTENTWICKLUNG
 (100 Years of Greater Berlin—Volume 1: Housing and Urban Development), Edition Gegenstand und Raum

Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung
BEITRÄGE ZU WOHNUNGSBAU UND STADTENTWICKLUNG 1/2017 (Contributions to Housing and City Development 1/2017), Online Publikation

Andrej Holm, Sabine Horlitz and Inga Jensen
NEUE WOHNUNGSGEMEINNÜTZIGKEIT VORAUSSETZUNGEN, MODELLE UND ERWARTETE EFFEKTE
 (New Public Housing. New Requirements, Models and Expected Effects), Studie

Evgeny Morozov and Francesca Bria
DIE SMARTE STADT NEU DENKEN
 WIE URBANE TECHNOLOGIEN DEMOKRATISIERT WERDEN KÖNNEN
 (New Public Housing. New Ways of Thinking about the Smart City. How Urban Technologies can be Democratized), Studie

Hendrik Sander
ALLTAGSKÄMPFE UND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING
 DAS BEISPIEL DER MIETENPOLITISCHEN BEWEGUNG IN BERLIN
 (Everyday Struggles and Community Organizing. The Example of the Rental Movement in Berlin), Online Publikation

Knut Unger
SO BÄNDIGEN WIR DIE WOHNUNGSRIESEN
 ANSÄTZE ZUR GESELLSCHAFTLICHEN KONTROLLE DER FINANZMARKTORIENTIERTEN VERMIETUNGSKONZERNE
 (Taming the Housing Giants. Approaches to the Social Control of the Financial Market-oriented Rental Group)
 Standpunkte 11/2017

Katharina Weise (ed)
EU UND KOMMUNE
 WORKSHOPKONZEPT FÜR DIE BILDUNGSARBEIT IN DER KOMMUNE
 (The EU and Local Government. Workshop for Educational Activities at the Local Government Level)
 Bildungsmaterialien

THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Our times are marked by great crisis: uncertainty has increased considerably, so much so that it is not just felt at the individual level, but has now become systemic. In many countries, the political landscape has undergone wide-ranging upheaval; the radical right is experiencing a dramatic rise, and this is accompanied by a new form of authoritarianism from above.

In 2017, this situation led the Institute for Critical Social Analysis to continue our focus on understanding future conflicts relating to the world order, displacement and migration, radical right-wing and authoritarian developments, and left-wing reorganization.

Systemic insecurity has also had an impact on Germany, despite the country's supposed status as an oasis of stability. Nevertheless, the German government has been able to use "external shocks" such as the financial crisis or refugee movements for its own purposes. Merkel represents stability in uncertain times and there is still no "desire for change" in Germany. Moreover, despite the long delay, the grand coalition is now back on track — albeit in very different circumstances: a radical right-wing party (the AfD) is once again represented in the Bundestag. And, while the AfD is currently the largest opposition party in parliament, the SPD is facing a crisis of existence.

Although support for the Left Party has remained stable, if the party is not to stagnate at a respective level or perhaps even lose its relevance, it must increasingly turn to people who no longer feel represented by politics. The concepts of social infrastructure and new class politics, which the Institute for Critical Social Analysis has not only debated but also tested in practice, could help the Left Party to do so. In addition to non-voters, there is a growing number of people who — like the Left Party — are committed to a solidary, democratic and ecological way of life, but who no longer feel represented by politics, especially when the Left Party sends out contradictory signals on issues such as displacement, migration and green-libertarian issues. These ideas could appeal to them.

In 2017, numerous (model) projects and publications were produced around social infrastructure and new class politics. They include Horst Kahrs' detailed analysis of the election results; the special issue of the journal *LuXemburg* that covered "new class politics" and "conflicts of the world order"; and the Institute's participation in several events at the alternative Summit of Solidarity that accompanied the G20 meeting in Hamburg. In addition, the tenth anniversary of the Left Party was taken as an opportunity to both mark the party's success and analyze its shortfalls. A number of articles including *Auswege aus dem Zehn-Prozent-Nische. Neue Klassenpolitik, Motor des solidarischen Pols, Richtungswechsel 2021* (Ways out of the 10% Niche. New class politics, the Motor of a Soli-



The “Dr. Karl Kollwitz” clinic in Prenzlauer Allee 90 in Berlin was built in 1986. It is a health center today, and belongs to the third largest private clinic group in Germany.

darity-based Pole. Change of Direction 2021), which was published in *neues deutschland* by Michael Brie and Mario Candéas, consolidated strategic insights.

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE—A STRATEGIC CONCEPT AND THE INSTITUTE’S FOCUS IN 2017

The network that previously provided social services in Germany has been hollowed out by decades of austerity and rationalization—this applies as much to the health, education, and social sectors as to housing, culture, and mobility. The consequences are particularly clear at the local level: social inequality is rising, and some regions are being “left behind” with extremely fragmented infrastructure. This situation particularly affects the most marginalized groups and results in competition over scarce resources. Moreover, it also provides fertile ground for right-wing discourses of the threats posed to a supposedly homogenous way of life, and for discourses of security and order. While there are certainly many forms of protest—ranging from hospital strikes, tenant protests and

“refugees welcome” movements to alliances against privatization—they usually have very few links to one another and fail to emphasize the political and economic causes of the problems (the lack of local financing, austerity and cuts to services) that they are attempting to tackle. In many cases, protests are purely defensive struggles that rarely provide positive counterproposals.

In 2017, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis focused its work on attempting to do just that. The Institute views the concept of social infrastructures as a useful means of rethinking left-wing social policy in order to take it beyond ideas of the Fordist welfare state. The approach enables calls for redistribution and social justice to be combined with demands for democratization and emancipation. And it concentrates on separating participation in society from employment status, a particular way of life or family constellation. At the same time, social infrastructure is aimed at (re)claiming large sections of public services from the market. Importantly, they rely not only on solidary financing to do so, but also on a return to public ownership and the democratization of services through new forms of participation and self-management.

The projects undertaken by the Institute for Critical Social Analysis were aimed at accompanying discussions about social infrastructure and strengthening transformative and connecting perspectives. The Institute also particularly aimed to promote the development of entry-level projects.

In the health and care sector, the Institute supported the collective bargaining movement for more hospital staff and used the opportunity to promote socio-political debate about the provision of good social services. This took the form of workshops on alliances and new educational materials and formats (such as the “strike university”). In addition, the brochure *Das bisschen Pflege. Was falsch läuft und wie es anders gehen könnte* (A Little Bit of Care. What’s Wrong and how Things Could be Improved) summarized the main causes of the problems and presented left-wing demands in the care sector. The demands made by Network Care Revolution have resulted in continued support for strategically sharing experiences between patients, family carers, carers working in institutions and in the home, as well as other left-wing and feminist groups. Together with care policy activists and theater director Volker Lösch, the project *Pflegetricunal* (Care Tribunal) was developed to further strengthen the visibility of these issues and the voices of those affected. Although the project *Gesundheitskollektiv Berlin* (Health Collective Berlin) certainly managed to promote debate about alternatives in outpatient care, next year it will be important to ensure that the project more closely involves left-wing stakeholders at the local level.

In urban and housing policy, the Institute aimed to shed light on the opportunities and confines of left-wing urban and local politics, using the coalition government in Berlin (consisting of the Left Party, the SPD and the Greens) as an example. Several events were organized to encourage debate between movements and local government, and a major conference is planned for spring 2019 that will continue this process.

In 2017, the Institute was also involved in the important issue of migration and “integration” policy at the local level. It helped establish a research project that studied the implementation of the *Masterplan für Integration und Partizipation* (Master Plan for Integration and Participation) that was drawn up by Berlin’s Senate Department for Social Affairs. Moreover, the Institute also analyzed the extent to which the envisaged broad level of participation of civil society actors and the expansion of inclusive social infrastructures can be expected to succeed. This included discussing the issue of social infrastructure in the context of smart cities and linking these debates to struggles over access to data and technology. In 2017, and in cooperation with the RLS’s other departments, the Institute helped develop a study about the challenges and opportunities provided by left-wing digital urban policy; these issues were discussed by urban policy actors from Berlin and

Barcelona as part of a workshop on strategies aimed at establishing the digital commons.

The journal *LuXemburg – Gesellschaftsanalyse und linke Praxis* (Social Analysis and Left-Wing Praxis) is published by the RLS three times a year. Subscription to the journal has been free of charge since 2014. The articles published in the journal are also available at: www.zeitschrift-luxemburg.de.

A NEW CLASS POLITICS

In view of the increasing levels of social inequality and consolidation of social divisions, few will deny that we are (once again) living in a class-based society. Although social justice has always been one of the core issues of left-wing politics, paradoxically, it was the achievements of the right—from Brexit, the Front National, and the AfD to the election of Donald Trump in the US—that placed the issue of class back on

Special supplement to the journal LuXemburg on new class politics published in October 2017.



the agenda. The largely legitimate anger of people who feel overlooked and unrepresented by the current system is being expressed in many areas as a shift to the right.

In clear opposition to the dominant classes “above” and on the right, a new class politics seeks to formulate a “connecting antagonism.” As diverse conditions of exploitation and oppression are interrelated, the new class politics adopts approaches from feminism, ecology, anti-racism, and LGBTIQ issues, thereby clearly distinguishing itself from limited liberal approaches to equality, ecological modernization (in the sense of a Green New Deal) and, most clearly of all, from the neoliberal approach of maintaining the status quo. By stressing social aspects and class, the emancipatory struggles of the last few decades can be strengthened and defended from selective integration into the neoliberalist project. In this sense, the new class politics is a feminist, intersectional class politics, an ecological class politics, and a class-conscious form of anti-racism.

Clearly, it is essential that traditional class politics are dusted down and adapt their constitution as the main contradiction in order to adopt a broader and more inclusive analytical and political position.

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It will only be possible to disentangle the “knot” of the different relations of domination if they are understood as being interlinked (Frigga Haug).

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As a new class politics cannot be achieved within a national framework, intervention is needed at the international level for global social rights in order to avoid reproducing new forms of exclusion. In turn, greater focus on class policy at the international level could strengthen regional struggles by switching the focus to that which connects, without ignoring the interests of other subaltern classes. Beyond the discursive and content-related aspects, therefore, the organizing element provides a litmus test as to whether a new class politics can act as a connecting and broadening antagonism.

After focusing on new class politics in 2016 and publishing the brochure *Klasse verbinden* (Connecting Classes) together with the US magazine *Jacobin* and the journal *Luxemburg*, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis continued its work on this issue in 2017. The special *Luxemburg* issue on “New Class Politics,” which also appeared in English, provides a selection of key texts on the subject.

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The Institute for Critical Social Analysis has been offering fellowships since 2012. They provide political activists with opportunities to reflect on their praxis critically and strategically.

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FELLOWSHIPS

In 2017, **Miriam Pieschke’s** work as a fellow included coordinating a project entitled *Jenseits der Prekarität* (Beyond the Precariat), where she planned and implemented an empirical field study in the form of a pilot project on organizing in disadvantaged residential areas in Lichtenberg in Berlin. The project is informed by the finding that a range of explanations are often put forward in succession when attempting to grasp the rapid rise of right-wing populism. These include references to uprisings among the losers of globalization, to the products of a right-wing cultural struggle, reactions by traditional masculinity, and the “colonialism” of East Germany. Even representative surveys such as the Leipzig *Mitte* (Middle) study hardly provide any clues as to how the Left can intervene in right-wing discourses. As such, this project, which is being conducted by the RLS alongside staff from the Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Sciences and local civil society initiatives, focuses on the issue of left-wing perspectives for action. The aim is to link insights into the crisis of neoliberalism to considerations from hegemony theory about the way in which the crisis is being dealt with—both politically from “above” and by the right of the political spectrum—to subject-scientific studies about why people currently believe that right-wing policies can provide them with collective and individual capacities to act. Ultimately, it is essential to understand how progressive interventions can be made possible in this context. The first part of the project’s report entitled *Reaktionär, rassistisch, rechts: Die Entwicklung der AfD in Sachsen-Anhalt und Stendal* (Reactionary, Racist, Right: The Development of the AfD in Saxony-Anhalt and Stendal) has already been published.

Dieter Klein continued the work that he has been doing over the past few years: after the publication of his book *Gespaltene Machteliten* (Divided Power Elites), which was published by VSA in 2016, he wrote an article for the conference

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Sebastian Friedrich and Bernd Linke **REAKTIONÄR, RASSISTISCH, RECHTS**

DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER ALTERNATIVE FÜR DEUTSCHLAND (AFD) IN SACHSEN-ANHALT UND STENDAL
(Reactionary, Racist, Right: The Development of the Alternative for Germany [AfD] in Saxony and Stendal)
Studien 1/2018, 59 pages, brochure, May 2017
ISSN 2194-2242

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Der Zukunft auf der Spur. Transformation aus der Perspektive Ernst Blochs (On the Trail of the Future. Transformation from the Perspective of Ernst Bloch). The article *Machteliten–Tendenzen der Herrschaft. Illusion oder “ein ganz mächtig Vorbewusstes” im Sinne Ernst Blochs* (Power elites—Tendencies of Domination. An Illusion or “A Very Powerful Preconscious” in Line with Ernst Bloch) was written in cooperation with the Ernst Bloch Society. Klein used the article to argue that although the Left currently has limited opportunities to intervene in the cracks that are emerging in the power bloc, it remains a pressing issue in view of the possibility of rapid shifts occurring during the on-going “great crisis.” For many years, Dieter Klein was instrumental in developing manifestos for the PDS and the Left Party. Therefore, it was extremely important that his contribution appeared in the supplement published on the tenth anniversary of the Left Party in *neues deutschland*. His article was devoted to a discussion of the party’s last ten years: *Partei des radikalen Realismus. Zehn Jahre Programmatik der Linken und die Notwendigkeit einer doppelten Transformation* (The Party of Radical Realism. Ten Years of the Left Party’s Political Program and the Need for a Double Transformation). In addition, the journal *LuXemburg* has started publishing an “ABC of Socialist Transformation” using individual keywords. The first article on “double transformation” was written by Dieter Klein.

In 2017, **Rainer Rilling** devoted himself to two topics: the (new) world order and wealth. The former issue culminated in his outstanding contribution to the journal *LuXemburg* on the “new strong men” of neo-authoritarianism: *Strongmen—politische Krieger und Empire. Wo sie zusammenkommen, wird es kompliziert und heftig* (Strongmen—Political Warriors and Empire. Wherever they Appear Together, Things get Complicated and Heavy-going). He also oversaw the corresponding focus of the journal *LuXemburg* on *Trump und die kommenden Weltordnungskonflikte* (Trump and the Coming World Order Conflicts). *LuXemburg* also dedicated an online focus, coordinated by Rainer Rilling, to the German government’s publication of the 5th Report on Poverty and Wealth and the subsequent debate. Despite the unprecedented extent of inequality—at the global and, above all, domestic level—and the unusually broad debate about wealth in Germany and throughout the world, the government’s report is characterized by a vehement silence on the dynamics of wealth and, in particular, the way in which they are connected to power structures. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Rilling used his contribution to the subject—the title of which asked “Is this Finally a Real Wealth Report?” and, therefore, initially gave rise for hope—to express his great disappointment with the report. Rilling also took the tenth anniversary of the Left Party as an

Not just the subject of street art in Copenhagen: Rainer Rilling, a fellow at the RLS, oversaw *LuXemburg*’s focus on “Trump and the Coming World Order Conflicts.”



opportunity to clarify his views in an article published in the supplement to *neues deutschland* titled *Reden über Reichtum. Die Kritik an den Besitz- und Vermögensverhältnissen im Land ist Kernthema der Linken* (Talking about Wealth. The Criticism of Property and Property Relations in this Country is a Core Left-wing Issue).

LUXEMBURG LECTURES 2017

The RLS regularly invites intellectuals from around the world to provide presentations as part of the Luxemburg Lectures series. In 2017, the main topics were the crisis, overcoming capitalism, feminism and democracy.



Susan George

APRIL 3, 2017

Susan George (political scientist, France/US)

DIE KRISE DES KAPITALISMUS UND DIE KRISE DER LINKEN (The Crisis of Capitalism and the Crisis of the Left)

ORGANIZED AS PART OF THE CONFERENCE "AM STERBE-BETT DES KAPITALISMUS" (On the Deathbed of Capitalism)
With Ingar Solty

MAY 18, 2017

Erik Olin Wright (sociologist, US)

REALE UTOPIEN UND DIE ÜBERWINDUNG DES KAPITALISMUS (Real Utopias and Overcoming Capitalism)

With Hans-Peter Müller

JUNE 7, 2017

Ariel Salleh (feminist sociologist, Australia)

ECOFEMINISM AS POLITICS

With Katharina Pühl

JUNE 12, 2017

Silvia Federici (feminist theorist, Italy)

GESCHLECHTERVERHÄLTNISSE UND REPRODUKTION IN MARX' KAPITAL

(Gender Relations and Reproduction in Marx's Capital)
With Antonella Muzzupappa

JULY 3, 2017

Manuel Monereo (political scientist and deputy of Izquierda Unida, Spain)

STRATEGIEN DER SPANISCHEN LINKEN

(Strategies of the Spanish Left)
With Mario Candeias

NOVEMBER 18, 2017

Amy Goodman (Journalist, US)

DEMOCRACY NOW!

With Katja Kipping and Anne Britt Arps



Ariel Salleh



Amy Goodman

THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's task is to provide political education—all of the RLS's departments, international offices and regional organizations do so. However, the Academy for Political Education holds the main responsibility for continuously developing, evaluating and establishing the RLS's interdepartmental understanding of education. And we are particularly focused on ensuring that people are in a position to take action in socio-political disputes and conflicts.

Our work ranges from organizing workshops and evening events to weekend seminars and modular-based further education, as well as developing educational material and handouts for influencers. The Academy's work is aimed at a number of target groups and takes into account the requirements and needs that arise from everyday political praxis. In addition, it is based on the principles of providing respectful critique, an awareness of hierarchical structures and the desire to create emancipatory opportunities for people to participate in society. Our target groups are just as much people associated with the Left Party and the trade unions as members of social movements, initiatives, and NGOs. The Academy also provides essential information and attempts to identify and open up new approaches to politics and political commitment. We seek to break with the rigid separation of educational content and teaching and use a range of methods to make complex relationships far more understandable. The Academy employs this approach to intervene in public debates about political education by providing publications and related events.

In 2017, we concentrated on consolidating our events and publications at the local level, youth education, and the courses that were established in 2016 on political strategy formation and organizing. We also took decisive steps toward new educational formats in migration policy.

The Academy for Political Education is built on a number of important pillars—the local academy, the “training for politics” team and the youth educational network, each of which sets different priorities and focuses on different target groups. However, interdisciplinary cooperation and cooperation between departments and various fields is becoming increasingly important. This enables us to ensure that the links between our focus issues—political economy, contemporary history, gender relations, neo-Nazism, and other ideologies and structures of inequality, migration, international affairs, social movements, and socio-ecological transformation—are made clear, and that processes of social change advance within individual areas.

THE 10TH “MARX AUTUMN SCHOOL” – ON 150 YEARS OF *CAPITAL*

Two major anniversaries coincided in 2017: 150 years of *Capital* and 100 years of the Russian Revolution(s). At the same time, 2018 will mark 200 years since Karl Marx’s birth, and, as such, promises to be a great year of Karl Marx. These anniversaries meant that the Marx Autumn School, which can already look back on a 10-year history, was even bigger than usual.

The Marx Autumn School was originally founded to close the “gap” between “Marx experts” and other interested parties and political activists. In addition to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and Helle Panke e.V., the Association for the Promotion of the MEGA Edition, TOP B3rlin, and the Ums Ganze! Alliance are all involved in the conception and organization of the event, as are numerous other individuals. The Marx Autumn School is now also complemented by other much sought-after educational events provided by the RLS on Marx, such as *Capital* reading courses, “satellite” seminars and the Marx Spring School. In 2017, the Marx Autumn School was also part of the Marx200 project, which is accompanying the three major anniversaries in 2017 and 2018 (see: www.marx200.org).

In 2017, the four-day Autumn School, which took place between October 26 and 29, was focused on “labor,” that runs like a thread through the entire history of Marxism and Marx’s *Capital*, especially in volume one. This concept involves issues ranging from the “dual character” of labor—“the pivot on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns” (Marx)—and the capitalist use, valorization and exploitation of labor power and the historical origin of capitalist wage labor through “primitive accumulation.” Marx200 was also focused on *Capital*, and particularly the way in which the book has been adapted and updated. The first of the Autumn School’s three major evening events was dedicated to new approaches to reading *Capital* that have been developed since the 1960s, namely *Operaismo* (Sergio Bologna), structuralism (Frieder Otto Wolf), and the new forms of capital appropriation in Germany (Renate Mohl). The second evening featured reviews and interventions about Marx and Marxism from cultural studies (Angela McRobbie), and feminism and postcolonial theory (María Do Mar Castro Varela and Nikita Dhawan). In the third evening event, Melinda Cooper used the US to demonstrate the importance of family values to the conservative and liberal market revolution of the 1980s. Finally, the events and lectures of the last day focused on the history of *Capital* in terms of its development and reception, and current international Marx research. The exhibition “The Kids Want Communism” from Israel was on display every day at the venue—Künstlerhaus Bethanien in Berlin’s Kreuzberg district.

The audience at the event was mixed and the atmosphere was very relaxed. Younger Marx experts, activists and other people interested in the subject discussed with older Marx researchers about the status and position of “labor” in contemporary society and how Marx’s analyses can help us to



The RLS’s educational events on Marx are in great demand

understand current developments. The discussions with international guests were particularly fruitful, with many of the speakers, but also a considerable number of the participants, coming from abroad. Twenty people from eleven countries, including Vietnam, India, the Philippines, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Italy, and Belgium, participated in an English-language workshop organized for the first time in 2017. The workshop resulted in a proposal for the focus of the next year’s Marx Autumn School: the world market and crises. Let’s see if this idea is taken up.

MONITORING THE COURT CASE AGAINST THE NSU

Friedrich Burschel has been following the NSU court case in Munich since 2013, as both a member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s staff, and of the radio station Bürgerrundfunk Radio Lotte Weimar. Although most observers and participants were readying themselves for an early end to the case against Beate Zschäpe and four other defendants in 2017, the end of the year merely led to the (provisional) end of the evidence hearings and the long-awaited beginning of the closing statements. The closing statement made by the Federal Public Prosecutor’s Office was particularly troublesome, as it disregarded the evidence that had been heard over 350 days during a four-year period. The prosecutor held steadfast to the idea that the NSU had been an “isolated” three-person cell and that it was “shut off” from its own milieu. Furthermore, the prosecutor’s office discredited its critics as “self-proclaimed NSU experts,” who were “leading us astray” and as “irritating as a fly buzzing past your ear.” Be this as it may, André Eminger, one of the defendants, had previously received very little attention, and it was not until the prosecutor’s office demanded Eminger receive twelve years in prison that he was finally taken into custody.

The speech by the prosecutor’s office was followed by a summary of the case by the co-plaintiff that turned the formal ju-

ridical procedure on its head by exposing the NSU’s crimes, the investigative authorities’ hair-raising levels of institutional racism and the entanglement of the German domestic intelligence service. It continued by extrapolating the deadly danger of right-wing terrorist groups and the half-hearted political measures that had been undertaken to investigate the case despite official promises of a “full investigation” to “completely resolve the matter” (Merkel).

In 2017, the RLS once again made an important contribution toward monitoring the case and informing the public. Friedrich Burschel has regularly published about the court case and the inadequate analyses undertaken of the “NSU complex.” He has also presented his views and the results of independent anti-fascist research during radio broadcasts as well as at numerous conferences and workshops. This also includes working closely together with the documentation project “NSU Watch.”

TRIBUNAL “DISMANTLE THE NSU COMPLEX”

MAY 17–21, 2017, SCHAUSPIEL THEATER, COLOGNE

The RLS began researching and preparing the “Dismantle the NSU Complex” Tribunal as early as 2016. When the Tribunal finally took place in May 2017 at the Schauspiel Theater in Cologne, it attracted 4,000 guests. The event was intended to strengthen the people directly affected by the NSU’s terror, provide them with information, and create a space in which their perspectives were central. The Tribunal was organized in response to the disappointment expressed by the victims’ families about the institutions and spaces providing official analysis and information: in other words, the numerous committees of inquiry, the proceedings at the Higher Regional Court of Munich, and the media discourses in which neither their experiences nor their views about the links between Nazi terror and structural racism were heard.

In the run-up to the Tribunal, countless newspaper articles, interviews and brochures were published, and plays, exhibitions, and a series of events were organized that focused on the three main points behind the case. This enabled the pain felt by the murder victims’ families and the people affected by the attacks to be properly expressed. Moreover, it helped people to describe the suffering that had been inflicted upon them by the investigating authorities, and provided for an analysis of their media stigmatization. The Tribunal indicted 90 people who it viewed as responsible for the NSU complex, thereby contradicting the views presented to the court in Munich about a “core trio.” The Tribunal also emphasized the strength and solidarity of our post-migrant society, which the NSU complex was able to attack, but not destroy.

The Tribunal turned into an unprecedented anti-racist gathering, where groups, networks and individuals were able to meet in workshops that transcended regional, generational, national, and ideological borders. Above all, those affected by



The NSU Tribunal in Cologne.

racist violence took the stage to tell their stories and speak about their struggles. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been an important partner and actor during this entire process, as it strengthened and helped make the project possible by providing financial resources, staff, and access to its nationwide network. As such, the RLS contributed toward developing and implementing new forms of educational work on anti-racism and helped defend a democratic society of the many.

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 A detailed program, a press review, and archive material from the “Dismantle the NSU Complex” Tribunal can be found at: www.nsu-tribunal.de.

ONLINE DOSSIER MIGRATION

In 2017, the Migration Unit introduced the online migration dossier, a new format for digital learning. The dossier is a platform for academic and political debates on issues relating to migration, forced displacement, anti-racism, and migrant struggles. It gathers topics that are then discussed in approximately eight to twelve texts that appear successively on the RLS’s website. The dossier is aimed at a broad readership and addresses relevant actors from the RLS’s academic and activist milieu. In addition, it serves to develop a profile and greater expertise in the RLS about migration and the post-migrant society.

The dossier started with a series of interviews entitled *Die Erweiterung des Terrains— Migrationspolitik als Transformationsprojekt* (Extending the Terrain— Migration Policy as a Transformational Project), which was led by Berlin’s former Commissioner for Integration and Migration, Günter Piening, with ten well-known migration researchers. These included Naika Foroutan, Deputy Director of the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research, Paul Mecheril,

professor of migration and education at the Institute of Pedagogy of the Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, María do Mar Castro Varela, professor of general pedagogy and social work with an emphasis on queer and gender studies at the Alice-Salomon University in Berlin, and Manuela Bojadžijev, professor of globalized cultures at the Leuphana University Lüneburg. The discussions focused on the European border regime, global civil rights, the role of the welfare state in class disputes, solidarity in industrial struggles, gender in postcolonial relations, the struggles of refugees for participation, and the strength and diversity of (post-)migrant environments. The people who were interviewed all view migration as an asset that can be used to solve social issues in a democratizing sense. The dossier thus seeks to counter social polarization, which is particularly clear in attitudes to immigration, participation and civil rights, and to do so by employing a left-wing (post-)migrant position that goes beyond the false conclusions of “national social” positions, and which understands the need to connect class with the power of migration in an intersectional, non-divisive manner. For example, some contributions document the fact that immigration has not exacerbated competition with the local working class, but actually helped strengthen struggles in the factories and even extended the concept of the class struggle to the social contradictions that exist within the lived realities that go beyond the factory gates.

The online dossier not only provides information about its main topics but also highlights further publications, announcements, documentation, news, and events. It publishes contributions from the *Young Migrants* blog, the Migration Unit’s second digital innovation. The blog, which includes short essays by younger and less well-established people with a recent family history of migration and experiences of racism, aims to make the perspectives of this population more visible within the RLS, its environment, and its networks. Thus, the online platform presents relevant activities undertaken by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the fields of migration, anti-racism, and immigration.

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 The online migration dossier is available at www.rosalux.de/dossiers/migration/.

The “Extending the Terrain” dossier is available at www.rosalux.de/dossiers/migration/erweiterung-des-terrains/ and the *Young Migrants* blog at: <https://youngmigrants.blog/>.

“Extending the Terrain” was also published in 2017 as a book entitled *Die Macht der Migration. Zehn Gespräche zu Mobilität und Kapitalismus* (The Power of Migration. Ten Conversations about Mobility and Capitalism), which was published by Unrast Verlag.

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Online dossiers are a new format for the RLS and the migration dossier is aimed at providing a platform for academic and political debate.



THE HISTORICAL CENTER OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

In accordance with a decision by the executive board, in 2017, the archive and library, the Focus Point Rosa Luxemburg and the History Unit merged to form the Historical Center of Democratic Socialism. The Center has 13 full-time members of staff, making it one of the smallest units in our organizational structure. Its most important task is tying together the various threads of history-related activities undertaken by the RLS.

The History Unit, which is responsible for answering specialist questions, is the only part of the Center that had to be newly established. It works closely with the History Discussion Group and the History of the Future Discussion Group, is affiliated with several of the non-independent organizations belonging to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, maintains contact with numerous partners in the field of remembrance, oversees the Twitter channel #rls_history and produces the *MAKING History* newsletter. The Archive of Democratic Socialism was set up in 1999 and focuses on materials from parliament and those belonging to the Left Party's executive and its regional associations. In 2017, the Center gained new holdings from a number of members of parliament who left their posts before the election, as well as on the project to digitize recordings held on magnetic tape.

The RLS's library (library code: B 1599) is a specialized academic library that holds a diverse collection. It distinguishes itself through its literature on the history of the Left, the development of theory, particularly with its collection on the Left Party and its milieu, and, of course, on the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and its namesake, Rosa Luxemburg. The library currently contains more than 25,000 units. This material is supplemented by more than 1,500 different magazine titles. The library is a reference library and is open to the public. However, it also provides staff and volunteers at all of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's locations with research, information and literature. In addition, 2017 saw a number of book presentations and discussions with authors organized in the RLS's Salon under the title *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-wing Literature in Debate).

In addition to numerous lectures and events, in 2017, the Focus Point Rosa Luxemburg concentrated its activities on important publications linked to the 1917 revolutions and their ramifications, as well as on central individuals associated with Rosa Luxemburg.

THE HISTORICAL CENTER AIMS TO PROVIDE FOCUS AND TO NETWORK

Uwe Michel is deputy head of department and a librarian at the Historical Center; Uwe Sonnenberg works at the Center as a history consultant.



"We believe that every social relationship has become historical." Mass rally in front of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on December 16, 1918.

In 2017, the RLS set up a new center: the Historical Center of Democratic Socialism. Why was the new center needed?

Uwe Michel: In the past, many historical policy approaches in the RLS ran side by side and, at best, came together at specific historical events, but there was no proper coordination on content. So we set up the Center in order to consolidate the RLS's work and to network its history-related activities. Although it might seem like we have set up a new department from scratch, the Historical Center actually consists of various units that already existed: the archive, the library and Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg. The History Unit is the only part that actually had to be set up anew.

Uwe Sonnenberg: As we assume that all social relationships are historical, social relationships need to be understood and analyzed accordingly in order to identify any immanent potential for transformation. In this respect, history has been central to the RLS since its beginnings, in particular the analysis of historical Stalinism, aspects of West German/East German history, and, of course, the history of the workers' movement. To my knowledge, between 20% and 25% of all of the RLS's events and publications deal with historical issues or the politics of memory. Previously, these activities were not only organized by many different people within the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, but also by the RLS's very productive po-

litical and cultural environment. In my view, the RLS is heading toward a transition: our founding generation, which was responsible for digging into the past and for the reappraisal that took place after 1989, alongside their specific focuses, is slowly being replaced. We view the Historical Center as a partial answer to these developments.

Historians with different emphases work at the center and the Center includes the RLS's archive and library. Why is this a good idea?

Michel: The archive and library collect and develop sources of very different provenance. The archives, for example, contain party documents from the Bundestag and the federal executive committee of the Left Party and its predecessors. Facilities such as this are the very basis of historical research. In this respect, it is no coincidence that the archive and the library are an integral part of the new department—especially as the material from the Left Party and its parliamentary groups has since become the subject of contemporary historical research.

Sonnenberg: Archives are the memories of humanity. Everything that archivists do not keep is eventually lost. The same applies to books. Archives and libraries store knowledge, and without them researchers would be unable to understand what happened in the past.

In which direction should the RLS's historical work develop?

Sonnenberg: We need to anticipate which questions will be asked about the RLS's history in the future. We need to work out which story(s) will be of interest to the Left in ten years' time and what will be needed to better understand what will then be the present. In order to be able to answer these questions, we need to lay the foundations of this work now and ensure that we develop into a competence center as soon as possible.

One focus of the Historical Center in 2017 was the 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Is this already a result of consolidating the historical work in the RLS that you mentioned earlier?

Sonnenberg: In a sense yes, because this was the first time that an attempt had been made to jointly consider all of the activities related to a particular political history. It began in March with a conference about the non-Bolshevik Left in Russia and ended in November with an international congress on the October Revolution. During the intervening period, the RLS's network produced several publications and organized around 100 events, domestically and internationally, and the international office in Moscow played a special role. Are you satisfied with the results?

Sonnenberg: We had an amazing response. Of the approximately 250 participants who took part in the November Congress, over 40% were under the age of 45. These are remarkable figures for a historical congress. However, in my opinion,

this was also due to the fact that the RLS has learned to moderate successfully between various left-wing currents. There are diverse reasons and motives for dealing with revolution and its consequences. And we can provide an open space for people to do so.

Michel: It's always noticeable on anniversaries such as these, and it's also clear in the people using the library... a younger audience is currently interested in historical topics and comes to us because we don't just offer simple truths. I also noticed this in our series of events entitled *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-wing Literature in Debate). A very different audience attends these events today than would have ten years ago.

Establishing a new department is not easy. Have you managed to get everything up and running already?

Michel: Absolutely! The teething troubles during the first few months have been overcome and it has really improved the way in which we work together. Discussions take place on equal terms. The librarians think about what conferences might need; archivists consider how they can support events; and each of the different areas relates to one another, discusses projects and plans together...

Sonnenberg: ... at least, until the Archive asks the History Unit something like how a new set of materials should be evaluated historically—and does so as if this were to go without saying. Moreover, the mood at the Center has improved significantly—straight after we set up an interdepartmental table tennis group in the winter! I'd certainly recommend that everyone does the same.

FOCUS POINT ROSA LUXEMBURG

EDITORIAL WORK RELATING TO ROSA LUXEMBURG

Before we mark the 100th anniversary of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg in 2019, there is at least cause to celebrate this year: after 47 years, Annelies Laschitzka and Eckhard Müller concluded the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works in German. The new volumes 7.1 and 7.2 include all of Rosa Luxemburg's writings from between 1907 and 1918 that were not made available in volumes 1 to 5 (published between 1970 and 1975). Laschitzka and Müller had already published Volume 6—covering missing works from 1893 to 1906—in 2014. As such, alongside the six publications in which Holger Politt has since 2011 published his German translations of Rosa Luxemburg's Polish works, and the six volumes comprising *Gesammelte Briefe* (The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg), which was completed in 1993, Rosa Luxemburg's work is now al-

most entirely available in German—with the exception of a few journalistic works in Polish.

Of the volumes that the Focal Point edited and helped publish in 2017, the book *Die russische Linke zwischen März und November 1917* (The Russian Left between March and November 1917) edited by Vladislav Hedeler and *Anarchismus und Russische Revolution* (Anarchism and Russian Revolution) edited by Philippe Kellermann are particularly worth mentioning, as both are pioneering achievements. The documentation *Diktatur statt Sozialismus. Die russische Revolution und die deutsche Linke 1917/18* (Dictatorship Instead of Socialism. The Russian Revolution and the German Left in 1917/1818), edited by Jörn Schütrumpf, makes available to the public for the first time the forgotten—yet fierce—debates about the character of Bolshevik rule. This material not only enables people to view the past more clearly, but also to develop ideas for the future.



It is not just cable spaghetti that poses a potential threat to many sound recordings. Digitalization is intended to ensure the material in the archive can be used in the future.

THE ARCHIVE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

THE DIGITIZATION OF SOUND RECORDINGS ON MAGNETIC TAPE

Digitization began in 2016 with the aim of safeguarding sound recordings held on magnetic tape that were threatened by aging. The project was completed in 2017. This means that the Archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS) now holds around 1,200 audio files with a total data volume of 1.2 terabytes both in a high-resolution archive format and as mp3 user copies. The recordings cover the period ranging from 1990 to 2007. These recordings contain material from party and board meetings that date back to 1990, documenting, for example, the eight-hour consultation by the SED-PDS party executive committee on January 20, 1990, and the subsequent press conference at which Gregory Gysi presented its final decision to the public. Recordings of events organized by the PDS in the 10th GDR People’s Chamber, during which its members faced citizens’ critical questions, have also been preserved. In addition, the archive holds not only recordings of regular parliamentary group and committee meetings of the PDS and the Left Party in the Bundestag, but also of numerous hearings and workshops in which experts, left-wing politicians and activists, as well as members of trade unions, churches, and trade associations, debate significant political developments with members of parliament from the post-reunification period up until

the political decisions following the 9/11 attacks. These materials are rounded off by recordings from PDS party congresses in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania from the 1990s, which include the struggle over the PDS’s first attempt to form a government at the federal state level. Ultimately, recordings of numerous congresses and events organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung have also been secured for posterity. These recordings are to be preserved for the future using the same solution that is currently planned by the archive for the long-term archiving of digital data. These holdings have been indexed by adding the content and related technical information about the recordings to our archival system, which is also being progressively developed. These materials are then made available for research purposes in coordination with the institutions and individuals who provided the holdings (above all the Left Party’s parliamentary group and the party’s executive).

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Cooperation with the Center for Conservation in Berlin (KBE) enabled the project to be presented to an expert archival audience during “Conservation Day 2016.” On October 16, 2017, a KBE workshop took place at the RLS on the conservation and digitization of audio tapes, which met with a very positive response.

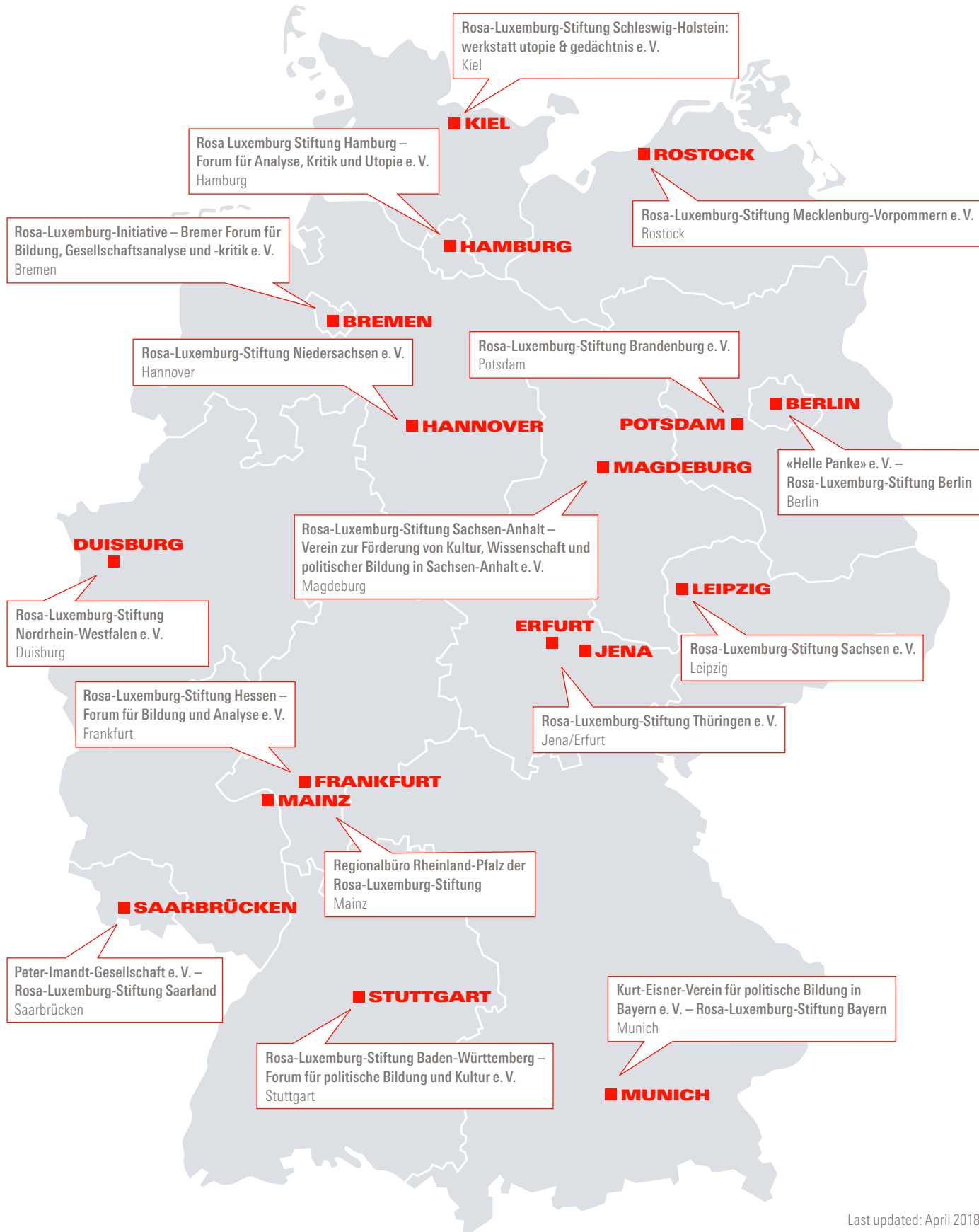
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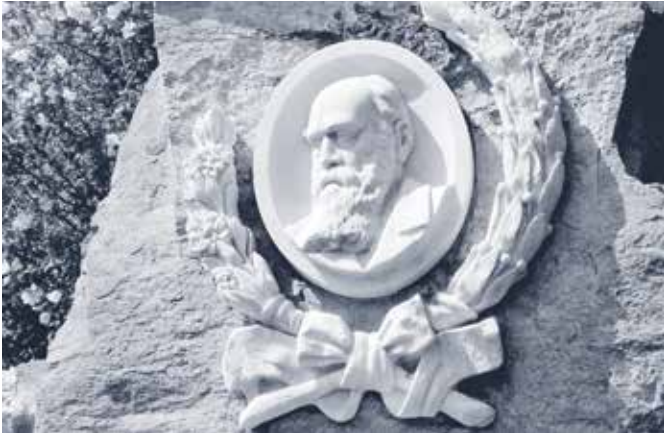
THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S NETWORK

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been active for many years throughout Germany's 16 federal states. As such, an important part of the RLS's educational work takes place at the regional level. Although this work is conducted in close cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Berlin, it is mainly organized by the regional organizations themselves. In 2017, the regional organizations arranged nearly 2,000 events, which were attended by around 87,000 participants. These events are not only aimed at supporters of the Left Party, but also at a broader audience. The regional organizations work together with initiatives, social movements, trade unions, and other educational providers as well as with representations of the RLS in other regions; as such, their work also spans regional boundaries. Diverse forums of volunteering enable a wide range of educational opportunities to be implemented in urban centers and increasingly in rural districts.

The Department for Nationwide Work coordinates cooperation with the regional offices and regional organizations. The work of the regional organizations is partly financed by grants from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the federal level and through donations and membership fees. In many federal states, additional funding is available from regional funds. In 2017, the network focused on racism and neo-Nazism and around 200 events were dedicated to this topic. More than 400 events dealt with topical issues linked to the politics of memory and contemporary history, 130 events focused on displacement and migration, and events were also organized about issues related to social theory, and aspects of equality and feminism (around 100 events per issue). Further important topics included social alternatives and the development of democracy and international politics. The proportion of women among the participants was around 40%; under-30s accounted for nearly 30% of the participants.

The educational trips organized by several regional organizations in 2017 to Catalonia, Russia, Israel, Rome, and Madrid are particularly worth mentioning, as are the reading circles on the scientific work of Marx, Luxemburg and Gramsci. New courses that provide young people with an introduction to politics began in Brandenburg and Hamburg. The scientific analysis of structural policies in Bavaria and the political attitudes of young people in Baden-Württemberg also met with particular interest. Together with the international offices in Belgrade and Athens, two "speaker tours" about the RLS's network were organized throughout Germany and focused on the concept of "safe third countries" with regard to the Western Balkans as well as the European migration regime and the refugee situation in Greece. The following pages provide an overview of the events and publications that were organized by the regional organizations over the last year.





A memorial built in 1904 to honor Georg Herwegh in Liestal (Switzerland).



A demonstration by the workers' council in Munich, 1919. Kurt Eisner is sitting in the back of the car (middle).

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF THE POET GEORG HERWEGH

On May 31, 1817, Georg Herwegh, one of the most important poets of the German democratic movement of 1848, was born in Stuttgart. Until his death on May 7, 1875 in Baden-Baden, Herwegh was associated with the left-wing workers' movement. He even wrote the first song of the German workers' movement, and it was adopted by Lassalle's General German Workers' Association at the federal level: "Working men, arise! Recognize your power! All the wheels stand still, when your strong arms so will."

In spite of all the objections and advice of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, this important man rushed to the aid of Friedrich Hecker in Baden with a small armed troop to help the radical-democratic insurrection during the March Revolution of 1848. Since then, he has largely been forgotten, even in the town of his birth. That is why it was particularly important to commemorate Herwegh on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his death and to preserve his history for struggles in the present.

In a reading of his poems, letters and works, accompanied musically by the Freie Chor choir from Stuttgart, the actor Rolf Becker brought to life Herwegh's eloquence as a poet, democrat and revolutionary. A guided tour *Auf den Spuren Georg Herweghs in Stuttgart* (In the Footsteps of Georg Herwegh in Stuttgart), a musical event by singer-songwriter Peter Kühn, and a keynote address by the writer Michail Krausnick on the moving life story of the "iron lark," as Heinrich Heine once called him, were held in honor of Herwegh, who was born in Stuttgart but became a citizen of the world.

We specifically chose venues and partners that continue to work in the same vein as Herwegh's political and cultural heritage of democratic and working-class movements: Waldheim Clara Zetkin, Naturfreunde Stuttgart, DGB Stuttgart, and Willi-Bleicher House/DGB Stuttgart.

BAVARIA

THE BAVARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COUNCIL REPUBLIC 1918–1919

The revolutionary events that took place between 1918 and 1919 in Bavaria were the focus of a series of events organized by the Kurt-Eisner-Verein and *Plenum R—Revolution und Council Republic* (Plenary R—Revolution and Council Democracy). During this period, the revolutionaries referred to Bavaria as "Baier" in a deliberate attempt to distinguish it from the name chosen by King Ludwig I (Bayern).

Between January 16 and February 24 2017, 15 film showings and talks were organized, as well as four workshops. The Revolutions Werkstatt (Revolution workshop) was aimed at people wishing to participate in a remembrance event about this subject and led to the creation of a revolutionary calendar for Munich.

The events attracted considerable interest from the public: out of a total of around 680 participants, nearly 28% were women. An average of ten people took part in each workshop.

During the opening, the historians Frank Jacob and Riccardo Altieri gave a talk on *Kurt Eisner. Politisch verfolgter Jude und erster Ministerpräsident des Freistaats* (Kurt Eisner. Politically Persecuted Jew and First Prime Minister of the Free State of Bavaria). The writer Cornelia Naumann spoke about Sarah Sonja Lerch. Lerch, who has long since been forgotten, accompanied Kurt Eisner as a USPD member during the January 1918 strikes, but was arrested and died in prison a few weeks later.

Christiane Sternsdorf-Hauck and Marta Reichenberger posed the question "Women in the Revolution and the Council Republic—Is the Revolution Female?" The researchers Siegbert Wolf and Peter Seyferth introduced their contributions on Gustav Landauer, Erich Mühsam and Anarchism with a talk entitled "Here There's a Revolution! Who's over There?"

All the presentations have been summarized in a brochure and are available as audio documents on the website of the Kurt-Eisner-Verein: www.by.rosalux.de.



Refugee accommodation in Krnjača on the outskirts of Belgrade.



An anti-fascist symbol on the parish hall of the Zionskirche in East Berlin, September 1989

BERLIN

TRAVELING BACKWARD ALONG THE BALKAN ROUTE

The temporary collapse of the Schengen system in the summer and autumn of 2015 will probably go down in history as one of the most important events since 1989. Hundreds of thousands of refugees came to Germany, Austria, the Benelux countries and Sweden via the “Balkan route.” Their arrival polarized European societies. On the one hand, there were and still are millions of people ready to help; on the other hand, right-wing extremism and racism led to the re-establishment of borders within Europe and strengthened the demarcation from the outside world.

Helle Panke e. V. organized an educational trip in which 14 young journalists, activists from anti-fascist groups, refugee supporters, and members of the Bühne für Menschenrechte (Stage for Human Rights) traveled in the opposite direction along the Balkan route in October 2017. Traveling almost 2,000 kilometers in one week by bus and train from the Austrian-Slovenian border town of Spielfeld through Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia to Greece, we met people who had assisted migrants during—and after—the “summer of migration.” The discussion partners ranged from the UN refugee agency UNHCR in Belgrade to the self-run Social Clinic of Solidarity in Thessaloniki and the small association from Germany, Rigardu e.V., which provided clothes and mobile showers to underage refugees who were stranded in the borderlands between Croatia and Serbia. Two-thirds of our events and the people we spoke to dealt with the topic of forced displacement and migration. The other educational events and publications focused on the history and present of the post-Yugoslav region.

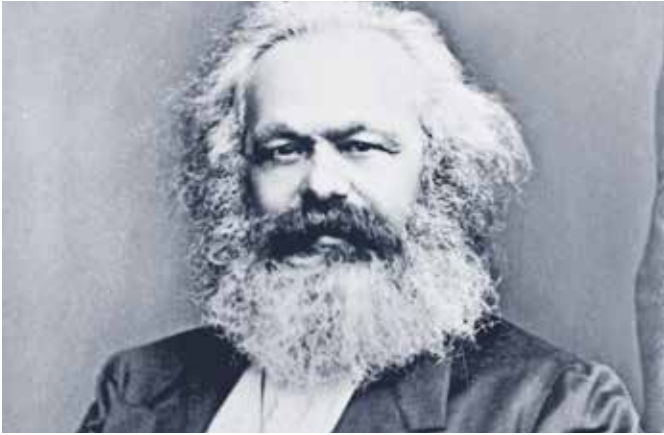
In addition to numerous, sometimes harsh, impressions of the social reality on the ground, the journey resulted in contacts being established with left-wing and anti-racist actors on the European “periphery.” In addition, a detailed three-part report has been published in *re.volt magazine*.

BRANDENBURG

30 YEARS OF ANTI-FASCIST ACTION IN EASTERN GERMANY

Based on an anthology published in 2017 entitled *30 Jahre Antifa in Ostdeutschland—Perspektiven auf eine eigenständige Bewegung* (30 Years of Antifa in East Germany—Perspectives on an Independent Movement), a coordinating group, funded by the Rosa Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg, invited political activists, critical researchers, and contemporary witnesses to a two-day conference that took place in December in freiLand and Rechenzentrum Potsdam. The aim was to shed light on the emergence and different aspects of the independent anti-fascist movement that established itself in the GDR and continued in eastern Germany. In the face of systemic breakdown and the loss of contact between the generations, and due to the Western-oriented perspective that became dominant after 1989, this history has largely been forgotten. A discussion was held on the causes and manifestations of racism, anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi violence in the GDR. This was accompanied by ten working groups that also dealt with the social contexts and events that began in 1987 with the establishment of independent anti-fascist groups in the GDR. The working groups focused on the following issues: “Do Nazis live in the prefabricated buildings built in the GDR?” “Subculture, politicization and freedom,” “Anti-fascist praxis in supporter circles,” “Continuities and breaks in activism,” “Militancy and repression,” “Antifa and feminist struggles,” “Whether East, or West... Jointly against the Nazi pest?” “Antifa means attack,” “History is made... remembrance and commemoration as political praxis,” “From Lichtenhagen to Heidenau”).

Speakers and participants raised questions about the similarities and differences between living conditions in the East and the experiences of other anti-fascist activists and sought to develop practical conclusions. The 200 attendees were able to intensively share experiences, and pass on and transfer otherwise faded memories to the present day.



The works of Karl Marx are not just worth reading because 2017 marked 200 years since his birth.

BREMEN

SIX YEARS OF *CAPITAL* READING COURSE

Since the beginning of 2012, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative in Bremen has offered a successful weekly reading course on the first volume of Marx's *Capital*. In 2017, our Marx reading course was run for the sixth time and was accompanied by events on Marxist economics and state criticism; for the first time, it also included courses on the second and third volumes.

The current crises are leading people to voice stronger criticism of capitalism once more. However, this criticism mainly involves expressing a diffuse understanding of capitalism, and resentment against banks, managers and "anyone at the top," but outrage and dissatisfaction alone have never changed social conditions for the better. The *Capital* reading course aims to remedy this situation and offers an introduction to some of Marx's central concepts. These include the following questions: What distinguishes capitalism from earlier societal eras? What does Marx mean by commodity, value, money and capital? What were Marx's views on fetishism, class and state?

Every year, at the beginning of February readers begin with the first volume of *Capital* and discuss the book chapter by chapter; by the end of November they reach the end of the book. The course, which also met with renewed interest in 2017, is primarily aimed at people who would like to take part in a collective analysis of Marx's critique of political economy but who have very little previous knowledge of the subject. Moritz Zeiler has been part of the course since the beginning. The course in Bremen is a continuation and intensification of the events organized on the critique of the state and economy that have been taking place in Bremen for several years. Nevertheless, it constituted the first attempt by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to offer the successful *Capital* reading program outside of Berlin.



The counter-summit in Hamburg focused on alternatives to the G20's policies.

HAMBURG

THE SUMMIT FOR GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

The media debate surrounding the G20 summit in Hamburg predominantly focused on the strongly emotional topic of violence, so that very little space was provided for a rational public discussion about the politics of the G20 states. Despite this, or perhaps precisely for this reason, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hamburg decided to attempt to strengthen the voice of reason. We had already taken the initiative early on and devised an interesting program in the immediate period before and during the summit.

We organized six events in the run-up to the summit on various topics, each attended by between 40 and 240 people. Together with the RLS in Berlin, we also helped organize the Global Solidarity Summit, an alternative summit with a dozen podium discussions and more than 70 workshops. The summit was attended by more than 2,000 people. We were also able to influence the wider debate, for example, through its selection of topics for discussion at events and in the choice of workshops. This also included inviting trade unionists from Germany and abroad. In particular, we endeavored to broaden the classical focus of the movements that are critical of globalization (which most of our alliance partners support) to include analyses of current global political shifts and to ensure that socialist and Marxist voices were heard as part of the broad spectrum of alternative positions put forward at the summit.

These activities played their part in promoting fundamental debate about the G20's policies. In view of the strategic and tactical differences within the Left, bringing together a broad alliance at the alternative summit—which also included members of the left-liberal progressive middle class—was a great achievement.



The "Parthenon of Books" consisting of over 42,000 forbidden books installed at Kassel's documenta festival.



Van Bo Le-Mentzel with his famous Hartz IV stool.

HESSE

LEARNING FROM THE PAST AND PRESENT

The *documenta* festival has been held in Kassel every five years since 1955. It is regarded as an outstanding festival of contemporary art at the international level. As the 2017 motto was "Learning from Athens," the city was also chosen as an exhibition venue.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hessen used this opportunity to offer a versatile political educational program entitled "Learning from the Past—Learning from the Present." The program focused on the actions of the Wehrmacht in Greece during World War II and on the lives of young Greeks in the current crisis. Artists such as Rolf Becker and Sabine Wackernagel as well as researchers and volunteers were won over to help with the conception and implementation of the educational program. Some of the events offered were even listed in the festival's official program.

The festival ran for 100 days, and during that time lay people and artists presented readings of historical texts and letters in public by young people about their everyday experiences (of crises). There were discussions with the sociologist Skevos Papaionnou on "Crisis, Social Impact and Resistance in Greece today" and with the historian Christoph Schminck-Gustavus on "War Crimes and Shoah in Greece." In addition, the documentary theater play *Distomo* was performed, which is about a massacre by the Wehrmacht in the village of the same name. A cultural-political day held in cooperation with the Left Party parliamentary group in Hesse's state parliament began with a documenta-related guided tour and a visit to various studios. It closed with a conference on cultural policy. A total of around 500 participants took part, and it ended with a musical event with Rolf Becker and Vasilis Pegidis under the title of "For a Solidary Europe from Below."

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

CONSTRUCTION NOT CONSUMPTION

Van Bo Le-Mentzel appeared at Wismar's Intercultural Week on September 27, 2017 at an event organized by Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania together with the Department of Design at the University of Wismar. He provided an inspiring talk on the issue of "Construction not Consumption."

Van Bo Le-Mentzel was born in 1977 while his parents were in the process of emigrating from Laos. He grew up in Berlin's Wedding district and graduated with a degree in engineering and architecture. He became known for his "Hartz IV furniture" — simple and inexpensive, versatile pieces of furniture that people on unemployment benefits (known as Hartz IV in Germany) can afford to build by themselves. Over the course of time, he has developed a series of purist building plans based on classical Modernism. These range from various pieces of furniture that often have a number possible uses, such as the 10-euro stool to the 100-euro tiny house. His most famous work until now is the Hartz IV stool, which can also be used as a table or a chair. "Housing," says Le-Mentzel, "is not just about design." Whereas he is focused on social problems from a creative perspective, he also advocates socio-critical debate about his own do-it-yourself projects.

Le-Mentzel wowed the audience in Wismar with his plans, ideals, and innovative ideas for an affordable yet good standard of living. The discussion was not just about furniture and design, but also about living on unemployment benefits and developing strategies and policies against poverty, such as an unconditional basic income. Le-Mentzel questioned the authorities and encouraged the audience to be creative instead of relying on consumerism. Moreover, instead of subordinating themselves to social pressures, he called on the audience to try out things for themselves. He received a great round of applause from the approximately 100 people present.



Federal Superintendent Petra Bahr (right) at the State Poverty Conference in Hanover.



Konrad Adenauer (right) 1931, during his time as President of the Prussian State Council.

LOWER SAXONY

WEALTH-POWER-POVERTY

How much inequality can a society take? This was the key question posed at a symposium run by the State Poverty Conference on October 17, 2017 in Hanover. Although Germany is one of the richest countries in the world, one in six people is affected by poverty and exclusion in the country. Just as the number of millionaires in Germany is steadily rising, the queues of needy people in need of support and who can no longer afford food are getting longer. The conference discussed the background and implications of this development as well as possible strategies for action; it was attended by well over 100 participants from social organizations, trade unions, and politics.

Lower Saxony's State Minister for Social Affairs, Cornelia Rundt, opened the event by asking a number of critical questions. After several introductory contributions, in-depth discussions continued during specialist forums. One forum dealt with the effects of the social divide on voting behavior. Since increasing numbers of people with low incomes and low levels of education are no longer participating in elections, social inequality is also a problem for democracy and democratic legitimacy. A further forum dealt with the opportunities for social mobility provided by education but concluded that education is no "wonder weapon." The (im)possibilities of social and cultural participation were discussed with people from citizens' initiatives. It became clear that although unemployment benefit in Germany may suffice to secure a person's survival, it results in social and cultural exclusion.

The joint concluding discussion dealt with a variety of tasks and challenges, including counteracting social inequality and the social divide. The redistribution of wealth is just one—albeit essential—step toward a more just and democratic society.

NORTH RHINE WESTPHALIA

KONRAD ADENAUER THE KING OF COLOGNE

Konrad Adenauer is considered the "King of Cologne," as it was here that he became lord mayor in 1917. But as there were no events intending to deal critically with the shining light of the town's history, Martin Stankowski, a historian and journalist who is firmly rooted in Cologne asked the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung if it would like to do so. Although we gladly took up the offer, we sought to avoid merely organizing an event for a particular section of left-wing alternative culture.

We encouraged the local adult educational center to help organize the event, and also gained the support of the Karl-Rahner-Akademie. It was here that the discussion about "*Der Überbürgermeister*" *Konrad Adenauer—Kölner Lichtgestalt und Autokrat* ("The King of Cologne" Konrad Adenauer—Cologne's Shining Light and Autocrat) took place in November with about 100 guests. The event was moderated by Martin Stankowski, with a discussion taking place between a representative of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, managing director of Adenauer-Haus in Rhöndorf Corinna Franz, as well as historians and journalists. Werner Jung, Director of Cologne's NS Documentation Center, described the ambivalence of Cologne's "father figure" toward National Socialism. Wolfgang Uellenberg-van Dawen, a social democratic, historian and former regional chair of the DGB in Cologne, explained that Adenauer had forged a "grand coalition" with the Social Democrats who were looking to form a consensus, as early as the revolutionary year of 1918. The publicist Werner Rügemer demonstrated Adenauer's reactionary attitude using original quotes. However, Hanns Jürgen Küsters, head of the archive of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, attempted to defend Adenauer by arguing that he was not a Rhenish separatist and early on had even intended to join with Belgian and French heavy industry.

Although the participants were not in agreement about Adenauer's role, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was at least able to ensure its views were heard in the city.



A scene from "Ramstein Airbase—Game of Drones" by Jan-Christoph Gockel.



Memories of Jean-Baptiste Meslier in the church where he preached.

RHINELAND-PFALZ

POLITIKUM IN MAINZ'S STATE THEATER

"Politikum—A Day of Political Art" took place on October 2, 2017 in Mainz for the first time. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rhineland-Palatinate, Attac Mainz, the DGB, the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung in Rhineland-Palatinate, the town of Mainz and the association Media & Culture provided various artists a platform in Mainz's state theater to present the topic of "Democracy in Danger!" The events ranged from a play to sound installations and traditional lectures. The interdisciplinary performance artist Brandstifter demonstrated the best way of voting for yourself and "your own party" as an ironic critique of the increasing egocentrism in our society. With their sound and text collage "The Beast of Democracy," Christina Otto and Moritz Buch devoted themselves to deconstructing the complex, contradictory capitalist world through experimental pairings at various levels. And in his lecture "Behind Closed Doors: Halved Democracy?", the legal scholar Andreas Fisahn from the University of Bielefeld dealt with the questions of whether democracy can be reconciled with capitalism and whether we are moving toward an authoritarian state.

Naturally, the host theater put on a perfect presentation with its production "Ramstein Airbase—Game of Drones," a play based on a conversation with drone operator Brandon Bryant, and on the drone war and its role at the Ramstein in Rhineland-Palatinate.

This selection of highlights illustrates the diversity of the extensive program that was organized for the Cultural Day. And since there was enough time to speak about and discuss the events during the day, it is no wonder that the audience rated the Politikum! project very positively.

SAARLAND

COMMUNISM WAS INVENTED IN THE ARDENNES

Many years ago, the Saarland writer Klaus Bernarding came across the name of Jean-Baptiste Meslier (1664-1729), a Catholic priest in France who had completely rejected God as both a concept and an image. Bernarding found out that for nearly 40 years, this man had served as a country priest in the remote community of Etrépigny in the Ardennes, where he was appalled at the poor treatment of farmers by landlords and the church. Although he held a daily service, Meslier began working in secret on his testament (the *Testament of Abbé Meslier*), a more than 1,000-page book in which he formulated a radical criticism of church, religion and power, and was the first to call for an atheistic communist society.

Such a "godless man of God" was also of interest to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saarland and its partner, the Giordano Bruno Stiftung. Together, we organized a bus trip to Etrépigny, located 250 kilometers away. Klaus Bernarding was unable to participate for health reasons, but facilitated contact with the "Amis de Jean Meslier," an association of leftists and communists from the Ardennes region. Yvon Ancelin guided the visitors through the village and the church where Meslier had preached.

The first complete edition of Meslier's testament did not appear until 1864, and even then it was published anonymously, because no publisher wanted to be associated with the author. However, in 1918, the Bolsheviks engraved his name on a giant stele alongside those of other "famous thinkers and fighters for the liberation of the working class" in Moscow's Alexander Park—between Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Georg Plekhanov.

The visit to the Ardennes inspired the Giordano Bruno Stiftung to publish an audiobook in 2018 containing texts by Meslier in order to make him and his work better known in Germany.



Nadja Rakowitz during her speech at the RLS's conference in Chemnitz.



Active football fans are the targets of data-gathering in many countries.

SAXONY

THE STATE AND THE LEFT

Its relationship to the state is an issue that has preoccupied the Left since time immemorial. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony together with the student council from the Technical University in Chemnitz invited all interested parties to the conference *Der Staat und die Linke – Reflexionen zur Aktualität materialistischer Staatstheorie* (The State and the Left—Reflections on the Topicality of Materialistic Theories of the State). The conference took place on November 11, 2017 at the university and more than 30 people of different ages and with different levels of experience about the topics on offer attended the event.

The aim of the conference was to promote active engagement with critical state theory. The speakers outlined and presented the state-theoretical debates of the last decades, introduced the materialist conception of the state and used examples and various issues to demonstrate the numerous fields and policy areas in which state theory can help make contexts and backgrounds more visible and be used to develop policy options. The focus was on questions such as: “Strong welfare state or social infrastructure for all?” and “Transnationalization or renationalization!?—On the change of social power relations and structures in the course of neoliberal globalization.”

The individual topics were presented by Alex Demirović (from the RLS's Academic Advisory Council), Tino Heim (social scientist at the Technical University Dresden) and Nadja Rakowitz (Director of the Association of Democratic Doctors) and several practical examples were then discussed in the form of workshops. The conference was moderated by Thomas Hetzel. At the beginning of the conference, one participant apologized because he would have to leave after two hours—he left at the end of the conference after six hours of intensive debate. Is there any better indication of successful theoretical discussion that one that encourages this level of participation and reflection?

SAXONY-ANHALT

TRANSPARENT FOOTBALL FANS

On February 22, 2017, a discussion event on the issue of “Transparent Fans—Data Collections on Football Fans” took place in Magdeburg library. The event was organized by Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony-Anhalt, together with the State Agency for Civic Education, Magdeburg library, and the fan project of the 1st FC Magdeburg football club.

Around 60 people—mainly young, as expected—attended the introductory lecture by Andreas Hüttl. The solicitor from Hanover is well-known in the football scene. Football fans are familiar with his work as a defense lawyer, and appreciate the fact that he is a cofounder of Fanhilfe Hannover and a member of Arbeitsgemeinschaft Fananwälte (Working Group of Solicitors for Football Fans). The evening was moderated by Dennis Jannack, a member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's executive board, who has been involved with Fanhilfe Magdeburg for many years.

In addition to the nationwide database on violent offenders in sport, data has been collected in Lower Saxony and other federal states on football fans who the authorities consider violent. These databases were neither publicly unannounced nor grounded in law. In fact, their existence was only brought to light due to parliamentary questions posed in state parliaments. Saxony-Anhalt maintained such databases between 2006 and 2015, but is not currently doing so.

Andreas Hüttl explained how data are collected and which information is stored in the databases. Since the people targeted are not usually informed about the fact that data is being stored about them, these databases violate their fundamental right to informational self-determination. Hüttl also raised considerable concerns regarding data privacy, which heightened with regard to the World Cup in Russia. The event was followed by a lively discussion about data collection, law in stadiums and appeal procedures.



Reiner Beuthel (3rd from right) and Wladislaw Hedeler (2nd from right) at the event in Eckernförde.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

VICTIMS OF STALINIST TERROR

The work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein leads it to regularly deal with the investigation of crimes committed in the name of socialism. In March 2017, for the first time in many years, we organized an educational event in Eckernförde.

The event was based on research by a counselor from Eckernförde, Rainer Beuthel, into the fate of local political migrants in the Soviet Union, which he undertook in Russian archives with the help of the Wladislaw Hedeler, a historian in Berlin. They presented their findings at Eckernförde's local museum in front of about 30 people, including the former SPD member of parliament, Günter Neugebauer.

Wladislaw Hedeler provided an overview of the fate of Germans who emigrated to the Soviet Union for political reasons in the 1930s and fell largely to the Stalinist purges. Until now, the names of 7,658 people are known. Among the victims who were executed in the Gulag, or whose trail has been lost there, are the baker journeyman Otto Faehse, his wife Hilde, his two daughters from Borby and the blacksmith and sailor Helmuth Kock from Eckernförde.

Otto Faehse, who was elected to represent the KPD in Borby's local administration in March 1933, emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1934 after having been held in a concentration camp in Germany. He was arrested in Russia in March 1938 and died in October 1941 "at the place of his detention." His wife Hilde, also a committed communist, followed him in 1934 with their children to the USSR. She also became a victim of Stalinist persecution and her exact fate is unknown, but she was sent to the Gulag in 1941. The same applies to Helmut Kock, a communist activist from Eckernförde, who was arrested in August 1937 in the Soviet Union. Rainer Beuthel has conducted research and described their stories, and these have been published in the 2016 yearbook of the town's local society.



An example of how inclusion can work at a school in Welsberg.

THURINGIA

TRAVELING AND TRAINING AT AN "INCLUSIVE SCHOOL" IN SOUTH TYROL

Even before Thuringia's Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport established the foundations of an inclusive education act at the beginning of 2016, the issues relating to the requirements and conditions needed to provide mainstream education for children and adolescents with and without disabilities were being discussed fervently in the region.

Other countries, both at the federal level and in Europe, have already made further progress along this path and demonstrate that inclusive schooling can work. The north Italian autonomous province of Bolzano-South Tyrol is a pioneer in terms of inclusive schooling. The region partially abolished special schools in 1971, and did so completely in 1977.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen offered teachers and other people involved in education (including those in training), as well as people from politics and administration involved in teacher training or inclusion, the opportunity to join a trip between April 9 and 11, 2017 to Bolzano and to the school district of Welsberg. The aim was to help the participants gain an understanding of how a functioning inclusive school works and the conditions needed for successful inclusive education. The trip attracted an unprecedented level of interest, and there were twice as many registrations as tickets.

The participants commended the event, the smoothly run educational journey, and the program for providing many ideas for their own work. During observations of classes and numerous discussions in the school and at the Ministry of Education in Bolzano, the travel group gained insights into both the opportunities and the obstacles associated with inclusive education. A teacher summed up the trip by stating: "We listened to the music of the future! We obviously visited a show school, but schools in Germany could also work just like this."

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

With its 2017 seminar on global social rights, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Center for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZiD) has further strengthened the profile of its international work.

This process also operates through the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's international structures in a particular way. In January 2017, for example, Benjamin Luig took up a thematic deployment on food sovereignty at the office in Johannesburg. At the same time, Miriam Younes began her thematic deployment to establish a program office in Beirut to work on positive peace. This network of people working on specific thematic issues is strengthened by a further person working on climate justice in Manila.

A new office for Spain and Portugal employing local staff got off the ground in Madrid. The foundations have also been laid for a Central Asia office in Almaty, Kazakhstan, as well as for an office in Prague for the Czech Republic and Hungary. Successfully registering the Beijing office under the new NGO law was an important development that enabled us to continue our work there.

To support this expansion at the administrative level, the new instrument of financial administrative postings was established. Alex Jahr and Mariem N'Diaye took up work in New Delhi and Dakar respectively to monitor and improve financial administrative processes at the Asian and African offices and provide training to local employees. Such postings have also been planned for 2018 for America and Europe. A great number of local employees, employed directly by the head of the respective office and not legally bound to the head office in Berlin, carry out the ZiD's international work. However, as we consider it highly important that in case of conflict they have a central contact person, in 2017 we established the position of ombudsperson, an office now held by David Vossebrecher. Beyond this improvement in terms of organizational and administrative processes, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has successfully continued its international work in over 70 countries through numerous events and publications, as well as increasing the visibility of its work in Germany.

We have successfully given some of our partners a voice in the German public sphere, for example our partners from Nigeria, Mauritius, Vietnam and the Philippines, who sent delegations and critically accompanied the COP23 climate summit in November in Bonn. Hosted by Germany, the COP was chaired by Fiji, a country for which climate change is already a harsh reality. We therefore particularly strove to highlight the perspective of countries that are already feeling the direct impacts of climate change.

ASSERTING GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS

Across the world, from the US, to Turkey, India or Hungary, authoritarian forms of government are visibly gaining ground. This new authoritarianism is linked to greater social divisions, xenophobia and discrimination against “others,” together with a new hostility toward women. Meanwhile, ecological destruction continues unchecked. Nevertheless, the Left has achieved notable results in some countries — who would have thought that a politician like Bernie Sanders, a self-declared socialist, would ever have become the most popular counter-candidate for the current US president, and the shift to the left of the Labour Party in the UK also sparks hope. However, this must not blind us to the fact that globally the Left is on the defensive.

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In the face of this new authoritarianism and spread of misanthropy, the international work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is concerned with defending fundamental social and democratic rights, and, wherever possible, expanding them. We therefore advocate for the social rights of workers, the unemployed and the precariously employed, smallholder farmers, the landless, indigenous groups, women, people of diverse sexual orientations, people with special needs, migrants, and other groups of people that in various ways suffer exploitation, discrimination or racism.

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We also stand up for democratic rights such as the right to organize in unions and freedom of the press and speech. For us, the full realization of social, economic and cultural human rights, such as the right to adequate food, housing, access to education, enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, to work, as well as to fair and positive working conditions, is an essential prerequisite for the full implementation of civil and political human rights — and vice versa. We use the concept of global social rights to define this internationalist concept of emancipation.

Globally, we work with hundreds of initiatives, unions, environmental and social movements, as well as left-wing organizations and parties at the local level. We have over 20 international offices, and beyond working with our partners, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also organizes conferences and publications. We would like to further strengthen the transnational cooperation between our international offices and their partners. While the central focus is on processes of learning and political dialogue, we also aim to find common answers to the global problems we face and develop an effective internationalist practice for a left-wing network with a clearly internationalist perspective.

Against this backdrop, the Center for International Dialogue organized a series of larger events in 2017. The first such event was the symposium *Soziale Rechte weltweit!* (Global Social



Soziale Rechte weltweit (Global Social Rights!) – this is the guiding orientation for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s international work

Rights!) in February in Berlin. A workshop in New York in September provided a platform for colleagues and partners from various offices to set out the options for a joint global climate justice strategy. During the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung summer school in Madrid in October, around 100 participants from all over Europe discussed strategies for organizing the struggle for social rights in Europe. In November in Belgrade, the “For Labor Rights” conference was attended by RLS partners from European, US, Israeli and Indian trade unions, who engaged in debates on organizing resistance along global production chains. In November, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung partners from a number of Asian countries also convened at a workshop in Beirut to discuss migrant domestic worker rights. This is only a small sample of the global political work carried out by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the ZiD. This will continue in 2018.

LINKING THE RED AND “THE GREEN”

DEVELOPING A CLEARER CLIMATE POLITICAL PROFILE

At “Linking the Red and the Green for the Planet and the People” in New York, members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s network met to discuss one of today’s most pressing issues: climate change. Organized by the New York office and Global Tasks in Berlin, representatives from Berlin, Dakar, Tunis, Johannesburg, Mexico City, Quito, Brussels, Hanoi, New Delhi, and New York, as well as partners from the Left Party, the Global Policy Forum, academics and unions (represented by the SENTRO union from the Philippines), discussed one of the key questions for the Left today: Fusing the red – the social question – with the green – climate policy.

The workshop aimed to refine the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s climate political profile and contribute to a focused internal discussion and planning process. The central question therefore was around what form a decidedly left-wing climate policy should take and who the strategic partners could be. The workshop spanned all aspects, from scientific climate research to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s role in the climate justice movement as well as national, regional and international politics.

During a visit to the Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory, a leading global geoscience center, participants discussed the importance of facts and their instrumentalization in the era of Donald Trump and “fake news.” Moreover, they spoke with Avi Lewis, the director of *This Changes Everything* – the screen adaptation of Naomi Klein’s book by the same name on the state of the climate justice movement.

The workshop participants discussed social movements, participating in projects and recommendations for international politics, not least the role of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the negotiations of the UN’s framework convention on climate change. The RLS has been accompanying this process for a couple of years with analyses and comments, and supports underrepresented groups in gaining access to the UN.

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As the participants generally agreed, climate change is part of the global crisis of justice. Dealing with concepts for a socio-ecological transition and climate justice must therefore be seen as an integral part of the profile of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and be further developed. In all fields, and at all political levels, the RLS has the potential not only to be part of the protest movement but also to contribute to finding solutions.

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Visiting the European summer school: Head of the Left Party, Bernd Riexinger (2nd from left)

EUROPEAN SUMMER SCHOOL IN MADRID

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG CONNECTS THE YOUNG EUROPEAN LEFT

Between October 4 and 8, 2017 the trade union office on the outskirts of Madrid felt like an international beehive. Invited by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, 100 representatives of the Left from Europe and the US convened for the first European summer school. Among them were activists from parties such as the Left Party, Momentum, Razem, Levica, La France Insoumise, Izquierda Unida and the Working Families Party, but also people from movements, campaigns and organizations such as PAH/Ahora Madrid (Spain), Repeal the 8th (Ireland), Zagreb je naš (Croatia) and the Seattle2Brussels Network. Bernd Riexinger, chairperson of the Left Party, also participated during the entire week.

The theme of this year’s summer school was *Organisierung für eine linke Hegemonie* (Organizing for a Left-wing Hegemony). Claire Sandberg and Winnie Wong, who created the hashtag #feelthebern for the Bernie Sanders campaign, talked about how they and many others organized the success of Sanders. David Gibney from Ireland contributed his experiences from the Irish Right2Water campaign.

The strong presence of activists from Eastern Europe was a new feature and reflected the long-term and dedicated cooperation between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and partner organizations in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. For young left-wing parties such as Razem from Poland or Zagreb je naš from Croatia, who have enjoyed significant victories during recent local elections and are now preparing for the 2019 EU elections, the summer school was beneficial in many ways. For one, they could discuss in person the positions they share and the differences that exist between their parties and Germany’s Left Party with Bernd Riexinger. Being able to share experiences with activists from across Europe and the US also showed that it was possible to consider specifically local activities at the European level in the context of political parties.

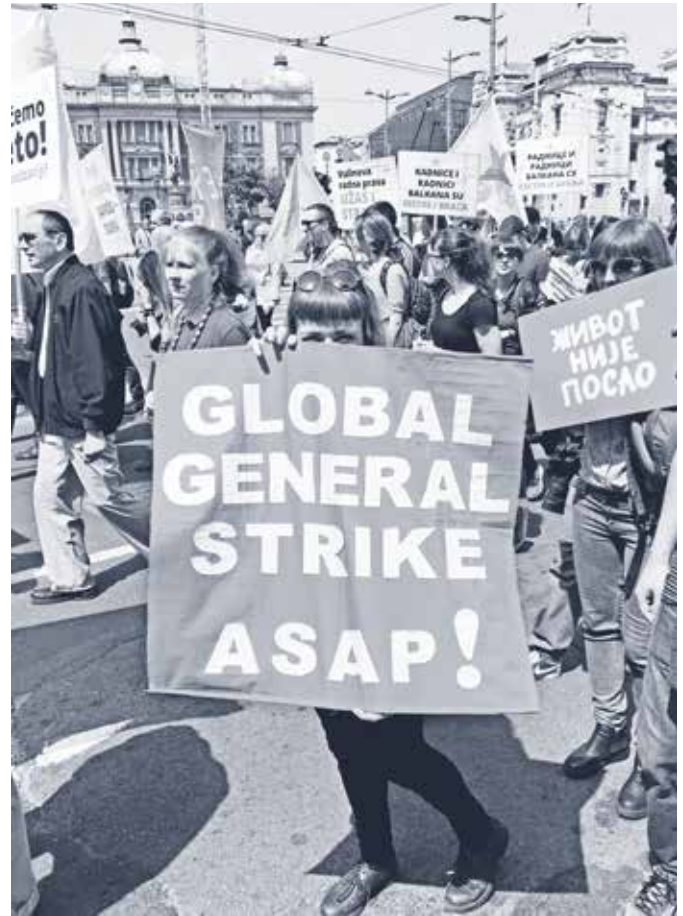
The European summer schools represent a new format for RLS international education and networking activities. They build on long-term contacts and work with the partners at our offices across Europe. For young activists in left-wing parties, alliances, movements, the media, and trade unions in particular, the summer schools provide excellent educational opportunities in terms of praxis and strategy at the European level. The next summer school has therefore already been planned. Focusing on feminism, it will be held in fall 2018 in Belgrade. In addition, on October 4, 2017, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung formally opened its new office in Madrid. The event was also attended by the German ambassador and the 100 summer school participants.

WORKER POWER NEEDS ORGANIZATION
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE

“For Labor Rights!” was the unashamedly left-wing title of a conference to discuss questions of organization that the Belgrade office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized between October 27 and 29, 2017. The focus was on Southeastern Europe, yet experiences from and problems faced by other regions were also discussed. In times of increasing precarization and fragmentation of working conditions at the international level, the event provided a unique opportunity for 70 people to share experiences and thoughts in Southeastern Europe beyond their national borders.

Christof Scherrer (University of Kassel) gave the keynote speech on the concept of global social rights. Starting out with a historic overview of the successes the concept has achieved, he also provided details and conventions of the International Labour Organization. Substantial violations of international labor legislation continue to occur, with around forty percent of workers globally currently working under inhuman conditions.

Florian Wilde (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin) explained the underlying economic and ideological reasons for the crisis



For Labor Rights! — the RLS promotes international exchange

of trade unions in his introductory talk. He then sketched out possible strategies to counter this development: incorporating “social movement unionism,” organizing local communities, as well as a critical revision of the social partnership ideology, which we could describe as a multi-level approach to reinvigorating the trade union and workers’ movement. David Condliffe from Unite explained how the largest British trade union had changed its form of organizing to involve those working outside of standard contract conditions—the unemployed, students and pensioners. He argued that this had made Unite stronger and, in particular, more locally rooted. In Croatia, the company ITAS, for example, revealed the importance of ties to the local community for labor struggles. Support from the local community ensured that when the workers took over the company, no jobs were lost. Importantly, the discussion of possible coalitions and solidarity must not remain confined to the narrow boundaries of the nation-state. The majority of those present agreed on the need to build solidarity along international production chains. That left-wing nongovernmental organizations need to play a greater role in the resistance to neoliberal policies was the general sentiment expressed at the conference, which Roland Kulke

First of May demonstrations in Belgrade.



(Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brussels) also emphasized in his contribution on the Stop TTIP campaign. During the two-day conference, it became clear that all of the activists were searching for ways to increase the organizational capacity of the Left, both at the national level by increasing cooperation with local governments, and internationally through more intensive and organized cooperation. Albeit by no means an easy task, overcoming the market logic and developing alternative models of production remain the central challenge of the Left.

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A detailed conference report is available on the homepage of our Belgrade office: www.rosalux.rs/de/node/1181.
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DEFENSE OF CIVIL SOCIETY SPACES FOR ACTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Southeast Asia has profited during the past three years from the diversity and creativity of the people and the natural wealth of the region. Yet this diversity is being exploited scrupulously. This is particularly clear in the Hanoi neighborhood where the office is located. Cars, building sites and apartment blocks have replaced the street food stands and hairdressers, trees, motorbikes, and peddlers that used to characterize the area. Increasing levels of air pollution are not only measurable but often also visible.

At the same time, fewer people are able to participate creatively in the political, social, and ecological development of

their community. For example, in 2015 many Hanoi residents supported a media campaign against the plans of the city council to fell 6,000 trees. In 2017, civil society activism and social media were criminalized by the political leadership and thus rendered less visible.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung observes such developments not only in Vietnam but also in neighboring Laos and Cambodia. In Myanmar, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has had a local employee in Yangon since 2017. In the fall we jointly presented a publication on the Global South together with the internationally active NGO Focus dealing with exploitation that is exacerbated by foreign investment. The RLS was also able to generate interest in this event in Vietnam's national assembly.

Even though the space for civil society action in the Southeast Asian countries in which the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is involved in projects has shrunk, voices clearly critical of the growth paradigm promoted by politics are audible. In Vietnam and Laos, we work with institutions at the party and parliamentary level and encourage dialogue on social, ecological and economic transformation.

Moreover, the RLS supports civil society activists fighting to establish or expand social and political rights. In 2017 in Vietnam, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the local trade union organized a workshop on the social rights of textile workers and financed a corresponding study.

During the coming years, we will continue to promote the sharing of experiences and dialogue among civil society actors in the program countries as well as with new partners in the ASEAN region. The aim will be to allow partners to expand their participation in broader regional social and political contexts.

Xuan Dieu street in Hanoi's Tây Hồ district.





Women on the porch of their flats in a tower block complex for Syrian refugees in Sidon (Lebanon).

GREAT CHALLENGES FOR THE NEW OFFICE IN BEIRUT

Since our Beirut office opened in May 2017, the number of staff has risen and we now have five people working here. Regionally the office covers three countries: Lebanon, Syria and Iraq. Due to the ongoing conflicts, field trips to the latter two are hardly possible, and work on these countries is conducted from Beirut. Nonetheless, the complex and conflict-laden reality of these three countries in both the past and present offers interesting opportunities for comparative studies.

On the theme of “Positive peace/structural violence” the work concentrates on questions of transformative and social justice, and applies Lebanon’s post-civil war experience to events in Syria. Furthermore, the Beirut office works to highlight socio-economic inequalities in all three countries and questions the dominance of identity politics and confessional-religious tensions that many other studies emphasize.

A further focus of analysis and a positive counterweight to the analysis of structural violence is the focus on progressive left-wing politics in the region. This involves monitoring political processes, such as the parliamentary elections in Iraq

and Lebanon, and recognizing and strengthening the positions of left-wing progressive actors. For such actors from all three countries, the Beirut office serves as a meeting place to share experiences, discuss and reflect. However, in the case of Syria, progressive actors are currently hardly able to take concrete political action. Here, the Beirut office attempts to develop possibilities for political alternatives.

Flight and migration is the office’s third focus, and in particular questions related to the access of the stateless, refugees, and migrants to social and human rights in Lebanon. The office aims to make the lack of rights visible in the Lebanese public sphere (for example, through a theater project by migrant household employees on their living conditions) and to take concrete measures to strengthen the rights of refugees and the stateless.

Our Beirut office works within a politically challenging framework, but already during its first year of work has established a broad network of diverse and progressive left-wing actors that allow the office to focus on critical analyses and a positive discourse.

AMERICAS UNIT

NORTH AMERICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS



Location: New York, United States

Year founded: 2012

Project countries: US, Canada, Germany (and the United Nations)

Directors: Stefanie Ehmsen & Albert Scharenberg

www.rosalux-nyc.org/de

Focus: Dialogue between the Left in North America and Europe; Alternatives to austerity; Critical social analysis; Global power shifts; Socio-ecological transformation

CONO SUR AND BRAZIL



Location: São Paulo, Brazil

Year founded: 2003

Project countries: Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay

Director: Gerhard Dilger

www.rosaluxspba.org

LIAISON OFFICE BUENOS AIRES



Year founded: 2015

Project countries: Argentina, Chile

Program coordination: Elisangela Soldatelli

www.rosaluxspba.org/es

Focus: Human rights, natural rights and democracy; The crisis and the future of the Left; Socio-ecological transformation and *Buen Vivir*

ANDEAN STATES



Location: Quito, Ecuador

Year founded: 2010

Project countries: Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela

Director: Karin Gabbert

www.rosalux.org.ec

Focus: Strengthening the capacity of civil society groups to participate in the implementation of left-wing constitutions and exercise their rights; developing alternatives to an economic model that relies entirely on the export of natural resources – a contentious issue in the region. And picking up on these debates and promoting inter-regional dialogue.

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND CUBA



Location: Mexico City, Mexico

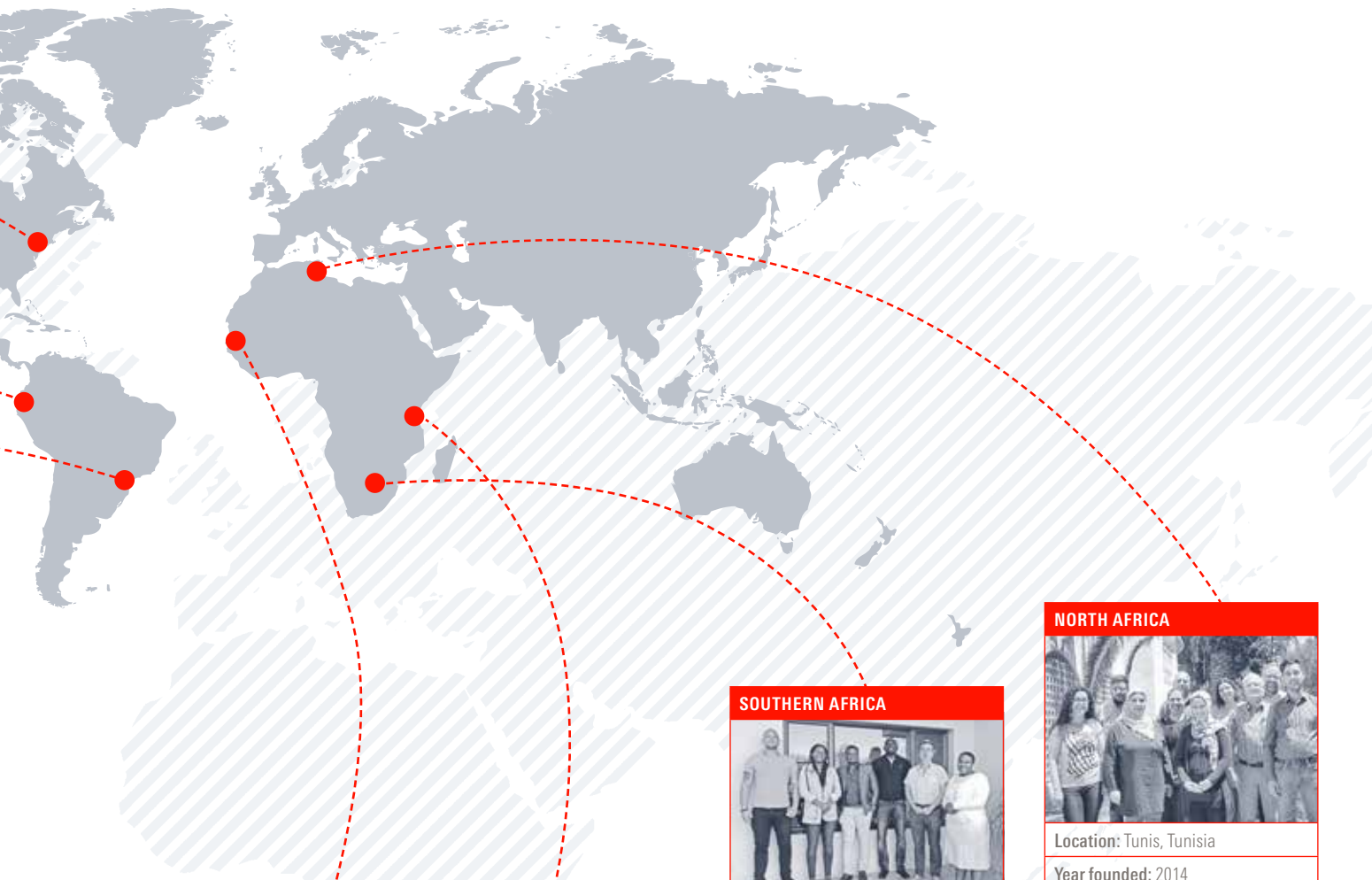
Year founded: 2007

Project countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua

Directors: Torge Löding, Sandy El Berr (from May 2017)

www.rosalux.org.mx

Focus: Participatory democracy and social inclusion; Political and economic alternatives to the dominant development model



AFRICA UNIT

WEST AFRICA



Location: Dakar, Senegal

Year founded: 2010

Project countries: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Cape Verde, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal

Director: Armin Osmanovic

www.rosalux.sn

Focus: Natural resources and conflicts; Young people and politics; Religion and society; Migration; The future of work; Peace and security; Africa and international politics

EAST AFRICA



Location: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Year founded: 2012

Project countries: Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda

Director: Dorothee Braun

www.rosalux.co.tz

Focus: Ensuring natural resource use benefits the people; Shaping regional integration and international trade relations to reflect peoples' needs; Defending and expanding democratic rights

SOUTHERN AFRICA



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa

Year founded: 2003

Project countries: Botswana, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa

Director: Jörn Jan Leidecker

www.rosalux.co.za

Focus: Participatory democracy; Workers' organizations and social justice; Natural resources

**DIALOGUE PROGRAM
FOOD SOVEREIGNTY**

Location: Johannesburg, South Africa

Year founded: 2017

Project countries: Mozambique, Zambia, South Africa

Director: Benjamin Luig

www.rosalux.de/stiftung/zid/afrika/ernaehrungssouveraenitaet/

Focus: Seed policy; labor rights in agriculture; dialogue about agricultural and food policy

NORTH AFRICA



Location: Tunis, Tunisia

Year founded: 2014

Project countries: Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia

Director: Peter Schäfer

www.rosaluxna.org

Focus: Development of socio-economic alternatives; Strengthening political participation, especially for younger activists

**ACADEMIC COOPERATION
NORTH AFRICA**

Location: Tunis, Tunisia

Year founded: 2015

Project country: Tunisia

Director: Nadia El Ouerghemmi

www.rosaluxna.org/academic-cooperation

Focus: Providing support to people and organizations that advocate university reform aimed at bolstering academic freedom and university autonomy as well as dismantling entrance restrictions and hierarchies in academia

EUROPE UNIT

POLAND AND BALTIC STATES



Location: Warsaw, Poland

Founded in 2003

Project countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary

Head of office: Joanna Gwiazdecka; Holger Politt (since March 2018)

www.rls.pl

Work focuses: Rights of women and LGBTI; alternative models of society for young left-wing alternative actors; critical and differentiated reflection of recent history; worker interests in structural economic change; welfare state and social justice

CZECH REPUBLIC, SLOVAKIA, HUNGARY

Location: Prague, Czech Republic

Year founded: 2016

Project countries: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary

Director: Joanna Gwiazdecka (since March 2018)

NORTH AND WEST EUROPE



Location: Brussels, Belgium

Year founded: 2008

Project countries: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, UK, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden

Directors: Martin Schirdewan and Claus-Dieter König; Andreas Thomsen (since April 2018)

www.rosalux.eu

Focus: Cooperating with and supporting left-wing actors and strategies in Europe and global regions; the role of the EU as a global actor (in, for example trade, foreign and energy policy), socioecological transformation; critique of the European border regime and left-wing migration policies

LIAISON OFFICE MADRID

Year founded: 2017

Project countries: Portugal, Spain

Program coordination: Vera Bartolomé

www.rosalux.eu

Focus: Cooperating with and supporting progressive actors in the Iberian Peninsula; focus includes trade policy

GREECE DIALOGUE PROGRAM MIGRATION

Location: Athens

Year founded: 2012

Project country: Greece

Program director: Maria Oshana

www.rosalux.gr/de

Focus: Improving the situation of refugees in Europe; the crisis and left-wing solutions; the rise of and struggle against neo-fascism in Greece; analyzing the effects of privatization on democracy and participation; strengthening and reviving communities

UKRAINE



Location: Kiev

Year founded: 2016

Project countries: Ukraine

Program coordination: Nelia Vakhovska

Focus: Enforcing social rights; supporting unions; strengthening women's rights; developing left-wing political alternatives to the dominance of neoliberalism; nuanced discussion of the politics of remembrance and the socialist trade policy

RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS



Location: Moscow, Russia

Year founded: 2003

Project countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan

Director: Kerstin Kaiser

www.rosalux.ru

Focus: Social justice and regional integration; Migration; Disability policies and gender equality; The welfare state; A differentiated understanding of history; Sustainable regional development; 100 years of the Russian revolutions (2017)

SOUTHEAST EUROPE



Location: Belgrade, Serbia

Founded in 2010

Project countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia

Head of office: Krunoslav Stojaković

www.rosalux.rs

Work focuses: Supporting trade unions and feminist and LGBTI organizations, as well as the autonomous organization of Roma; development of left-wing political alternatives; critical work on history



EAST ASIA



Location: Beijing, China

Year founded: 2008

Project country: China

Director: Jan Turowski

www.rosalux.de

Focus: Social justice; Socio-ecological transformation; Participatory policy and the peaceful organization of international relations in countries in transition in East and Southeast Asia

POSITIVE PEACE DIALOGUE PROGRAM

Location: Beirut, Lebanon

Founded in 2017

Project countries: Lebanon, Syria, Jordan

Head of program: Miriam Younes

www.rosalux.de

Work focuses: Positive peace/ structural violence; flight/migration

ISRAEL



Location: Tel Aviv

Year founded: 2009

Project countries: Israel

Director: Tsafir Cohen

www.rosalux.co.il

Focus: Promotion of left-wing alternatives in the face of the ongoing occupation and process of de-democratization in Israel; Strengthening Jewish–Arab cooperation (in particular with regard to the socio-economic rights of marginalized populations); German–Israeli and European–Israeli dialogue with a special focus on the fight against anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism; Israel in the Middle East/The Middle East in Israel: Promoting Israel’s integration into the Middle East

SOUTH ASIA



Location: New Dehli, India

Year founded: 2010 (registered in 2012)

Project countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka

Director: Stefan Mentschel

www.rosalux.in

Focus: Concepts of Social transformation (left-wing theory and practice, regional cooperations); Agriculture (food security and sovereignty); Working environments and trade-union organization (labor migration, precarious employment, transnational production and supply chains)

SOUTHEAST ASIA



Location: Hanoi, Vietnam

Year founded: 2009

Project countries: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam

Director: Liliane Danso-Dahmen

www.rosalux.vn

Focus: Social justice; Socio-ecological transformation; Participatory policy

ASIA UNIT

PALESTINE



Location: Ramallah

Year founded: 2008

Project countries: Jordan and Palestine

Director: Ute Beuck

www.rosaluxemburg.ps

Focus: Emancipatory education; Questions of social justice and participation; Alternatives to economic dependency and neoliberal approaches to development; Strengthening pluralism and freedom of expression

FUNDED PROJECTS

Funding projects is an important means of cooperating with other political education institutions. In 2017 we received over 1,000 requests leading to 517 applications. These applications provide the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with a panorama of the political education activities that are being organized across Germany to provide valuable educational opportunities in diverse formats such as evening events, conferences and publications. Last year, 134 projects received a total of € 297,340 in funding. The 108 externally funded projects were allocated € 273,650, and the regional organisations provided € 23,690 for a further 26 projects.

Five large projects received € 127,000 in total (43% of the total budget):

- Linke Medienakademie e. V.: National and regional media training—€ 50,000
- InkriT e. V.: Publishing a critical-historical dictionary of Marxism. Compilation of volume 9/I *Maschinerie bis Mitbestimmung*, editorial work on volume 9/II *Mitleid bis naturwüchsig*—€ 38,000
- Rolf Hecker: Publication of volume 44 of the complete works of Marx and Engels (MEW)—€ 19,000
- Bewegungsakademie e. V.: Training program Attacademie 11—€ 10,000
- Lückenlos e. V.: *NSU-Komplex auflösen! Recherchieren und Intervenieren* (Dissolve the NSU Complex! Research and Intervention). Participatory research phase including local presentation and discussion events—€ 10,000

Six projects received funding of between € 5,000 and € 9,999, 77 between € 1,000 and € 4,999, and 20 of between € 500 and € 999.

EXAMPLES OF FUNDED PROJECTS WITH A FOCUS ON URBAN/RURAL QUESTIONS

BUNDESKOORDINATION INTERNATIONALISMUS: 3. BUNDESWEITES TREFFEN STADTPOLITISCHER GRUPPEN. RECHT AUF STADT FORUM 2017, APRIL 2017 IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Funding provided: € 1,250

As in previous years in Kassel and Cologne, the forum is chiefly a platform for urban policy groups. Enjoying the spring temperatures, over 200 activists convened this year at the student center at Campus Bockenheim in Frankfurt to discuss their political work, further develop strategies to reclaim public spaces and support local struggles, and discuss possible issues for the future. Numerous workshops on topics such as

housing policy offensives, critical interventions, and the linking of theory and practice led to exciting discussions and established bases for future strategic alliances for action. The detailed results of the individual workshops have been published in the *Recht auf Stadt* (Right to the City) Wiki (<http://wiki.rechtaufstadt.net/>; in German).

ALTE MU IMPULS-WERK E. V.: CONFERENCE TITLED QUERBEET–2017–URBANE TRANSFORMATION. DAS GUTE LEBEN IN DER STADT (AT RANDOM–2017–URBAN TRANSFORMATION. THE GOOD LIFE IN THE CITY), SEPTEMBER 2017 IN KIEL
Funding provided: € 1,000

In the center of the state capital of Kiel, a project combining art, culture, ecology, sustainability, and social issues has taken shape within the buildings of the former Muthesius-Kunsthochschule, the “Alte Mu.” Politically, the future of the location of the Alte Mu and the projects it houses is not secure. The annual congresses are milestones for the conservation and further development of the Alte Mu as a cooperative project and an element of a citizen-centric urban development. Traditionally the events begin with breakfast on the theme of “We the bread – you the toppings!” The talks and workshops that attracted over 250 people focused on communal life, mobility, climate, digitality, and future forms of living and working in the city. Approaches for future-oriented, sustainable and social housing were discussed. Exhibitions, film screenings, and concerts also took place during the conference.

SUB\URBAN. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KRITISCHE STADT-FORSCHUNG: STADT DER REPRODUKTION–SORGE, AFFEKTIVE ARBEIT UND DIE TRANSFORMATION DES URBANEN (JOURNAL OF CRITICAL URBAN RESEARCH: CITY OF REPRODUCTION–CARE, AFFECTIVE LABOR AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN), 2017, BD. 5, HFT. 3
Funding provided: € 750

The much-discussed crisis in reproduction is a key aspect of the current global capitalism crisis. Austerity policies erode systems of social protection, forcing people working in jobs such as care to work under increasingly precarious conditions. People living with children or other family members requiring care have to face increasingly insecure employment conditions and income insecurity and must deal with the consequences of the cuts to the social system. Mostly people deal with these contradictions on their own. However, particularly in the cities, resistance is growing, a fact revealed by increasing strikes in the health system and the growing interest in communitarian forms of living. The publication *Stadt der Reproduktion* (Cities of Reproduction) analyses these issues

IN 2017 THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 108 PROJECTS





The Querbeet conference took place directly in the center of Kiel, the location of the Alte Mu community project within the building complex of the former Muthesius art university.

at the level of urban spaces. The authors examine the links between urban processes of gentrification and the recasting of the social as economic. The 1981 article “Wie könnte eine nicht-sexistische Stadt aussehen?” (Outlines for a Non-sexist City) by the feminist urban historian Dolores Hayden serves as a point of departure for several articles by feminist urban researchers. You can find issues of sub/urban here free of charge: www.zeit-schrift-suburban.de/sys/index.php/suburban/announcement/view/51 (in German).

Accounting for 19 projects and € 22,400, anti-fascism/anti-racism was the most strongly represented topic. Among other projects we funded:

- Autofocus Videowerkstatt e.V.: Online educational platform: *Hoyerswerda – nach 1991* (Hoyerswerda After 1991), www.hoyerswerda-1991.de/#nach1991 — € 2,000
- La Talpa e. V. – *gemeinnütziger Verein zur Förderung kritischer Wissenschaften und Bildung: Digitale Geschichtspfade zur Geschichte des NSU-Terrors: History Reclaimed* — € 2,000
- Bonbonfabrik e. V.: *Decolonize Bremen – Politische Bildung zu kolonialen Spuren und Rassismus*. Accompanying program to the exhibition *Homestory Deutschland*, May to December 2017 in Bremen — € 2,000
- Lisa Mala Reinhardt: Film screening and workshop on the documentary *Wir sind mehr* (We are More) in various German cities — € 1,000 euros
- SMJE – Dachverband des êzidischen Frauenrats e. V.: International conference: *Genozidale Angriffe auf êzidische Frauen und Wege des Widerstands gegen Völkermord*

(Genocidal Attacks on Yazidi Women and Finding Ways to Resist Genocide), March 2017 in Bielefeld — € 1,500

- Laut gegen Nazis e. V.: *Möllner Rede im Exil 2017* (Möllner Speech in Exile 2017), in cooperation with the initiative to investigate the murder of Burak Bektaş, November 2017 in Berlin — € 1,000
- Antifaschistische Initiative Eberswalde: Series of events on *Rassismus und rechte Gewalt damals und heute (1990–2017)* (Racism and Right-wing Violence Past and Present), December 2017 in Eberswalde — € 1,000
- Iver Ohm/Hidden Institut: Workshops for civil courage *Solidarisches Handeln im Alltag trainieren* (Training Solidarity in Daily Life), September 2017 in Berlin — € 1,000

With 15 projects and € 30,750, history/contemporary history was a further focus of funding. Examples include:

- Frank Jacob: Posthumous edition Kurt Eisner. *Reden und Schriften Eisners als bayerischer Ministerpräsident* — € 5,000
- Archivverein Wismar e. V.: *Die Verfolgung jüdischer Bürger in Wismar 1933–1945* (The Persecution of Jewish Citizens in Wismar 1933–1945) — € 5,000
- Elefteriya Yuanidis: Documentary film *Die Gewerkschaftsschule Bernau 1947–1990. Zeitzeugen erzählen* (The Union School by Bernau 1947–1990. Contemporaries Talk), 90 mins — € 2,500
- a+r film/Siegfried Ressel: Postproduction documentary film *Der Mensch ist ein schöner Gedanke. Volkhard Knigge und Buchenwald* (Humanity is a Nice Idea, Volkhard Knigge and Buchenwald) — € 1,000

- Nihat Kentel/AKEBI e. V.: Series of talks on *Ist zwischen Kurden und Armeniern eine Versöhnung möglich?* (Is Reconciliation Possible Between Kurds and Armenians?) and *Die vielseitige Kulturalität zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts in der Türkei* (The plurality of Cultures in Turkey at the Beginning of the 20th Century), February/April 2017 in Berlin—€ 1,000

The publications that received funding also covered a wide range of issues; here are some examples:

- Christin Jänicke/Benjamin Paul-Siewert (eds.): *30 Jahre Antifa in Ostdeutschland. Perspektiven auf eine eigenständige Bewegung, Westfälisches Dampfboot* (30 Years of Anti-fascist Organizations in East Germany. Perspectives on an Independent Movement), Münster 2017—€ 1,500
- Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor: *Von #BlackLivesMatter zu Black Liberation*, Unrast Verlag, Münster 2017—€ 1,000
- Rudolf Grüttner: *Zeitenwende/Wendezeiten* (Change of Times/Times of Change), Oranienburg 2017—€ 2,000
- iz3w/Aktion Dritte Welt e. V. (eds.): *Tourismus und Migration* (Tourism and Migration), iz3w 361, Freiburg 2017—€ 750
- Mathias Fiedler/Fabian Georgi/Lee Hielscher/Philipp Ratfisch/Lisa Riedne/Veit Schwab/Simon Sontowski (eds.): *Umkämpfte Bewegungen nach und durch Europa, Movements—Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung* (Contested Movements For and Through Europe, Movements—Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Research) Jg. 3, Heft 1/2017—€ 750
- Thomas Kopp (ed.): *Auf Kosten Anderer? Wie die imperiale Lebensweise ein gutes Leben für alle verhindert* (At the Cost of Others? How the Imperial Mode of Living Prevents a Good Life for All), Oekom Verlag, München 2017—€ 1,000
- Buko-Pharma-Kampagne, Gesundheit und Dritte Welt e. V. (eds.): *Weniger Medikamente—bessere Versorgung?—40 Jahre Liste unentbehrlicher Arzneimittel der WHO* (Less Medicine—Better Care?—40 Years of the WHO Essential Medicines List), Bielefeld 2017—€ 1,000

Digital projects:

- about:change e. V.: Political information and education *Eye on Syria*, www.adoptrevolution.org/en/—€ 1,000
- Solidaritätsdienst International e. V. (SODI): *Multimediales Bildungsprojekt zu globalgeschichtlichen Aspekten von Ernährung «Was der Bauer nicht kennt»* (Multimedia education project on the global history aspects of food), www.sodi.de/projekte/deutschland/history_of_food/—€ 1,000
- Long-term cooperation with, for example, the Bundeskoordination Internationalismus, Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen and the VVN-BdA

and Kairos Europa was also continued. New contacts that contribute to the RLS's work were also established and new actors in the field of political education supported. Wherever cooperation opportunities arose at the local level, funds were made available to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regional organisations. Twenty-six projects received a total of € 23,690. They included:

- Project group *EnterHistory!*: Website and App *Re-Membering – Jüdische Lebenserinnerungen. Ein Netz zur Stadtgeschichte Leipzigs* (Re-Membering—Jewish memoirs. A network for the urban history of Leipzig), <http://remembering-leipzig.de/interaktiv>—€ 1,000
- Arbeitskreis Panafrikanismus München e. V.: 6th Panafrikanismus Kongress (6th congress of pan-Africanism), September 2017 in Munich—€ 1,000
- Leonhard F. Seidl/Ulrike Eifler: *Fronten*. A reading tour with Leonhard F. Seidl, August/September 2017 in Hesse—€ 1,000
- Bund der Religiösen Sozialistinnen und Sozialisten Deutschlands e. V. (BRSD e. V.): Summer school *„Revolution in der Reformation* (Revolution in the Reformation),“ August 2017 in Hannover—€ 1,000
- Nandu Trägerverein e. V.: *Standing with Standing Rock – Globaler Widerstand gegen fossile Infrastrukturen* (Standing with Standing Rock—Global Resistance against Fossil Infrastructures), June 2017 in Cologne—€ 950
- W.I.R. – *Werdauer Initiative gegen Rassismus: Stimmen aus dem Off – Geschichten unserer Nachbar_innen* (Anti-racist Initiative Werdau: Voices from the Off—Stories of our Neighbors), Werdau/Sachsen—€ 1,000
- Medizinische Flüchtlingshilfe Bochum e. V.: *Voices of Yarmouk – eine künstlerische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Krieg in Syrien* (Voices of Yarmouk—using art to understand the war in Syria), January 2017 in Bochum—€ 990
- Kulturförderung im ländlichen Raum e. V.: *Jugendclub-tour in Sachsen* (Tour of Youth Clubs in Saxony), February to April 2017 in various youth clubs in Saxony—€ 1,000
- Bundesverband Information und Beratung für NS-Verfolgte e. V.: *Creative Biography workshops Begegnung zwischen NS-Überlebenden und Schülerinnen und Schülern* (Creative Biography workshops. Holocaust survivors meet school pupils), September to December 2017 in Bergheim/Cologne—€ 1,000

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Funding projects enables the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to present a broad spectrum of left-wing topics in the political public sphere. The funded projects complement the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung thematically, regionally, and by target group.

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“The Kids Want Communism” was the closing event of an exhibition series to mark the 100th anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution and was open to the public from September 8 to November 12, 2017 at the Künstlerhaus Bethanien in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Curated by Joshua Simon from MoBY (Museums of Bat Yam in Israel), the exhibition invited visitors to reflect on the forms of socialism in the 20th century, the consequences this entailed, as well as to consider what nearly happened, what did not happen, what could or should have happened, and what could still happen.



POP-ART
NEUER
REALISMUS
CONZEPT-
ART
LANDART
OP-ART
& etc.


LOHNRAUB - ARBEITSMISSENDE
VEREINIGUNG - POLITISCHE
UNTERDRÜCKUNG

KAMPF

STEHST DU MIT DEINER KUNST, KULTUR







NIR
HOTEL









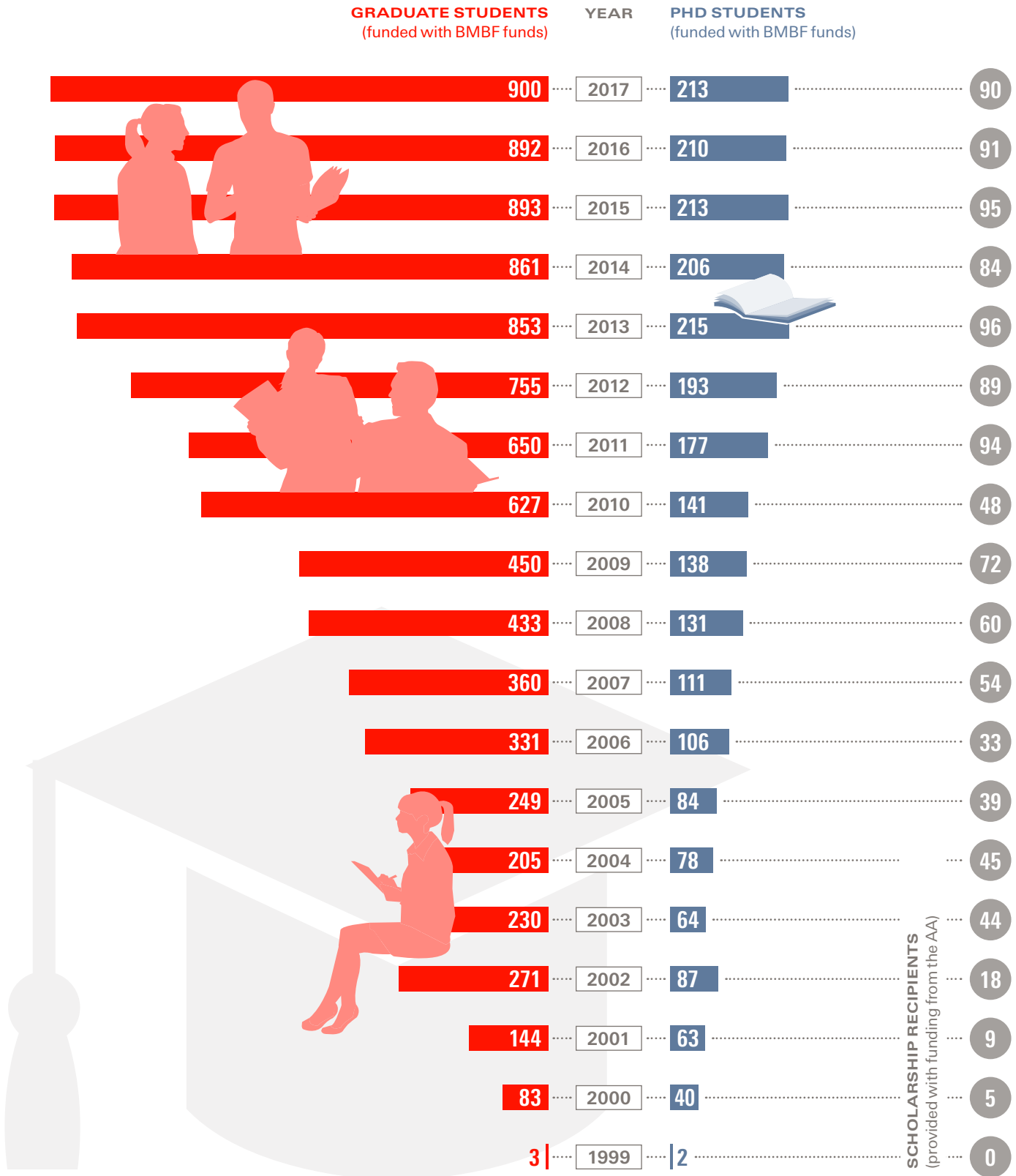
THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

Encouraging young people from the Left to engage in emancipatory processes in both urban and rural settings is the key task of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Scholarship Department. As well as providing financial security for graduate and PhD students, we also wish to open spaces for political education and strengthen the autonomy of both German and international students. In 2017, we provided financial support and political education to over 1,200 scholarship holders. Alongside left-wing political social engagement in society, we also seek to compensate for structural discrimination in higher education. Around 54% of our scholarship holders come from families with a non-academic background and around 45% have what in Germany is called a "migration background" (*Migrationshintergrund*). The scholarship department's funding, education and networking activities span a diverse set of formats. These include doctoral seminars, empowerment workshops, regional meetings, and excursions. A core feature is that most of these events are developed by the scholarship holders themselves. One example is the "holiday academy," which comprises one week of short workshops and longer two-day workshops, but also cultural presentations and political discussions on current issues. A group of scholarship holders organize the holiday academy with the support of the department's staff.

The scholarship holders also contribute in various ways to the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, by providing input to Discussion Groups, publishing in the *Luxemburg* journal, and as conference speakers. The autonomous organization of scholarship holders and their democratic participation is highly valued. The scholarship holders select a council that represents their interests as students vis-a-vis the Scholarship Department and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and are members of the selection committees.

Our work—from decisions on who receives a scholarship to their supervision—would not be possible without the support of voluntary tutors. Over the years, they have contributed to establishing a left-wing network at universities and in the public sphere, which is an important point of reference for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. By including the names of over 170 tutors in this annual report we would like to thank them for their indispensable commitment.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS





Katalin Gennburg strives for a visionary urban policy.

GIVING THE CITY BACK TO THE PEOPLE

INTERVIEW WITH KATALIN GENNBURG – A FORMER ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FELLOW AND CURRENTLY MEMBER OF THE LEFT PARTY FACTION IN BERLIN’S HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

How did you get started in politics?

Gennburg: I grew up in a political family. In 1989, my mother was involved in the dissolution of the SED party and was then involved in the new PDS party. When the Iraq war began in 2001, my classmates and I took part in the demonstrations in Berlin. When my school reprimanded me, I decided I had to become politically active.

In Falkensee, there was a Linksjugend Solid group, and I joined. From then on, I organized parties and politics. When I was 18, I ran for a seat on the city council and became the youngest city councilor for the PDS in Berlin’s growing suburb communities, all while completing my school education. Originally, I wanted to study either modern art or fashion design. Today I am a member of the party executive and speaker for the national association of urban development and housing policy for the Left Party.

You studied philosophy and urban studies: what is your interest in urban development and housing policy?

Gennburg: I have focused on urban development for 16 years

now. My interest was sparked when I witnessed the exodus from an industrial city of the GDR after 1990. Families from my neighborhood moved to West Germany, nearly everybody was out of work and a great sadness began to rule our lives. Every day I witnessed what we would today call “shrinking regions.”

Our cities reflect the social conditions that materialize in the spaces. The conditions of the working class, as Engels described them in the 19th century, were expressed in that age’s industrial cities. At that time, too, property and housing market conditions, as in today’s capitalist cities, decisively defined people’s participation in the city. How land is taken from us, the concrete forms that Luxemburg’s capitalist “*Landnahme*” take, interest me when I analyze urban processes of transformation.

Cities should be places of social interaction. This is why we need left-wing principles for urban development policy and urban development. We have to understand the production of urban spaces in all their diversity: it is the people who inhabit a city that reproduce the city every day anew. From this follows their right to participate in this development; it is our right to the city.

Since 2016 you have been a member of the Berlin city council and also actively involved in the urban development and housing committee. What would you like to achieve for Berlin in this area?

Gennburg: As the Left Party we have formed a coalition government on an equal footing with the Green Party and the SPD, and have vowed to return the city to its people. Following three decades of a complete sell-out of public spaces and cuts to public services, generally dubbed neoliberalization and urban austerity policies, this is a very ambitious project.

We need to counter the hunger of investors for city resources with the full force of municipal power. The question of how to bring together governance and an emancipatory politics drives me. The contradictions we face when making political decisions can be gigantic. Making money is often opposed to the interests of everybody else. It remains my aim to help defuse these harsh contradictions. Developing visionary policies in a growing city in the age of digitalization is a high art. I stand for a socially just land policy and strategic urban development, together with the people, and for planning today the spaces to meet the needs of the future; for example, returning to a city of short distances in the digital age, in a diverse city that is also a city of referendums. Spaces for discussion and for collective processes of negotiation are needed as much as spaces to disconnect and for renewal. We need to drive the re-politization of the public sphere and reclaim (urban) spaces from their function in economic realization.



Construction associations and cooperatives were always characteristic of Hamburg's Barmbek-Süd neighborhood. They are also active in the construction of new buildings.

HOW CAN BUSINESS-DRIVEN CITIES PROVIDE HOUSING?

IN HIS PHD THESIS, THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FELLOW JOSCHA METZGER ANALYZES THE NEW ROLE OF COOPERATIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY'S HOUSING QUESTION

In the larger German cities and university locations, increasingly fewer people can afford adequate housing, and rent increases are increasingly leading to existential crises. While cities such as Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt am Main recognize this new crisis of housing, concrete political measures often have very limited effects. This indicates structural problems. The course set by neoliberalism since the 1980s has fundamentally changed the political landscape and state of the market. Urban austerity policies, competition between cities, the dependency on property capital, the focus on high-income earners, and an unbroken faith in the market place clear limits on a new social housing policy. Against this backdrop it will be interesting to see which actors can play a progressive role in social housing provision. Public debate currently focuses on the potential of large housing cooperatives. In Hamburg alone, such cooperatives hold 130,000 flats, around 20% of the rental stock. Flats in these cooperatives are on average significantly cheaper than those offered by private property owners. While housing cooperatives in the

context of Fordist housing policies were interested in offering housing to broad segments of the population, their business strategy has changed following the liberalization of housing markets. As independent companies, they too are guided by rent increases on the market, and the flats offered by cooperatives therefore also increasingly cater to a (in the broad sense) highly capitalized clientele. In a dynamic housing market, conflicts therefore also arise with and around cooperative housing stock. In his current research, Joscha Metzger reconstructs the constraints, contradictions, and potential of Hamburg's large housing cooperatives. Their unique corporate structure represents a complex research field. As companies they struggle for local influence and opportunities to develop. As their members, at least formally, co-own the company, struggles over the use and exchange value of the properties exist within cooperatives, too. These struggles on different scales provide insights into the local network of power interests in the field of social housing provision. Against the backdrop of the historic development of housing cooperatives, Metzger's focus is also on analyzing this specific actor as an example of the potential scope and limits of practical alternatives within the framework of capitalist socialization.

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POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's external image is defined mainly by the staff of the political communication department. They present our broad spectrum of events and publications to the public. In 2017, for the first time, the focus of monthly content for public relations was defined. This was based on the focus topics defined by the board and head of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and published on the redesigned website from September 2017. The aim is to strengthen the interconnectedness of publications, public relations work and the planning and visibility of events. Thematic dossiers that include a selection of publications, images, interviews, and event announcements are a new approach and complemented by video interviews with specialized colleagues. In 2017 these dossiers focused on care, the October Revolution, renting, and the climate. They were produced in close collaboration with the relevant committees and others working in the area at the RLS. The "PolKomm" department therefore also contributes to further developing internal planning processes. The department develops the rules for internal communication, as well as externally directed communication strategies. This includes the use of a diverse set of promotional materials and investing in a modern visual vocabulary. During the year covered by this annual report, the publications department initiated and coordinated 100 publications and was in charge of developing and designing key publication series such as *luxemburg argumente*, *Materialien* and *Analysen*. The online editorial team is responsible for maintaining the RLS's German website and other blogs, as well as representing the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung on social media, which plays an ever more important role in communication. It also distributes information and the newsletter. Moreover, in 2017 an app was created to update interested individuals on the activities of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung without the need to refer to social media networks such as Facebook. The growing importance of the internet as a space for political education and debate has also generated an increasing interest in video documentation and explanatory and animated films. At the end of 2017, two new roles were announced to maintain the English-language website. The event management department ensures the smooth implementation of the high number of events and meetings, and is involved in numerous conferences and other large events organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The head department coordinates press and public relations activities and develops guidelines for the department's further development.

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S SOCIAL MEDIA ACTIVITIES

During the last year, controversies over using social media and the ways that they work, and in particular Facebook, have gained in intensity. Following numerous data scandals, users, some of them with much ado, are unsubscribing en masse and are calling for a massive #Facebookexit. Furthermore, the aging of the Facebook community has become a frequently discussed topic. Facebook nonetheless remains the largest social media platform. Currently Facebook has around 31 million active users in Germany. Even though the share of younger users (14 to 19) dropped from 85 to 61 % between 2011 and 2017, the platform continues to grow. For some political education target groups, Facebook therefore remains one of the most important sites for transmitting information, events and debates. This probably will not change in the near future, in particular because the social media giant also owns the popular messenger app WhatsApp and the Instagram platform. Last year, the number of followers of the main Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung site rose by an impressive 39 % to 57,272. Users shared our 710 posts 15,242 times, and they generated 50,208 reactions and received 2,420 comments. An average of 881 people interacted with our website daily. Between 2016 and 2017 the number of Twitter followers rose to 16,111, an increase of 26 %. Our YouTube channel now has 4,300 subscribers, a similarly strong increase of 28 %. As we share many of the criticisms of the large platforms, we will keep a close eye out for the development of new and more suitable platforms to spread our content and engage in dialogues with interested individuals and groups. To minimize Facebook's intermediary role, we already use diverse channels to spread information, and thereby rely on more pro data-protection providers such as Diaspora, as well as our newsletter and mailing list. Users can subscribe to our mailing list, and those who are already subscribed can change their settings and subscriptions using our web interface (<https://info.rosalux.de>). As a new feature, users can now also register for events via their account. A further novelty and good news for everybody who does not use Facebook: there is now a smartphone app that keeps you updated on our work (www.rosalux.de/news/id/38311). Moreover, in 2017, we began strengthening and harmonizing our international public relations work. The further development of our English-language website and social media presence also builds on this. Our online editorial team now has the support of two new colleagues, Aleksandra Kulesza and Loren Balhorn.

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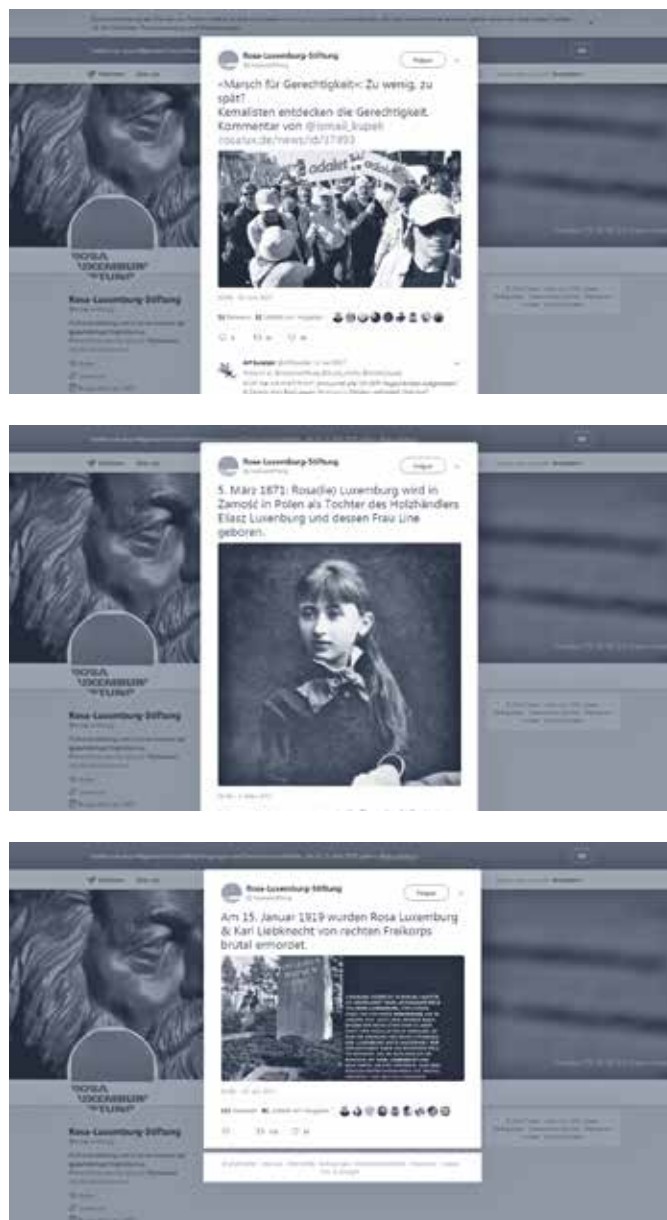
DIASPORA

diasporafoundation.org/

YOUTUBE

www.youtube.com/user/rosaluxstiftung

Breaking news about the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2017 on Twitter





In mid-March 2017, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's new website went live. The changes have been more than purely visual.

RELAUNCH OF THE WEBSITE

Since the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's founding, the website www.rosalux.de has provided an overview of all activities. The events calendar, for example, features several thousand events annually, and there is a database containing all of our publications, recent reports, analyses, and comments by our authors. To properly organize and present all of this information, the online editorial department schedules regular relaunches, i.e. a general overhaul of the complete website. Following one year of preparatory work, in March 2017 we switched to the new website. The first step was to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the existing website and compile requests for modifications. The online editorial team's accumulated experience guided this process, as did the results of surveys conducted across the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's network. Staff and volunteers played multiple roles: as producers of web content, as editors, and of course as users who inform themselves through our website.

Technically, the most important issue was to integrate the management of events and addresses within the web content management system. Ultimately, the aim is a single workflow without the need to input data more than once, to manually transfer data to the event calendar, or to register participants and participation, as well as the later analysis of this data. A further aim was to unify the subscription functions for thematic info mails, newsletters and publications into a single system. Improving the internal search and filter functions of the website was a further important aspect high on the wish list of the online editorial team.

Workshops with the different departments produced typical user scenarios, which provided the basis for defining the de-

sign and content parameters more precisely. A priority for the online editorial team was to adapt the design and format of the website to new mobile reading habits. We expect the content of website to be reader-friendly and navigable on very different output devices such as desktop computers, tablets or mobile phones. This is called responsive design and means that the website selects different format templates depending on the screen size and then dynamically scales the content.

The new website was programmed by the Berlin-based *cosmo-blonde GmbH*, a company that has been contracted previously by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The agency won the contract in a public tender for the relaunch of the website. The site uses the open source software *Typo3* for its content management system, which we have used for some time. For this part of the project, the agency had around six months to develop the design and program the new system, while the online editorial team simultaneously needed to convert the complete online content in time to migrate to the new system.

In mid-March 2017, the website was successfully relaunched. This significantly more modern website presents content that combines significant innovations in terms of greater editorial focus, for example through thematic dossiers with greatly improved search functions for all available information. The new site has generated positive feedback. One year after the relaunch, a new record was established with around 220,000 visitors per month (and around 930,000 pages viewed). Naturally, further work is going into optimizing the functions and design of the website. Following the technological trend, our periodic relaunches are set to be replaced by continuous optimization, a procedure also known as "soft launch."



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 42 pages, ISSN 2193-5831

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 All publications, with the exception of those published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, are available for free download.

REPORTS FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

READ LUXEMBURG!

Few works have created such waves among the Left as the first edition of Rosa Luxemburg's 1918 manuscript, *The Russian Revolution*. For Lenin, Luxemburg's criticism of the course taken by the Bolsheviks following the October Revolution was her weakest work. For the GDR opposition in 1989, however, her famous quote "Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently" summarized their protest. In the following years, too, Rosa Luxemburg's concept of revolution and socialism was an important guiding theme for the transformation of the SED into the PDS party. For the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, in the year that marks the 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, this is a good enough reason to organize a joint reading of this text and discuss Luxemburg's positions.

A group of 15 people took up this challenge and worked through the four chapters of this unfinished work. The author makes it both easy and hard for readers. Anchored firmly as it is in the discussions that dominated at the time of its writing, the text is still not easy to understand today in spite of its clear structure. It is one of the first criticisms of the revolutions in Russia from within the Marxist tradition. Many of the events and people Rosa Luxemburg refers to are hardly known today, except maybe to specialists in the field. After 1919, both the communist and social-democratic currents made sure that the intensive debates on the revolution in the German Left during 1917/18 surrounding the Russians, on Bolshevik policies and also the responsibility of the German worker's movement for the course of events in Russia were erased from history. For both sides, the seriousness of the debate no longer befitted the framework of new mutual prejudices after the split of the German worker's movement.

This made it extremely important to explore the context of the work. Whilst reading the text, the project website (<http://luxemburg-lesen.blog.rosalux.de/>) was filled with additional materials. Moreover, Rosa Luxemburg experts Holger Politt and Jörn Schütrumpf were there to answer any questions. The seminar closed with a discussion on the question of Rosa Luxemburg and the GDR with the GDR opposition figure Klaus Wolfram. Between 1989 and 1993 he was a founding member of the Neues Forum and a cofounder of the Basisdruck publishing house. The discussion confirmed the relevance of the text for the discussions of 1989/90 as well as today. *The Russian Revolution* provides important insights concerning issues such as the importance of democracy for social change and the relation between the masses, the party, and party leadership.

500 YEARS OF REFORMATION

The 500th anniversary of the Reformation should be a date to consider fundamental changes to the system, at least in the face of the spread of poverty, war and terror, and the exacerbation of climate change and environmental degradation.

The official institutions however missed this opportunity: church and politics simply raised Luther high on a pedestal, pompously celebrating and marketing him. Controversial discussions, for example regarding Luther's condensation of the ten commandments in his catechism, his fatal siding with the authorities against the revolting peasants, or his unbiblical condemnation of Jews and Muslims, should not only have arisen naturally: they are absolutely necessary. Moreover, the official celebrations lacked a reference to the 500-year history of the Reformation movement, with its precursors such as John Wycliffe, Jan Huss or the Waldensians, but also Luther's "unloved brothers" — for example Thomas Müntzer.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's mission during "Luther year" quickly became clear: to separate the emancipatory heritage from the heritage serving to legitimize the ruling system and capitalism within the European Reformation movement and to discuss its relevance for society in today's struggles.

This was reflected in the variety of events and event formats. Titled "Reformation and Revolution – Luther, Müntzer, Marx," the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a discussion at the German Evangelical Church Assembly with the participation of Kacem Gharbi, a Muslim liberation theologian from Tunis. During the summer school at the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst in Wittenberg, Michael Brie from the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, the protestant theologian and social ethicist Ulrich Duchrow, the social ethicist Franz Segbers, and the Catholic theologian and cofounder of the Institute of Theology and Politics in Münster, Michael Ramminger, organized two seminars on the "Religion of Capitalism," a term coined by Karl Marx and Walter Benjamin. The work of the "Ideological dialogue" discussion group in cooperation with Kairos Europa — a Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung partner organization — led to the founding of the research project "Radicalizing the Reformation." Building on Luther's criticism of the selling of indulgences and the church as an institution, today the focus is on the reformation of a "money-driven civilization" (Duchrow) where well-being can be bought, as well as on the development of socio-political alternatives. The initial findings of this research project, to which over 40 theologians contributed, were presented and discussed during an event in Berlin's Emmauskirche. Wolfgang Kessler, editor in chief of *Publik-Forum*, Katja Strobel from the Institute for Theology and Politics in Münster, Ulrich Duchrow and Minister President Bodo Ramelow demanded: "Overcome Capitalism — with the Help of Luther, Marx and the Pope". During this event, Duchrow also presented his pamphlet by the same name, which was published by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in cooperation with the VSA publishing house.



On behalf of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Thomas Ebermann edited Luther Blissett's Reformation novel *Q* for a staged reading. The premiere took place on May 22, 2017 in Berlin.

Several evening events also took place in the salon of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, for example on indulgences in the post-growth society, on interest and usury, an event also attended by Thomas T. Müller from the international Thomas-Müntzer-Gesellschaft. The premiere of the Luther program by the actor and singer Gina Pietsch, attracting around 100 guests, is worth remembering. The evening not only acknowledged Luther for his impact but also highlighted his contradictions and hatred of Jews.

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Conclusion: the seminars, discussions and artistic contributions were Reformation-oriented, enlightening, and contentious. Further information on the topic and the "Ideological dialogue" discussion group is available here (in German): <http://religionskritik.blog.rosalux.de>.
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“THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING!”

STRATEGIES AGAINST AUTHORITARIANISM IN TURKEY

With increasing aggressiveness, Turkey’s President Erdogan has been expanding the power of his governing party (AKP) and strengthening his own position through the introduction of a so-called presidential system. Critical civil society voices and groups within parliament critical of the government face continuous repression. In many instances, the state has massively violated the rule of law and human rights and imposed severe restrictions on freedom of speech, the press, and assembly.

Against this backdrop, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2017 has continued and intensified its work on Turkey and organized numerous events. During the speakers’ tour on the presidential system in Turkey and the conflicts in Germany, the Kurdish politician Mehmet Hatip Dicle spoke about current developments such as the referendum on the constitution in April 2017 and its effect on the relation between the European Union and Turkey. He also reported on the highly problematic policies of the Turkish government toward Turkey’s

Kurdish population. With the series of discussions at the salon *Bu daha başlangıç – Das ist erst der Anfang! Strategien gegen Autoritarismus in der Türkei* (This is only the Beginning! Strategies Against Authoritarianism in Turkey), the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung established an important platform for experience-sharing between researchers, the media and social movement representatives interested in the developments in Turkey, in particular regarding the different forms of resistance that continue to exist in spite of generalized repression. Moreover, by providing support to *Off-University*, an online peace university, we supported the networking of critical academics. Finally, by continuously providing news, interviews, debates, and analyses, the online dossier on Turkey highlights current developments and their background from a transnational and emancipatory perspective.

In times where critics are putting themselves at risk in Turkey, support and solidarity are indispensable—for democratic progressive forces in Turkey as much as in Germany.

Traditionally the “Fest der Linken” takes place on Berlin’s Rosa-Luxemburg Platz in June.

In 2017 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a show by the political bard FiL and readings with Volker Kutscher and Raul Zelik.



“ROSA WOULD BE DELIGHTED”

BREAKING GROUND FOR THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG’S NEW BUILDING

Over eight years ago, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung began to consider the idea of its own publicly funded head office. After the German Parliament in summer 2014 agreed to provide a total of 20.4 million euros for an office building with space for events, the successful vendors in the public tender were chosen as early as by 2016: the architects KIM Nalleweg and Trujillo.

In August 2017, having been granted the building permit, tenders for the civil engineering works and shell construction were published, and on October 30, finally, the big moment came. During the symbolic ground-breaking ceremony, the chair of the RLS’S executive board Dagmar Enkelmann, the executive director Florian Weis, the team of architects—represented by Max Nalleweg—as well as the site manager Axel Krumrey all held the spade. Around 50 guests, among them the former head of the federal parliament’s budget committee Gesine Lötzsch, had accepted the invitation. The namesake of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung “would be delighted to see what is happening here,” Dagmar Enkelmann emphasized. Axel Krumrey highlighted a distinctive feature of this building site: as a left-wing institution, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

was very much interested in fair conditions for the workers during construction.

Together with the trade union for building, agriculture and environment (IG Bau), we succeeded in designating an ombudsperson for the building site, who regularly visits the site and can be contacted by workers.

The begin of civil engineering works by Züblin Wasserbau GmbH started with establishing contact with Deutsche Bahn, because a railway viaduct leading to Ostbahnhof station passes within 20 meters of the site. Moreover, building in Berlin means that groundwater is often only a few meters under your feet. Before inserting a waterproof floor of liquid concrete into the ground, the excavation pit was therefore secured with steel sheet piles. This required not only special technical skills but also time. Civil engineering was therefore only completed in February 2018. In parallel with the construction work, the architecture firm further developed the plans for the facade and windows of the new building to comply with sound insulation regulations. Meanwhile, back at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, building services and the events section of the new building were being hotly discussed. Toward the end of 2018 and early 2019, the shell of all ten stories of the new building should be completed. A grand inauguration ceremony for the new building is planned to take place on March 5, 2020, the 149th birthday of Rosa Luxemburg.

Symbolic ground-breaking (from left to right) with the building site manager Axel Krumrey, the architect Max Nalleweg, Florian Weis and Dagmar Enkelmann.



CHALLENGES IN TIMES OF CHANGE

“THE CRISIS CONSISTS PRECISELY IN THE FACT THAT THE OLD IS DYING AND THE NEW CANNOT BE BORN.”
(ANTONIO GRAMSCI)

Increasingly it seems that our society is caught in the midst of a deep crisis, which is sometimes more and sometimes less visible. We seem to be witnessing a change of era, a transformation that is different from yet as far-reaching as the one that occurred in 1989/91. Globalized capitalism is putting liberal democracy into question. Many of our warnings from back in the 1990s, for example regarding the dangers of an incomplete monetary union, deregulation and privatization, as well as war-oriented policies across the world, have proved true in frightening ways. An increasingly lean welfare state and a weakened parliamentary democracy are not being replaced by more comprehensive welfare and participatory models of politics, but rather—to the contrary—by growing right-wing populism and different forms of authoritarianism. The political Left, and therefore also the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, faces the challenge of having to defend liberal democracy and thereby stand together with the bourgeois-liberal and democratic-conservative elements in society. A fundamental prerequisite for this is to restore and strengthen social security, because for us liberal and social democracy are one. Apart from that, the political Left needs to distinguish and distance itself from the groups that defended the neoliberal path of the past decades and therefore discredited themselves for a large share of the population.

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These and related shifts in society and global upheavals have been a common theme in the content-focused debates conducted by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s board in recent years. Alongside social, physical and public security, the Board is convinced that the issues – and interpretation – of future world order conflicts, displacement and migration, right-wing and authoritarian developments and left-wing re-organization will remain crucial to the Left.

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The movement of refugees since the summer of 2015 has left Chancellor Merkel and the more modern section of the Union facing difficult decisions. Reaching out to refugees was a question that allowed latent social and cultural conflicts to surface. Conservative and authoritarian milieus in the middle classes, but also poorer and more marginalized population segments, felt threatened by the changes taking place in society and moved further to the right. These fears became obvious in the strong results of the AfD and FDP in the German elections of 2017. The gains achieved by the Left Party in cities stands in contrast to the party’s severe losses in East Germany. In rural areas in particular, as well as former industrial areas, the Left Party suffered losses compared with

2013 and even more significantly so since the 2009 elections. In these areas, the AfD did particularly well, and was able to achieve double-figure results at the national level. After the SPD’s decision to again enter a coalition government with the CDU/CSU and the overall low support for these three parties, the prospects for an SPD, Green Party and Left Party majority seem highly unlikely. For the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the question is therefore how to develop policies that in the long term can contribute to a shift in society.

Put simply, one could speak of a socio-political milieu that upholds a solidary, democratic and ecological mode of living. This has produced many new voters and new members for the Left Party during the last years, many of them urbanites and young people. This milieu is visible not least in the countless initiatives that welcomed refugees, citizens’ initiatives and the large number of social movements. However, it remains too small: concentrating on this segment of the population is not enough. For a broad alliance between the middle classes and below, the “lower” classes are underrepresented. The Left Party and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung are finding it increasingly difficult to approach the classical milieus of social democracy, the workers in industry and other crafts. We are finding it hard to develop topics, approaches, and forms of politics that would allow us to credibly posit ourselves as allies. The large number of non-voters is a non-homogeneous group. What we do know, however, is that the poorer and more marginalized non-voters in particular believe that questions of social injustice and social security are particularly important, yet they no longer believe that politics and politicians can provide solutions. The Left Party hardly reaches this milieu anymore, and is at risk of losing this voter stratum to the right-wing, or, even more likely, allowing them to become permanent non-voters, even though potentially they would be open to left-wing political notions. The Left Party and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung are not sufficiently anchored within the classical social-democratic worker or “popular” classes, the “squeezed middle” and those affected by precarity. We therefore need to make the shared interests and problems of the alliance between the middle and lower classes a subject of discussion—both more successfully and more frequently. Social justice is at the core of the left-wing “brand” and needs to be more pronounced to combat the neoliberal status quo, an authoritarian overhaul of society and radical right-wing, nationalist and racist mobilizations. By addressing shared interests and problems, the Left could actually strengthen a sense of “us,” breaking down the barriers between the academic and worker milieus.

We need to formulate shared interests and problems within a framework that makes powerful reference to feminism, environmentalism, diversity, and LGBTIQ issues. Simply asserting intersectionality, i.e. that all of these issues are somehow related, is not enough. In practice, it has become clear how hard it is to productively shift just two social structures of domination such as class and racism. False contradictions, for exam-



It is not only at its headquarters on Franz-Mehring-Platz in Berlin that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung flies its flag.

ple, between welfare and (alleged) identity politics must be overcome, without negating the underlying social tensions. Feminism and environmentalism are not just questions for an elite minority; they are questions that concern us all. Only by considering them together can the “knot” of multiple relations of domination be undone.

Achieving greater global stability and security without producing new forms of exclusion will require an internationalist struggle for global social rights. We are also conscious of the contradicting legitimate interests and that international justice must not be built at the cost of those in the richer countries who have achieved a certain level of wealth and security. An approach that takes social, cultural, and political rights seriously complements a class-based approach: both approaches aim to organize and jointly appropriate the social conditions of living. In our international work, too, an escalation of social questions can contribute toward a clearer profile. The key will be to productively work with colliding interests, such as those that are evident between global climate justice and social interests in Germany, or between the right to survival of small-

holder farmers in Bangladesh and the existential interests of coal miners, to develop just transitions.

A more pronounced profile of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in these fields not only increases recognizability but will also facilitate new joint projects with other actors at the (civil) society level. These targeted initiatives are indispensable for creating a basis to change the future direction of society. By combining academic analysis and practical experience, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has great potential to drive this process forward.

Julian Plenefisch, Florian Weis

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

In 2017, two years after it came into force, the internal conflict management agreement was evaluated, as had been previously agreed. Through the agreement the parties hoped to create internal mechanisms to constructively deal with conflict, implement a constructive, holistic and autonomous practice of conflict management, and put a particular focus on conflict prevention and early intervention.

The internal agreement created two new mechanisms for conflict resolution: the appointment of (a minimum of) two intermediaries and the establishment of an anti-discrimination office.

Over their two-year term, the intermediaries have shown their worth, in particular in terms of a low threshold for accessing conflict management. Very clearly, the intermediaries have enabled staff to avoid conflict less frequently, which means that conflicts have been put openly on the table more than usual.

Moreover, a coordinating body consisting of one intermediary, one board member, the head of human resources and a member of the works council was established that has two main functions:

1. Coordinating, managing and evaluating conflict management.
2. Finding collective solutions to complex conflicts escalated by individuals or committees. This is the last and highest instance within internal conflict management and therefore obligated to find a solution.

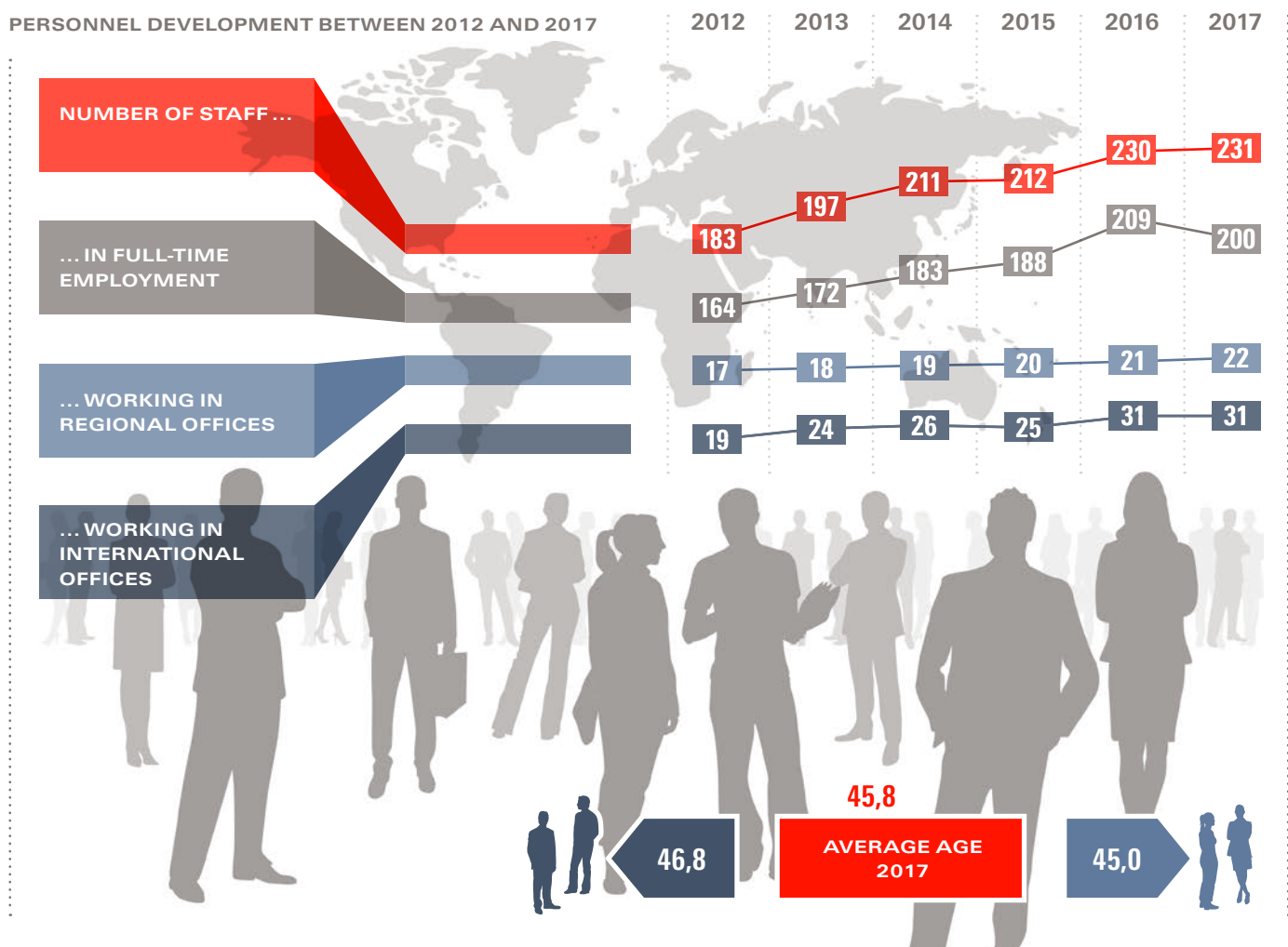
When a conflict arises, initial contact persons and committees are contacted in the following order: head of department, head of human resources or works council and intermediary.

Conclusion: the really new aspects established by the internal conflict management agreement are:

- the implementation of intermediaries that have proven their worth in terms of low threshold conflict regulation,
- the establishment of an anti-discrimination office which has so far not had to regulate a conflict, and
- the conflict management coordinating body, the highest instance of conflict regulation, which (so far) has also not been needed.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has welcomed the internal conflict management agreement, even if so far it has not been used for conflict regulation but rather has been beneficial in preventing conflicts and creating awareness of an institutional culture that is capable of conflict.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 2012 AND 2017



Percentage of total staff	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Staff (female)	56%	55%	56%	55%	56%	56%
Staff (male)	44%	45%	44%	45%	44%	44%
Staff from non-German families	15%	14%	15%	15%	16%	15%
Staff with permanent contracts	80%	77%	76%	78%	73%	81%
Part-time staff	20%	23%	24%	29%	30%	24%
Staff on parental leave	3%	3%	3%	3%	1%	3%
Apprentices, trainees and masters students	3%	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%
In passive phase of semi-retirement			1%	1%	2%	1%

Other forms of employment

Marginal part-time employment ¹	7	7	7	8	5	8
Interns ²	35	37	36	34	39	19

1 In accordance with the employment agreement and the Collective Agreement for Public Service Employees (TvöD)

2 The total number over the entire year. In accordance with the DGB's guidelines and those of the Left Party

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S STRUCTURE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The general assembly on December 2, 2017 focused on the upheavals of the political landscape and the related social developments in Germany as well as the challenges this poses to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Around two-thirds of the 130 members eligible to vote were present.

In her opening speech, the Chair of the executive board, Dagmar Enkelmann, looked back with satisfaction at the 27-year history of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Founded as an association of politically active academics following the failure of real socialism, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung today employs over 200 people, has established structures across Germany as well as offices in 20 countries, supervises over 1,000 scholarship holders, and reaches diverse target groups through different formats. She thanked the staff, most of whom consider their work not as a mere job but as political work, for the good reputation that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has gained.

Florian Weis, the executive director, emphasized the importance of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work across Germany and the regional organizations, which are the local face of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Around 80% of those that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung reaches come to events organized by the regional organizations, and he especially thanked their members and staff. Weis also provided an update on progress at the building site (see article).

The members praised the development of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, in particular in relation to political education, as well as its work on socio-ecological transition and care. Many, however, hoped for a stronger presence in the field of European political education.

Richard Detje and Joachim Bischoff (both members of the RLS) then presented the results of a survey co-financed by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and published by VSA on the political views of trade union members. One of the key findings was that the neoliberal restructuring of companies has in recent years promoted an authoritarian attitude and right-wing positions. Both trade unions and the Left Party need to work to counter this development by backing works councils and alleviating workers and employees from work-related pressures. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung admitted the following new members: Andreas Keller (deputy chair of GEW), Oliver Nachtwey (professor in Basel), Güldane Tokyürek (city councilor in Cologne) and Daniela Trochowski (state secretary in Brandenburg). Maria do Mar Castro Varela, Gerhard Richter and Christa Wichterich were elected as members of the scientific advisory board.



The minister president of Thuringia, Bodo Ramelow, during the general assembly of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung on December 2, 2017.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

FULL MEMBERS

Jan van Aken
 Marwa Al-Radwany
 Dr. Dietmar Bartsch
 Prof. Günter Benser
 Dr. Joachim Bischoff
 Steffen Bockhahn
 Dr. Marcel Bois
 Prof. Ulrich Brand
 Dr. André Brie
 Prof. Ulrich Brinkmann
 Sandra Brunner
 Christine Buchholz
 Prof. Michael Buckmiller
 Dr. Carolin Butterwegge
 Kate Cahoon
 Gerda Daenecke
 Daniela Dahn
 Prof. Alex Demirovič
 Prof. Frank Deppe
 Richard Detje
 Ulrike Detjen
 Sophie Dieckmann
 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann
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Wulf Gallert
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 Caren Lay
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 Dr. Florian Weis
 Janine Wissler
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 Dr. Evelin Wittich
 Dr. Ulrich Wolf

Ulrike Zerhau
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 Prof. Kurt Krambach
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 Prof. Manfred Neuhaus
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 mann

DORMANT MEMBERSHIPS

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 Dr. Marion Schüttrumpf
 Fanny Zeise

Last updated: March 2018

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD



DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN



DR. FLORIAN WEIS

Last updated: April 2018



JAN KORTE



HEINZ HILLEBRAND



SYBILLE STAMM



ULRIKE DETJEN



THOMAS HÄNDEL



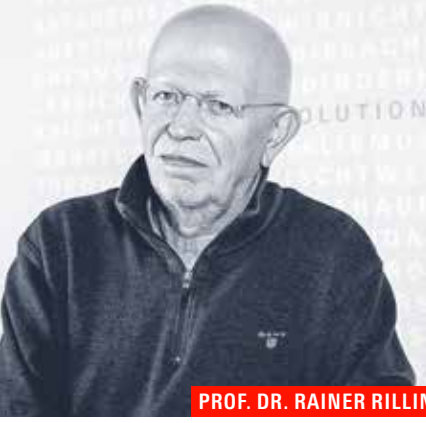
GABRIELE GÜN TANK



PROF. DR. DÖRTE PUTENSEN



DR. SABINE REINER



PROF. DR. RAINER RILLING



DR. BARBARA HÖLL



DR. DETLEF NAKATH



PEETER RAANE

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S EXECUTIVE BOARD

A POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The 14-member strong executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has an intensive workload. In 2017 the board met on eight occasions, three of which lasted several days. Between general assemblies, the board is the highest-level body of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and responsible for the principles of the RLS's work. In particular, this includes budget and staff planning decisions, as well as important personnel decisions (heads of department and foreign offices). The executive board is a political committee that analyses political developments and sets the long-term direction. The members of the executive board often discuss the current political situation and the impact it has on the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with the RLS's executive as well as guests from politics and academia.

At the heart of these debates this year was the rekindled power of right-wing populism, the state of Europe and the development of the Left Party. These stimulating discussions provided the groundwork for the conceptual planning of the RLS's work. Work in the field of class analysis, class politics, and right-wing populism was expanded; European and trade union policy received a clearer profile; and the social question again gained greater importance in the educational activities organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

With their voluntary commitment the members of the executive board enriched the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in other ways, too. They contributed to our work on history and international work, contributed to municipal and migration political education, participated in the organization of large events, prepared publications by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, encouraged communication with new partners and milieus, and further developed project guidelines and topic fields. In particular, networking and communication activities as well as contact with members of the association profited from their commitment.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

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

Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann (Chair of the executive board): born in 1956, historian; member of the German Parliament from 1990 to 1998 and 2005 to 2013, since 1998 a city councilor in Bernau close to Berlin; Chair of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2012.

Thomas Händel (Deputy Chair of the executive board): born in 1953, electronics engineer, studied at the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt University; between 1987 and 2012 several times di-

rector of the trade union IG Metall, founding member of WASG; since 2009 member of the European Parliament; since 2007 Deputy Chair of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Heinz Hillebrand: born in 1954, industrial manager, went on to study history, German studies and philosophy; founding member of WASG, head of the political education department at the head office of the Left Party; member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2012.

Dr. Barbara Höll: born in 1957, studied philosophy; from 1990 to 2002 and 2005 to 2013 member of the German Parliament; member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2014 and member of the executive board since 2016.

Jan Korte: born in 1977, studied history, sociology and political science; since 2005 member of the German Parliament; from 2013 to 2017 deputy chair and since 2017 head of the parliamentary faction of the Left Party; member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung 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 Brandenburg regional organisation; member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2014.

Prof. Dörte Putensen: born in 1949, historian; associate professor for general history of modernity at the University of Rostock, member of the executive board of the Brandenburg regional organisation from 2010 to 2014; member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2014.

Peeter Raane: born in 1941, studied business administration; since 1967 secretary for collective bargaining and member of the executive board of the trade union wood and plastics (IG Metall since 2000) and member of the executive board of the North Rhine Westphalia regional organisation from 2007 to 2012; member of the executive board since 2008.

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

Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling: born in 1945, studied political science, sociology and modern history; from 1983 to 1998 head of Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler, since 2002 associate professor of sociology at University of Marburg; since 2004 member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Sybille Stamm: born in 1945, political scientist; since 1973 trade union secretary, from 2001 to 2007 regional director of 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; since 2007 integration commissioner in Berlin's Tempelhof-Schöneberg district; since 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 by Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 1999, executive director since 2008.

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

The academic advisory board is responsible for supporting the academic work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the interface between research, education, and politics. In 2017, three new members were elected to the board: Prof. Maria do Mar Castro Varela, Dr. Gerhard Richter, and Dr. Christa Wichterich. The 19 members of the board convened three times in 2017 in Berlin.

During the first meeting on February 24, the board's thematic focuses, work mode and purpose were discussed. On June 16, Boris Kanzleiter (ZiD) and Johanna Busemer (Europe unit) presented the concept of global social rights, which is part of a broader discussion within the ZiD on how to organize work. A second focus of the meeting was the question of a new class politics.

During the closed seminar between November 17 and 18, Wolfgang Methling, the member of the German Parliament Sabine Leidig and Steffen Kühne from the Academy reported on the importance of socio-ecological transformation in the Left Party and its role in the decisions made by coalition governments. During the second part of the seminar, Markus Wissen presented his approach of an imperial mode of living that bridged questions of social ecology and a new class politics. A final and third focus was the question of the rise of right-wing populism, and Horst Kahrs (IfG) presented some of his theories. Katrin Schäfgen talked about the plans of the scholarship department to establish a graduate college on right-wing populism.

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

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

Associate Prof. Alex Demirović: head of the scientific advisory board, senior fellow at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis; research interests: social theory, democracy, and socialism.

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

Prof. Jörg Hafkemeyer: lecturer at Universität der Künste and Deutsche Journalistenschule in München; member of Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie.

Dr. Stefanie Hürtgen: politologist and labor sociologist; 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; co-editor of various journals (such as *SPW*) and book series (historical materialism); thematic focuses: political economy, Marxism, anti-capitalism.

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

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

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; tutor at the RLS.

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

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

Sarah Schilliger: research project "Migrant mobility, 'illegality' and racialization in European agricultural labor," 2016/17 visiting researcher at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at the University of Osnabrück.

Dr. Susanne Schultz: DFG project on "Demografisierung des Politischen. Eine intersektionale Analyse deutscher Familien- und Migrationspolitik seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre" (Demographics of the Political. An Intersectional Analysis of German Family and Immigration policies since the mid-1990s) at Goethe University, Frankfurt; a former member of the RLS's staff in the Latin American Department.

Dr. Thomas Seibert: philosopher and ethnologist; works with medico international; activist at attac and the Interventionist Left (IL); main research interest: 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 the Left Party; member of the Bundestag; spokesperson for the Left Party on financial issues.

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

Dr. Christa Wichterich: freelance author, lecturer at various German and foreign universities; research interests: development cooperation, in particular women's rights, gender justice, women's unions, domestic workers, rural development, potable water.

Prof. Dr. Markus Wissen: professor of social sciences with a focus on socio-ecological transformation processes at the Berlin School of Economics and Law.

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S DISCUSSION GROUPS

In 2017, there were 18 active Discussion Groups within the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, primarily developed out of volunteer-driven structures. Since 2007, they have established themselves as permanent forums for communication among experts and interested individuals to discuss both historically and currently relevant issues. Their mostly semi-public character creates safe spaces for sharing diverging perspectives. In spite of great similarities that are the result of incorporating volunteers, i.e. people from the political-intellectual milieu of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the Discussion Groups do nonetheless differ with regard to the questions they address, their structure and their specific weighting of public events

and internal communication. Some forums, such as the Economic Policy Discussion Group, which was newly founded in 2017, have a more internal function, but most of these circles prefer a combination of events with public visibility and discussions of relevant issues in a more closed circle. This is the case, for example, for the circles Feminism, Migration and Urban policy founded last year.

In general, 2017 was a year of innovations. With the new Education Policy Discussion Group, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung now operates at three levels in this field: the Discussion Group, salons, and conferences on relevant issues of education policy. Yet this was not the last innovation. In April 2018 the Socio-ecological Transformation Discussion Group was founded and a relaunch of the Rural Spaces Discussion Group is being considered in a form that meets today's needs.

LABOR LAW/LABOR CODE

Steffen Hultsch; hauptamtl. Ansprechpartnerin: Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

EDUCATION POLICY

Karl-Heinz Heinemann (heinemann@rls-nrw.de)

EUROPEAN POLITICS

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

FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org),
Katharina Pühl (katharina.puehl@rosalux.org)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Ingar Solty (ingar.solty@rosalux.org)

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (bernd.huettner@rosalux.org)

HISTORY OF THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke (cornelia.domaschke@rosalux.org)

TRADE UNIONS

Fanny Zeise (fanny.zeise@rosalux.org)

CLASS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Horst Kahrs (horst.kahrs@rosalux.org)

COLLEGE ACADEMIA/PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus, Klaus Meier; hauptamtl. Ansprechpartner:
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)

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Stefan Kalmring (stefan.kalmring@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)

IDEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE

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

ECONOMIC POLICY

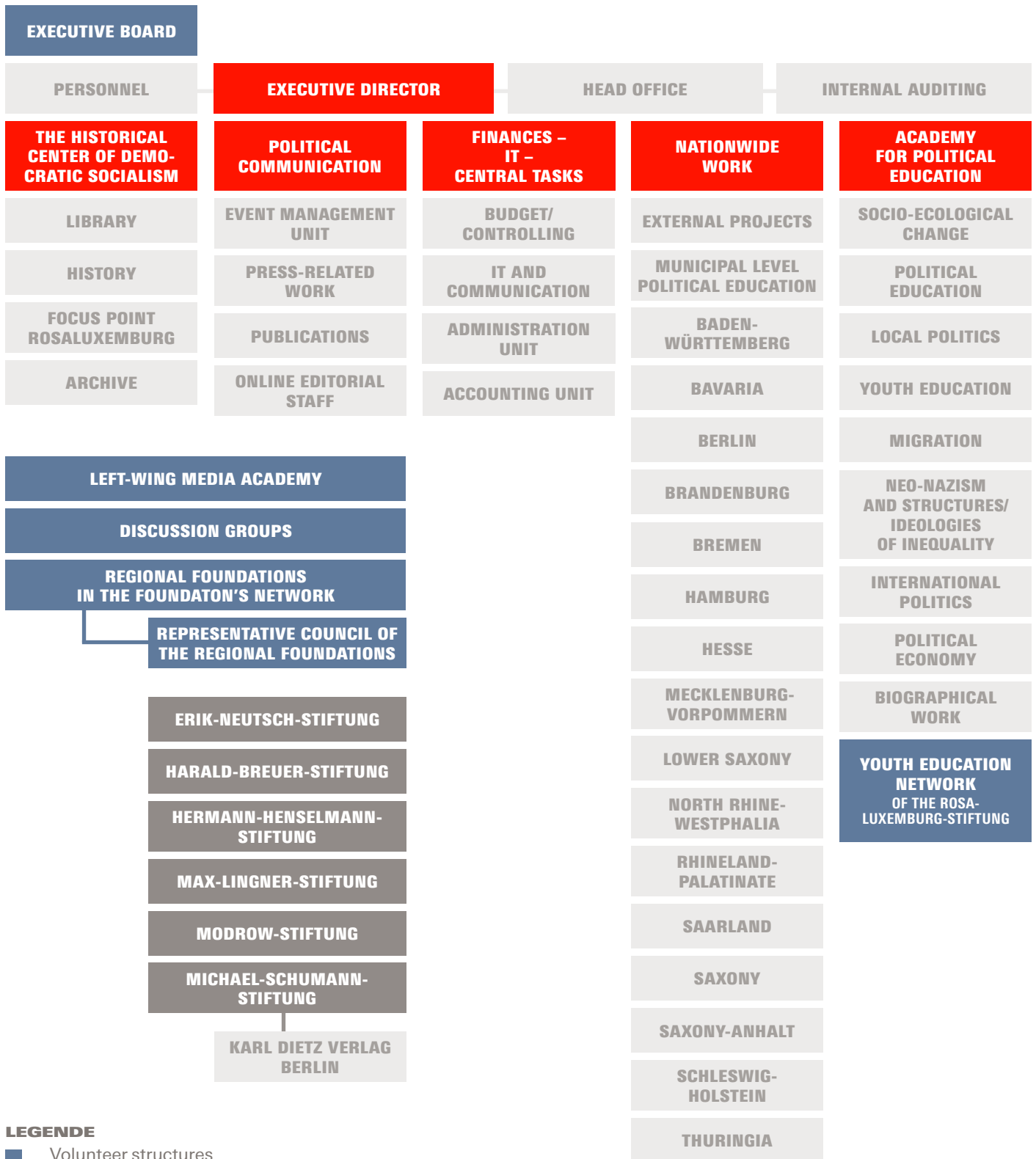
Axel Troost; hauptamtl. Ansprechpartner: Mario Candeias
(mario.candeias@rosalux.org)

OVERALL ADMINISTRATION OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

Last updated: May 2018

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LEGENDE

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

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

CONSTRUCTION UNIT

DATA PROTECTION OFFICER

WORKS COUNCIL
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

**INSTITUTE
FOR CRITICAL
SOCIAL ANALYSIS**

**SCHOLARSHIP
DEPARTMENT**

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

*LUXEMBOURG
JOURNAL*
EDITED BY THE
RLS EXECUTIVE BOARD

SUPPORT PROGRAM

STAFF UNITS

ALUMNI WORK

DEPARTMENTS/INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

**PARTIES AND
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

**ACADEMIC TUTORS
OF THE ROSA-
LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG**

**DEPARTMENT FOR GLOBAL
ISSUES AND SPECIAL FUNDS**

DEPARTMENT AMERICA/UN

**DEMOCRACY
AND STATE**

**FELLOWS' WORKING
GROUPS**

PROGRAM POSTINGS
**SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BEIRUT**
**AGRICULTURAL POLICY/FOOD
SOVEREIGNTY, JOHANNESBURG**
CLIMATE JUSTICE, MANILA

UN/NORTH AMERICA, NEW YORK

**THEORY AND
HISTORY
OF SOCIALIST
TRANSFORMATION**

**SELECTION
COMMITTEE**

DEPARTMENT AFRICA

**CENTRAL AMERICA/MEXICO,
MEXICO-CITY**

**SOLIDARITY-BASED
ECONOMY**

**ONLINE EDITORIAL
DEPARTMENT**

SOUTHERN AFRICA, JOHANNESBURG

DEPARTMENT EUROPE

**THE PUBLIC/
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL
STRUCTURE**

WEST AFRICA, DAKAR

EUROPEAN UNION BRUSSELS

CULTURAL FORUM

EAST AFRICA, DAR ES SALAAM

GREECE, ATHENS

**CLIMATE JUSTICE
AND
ENERGY DEMOCRACY**

NORTH AFRICA, TUNIS
**PROGRAM TO PROMOTE CRITICAL
RESEARCH AND TEACHING
IN NORTH AFRICA**

**EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE
WARSAW**

CZECH REPUBLIC

**FEMINIST ANALYSIS
OF SOCIETY AND
CAPITALISM**

ASIA/MIDDLE EAST DEPARTMENT

**RUSSIA/CENTRAL ASIA/
CAUCASUS, MOSCOW**

SOUTH EAST EUROPE, BELGRADE

**THE POLITICAL
ECONOMY OF
GLOBALIZATION**

ISRAEL, TEL AVIV

UKRAINE, KIEV

**SOCIAL
INFRASTRUCTURE**

PALESTINE, RAMALLAH

EAST ASIA, BEIJING

**PEACE AND
SECURITY POLICY**

SOUTH ASIA, NEW DELHI

**HOUSING AND
URBAN POLICY**

SOUTHEAST ASIA, HANOI

**TRADE UNIONS/
LABOR/PRODUCTION**

BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is the political foundation affiliated to the Left Party. Like the other party-affiliated foundations, it is mainly financed through Germany's federal budget. Specifically, it receives funds from the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), the Federal Foreign Office (AA), and the administration of the Bundestag. Only foundations that represent key and long-term intellectual-political currents in society receive funding. It is the Bundestag that defines what this exactly means.

In practice, an indicator for the permanent character of an important current has been that its affiliated party has repeatedly entered the Bundestag, at least once with enough votes to form a parliamentary group. The funds provided to the affiliated foundation are calculated based on the results achieved in the last four German parliamentary elections.

After the successful re-entry of the Left Party as a parliamentary group in the Bundestag in 2005 and an increase in votes received in 2009, the annual funding was gradually stepped up by the federal ministries to achieve parity with the foundations of the other parties. This ended in 2011.

Compared with 2010, funding increased from 30.6 million euros in 2010 to 62.1 million euros in 2017. By reporting its income and expense structure, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung fulfills its voluntary commitment as a political foundation to publish and ensure the transparency of funds used, as was agreed in a joint declaration by all party-affiliated foundations in 1998 and has since been practiced by all of these organizations.

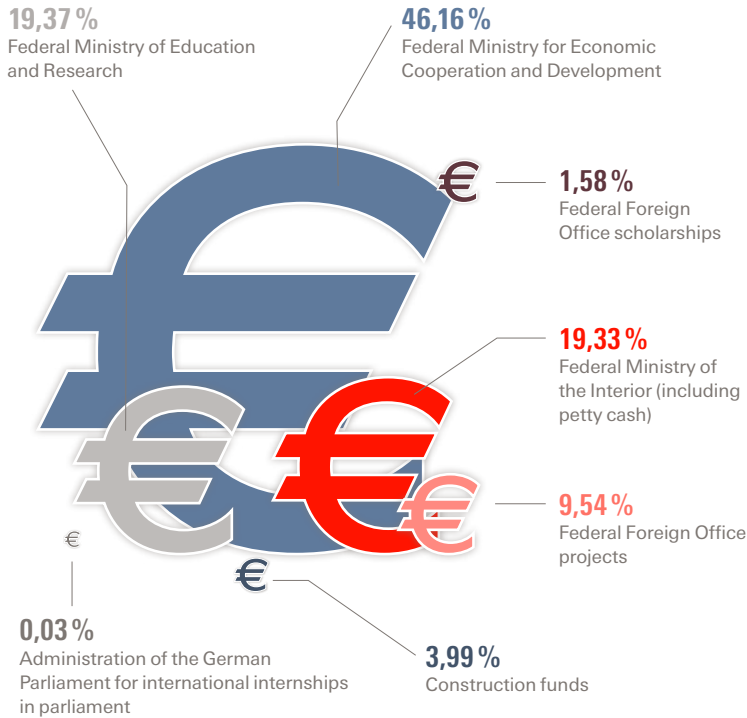
The lion's share of funding comes from the BMI (global funds), the BMZ, the BMBF, and the AA. Global funds provide the backbone for political education in Germany and for financing offices. The funds are used for seminars, conferences and colloquia, to buy teaching and learning materials, as well as to provide funding for research with a distinct socio-political focus, mainly in the field of education research.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung uses the BMZ and AA funds to maintain a network of international relations. This includes financing foreign offices, projects with partner organizations and events outside of Germany. BMBF funds are also used to provide for scholarships to talented graduate and PhD students.

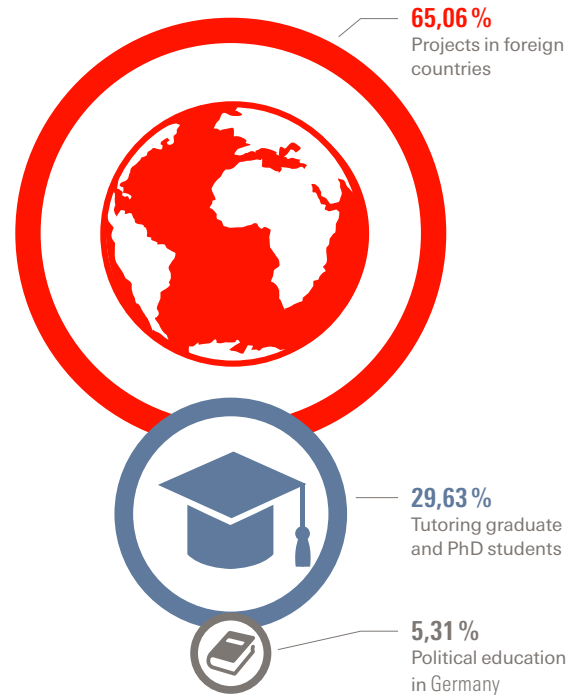
As well as these federal funds, foundations affiliated to political parties can apply for funding from federal state budgets. Within the network of national foundations, ten state-level associations use these funds.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to work in accordance with its statutes and remain independent in organization and staff from the party it is affiliated to. It is also barred from

FUNDING RECEIVED 2017



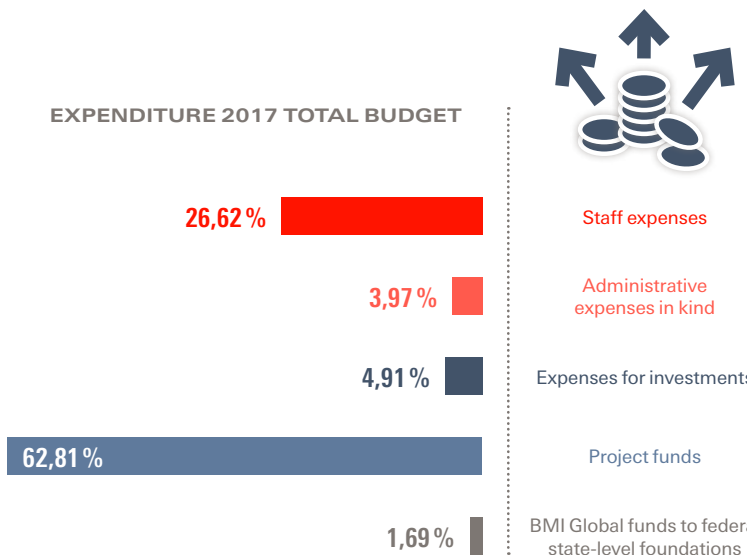
PROJECT FUNDS 2017



providing this party with funds or benefits-in-kind. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives its annual funds in the form of an allocation with clauses attached to ensure that funds are earmarked and their use can be controlled. As a political foundation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to have its economic management independently audited. For the business year 2016, the independent auditing company confirmed

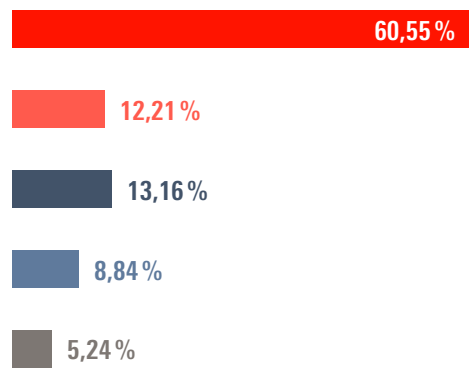
that the global funds stemming from the BMI, as well as the funding provided by other ministries to cover administration costs, have been spent efficiently and sparingly according to regulations and that requirements have been met. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put in place a control procedure with sufficient material and human resources to control compliance with funding regulations in a timely manner.

EXPENDITURE 2017 TOTAL BUDGET



EXPENSE STRUCTURE BUDGET FOR GERMANY 2017

BMI and funds to cover administration costs from the BMZ, AA and BMBF



BALANCE SHEET AS OF 31 DECEMBER 2016

Assets	December 31, 2016 in euros	December 31, 2015 in euros
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5.000,00	5.000,00
Data software	579.293,41	356.778,25
II Tangible assets		
Office equipment	670.685,31	732.102,71
Advance payments for assets under construction	0,00	4.080.452,48
III Financial assets	0,00	50.000,00
Investments	4.897.097,59	0,00
Total fixed assets	6.152.076,31	5.224.333,44
B Receivables and other assets		
I Other receivables	0,00	1.931.713,00
a) Independently generated revenue from the BMI	2.146.857,00	0,00
b) non-requested independently generated revenue from the BMI	-2.146.857,00	0,00
II Receivables from grants	100.000,00	0,00
III Other assets	196.163,17	160.383,64
Total receivables	296.163,17	2.092.096,64
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	2.683.577,87	2.055.363,42
D Accrued income	21.354,17	38.317,15
Total	9.153.171,52	9.410.110,65

Liabilities	December 31, 2016 in euros	December 31, 2015 in euros
A Net assets		
I As of previous year	333.541,12	285.325,49
Utilization amount from	-100.780,49	0,00
II Surplus/minus amount	27.723,73	48.215,63
III Savings	15.819,71	15.819,71
IV Savings	45.000,00	45.000,00
Total net assets	321.304,07	394.360,83
B Additional funds from grants	6.152.076,31	5.224.333,44
C Provisions		
Other provisions	444.691,43	539.091,86
D Liabilities		
I Liabilities credit institutions	5.035,25	2.471,71
II Trade account payables	1.630.151,96	1.407.680,37
III Other liabilities	178.003,99	25.007,97
Total liabilities	1.813.191,20	1.435.160,05
E Deferred income	421.908,51	1.817.164,47
Total	9.153.171,52	9.410.110,65

INCOME STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2016

	2016 in euros	2015 in euros
I Earnings	57.674.218,70	53.574.756,57
1 Donations from the state	57.200.662,65	53.452.060,87
2 Donations	62.857,25	9.241,00
3 Membership fees	14.675,00	14.897,50
4 Other revenue	52.883,00	98.557,20
5 Income from the reversal of the special reserves	343.140,80	0,00
II Expenses	-57.646.494,97	-53.526.540,94
1 Expenses from statutory activities	-38.536.676,33	-36.062.033,50
Conferences and seminars	0,00	-1.430.363,82
Publications	0,00	-565.436,93
Research projects	0,00	-427.600,83
Project funds global funds	-2.327.319,74	0,00
Referral of global funds	-1.196.406,61	-1.266.995,06
Scholarships for graduate and PhD students	-10.554.445,89	-10.459.351,14
International cooperation	-24.168.105,39	-21.277.175,18
Other project expenses	-290.398,70	-635.110,54
2 Staff expenses	-15.168.493,33	-13.971.835,16
Wages and salaries	-12.719.832,85	-11.530.664,64
Social expenses	-2.448.660,48	-2.441.170,52
3 Write-downs	-342.455,71	0,00
4 Administrative expenses in kind	-2.327.985,93	-2.687.744,99
Business requirements	-323.480,34	-491.702,15
Other administrative expenses in kind	-2.004.505,59	-2.196.042,84
5 Investments	-1.270.883,67	-804.927,29
III Annual surplus/minus amount	27.723,73	48.215,64

FUNDS RECEIVED 2017 (PROVISIONAL)

I Funds received in euros	62.059.917,40
1 Grants	62.013.350,08
Federal Ministry of the Interior (including independently generated revenue)	11.984.777,20
Federal Ministry of Education and Research	12.011.466,36
Administration of the German Parliament for international internships in parliament	18.376,45
Federal Foreign Office scholarships	977.000,00
Federal Foreign Office projects	5.914.700,00
Funds from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	28.630.560,00
Construction funds	2.476.470,07
2 Tax-neutral income/donations	40.943,90
3 Membership fees	16.897,50
4 Other revenue	87.609,06
5 Revenue deductions	-98.883,14

EXPENSES 2017 (PROVISIONAL)

II	Expenses in euros	-61.041.814,57
1	Staff expenses	-16.249.101,98
	Staff costs Germany	-11.934.121,33
	a) Wages and salaries	-13.708.579,06
	b) Social security contributions and other expenses	-2.540.522,92
2	Administrative expenses in kind	-5.415.429,92
2.1	Business expenses, equipment, consumables	-3.304.211,53
	Network, software, and system support	-165.880,28
	Maintenance and repair fees	-19.959,40
	Tools and small appliances	-25.154,13
	Office equipment and consumables	-29.418,08
	Equipment rentals	-68.914,44
	Allocation to the special reserve for investment	-2.994.885,20
2.2	Operation and maintenance of property and buildings	-13.064,14
	Road cleaning/winter road maintenance	-5.448,10
	Property tax	-7.616,04
2.3	Other administrative expenses in kind	-2.098.154,25
	Other expenses for staff	-163.364,29
	Rent and space costs	-870.111,30
	Insurance	-7.788,12
	Contributions and other expenses	-60.309,38
	External services work contracts administration	-415.410,54
	Advertising	-74.018,06
	Costs for representation	-28.226,08
	Hospitality costs	-4.896,16
	Travel costs (administration cost in kind)	-163.907,14
	Postage, telephone, internet	-125.271,44
	Journals, books, media	-42.579,82
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-83.709,76
	Costs of monetary transactions	-18.225,79
	Further expenses, fees, donations	-15.002,61
	Vehicle expenses	-11.814,43
	Other administrative expenses	-13.519,33
3	Project expenses	-39.377.282,67
	Project expenses BMI total	-1.742.491,53
	BMI global funds to third parties	-1.030.828,33
	Projects in foreign countries	-24.948.380,29
	Tutoring costs graduate and PhD students	-11.363.802,61
	Scholarships Germany	-10.536.374,00
	Scholarships outside of Germany	-810.637,19
	International internships in parliaments	-16.791,42
	Emotional support for scholarship holders	-264.549,99
	Other project expenses	-27.229,92

CLARIFICATION

In 2017 the following associations and foundations received global funds for their political and democratic education work:

- 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

OVERVIEW OF TOTAL EXPECTED REVENUE AND EXPENSES 2018

Revenue in euros*

Funds from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	11.260.000,00
Funds from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (anticipated)	12.050.000,00
Funds from the administration of the Bundestag for international parliament interns	20.000,00
Funds from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	30.198.000,00
Funds from the Federal Foreign Office for projects	5.916.000,00
in funds from the Federal Foreign Office for scholarships	964.000,00

* without independently generated revenues

Expenditure in euros (extract)

Staff costs	-16.000.000,00
Administrative expenses in kind	-2.600.000,00
including investments	-350.000,00
Project expenses (without permanent staff)	-41.783.000,00
Education program	-3.600.000,00
Scholarships	-10.500.000,00
International cooperation projects	-27.683.000,00

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CONTACT

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
Franz-Mehring-Platz 1
10243 Berlin
Tel. +49 30 44310-0
www.rosalux.de, info@rosalux.de

Unless indicated otherwise, all data and figures as of January 2018.

“In reality the bourgeoisie has only one method of settling the housing question after its fashion – that is to say, of settling it in such away that the solution continually poses the question anew.”

FRIEDRICH ENGELS