

**2022 ANNUAL REPORT**  
ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

# CONTENTS

<b>EDITORIAL</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>FOCUS: CAPPING PRICES AND TAXING PROFITS!</b>	<b>6</b>
2022: A Year Marked by War and Crises of Price and Distribution	6
Saxony-Anhalt: Debate Series on the War in Ukraine	8
<i>Short and Sweet</i>	10
<i>More and More Expensive!</i>	11
The Cost of Living — a Europe-Wide Comparison	11
Study on the Excess Profits Tax in Germany	12
Rents Should Not Be a Cause of Poverty	12
“Green Colonialism”?!	13
Publications on the Thematic Focus	14
International Energy Partnerships Under Criticism	15
Building Solidarity: How Can Social Justice Be Achieved in Times of Crisis?	15
<b>THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS</b>	<b>16</b>
Fighting Because We Care: Rethinking Current Health Policy	17
What Do We Want? Expropriation!	18
Exhibition — the Works of Brian Stauffer	19
LuXemburg 2022	20
Fellows	20
Studies on the Social-Ecological Transformation of Industry	21
<b>ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>Haymat Ost</i>	23
Economics for Everyone!	24
The Inkuvator	24
<i>L!NX</i>	25
<b>THE HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM</b>	<b>26</b>
Strategic Orientation of the Archive	27
Political Education on Contemporary History and the Politics of History	27
The Works of Rosa Luxemburg Online	28
The Library of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	28
<b>THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY</b>	<b>30</b>
Baden-Württemberg: In Rosa’s Shadow	32
Bavaria: Protesting a “Superseded Model”	32
Berlin: Pathways to Social-Ecological Transformation	33
Brandenburg: Colloquium on the 1972 Basic Treaty	33
Bremen: School Project Day on Social Justice	34
Hamburg: <i>White Thinking</i>	34
Hesse: Ten Years of Rojava	35
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania: 30 Years Since the Pogrom in Rostock-Lichtenhagen	35
Lower Saxony: The Trauma of “Sent Away” Children	36
North Rhine-Westphalia: “Glorious Harbinger of a New Society”	36
Rhineland-Palatinate: Punk Not Putin	37
Saarland: Monte Nativa — Dialogue with Nature	37
Saxony: “New” Political Obscurities	38
Saxony-Anhalt: Understanding History — Beyond Ideology	38
Schleswig-Holstein: Dock Workers against Arms Deliveries	39
Thuringia: The Hidden History of Critical Theory	39

<b>THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION</b>	<b>40</b>
Emergency Aid	41
The RLS Kyiv Office	42
Local Climate Conferences: From Communities, for Communities	43
Missed Opportunities: The Rejection of the New Chilean Constitution	44
Second Conference on African Economic and Monetary Sovereignty	44
Speakers' Tour: <i>Reclaim the Game!</i>	45
Our International Offices	46
<b>FUNDED PROJECTS</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT</b>	<b>62</b>
Second Alumni Study	64
Science and Activism	64
Affiliate Trustees	66
<b>POLITICAL COMMUNICATION</b>	<b>68</b>
Black Europe	69
A Busy Stand at the Book Fair	69
Getting the Left Out of its Bubble	70
Selected Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Publications	71
<b>DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG</b>	<b>72</b>
The RLS — A Left-Wing Think Tank	72
Opening Doors, Facilitating Encounters, Fostering Hospitality	74
The Organizational Development Process	76
Financing of the Politically-Aligned Stiftungen	77
<b>COMMITTEES</b>	<b>78</b>
The Meetings of the General Assembly	78
Members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	79
Members of the Executive Board	80
Work of the Executive Board	80
Members of the Academic Advisory Board	82
The Academic Advisory Board	82
The Discussion Groups	83
<b>CORE ADMINISTRATION</b>	<b>84</b>
Inclusion as a Cross-Departmental Task	85
Human Resources Development	85
The RLS Subsidiaries	86
Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung	87
The RLS Budget	88
Organizational Diagram	94
<b>IMAGE CREDITS/IMPRINT</b>	<b>96</b>

## EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

The annual report is our moment to look back over the year gone by. Since Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the daily news has been dominated by the destruction of cities and villages, the suffering and pain of the civilian population, stories of flight and forced displacement, and the debate on arms deliveries and sanctions.

The war has also played an important role in the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. In the first days of the war, workers and members of the RLS collected aid supplies and brought them to the Polish-Ukrainian border. We donated money, and looked after our local staff in the Kyiv office, helping them with specific issues. We also focused our work even more strongly on the topic of "War and Peace". Within a very short time, we produced texts and analysis, and published eyewitness reports and expert interviews, which we compiled in an online dossier. With almost 40,000 views, this was our most accessed dossier in 2022, and we are constantly expanding and updating it. Our demand is displayed on our Berlin headquarters, too, and can be seen from afar: "Die Waffen nieder!" (Lay down your weapons!).

As a result of the war, crises and class antagonisms have intensified. Food, electricity, heating — the cost of living has risen sharply. Meanwhile, some are profiting from the war and the crisis: weapons manufacturers and large energy companies are enjoying increased revenue. But while other countries — Spain, for example — are siphoning off this excess revenue to mitigate the worst effects of the crisis on low-income earners, families with children, and people living on pensions, the German government has been hesitant. Based on studies and surveys, our analyses show that many people feel threatened by poverty and most of the population is in favour of redistribution and of introducing a wealth tax. The focus of this annual report is on precisely these issues.

In 2022, our work on political education and social analysis once again revolved around major issues such as climate justice and the social-ecological transformation, peace and geopolitical challenges, the "society of the many" and the fight against the right, as well as social infrastructures, social rights, and the struggle for justice and its connection with the development of social labour. Once again, we were able to reach a broad audience and highlight certain topics through individual projects. One of the most successful projects of the RLS, which touched on several of these issues at once, looked at the controversial 2022 World Cup in Qatar under the title *Reclaim the Game!*

In the run-up to the World Cup, the Centre for International Dialogue, in cooperation with the regional branches of the RLS, organized a Speakers' Tour with migrant workers from Kenya and Nepal, who reported from their own experience



Heinz Bierbaum and Daniela Trochowski.

on the inhumane working conditions on the World Cup construction sites and the general conditions in Qatar. An online dossier shed light on other problematic aspects of the event, such as sportswashing and environmental damage.

*L/IX*, the new digital education platform of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, has been online since last year. With its interactive, multimedia, and short formats, it is not only aimed at educators and multipliers, but also invites people to start politically educating themselves. Its content touches on a broad range of topics, such as globalization and trade, history and culture, economy and labour, anti-racism and anti-fascism, migration, organizing, climate justice, and food sovereignty. The platform is also intended as a place where educators and multipliers can source materials and content for their own workshops and seminars.

The project *Wohnen. Stadt. Gesellschaft* (Housing.City.Society), which focuses on affordable housing and habitable cities, was successfully continued in 2022. The RLS participated in a major conference on the socialization question in May, followed and assessed the work of the Berlin Senate's expert commission on socialization, and analysed the crisis of the financialized housing market caused by plummeting share prices and decreasing market values. A volume published in the *luxemburg argumente* series critically examines myths and facts about the socialization of housing.

2022 was also the year the pandemic faded out. This ushered in a new normal for the daily work of the RLS — both regarding the balance between remote and face-to-face work, and in terms of our events. Remote work and digital event formats have now become an integral part of our work. Before the coronavirus pandemic, we hosted well-attended events almost every day: conferences, readings, panel discussions, film evenings — everything took place face-to-face. Nowadays, hybrid formats are the norm, and their organization and execution pose new kinds of challenges. With more than 150 attendees on site and hundreds online, the left-wing influencing conference was a good example of

these. Even the RLS general assembly, including the election of a new Executive Board, was a hybrid event. In this case we broke new ground, as all members had to vote digitally. On balance, we saved time voting, but also realized that, for all the advantages of digitalization, direct contact and face-to-face meetings are crucial. Now that new Executive Board is in office, it will continue to refine the RLS's strategic direction and complete the organizational development process.

As the analysis of social development and the search for strategic starting points for socialist politics are central for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, what we call *Zeitdiagnose* (diagnosis of the times) will play a greater part in the Executive Board's work in future. According to a representative survey conducted by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in April 2022, Die Linke's voting potential is still at 18 percent, i.e. almost a fifth of all eligible voters or about 10.8 million people. This potential is still highest among voters on low incomes: 22 percent among households with a net monthly income of up to 1,500 euros and 24 percent among households with an income of up to 2,500 euros. Especially in times of crisis and upheaval, a political force of solidarity is urgently needed. An RLS working group formulated ten challenges for a revival of Die Linke, grounded in solidarity. These were published in June, and we will continue discussing them through 2023.

Dear readers,

Not only the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung but also its namesake have arrived in the twenty-first century. Since November 2022, the writings of Rosa Luxemburg can be accessed online. This comprehensive and — most importantly — freely available digital edition will help readers discover Luxemburg anew or for the first time, and will make it easier to use her thinking to analyse and critique our current conditions. Luxemburg's works can now be explored using a full-text search, which provides references for the search results with a simple click of the mouse. The digital edition of Rosa Luxemburg's writings was published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin.

We hope you enjoy reading the 2022 Annual Report, and to see you at one of our events or on our social channels in the near future.

**HEINZ BIERBAUM**  
Chair of the Executive Board

**DANIELA TROCHOWSKI**  
Executive Director

## **FOCUS: CAPPING PRICES AND TAXING PROFITS!**

### **2022: A YEAR MARKED BY WAR AND CRISES OF PRICE AND DISTRIBUTION**

As the pandemic subsided through 2021 and prices slowly rose, a debate began in Germany about the threat of inflation. The consensus at the time was that inflation would increase due to the strengthening global economy, the resulting spike in demand for energy (itself unsustainable), problems with international supply chains, and the exceptional statistical effects of these factors. However, an abatement of this increase was expected over the course of 2022.

Then — in the course of the disputes over the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline, and months prior to Russia's invasion of Ukraine — the issue of gas supply came to a head: Gazprom, the state-owned Russian oil and gas company, cut back its gas exports to the European market; meanwhile, in part due to a particularly cold winter, German storage levels were low. The result was a significant increase in the price of fossil fuels before the war had even begun.

Predictions about the end of inflation were finally trashed by the Russian invasion on the 24 February 2022. As a result of the war, the price of crude oil and natural gas continued to skyrocket, with the price of electricity following suit due to its interconnection with the price of oil and gas. Existing supply bottlenecks in the global economy also worsened. This contraction of supply and the upswing in prices on the international markets for energy and many other products gradually began to manifest in the prices of most goods. Many services became more expensive also, although the upward trend here was slower. The situation was worsened by finance market speculation and monopoly-minded economic actors. With this, a debate about inflation, its social consequences, and ways to mitigate it returned to the political discourse with a vengeance.

The upshot is that we now find ourselves in an acute crisis of distribution. Foodbanks report record numbers of users and even that they are having to turn people away. Real incomes sunk by 4 percent in 2022, adding to the loss in income from 2020 and 2021. Even public sector collective wage agreements are unable fully compensate workers for the decline in real wages. The November 2022 wage increase agreement for metal and electrical industry workers already demonstrated that wage increases were not able to compensate for the loss of purchasing power.

Inflation is hitting the lowest-income workers, poor pensioners, students, the unemployed, and refugees the hardest, regardless of family status. Poorer households have to spend a comparatively higher percentage of their income on energy



People affected by poverty protest in front of the Federal Chancellery in Berlin, October 2022.

and on food — which has risen particularly sharply in price — than richer households do. Poorer households also often live in homes that are inadequately renovated, and are unable to afford the newest energy-efficient models of goods like home appliances and cars. By February 2022, we at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung were already organizing discussions around these developments in an event with Ulrich Schneider from the Paritätischer Gesamtverband, Christoph Schmitz from the ver.di Federal Executive Board, and others.

The need for elucidation was immense this past year — whether regarding the causes, consequences, and measures taken against inflation; or the connection between war, the energy price crisis, and general inflation; the consequences both for prices and for the Earth’s climate in trying to reduce German dependence on Russian natural gas on the one hand while expanding the use of liquefied natural gas terminals on the other; or how the various energy price caps put in place across Europe actually work. The RLS met this need with events, publications, and extensive online content. We also interrogated popular theories of inflation from a critical perspective, for example with regard to the Monetarist notion that the European Central Bank could meaningfully combat

inflation with a strict interest rate policy. As the current inflation has been driven by a supply crisis (mainly triggered by an energy shortage) and not, as alleged, by a sudden influx of money boosting prices, interest rate hikes can do very little to combat it. Furthermore, interest rate increases run the risk of causing more damage by choking off the economy with more expensive credit and driving up unemployment as a result. In the past year we also particularly focused on the social consequences of inflation. As our reports show, while government relief packages and energy price caps have been or are expected to mitigate some of the worst effects of the crises, they have been neither targeted and sufficient, nor rapid enough coming, to alleviate hardship in any significant way. What we describe in texts is bitter everyday reality for some. School and pre-school teachers are reporting that growing numbers of children come to school hungry; advice and drop-in centres across the country are seeing people in despair. Our figures also show that many have had to significantly reduce their daily spending. According to a survey from December 2022 commissioned by the RLS, 62 percent of all respondents are unable to maintain their prior standard of living, falling short by 50 euros every month; some respondents reported



a shortage of 250 euros or more. It is clear that the effects of inflation will further exacerbate poverty in Germany and around the world, especially as no significant decline in inflation can be expected in the near future. We are forced to assume that higher prices are the “new normal”.

Already as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the official number of people below the poverty line in Germany rapidly rose by around 840,000, to 14.1 million in 2021. For many, the current pressures only add to pre-existing hardships, whether due to consistently under-calculated benefit rates — in no wise affected by the newly introduced Bürgergeld (“citizens’ money”) — or to rising rents and an insufficiently regulated housing market, something that we at the RLS have been pushing against for many years. The financial privation is not just affecting individuals, but also the social, cultural, and sporting facilities that provide assistance to communities and sustain everyday municipal infrastructure. These are having to cut back some of their usual services.

Conversely, as our widely reported study from August 2022 on crisis-related excess profit and the feasibility of an excess-profit tax demonstrated, many financial institutions, their board members, and shareholders saw very high returns as a result of the crisis. According to OXFAM, in 2022 the 95 largest food and energy companies in the world generated USD 306 billion in excess profit, paying out 85 percent, or USD 257 billion, to shareholders. This upward redistribution of wealth is occurring at dizzying speed and on a shocking scale — while most people are having to pinch pennies and the social infrastructure collapses.

The answer to escalating inequality and inflation must be to cap prices and restrict profits — especially when concerning basic necessities like food, energy, and rent — to limit the pricing power of monopolies, limit the opportunities for speculation, and consistently reduce excess profits across diverse sectors. Furthermore, wealth and inheritance must finally be subject to appropriate taxation.

Right now, such reforms are a long way off. In view of the skyrocketing profits, the German government did implement an EU regulation and thereby enact a levy on “excess revenue” (Überschusserlösen) in the electricity sector, as well as imposing an EU crisis contribution on oil, gas, coal, and refinery companies. Yet as our analyses have made clear, after significant lobbying pressure from the energy sector the regulations put in place have been so weakened that excess profits will only be negligibly taxed in the fossil fuel sector and in the electricity sector not at all. Fairer taxation of the wealthy, or even the abolition or temporary suspension of the debt brake, which has tended to limit much needed investment in social and environmental restructuring, do not appear to be on the cards. All of these measures would be necessary to create more social justice and make everyday life in both town and country more liveable: this would also take the wind out of the sails of growing right-wing movements, undermining their slogans and mobilization.

Our mission at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is to point out politically and socially just alternatives to the status quo. That is why in 2022 we criticized right-wing movements and supported emancipatory movements and activists from Germany and across Europe who were protesting and demanding a fairer deal. In October 2022, at a large conference on socialization, we raised questions about the political potential of demands to socialize industries, not just housing but the energy sector as well. We also highlighted examples of better practice by other governments, such as the Spanish government’s rapid response to the present crisis. On the initiative of left-wing political party Unidas Podemos, Spain quickly introduced a comprehensive excess profit tax and a wealth tax. The significantly lower inflation rates in Spain, and also in France, indicate that meaningful price caps, introduced early, play an important role in mitigating inflation.

The tentative debates about price caps, and measures to prevent price shocks from escalating, need to be systematized. While strategic price caps are not enough to hold off inflation on their own, in times of war, inflation, climate change, and foreseeable further crises — including crises of supply — price caps can be an important part of an inflation plan. They can help to prevent increasing inequality or the rapid growth of public debt, buying time for governments to develop and implement more sustainable measures. In 2023, the RLS will continue to work for a fairer distribution of wealth, a sustainable and thus more democratic restructuring of our economy and society, and for juster global economic relations. On the following pages, we have included some examples of projects we undertook in 2022. We are grateful for your continued support and involvement with our work.

### **SAXONY-ANHALT: DEBATE SERIES ON THE WAR IN UKRAINE**

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has caused many casualties and boundless suffering. Its effects, including the knock-on effects of EU sanctions against Russia and a restricted supply of Russian gas, are also being felt here in Germany. By November 2022, many households had received their increased electricity and gas bills. In addition, the price of food had gone up significantly and food banks were experiencing shortages that meant they were unable to provide food for their constantly growing number of users. These are all reasons why the Saxony-Anhalt office organized a series of debates focused on the war and its consequences.

What does the energy crisis mean for private households, small businesses, associations, and social services? Uwe Witt, RLS Senior Advisor for social-ecological transformation, was invited to discuss these issues on the 7 November 2022

in a talk on the energy price explosion, its background, and possible solutions (*Energiepreisexplosion – Hintergründe, Fakten, Lösungsvorschläge*).

Before the war, Germany got over 55 percent of its gas from Russia. Despite the fact that Russian gas supplies to Germany were cut off, Witt did not foresee any issues with supply for the winter and instead focused on concerns around cost. Witt informed the audience of the electricity and gas price brake that the Bundestag would put to a vote in December, and detailed the holes in the planned price break structure.

This explanation was followed by comprehensive observations on the gas and electricity markets. Unexpectedly, because of a mild autumn, savings efforts, and alternative gas supplies, there were well-filled gas storage facilities and even a slight surplus on the gas market, with tankers full of liquefied natural gas (LNG) waiting at anchor by the beginning of winter. As Witt suggested, the real challenge was filling the tanks again for winter 2023–24 without access to Russian pipeline gas. Witt also highlighted that the energy crisis resulted in

enormous profit for the fossil fuel industry and exacerbated exploitation in other countries. Furthermore, LNG is not an environmentally friendly fuel, as it is obtained by fracking; and as Witt pointed out, poorer countries are hardly able to compete with the EU over the price of LNG, meaning that they too would be plunged into an energy crisis. Even so, a limited number of chartered LNG terminals would be useful. Witt warned, however, that establishing permanent LNG terminals could jeopardize the achievement of climate goals, and that too extensive an expansion of LNG terminals in Germany would lead to a new form of dependence.

The attendees took an active part in the discussion, which focused on topics like the effects of the energy crisis on Germany as a location for business, and the lack of government solutions to provide energy for hospitals, care facilities, and cultural institutions. The consensus was for urgent rectification in this regard. In addition, the attack on the Nord Stream pipelines were animatedly discussed, as was the possibility of ending the war via diplomatic negotiation.

Canadians protest fracking at the German embassy in Ottawa, August 2022.





Energy market design prices cheaper wind power on a par with expensive energy from gas power plants.

### **SHORT AND SWEET**

#### A NEW RESPONSE TO THE ENERGY CRISIS AND INFLATION

The energy crisis resulting from the war in Ukraine also presented a challenge for the educational work of the RLS. What are the meanings and contexts of terms like “merit order”, “LNG terminal”, and “excess profit tax”? Why does the latter, as implemented by the federal government, amount to nothing much? If gas prices are going up, why are electricity prices going up too? Why did the planned gas levy fail? How do the energy price brakes work in detail, and where are they failing? Or more succinctly — how does inflation actually occur, what drives it, who profits, and who suffers?

To work through these and other related questions, we formed an ad hoc working group in the summer of 2022, with the intention of developing an online publication format that would explain and critically classify both the energy crisis and its causes. The result is a series of texts that have been published at irregular intervals on the RLS homepage.

Not all the texts were as concise or brief as was initially planned. Unfortunately, some interrelationships are so complex, whether technically or economically, that too-short summaries end up being no more illuminating than what can be found in the daily newspapers — which are insufficient precisely for many people with a political bent. If you visit the website

of a left-wing foundation, you might expect to find texts that elaborate substantially on the social and ecological aspects of a political process — a legislative proposal, for example — or of an economic instrument or a technical innovation. You might even expect a good explanation, some broader context for the matter at hand, and predictions about its future. The tension between in-depth analysis and accessible up-to-date shorter formats that results from these requirements touches on fundamental issues: is it even possible to translate complex theory into everyday language without engaging in populist oversimplifications? Especially as regards basic technical understanding, there is an enormous need to catch up. Electricity does not just come from the plug socket, as a matter of fact.

The RLS will continue its programme of “translating” politically controversial and technically complex topics of the day into accessible texts that provide a basis for well-informed arguments. The series is not aimed at an expert audience, but rather at informed readers who are looking to experience the “aha effect” but who do not necessarily want to read an entire study. Links to sources, related articles, and studies by third parties provide more in-depth insights for those interested. Social media “marketing” widens the reach of the series. In future, this reach will no doubt be expanded even further, the closer the texts and graphic elements come to fulfilling the *Kurz & bündig* brief.



**MORE AND MORE EXPENSIVE!**

OUR FAQs ABOUT INFLATION  
AND THE ENERGY CRISIS

After a long period of complaint in the West about a lack of inflation, for some time now we have been confronted by a general and significant increase in the price of goods. The first price increases were seen in the energy sector, in the autumn of 2021. With the start of the war in Ukraine and in the wake of supply bottlenecks, particularly in China, the price of many goods rose sharply. But what is inflation, actually? What causes it? Who benefits from it and who suffers? And what can we do about it? The problem of inflation affects almost everyone, so we have provided concise answers to these questions and others in our *More and More Expensive!* FAQ.

You can find the FAQ on our new digital platform, *L!NX*, which we are using to make complex issues more accessible and offer guidance on important issues from a left-wing perspective. We are of the opinion that as poorer households are more seriously affected by inflation, they should also get the most relief. Companies and well-off households, which feel the effects of inflation less or hardly at all, should not benefit from relief measures. And large companies, for whom increased prices actually mean higher profits, should be taxed heavily.

From this perspective, we use the FAQ to detail the pertinent criticisms of government policies, and what measures are being suggested from the left to halt increasing poverty. We pin down how trade union demands for higher wages affect inflation, and explain the problems inflation creates for the already fraught rental and housing market.

**THE COST OF LIVING:  
A EUROPE-WIDE COMPARISON**

As a result of the neoliberal economic policies that defined the last few decades, rising costs of living across Europe were already a problem long before COVID-19 or the war in Ukraine. The rising prices of goods, fuelled by the energy crisis, furthered inequality and exacerbated the already existing social crisis in Europe.

It was against this background that in autumn 2022 the RLS office in Brussels began a comparative study of the cost of living in ten EU member states. The project *European Mapping of the Cost of Living Crisis* was created in collaboration with the climate justice group *Gastivists* and the NGO *Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)*, which exposes the influence of corporations and their lobby groups on EU policy. To capture a snapshot of this emergent crisis, a map and extensive database of various socio-economic factors was created. With detailed information about various indicators such as electricity and gas prices, energy poverty, and levels of unemployment, the map provides the basis for a comparison of various national contexts and an overview of the situation on the entire continent. The map also shows what steps the respective governments have taken to mitigate the crisis. Whether these measures turn out to be more far-reaching or make more sense in terms of social, distributive, and climate policy in one country than in another demonstrates that who is in government does make a difference.

Spain provides a good example of what a more solidarity-based approach to a crisis can achieve. Spain's centre-left government, composed of the Socialist Party (PSOE) and the left-wing alliance *Unidas Podemos* (made up of the United Left and *Podemos*), reacted by introducing an excess profits tax on the energy and banking sectors in summer and autumn 2022.

Protest against inflation and the cost of living crisis, France, October 2022.



In December, the wealth tax was also amended, and a temporary tax on those with net assets of more than three million euros introduced. The government is using the additional revenue from these taxes to finance a price cap on gas and to make local and long-distance public transport cheaper or in some cases even free. The resulting reduction of vehicle traffic not only saves on fuel but also on greenhouse gas emissions. To examine this response, and whether it would work in a German context, the RLS Brussels office produced the study *Capping Prices, Taxing Profits: An Analysis of the Spanish Government's Response to the Cost of Living Crisis*.

Together with Portugal, Spain also advocated for European solutions to the crisis. In the end, the EU Commission based its own minimum framework on taxing excess profits on the models of other member countries, like Italy, Greece, Romania, and Hungary. The measures Spain took are, in comparison with the EU and many member states, more focused on social justice.

NGOs across the EU have joined forces with social movements and trade unions to contribute their own demands and proposals on how to address the escalating cost of living. The Europe-wide mapping of the crisis is a tool that provides left-wing actors with an easily accessible overview of comparative figures and policy responses. In 2023, we plan to expand the countries being surveyed and update the data.

.....  
You can find the map here: <https://cost-of-livingcrisis.com/>.  
.....

**MILESTONES IN PUBLIC DEBATE: OUR STUDY ON THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX IN GERMANY**

In the summer of 2022, a debate raged in the German political world and media over whether a tax on excess profits in the energy sector made sense as a way of generating resources with which to combat the energy and cost of living crises. The FDP, members of the traffic light coalition, continually blocked an excess profits tax, and Federal Minister of Finance Christian Lindner argued that it was not possible to officially confirm that excess profits existed at all.

In this heated situation, the RLS commissioned the study *Kriegsgewinne besteuern*, on the taxing of war profits, as a contribution to the ongoing debate. This was a line drawn in the sand: for the first time, the study made calculations available showing that an excess profit tax could generate 30–100 billion euros per year for the German government, depending on its concrete implementation. With this study, we pursued agenda-setting in the truest sense.

The study not only provides important figures but also concisely categorizes both the different bases on which our neighbour countries levy their excess profits taxes and the



The TOTAL oil refinery in Leuna, Saxony-Anhalt, lit up at night.

advantages and disadvantages of these models. In addition, the study analyses the most common arguments against an excess profit tax and suggests how such a tax should be implemented to access the profits of international oil and gas companies.

However, the mechanisms that were ultimately introduced to skim off excess profits were a failure, because the energy prices have since fallen and the upper limits for profits are set too high. The issue of just taxation policy thus remains as pressing as ever!

**RENTS SHOULD NOT BE A CAUSE OF POVERTY**

Half of all tenants in German cities live in apartments that are too expensive, while more than one in ten pays over half their monthly income to their landlord. Inflation has further fuelled spiking in rents, in part because landlords continue to raise rents in line with the inflation of the price of consumer goods. In addition to this, the shrinking of real wage value is turning rising housing costs into a poverty risk.

For years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been publishing studies focused on rent and housing, supporting the tenants' movement, and developing alternatives to the profit-driven housing market. The study *Socializing Housing Cuts the Rent* from 2022 shows, for example, how beneficial to renters it would be if private landlords managed housing economically in the same way as public authorities. The socialization of housing companies with over 3000 units was supported by a large majority in a referendum in Berlin in September 2021, but its implementation is politically controversial and legally complicated. We have kept pace with these debates with publications, like *Enteignung schafft keine einzige Wohnung* (Socialization Creates No New Housing), in which we critique popular objections to socialization, a *Besitz ergreifen* (Seize Property) special issue of the journal *LuXemburg*, and our analysis of the Berlin Senate's expert commission interim report



Deutsche Wohnen & Co. Enteignen hosted a Berlin conference on the expropriation of large housing concerns.

on the implementation of the referendum. In addition, we co-organized two major conferences in 2022, an expropriation conference in May and a socialization congress in October.

As demonstrated by our rent cap portal launched in February 2022, the federal government could end the housing crisis immediately with a nationwide rent cap. On the portal, you can explore to what extent rents could be stabilized or even lowered. As we can expect to see prices continue rising throughout 2023 and in the coming years (even if at a somewhat less drastic pace), the issue of a rent price cap will only become more urgent.

This is all the more true as inflation and rising interest rates are putting the construction and real estate industry under pressure, while the party seems to be over for the financialized housing market — as we analysed in a *Standpunkte* paper. This, however, will mainly increase the pressure on renters. Even large housing companies like Vonovia have cancelled their plans for new construction. A municipal housing programme, like the one we present in the short video *Kommunal bauen, bezahlbar wohnen* (Public Construction, Affordable Housing), could be one solution. As the traffic-light coalition government refuses to take any measures against high rents, while focusing on a failing new-build solution to the crisis, the future of affordable housing is in the hands of tenant organizations, civil society, and the left-wing opposition. The RLS is on firm ground here with its years of analysis and work in support of housing struggles. In 2023, we will be focusing more strongly on the necessary transformation of the housing sector towards climate neutrality — a process in which further rent increases must be prevented.

## “GREEN COLONIALISM”?!

THE CONSEQUENCES OF EUROPEAN ENERGY POLICY FOR THE GLOBAL SOUTH

German and European energy policies are causing massive problems in many countries of the Global South. These problems fuelled debates and complaints in exchanges with international colleagues and partners of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as well as at the UN Climate Change Conference in Egypt.

Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Germany and the EU have been attempting to free themselves from their dependence on Russian gas by importing liquefied natural gas from other sources worldwide, and this has led to drastic price increases on the global market. For poorer nations this has had terrible consequences: essential gas imports are no longer affordable, they are no longer offered for sale, or promised deliveries get cancelled. In Pakistan, for example, ravaged by floods in 2022, the socio-economic consequences have been devastating. A further example is the Egyptian government’s decision to export gas for profit and curb its domestic use, with power plants in the country substituting things like mazut, a low-quality heavy fuel oil, for electricity generation. It is feared that these kinds of developments will lead many countries to prolong the use of climate-damaging fossil fuels.

The search for alternative energy sources beyond Russian imports is coupled with an increasing demand for resources for the European energy transition, which is already affecting many African and Latin American countries. Added to this is the hype over green hydrogen.

The list, too, of investment projects and collaborations from Germany, the EU, and by international companies to develop new gas and oil fields on the African continent and to build the corresponding pipelines has also grown long over the past year. Many of the projects have made for negative headlines — like the German government’s plans to participate in the

Conflict of use: A gas field is to be opened for development off the coast of Senegal.





**PUBLICATIONS ON THE THEMATIC FOCUS**

**ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG**

Yago Álvarez  
**Deckel drauf auf Preise und Profite**  
 An analysis of the Spanish government's response to the cost-of-living crisis  
 Online-Studie 16/2022, 24 pages  
 ISSN 2749-3156

Mario Candeias, Eva Völpel, Uwe Witt  
**Mehrheit für Energiepreisdeckel und Übergewinnsteuer**  
 Results of a representative survey on an energy price cap  
 Online publication, 13 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-948250-53-9

Andrej Holm  
**Die Lage der sozialen Wohnraumversorgung in Berlin**  
 Statement for the Expert Commission on the housing socialization referendum  
 Online publication 3/2022, 24 pages  
 ISSN 2567-1235

David Kern-Fehrenbach  
**«Kurz & bündig»: Übergewinne und Übergewinnsteuer**  
 How does an excess profits tax work and why do we need one?  
 Online publication

Sabine Leidig, Bernhard Knierim  
**«Kurz & bündig»: 9-Euro-Ticket**  
 Why there needs to be another cheap public transport fare  
 Online publication

Christoph Trautvetter, David Kern-Fehrenbach  
**Kriegsgewinne besteuern**  
 A contribution to the debate on an excess profits tax — a study by Netzwerk Steuergerechtigkeit, commissioned by the RLS  
 Online publication, 22 pages

Knut Unger  
**Vonovia: Ein Problem, das immer größer wird**  
 Rent as a business model  
 Paperback, 32 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-948250-48-5

Knut Unger  
**Die finanzialisierte Wohnungswirtschaft ist sozialisierungsreif**  
 Socialization as a path to regulating the real estate market  
 Standpunkte 4/2022, 6 pages  
 ISSN 1867-3171

Knut Unger, Daniel Zimmermann  
**Vonovia & Co.: Die Party ist vorbei**  
 On the current crisis of the financialized housing market  
 Standpunkte 6/2022, 7 pages  
 ISSN 1867-3171

Uwe Witt  
**Habecks Gas- und Strompreibremse**  
 Online publication

**KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN**

Andrej Holm  
**Objekt der Rendite**  
 On the housing question, and what Engels could not have known  
 Paperback, 216 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-320-02388-1

**VSA: VERLAG**

Michael Brie  
**Sozialismus neu entdecken**  
 A light-blue booklet on the contradictions of a society based on solidarity  
 Paperback, 176 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-86488-055-0

Dieter Klein  
**Regulation in einer solidarischen Gesellschaft**  
 How a social-ecological transformation could function  
 Paperback, 268 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-96488-117-5

Download and order Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung publications for free

development of a gas field in protected waters off the coast of Senegal. However, many of the effects of European energy policy have so far received insufficient attention. For the most part, these planned projects do nothing to improve living standards for the local populations or to secure their energy supply. Instead, most have negative impacts on the local environment and

agriculture, and often lead to increasing conflict over land use and the control of lucrative business opportunities. Europe is consolidating the dependence of many countries in the Global South on the export of raw materials. Colonial patterns are being perpetuated and made acceptable by greenwashed energy policies. This is why there is increasingly talk of a new “green colonialism” amongst the RLS and its partners.

## INTERNATIONAL ENERGY PARTNERSHIPS UNDER CRITICISM

MARKET POWER OVER CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION

The energy crisis in Germany and the associated rise in energy costs has also had an impact on the structure of Germany's international climate policy. At the international level, the German government is involved in energy partnerships like the Just Energy Transition Partnerships (JETP) and hydrogen partnerships. Although these mechanisms existed before the Russian war of aggression on Ukraine, they have subsequently become enormously important.

The first JETP between Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the EU, and South Africa was agreed upon in Glasgow at COP26, in 2021. Pledges of 8.5 billion euros are meant to help South Africa, which generates 90 percent of its energy from coal, make the transition to a low-carbon economy. Further JETPs are planned with India, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Senegal.

At first glance, this approach seems to be a step in the right direction. However, if one looks closely at the composition of these partnerships, it becomes clear that they are also accompanied by a financialization of climate policy, resulting in the danger that neo-liberal structural adjustment programmes will simply be continued, now with a "green" veneer. Only 3.5 percent of the 8.5 billion has been pledged in the form of grants; the rest comprises investment guarantees and concessional and non-concessional loans. The mobilization of the private sector is at the heart of this approach. This became particularly clear when Robert Habeck, German Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and Climate Protection, travelled to Johannesburg with a huge private sector delegation for the German-African Business Summit 2022. In this context, German climate policy manifests as primarily investment-based programmes, which are partnerships in name alone. Activists, though, do not believe that the climate crisis can be mitigated by marketized solutions. In fact, this policy approach will only undermine South Africa's economic sovereignty and further increase its debt burden. Moreover, no grass roots social initiatives are being included or consulted in the JETP negotiation process. The JETP is accordingly a subject of controversy for South Africa's progressive civil society.

As the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, we support a fair energy transition, led by the people, where decisions are not simply made over their heads and to the benefit of big business. That is why we are working with civil society organizations in South Africa like the Climate Justice Charter Movement, which advocates for a grass roots approach and for the building of a mass movement towards energy transition. The Climate Justice Charter was presented to the South African Parliament in October 2020, after a six-year development process involving a wide range of stakeholders. Since then, activists have been fighting for its implementation. We will continue to support them.



Robert Habeck (centre), Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and Climate Action, meets Ministers Mondli Gungubele (left) and Barbara Creezy (right) for JETP talks in South Africa, December 2022.

## BUILDING SOLIDARITY: HOW CAN SOCIAL JUSTICE BE ACHIEVED IN TIMES OF CRISIS?

"Can I still afford that stick of butter and will my apartment be cold this winter?" At a time when we are being urged to save on energy and being made aware of the inevitability of losses in wealth (which are far from affecting everyone, of course), while at the same time proposals for affordable public transport are dismissed as coming from a "something for nothing" mentality, we need more than just tips on how to save money on groceries. We need solidarity-based alternatives! And for all areas that are affected by this all-encompassing crisis — for health care, public transport, energy supply, social infrastructure, and housing.

That's why in 2022, for the first time, we earmarked a portion of the funding available to us for supporting external projects and put out a thematic call for applications — *Solidarität bilden. Wie geht soziale Gerechtigkeit in der Krise?* For 2023, we were looking for projects that would address the increasing divisions in society and that aim to develop, demonstrate, or broaden solidarity-based approaches to inequality. Whether in the city, in the countryside, or in small towns, initiatives and associations of all kinds were invited to apply — as long as they are non-profit — with all imaginable kinds of projects: from educational offerings to diverse media formats, from workshops to plays and podcasts ... In short, with any project that helps to develop solidarity-based solutions to the multiple crises we face today.

By the end of 2022, 13 groups had applied for amounts of up to 5,000 euros, and so far, five projects have received funding for 2023.



## THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

At the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, the defining feature of the year 2022 was the growing crisis of Die Linke. In one of the polls we commissioned in May 2022, the party was still reaching a potential vote share of 18 percent (and even 22 percent for people on low incomes), but these figures weren't borne out in the election. According to our analysis, for this potential to be realized, problems and conflicts internal to the party would first require resolution and pacification respectively. In order to achieve this, we consider it necessary to build a strategic leadership centre for the party and parliamentary group, one that provides a solid basis for dealing with contradictions, and defines a "corridor" within which different opinions can be exchanged and conflicts worked through. This plan was formulated in a June working group of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's executive board, in their study *Zehn Herausforderungen eines solidarischen Aufbruchs* (Ten Challenges for a Revival of Solidarity). In fact, the party Die Linke is split into at least three diverging currents. Each of these is too weak on its own and does not have the reach to attain more than five percent in a national vote. All these factions would have something to bring to the table in a newly restructured Die Linke, but thus far they have been too mutually disjointed if not actively working against each other. The good news: there is broad consensus within the party when it comes to policy. However, the programme is not a distinct entity, but remains tied up in internal power struggles, in which both small and large disagreements are (necessarily) emphasized. This becomes a problem if more energy is expended finding difference than in finding common ground. As a commentary in *LuXemburg* magazine points out, the media seizes on such differences and turns them into major contradictions, involving individuals distinguishing themselves from the rest of the party, and centrifugal forces driving the various factions apart. In effect, the party's campaigning around the most important issues of recent years (migration, climate, the coronavirus) lacked a unified, clear voice — especially not on foreign policy, which was the most common reason given for no longer voting for Die Linke. With that in mind, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis is trying to put together analyses, strategies, and pilot projects that are able to connect with both of the largest groups of potential voters: low-income earners and those on the ecological or social left. According to our polling, increased funding for local and regional public transport, or a cheaper basic energy tariff amid the simultaneous increase in energy usage and prices, would be vote-winners among the left-wing electorate, and prove especially popular among those on low incomes. The crisis in the wake of inflation and energy price rises has potentially opened a window for such concrete demands,

which are associated with Die Linke. We have therefore, through our studies, surveys, and training materials, fostered debate on energy and gas price caps as well as excess profit tax. We were less successful in achieving unity on peace policy, and were thus unable to clearly advise the party leadership on this — here the centrifugal forces are currently at their strongest.

In terms of personnel, the Institute has seen a certain amount of downsizing. Despite this, our new colleague Katrin Schäffgen is strengthening our work around social infrastructure, specifically in the field of educational policy.

### **FIGHTING BECAUSE WE CARE: RETHINKING CURRENT HEALTH POLICY**

At the end of the year 2022, it sounded as though revolutionary change was on the cards. Karl Lauterbach had announced a major shift in healthcare policy, namely the elimination of *Fallpauschalen* (flat-rate reimbursements).

For years the financing of healthcare, especially with regard to hospitals, has been a central issue for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. How would things look if the planning around hospitals were based on actual needs? How are the impacts of healthcare privatization being felt in terms of patient care and staff working conditions?

These issues are among those addressed by the studies *Krankenhausplanung in Deutschland. Krankenhausgesetze und Krankenhauspläne der Bundesländer — ein kritischer Überblick* (Hospital Planning in Germany: Hospital Law and Hospital Planning of the Federal States — A Critical Look) by Thomas Böhm; and *Kein Bett zu viel: Eine Kritik am Modellprojekt "Krankenhausplanung in Nordrhein-Westfalen"* (Not a Bed Too Many: A Critique of the Pilot Project "Hospital Planning in North Rhine-Westphalia") by Achim Teusch. Between 2002 and 2019, 150,000 beds were cut from German hospitals; at the same time the number of patients rose by 11 percent. The need to rethink current healthcare policy is clear.

In 2021, with the Berlin Hospital Movement, workplace disputes centred around increasing hospital staffing gained traction. This also had an impact in North Rhine-Westphalia: striking for over 70 days, staff at the state's six university clinics showed that industrial action in hospitals is possible and can, with perseverance, be victorious. The workers, following the example set by Berlin, fought for a "collective agreement on relief", encompassing issues including breaks, appropriate staffing levels, and pay.

The RLS took part in events on these themes, and published interviews with staff at a Cologne emergency ward as well as with a representative of ver.di. One profession whose members have been active in the various movements is that

Protests as part of industrial action by Berlin health workers.



of midwives. Their specific struggle is described by Julia Dück and Julia Garscha in the pamphlet *Aus Sorge kämpfen. Von Krankenhausstreiks, Sicherheit von Patient\*innen und guter Geburt* (Fighting Because We Care: On Hospital Strikes, Patient Safety, and a Good Birth). On 8 March for International Women’s Day, the film “Nothing works without us” — *The long struggle of the Berlin hospitals movement* was published on the YouTube channel of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and has since received over 19,000 views. The film is to be used as educational material at strike locations, at regional events, or in university lectures.

In 2022 we were still experiencing the effects of the coronavirus pandemic: care workers and nurses quit the profession due to excessive workloads, there were higher sick rates among health workers and patients, but also logistics issues regarding delivery of medication and medical supplies. Nevertheless, we can also look back at a year that was marked by industrial action, debates on healthcare policy regarding appropriate staffing levels, and networking events. Although Lauterbach’s purported healthcare revolution failed to materialize, healthcare workers and activists around healthcare policy are still involved in labour struggles and that gives us reason to be hopeful!

**WHAT DO WE WANT? EXPROPRIATION!**  
 CONFERENCES ON THE ISSUE OF SOCIALIZATION

In light of multiple crises, and the challenges of a climate-conscious social-ecological transformation, the question of property — essentially, whether it is just for social and often increasingly scarce resources to be under private control — only becomes more urgent. Should the required shift in terms of how we approach life, work, and production come to pass, it will be necessary to establish or expand, as well as democratize, the structures of economic supply and care

Socialization — a widely discussed topic in 2022 as well.



that serve the common good. In what was a busy year for us, there was therefore a common thread running through our conferences: the issue of socialization — how to hone and extend our demands for it both on a theoretical level, and in practical terms. From 27 to 29 May 2022, in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the conference *Wir müssen reden* (We Need to Talk) took place, organized by Expropriate Deutsche Wohnen & Co (DWE). Over 700 people from Germany and abroad took part in discussions in over 40 events and formats, on the subject of high rents, property speculation, and counter-strategies, and about the issue of residential property ownership and the socialization of large real estate corporations. According to Balakrishnan Rajagopal, the UN Special Rapporteur for the right to adequate housing, Berlin is not alone: as he put it in the title of his introductory address, “the world is watching Berlin”.

The RLS supported the conference by organizing numerous events, for example the panel discussion *Follow the Money*, in which Christoph Trautvetter, who was the external head of our project *Who Owns the City?*, investigative journalist Gabrielle Keller, and Die Linke member for Berlin Katalin Gennburg talked about the German real estate market being a playground for oligarchs, criminals, and tax-evaders.

What stood out as particularly inspiring were the exchanges with activists from other European cities: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Belgrade, London, Madrid, Zagreb. To close out the conference, the participants approved a joint statement in which they called for a socialization law, a national rent cap, a new communal right to first refusal, and an end to privatization and to partnerships with real estate companies.

Our conference on socialization (<https://vergesellschaftungskonferenz.de/en/>), which took place from 7 to 9 October, organized with the help of numerous other institutions, tied in with this. As outlined in a strategy paper from the previous year (*Believe the hype! Vergesellschaftung kann ein Kompass für die Erneuerung der Linken sein* [Socialization Can Act as a Compass for a Left Revival]), the socialization debate should be expanded from the housing sector to other areas (such as energy, healthcare, transport, and information technology). The attendees discussed this across various formats — what demands for socialization and an economy oriented towards the common good actually mean, and how the idea of an “economy for all” can be popularized and implemented politically.

Following a lively and overwhelmingly well-attended conference (with around 1,000 guests), we can safely say: we were able to theoretically, conceptually, and strategically expand the issue of socialization and, alongside various stakeholders from political movements, trade unions, academia, and politics, conceptualize approaches for the future. We’re sticking with it! One thing to already have come out of this was our conference publication, which appeared in March 2023 under the title *Neue Energie für Vergesellschaftung — Vergesellschaftung für neue Energie* (New Energy for Socialization — Socialization for New Energy).



First exhibition in Europe: The artist Brian Stauffer, happy to see his works being displayed in the foyer of the new RLS headquarters.

## EXHIBITION – THE WORKS OF BRIAN STAUFFER

US artist and illustrator Brian Stauffer caught the attention of Gert Gampe, who in 2021 curated the exhibition *War and Peace*. Two of Stauffer’s pieces also found their way into that exhibition, and this resulted in the idea to organize an exhibition dedicated to his work.

48 pieces were selected from Stauffer’s extensive oeuvre, for the multi-award-winning artist’s first exhibition outside the US. Stauffer takes on controversial cultural and societal themes in an emotionally charged and powerful visual language. These themes apply not only to the USA, but also to global conflicts. Not for nothing has his work been compared to John Heartfield’s.



The exhibition opened on 11 April, in the foyer of the new RLS headquarters and with Brian Stauffer in attendance. With its generous exterior windows, the foyer is intended as a space for reflection, contemplation, meetings, and dialogue. The following day saw him taking part in the accompanying programme at Weißensee Academy of Art Berlin. The eye-catching style of Stauffer’s images especially resonated with younger people. There were many requests to display the exhibition elsewhere, including some from abroad, leading to it being shown at two major events with long traditions: the *Volksstimmefest* in Vienna’s Prater Garden in September, then shortly afterwards at the *Fête de l’Humanité* in Paris. The exhibition also took place at the *Friedensfest* (Peace Festival) in Strausberg in August, as well as at the central library of Magdeburg in November. Due to the continuing level of interest, further exhibitions are being planned for 2023.

**LUXEMBURG 2022**

**WHAT IS TO BE DONE? SEIZE PROPERTY!**

With Berlin’s referendum campaign Deutsche Wohnen & Co. enteignen (Expropriate Deutsche Wohnen & Co.), the left-wing debate around socialization gained fresh impetus. That’s why, in the first issue of *LuXemburg* magazine for the year, under the title *Besitz ergreifen* (Seize Property), we examined how the workers’ movement at the start of the previous century thought about socialization, and why socialization means more than simply changing the form of ownership. In addition, we also discussed topics such as why it won’t be enough to just bring hospitals back into public ownership, and how a communal care economy might look — one that would also shake up gender relations. A broad initiative for socialization can tie together the many small and large campaign issues, and thereby serve as a compass for a revival of the left.

**FAILURE TO ADAPT TO THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE**

“The future is unwritten”, as the left-wing slogan goes. However, according to the prognoses about Earth’s climate, this future is rather likely to be uncomfortable, unbearable, or unliveable. If radical action is taken, it is still possible to prevent the worst-case scenario. However, much has already become impossible to prevent.

.....

That is why, in our second issue of the year, we posed the question as to whether we are truly prepared for a world impacted by climate change. The sobering answer: no, we are not. Even a wealthy country like Germany lacks the infrastructure and resources to protect the population and limit damage. The cost is above all borne by those who have the least; social divisions are becoming more pronounced, isolationism and military rearmament are on the rise. The issue therefore made a contribution to discussions around the future of left-wing politics. How can we adapt in a way that foregrounds solidarity? And which future is, despite everything, actually worth fighting for?

.....

**AN EPOCHAL DIAGNOSIS: “CAPITALOCENE”**

Crises replace seasons: war followed by heatwaves, inflation then energy crisis. Are we living through an age of catastrophic capitalism? This has long been a concern, especially among the younger generation. That is why the third edition was produced together with activists from the student association DIE LINKE.SDS. For their generation, the existential nature of the present omnicrisis is crystal clear. It is essential to point out the true driving force behind the catastrophe: despite what is suggested by the popular term “Anthropocene”, it is not “humanity” which is destroying the planet, but the capital-driven appropriation and exploitation of nature in the Capitalocene.



Veronica Gago.

**FELLOWS**

**Veronica Gago** from the University of Buenos Aires gave lectures on the socialization of living space, on the “caring city”, and also on the issue of debt from a feminist perspective. **Jonas Weber** from the University of Bern worked on an international comparison of police complaints bodies with specific reference to implementation in Berlin. **Markus Wissen** continued his fellowship on social-ecological transformation and just mobility. Together with **Ulrich Brand** and others, he is in charge of Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s doctoral programme, *Social-Ecological Transformation and Crisis*, as well as setting up the eco-socialism working group. **Dieter Klein** published his book *Regulation in einer solidarischen Gesellschaft* (Regulation in a Society of Solidarity) with VSA Verlag, and gave numerous talks to accompany it. **Michael Brie** penned the pamphlet *Sozialismus neu entdecken* (Rediscover Socialism), which was also published by VSA. **Alex Demirović** wrote articles on *Vielfachkrise und Katastrophe* (Omicrisis and Catastrophe), and was deeply involved in the editorial work of *LuXemburg* magazine, as well as running the highly successful theory podcast *tl;dr* (too long, didn’t read). **Judith Dellheim** wrote the article *Strom in öffentliche Hand* (Electricity in Public Hands) and is likewise among the editorial staff. We also mourned the sad loss of **Axel Troost**, who had been coordinating our economic policy discussion group, as well as working on an anthology on inflation and the energy price crisis, which we aim to complete in his memory.

## STUDIES ON THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF INDUSTRY

Industry faces a fundamental upheaval if it is to meet the 2015 Paris climate targets. Thus far, the accompanying debates have revolved around technological challenges. These challenges may be daunting, yet there is more at stake. In socio-political terms, the ecological transformation can only work in combination with the social, and vice versa.

This is the core idea of the project *Sozial-ökologische Transformation der deutschen Industrie* (Social-Ecological Transformation of German Industry), which was initiated by Axel Troost and commissioned by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in collaboration with the association Arbeitsgruppe Alternative Wirtschaftspolitik (Working Group for Alternative Economic Policy). Its intention was to give an assessment of the current situation, present this in an understandable form, and thus help orientate those active in social causes. Without their dedication to the environmental movement and their involvement in the political parties, the boards, professional societies, and labour agencies, in regional and local politics, and last, but not least, unions and works councils, change would not be possible. These are precisely the people we need to see taking action and getting involved in labour disputes, if we are to advance the causes of climate protection, social stability, and dignified work.

The following questions took centre stage in the project: Which transformation strategies will be pursued in industry? Which basic conditions must be met at a state level? What role will the unions play? What needs to be done to ensure that the

nascent stages of industry change are part of a transformation that strengthens social justice and stability, rather than deepening social inequality? As a starting point, the project offered three analytical overviews of the situation as it stands, which draw up an interim balance sheet of the technological and political challenges in the chemical, steel, and auto industries, and present the strategies of the major players in these sectors. An additional study examines for the first time the need for reform across the entire spectrum of labour policy, which should play a key role in the realization of a social-ecological transformation within industry. Three additional separate studies focus on industrial transformation within the framework of climate policy; the importance of the hydrogen strategy; and the current status of the debate regarding the EU's planned Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM). Giving a general overview of the studies in a short accompanying video, author Steffen Lehndorff illustrates some open and vexing questions, as well as policy deficits, directly relevant to putting into practice the social-ecological transformation of industry. These issues range from environmental and labour policy conditions, on which major state support packages for businesses should be contingent, to legal strengthening of collective bargaining agreements, and finally to income tax hikes for higher earners that will both reduce income inequality and finance public spending programmes. As part of this process, state support should also be tied in with company ownership — which could for example entail gaining a seat on the board or a stake in the business — and thus ensure influence over corporate policy with a view to a truly social-ecological transformation.

A symbol of the necessity of social-ecological transformation: Niederaußem power station, Bergheim.



## ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

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

In 2022, after two years of the pandemic, we had to find new ways to reconnect with our target group in a new post-pandemic normality, as certain digital formats have become less attractive, while analogue formats must meet new demands. Central to the development of new innovative formats was the launch of the learning platform *L!NX*. As the department responsible for providing the essential materials for educational multipliers, 2022 was a successful year for the Academy for Political Education. Just before the end of the year we released two sets of educational materials from the project *Ökonomie für alle!* (Economics for Everyone!): *Kapitalismus für Einsteiger\*innen. Methoden und Workshops für die kritische ökonomische Bildung* (Capitalism for Beginners: Methods and Workshops for Critical Economic Education) and *Neoklassik, Keynes, Marx. Einführung in die großen Wirtschaftstheorien* (Neoclassical Economics, Keynes, Marx: An Introduction to the Major Economic Theories). Another highlight was the *Haymat Ost* (Home in the East) conference in Leipzig, where we publicly presented the ways that we have contributed over the last two years to the empowerment and networking of East German people with migration experience. We have also come closer to our goal of expanding our work beyond the big cities, especially through the *Kommunalpolitische Konferenz* (Local Politics Conference), which in 2022 was held in Rathenow (Brandenburg), and through the *Inkubator* project.

What all these programmes have in common is that they are specifically tailored to their audience, and are geared to responding to the issues and needs that arise from everyday political praxis. The guiding themes here are a constructively critical approach to the participants, awareness of hierarchical structures, and the desire to create emancipatory opportunities for participation. For this reason our programmes are just as much aimed at activists from Die Linke and trade unions, as they are at people in social movements, political initiatives, and NGOs. In a year marked by war, social upheaval, and a difficult situation for Die Linke, it has become clear once again that our task is not only to provide offerings that expand knowledge, but also spaces for exchange and reflection on difficult issues, as well as seminars and training sessions focused on strategies, tactics, approaches, and practical lessons from successful left-wing politics.



Countering the negative discourse on immigration with a positive understanding: The *Haymat Ost* conference in Leipzig, October 2022.

## **HAYMAT OST**

### MIGRATION AND MIGRANT STRUGGLES IN EAST GERMANY

Migration has long been an integral part of East German society. Contract workers, students, and victims of political persecution were already migrating to the region during the GDR. Immigration to the new federal states continued after the 1990s, and decisively contributed to shaping East German society. And yet, the perspectives, living realities, and struggles of those who migrated to East Germany still represent a void in the politics and the historical identity both of East Germany and Germany as a whole. The *Haymat Ost* conference strived to fill these gaps. From 14 to 15 October 2022, migrant, post-migrant, and anti-racist actors and initiatives from East Germany came together in Leipzig to exchange ideas and build networks.

As with *Haymat I*, which took place in Hanover in 2019, the conference aimed to develop a positive understanding of migration in order to counter the negative connotations attached to the subject in the public discourse. Migration has always contributed to emancipatory developments in society, and this is also true in the new federal states. Strengthening this change of perspective was a crucial element in the planning of the conference.

We deliberately decided on a broad range of formats; the choice of Theater der Jungen Welt in Leipzig as conference venue was itself a reflection of the programme. Workshops,

readings, exhibitions, film screenings, and discussions filled the conference's two days, and the participants shared a meal every evening in a collective kitchen. The cooperation with Theater der Jungen Welt, the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, the Jugendstil project, the ZEOK association, and DaMOst, an umbrella organization of migrant associations in East Germany, was crucial for the conference's success. More than 200 visitors, lecturers, performers, and media creators, most of them women and people under 40, found the offered programme so interesting that they stayed for both days, contributing their experiences, knowledge, and questions. The project was documented in the form of a radio feature, in cooperation with Postmigrantisches Radio, Radio Corax, and Sphere Radio.

We succeeded in our goal of building a conference based on experiences of migrant self-organization and of political actors with migrant backgrounds. We managed to reach organizations that had never cooperated with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung before, and included them in the conference programme. Future collective educational projects are already being planned. Just like our 2020 anthology and internet site *Erinnern Stören* (Disrupting Remembrance) on migrant and Jewish perspectives on the fall of the Berlin Wall — which initiated our work on migration politics, and was extremely well received — this conference demonstrated the enormous level of interest for this topic, and that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a trusted partner in this field.





Promoting economic literacy: two new sets of learning materials.

## ECONOMICS FOR EVERYONE!

### CRITICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION

Understanding and changing politics and society require an understanding of the capitalist economic system. But there are few educational programmes designed for young people and adults in this area that do not assume some previous knowledge — and what is available, even outside the universities, is mostly very academic.

This is where the seminar formats of *Ökonomie für alle!* (Economics for Everyone!) come in. In 2022, within the framework of this project we developed two new sets of educational materials for multipliers:

1. ***Kapitalismus für Einsteiger\*innen. Methoden und Workshops für die kritische ökonomische Bildung (Capitalism for Beginners: Methods and Workshops for Critical Economic Education)***. The aim of this material is summed up in its title: it provides team leaders and teachers with three workshop designs that will allow young people and adults to start learning about the capitalist economy through focusing on various topics (social inequality, ecology, and care work). The teaching involves participatory and creative methods such as simulation games, buzz groups, or the creation of charts.
2. ***Neoklassik, Keynes, Marx. Einführung in die großen Wirtschaftstheorien. Seminarkonzept (Neoclassic Economics, Keynes, Marx: Introduction to the Major Economic Theories)***. This brochure presents a seminar plan — for online or in-person use — that provides basic knowledge on the three most influential economic theories of the previous and present centuries: neoclassical economics and the theories of Keynes and Marx. It aims to introduce the fundamentals of each theory, allowing the participants to understand and discuss them critically, without the need for prior theoretical knowledge.

The materials are available online at <https://linx.rosalux.de/kapitalismus-fuer-einsteigerinnen> and <https://linx.rosalux.de/einfuehrung-wirtschaftstheorien>.

All seminar and workshop designs were tested several times in pilot events and accordingly updated prior to publication. In addition, the creation process was overseen by academic advisors who verified the accuracy of the contents and contributed many ideas, tips, and references.

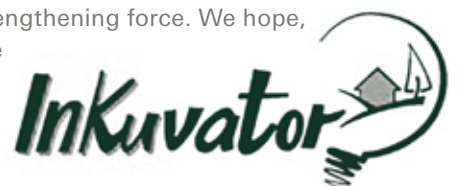
Besides being published in print and as PDFs, worksheets and seminar scripts are available for download as editable Word or PowerPoint documents. This way, multipliers can adapt the materials and the focus of their educational work to the needs of their target groups.

## THE INKUVATOR

### SUPPORT FOR PROGRESSIVE ACTORS IN RURAL AREAS

Since its inception, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been concerned with the villages, rural areas, and regions that suffer from structural disadvantage or are remote from the metropolises. The cooperation with local stakeholders has resulted in a vast pool of contacts, well-tested formats, and valuable experiences. However, though much has been achieved, many issues remain unsolved. Besides reliable networks, funding, and training opportunities, many good ideas and precarious structures require ongoing support to overcome the obstacles that they face. Our *InKuvator* fills this gap. As of June 2022, the RLS has a contact point for providing support in rural and regional areas. This could involve providing useful contacts, a specific educational programme, or moderation for a potentially contentious meeting. Or help might be needed in developing a strategy, sparking off an idea, or simply providing well-grounded feedback.

In addition to its constant availability, the *InKuvator* acts as an interface and catalyst for synergies and joint projects between RLS partners with similar interests who would otherwise find it difficult or impossible to come together at the right time. In order to address topics such as mobility, migration, or justice for the elderly, we build bridges between political and administrative entities on one hand and civil society actors and associations on the other, and contribute input based on science and best-practice examples from other contexts. In this way, the *InKuvator* should be a facilitating, enhancing, and strengthening force. We hope, furthermore, that the certainty of having the RLS reliably at their side for part



of the way will encourage political actors to go beyond the realistic, and tackle the visionary.

The name of the project thus alludes to two essential goals. We want to promote innovative (*In*), culture-changing (*Ku*) practices, and consolidate a platform for exchange, learning, and collegial counselling.

Four colleagues with different time shares work together in the *InKuvator*. This suffices to ensure availability and coordination. In the future, we plan to build up a network of facilitators who will provide concrete on-site support. In December, the kick-off for this programme took place with the first five people.

.....  
 For more information, visit: [www.rosalux.de/inkuvator](http://www.rosalux.de/inkuvator).  
 .....

## L!NX

### THE DIGITAL LEARNING PLATFORM FROM THE LEFT

After months of conception, planning, and preparation, *L!NX* finally launched in late summer 2022. With this new digital learning platform for self-learners and multipliers, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has created a diverse offering for everyone looking for introductory left-wing content, better access to difficult theory, historical milestones, or current left-wing positions. Its broad range of topics include economics and labour, migration, antiracism and antifascism, globalization and trade, history and culture, food sovereignty, climate justice, and organizing. Through interactive, multimedia, and short formats, we want to build a platform where people can take their first steps in political education on their own.

*L!NX* is also a response to new ways of learning. Political education practices are constantly evolving, but this change gained new momentum during the coronavirus pandemic. In view of the need to broaden our digital presence, *L!NX* is tailored to a young, digitally savvy audience that is less responsive to traditional educational formats like seminars and conferences. However, the platform is also intended as a place where multipliers can find materials and contents for workshops, which is why the *L!NX* team decided to make all the content license-free, allowing people to use and adapt them for their own political education purposes.

The launch was accompanied by a major social media campaign and the publication of selected pilot projects on the platform. Besides a diary of feminist struggles, these included new and familiar RLS formats, such as a quiz about the life of Rosa Luxemburg, an illustrated digital account of workers' struggles against the right, a crossword-puzzle about Marx, interactive modules on digital capitalism, two conflict portraits from the series *Was ist los in... ?* (What Is Happening in...?), and a very well-received FAQ page on the present inflation



Screenshot of the new digital learning platform L!NX.  
 All content available at <https://linx.rosalux.de/en/>.

and energy crisis. What brings together these and the other content available on L!NX is that they are designed for basic education. The aim is to provide simple, fun introductions to major subjects, which will stimulate people's curiosity to delve deeper into certain topics. Visitors to the site will not find complicated language, extremely long texts, or hours-long recordings of events. Instead, they will find all kinds of educational tidbits that will leave them wanting more.

Feedback, both internal and external, on the new platform and its content has been overwhelmingly positive. Colleagues from our international offices, current and former scholarship holders, a publishing house, political collectives, media creators, and artists have all contacted the project's editorial team. This has already resulted in several new collaborations with external partners.

After the excitement of the successful launch, there is now a lot of work to be done. The platform must grow, and the public relations work that can be done for the project is virtually inexhaustible. In view of current political events, we want to be able to respond flexibly and quickly to developments. This requires a stable, sustainable structure that will enable us to continue and to further develop the path we have taken.

## THE HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism comprises the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's library, archives, and History Unit. Due to the retirement of our colleague Jörn Schüttrumpf, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg has been structurally integrated into the History Unit.

The Centre draws together the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the field of contemporary history and coordinates its educational work on the politics of history. Aside from its attention to the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg herself, the focal points of the Centre are historical research into socialism and communism, antifascism and the politics of remembrance, the history of the PDS, the WASG, and Die Linke, as well as the topics of colonialism and migration.

The History Unit (led by Uwe Sonnenberg), responsible for political education projects on contemporary history and the politics of remembrance, organized events in 2022 as part of the series *Seismographen des Wandels* (Seismographs of Migration), and supervised various research and publication projects on diverse subjects, including a further volume on the topic of Jews in the international left, the cultural history of European communism, and feminist theory.

The History Unit has been continuing to work in partnership with the history discussion group (led by Bernd Hüttner), while the Historical Centre has been continuing its ongoing collaboration with multiple subsidiary Stiftungen under the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung umbrella (Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung, Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung, Modrow-Stiftung) as well as with the publisher Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, which has brought out further volumes in its series of short-form biographies — on Leon Trotsky (author: Mario Keßler) and Karl Kautsky (author: Harald Koth). Networking and collaboration also continued with a range of partners from the field of the politics of remembrance. The English and Chinese editions of the works of Rosa Luxemburg saw additional work. Jörn Schüttrumpf was also able to present the final volume of the collected writings of Paul Levi to the public in June 2022.

The Archive of Democratic Socialism (led by Bärbel Förster) secured additional archival material in 2022, especially from Die Linke's parliamentary groups in the German Bundestag and in the Berlin House of Representatives, as well as from the party's head office. It also acquired materials donated by a private estate and accepted three future bequests.

The library (led by Uwe Michel) has concentrated on the provisioning of literature around the history of the left and its production of theory, especially related to Die Linke and its milieu, the RLS, and Rosa Luxemburg herself. The event series *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Discussions on Left-Wing Literature) continued to take place on a regular basis, and was met with a very positive response.

## STRATEGIC ORIENTATION OF THE ARCHIVE

The archive of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is responsible for the ongoing preservation of the heritage of left-wing political parties and social movements, their historical roots, and their leading lights. Providing equal access to its materials, the archive's range of services enable users to freely form their own political opinions, making it a renowned modern information centre for left-wing history, politics, and society. In 2019, the staff elaborated a vision for the archive: with the insights gained from an organizational and environmental analysis, they could devise the strategic direction and goals across eight areas, including in the field of modernization/digitalization.

## POLITICAL EDUCATION ON CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND THE POLITICS OF HISTORY

For the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work on historical matters, 2022 began with a renewed demand for political rehabilitation, a demand that has still not been met: 50 years prior, federal and state assemblies in the German Federal Republic passed what was known as the *Radikalenbeschluss* (Decree on Radicalism). In a special online report, we worked to contextualize the history and shed light on various aspects of the decree, which led not only to background checks by domestic intelligence services, but also to professional bans, which overwhelmingly affected those on the left.

New publications appeared in the series *Jüdinnen und Juden in der internationalen Linken* (Jews in the International Left), edited by Riccardo Altieri, Bernd Hüttner, and Florian Weis. The starting point for this topic is the often overlooked, yet nevertheless historically strong "long-lasting alliance that has existed between the Jewish emancipation movement and the socialist and workers' movements". The 80th birthday of historian Gisela Notz was commemorated with the publication of *Feministische Theorie nur mit feministischer Solidarität* (Feminist Theory Only with Feminist Solidarity), produced in close collaboration with a female authors' collective from the history discussion group.

The German editions of Paul Levi's collected writings, the *Gesammelten Schriften, Reden und Briefe*, have now, with the arrival of volume II/3, been published in their entirety. The last volume contains 117 documents from the years 1923 to 1930, as well as copious material about Levi himself. The edition titled *Ohne einen Tropfen Lackienblut* (Without a Drop of Lackey's Blood) had been spearheaded by Jörn Schütrumpf; in June 2022, with somewhat heavy hearts, we honoured his retirement with an event accompanied by an Ernst Bloch motto: "eine Unmenge Zukunft in der Vergangenheit" (an immeasurable future in the past).

Aside from in-house publications, we also turned our attention to books from other publishing houses. The launch of *Hermann Budzislawski und die Weltbühne* (Hermann Budzislawski

and the World Stage, Aufbau Verlag), with historian Daniel Siemens and publisher Christoph Links, was particularly special, deepening the debate around the cultural history of European communism. At the same time, we promoted an international network dedicated to research into the everyday aspects and social history of Eastern European state socialism. Together with the Belgrade office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism at the University of Pula (Croatia), we organized a symposium from 12–15 May 2022, in which more than 20 historians, sociologists, and anthropologists — predominantly PhD students and post-docs — came together in discussion. Throughout 2022, we continued our series on asylum, migration, and memory. Authors who spoke at the *Seismographen des Wandels* included Ruth Bendle, Marcus Engler, Volha Hapeyeva, Mario Keßler, Shelly Kupferberg, Marko Martin, Steffen Mensching, Gabriele Riedle, Martina Troxler, and Charlotte Wiedemann. Curated by the historian and journalist Achim Engelberg, the Writers in Exile programme of the German PEN centre was presented, and many dissidents in exile likewise. As the series progressed, the third generation of the remembrance of fascism and Stalinism (the grandchildren of those directly affected) became increasingly central to our discussions, which mostly had a literary and cinematic bent. Finally, with historian Rüdiger Hachtmann, we intervened in the long-running debate over the use of ideologically contaminated terms. Against the use of the term "National Socialism", Hachtmann argues for more consistently using the concept of "Nazism", which was first developed among antifascist exiles from the regime, and to re-establish it as a scholarly and scientific category.

In our newsletter MAKING History, you can keep up to date with our publications and events. For the latest updates, you can also follow our Twitter (@rls\_history) and Mastodon accounts.

Download  
and order at  
[www.rosalux.de/  
publikation/  
id/46948](http://www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/46948)



«WENN DU  
AUSGEGRENZT WIRST,  
GEHST DU ZU ANDEREN  
AUSGEGRENZTEN»  
JÜDINNEN UND JUDEN  
IN DER INTERNATIONALEN  
LINKEN, BAND 2 (JEWS IN  
THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT,  
VOLUME 2)  
luxemburg beiträge no. 13  
136 pages, paperback  
ISSN 2749-0939



Website of the digitized works of Rosa Luxemburg.

**THE WORKS OF ROSA LUXEMBURG ONLINE**

Commemorating the anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg’s release from prison in November 1918, on 8 November 2022 Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin published, in German, the digital edition of her writings.

Since the 1970s, Dietz has been publishing the most comprehensive edition of the writings of Rosa Luxemburg. In future the digital edition will expand upon the existing physical volumes. This enables Luxemburg to be rediscovered or read for the first time — and for readers to access her comprehensive bibliography for free. You can find her works at <https://rosaluxemburgwerke.de>.

As RLS Executive Director Daniela Trochowski put it during the presentation of the digital edition: “our namesake has arrived in the 21st century. Through the digital edition of her works, we can better make use of her ideas to analyse and critique contemporary conditions — this fits with the times”. The entirety of Rosa Luxemburg’s texts are now searchable, with quotations and their source text visible at the click of a mouse. The editor in charge, Ingo Stützle, noted that “the digital edition expands the published works of Luxemburg. For a publisher that is bound to the print editions of books, this is exciting new territory. Paper, and zeroes and ones, are

no longer in contradiction”. The first five volumes, published in the GDR until 1975 under unfavourable conditions, are also available online — as well as the follow-up volumes that have been appearing since 2014. Among others things, the volumes include texts of Luxemburg’s lectures on economic history and national economies at the SPD party training centre, transcribed by her students Rosi Wolfstein and Jacob Walcher.

All of Luxemburg’s German-language work has now been published. Her Polish-language works are still being edited and will be put online in time, as well as six volumes of correspondence.

**THE LIBRARY OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG**

Libraries continue to fulfil their traditional function in the digital era: they collect, structure, and convey the knowledge of their times.

The library of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (library code: B 1599), with its diverse inventory, has been a renowned academic specialist library for over 20 years. Its holdings include media on the theory and history of left-wing movements, on political education, as well as the social sciences.

Altogether, the inventory of the library now contains around 35,000 items. The entire inventory is searchable not only in the library’s online catalogue, but also in the catalogue of the GBV, Germany’s Common Library Network, and in WorldCat, the largest bibliographic database in the world. A growing number of digital documents are also being made directly available via the library catalogue. The available texts will be expanded to around 1500 different journals, which will also be searchable via the *Zeitschriftendatenbank* or ZDB (the German Union Catalogue of Serials).

The library provides RLS staff with reference materials, and at the same time it sees itself as a place of public discussion. In the latter vein, for example, are the regular readings in the series *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Discussions on Left-Wing Literature). The library additionally offers work spaces for students and interested members of the public.

In 2022, the library acquired and made accessible the collection of Hermann Klenner’s writings. The 97-year-old academic, counted among the most significant legal philosophers of the GDR, was one of the founders of the Leibniz-Sozietät der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Leibniz Society of Sciences, Berlin), and was for many years a member of the RLS Kuratorium. He is to this day a member of the parliamentary advisory committee of Die Linke. All books and pamphlets of the Klenner Collection are listed in the library catalogue and are readily accessible in the library’s reading room.



Library reading room.

**MODERNIZATION AND DIGITALIZATION**

In order to safeguard and enable access to virtual documents, the archive is being organized digitally. Of course, it continues to maintain physical holdings, but it makes these available digitally as well. The use of international norms and standards fosters exchange and enables network-building. The targeted investment in established and new technologies — as well as infrastructure to facilitate tasks and processes — enables the efficient use of resources, and the optimization of co-operative work.

.....

This strategic orientation comprises seven goals:

1. Set up a digital collection/long-term digital archive following the OAIS standard.
  2. Use the functions of a modern archive information system.
  3. Acquire digital documents in a structured fashion and integrate them into the digital collection.
  4. Digitize physical inventory/documents.
  5. Promote usage of electronic management tools.
  6. Follow specialized technological developments.
  7. Adopt and further develop innovative approaches.
- .....

In order to realize these goals, measures within the respective parameters were developed and a timeline was put in place encompassing short-, medium- and long-term planning. Through implementing the modernization/digitalization strategy, we can meet the expectations of donors regarding how these processes can be automated to better deliver materials to users, and the expectations of users on accessing files regardless of where they are or when they require access. This therefore boosts the image of the archive as being both a public archive, and also a specialist left-wing archive connected to a German political foundation. Providing access to digital information thus forms the core of how knowledge and information are managed at the RLS, and of its image as a whole.

**A LASTING DIGITAL ARCHIVE**

Digital documents are to be acquired and lastingly preserved in a standardized and automated way. In keeping with international standards, they are available wherever and whenever you are.

At the beginning of 2022, the RLS management tasked the archive with the retrospective digitalization of materials, as well as with establishing a new archive information system, a digital collection, and a virtual reading room.

In the latter half of 2022, a call for tenders took place; the project launch was in October 2022. All the projects are planned for completion by the end of November 2025. For this, investment funds amounting to €450,000 will be made available.

.....

In a modern digital environment, the archive is also going to be able to continue to fulfil its tasks into the future, and achieve one of the six goals of the RLS: preserving for posterity the documentation of the democratic-socialist movement.

.....

**ACQUISITION/USAGE**

In 2022, physical and digital documents, spanning a length of 170 metres or 337 gigabytes respectively, were acquired in 27 shipments, among them documents of Die Linke’s parliamentary groups in the Bundestag and the Berlin House of Representatives, and from the leader of the party’s head office, as well as documents from Dagmar Enkelmann, Christine Buchholz, Harald Wessel, and Rolf Reißig.

Especially in demand from users were the documents on the citizen’s initiative for the Friedrichshain Lenin monument, the Clara Zetkin inventory, the minutes from the 12th to 14th legislative periods, and documents on the transformation of German development policy since 1961.

Presenting the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize in the library reading room.



## THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY

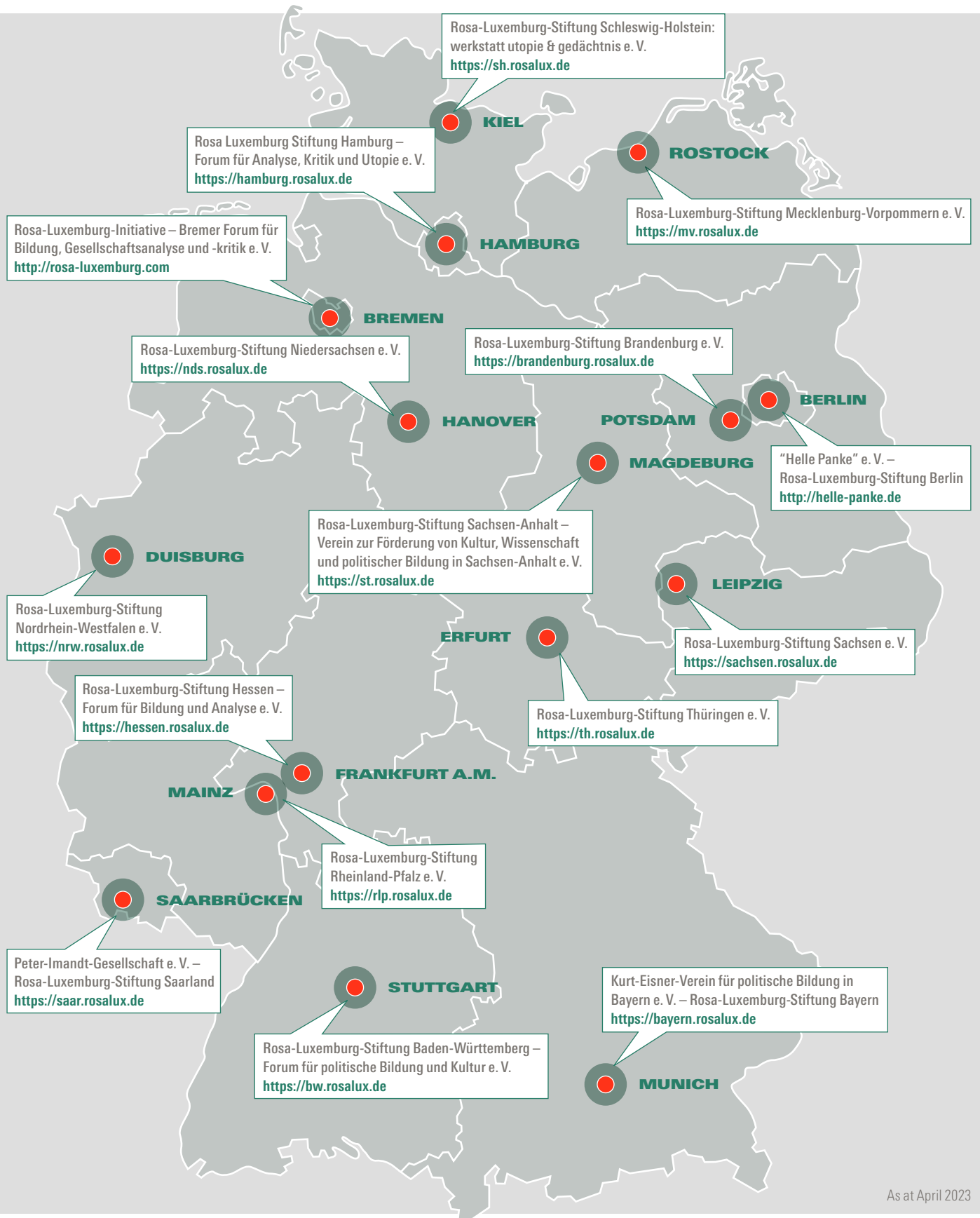
Providing political education, where it is needed, locally – that is what the regional branches of the RLS stand for. In all 16 federal states, they organize a large part of the political education work of the RLS, both independently and in collaboration with partner organizations. Their programmes address both the milieu around Die Linke as well as the general public. The Department of Regional Coordination organizes the cooperation between the different departments of the RLS and the regional branches. The regional branches' activities are financed with RLS funds, donations, and membership fees. In many federal states, state funding can also be drawn on.

In 2022, the programme across the whole network featured around 1,300 events, attended by over 50,000 people. There were also approximately 250 online and hybrid events, with a total of over 10,000 participants. In recent years, digital media content like podcasts and videos have become an integral part of political outreach. Last year, the 16 regional branches produced 129 podcasts and videos, viewed over 100,000 times.

After three years of online meetings, the first in-person meeting of the RLS network was held in Mainz from 9–11 September 2022. In Mainz, full-time staff and representatives from the 16 executive boards were present, notably for discussions with Tobias Bank, newly elected federal director of Die Linke, about the importance of political education, current challenges, joint educational projects, and the results of the recent elections in France. The Council of Regional Branches also conferred, led by Lena Saniye Güngör, on the crucial topics of #Linkemetoo and the AfD's Desiderius-Erasmus-Stiftung.

A highlight for international and Germany-wide cooperation was the lecture tour *Reclaim the Game! Systematic Foul Play: The 2022 World Cup in Qatar*. Together with partners in Germany and abroad, the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation organized a ten-part series of events focused on the living conditions of migrant workers in Qatar. The regional branches in Saxony-Anhalt, Berlin, Lower Saxony, Hamburg, North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria, and Saxony all participated. The RLS once again ran its political academy for young activists in 2022, in three federal states. Under the motto *Nicht nur interpretieren, auch verändern!* (Not just interpreting, changing!), participants from Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, and Thuringia spent a week in Heidelberg and Weimar respectively, exchanging ideas, learning together, and networking.

In the following pages, we present some of the highlights of the regional branches' educational activities in 2022.







Tour of the Luxemburg exhibition in Heilbronn with the curator, Holger Politt.



An RLS mobile information stand at the G7 protests.

## **BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG** **IN ROSA'S SHADOW**

The exhibition *In Rosas Schatten*, subtitled “The History of a Jewish Family in Poland”, was developed in collaboration by Holger Politt, long-time director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s Polish office, and Warsaw journalist Krzysztof Pilawski. With the help of many previously unseen documents, the exhibition traced the history of the Luxemburg family, of which Rosa Luxemburg is the most famous member.

It is thanks to Anneliese Fleischmann-Stroh that the exhibition could be brought to Heilbronn and extended by five panels. These detail Rosa Luxemburg’s relationship to the town, with a particular focus on two speeches she made in Heilbronn on 6 May 1914, and her friendship with Hugo Faißt, a lawyer and singer from a prominent Heilbronn family.

Holger Politt opened the exhibition on 17 November 2022 in the presence of Mayor Harry Mergel in the gallery of the Volkshochschule, where it remained on display until 20 December. The exhibition was previously shown in Leipzig.

A series of lectures accompanied the exhibition in Heilbronn. Anneliese Fleischmann-Stroh gave a lecture that focused on Luxemburg’s biography and emphasized her connection to the town. Film director and author Klaus Gietinger spoke about the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, with a lecture titled “How to Eliminate Those Against War: A Double Murder of Historic Significance”. The final event was an online reading by Anneliese Fleischmann-Stroh and Julia Killet, the head of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s regional office in Munich, on 16 December. They presented a talk on Rosa Luxemburg’s relation to Christmas — which ended up being highly socially critical and political, and not particularly Christmassy.

The exhibition and the lectures were the result of a collaboration between the Volkshochschule Heilbronn, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg, and the Heilbronn Rosa-Luxemburg-Club.

## **BAVARIA**

### **PROTESTING A “MODEL FROM YESTERDAY”**

Behind a 16-kilometre fence in the Bavarian Alps, representatives of the seven rich democracies met at Schloss Elmau for the second time. They were attended by 18,000 police and security personnel; a temporary court was also set up, with holding cells for 150 people.

Demonstrators against the G7 were not deterred, however, and arrived from all over Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. To kick off the protests, organizations critical of development policy and globalization collaborated with the Kurt-Eisner-Verein — the RLS’s Bavarian regional branch — on hosting an alternative G7 summit. Focusing on the theme of global economic justice in times of crisis, participants discussed topics such as debt relief, human rights, and sustainable economies, presenting juster alternatives to the neo-colonial policies of the G7 nation states. The summit was held in a hybrid format, with online participation by international speakers across six workshops.

The camp and the related actions in Garmisch-Partenkirchen foregrounded speeches by activists from the Global South. The aim was to give a voice to all those excluded from the G7 meeting. These events were organized by the Bundeskoordination Internationalismus and the Gruppe International München, in collaboration with the Kurt-Eisner-Verein and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The international guests told of mega wind farms being built in Mexico, displacing Indigenous people from their land, and of greenwashing projects being developed in the Western Sahara.

The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* ran the headline *Die G7, ein Modell von Gestern* (The G7, a Model from Yesterday). Indeed, what possible purpose is served by the enormous outlay for such summits if pressing issues of our time — world hunger, global heating — are sidelined? Indicatively, the spokespeople from the five “guest” countries — India, Argentina, Indonesia, South Africa, and Senegal — did not countersign the G7’s concluding declaration.



Protest against coal mining as part of Ende Gelände.



Left to right: Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, Holger Politt, Dörte Putensen, and Peter Brandt.

## BERLIN

### PATHWAYS TO SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

The event series *Economics beyond the Swabian housewife* entered its fifth year in 2022. The original aim was to challenge prevailing neoliberal discourse, although new topics were always coming up: the crisis in the EU, austerity policies, Brexit, and Modern Monetary Theory. In 2021–22, the event series focused on the relation between the economy and climate change on the one hand and social-ecological transformation and the Green New Deal on the other, with three events taking place in 2022.

On 27 January, Boris Frankel of the University of Melbourne spoke about the implications of radical decarbonization for material resources, employment, local food production, and social welfare, and presented some reflections on how a post-carbon society no longer driven by market forces might work. On 10 May, Martin Cames of the Öko-Institut took on shipping, one of the world's largest sources of greenhouse gas emissions, and which has hitherto received scarce attention. In his talk, Cames discussed approaches to combating emissions beyond nation state borders, for example through political measures such as taxation or technical solutions such as switching to electrofuels.

On 19 October, Rupert Read, a Professor of Philosophy at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, UK, former spokesperson for Extinction Rebellion, and co-founder of GreensCAN, addressed the question of why we still avoid admitting the “entire truth” of climate collapse and its consequences. Read advocated for an acknowledgement of the severity of climate collapse, arguing that it is necessary to face up to the reality of the danger in order to open new paths forward for society. Read made a number of suggestions in this regard.

The series was the result of a collaboration between Helle Panke e. V., Brave New Europe, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The recordings are available online.

## BRANDENBURG

### COLLOQUIUM ON THE 1972 BASIC TREATY

On the signing of the 1972 “Treaty concerning the basis of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic”, known as the Basic Treaty, Egon Bahr commented: “Up until now we had no relations, now we will have bad ones — that’s progress.” 50 years on, a colloquium held by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg was devoted to the treaty — and dedicated to the memory of historian Detlef Nakath, who died unexpectedly in October 2021.

Nakath was a committed member of the RLS, a long-standing member of the Board, and, from 2006 to 2015, managing director of the Brandenburg regional branch. In particular, his research on contemporary history had a significant impact on the profile of the RLS. The Potsdamer Kolloquien zur Außen- und Deutschlandpolitik (a series of conferences on international relations in divided Germany), which he established, became a widely recognized source of well-informed analysis on FRG–GDR relations.

Many of Nakath’s long-time colleagues from historical research and political education attended a conference on 10 June 2022 at the House of Brandenburg and Prussian History in Potsdam. After opening remarks delivered by Julia Bär and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan from the RLS, Peter Brandt contextualized the Basic Treaty on the historical path that led to German reunification, and Dörte Putensen and Holger Politt brought perspectives from neighbouring countries in Northern and Eastern Europe to the discussion. In a panel moderated by journalist Alfred Eichhorn, former ambassador Christian Nakonz and historians Gerald Diesener and Michael Herms discussed the impact of the treaty on diplomatic relations, youth and cultural work, and academic research, offering many starting points from which to revive the colloquium on contemporary history.



Materials for the project day at the Inge-Katz-Berufsschule in Bremen.



Retired professional football player Lilian Thuram at the presentation of his book in Hamburg.

## BREMEN

### SCHOOL PROJECT DAY ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

In 2022, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative Bremen began preparing to host school project days on social justice, aimed at upper secondary school students and students in vocational colleges. The concept was closely modelled on the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s nationwide project for political education in schools.

On 21 December 2022, the project began. The first project day took place at the Inge-Katz-Berufsschule in the Neustadt area of Bremen, where 14 social work and home economics students took part. The workshop focused on communicating to the participants the meaning of social justice. The reality that capitalism is a structurally unjust system in which access to resources, social participation, and wealth are dependent on socio-economic factors was to be conveyed using a broad swathe of interactive teaching methods.

We began from the lived experiences of the 16- to 18-year-old students, in order to establish a sustainable base from which to access the topic of social justice. We first invited the participants to imagine themselves in a different social role, for example in the position of a migrant worker or a member of the LGBTQIA+ community. We then discussed statements such as “He who has, to him shall be given”, and posed the question, “is it possible to be fairer?”, getting the students to decide for themselves how various occupations should be remunerated.

Some of the participants became noticeably more sensitive to the issue of societal privileges and were better able to recognize inequality and injustice. We are optimistic that in the long run, the students will move through the world with a sharpened sense for social justice. All in all, it was a great educational project day and the programme will be continued in 2023.

## HAMBURG

### WHITE THINKING

Lilian Thuram’s book *La pensée blanche* was originally published in France in 2020, sparking a lively debate when it came out. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung used the publication of the German translation as an opportunity to organize a reading tour with the former French football player. On 1 June 2022, more than 200 people attended Thuram’s talk at the FC St. Pauli Museum at the Millerntor Stadium, Hamburg. The location could not have been better chosen for Thuram, who has been an active anti-racism campaigner for decades: FC St. Pauli is known for its anti-fascist and anti-racist supporters and ethos. A further 150 people were able to attend the event online thanks to the efforts of the co-organizers, 1910 – Museum für den FC St. Pauli e.V.

On the basis of detailed research, in *White Thinking* Thuram traces the history, brutality, and contemporary legacies of slavery and colonialism. He provokes a change of perspective that addresses not only the oppressed but also the oppressors – white people, who aren’t used to being reduced to the colour of their skin. Thus, Thuram started the evening with the question to the audience – who of those present would identify as “white”? – and then went on to immediately deconstruct this self-designation. In truth, this question is far from being as simple as it seems. As the former football star pointed out, if it were really only a matter of colour, we would hardly call “white” people “white” – they would be something more like “pink people”. Thuram explained that he himself only learned he was meant to consider himself “black” when he was around nine years old, and experienced the forms of discrimination resulting from this ascription.

What are the roots of racism? How does it develop? What makes up “white thinking”? Thuram gave a very thought-provoking talk, answered questions from the audience, and signed books for two hours afterwards. It was a memorable evening for all present.



A panel discussion in Frankfurt about self-governing regions in Syria.



Interview with victims of the racist pogrom in Rostock-Lichtenhagen 30 years ago.

## HESSE

### TEN YEARS OF ROJAVA

In collaboration with medico international, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hesse organized a two-day conference on the topic of 10 years of autonomous administration in the north and east of Syria, with a particular focus on Rojava (*Rojavayê Kurdistanê*, or Western Kurdistan). 25 speakers, three of whom came from Syria especially for this event, met in Frankfurt am Main on 10–11 September, to discuss their experiences and the current challenges faced by these regions, at *10 Years Rojava: From Democratic Experiment to a Beacon of Hope for a Region*.

After opening remarks by medico and the Mayor of Frankfurt, Nargess Eskandari-Grünberg, the discussion started with a look back at the important democratic achievements of the last decade as well as the internal political problems and external dangers, including the Turkish invasions and the terrorist organization Islamic State (IS). In the second round, two speakers presented the fundamental political principles of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, feminist, and democratic-communalist political programme of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. Following this, the administration's historical development was traced and critically discussed. The fourth panel discussed the local population's access to water, which is threatened by both Turkey's water policy and the climate crisis. The first day was concluded by a discussion on self-governance in the context of geopolitical interests.

The second day's discussion was devoted to the exports of arms to warring factions in the region, the use of drone strikes by Turkey against the Autonomous Administration, which has cost the lives of dozens of civilians, the danger posed by IS prisoners of war and their tens of thousands of family members, and finally to the question of justice for the victims of the war and the future for autonomy in the region.

## MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA

### 30 YEARS SINCE THE POGROM IN ROSTOCK-LICHTENHAGEN

In August 2022, it was 30 years since a xenophobic mob in Rostock-Lichtenhagen besieged, attacked, and eventually set fire to both the Zentrale Aufnahmestelle für Asylbewerber (asylum seeker reception centre) and the so-called Sunflower House, a residence for Vietnamese Vertragsarbeiter (contract workers).

Despite several commemorative events, the perspectives and demands of the people who were targeted in the attack have still barely been taken into consideration. An alliance of various organizations and groups, including the Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania branch of the RLS, set out to commemorate this event in a different way in 2022, and agreed on some common basic principles from which to begin discussion: the pogrom should not be relativized; it should not be seen as an isolated incident, but instead as part of a continuum of violence and the threat of violence; the voices and positions of those affected should be foregrounded; there must be significantly more support offered to those affected by racism, both in the past and today, and more support given to those engaged in political education and commemoration around the subject. Well before the anniversary, the RLS regional branch, in collaboration with partners from the alliance, organized ten public events as a critical counterpoint to the City of Rostock's "official" commemoration, including an informational tour to five sites in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania.

A highlight of the critical event series was a moving panel presented on 24 August at the Peter-Weiss-Haus Rostock, featuring interviews with people affected by the pogrom. These interviews are the result of a project that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has funded since 2019. Izabela Tiberiade, daughter of Romeo Tiberiade, a member of the Roma community who was housed in the Sunflower House when it was attacked, emphasized the continuing importance of political education work in coming to terms with the pogrom.



Painful memories: discussing the practice of “sending away children”.



Participants in the educational trip to Paris, at Père Lachaise cemetery.

## LOWER SAXONY

### THE TRAUMA OF “SENT AWAY” CHILDREN

On 8 August 2022, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Club Niederelbe invited author and activist Anja Röhl to give a reading in the town of Stade. Anja Röhl is the author of two books on the practice of “Kinderverschickens” (sending away children), was herself a victim of this practice, and is now chairwoman of the organization Aufarbeitung und Erforschung Kinder-verschickung (AEKV e. V.).

At the practice’s height from the 1950s to the 1970s, children between the ages of four and ten were sent for six-week health cures to the countless clinical spas in the Federal Republic, where they were kept without contact to their parents or community. Röhl estimates the number of children sent to these spas over the years to be around eight to twelve million. For the clinics and their investors, these cures were an extremely profitable business.

It was up to chance whether children ended up in a clinic where they could actually recover from health problems or thrive, or in one where they were kept compliant with coercive measures and physical and psychological punishments. The perpetrators were often pedagogical staff and medical personnel who had already practiced or learned their methods under the Nazi regime. Children were frequently traumatized. In her talk, Anja Röhl focused on testimonials by children who were sent away, and placed the practice in its historical context. The audience was deeply moved, and in the discussion that followed, they supplemented and enriched the talk with their own diverse and numerous experiences.

Public discussion about children being sent to these clinics has only recently entered public debate. Crucial to this was the initiative of those affected. Survivors self-organize, carry out research, and piece together gaps in their knowledge with each other’s help. Together, they are calling on the federal government, states, local authorities, and welfare organizations to carry out a thorough investigation of what went on.

## NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

### “GLORIOUS HARBINGER OF A NEW SOCIETY”

On 18 March 1871, the workers and petty bourgeois of Paris proclaimed the Paris Commune. The communards began to govern the city themselves according to socialist principles. In *The Civil War in France*, Karl Marx described the Commune as a “glorious harbinger of a new society”.

On our educational trip from 11–13 March 2022, we, a group of 25 participants, visited the sites of the Commune’s political and social struggles. Many on the French left continue to explicitly refer to the experience of the Commune in contemporary social conflicts; justification enough for taking a closer look at current struggles there.

A film screening and discussion on Saturday morning, introducing the topic, and a walk to the monument for the Communards at the cemetery in Montparnasse, as well as to the Hôtel de Ville, where the Commune was proclaimed, were followed by a city tour with Vincent Pezon from the Amies et amis de la Commune de Paris. Pezon brought the events of the Commune to life, at the actual locations in Montmartre where they took place. The day’s programme was rounded off by a discussion with political scientist Ethan Earle, on the then upcoming 2022 French election.

On Sunday morning, Jean-Pierre Theurier took us on a thought-provoking excursion to Père Lachaise, the famous Parisian cemetery where many of the Communards are buried. In many places, bullet holes on the graves can still be seen from the battles during the *semaine sanglante*, the Commune’s last days.

The tour ended at the Communards’ Wall, an important site of remembrance, and we were invited to once again reflect on our impressions of the past few days.



Feminist punk collective Pussy Riot.



Visiting the community-supported farm in Limbach

## RHINELAND-PALATINATE

### PUNK NOT PUTIN

When the feminist punk collective Pussy Riot staged their Punk Prayer against Putin and his policies in Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in February 2012, they made it clear to the rest of the world that despite ongoing repression, people in Russia were still making music, art, and literature that opposed the nationalist, patriarchal, homophobic mainstream and the authoritarian state.

With the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, the situation for those making oppositional art and culture has become even more precarious. In the West, voices calling for a boycott of Russian art grew louder after the invasion on the 24 February. Russia expert Norma Schneider countered this trend with her lecture of 6 April 2022, *Punk statt Putin. Gegenkultur in Russland vor und nach Beginn des Angriffskriegs* (Punk Not Putin: Russian Counterculture Before and After the War of Aggression). She argued for solidarity with the cultural enclaves in which oppositional artists and activists still exist, and make use of what little space they have to try to respond creatively to the situation in which they find themselves.

Invited to give a talk by the RLS Rhineland-Palatinate and the Kurt-Eisner-Verein, journalist and author Schneider gave an introduction to the ideology of the Putin regime, presented the political and cultural mainstream and the official cultural policy, and described how the state deals with counterculture, oscillating between repression and attempts at recuperation. Against this background, she drew a vivid portrait of the Russian counterculture, in which the underground scene, anti-war songs, and queer literature have just as much a place as feminist self-organization, Putin memes, and artistic protests in public space.

Schneider's lecture was accompanied by numerous examples from music and literature. Despite the current political situation, what came to the fore was not the extent of the repression, but what is still able to be done, in spite of everything.

## SAARLAND

### MONTE NATIVA: DIALOGUE WITH NATURE

In the Yaboty Biosphere Reserve in Argentina, a unique agricultural initiative is trying to increase fruit and vegetable harvests. Monte Nativa is in equal measures a project, a company, an institution for agricultural education, and the symbol of a mission. Matias Bertone and Carlos Mayol want to pass on their knowledge and, at the invitation of RLS regional branch the Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft, came to stay at a community-supported farm in Limbach, Saarland.

Bertone and Mayol run a special form of agroforestry: by closely observing natural conditions such as soil, climate, and species, as well as setting up a community-supported farm, they have managed to bring in fantastically bountiful harvests. Their method also incorporates knowledge of traditional mixed and permaculture farming, primarily using indigenous plant varieties, an approach which protects soil, plants, people, and nature alike. For this reason, they both talk about a "culture of dialogue with nature". Naturally enriching the soil, and the work of microorganisms, are particularly important to them, combined with the inclusion of trees.

Both activists emphasized that their methods are not new but draw on centuries of experience. Even the Spanish conquistadors were amazed at the large quantities of fruit the Indigenous people extracted from what they saw as "jungle". This was made possible by a mixed cultivation style in which countless plants grow together in symbiosis, share light, nutrients, and water, and are able to keep potential pests at bay. Thanks to this method of cultivation, crop yields can be increased by up to 400 percent compared to conventional agriculture. After the extremely hot European summers of the last few years, this approach to farming looks interesting indeed. Bertone and Mayol are planning to return to Saarland in 2023 to set up their first model field at the Limbach community-supported farm, which they hope will encourage others to pursue the same methods.



When political orientation is lacking, discussion is urgently needed.

## SAXONY

### “NEW” POLITICAL OBSCURITIES

The political landscape has seen numerous ideological shifts in recent years. A clear classification into “left” and “right” has become more difficult since ideas from parts of the far right have found their way into public discourse. Meanwhile, groups on the right have for some time been co-opting left-wing forms of action, codes, and political issues for their own purposes — though the real substance of these inevitably gets shrunken and distorted in the process.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony addressed this appropriation from the right, as well as possible problematic left-right intersections, with a six-part event series called *‘Neue’ politische Unübersichtlichkeiten* (‘New’ Political Obscurities), which took place in October and November 2022 in Leipzig, Chemnitz, Dresden, and online.

At the events, important terms were clarified, their genesis explained, and current manifestations of their usage presented. Participants learned about the proclivity of the so-called mainstream of society for ideologies of xenophobic hostility, and the question of which ostensibly left-wing ideologemes contain latent repressive and authoritarian potential was also explored.

Author Volkmar Wölke gave a historical sketch and an ideology critique of the *Querfront* (“beyond left and right”) approach. Political scientist Natascha Strobl analysed the rhetorical and political strategies of traditional centre-right parties, some of which have embraced radicalized far-right conservatism in order to delay their own decline. Journalist Richard Gebhardt focused on the lines of development and the notable characteristics of a (new) right critique of capitalism, which boil down to variations on an anti-liberal critique of culture and “decadence”. The three other events dealt with themes like antisemitic thought patterns in left-wing organizations, with anti-feminism, and with Social Darwinism and biologism.



Paul Werner Wagner (left) with Hans-Eckardt Wenzel, the biographer of Konrad Wolf.

## SAXONY-ANHALT

### UNDERSTANDING HISTORY: BEYOND IDEOLOGY

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony-Anhalt and the Stadtbibliothek Halle (Saale) hosted the reading *Konrad Wolf — Chronist im Jahrhundert der Extreme* (Konrad Wolf: Chronicler in the Century of Extremes) on 15 November 2022. The singer, musician, and writer Hans-Eckardt Wenzel presented the eponymous book, which he co-authored with Antje Vollmer, former vice president of the German Bundestag. The book is published by Die Andere Bibliothek.

30 years after the end of the GDR, the story of Konrad Wolf’s life (1925–82) and that of his legendary family are at last available, contextualized in relation to the major events of a tempestuous century. Wenzel, the songwriter, brought filmmaker and socialist Konrad Wolf closer to those present at the event, with citations about the unique impact and function of the songs in Wolf’s oeuvre — from Busch’s *Jamara Front* song in the film *Ich War Neunzehn*, through to Wolf’s personal favourite, “Schwarzer Rabe”. They express an uncertain resoluteness, melancholy and optimistic at the same time, hope and utopia, major and minor — in life and in art.

The main topic in the conversation about the book, skilfully moderated by cultural scientist Paul Werner Wagner, was why a person like Wolf became a communist and why he remained one throughout his life. Neglected perspectives from East Germany on the devastation and hopes of the 20th century were also reconstructed.

The audience was inspired and engaged, and expressed interest in reading this unusual book — written by two authors, with two different perspectives and two different native lands, both of them Germanies — and also in “re-watching” the historical images that Konrad Wolf filmed.

Understanding history apart from ideologies, false concepts, and easily consumable answers, yet still keeping alive the hypothesis that conditions can be changed for the better — these were the valuable lessons of the evening.



Protest against arms shipments.



Participants in the Marxist Work Week in 1923 in Geraberg.

## SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

### DOCK WORKERS AGAINST ARMS DELIVERIES

On 27 September 2022 at the ONspace Gallery in Kiel, three dock workers from Genoa reported on the actions they have taken against shipments of weapons to crisis areas. For some years now there have been numerous such actions taken by workers in European ports. In Genoa in 2017, for example, dockers succeeded in preventing the loading of two generators onto the Saudi freighter *Bahri Yanbu*, known for transporting weapons to Saudi Arabia for use in its war on Yemen.

The Genoese dockworkers are organized in the Collettivo Autonomo Lavoratori Portuali (CALP), which strives to cooperate with like-minded activists both nationally and internationally, and has had some success, as the protests against the arms shipments of the *Bahri Yanbu* in Cherbourg and Antwerp demonstrate. There have been similar protests in other Italian cities, including Livorno and Ravenna. The workers are resolute, and see themselves in the tradition of the anti-war movement, which had been absent from the Italian streets for many years.

Meanwhile, the Italian state has responded with massive repression against the CALP dockworkers. In 2021, the state raided Genoese workers' houses and attempted prosecutions, including for "founding a criminal organization". The guest speakers from Italy thought that these cases would probably not lead to convictions, but because of Italian law, the charges alone would severely restrict the political activity of those concerned.

The discussion that followed the talk also acknowledged the port of Kiel as a hub for shipments of arms, especially to the Baltic region.

Unfortunately, dock workers from Greece who were originally supposed to take part in the event — organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein in collaboration with the Griechenland-Solidaritätskomitee Kiel — were unable to attend.

## THURINGIA

### THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF CRITICAL THEORY

At the beginning 2022, a group of committed volunteers set out to review the history of the Marxist Work Week, organized at Karl Korsch's initiative, that took place in Geraberg, Thuringia, on Pentecost in 1923. The research group was supported by a collaboration between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen and the educational organization Arbeit und Leben Thüringen e.V.

Numerous leading figures of early Critical Theory, international Marxists, and philosophers Karl Korsch and Georg Lukács all took part in the week-long meeting. Topics of discussion included the prospects for an institute for Marxism — the newly founded Institute for Social Research. Korsch and Lukács had just published their works *Marxism and Philosophy* and *History and Class Consciousness* and gave talks on questions of method.

The goal of the historical research project was to raise awareness of this invisible (pre-)history of critical theory, in anticipation of the 2023 anniversary. This resulted in a series of events in Jena in the fall of 2022, available as audio recordings, and the platform [www.marxistische-arbeitswoche.de](http://www.marxistische-arbeitswoche.de). The series included an introduction to the Marxist Work Week itself, an exhibition, *Korsch in Thuringia*, also sponsored by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as well as a discussion of the principle works of Korsch and Lukács. There were also events on the development of the workers' movement in 1923, on the history of participants Hede Massing (then Gumperz) and Richard Sorge's involvement in espionage, and on the women at the Marxist Work Week and their theoretical contribution to critical theory. Spin-offs from the series also took place in Gotha over the course of the year.

In 2023, various contributions to the series, as well as an afterword by the project group, were published by Michael Buckmiller at Offizin-Verlag. The project group plans to continue its work through 2023.



## THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

For the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation, 2022 was overshadowed by the Russian war on Ukraine. The work of the RLS office in Kyiv has been massively affected by the war; for RLS staff, work on projects could only take place under the most difficult of conditions, with some remaining in Ukraine and some seeking refuge abroad.

On 8 April, the Russian government withdrew the legal status of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and other foreign organizations, forcing us to close our Moscow office. The new manager whom we had intended to appoint to the Moscow office will now work from Vienna instead.

New managers were also appointed to the Beirut, Dar es Salaam, Delhi, Johannesburg, Mexico, and São Paulo offices. In view of the many personnel changes abroad, but also in the Berlin head office, it was all the more gratifying that all our colleagues based abroad could come together for a joint meeting with the RLS staff at the Berlin office at the end of June. After the years of the pandemic, coming together in this way was extremely important — in order to meet each other in person, and reflect on what we have all gone through. Both the former Chair of the Executive Board, Dagmar Enkelmann, and current RLS Executive Director, Daniela Trochowski, used the opportunity to emphasize the importance of internationalism. Against the background of rising authoritarianism, it is worth looking to inspiring examples of solidarity practices from around the world.

Because the RLS is connected to local struggles through its 26 international offices, located on every continent, we have access to a priceless trove of experience that really ought to be better utilized. This is why we are advocating for even greater integration between the German and international RLS offices.

With that in mind, in June we held a semi-public symposium with representatives of Die Linke and from left-wing civil society, in which we discussed various approaches to constructing a new internationalism in a world rapidly unravelling. Some examples of successfully connecting our work at home with our activities abroad were the events in Germany focused on the Qatar World Cup, or the decentralized actions which lent a critical voice to the COP27 climate summit in Egypt. Both events exemplify how states are using sportswashing and climate diplomacy to paint over the glaring contradiction between the rights they purport to guarantee on the one hand and the repression and human rights violations they perpetrate on the other. Shedding light on the scandal of this contradiction remains one of our tasks.

## EMERGENCY AID

### THE IMPACTS OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR ON THE WORK OF THE RLS

Very few of us saw Russia's full-scale assault on Ukraine coming — not even our colleagues and partners in the country itself. Since the beginning of the year, there had been fears of a further escalation in the Donbas region. Just one week prior to the 24 February invasion, an internal meeting took place in which leftists from Ukraine and Russia exchanged ideas for possible de-escalation. The attack on Kyiv was therefore a watershed moment for everyone concerned. Two of our colleagues from the Kyiv office immediately left the country, while two others stayed: these colleagues — together with our partner organizations — continue to carry out the work of the RLS under the most challenging of circumstances.

In the immediate aftermath of the invasion, many of our project partners regrouped and began concretely organizing aid for the people of Ukraine: they brought food and generators to areas just behind the front lines, set up a shelter and soup kitchen in Lviv for those fleeing, or distributed relief supplies to internally displaced people in Rivne. Our Kyiv team remained in constant contact with our partners and so could provide them with immediate and unbureaucratic support, for example in fleeing from conflict areas. As part of efforts by the RLS Europe office to collect donations from colleagues, multiple shipments of relief supplies were organized. At the beginning of March, the RLS also made a wider appeal for donations, which were to go to our partner organizations in Ukraine and thus provide humanitarian aid on the ground. Altogether, in addition to the many items donated, over 20,000 euros were collected.

From summer 2022 onwards, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the German Federal Foreign Office (AA) allocated additional funds for the support of Ukrainian organizations, whether they were in the country or in exile. We distributed these funds to our partner organizations in Ukraine, Germany, Poland, and the Czech Republic; the AA funds were specially earmarked to boost dialogue with exiled Ukrainian leftists in Germany. In Poland, which took in more refugees from Ukraine than any other country, our Warsaw office carried out a number of projects, including providing guidance to Ukrainians on their rights as refugees.

With the special funding from the BMZ, the RLS entered uncharted territory: it was the first time in which we directly coordinated emergency aid on a large scale. The funding enabled us to purchase items such as ambulances for the city of Kryvyi Rih, X-ray equipment for Malyn, and water filters for Mykolayiv, helping our partner organizations to improve the situation on the ground in terms of healthcare. We also supported our partners in remaining operational. One such organization was Freefilmers, a collective of independent film-makers from Mariupol who use film as a tool for political engagement and education, and whom we provided with



Fire in an oil depot following the attack on Lviv by Russian rockets, April 2022.

new camera equipment. Altogether over the course of four months, over half a million euros flowed into emergency aid and immediate support for our partners in Ukraine. This was only possible thanks to the efforts of our colleagues and project partners on the ground, who did an extraordinary job. Aside from this emergency aid, we also continued our regular project work. Our long-term media partner Spilne/Commons provided uninterrupted coverage of the war with analysis and commentary, increasingly with English translations, ensuring that voices from the Ukrainian left could be heard within the international discourse.

The Online Dossier on Ukraine on the RLS homepage, launched shortly before the outbreak of war, also prominently featured articles from those on the Ukrainian and Russian left. We published their responses to the war as well as their analyses of its causes, and their calls for solidarity from the global left. There were also analyses assessing and contextualizing the global repercussions of the war; the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation made significant contributions here. Various topics were canvassed, including how to classify the Chinese position on the war, as well as the implications for West Asia of the lack of Ukrainian grain exports, or discussions in left-wing circles in Latin America, Scandinavia, and of course Germany on the appropriate response to the war and determining a left-wing foreign policy.

Collaborating with the RLS regional branches, we organized dozens of events intended to foster dialogue between the Ukrainian and German left. The topics ranged from the Ukrainian left's position on the war to the politics of history, through to the situation of the LGBTQI+ community in Kherson, then under Russian occupation. In addition to traditional discussion rounds, the event formats also included film screenings and theatre projects.

In the course of the war, the domestic political situation within Russia got steadily worse, particularly with increased repression of civil society groups critical of the government. Following the Russian regime's 8 April withdrawal of the legal

registration of all political foundations and international NGOs, we were forced to close our Moscow office. We considered it of paramount importance to protect our colleagues there: they were given severance pay, and two of them were able to leave Russia and continue their work with project partners who had also left Russia — for Germany, Moldova, and the South Caucasus. With the onset of Russian mobilization in autumn 2022, more and more of our project partners wanted to flee the country, requesting our help in obtaining humanitarian visas for Germany, which we managed to procure in some cases. Since the autumn, we have been setting up a new office for Eastern European dialogue, located in Vienna, in order to keep in contact with left-wing movements in Eastern Europe and to compile analyses on developments in Russia, thereby supplying left-wing debates on Russia with necessary background information.

In spite of the war, the RLS has been able to continue its work, ensuring that leftist voices from the region will not be silenced, and that they can engage in future discussions around a lasting peace and the rebuilding of Ukraine.



Oleksandra Hryhorenko.

## THE RLS KYIV OFFICE

INTERVIEW WITH OLEKSANDRA HRYHORENKO,  
PROJECT MANAGER OF THE RLS IN KYIV

### What was the Kyiv team’s experience of the Russian attack of 24 February 2022?

**Oleksandra Hryhorenko:** Initially, all of us were faced with personal decisions: assessing the situation, and our own survival, took priority over office work. In the first place, all the staff left Kyiv. We went to stay with relatives in villages, or headed west, away from the capital. Two of us left the country, two stayed in Ukraine. I spent the night of 24–25 February in the office, because the train station is within easy walking distance, but I hadn’t decided whether it was a good idea to actually use a train ticket I had bought. As I was wrestling with this decision, I could already hear explosions on the outskirts of the city and, in the end, early next morning I boarded my train and left for the countryside.

Now, if I think back to the beginning of the invasion with respect to my work, I’m reminded of a Zoom call with colleagues from Berlin on 24 February and a sad, desperate video by Ivo Georgiev, the head of our Ukraine office, which was posted at the end of February. Today, all of this seems like a strange mosaic to me, I can barely manage to conceive of the memories as a whole.

### Under these circumstances, how are you able to continue working as a team?

**Hryhorenko:** We work via chats, e-mails, Zoom. Video calls were pretty difficult when there were problems with the internet connection. The most urgent documents we send by post, the less urgent ones we hand over at occasional

meetings — on several occasions we have been able to meet in Poland, thanks to the hospitality of the RLS Warsaw office. Of course, none of this can replace being physically present in the office together, and there are some things we cannot currently accomplish, but we are striving to find solutions.

### How are you able to continue your work in spite of power cuts?

**Hryhorenko:** If you’re completely without power, then of course it’s just unfeasible. Nearer to the front lines, where the infrastructure is continuously being damaged, our work would be almost impossible. All of us, and those from our partner organizations too, have experienced extended power outages following massive air strikes. In many cases, one just has to wait. The worst is that when the power goes out so does the internet, and often the mobile phone network with it, so then all forms of communication are paralysed.

Things are simpler for me in the countryside. If there is planned downtime to the energy grid, you can adapt around it. It then makes a big difference whether the planned downtime is 2/4 — 2 hours off, 4 hours on — or 4/2. Of course, it’s then really useful to have batteries and powerbanks. In the village, petrol-powered generators are more readily available. In Kyiv it was more difficult — even planned downtimes were really hard to predict. When Russian air strikes targeted power plants in Kyiv, they also hit a thermal power station just around the corner from the RLS office. The shockwave blew out our windows. In Kyiv — and I suppose also in many other cities — there is a macabre joke going around that apartments are being rented out with the tagline “no thermal power plants,

air defence, or military installations nearby". But, getting back to the topic of work, I must say that the stressful experience of remote work during the coronavirus pandemic is actually helping now. That period also demonstrated how many things could actually wait, and be caught up on later.

**Why did you decide to stay in Ukraine?**

**Hryhorenko:** Much later on, I asked myself the same question, after the decision had already been made. First of all it was a spontaneous reaction. In the immediate aftermath of the full-scale invasion, it was clear that not everywhere was equally dangerous, that there were still some places which were quiet and, to a certain extent, safe. Of course, I couldn't — and still can't — be certain that my parents' village will remain that way forever. It was also an important factor, though, that my parents under no circumstances wanted to leave the country. The real reason is perhaps not wanting to lose the perspective you get "from here". I really admire people who have left but who retain a deep connection with Ukraine, but for myself, I can't imagine leaving.

**How are things looking in terms of working on projects?**

**Hryhorenko:** When it comes to event formats, almost everything can be carried out, just as long as the area is safe. Of course, the war has changed our subject matter. After the full-scale invasion had begun, many partners had to literally save their own lives. Many of them then joined volunteer organizations, or became involved with existing humanitarian aid networks. When they realized that they still had some leftover energy for project work, this led to projects being taken up again, but with new timelines and redefined topics.

**Thank you for the interview, and for your work in these challenging times.**

**LOCAL CLIMATE CONFERENCES:  
BY COMMUNITIES, FOR COMMUNITIES**

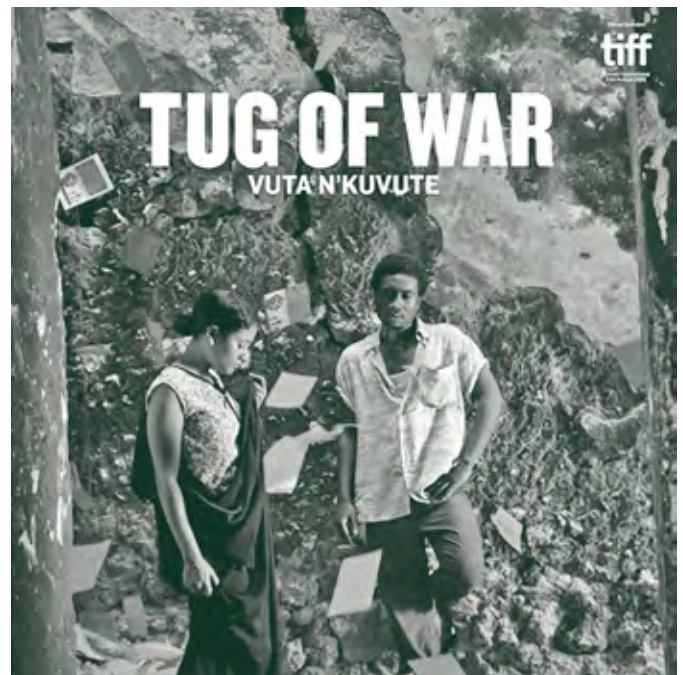
The fact that Sharm El-Sheikh was the location for the COP27, the UN Climate Change Conference of November 2022, is emblematic of the crisis in international climate diplomacy. The Egyptian regime has become infamous for its repressive treatment of all forms of criticism and civil society opposition, as well as for its innumerable human rights violations, which have affected many (and especially left-wing) activists. In view of its relatively small contribution to global greenhouse gas emissions, the African continent suffers an especially acute form of climate injustice. It is becoming more and more clear that the countries of the Global South can no longer wait for international institutions to make decisions, nor can they rely on the whims of the polluting countries. Solutions must come from the people themselves. More grassroots action,

education, as well as research into indigenous practices of environmental protection are needed.

For the last two years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been overseeing an initiative to set up a national platform for local climate justice activists, and which has organized local climate conferences ("local COPs") in Senegal and parts of West Africa. The aim of these conferences is to decentralize protest and engagement with climate policy, and thus to strengthen it at a community level.

This platform was launched at a workshop in Mbour, Senegal, in March 2022, and identified five so-called "climate poles" in the country, which relate to five regional climatic challenges. For example, in the Diourbel region, at the central climatic "pole": sporadic rainfall has negatively impacted farming, and soil salinization has wrecked the agricultural sector. On top of that, there are the problems of coastal and river erosion. Climate change has worsened poverty, made inequality starker, and forced young people to leave rural areas. Forum participants did not limit themselves to the analysis of local problems. They also called for ingrained patterns of production and consumption to be abandoned, and new, local solutions to be sought — for the sake of a fairer and better life, for future generations as well.

.....  
*Vuta N'Kuvute (Tug of War)* is a film supported by the RLS East Africa office, based on the award-winning Tanzanian novel by Shafi Adam Shafi. It is a love story set amid the anti-colonial liberation struggle in Zanzibar. Since its 2021 premiere, the film, directed by Amil Shivji, has won numerous awards worldwide.  
 .....





2019: under the slogan “Chile has woken up!”, social revolts exploded in Chile.

**MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: THE REJECTION OF THE NEW CHILEAN CONSTITUTION**

In October 2020, when an overwhelming majority of Chileans voted to draft a new constitution, this represented an institutionalization of society’s demand for a new social order which would be fairer for all, as well as breaking with the authoritarian and neoliberal legacy of the Pinochet dictatorship.

This constitution, drafted over the following two years, and which had a social, feminist, ecological, and plurinational orientation, had been intended to realign society towards principles of solidarity. This new constitution would have then been one of the most progressive in the world.

However, in the referendum of 4 September 2022, 62 percent of voters rejected the adoption of the draft constitution. Meanwhile, parliament agreed on a revised process for making changes to the constitution, heralding a return to “top-down” democracy.

Our partner organizations in Chile organized a great number of activities to accompany and support the drafting process: ANAMURI, an Indigenous and rural women’s organization, organized nationwide discussion groups whose purpose was to explain to grassroots members what was contained in the new constitution; it also took its campaigns around issues such as food sovereignty and territorial conflicts directly to members of the Constitutional Convention. At the international Feminist Constituent Assembly, organized by the Coordinadora feminista 8M collective, the central topic was how the draft constitution could incorporate feminist issues. The environmental organization OLCA counselled the Constitutional Convention — with recourse to territorial debates — on key issues such as the environment, climate, energy, extractivism, and social-ecological demands. After the draft constitution had been rejected, OLCA continued to publish texts interrogating the reasons for the defeat, and has been keeping a critical eye on the new process for making changes to the constitution.



From left: Daniela Gabor, Ikal Angelei, and Peter Doyle at the Dakar conference.

**SECOND CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY SOVEREIGNTY**

In Dakar, from 25–28 October 2022, the RLS West Africa office, the International Development Economics Associates (IDEAs), and the Politics of Money Network organized the Second Conference on African Economic and Monetary Sovereignty, which took place both in person and online.

The 30 experts invited from Africa, Europe, Asia, and North America were unanimous that the coronavirus pandemic had not only laid bare the structural weaknesses of the African continent — in particular the heavy reliance on foreign financing, technology, and food — but also the complete lack of global solidarity. They pointed out the implementation of an effective “vaccine apartheid” by the Global North, which largely abandoned the countries of the Global South to the mercy of public and private lenders, thus propelling them further into debt.

With the war in Ukraine, the situation has deteriorated further, meaning that the idea of delinking economies has taken on greater urgency. “Delinking” in no way means complete self-sufficiency, but rather a striving for the sovereignty and autonomy of African economies, breaking with the neoliberal order, and pursuing strategies for sustainable development that will strengthen food security, energy independence, and pharmaceutical supply.

Keeping in mind the necessity of initiating projects around climate adaptation and escaping reliance on fossil fuels, “decoupling” requires a new multilateralism, as well as transfer payments to the benefit of the countries of the Global South. These goals were enshrined in the Dakar Declaration, an internationalist manifesto and global plan of action. The African Heterodox Economics Network, an organization founded after the conference, will continue to advance these goals.

**SPEAKERS' TOUR: RECLAIM THE GAME!**

2022 QATAR WORLD CUP: SYSTEMIC FOUL PLAY

For almost two weeks in September 2022, Malcolm Bidali, Krishna Shrestha, Binda Pandey, Jeevan Taramu, and Jeevan KC travelled through Germany with us, speaking from their positions as victims and activists, in order to raise awareness of labour and human rights violations against migrant workers in Qatar. With ten public events, we managed to reach over 1,000 people across nine cities, with some events also being livestreamed and still available online (1,275 views and counting). Collaborating closely with a number of football fan initiatives across the country, our partner organization Gesellschaftsspiele e. V. was especially important in conceptualizing the design of the campaign, promoting the events, and sharing the core messages through a pamphlet and specially designed world map.

The first-hand experiences of our speakers formed the focal point of the tour. They gave insights into their daily lives and their work in the construction and event security sectors, and cast light on how Qatar puts migrant workers in a zone effectively outside the law. Speaking to the press and to the public, they discussed the relationship between global inequality and migration, how a lack of freedom of speech or freedom of assembly is connected to exploitation, and talked about possible approaches for international solidarity. We then invited experts from various fields to discuss how this related to conditions in Germany, each expanding on a different topic: union organizing and working conditions; the commercialization and corruption of football; and geopolitics, forms of protest, and counter-strategies.

Internal, specialist discussions also took place in the sphere of politics. Addressing the Munich City Council, the state parliaments of Saxony-Anhalt and Saxony, and the Bundestag, we emphasized our demand for football's global governing body FIFA to be subject to parliamentary oversight, as well as our criticism of the German government's silence in the face of the conditions in Qatar — motivated by its desire to import Qatari liquefied natural gas. We also highlighted the question of how to, with greater effectiveness, boost the impact of these workers' demands for compensation.

Through the World Cup's global visibility, as well as the finely-tuned collaboration between different departments of the RLS — from Political Communication, to the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation, the India office with the involvement of seven regional offices, and the press office — and thanks to an excellent social media presence and a thematically broad online dossier, we were able to reach a wide audience with excellent and engaging material. This was our contribution to keeping up the multifaceted, loud, and imaginative protests by football fans both in and out of stadiums — which were quite successful. Eventually, even on German TV's Sportschau, the term "World Cup" only appeared with the word "controversial" attached, and TV

ratings were significantly lower than those for previous World Cups.

Although the large infrastructure projects for the World Cup have been completed, there are millions of migrant workers still working in Qatar on a daily basis. For some of these workers' countries of origin, their remittances represent as much as 30 percent of GDP. Migrant worker exploitation does not stop with the World Cup, but is part of a larger, structural problem. To get this under control, migration for work purposes must be better regulated and receive state support. Aside from that, it is necessary to have more stringent oversight, as well as enforcing legal penalties and prosecution for labour safety violations or non-payment of wages. Last but not least, those affected need support so that they can take legal action against exploitative structures — both in the recruitment process and in the workplace. Now and in the future, we and our partner organizations are going to carry on applying political pressure wherever it is required, on every level.

**SPEAKERS' TOUR: IN THE MEDIA SPOTLIGHT**

*"Die Macht des schwarzen Bildschirms"* (The Power of the Black Screen), read the headline in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. ZDF Online reported on our event in Frankfurt am Main with the title "Die Zeit des Wegduckens ist vorbei" (No More Shirking Responsibility). The *heute journal* broadcast an interview with Malcolm Bidali on 29 September 2022. Altogether, more than 50 interviews were conducted with participants in the Speakers' Tour, and a large number of national media organizations took up and broadcast the criticisms we were raising, including various TV channels and radio stations. Even Uli Hoeneß was challenged to intervene in the debate by making a statement about working conditions in Qatar, on the football talk show *Doppelpass* (Sat1). The accompanying press release received 1,700 hits and 2,113 engagements at *News Aktuell* — a record response.

Our speakers, from left: Malcolm Bidali, Jeevan KC, Binda Pandey, and Krishna Shrestha.



## OUR INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

MEXICO CITY

NEW YORK

QUITO

SÃO PAULO

BUENOS AIRES

### LATIN AMERICAN UNIT

#### ANDES



**Location:** Quito, Ecuador  
**Year founded:** 2010  
**Project countries:** Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela  
**Office director:** Ferdinand Muggenthaler; from September 2023: Karin Gabbert  
[www.rosalux.org.ec](https://rosalux.org.ec)

#### CONO SUR



**Location:** Buenos Aires, Argentina  
**Year founded:** 2015  
**Project countries:** Argentina, Chile, Uruguay  
**Office director:** Torge Löding  
<https://rosalux-ba.org>

#### GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

**Location:** Buenos Aires, Argentina  
**Year founded:** 2019  
**Project countries:** worldwide (focus on Latin America)  
**Programme director:** Alex Wischnewski  
<https://rosalux.org.br>

#### BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY



**Location:** São Paulo, Brazil  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** Brazil, Paraguay  
**Office director:** Andreas Behn  
<https://rosalux.org.br>

#### MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, AND CUBA



**Location:** Mexico City, Mexico  
**Year founded:** 2007  
**Project countries:** Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua  
**Office director:** Dieter Müller  
<https://rosalux.org.mx>

### INTERNATIONAL POLITICS UNIT

#### NORTH AMERICA AND UNITED NATIONS



**Location:** New York, USA  
**Year founded:** 2012  
**Project countries:** USA, Canada, UN locations  
**Office director:** Andreas Günther  
<https://rosalux.nyc>

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION POLITICS AND GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS



**Location:** Geneva, Switzerland  
**Year founded:** 2019  
**Project countries:** UN locations  
**Office director and programme director of international trade union politics:** Jan Leidecker  
**Programme director of global social rights:** Eva Wuchold  
<https://rosalux-geneva.org>



**AFRICA UNIT**

**EAST AFRICA**



**Location:** Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
**Year founded:** 2012  
**Project countries:** Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda  
**Office director:** Dorothee Braun; from September 2022: Katrin Voss  
[www.rosalux.or.tz](http://www.rosalux.or.tz)

**WEST AFRICA**



**Location:** Dakar, Senegal  
**Year founded:** 2010  
**Project countries:** Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal  
**Office director:** Claus-Dieter König  
<https://rosalux.sn>

**NORTH AFRICA**



**Location:** Tunis, Tunisia  
**Year founded:** 2014  
**Project countries:** Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco  
**Office director:** Armin Osmanovic  
<https://rosaluxna.org>

**ACADEMIC COOPERATION IN NORTH AFRICA**

**Location:** Tunis, Tunisia  
**Year founded:** 2015  
**Project countries:** Tunisia, Lebanon  
**Office director:** Nadia El Ouerg-hemmi  
<https://academiccooperation-rosalux.org/en/homepage>

**SOUTHERN AFRICA**



**Location:** Johannesburg, South Africa  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Botswana  
**Office director:** Siegfried Schröder; from April 2022: Janine Walter  
[www.rosalux.co.za](http://www.rosalux.co.za)

**FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME**

**Location:** Johannesburg, South Africa (in the regional office)  
**Year founded:** 2017  
**Programme director:** Jan Urhahn  
**Programme countries:** worldwide (focus on South Africa)



## EUROPE UNIT

### SOUTHEAST EUROPE



**Location:** Belgrade, Serbia  
**Year founded:** 2010  
**Project countries:** Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Montenegro  
**Office director:** Krunoslav Stojaković; from September 2022: Maria Oshana  
<https://rosalux.rs>

### LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Location:** Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina  
**Year founded:** 2020  
**Project countries:** Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo  
**Office director:** Krunoslav Stojaković; from September 2022: Maria Oshana  
[www.facebook.com/RLSTuzla](http://www.facebook.com/RLSTuzla)

### CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE

**Location:** Warsaw, Poland  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia  
**Office director:** Holger Politt; from September 2022: Achim Kessler  
[rls.pl](http://rls.pl)

### CENTRAL EUROPE



**Location:** Prague, Czech Republic  
**Year founded:** 2018  
**Project countries:** Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary  
**Office director:** Joanna Gwiazdecka  
<https://rosalux.cz>

### WESTERN EUROPE



**Location:** Brussels, Belgium  
**Year founded:** 2008  
**Project countries:** Belgium, Netherlands, France, Italy, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland  
**Office director:** Anna Schröder  
[www.rosalux.eu](http://www.rosalux.eu)

### TRADE AND ECONOMICS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

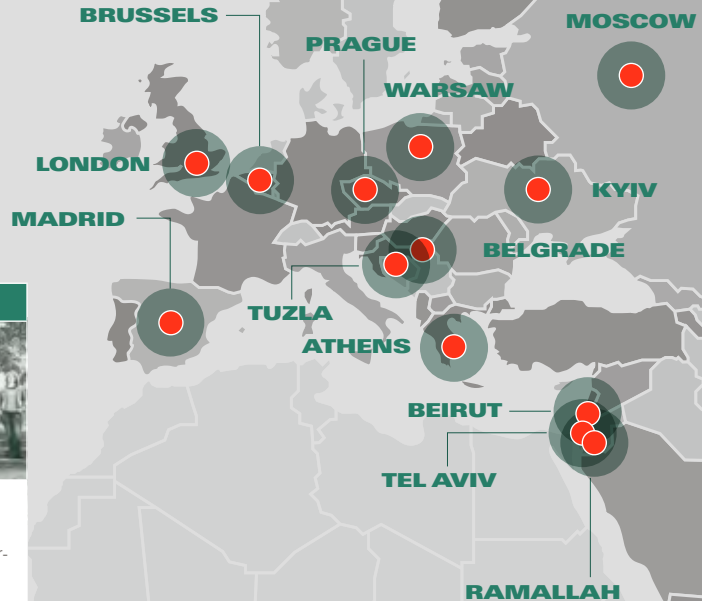
**Location:** Brussels, Belgium (in regional office)  
**Year founded:** 2018  
**Project countries:** worldwide (focus on Europe and EU trade relations)  
**Office director:** Arif Rüzgar  
[www.rosalux.eu](http://www.rosalux.eu)

### LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

**Location:** Madrid, Spain  
**Year founded:** 2017  
**Project countries:** Spain, Portugal  
**Programme Coordinator:** Anna Schröder  
[www.rosalux.eu](http://www.rosalux.eu)

### UKRAINE

**Location:** Kyiv, Ukraine  
**Year founded:** 2016  
**Project countries:** Ukraine, Moldova  
**Programme Coordination:** Ivo Georgiev  
<http://rosalux.org.ua/de>



### GREECE

**Location:** Athens, Greece  
**Year founded:** 2012  
**Project countries:** Greece and the Mediterranean  
**Office director:** Maria Oshana; from March 2022: Friedrich Burschel  
<https://rosalux.gr>

### UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND



**Location:** London, United Kingdom  
**Year founded:** 2019  
**Project countries:** United Kingdom, Ireland  
**Office director from Berlin:** Johanna Bussemer  
[www.rosalux.eu/en/topic/1567-rls-office-london.html](http://www.rosalux.eu/en/topic/1567-rls-office-london.html)

### EASTERN EUROPE DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

In April 2022 the registration of the Moscow office was withdrawn by the Russian authorities. Its work then continued from the Berlin office; the office will start operating from Vienna from autumn 2023.  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan  
**Office director:** Joanna Gwiazdecka



**WEST ASIA UNIT**

**ISRAEL**



**Location:** Tel Aviv, Israel  
**Year founded:** 2009  
**Project countries:** Israel  
**Office director:** Markus Bickel;  
 from March 2023: Gil Shohat  
[www.rosalux.co.il](http://www.rosalux.co.il)

**PALESTINE AND JORDAN**



**Location:** Ramallah, Palestine  
**Year founded:** 2008  
**Project countries:** Palestinian Territories, Jordan  
**Office director:** Karin Gerster  
[www.rosaluxemburg.ps](http://www.rosaluxemburg.ps)

**LEBANON, SYRIA, IRAQ**



**Location:** Beirut, Lebanon  
**Year founded:** 2017  
**Project countries:** Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar  
**Office director:** Miriam Younes;  
 from February 2022: Tanja Tabbara  
[www.rosalux-lb.org](http://www.rosalux-lb.org)

**ASIA UNIT**

**CHINA**



**Location:** Beijing, China  
**Year founded:** 2008  
**Project country:** China  
**Office director:** Jan Turowski  
[www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de)

**SOUTH ASIA**



**Location:** New Delhi, India  
**Year founded:** 2010  
**Project countries:** India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan  
**Office director:** Nadja Dorschner  
[www.rosalux.in](http://www.rosalux.in)

**SOUTHEAST ASIA (HANOI OFFICE)**



**Location:** Hanoi, Vietnam  
**Year founded:** 2009  
**Project countries:** Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand  
**Office director:** Phillip Degenhardt  
[www.rosaluxhanoi.org](http://www.rosaluxhanoi.org)

**SOUTHEAST ASIA (MANILA OFFICE)**



**Location:** Manila, Philippines  
**Year founded:** 2019  
**Project countries:** Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia  
**Office director:** Liliane Danso-Dahmen  
[www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de)

**CENTRAL ASIA**



**Location:** Almaty, Kazakhstan  
**Year founded:** 2018  
**Project countries:** Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan  
**Office director:** Marlies Linke  
[www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de)

## FUNDED PROJECTS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung cooperates with a variety of political education organizations from across Germany's federal states by funding their projects. In 2022, we received numerous requests for funding and a total of 204 applications. We also restructured our external projects funding scheme over the past year. Incoming funding applications are now discussed and approved quarterly instead of monthly, and we increased the maximum funding amount for regular funding to 2,000 euros per individual project. Also, for the first time, we allocated a portion of project funding to a specific theme. We invited projects that were planning formats compatible with our 2023 focus, *Solidarität bilden. Wie geht soziale Gerechtigkeit in der Krise?* (Building Solidarity: How Can Social Justice Be Achieved in Times of Crisis?), to apply for funding in the last quarter of 2022.

A total of 68 projects were funded last year. Of these, 27 projects were locally managed by the RLS regional branches. This means that we funded significantly fewer projects than in the previous year, although these received on average a larger amount of funding. 200,584 euros were invested, of which 50,000 could be used directly by the regional branches for project funding.

### **Two large projects were supported with a total of 70,000 euros (35 percent of the budget):**

- Three projects at the Linke Medienakademie e. V.: the hands-on congress *Skillshare in Bewegung* (Skillshare for Movements), the educational programme *Medien Sprechstunde* (Media Consultation Hour), and the online/hybrid conference *LiMA #Echotest – say it loud!* – 60,000 euros.
- Frauensommerakademie\* e. V.: *Feministische Sommerakademie\*2022 "feminist d\*anger"* (Feminist Summer Academy 2022 "feminist d\*anger") – 10,000 euros.

**Six projects were funded with between 5,000 and 10,000 euros, 18 projects with between 2,000 and 4,999 euros, 37 with between 1,000 and 1,999 euros, and three projects with between 500 and 999 euros.**

### **THE SPECTRUM OF FUNDED PROJECTS**

In 2022, we funded projects on a wide variety of topics with different formats and target audiences. The following are three examples:

**GRUPPE FÜR STADTTEILGESUNDHEIT UND VERHÄLTNIS-PRÄVENTION E. V.: COMSURVED – COMMUNITY HEALTH SURVEY AUF DER VEDDEL, HAMBURG – 4,000 EUROS**

A workshop series was funded as part of the research project *Leben und Gesundheit auf der Veddel* (Life and Health in Veddel). Health opportunities and the risk of disease are strongly determined by social conditions, even though specific data on particular localities is limited. This also holds true of the Veddel district in Hamburg, which is affected by structural disadvantages.

This project aimed to take a non-hierarchical approach to surveying the health and social conditions of the district’s residents. Interviewers received training in workshops, before conducting the survey in Veddel. The interview teams were made up of members of the Veddel community health centre and residents of the district. In addition, the workshops were used to collectively develop a holistic socio-political view of health. Following the interviews, the data collected will be evaluated in order to formulate demands and proposals for preventive measures and concrete health programmes in the district.

**IN 2022, THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 68 PROJECTS**





Evening atmosphere at the festival in Neubrandenburg.

**BUNDJUGEND MV E. V.: DIY-OR-DIE FESTIVAL, AUGUST 2022, NEUBRANDENBURG – 1,500 EUROS**

In 2022 it was another hot summer in Neubrandenburg. But instead of being overwhelmed by the lethargy of the small town, a group of young people from BUNDJugend Neubrandenburg and their supporters hazarded organizing a festival with the motto “do it yourself”. The result was a micro-festival with workshops, food, and an evening programme. In the green expanse of an allotment garden on a weekend in August, more than 120 young people gathered to learn and exchange ideas about political activism and sustainable living, and to practice printing their own clothes and making their own cosmetics from natural materials. The RLS contributed to the success of the event by funding several workshops. The weekend was documented in a 22-page reader, which includes workshop contents, practical recipes, and impressions of the events.

During the event, BUNDjugend MV received positive feedback for the set up in the garden, the catering, the wide range of workshops, and the accessibility of the activities. Future events should reduce barriers for people with physical impairments and for refugees, and the interests of women, lesbians, intersex, non-binary, trans and agender people should be given more attention and protected.

**KOMMUNAL E. V.: PRODUCTION OF SUPPORTING MATERIAL FOR THE FILM NAH DRAN, ON RIGHT-WING WOMEN, BERLIN – 2,000 EUROS**

Nah dran (Close) is an animated film about women in the new extreme right. The 40-minute film is intended as a political education tool to be used both inside and outside the classroom. The RLS funded the production of additional materials for education professionals to complement their work with the film. These include introductions to key topics for teachers and group leaders, as well as study materials with concrete discussion exercises, and food for thought for the whole group.

Based on an analysis of the main themes in the film, the educational material introduces topics such as gender, the spread of right-wing patterns of thought and behaviour, as well as right-wing actors and their ideology, while also explaining key concepts and outlining possible reactions against right-wing violence. In this way, the materials invite people to discuss the film, exchange personal experiences, and, most importantly, discuss possible ways to deal with right-wing ideology in their own communities.

.....  
 The film *NAH DRAN* and the accompanying materials will be available for free at [www.nahdran-film.de](http://www.nahdran-film.de).  
 .....

**With 11 projects, the topic social theory/critique of capitalism was the most strongly represented. Some examples of funded projects:**

- Subbotnik e. V.: *Kantine Gramsci* (Gramsci Canteen), Theory festival, August 2022 in Chemnitz — 5,000 euros
- Münchner Gesellschaft für dialektische Philosophie e. V.: *Privateigentum auf dem Prüfstand* (Private Property under Scrutiny), lecture series, September 2022 in Munich — 800 euros
- Internationale Peter-Weiss-Gesellschaft e. V.: *Der Störfall Peter Weiss* (The Disruptor Peter Weiss), conference, May 2020 in Potsdam — 1,700 euros
- Forschungs- und Informationsstelle beim BdWi e. V.: *Klimakrise und Wissenschaft* (Climate Crisis and Science), Autumn Academy, September-October 2022 in Werftpfehl — 3,158 euros

**With ten projects, the topic gender relations was also one of the focal points of this year's funding. Some of the projects we supported were:**

- Gen-ethisches Netzwerk e. V.: *Zwischen Ausbeutung und reproduktiver Freiheit. Feminist and capitalist-critical perspectives on egg transfer and "surrogacy"*, online event series, October/November 2022 — 1,950 euros
- Frauenrat Dest Dan e. V.: *Women Weaving Futures — The Revolution Is Female*, conference, November 2022 in Berlin — 1,286 euros
- Smashed Candy e. V.: *Queer Area — Queeres Straßenfest 1.0* (Queer Area — Queer Street Festival), November 2022 in Leipzig — 1,750 euros
- filmArche e. V.: *I'M NOT BITTER (I JUST WANT TO KILL YOU)*, animation film, 2022, Berlin — 2,000 euros

**Nine projects in the topic cluster social infrastructures, social rights, and social justice were funded. Here is a selection:**

- Solidarisches Gesundheitswesen e. V.: *Vernetzungstreffen der kritischen Mediziner\*innen* (Networking Meeting of Critical Medical Professionals), November 2022 in Halle — 1,477 euros
- Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen e. V.: *Europa in Bewegung — für gemeinsame soziale Standards* (Europe in Movement — For Common Social Standards), symposium, May 2022 in Hanover — 3,253 euros
- Plan:B e. V.: *Midragntas — ein queerer Blick auf Bürokratie und die Erfahrung der Migration* (Midragntas — A Queer Look at Bureaucracy and the Experience of Migration), video series, 2022, Berlin — 1,500 euros

**The support for publications and audio documentaries covered a wide range of topics. Here is a selection:**

- Corax e. V.: *Der Halle-Prozess: Hintergründe und Perspektiven* (The Halle Trial: Background and Perspectives), volume 2, publication, Halle 2022 — 2,000 euros

- Sächsischer Flüchtlingsrat e. V.: *Querfeld 2022 — Jahresmagazin des Sächsischen Flüchtlingsrats* (Cross Field 2022 — Annual magazine of the Saxon Refugee Council), 2022, Dresden — 2,000 euros
- Plan:B e. V.: *Lernen aus der selbstorganisierten politischen Bildung. Ergebnisse der Bildungsarbeit des Bloque Latinoamericano Berlin zur Pädagogik der Unterdrückten und gewerkschaftlichen Organisation* (Learning from Self-Organized Political Education: Results of the Educational Work of Bloque Latinoamericano Berlin on the Pedagogy of the Oppressed), brochure, Berlin — 2,000 euros
- Goase e. V.: *Geschichtete Erinnerungen* (Layered Memories), audio walk, December 2022, Leipzig — 1,400 euros
- R.A.D.I.O. e. V.: *Reality check(chen)* ((Mini)Reality Checks), production of radio reports on anti-racism, December 2022, Nuremberg — 1,830 euros

**Many projects were organized locally by the RLS regional branches. Local cooperation and mediation of contacts promotes networking among political educators across the federal states. Here are some examples:**

- Werkstatt Ethnologie Berlin e. V.: *Wohnen und Gender: Warum die Berliner Wohnungsfrage ein feministisches Anliegen ist* (Housing and Gender: Why the Berlin Housing Crisis is a Feminist Issue), weekend seminar, June 2022 in Berlin — 1,200 euros
- Gutshaus Hermannshagen e. V.: *FLINTA\*-Baustelle reisender Handwerkerinnen\* 2022 in Hermannshagen* (Travelling Craftswomen\*'s FLINTA\* Construction Site 2022 in Hermannshagen), May 2022 in Hermannshagen — 2,000 euros
- Bayerischer Flüchtlingsrat e. V.: *Rage against Abschiebung 2022 — Geht's noch?! Push back racism — not people!* (Rage Against Deportation 2022, anti-racism festival), October 2022 in Munich — 800 euros
- Subkultur Schopfheim e. V.: *Theater Performances During the Music-Culture-Polit Festival HOLZROCK Open Air 2022*, July 2022 in Schopfheim — 2,000 euros
- Frauen helfen Frauen e. V.: *Was ich anhatte... Wanderausstellung zum Thema sexualisierte Gewalt gegen Frauen* (What I Was Wearing... Touring Exhibition on Sexualized Violence Against Women), April to November 2022 in North Rhine-Westphalia — 1,500 euros

In 2022, project funding made it possible to offer a broad spectrum of left-wing political topics to the public. The funded projects round out the RLS's political education spectrum thematically, regionally, and in terms of target groups.



On 10 November 2022, the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize was awarded in a ceremony in Berlin. Before an audience of around 50 guests, the artists Rajkmal Kahlon (Berlin), Rudolf Herz (Munich), and Natacha Nisic (Paris), and art historian Dorothea Schöne (Berlin) received their awards from Dagmar Enkelmann (Chair of the Executive Board), Daniela Trochowski (Executive Director), and chairs of the Jury, Rosa von der Schulenburg and Eckhart Gillen. Later, at the opening of the exhibition *Kunst als Widerspruch* (Art as Contradiction) in the foyer, curator Oliver Sukrow provided an insight into the life and work of the anti-fascist artist couple who lent their names to the Prize. The exhibition included reproductions from Lea Grundig's graphic arts collection in Greifswald, shown for the first time.







**HEIKE RUSCHMEYER**  
BILDUNGSKUNDE 2017

Die Heike Ruschmeyer ist eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt. Sie hat sich in den letzten Jahren als eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt etabliert. Sie hat sich in den letzten Jahren als eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt etabliert. Sie hat sich in den letzten Jahren als eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt etabliert.

Die Heike Ruschmeyer ist eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt. Sie hat sich in den letzten Jahren als eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt etabliert. Sie hat sich in den letzten Jahren als eine der besten Musikerinnen der Welt etabliert.



# CENTER FOR DOCUMENTARY ARCHITECTURE (CDA)

KUNSTVERMITTLUNG 2015

«Aus dem zweiten Leben. Dokumente vergessener Architekturen» ist ein kollektives Forschungs- und Filmprojekt, das 2014 an der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar von den Professor\*innen Ines Weizman und Wolfgang Kassel mit weiteren Lehrenden sowie Studierenden der Fakultäten Architektur und Medien erarbeitet wurde. Im Mittelpunkt historischer Recherchen standen neun vertiefende Studien zu deutsch-jüdischen Exilarchitekt\*innen. Das Projekt begann mit einer zehntägigen Studienreise nach Israel und in das Westjordanland. Die Arbeiten – darunter mehrere Filme von etwa 25 Minuten Länge – wurden schließlich in einer Ausstellung präsentiert.



Mitglieder des CDA Teams mit Ines Weizman (2. von links) und Wolfgang Kassel (2. von rechts) 2014

Das Vorhaben stellt ein gelungenes Experiment in der universitären Lehre und Forschung dar: Jungen Filmemacher\*innen und Künstler\*innen wird eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit Architektur ermöglicht, Architekturstudent\*innen erlernen das Filmemachen.

Die kollektive Arbeit erlaubte eine besondere Art der Aneignung der Geschichte, bei der ein weitreichendes wissenschaftliches Netzwerk entstand, das auf intensiven Recherchen in verschiedenen Archiven und Sammlungen und auf Zeitzeug\*innengesprächen beruhte.

Cover der Ausstellungskataloge des Bauhaus-Universitäts Weimar

## AUS DEM ZWEITEN LEBEN

Dokumente vergessener Architekturen



«Das Projekt versteht Architektur nicht nur als baulich umfassten Raum, sondern in erster Linie als soziale, politische und lebensweltliche Kategorie [...] Durch diese differenzierten Perspektiven, die sich unter anderem auch in der formalen und medialen Vielfalt der Ausstellungsbeiträge widerspiegeln, gelingt es [...], die Dynamiken und Komplexitäten des «Systems Architektur» zu veranschaulichen.»

Aus der Laudatio von Oliver Sukrow, gehalten am 26. November 2015 in der Berlinischen Galerie

# AFRAA BATOUS

**BILDENDE KUNST 2017**



In ihrem Dokumentarfilm «Skin» (2015, 85 Min.) erzählt Afraa Batous am Beispiel von Freunden aus einer Theatergruppe von den Hoffnungen und Träumen einer jungen syrischen Generation, dem kriegsbedingten Scheitern der Zukunftspläne in der Heimat, dem Aufbruch ins Ungewisse und dem Leben im Würststand des Exils.

Der Film setzt ein mit einem an Heiner Müller gerichteten inneren Monolog und arbeitet mit dem

Montageprinzip. Dokumentarmaterial und eigene filmische Beobachtungen im sich verändernden Außenraum werden kurzgeschlossen mit intimen Sequenzen aus dem Alltag von Hussein, dem Brandredner, Souhbi, einem eher unpolitischen, trinkfrudigen Künstler, sowie Afraa selbst als zurückhaltend verbindender und zugleich katalytischer Figur. Die drei hatten in Aleppo die Auf-führung von Heiner Müllers «Hamletmaschine» vorbereitet, doch der Krieg machte ihre Pläne



*«Die Protagonisten sind keine Helden. Ihr Reden und Tun mit den Selbstzweifeln und Hader, der hilflosen Wut und handlungsarmen Leerläufen berührt aber gerade dadurch so stark und bringt einem die Katastrophe des Krieges in Syrien näher als Nachrichtenmeldungen dies vermögen. Ein Film, der unter die Haut geht.»*

Aus der Laudatio von Rosa von der Schöenburg, gehalten am 8. Dezember 2017 im Albertinum/Städtische Kunstsammlungen Dresden

zunichte. Die in jeder Hinsicht katastrophalen Verwüstungen können die drei jungen Theatermacher\*innen nicht wirklich mit dem Weggang aus der Heimat hinter sich lassen.

Der Krieg ist auch im Exil präsent, hat die äußerlich friedliche neue Alltagswelt kontaminiert. Batous arbeitet mit ästhetischen Mitteln, die die äußeren wie inneren Konflikte in ihrer verstörenden Vieldeutigkeit zeigen, die Frage nach dem richtigen Handeln umkreisen und die Konflikte nicht in eindeutigen Antworten auflösen.

Illustration von der Künstlerin Afraa Batous, 2016





## THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

.....

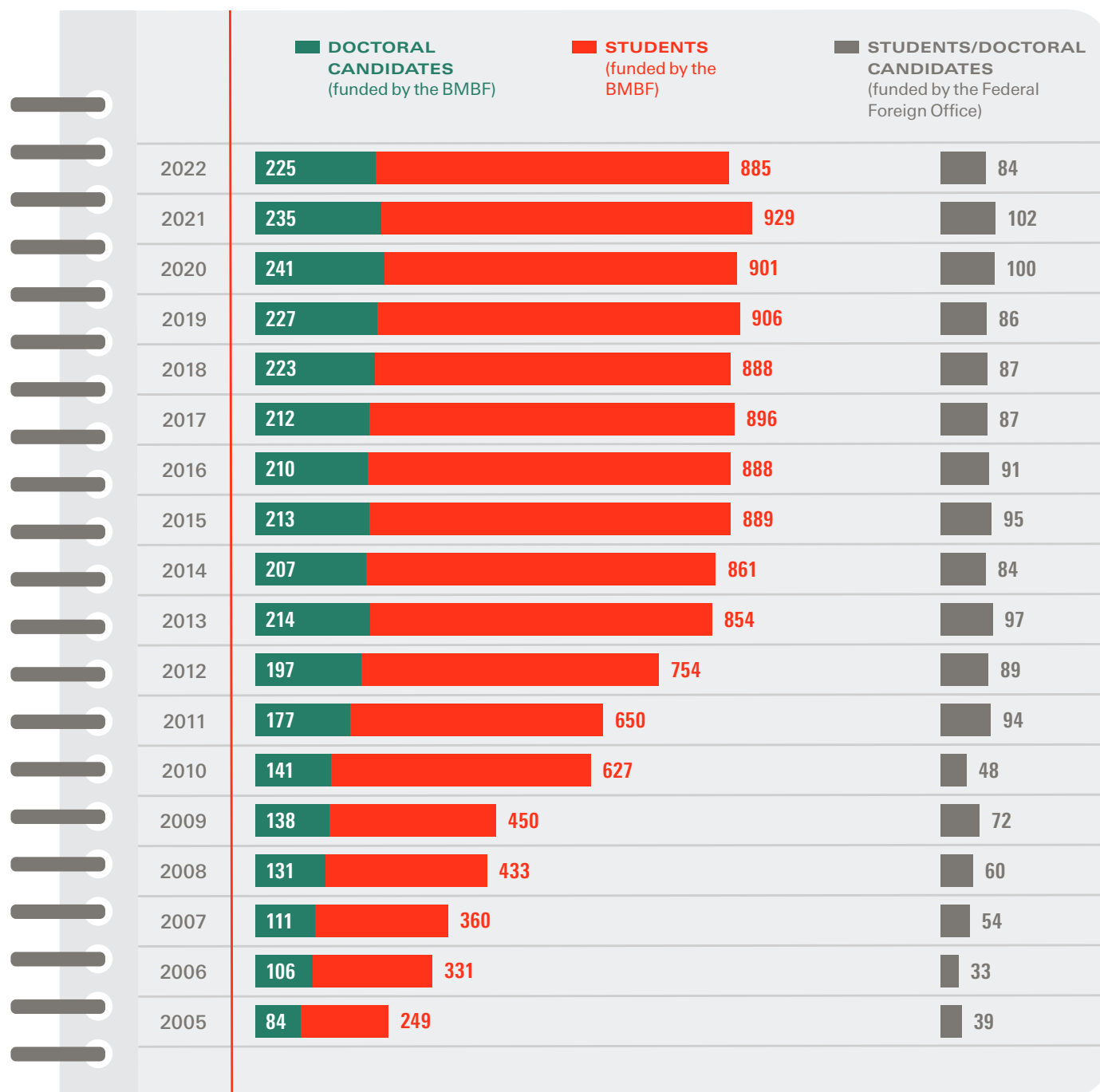
The task of the Scholarship Department is to support the next generation of left-wing scholars. This includes the selection, guidance, counselling, and political education of the scholarship holders. We prioritize supporting those especially affected by structural inequalities of educational opportunity.

.....

After a long break caused by the pandemic, numerous events were finally able to take place again in 2022, such as the conclave of academic trustees, the alumni meeting, and the introductory seminars. In addition to our annual events, in 2022 we placed a special thematic focus on addressing the social ecological crisis. In this regard, we would like to highlight the events held by the Crisis and Social-Ecological Transformation graduate programme in collaboration with the Berlin School of Economics and Law (HWR Berlin, see the following interview), and the educational exchange with young academics from Vietnam, as particularly worthy of note: in autumn 2022, twelve doctoral candidates from Vietnam met with twelve RLS doctoral scholars in Germany, to discuss the topic of “social and ecological challenges in Vietnam and Germany”. During joint excursions to various locations in Berlin, Brandenburg, Hamburg, and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, they discussed questions of social-ecological transformation, in its activist, scientific, and political aspects — with special attention to the particular perspectives of the different federal states. The second part of the exchange, the educational trip to Vietnam, is planned for spring 2023.

From 29 August to 4 September 2022, the second Begabtenförderwerke summer academy (run by confederation of the various German foundations that provide scholarship funding) took place in Heidelberg; in the two previous years, the academy had to be cancelled due to the pandemic. The summer academy *Demokratie gestalten!* (Shaping Democracy) is under the patronage of Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier, and jointly funded by the 13 Begabtenförderungswerke and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. The aim of the 2022 summer academy, with a programme designed for around 200 scholarship holders from all 13 Begabtenförderungswerke, was to encourage an interdisciplinary dialogue on the current state of democracy and its development in a rapidly changing world. Led by the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, which has close ties to the trade unions, the broad range of seminars and ancillary programmes encouraged the scholarship holders to actively contribute to an understanding of democracy with positive connotations. In 2022, the Stiftung Begabtenförderung beruf-

## FUNDING RECIPIENTS OVER THE YEARS



liche Bildung (Foundation for the Promotion of the Gifted in Vocational Education) also participated in the summer academy for the first time.

In any case, one thing did not change in 2022: the work we do would not be possible without the support of the approximately 200 academic trustees, who work for us on a voluntary basis. They have made a significant contribution to

the development of a broad network of left-wing academics in Germany, one that extends well beyond the RLS. We would like to thank them, by mentioning each of their names, for their indispensable commitment to the Scholarship Department. We are also very pleased with the work we have been able to do with our network of alumni, and hope that the forthcoming second alumni study will generate new momentum.





The alumni work of the Scholarship Department promotes networking among alumni – both with the RLS and amongst themselves

**SECOND ALUMNI STUDY**

**A TAIL WIND FOR THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT**

In the vernacular of the RLS, we often speak of our former scholarship holders — numbering over 3,000 — as a “treasure”, whether to be cherished, or yet to be discovered. To do either, much more information needs to be gathered about them and their subsequent life paths.

We first took a look at the subject in 2012 and commissioned an initial study. The significant increase since then in the number of scholarship holders and alumni, the development of new funding instruments, and above all, the long-term perspective that has now become possible, made carrying out a second survey worthwhile. We commissioned a team from the Technical University of Dresden to conduct a survey among alumni to find out how the funding was *subjectively* experienced, and what *objective successes* it has yielded. We wanted to know where our alumni are today, the paths they took to get there, and whether our programmes continue to appeal to them. The research questions also include an evaluation of these developments and experiences in light of the Scholarship Department’s specifically left-wing funding goals. How does our support actually contribute to reducing disadvantage? Do we really reach the groups we are targeting — left-wing political activists, as well as people for whom, due to various factors, graduating from higher education is not a given, for example because they do not come from the educated middle class, or experience

other forms of discrimination? And are we succeeding in connecting our (former) scholarship holders, in all their diversity, with each other and with the RLS in the long term? In short, how does the Scholarship Department combine its legal function as a kind of “left-wing student grant office” with its own self-understanding as a left-wing and critical educational institution, based on principles of solidarity?

The results of the second study are a “treasure”, too — a trove of data. The findings largely confirm the value of the Scholarship Department’s work, while also illuminating areas that still require improvement. Over the years, there has been immense progress in the provision of support for students who are the first in their family to go to university, not least due to the *Lux Like Studium* programme, geared towards this target group. Similar progress has been made in the representation of migrants and, albeit to a lesser extent, women (who are now only slightly overrepresented). Almost all of our scholarship holders successfully complete their studies, quickly secure suitable professional positions, and in the main continue to be politically active. The issue of longer-term engagement with the RLS is more challenging. While there is a great deal of interest in our work and in the alumni network, there is a large gap between willingness to participate and actual participation.

Comprehensive data from the report will be published online in spring 2023. An accompanying volume will provide a critical examination of selected findings, discuss their political and social-scientific implications, and connect them with the insights, retrospectives, and profiles of former scholarship recipients. We can thus look forward to a reader that is specially dedicated to the 25 years of the Scholarship Department’s existence.

.....  
[More information available at: rosalux.de/alumni.](https://rosalux.de/alumni)  
 .....

**SCIENCE AND ACTIVISM**

INTERVIEW WITH DOCTORAL SCHOLAR NINA SCHLOSSER

**What is the topic of your doctoral thesis, which you are writing as part of the Crisis and Social-Ecological Transformation graduate programme?**

**Nina Schlosser:** In my PhD project, I am dealing with the resource dimension of the electric car industry. Specifically, using the example of Chile, I am examining the socio-economic, ecological, and cultural consequences of lithium extractivism, which currently covers around 80 per cent of Germany’s constantly increasing demand for lithium for the production of electric cars, which are highly resource intensive. Against this background, I try to identify the stakeholders in the context of lithium extractivism. I’m interested in the extent to which, and by means of which discursive strategies,

hegemonic forces are able to trivialize their extractivism, and even manage to institutionalize it as “green lithium production”. On the other hand, I am looking at the extent to which counter-hegemonic actors succeed in undermining the formation of a (tacit) lithium consensus, and the tensions and conflicts that arise as a result.

#### How did you come up with your doctoral topic?

**Schlosser:** I literally stumbled across it. In 2017 when I was studying in Lyon, I took a walk through the city in Antonio Gramsci’s footsteps. I had to clamber over an electric scooter that had been left lying around on the footpath. Then I began researching what these things are made out of, and the flows of material involved, and continued this research during my master’s studies in Political Economy of European Integration at the Berlin School of Economics and Law (HWR). There, I ended up writing my thesis on the social and ecological consequences of electric vehicles in Chile, supervised by Markus Wissen. He is now my PhD supervisor, together with Uli Brand.

The knowledge produced in my research also feeds directly into political activism. I am involved in the Berlin regional and national climate justice working group of Die Linke, where we are struggling for a radical mobility transition and, thus, for global justice. By raising awareness among our comrades and in civil society, engaging in left-wing interventions, and building alliances, we are driving a grassroots transformation, which also takes inspiration from the Chilean struggles.

#### Why the graduate programme’s emphasis on a social-ecological transformation? What do your fellow scholars focus on?

**Schlosser:** The unequal distribution of the impacts of the capitalist system is destroying the social and ecological conditions of reproduction, while simultaneously deepening hierarchical, patriarchal, colonial, and racialized relations of power and domination. The members of this research group generate empirical knowledge that, through theoretical reflection, demonstrates how these prevailing patterns of production and consumption can be overcome through radical transformation, which we as activists can actively shape. For example, Ania Spatzier is researching the feminist climate movement and is also involved in feminist activism. Julian Niederhauser focuses on anti-ecological mentalities in the context of the crisis-ridden social climate, and is active in local politics in Vienna with LINKS. Carla Noever Castelos examines the transformative potential of anti-lithium protests in Spain, and does educational work towards a radical transformation with the I.L.A. collective. Friedemann Wiese analyses the situation of workers at the Tesla factory in Grünheide, and is involved in the context of East German and migrant labour struggles. Melissa Büttner, on the other hand, explores the emotional forces of inertia within car culture in the context of the climate crisis. And Nelo Schmalen researches decolonial urban structures in



Nina Schlosser.

European port cities and their significance for current urban development processes, also engaging in an initiative that conducts postcolonial city tours in Flensburg.

#### You also represent the scholarship holders on the graduate programme’s steering committee — what makes the programme so special?

**Schlosser:** With the founding of the graduate school in 2021 — initiated by Markus Wissen and realized together with the Scholarship Department — a protected space was created for us scholarship holders. We present and discuss our research work in regular colloquia, we openly share our social and political commitment, and collectively think through and practice radical alternatives, with our supervisors. And all this attracts associates who enrich the programme. We inaugurated it last year at a (semi-)public event, attended by Janine Wissler, among others. This year, we are planning another event for June, at the intersection of activism and critical social sciences, and at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as a site where critical and practical knowledge is produced collaboratively and in solidarity. In the past, this probably wouldn’t have been possible in institutions like the HWR, where I was also active in student politics. But the fact that the HWR is now cooperating with the RLS also shows that the pessimism of the intellect ought not fall behind the optimism of the will, as Gramsci would perhaps say. He, too, is a companion of the graduate programme, shining a light on the path out of the crisis and towards a radical transformation.

**Dr Werner Abel**

Political science

**Prof. Dr Friedemann Affolderbach**

Leipzig University of Applied Sciences, social work

**Prof. Dr Ravi Ahuja**

University of Göttingen, modern Indian history

**Prof. Dr Thomas Alkemeyer**

University of Oldenburg, sociology

**Dr Freia Anders**

JGU Mainz, history

**Prof. Dr Jörg Arnold**

Max Planck Institute Freiburg, criminal law

**Dr Felix Axster**

TU Berlin, modern and contemporary history

**Dr Dr Dario Azzellini**

Autonomous University of Zacatecas, Mexico, sociology

**Prof. Dr Kurt Bader**

Psychology

**EngD André Baier**

TU Berlin, general engineering

**Dr Nils Baratella**

HS Düsseldorf, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Klaus Bastian**

Leipzig University of Applied Sciences, foundational studies

**Dr Gisela Baumgratz**

Intercultural Education

**PD Dr Johannes M. Becker**

University of Marburg, peace and conflict studies

**Prof. Dr Lale Behzadi**

University of Bamberg, Arabic studies

**Prof. Dr Bernd Belina**

Goethe University Frankfurt, human geography

**Apl. Prof. Dr Sebastian Berg**

University of Bochum, English studies

**Dr Peter Bescherer**

FSU Jena, sociology

**Prof. Dr Henning Best**

TU Kaiserslautern, sociology

**Dr Margrid Bircken**

Literary studies

**Dr Peter Birke**

University of Göttingen, sociology

**Dr Mai-Anh Boger**

University of Regensburg, special education

**Dr Marcel Bois**

FZH Hamburg, modern history

**Prof. Dr Manuela Bojadzijev**

HU Berlin, political science

**Prof. Dr Kemal Bozay**

University of Cologne, social work

**Prof. Dr Ulrich Brand**

University of Vienna, political science

**Prof. Dr Thomas Bremer**

University of Halle, cultural studies

**Prof. Dr Micha Brumlik**

SSZ Berlin, education

**Prof. Dr Hauke Brunkhorst**

University of Flensburg, sociology

**Prof. Dr Christian Brütt**

HS Darmstadt, social work

**Prof. Dr Michael Buckmiller**

Social sciences

**Dr Zülfükar Çetin**

Evangelische Hochschule Berlin, sociology

**Dr Georgia Christinidis**

University of Bochum, cultural studies

**Dr Karin Cudak**

University of Flensburg, social sciences

**Dr Philipp Dapprich**

FU Berlin, philosophy

**Dr Antonia Davidovic-Walther**

University of Heidelberg, cultural anthropology

**Apl. Prof. Dr Alex Demirović**

Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology

**Dr habil Christian Dietrich**

European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), history

**Prof. Dr Alexander Dietz**

Hanover University of Applied Sciences and Arts, pastoral care studies

**Dr Ina Dietzsch**

University of Marburg, ethnology

**PD Dr Kristin Eichhorn**

University of Paderborn, modern German literature

**Prof. Dr Andreas Eis**

University of Kassel, social sciences

**Prof. Dr Esra Erdem**

ASH Berlin, social sciences

**Dr Mechthild Exo**

HS Emden/Leer, social work

**Prof. Dr Karim Fereidooni**

University of Bochum, social science

**Dr Maja Figge**

Berlin University of the Arts, media studies

**Prof. Dr Andreas Fisahn**

University of Bielefeld, law

**Prof. Dr Andreas Fischer-Lescano**

University of Kassel, public law

**Univ.-Prof. Dr Peter Fleissner**

TU Vienna, computer science

**Dr Fabian Frenzel**

University of Oxford, social sciences

**Dr Jens Gaitzsch**

Leibniz Institute of Polymer Research Dresden, chemistry

**Dr Udo Gerheim**

University of Oldenburg, education

**Dr Johanna Gold**

University of Bielefeld, education

**PD Dr Stefanie Graefe**

FSU Jena, sociology

**Apl. Prof. Dr Hermann-Josef Große Kracht**

TU Darmstadt, catholic theology

**Prof. Dr Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez**

Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology

**Dr Noa Ha**

German Centre for Integration and Migration Research, social sciences

**Prof. Dr Felix Hanschmann**

Hamburg University of Applied Sciences, public law

**Dr Johan Hartle**

ABK Vienna, philosophy

**Dr Tino Heim**

TU Dresden, sociology

**Prof. Dr Arne Heise**

University of Hamburg, economics

**Dr Jutta Hergenhan**

University of Giessen, political science

**Dr Cordelia Heß**

University of Greifswald, history

**Prof. Dr Sabine Hess**

University of Göttingen, gender studies

**Prof. Dr Uwe Hirschfeld**

Political science

**Prof. Dr Rainer-W. Hoffmann**

University of Göttingen, social sciences

**Prof. Dr Wolfgang Hofkirchner**

TU Wien, computer science

**Dr habil Martin Horsch**

UK Research and Innovation STFC, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, computer science

**Dr Anne Huffschild**

FU Berlin, cultural studies

**Prof. Dr Philip Jaeger**

TU Clausthal, geothermal energy

**Prof. Dr Melanie Jaeger-Erben**

Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, business engineering, environment and sustainability

**PD Dr Anne Maximiliane Jäger-Gogoll**

University of Marburg, literary studies

**Dr Carsten Jakobi**

Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, literary studies

**Dr Lisa Janotta**

University of Rostock, social work

**Dr Alke Jense**

University of Freiburg, sociology

**Dr Petra Jung**

University Medical Center Freiburg, medicine

**Prof. Dr Ingrid Jungwirth**

HSRW Kleve, social science

**Prof. Dr Olaf Kaltmeier**

University of Bielefeld, history

**Dr Florian Kappeler**

University of Wuppertal, modern German literature

**Prof. Dr Juliane Karakayali**

University of Lüneburg, social sciences

**Dr Serhat Karakayali**

HU Berlin, social sciences

**Dr Ismail Karatepe**

University of Kassel, social sciences

**Prof. EngD Jürgen Krause**

Nordhausen University of Applied Sciences, automation engineering

**Prof. Dr Regina Kreide**

University of Giessen, political science

**Prof. Dr Franz Kasper Krönig**

TH Cologne, pedagogy

**Dr Timmo Krüger**

Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, political science

**Prof. em. Dr Ingrid Kurz-Scherf**

University of Marburg, gender studies

**Prof. Dr Friederike Kuster**

University of Wuppertal, philosophy

**Dr Rosa Lehmann**

University of Heidelberg, political science

**Prof. Dr Thomas Lemke**

Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology

**Prof. Dr Stephan Lessenich**

Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology

**Prof. Dr Manfred Liebel**

University of Potsdam, education

**Dr Kolja Lindner**

University of Paris VIII, political science

**Prof. Dr Daniel Loick**  
University of Amsterdam, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Volker Lüderitz**  
FH Magdeburg, agricultural sciences

**Dr Jens Maeße**  
University of Giessen, social sciences

**Dr Stefania Maffei**  
EHS Dresden, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Kai Marquardsen**  
FH Kiel, sociology

**Prof. Dr Nadine Marquardt**  
University of Bonn, human geography

**Prof. Dr Angela Martini**  
Slavic studies

**Dr Reiner Marx**  
Literary studies

**Prof. Dr Michael May**  
RheinMain University of Applied Sciences, social work

**Prof. Dr Nicole Mayer-Ahuja**  
GAU Göttingen, sociology

**Prof. Dr Wolfgang Menz**  
University of Hamburg, sociology

**Dr Jana Mikota**  
Siegen University, German studies

**Prof. Dr Matthias Naumann**  
Geography

**Prof. Dr John P Neelsen**  
Tübingen University, social science

**Dr Filomain Nguemo**  
University of Cologne, neuroscience

**Univ.-Prof. Dr Roberto Nigro**  
University of Lüneburg, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Karoline Noack**  
University of Bonn, linguistics and cultural studies

**Dr Salvador Oberhaus**  
History

**Prof. Dr Michaela Ott**  
HFBK Hamburg, aesthetics

**Prof. Dr Christof Parnreiter**  
University of Hamburg, geography

**Prof. Dr Marc Partetzke**  
University of Hildesheim, political science

**Dr Christian Paschke**  
University of Halle, law

**Dr Stefan Paulus**  
FHS St. Gallen, sociology

**Prof. Dr Martin Pinquart**  
UMR, psychology

**Prof. Dr Jan Pinseler**  
FH Magdeburg, communication studies

**Dr Kathrin Plank**  
University of Passau, education

**Dr Andrea Plöger**  
ASH Berlin, development policy

**Dr Matthias Rätzer**  
Social science

**Dr habil. Jan Rehmman**  
New York University, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Ursula Reitemeyer**  
University of Münster, education

**Prof. Dr Tilman Reitz**  
FSU Jena, sociology

**Prof. Dr Steffi Richter**  
Leipzig University, Japanese studies

**Dr Dominik Rigoll**  
Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History, history

**Prof. Dr Eckhard Rohrmann**  
Education

**Dr Nikolai Roskamm**  
FH Erfurt, urban studies

**Dr Sven Rößler**  
PHS Weingarten, political education

**Apl. Prof. Dr Karla Rost**  
TU Chemnitz, mathematics

**Prof. Dr Werner Ruf**  
Social science

**Prof. Dr Oliver Rump**  
HTW Berlin, museum studies

**Prof. Dr Ulrich Ruschig**  
University of Oldenburg, philosophy

**Prof. Dr David Salomon**  
TU Darmstadt, political science

**Dr Martin Sauber**  
University of Hamburg, economics

**Dr Markus Sauerwein**  
Nordhausen University of Applied Sciences, social work

**Prof. Dr Wolfram Schaffar**  
University of Passau, Southeast Asian studies

**Prof. Dr Barbara Schäuble**  
ASH Berlin, social work

**Prof. Dr Renatus Schenkel**  
FH Magdeburg, journalism

**Prof. Dr Ina Schildbach**  
OTH Regensburg, political science

**Prof. Dr Jörg Schmidt**  
Anhalt University, economics

**Dr Imke Schmincke**  
LMU Munich, sociology

**Prof. Dr Lars Schmitt**  
HS Düsseldorf, sociology

**Prof. Dr Volker Schöppner**  
Paderborn University, mechanical engineering

**Prof. Dr Andreas Schröder**  
Brandenburg University of Technology, physics

**Dr Jörg Schröder**  
University of Rostock, sports studies

**Dipl. phil. Klaus-Dieter Schubert**  
University of Halle, transportation

**Prof. Dr Erika Schulze**  
FH Bielefeld, sociology

**Prof. Dr Volker Schürmann**  
German Sport University Cologne, philosophy

**Dr Francis Seeck**  
Neubrandenburg University of Applied Sciences, social work

**Dr Christian Seipel**  
University of Hildesheim, social science

**Prof. Dr Detlef Siegfried**  
University of Copenhagen, contemporary history

**Dr Alexander Silbersdorff**  
GAU Göttingen, statistics

**Prof. Dr Hans-Dieter Sill**  
University of Rostock, mathematics

**Dr Robert Sommer**  
HU Berlin, history and cultural studies

**Prof. Dr Ruth Sonderegger**  
BK Vienna, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Susanne Spindler**  
HS Düsseldorf, sociology

**Dr Anja Steidinger**  
HFBK Hamburg, art education

**Prof. Dr Chris Tedjasukmana**  
JGU Mainz, film studies

**Dr Angelika Timm**  
Political science

**Prof. Dr Patrizia Tolle**  
FH Frankfurt a. M., social work

**Dr Ben Trott**  
University of Lüneburg, philosophy

**Dr Vassilis Tsianos**  
FH Kiel, philosophy

**Dr Pinar Tuzcu**  
University of Kassel, sociology

**Univ.-Prof. Dr Roland Verwiebe**  
University of Potsdam, sociology

**Prof. Dr Fabian Virchow**  
HS Düsseldorf, sociology

**Univ.-Prof. Dr Friedemann Vogel**  
Siegen University, German linguistics

**Prof. Dr Janis Voigtländer**  
University of Duisburg, computer science

**Prof. Dr Heinz-Jürgen Voß**  
HS Merseburg, sexology

**Dr Benjamin Wachtler**  
RKI Berlin, public health

**Assoc. Prof. Dr Thomas Waitz**  
University of Vienna, media studies

**Prof. Dr Hans Walz**  
HS Weingarten, social science

**Prof. Dr Klaus Weber**  
FH Munich, psychology

**Prof. Dr Martina Weber**  
HS Emden/Leer, gender studies

**Prof. Dr Barbara Wedler**  
FH Mittweida, social science

**Prof. Dr Klaus Weinbauer**  
University of Bielefeld, history

**PD Dr Wolfgang Weiß**  
University of Greifswald, geography

**Prof. Dr Felix Wemheuer**  
University of Cologne, sinology

**Dr Christa Wicherich**  
Sociology

**Dr Maria Katharina Wiedlack**  
University of Vienna, gender studies

**Prof. Dr Hanns Wienold**  
Sociology

**Prof. Dr Kathrin Wildner**  
HCU Hamburg, urban studies

**Prof. Dr Werner Winzerling**  
HS Fulda, computer science

**Prof. Dr Markus Wissen**  
HWR Berlin, social science

**Prof. Dr Markus Wöhr**  
UMR, psychology

**Dr Benedikt Wolf**  
University of Bielefeld, German literary studies

**Prof. Dr Gabriel Wollner**  
University of Bayreuth, philosophy

**Prof. Dr Safiye Yildiz**  
IUBH Cologne, pedagogy

**PD Dr Aram Ziai**  
University of Kassel, social science

**Dr Birgit zur Nieden**  
HU Berlin, social science

## POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

From the perspective of the Political Communication department, 2022 could be summarized as follows: “Lots went totally differently than was planned.” In addition to the ongoing effects from the coronavirus pandemic, Russia’s illegal invasion of Ukraine on 24 February presented us with a new challenge. Together with the Centre for International Dialogue, we quickly set up an online dossier with texts and multimedia content, which is constantly updated and has been visited around 40,000 times so far.

Digital communication has become more important, as growing numbers of people use social media to stay informed. In 2022, the reach of our Instagram channel, launched in March 2021, grew by 82.6 percent. It now has 15,581 followers and its 367 published posts generated 1,799,923 interactions. We are also growing steadily on Facebook (84,770 fans) and Twitter (38,717 followers). In September, we launched a TikTok channel for the project *L!NX* (1,112 followers). The main website of the RLS received 2.6 million visits this year (23.5 percent more than in the previous year). We also have two podcasts with a wide reach: the theory podcast *Too long, didn’t read* (215,000 downloads) on the classics of left-wing theory, and the history podcast *Rosalux History* (150,000 downloads). In public relations work, using both written and multimedia resources has become common practice. After 24 February, there was significant interest in information regarding the causes and consequences of the war, as well as in analysis of Russian and Ukrainian society and politics. Through interviews as well as TV and radio appearances, our colleagues were able to bring a left-wing perspective to this debate. One of the highlights of our public relations work this year was the Speakers’ Tour with workers from Qatar in the run up to the World Cup. This generated a tremendous media response, with more than 50 interviews and numerous reports in national media and TV networks.

Our programming of events has settled into a new normality. Of the 142 events held last year, one third were hybrid or digital. Smaller evening events such as book launches, discussions, and award ceremonies attracted the most visitors. One highlight was the *de:luX festival*, at which we presented our new headquarters building.

In 2022, we released 87 publications, 50 of them online. We created a new publication format, the *online studies*. Our short studies on the potential effects of housing socialization in Berlin, and *Wege aus dem Lehrkräftemangel* (Solutions to the Shortage of Teachers) have attracted considerable media attention. Lastly, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also successfully participated at the post-pandemic edition of the Frankfurt Book Fair.

## BLACK EUROPE

Most European metropolises have well-established Black or “African European” communities with roots that go back decades, if not centuries. The presence of people with ancestors who are at least partly of African descent is a part of Europe’s history and present.

But when, where, and how did Black people in Europe begin organizing politically? This question was addressed at the international conference Black Europe, organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (Initiative of Black People in Germany, ISD) from 10 to 12 June 2022 in Berlin. For an audience of more than 200 guests, activists and academics from eight European countries reported on the historical beginnings and the current importance of Black self-organization in Europe.

Four panels on the past and present of Black self-organizing, each with two speakers, formed the heart of the conference. The first speakers were Zahra Dalilah from the United Kingdom and Yéra Demele from France. In both countries, the anti-colonial movements of the 1920s were of great importance for self-organization. Since the 1960s, the focus has been on the struggle for better housing, wages, and working conditions, as well as against discrimination and police violence.

On the second panel, Mandu dos Santos Pinto explained that Black people in Switzerland only started to organize themselves politically in the early 1980s. Since then, new groups have emerged that include all people of African descent. Simon Inou spoke about the situation in Austria, where self-organizing began around the same time, but as a reaction to the racist politics of the far-right party FPÖ.

According to Karen Taylor, self-organization took off in Germany in the mid-1980s with the founding of Initiative Schwarze Deutsche (Initiative for Black Germans), as the ISD was initially called. Her talk was followed by Tade Omotosho’s, on the self-organization of Black people in Poland, which is still in a nascent phase. The Black community in Poland is relatively small, especially in comparison with Western Europe.

The parallels between Portugal and the Netherlands regarding their colonial past and its traces in the present were fascinating. In both countries, Black people had already been organizing themselves politically at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As Beatriz Gomes Dias (Lisbon) and Mitchell Esajas (Amsterdam) explained, racism, discrimination, and police violence have always played a central role.

The second day of the conference ended with a panel on transatlantic influences on Afro-European self-organization. Marion Kraft remembered Audre Lorde’s important role in the early Black movement in (West) Germany. Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson from Universität Augsburg explored the relationships between German intellectuals, clergy, and activists and the African American civil rights movement in the 1960s. The conference concluded with a networking meeting for activists, in which the participants stressed how



At the conference, Tade Omotosho talks about the Black community in Poland.

valuable the conference was for them and expressed their desire to continue the international dialogue. Since then, it has been decided that the RLS office in Brussels will organize a follow-up event in 2024.

## A BUSY STAND AT THE BOOK FAIR

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung once again took part in the Frankfurt Book Fair, the 74th edition, from 19 to 23 October. Ulrik Hempel, project manager at the Publications Department, and Frankfurt-based Alexandra Colligs, Domenic Schmeißner, Frederik Fingerhut, and Alex Toumanides spent five days at the stand in Hall 3.1, with a selection of the RLS’s current publications.

Our new format *luxemburg beiträge* (luxemburg contributions), previous publication series, and the issues of *LuXemburg* magazine were all occasions for in-depth conversations. The educational material Feminist History Walk, a set of 64 cards designed as a journey of discovery through the history of feminist struggles, debates, and victories, was met with great interest. With its publications, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung aims to promote emancipatory thought through political education and social critique and, in doing so, to spark ecological change, alternatives critical of capitalism, and initiatives for a just society.

The Frankfurt Book Fair project is a cooperation between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the publishing house Karl Dietz Berlin, and the daily newspaper *neues deutschland*, one that has already proved effective in previous years. A selection of books from the publishing house as well as issues of the newspaper and its literature supplement were available at the stand.

Trade visitors expressed interest in collaborations in the fields of graphic arts, design, and illustration, and there were also manuscript proposals and translation requests. On the days open to the public, discussions at the stand focused mainly



Ulrike Hempel and sociologist Christof Meueler at the RLS stand at the book fair.

on the development of leftist movements at the international level and of Die Linke in Germany. However, there were also stimulating discussions regarding our scholarship programme, as well as concrete suggestions for publications on topics such as the queer community.

As on many of the fair's stages, the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine was also discussed at our stand. In Frankfurt there were countless demonstrations of solidarity with Ukrainian authors. Serhij Zhadan, winner of the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade, summed up the significance of this support for the cultural workers in Ukraine: "Culture must not remain silent," said the author, who is based in eastern Ukraine. "When culture is silent, when writers are silent, when poets are silent, it means that fear has won."

## GETTING THE LEFT OUT OF ITS BUBBLE

### A CONFERENCE ON LEFT-WING INFLUENCING

What does the new structural transformation of the public sphere look like, characterized by social media and the power of algorithms? How is digital communication also changing the sphere of politics? What role do fake news and right-wing agitation play online? How can left-wing voices become more perceptible?

Over 150 participants discussed these questions intensively in three panels and 14 workshops at the conference on left-wing influencing, which took place from 13 to 15 May 2022, both live in Berlin and online.

Prominent "content creators" Sebastian Hotz (El Hotzo) and Özge Inan discussed whether humour continues to be the "sigh of the oppressed" or if it has in fact lost its subversive potential, with Paula Irmschler from the *Titanic* editorial team, and Thomas Ebermann, the left's old master of satire. The radical changes taking place in political communication and their effects on society were examined by film critic and podcaster Wolfgang M. Schmitt, scholar Tanja Maier, and

Anne Roth, the "grande dame of online politics". Finally, in the conversation between content creator Rayk Anders and journalist Amina Aziz with Die Linke politicians Julia Schramm and Ferat Koçak, the focus was on ways for leftists to break out of their own "opinion bubble".

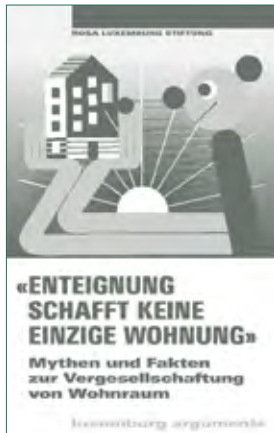
By now there are five Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung studies on the left-wing potential of the platform economy and digital media — about podcasts, Instagram, TikTok, Telegram, and YouTube. The authors presented their analyses at the conference, in collaboration with well-known practitioners, and discussed them with the audience. Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine was also addressed during the conference. Marcus Bösch showed the importance of TikTok in the mediatization of the war, and the Russian stand-up comedian Oleg Denisov closed the evening with some strong words about the conflict.

The conference was planned from the ground up as an inter-media event. The livestreaming of the panels attracted hundreds of viewers, and afterwards garnered between 4,000 and 6,000 views on YouTube alone. This made them by far the most successful recordings of any event in the last year. The speakers were interviewed for Instagram and created engaging posts for this platform, generating over 138,000 views.

The networking and training of left-wing influencers and media activists is a challenging but rewarding task. The conference was an important step towards expanding the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's capacities in this field.

Good times at the influencer meeting.





## SELECTED ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PUBLICATIONS

Christoph Ernst  
**Kapitalismus für Einsteiger\*innen**  
 Methods and workshops  
 for a critical economic education  
 Educational materials, 64 pages  
 ISSN 2513-1222

Working group Zukunft der Partei  
 DIE LINKE (ed.)  
**Eine starke Partei DIE LINKE ist möglich und wird gebraucht!**  
 Ten challenges for a revival of solidarity  
 Paperback, 40 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-948250-52-2

Lisa Heizmann, Anna Gräser  
**Nein heißt Nein — Ja heißt Ja**  
 A handbook about consent during sex  
 In easy language, paperback, 32 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-948250-56-0

Mark Rackles  
**Wege aus dem Lehrkräftemangel**  
 A pact on the future of teacher training  
 and a national training campaign  
 Paperback, 28 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-948250-60-7

Gisela Zimmer  
**Femizide in Deutschland — (k)ein Einzelfall**  
 Facts and contexts behind  
 violence against women  
 Paperback, 48 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-948250-54-6

Riccardo Altieri, Bernd Hüttner, Florian Weis (eds.)  
**“Wenn du ausgegrenzt wirst, gehst du zu anderen Ausgegrenzten”**  
 Jews in the international left (volume 2)  
 luxemburg beiträge no. 13, 136 pages  
 ISSN 2749-0939

Jan Ole Arps, Nelli Tügel  
**“Enteignung schafft keine einzige Wohnung”**  
 Myths and Facts on the socialization  
 of housing  
 luxemburg argumente no. 20, 64 pages  
 ISSN 2193-5831

Heiko Hilker, Jörg Langer, Mandy Tröger  
**Zwischen Anspruch und Auftrag**  
 A critique of the public broadcasters  
 luxemburg beiträge no. 14, 64 pages  
 ISSN 2749-0939

Jochen Weichold  
**Der Aufstieg der neuen Partei DIE LINKE**  
 The early years of Die Linke,  
 from 2007 to 2009  
 Manuskripte Neue Folge 33, 192 pages  
 ISSN 2194-864X

Rüdiger Hachtmann  
**Nazismus und “Nationalsozialismus”**  
 The chequered history of two  
 historical terms and their political  
 instrumentalization  
 Online publication 5/2022, 16 pages  
 ISSN 2567-1235

Hendrik Sander  
**An der Schwelle zum grünen Kapitalismus?**  
 Social-ecological hegemony  
 projects in Germany  
 Online publication 4/2022, 30 pages  
 ISSN 2567-1235

Amelie Hanck  
**Arm sein, wo andere Urlaub machen**  
 A study of people at the poverty threshold  
 in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania  
 Studien 2/2022, 28 pages  
 ISSN 2194-2242

Taras Bilous  
**Linke Vorschläge für eine Deeskalation im Donbas**  
 Ukraine also needs security guarantees  
 Standpunkte 1/2022, 5 pages  
 ISSN 1867-317

Steffen Lehndorff  
**Auf dem Weg zur klimaneutralen Industrie**  
 What works, what doesn't,  
 what will it take — An overview  
 Online study 10/2022, 40 pages  
 ISSN 2749-3156

Nele Heise, Erik Meyer  
**Linke Kommunikation in Podcasts**  
 An analysis of the progressive  
 “podosphere” based on current  
 protagonists and topics  
 Studien 6/2022, 40 pages  
 ISSN 2194-2242

### FROM KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

Jörn Schütrumpf (ed.)  
**Paul Levi — Gesammelte Schriften, Reden und Briefe Band II/3**  
 Without a Drop of Lackey's Blood;  
 Social Democracy  
 Hardcover, 992 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-320-02392-8

Katharina Volk (ed.)  
**Alexandra Kollontai oder: Revolution für das Leben**  
 Paperback, 176 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-320-02393-5

Eleonora Roldán Mendivil,  
 Bafta Sarbo (eds.)  
**Die Diversität der Ausbeutung**  
 On the critique of the reigning  
 anti-racism  
 Paperback (3 ed.), 200 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-320-02397-3

### IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER PUBLISHERS

#### BELTZ-VERLAG

Julia Dück  
**Soziale Reproduktion in der Krise**  
 Care struggles in hospitals and  
 day care centres  
 Paperback, 304 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-7799-3058-7

#### CAMPUS VERLAG

Jakob Graf, Kim Lucht, John Lütten  
 (eds.)  
**Die Wiederkehr der Klassen**  
 Theories, analysis, controversies  
 Paperback, 232 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-593-51359-1 Print  
 ISBN 978-3-593-44718-6 E-Book (PDF)

#### VSA: VERLAG

Mario Candeias, Stephan Krull (eds.)  
**Spurwechsel**  
 Studies on mobility industries, employ-  
 ment potential, and alternative ways of  
 production, paperback, 408 pages  
 ISBN 978-3-96488-123-6

Buy or download  
 the publications of  
 the Rosa-Luxemburg-  
 Stiftung for free





## DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

### THE RLS – A LEFT-WING THINK TANK

Since 26 November 2022, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has had a new chairman: Heinz Bierbaum. We talked to him about his experience so far and the challenges he has faced.

#### How has your arrival at the RLS been? What were your first moves?

**Heinz Bierbaum:** I was given a very warm welcome and a lot of support. I already knew the RLS from my membership of the board. Nevertheless, I had to become more familiar with the new building and the general structure. I used the first few weeks to talk to department heads and to introduce myself at the employees' meeting.

#### What are the biggest challenges the RLS will have to tackle in the next few years?

**Bierbaum:** With funds becoming scarcer, the RLS must improve its overall efficiency. It must sharpen its profile and become more visible to the public. We have already taken the first steps. The previous Executive Board initiated a strategy and decided on five foci for future work: diagnosis of the times; climate justice and socio-ecological transformation; peace and geopolitical challenges; the fight against the right and for a "society of the many"; and the struggle for social infrastructures, social rights, and justice in connection with the development of social labour. We want to position the RLS as a left-wing think tank.

#### What are the concrete tasks that derive from this goal?

**Bierbaum:** The priorities must now be addressed in concrete terms. For the so-called *Zeitdiagnose* (diagnosis of the times), for example, it is important to analyse social upheavals in order to identify strategic approaches for a socialist politics. In the context of the war in Ukraine and the related geopolitical changes, we are seeing new, dangerous developments emerge, within which we have to position ourselves as a left-wing political foundation. We must be protagonists of a socio-economic transformation that goes well beyond capitalism.

#### As a member of the Executive Board, you have helped steer the RLS's course over the past few years. Has there been anything that surprised you since taking office?

**Bierbaum:** The RLS moves rather like a heavy tanker ship. I'm surprised at how cumbersome some things are, how long some of the processes take. Even though I have known the RLS for a long time, I was surprised.



After ten years in office, Dagmar Enkelmann symbolically hands over the bell used for chairing the board meetings to Heinz Bierbaum

**An organizational development process was initiated in 2022. This has foregrounded the question of a need for a change to the internal culture of the RLS. What is your view on this?**

**Bierbaum:** I believe that we need to change the culture in a way that encourages better cooperation and more collaborative work. Many projects are very individual in their approach. We need to develop a culture in which everyone sees themselves as part of the RLS and makes common goals a priority.

**You have been a professor of business administration, parliamentary director of Die Linke faction in the Saarland state parliament, and chair of the Party of the European Left. Which experiences from your previous roles are most useful to you in your current position; why?**

**Bierbaum:** As a professor of business administration, I dealt with corporate policy in depth. The key there is to have a convincing strategy. That is the basis for every corporate policy. The same applies to the party, to the faction, to the orientation of the European Left, and, of course, to the RLS.

**Going by your experience with the Party of the European Left, are there comparable Stiftung models in other countries?**

**Bierbaum:** There is Transform! Europe, the recognized political foundation affiliated with the Party of the European Left. It comprises a network of 37 European organizations, from 22 countries, working in the field of political education and critical academic analysis. There are other kinds of political foundations abroad as well. These are usually smaller, more closely tied to political parties, and do not receive the same level of state funding as in Germany. As party-affiliated foundations, they do also engage in societal analysis and offer political education.

**A look into the future: Where do you see the RLS and Die Linke in five years' time?**

**Bierbaum:** The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has a clear profile that is visible to the outside world. It's the left-wing think tank in Germany, and an essential component of the progressive left in society. It's a reliable player in the left-wing community, and the first port of call when it comes to political education, discussions of strategy, or social analyses. Its work will shape the public political debates of the future. As for the party: I expect that it will still be alive and active in five years.



Many came to bid Dagmar Enkelmann farewell as Chair of the Executive Board.

### **OPENING DOORS, FACILITATING ENCOUNTERS, FOSTERING HOSPITALITY**

Over the past ten years, Dagmar Enkelmann has opened the doors of the RLS — for political education, public discourse, and cultural events. The ensuing encounters were multifaceted, international, and sometimes controversial — but always characterized by solidarity and hospitality. The door handles installed in our new headquarters, originating from many regions of the world, reflect this openness and tell of the most diverse encounters.

On 25 November 2022, on the eve of the General Assembly, a formal farewell for Dagmar Enkelmann was held. After ten years as chairperson of the board, she had chosen not to run for re-election.

Her comrades recalled the political issues that were important to her: climate and environmental policy, local politics, and the broad subject of “East Germany”. “There is little anyone can teach you about these subjects; you have been gathering experiences for three decades, and shown extraordinary political commitment. Your background and what you lived through in the GDR have shaped and empowered you, always driven by the motto — ‘And that is not enough!’”, said Executive Director Daniela Trochowski in her welcoming address to the outgoing chair, before the assembled politicians, representatives of other political Stiftungen and federal ministries, boards of regional branches, members and employees of the RLS, partner organizations, and other guests. She evoked the *262 Kliniken* (262 Door Handles)

project in the context of the new building. “You have built a bridge, not only to the facilities of our partner organizations, but also for the future leaders of the RLS. Now you are passing the handle, as it were, and this is symbolically significant. Following in your footsteps, we will continue looking for ways to change society for the better,” said Trochowski.

Evelin Wittich recalled the RLS’s beginnings in the 1990s, when she herself was a member of the Executive Committee and canvassing for support: “You understood the significance of political education, and what the preservation and development of left-wing intellectual and cultural potentials mean for the party and socialist thinking and action in society.” Gregor Gysi highlighted Enkelmann’s activities related to the Treuhand, in particular her support for the potash miners from Bischofferode. In September 1993, the works council of the potash plant had asked for a meeting with members of the Bundestag and declared an occupation of the building after the talks ended. Dagmar Enkelmann, at the time a member of parliament, exercised her authority to prevent an eviction. Janine Wissler and Martin Schirdewan paid tribute to her decades of commitment to the party and its cause. Finally, Ulrich Brand recalled her constant advocacy of initiatives and processes of social-ecological transformation.

“Von jedem Tag will ich was haben, was ich nicht vergesse” (From each day, I want something that I won’t forget) — a musical backdrop for Dagmar Enkelmann’s farewell was provided by the Steinlandpiraten, playing songs by Gerhard (Gundi) Gundermann.



Book readings and author talks were held in the library.



The RLS's publications attracted a great deal of attention.



Hot day, cool programme.

On 18 June 2022, the *Festival de:lux* took place in and around the new RLS headquarters. About 1000 guests accepted our invitation and enjoyed the wide-ranging programme, which included left-wing politics, culture, and music. The RLS's main topics were presented in the main hall, on discussion panels featuring prominent speakers. The terraces provided a setting for encounters and conversations.



Daniela Trochowski opens the festival prior to a performance by the Ernst Busch Choir.



Plunging into different worlds through music.

First presentation of the new digital learning platform LINX.



## THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In 2021, the Executive Board developed the *Strategische Grundsätze der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in den kommenden Jahren* (Strategic principles of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the coming years). Debates began in 2022 on how these principles could be implemented in future organizational structures and working methods. At first these took place in conclaves of the heads of department. In addition, an advisory group was set up, comprising members of the works council, the executive board, the department heads, and the executive director. In the spring, the consulting agency *denkmodell* was enlisted through a call for tenders to support and moderate the entire process.

After an analysis phase, during which documents were evaluated and interviews with various employees were conducted, the agency identified four leverage points at which to approach the process of strategic change. The first lever, Sharpening the Profile, is about translating the Executive Board's strategic principles into a more sharply defined profile that contributes to increasing the RLS's visibility. The second lever, Goal Setting, Priorities, and Planning, focuses on

Intense discussions are a part of the organizational development process.



achieving a coherent and user-oriented planning of activities, with a common goal, and based on the sharpened profile. Key elements include promoting interdepartmental collaboration, aiming for greater effectiveness, and adopting a product-chain mindset.

The third lever identified was the question of organizational structures. What do sustainable organizational structures look like? What structures are needed to enable more publicly effective work in the thematic foci, where synergies between domestic and international work can be better utilized, and where the activities of the regional branches and the headquarters in Berlin are more effectively interlinked? The fourth lever concerns the RLS's understanding of leadership and its management culture. Here, a debate is necessary, especially regarding potential new organizational structures, to determine the role of leadership, the expectations placed on them, how decisions are made, and what resources they can draw on.

Throughout the year, conflicts have arisen in various areas. Ways of communicating, the question of the involvement of the staff, and in particular the issue of changing the organizational structure triggered controversies in the advisory group, in the staff meetings, in the executive board meetings, and in the management consultation. This was often arduous, and yet: these debates and disagreements continue to be essential.

In some areas, we are already changing our processes in the desired direction. Last year, for example, an attempt was made to establish new forms of integrated planning within the framework of the thematic foci, via interdepartmental planning workshops. This integrated approach to planning will continue through this year. Since the end of 2022, 30 employees from all departments have been working in mixed working groups on the questions of how a new organizational structure, more effective public relations, and more effective interfaces between the departments could look. In addition, work must continue on sharpening the RLS's profile.

.....  
 Now in 2023, we have to make some fundamental decisions. Together we must ensure that the RLS can continue to carry out its tasks of societal analysis and political education: in a spirit of solidarity, internationalism, democracy, and socialism.  
 .....

## FINANCING OF THE POLITICALLY-ALIGNED STIFTUNGEN

The six recognized political Stiftungen in Germany have thus far been financed through budget items within the annual budget issued by the German Bundestag. An essential criterion for public funding is the requirement, set by the Federal Constitutional Court in 1986, that the party with which the Stiftung is affiliated must represent “a lasting and significant political current”. This oft-criticized financing procedure is based on the 1998 Gemeinsamen Erklärung zur staatlichen Finanzierung der Politischen Stiftungen (Declaration on State Funding of Political Stiftungen), to which the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was appended in 2003. According to this declaration, the criterion of a lasting political current is considered fulfilled if the party closest to the Stiftung is “repeatedly” represented in the Bundestag, gaining enough seats “to form a parliamentary group on at least one occasion”. On this basis, the AfD-affiliated Desiderius-Erasmus-Stiftung (DES) was excluded from funding in the 19th legislative period of the Bundestag from 2017 onwards. In the 20th legislative period from 2021, on the basis of a budget memorandum the DES was disqualified from financing in the individual plans of the respective ministries. Without naming the DES directly, the memorandum stipulated that funds will only be awarded to political Stiftungen whose statutes and overall activities manifest a commitment to the free democratic order within the meaning of the Basic Law.

As a result, the AfD considered that its fundamental right to equal opportunities had been violated, and filed complaints against the German Bundestag, its Budget Committee, the Federal Government, and the Federal Ministries of the Interior and Finance. On 25 October 2022, the German Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht, BVerfG) held the oral hearing on the AfD’s complaint, to which representatives of the six currently funded political Stiftungen were also invited as “expert third parties”. The proceedings dealt with a bundle of charges relating to the withholding of global grants in 2018 and 2019, that is, the AfD’s first legislative period in the Bundestag. Shortly before the hearing, the AfD submitted an additional request to expand the scope of the case, addressing the budget draft for 2022 and the budget memorandum contained therein.

In the hearing, the Constitutional Court dealt exhaustively with the question of equality of opportunity and the relationship between the parties and their respective political Stiftungen. In addition, it dealt in detail with the question of what constitutes a “lasting and significant political current”, whether solely relying on the results of the Bundestag elections is sufficient, or if other election results should also be considered, and whether a separate Stiftungen law is necessary for state funding of party aligned Stiftungen.

The ruling was handed down on 22 February 2023. The German Constitutional Court considered it proven that the



Protest in Karlsruhe against the state funding of the AfD-affiliated Stiftung, DES.

AfD’s rights under Article 21 (1) of the Basic Law had indeed been violated by the exclusion of the DES from the funding of party-affiliated foundations for the year 2019. All the other claims, except that against the 2022 budget, were rejected as having been submitted too late, and the latter was postponed due to the short notice of the filing. As a result, the issue of “fidelity to the constitution” was also postponed.

The Constitutional Court determined that the existing regulation of funding on the basis of budgetary law was insufficient, and that a separate Stiftung law is needed. In addition, the court recognized the tension between proximity and distance that exists between parties and their associated Stiftungen, but considered it to be proven that party-aligned Stiftungen influence the political decision-making process through their educational programs, thereby impacting the competitive chances of “their” parties, and that they promote the next generation of party members with their scholarship programmes. Hence, the funding should be regulated according to the principle of equal opportunities for all parties. In its remarks, the Constitutional Court made it clear that the legislature — the Bundestag — had leeway in the design of the law on Stiftung funding. In particular, the questions as to when a party constitutes “a lasting and significant political current” and in which cases party-aligned Stiftungen can be excluded from funding were left up to the legislature. The current procedure, which is tied to parties repeatedly gaining seats in the Bundestag, was not rejected. The inclusion of other election results to assess whether a party is lasting and significant was mentioned as feasible, as was the exclusion of Stiftungen that pursue anti-constitutional aims. Ultimately, it is now the legislature’s move. It will be interesting to see how they will address the many open questions.

## COMMITTEES

### THE MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly convened twice in 2022: in an extraordinary meeting held on 7 May 2022, and the ordinary meeting held on 26 November 2022.

The extraordinary General Assembly focused on the political situation after the 2021 federal elections and its consequences for the educational work of the RLS. After a welcome by Dagmar Enkelmann, Chair of the Executive Board, and a contribution by Michael Brie giving the perspective of the Academic Advisory Board, Oliver Nachtwey spoke about Die Linke's loss of voters in federal, regional, and European elections, a trend that now spans several successive election periods. He cited external causes resulting from socio-economic changes, but also internal reasons, not least related to the specific kind of communication that goes on within Die Linke. His contribution was followed by a very fruitful debate in which the speakers looked for possibilities for a revival of Die Linke in the broadest sense, each from their own perspective.

The ordinary General Assembly in autumn mainly focused on the election of a new Executive Board. In the context of the ongoing coronavirus pandemic, it was decided in advance to hold a hybrid meeting and an entirely digital election. This presented significant challenges to everyone involved, which were overcome, however. After the initial formalities, Dagmar Enkelmann, who did not stand for reelection, talked about her work as Chair of the Executive Board, a post she had held since 2012. Daniela Trochowski focused on the organizational development process that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is currently undergoing, and Michael Brie spoke about the work of the Academic Advisory Board. After the general debate, eight new members were admitted to the association and two ordinary memberships were converted into honorary memberships. This was followed by the election of the board, in which thirteen candidates were elected. The members of the previous board who did not run again or were not reelected were thanked for their work, and the members of the new board were warmly congratulated.

Due to the major thematic challenges the RLS is facing, the new Executive Board decided in its first meeting in 2023 to convene an extraordinary General Assembly for the early summer, exclusively for the discussion of current strategically relevant issues.



Hybrid General Assembly on 26 November 2022.

## MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

### FULL MEMBERS

Marwa Al-Radwany  
 Renate Angstmann-Koch  
 Dr Dietmar Bartsch  
 Yasmina Bellounar  
 Prof. Dr Heinz Bierbaum  
 Dr Joachim Bischoff  
 Steffen Bockhahn  
 Karola Boger  
 Dr Marcel Bois  
 Prof. Dr Ulrich Brand  
 Dr André Brie  
 Prof. Dr Michael Brie  
 Prof. Dr Ulrich Brinkmann  
 Sandra Brunner  
 Christine Buchholz  
 Prof. Dr Michael Buckmiller  
 Dr Carolin Butterwegge  
 Kate Cahoon  
 Wenke Christoph  
 Daniela Dahn  
 Prof. Dr Alex Demirović  
 Prof. Dr Frank Deppe  
 Richard Detje  
 Ulrike Detjen  
 Sophie Dieckmann  
 Dr Cornelia Domaschke-Prochnow  
 Evelyn Edler  
 Dr Dagmar Enkelmann  
 Klaus Ernst  
 Andreas Fisahn

Dr Thomas Flierl  
 Wulf Gallert  
 Wolfgang Gehrcke  
 Claudia Gohde  
 Dr Stefanie Graefe  
 Dr Bärbel Grygier  
 Lena Saniye Güngör  
 Ates Gürpınar  
 Dr Gregor Gysi  
 Dr Noa K. Ha  
 Sofia Hamaz  
 Thomas Händel  
 Karl-Heinz Heinemann  
 Heiko Hilker  
 Dr Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann  
 Dr Barbara Höll  
 Florian Höllen  
 Klaus Höpcke  
 Dr Steffen Hultsch  
 Meike Jäger  
 Dr Gerda Jasper  
 Dr Lukrezia Jochimsen  
 Kadriye Karcı  
 Cigdem Kaya-Boztemur  
 Dr Andreas Keller  
 Prof. Dr Mario Keßler  
 Katja Kipping  
 Prof. Dr Dieter Klein  
 Dr Thomas Klein  
 Katharine Kolmans  
 Erhard Korn  
 Jan Korte

Prof. Dr Ingrid Kurz  
 Caren Lay  
 Dr Klaus Lederer  
 Dr Steffen Lehndorff  
 Katrin Lompscher  
 Dr Gesine Lötzsich  
 Prof. Dr Christa Luft  
 Dr Helmuth Markov  
 Ulrich Maurer  
 Prof. Dr Margit Mayer  
 Sahra Mirow  
 Cornelia Möhring  
 Margret Mönig-Raane  
 Prof. Dr Oliver Nachtwey  
 Helga Nowak  
 Dr Onur Ocak  
 Dr Harald Pätzolt  
 Petra Pau  
 Victor Perli  
 Klaus Pickshaus  
 Prof. Dr Dörte Putensen  
 Peeter Raane  
 Bodo Ramelow  
 Prof. Dr Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya  
 Dr Sabine Reiner  
 Prof. Dr Rolf Reißig  
 Bernd Riexinger  
 Prof. Dr Rainer Rilling  
 Dr Bernd Rump  
 Dr Reyhan Əahin  
 Dr David Salomon  
 Dr Birgit Schliewenz

Horst Schmitthenner  
 Christiane Schneider  
 Dr Ursula Schröter  
 Siri Schultze  
 Dr Karin Schüttelpelz  
 Dr Jörn Schüttrumpf  
 Dr Reinhard Semmelmann  
 Kathrin Senger-Schäfer  
 Dr Petra Sitte  
 Prof. Dr Susanne Spindler  
 Sonja Staack  
 Sybille Stamm  
 Gabriele Gün Tank  
 Jessica Tatti  
 Güldane Tokyürek  
 Nina Treu  
 Daniela Trochowski  
 Vera Vordenbäumen  
 Dr Sahra Wagenknecht  
 Dr Jochen Weichold  
 Janine Wissler  
 Dr Evelin Wittich  
 Dr Ulrich Wolf  
 Ulrike Zerhau  
 Gabi Zimmer

### INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

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

### HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. Dr Günter Benser  
 Gerda Daenecke  
 Ilsefret Fink  
 Dr Kurt Hövelmans  
 Prof. Dr Kurt Krambach  
 Prof. Dr Manfred Neuhaus  
 Prof. Dr Jörg Roesler  
 Prof. Dr Werner Ruf  
 Dr Monika Runge  
 Bosiljka Schedlich  
 Fritz Schmalzbauer  
 Dr Wolfgang Spickermann  
 Regina Stosch  
 Heinz Vietze

### INACTIVE MEMBERS

Jan van Aken  
 Dr Lutz Brangsch  
 Dr Mario Candeias  
 Dr Stefanie Ehmsen  
 Kerstin Kaiser  
 Stefan Nadolny  
 Norbert Schepers  
 Eva Völpel  
 Dr Florian Weis  
 Fanny Zeise

As at March 2023



## MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

**Heinz Bierbaum** (Chair): b. 1946, sociologist and business economist, member of the Saarland State Parliament from 2009 to 2017, chair of the Die Linke International Commission, president of the Party of the European Left since 2019; member of the RLS Executive Board since January 2020.

**Lena Saniye Güngör** (Deputy Chair): b. 1993, studied psychology, applied ethics, and conflict management, member of the Thuringian State Parliament since 2019, Speaker of the Council of Regional Branches since 2021; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

**Jan Korte** (Deputy Chair): b. 1977, studied history, sociology, and political science, member of the Bundestag since 2005, Deputy Chair of Die Linke's parliamentary group from 2013 to 2017 and head of the group since 2017; member of the RLS Executive Board since 2014.

**Daniela Trochowski** (Executive Director): b. 1969, diploma in economics, from 2012 to 2021 volunteer vice president, and since 2021 member of the executive board of the Humanistischen Verbands Berlin/Brandenburg, member of the executive board of Die Linke from 2016 to 2019, state secretary in the Brandenburg Ministry of Finance from 2009 to 2019; member of the RLS Executive Board since February 2020.

**Prof. Dr Alex Demirović**: b. 1952, studied philosophy, sociology, and German literature, professor at Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main; Chair of the RLS Academic Advisory Board from 2015 to 2019, member of the RLS Executive Board from 2007 to 2014 and again since January 2020.

**Richard Detje**: b. 1954, social scientist, editor of the journal *Sozialismus*, founding member of WASG; member of the RLS Executive Board since January 2020.

**Ulrike Detjen**: b. 1952, industrial bookbinder, partner and manager of a prepress house since 1999, voluntary activities in the community-political forum of North Rhine-Westphalia and in the NRW regional branch of the RLS since 2008, Speaker of the Council of Regional Branches from October 2014 to November 2021; member of the RLS Executive board since 2013.

**Sophie Dieckmann**: b. 1983, studied Chinese, English, and philosophy, founding member of Die Linke.SDS, director of political education for the party executive at Die Linke since 2019; RLS Executive Board member since January 2020.

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

**Victor Perli**: b. 1982, studied political science, sociology, and modern history, member of the Lower Saxony State Parliament from 2008 to 2013, member of the Wolfenbüttel County Parliament and parliamentary group leader from 2011 to 2015, member of the Bundestag since 2017; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

**Bernd Riexinger**: b. 1955, on works councils from 1980 to 1990, trade union secretary from 1991 to 2000, executive

director of ver.di for the Stuttgart region from 2001 to 2012, chair of Die Linke from 2012 to 2022, member of the Bundestag since 2017; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

**Sonja Staack**: b. 1977, diploma in chemistry, research assistant and consultant in the parliamentary group of Die Linke from 2006 to 2012, Advisor of the Executive Board of the GEW from 2013 to 2017, Deputy Chair of DGB Berlin-Brandenburg from 2018 to 2021, Director of the Federal Commission for Higher Education and Research at ver.di since 2021; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

**Gabriele Zimmer**: b. 1955, diploma in language mediation, chair of the PDS from 2000 to 2003, member of the European Parliament for PDS/Die Linke from 2004 to 2019, parliamentary leader of the GUE/NGL group in the European Parliament; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

## WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a voluntary body. Its members are elected by the highest body of the RLS, the General Assembly. Before the General Assembly of 2022, it consisted of fourteen members (eight women and six men).

In 2022, the Executive Board held six meetings as well as two one-and-a-half-day retreats. In addition, there was the extraordinary general meeting in August as well as an informational event on the organizational development process. All the meetings were attended by a representative of the RLS works council, the Deputy Executive Director, the Chair of the Academic Advisory Board, and the Speaker of the Council of Regional Branches.

At its meetings and retreats, the Executive Board deliberated on current issues and events, usually together with the department heads. In the reporting period, the focus was on the outcome of the Bundestag and Landtag elections, as well as on Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, which has had a direct effect on our work at the RLS.

The Executive Board also decides on new appointments to the management of our offices abroad — last year it was Tel Aviv, Quito, and Hanoi. The candidates were given the opportunity to briefly introduce themselves and their ideas about their future work, and to answer questions from board members.

The expectations and demands of the Executive Board regarding the work of each department was a recurrent topic in the meetings. The aim was to better explore these demands, while giving the Executive Board a better insight into the work of each department. During the March retreat, there was a stimulating exchange with the status groups of the Scholarships Department. In May, the newly elected works council introduced itself and the Academic Advisory Board presented its work. The status of the implementation

**MEMBERS  
OF THE BOARD**



**PROF. DR HEINZ BIERBAUM**



**DANIELA TROCHOWSKI**



**JAN KORTE**



**ULRIKE DETJEN**



**BARBARA HÖLL**



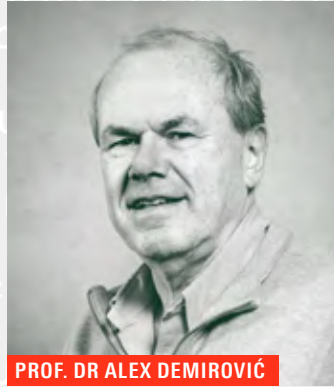
**LENA SANIYE GÜNGÖR**



**RICHARD DETJE**



**SONJA STAACK**



**PROF. DR ALEX DEMIROVIĆ**



**GABRIELE ZIMMER**



**BERND RIEXINGER**



**SOPHIE DIECKMANN**



**VICTOR PERLI**

of the focus points established by the Executive Board, the organizational development process, and the integrated planning process were permanent agenda items. These topics were the subject of intense debates, as it became clear that there were thoroughly different points of view, both among the different departments and within the board itself. In November, the board decided on the budget for the coming financial year as well as the employment plan.

Dagmar Enkelmann, Chair of the Executive Board, also met with ambassadors and representatives from NGOs and partner organizations. Together with the Executive Director, she also maintained relationships with the management of other political foundations.

At the ordinary General Assembly on 26 November, a new board was elected. It consists of 13 members (eight women and five men). Heinz Hillebrand did not receive the necessary number of votes to be elected. The former Chair Dagmar Enkelmann, her two deputies, Thomas Händel and Sabine Reiners, and Gün Tank did not stand for reelection. They were all thanked for their work for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

#### MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

**Dr Michael Brie** (Chair): Main interests are the theory and history of socialism and communism, social-ecological transformation, and revolutionary *Realpolitik*.

**Prof. Dr Frank Deppe**: Emeritus professor for political science at the University of Marburg, board and editorial committee member at *Z. Zeitschrift Marxistische Erneuerung*, coeditor of *Sozialismus* journal.

**Prof. Dr Andreas Fisahn**: Professor of public law, environmental and technology law, and legal theory at Bielefeld University.

**Dr Stefanie Hürtgen**: Political scientist and sociologist of work, research associate at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt am Main.

**Prof. Dr Mario Kessler**: Historian and senior fellow at the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History in Potsdam.

**Prof. Dr María do Mar Castro Varela**: Professor of social work and general pedagogy, with a focus on diversity, at the Alice-Salomon-Hochschule Berlin, lecturer in Pedagogy at the University of Basel.

**Prof. Dr Margit Mayer**: Emeritus professor of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute, Freie Universität Berlin.

**Dr Nadja Rakowitz**: Executive director of the Verein demokratischer Ärztinnen und Ärzte (Democratic Doctors' Association), active in the Krankenhaus statt Fabrik (Hospital not Factory) alliance.

**Prof. Dr Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya**: Professor of child development, education and socialization at Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Sciences.

**Prof. Dr Steffi Richter**: Professor of Japanese studies at Leipzig University.

**Prof. Dr Birgit Sauer**: Professor of political science at the University of Vienna.

**Dr Wolfram Schaffar** (Deputy Chair): Professor of development policy at Passau University.

**Dr Franziska Scheier** (Deputy Chair): Research associate, consultant, and member of the IMU-Institut Berlin.

**Dr Sarah Schilliger**: Sociologist, senior researcher at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Research at the University of Bern, co-director of the international research project Enacting Citizenship and Solidarity "from Below".

**Dr Susanne Schultz**: Head of the DFG (German Research Community) project *Demografisierung des Politischen*, former RLS Latin America officer.

**Dr Alexandra Wagner**: Director of the Forschungsteam Internationaler Arbeitsmarkt (International Labour Market Research Team, FIA).

**Dr Christa Wichterich**: Sociologist, freelance journalist and scholar, lecturer in gender studies, feminist political economy, and ecology.

**Prof. Dr Markus Wissen**: Professor of Social Science at the Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht, Berlin.

#### THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

In 2022, the Academic Advisory Board was involved in important projects of the Executive Board, especially on the development of the ten theses of the working group *Eine starke Partei DIE LINKE ist möglich und wird gebraucht!* (A strong Die Linke Party Is Possible and Needed!). In addition, it brought the following issues to the fore: *First*, in the face of pressing questions regarding direct political mobilization, rapid public interventions, and political education, it has always been tempting to put social analysis on the back burner. And yet, more analysis is needed. Education and intervention require knowledge. *Second*, at a time when it is crucial to provide analytical support for the profound transformations in Die Linke and its social milieu, such a task has not been seriously pursued for a long time. This must change. *Third*, for the Advisory Board, one of the main tasks of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is to create open spaces for the discussion of these conflicts, in which forward-looking perspectives that bring people together can be developed and a solidarity-based approach to these conflicts is taught and practised. The goal is to strengthen our ability to cooperate in solidarity despite stark differences. *Fourth*, the current form of self-reporting by full-time structures in no way guarantees a true assessment of the implementation of the strategic priorities and the creation of spaces for learning. Therefore, the work of the departments and working groups of the RLS should be systematically evaluated by working groups commissioned by the Executive Board for this purpose.

## THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

The 21 discussion groups of the RLS live from the engagement of their diverse, voluntary milieu. The thematic inputs that these groups continue to provide constitute an immense enrichment of the RLS's educational activities.

### ANTISEMITISM

Florian Weis (florian.weis@rosalux.org)

### LABOUR LAW

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

### EDUCATION

Karl-Heinz Heinemann (heinemann@rls-nrw.de)  
and Katrin Schäffgen (katrin.schaefgen@rosalux.org)

As part of the Education discussion group:  
Working Group on Critical Pedagogy, Lukas Eble  
and Simon Kunert

### EUROPEAN POLITICS

Johanna Bussemer (johanna.bussemer@rosalux.org)

### FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org)

### PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

David Noack; full-time contact: Ingar Solty  
(ingar.solty@rosalux.org)

### HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (bernd.huettner@rosalux.org)

### HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke-Prochnow (dr.c.domaschke@t-online.de)  
and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (gerd-ruediger.stephan@rosalux.org)

### UNIONS

Fanny Zeise (fanny.zeise@rosalux.org)  
and Florian Wilde (florian.wilde@rosalux.org)

### CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Horst Kahrs (Horst.Kahrs.Fellow@rosalux.org) and  
Florian Weis (florian.weis@rosalux.org)

### COUNCIL ON RESEARCH, PHILOSOPHY, AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus; full-time contact: 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

TBD

### RURAL AREAS

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

### THE RIGHT

Anika Taschke (anika.taschke@rosalux.org)

### SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

TBD

### URBAN POLICY

Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)  
and Armin Kuhn (armin.kuhn@rosalux.org)

### DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORLDVIEWS

Jürgen Klute; full-time contact: Cornelia Hildebrandt  
(cornelia.hildebrandt@rosalux.org)

### ECONOMIC POLICY

TBD; full-time contact: Eva Völpel (eva.voelpel@rosalux.org)

### FUTURE OF THE CAR – ENVIRONMENT – MOBILITY

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

### DISCUSSION GROUPS COORDINATOR

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

## ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT

The Core Administration Department is the central pillar of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's functioning, combining the Human Resources, IT and Communications, Administration, Accounting, and Budgeting Departments. Also falling under Core Administration are the Construction Department and the Coordination of the RLS Subsidiaries, namely the Harald-Breuer-Stiftung, the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung, the Max-Lingner-Stiftung, the Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung, the Modrow-Stiftung, and the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung.

After the significant expansion of the Core Administration Department in 2021 with the addition of the Human Resources and Construction, the focus in the past year was on departmental development. The objective was to promote communication and collaboration within the department through cross-functional projects while strengthening its role as the RLS's central service provider. The projects undertaken addressed various topics, such as employee training, onboarding and offboarding of staff, and standardizing organizational formats.

An internal working group has been set up with the task of exploring different concepts for the use of space in the new headquarters and developing a conceptual basis for this purpose, in order to unite all RLS departments in the new building from 2025 onwards. Intensive work on this topic will continue in the coming months.

Furthermore, the digitalization of processes and workflows was and continues to be a challenge for the Core Administration Department to tackle. Key components include the introduction of a document management system (DMS) with electronic invoice processing and a digital record for projects carried out within Germany. A DMS was already introduced last year for the work abroad. For the head office in Berlin, the foundations were laid in 2022, and these can now be extended upon. In addition, preparations were made for bringing in a Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung intranet in 2023. This should significantly improve knowledge management and internal communication within the RLS.

Furthermore, in 2022 the Human Resources Department has focused on the topic of inclusion and diversity. A working group including members from across the RLS was established to identify the areas where action is needed, to plan concrete steps, and to facilitate a continuous dialogue. The topic of inclusion is understood as a cross-departmental task, and thus comes with a broad spectrum of associated challenges. These include producing publications in simple language, construction measures like the implementation of a tactile guidance system in the new headquarters, as well as providing barrier-free seminars and internal training programmes.

## INCLUSION AS A CROSS-DEPARTMENTAL TASK

The RLS has committed itself to becoming more inclusive, more diverse, and more accessible – both internally and externally. Therefore, since 2021, the Human Resources Department includes a Diversity and Inclusion post, with the long-term goal of implementing inclusion as a cross-departmental task within the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Inclusion is a contemporary, radical social model that focuses on the needs and requirements of individuals, regardless of their background, circumstances, or productive performance.

In the first two years, our focus was on raising awareness of the topic of inclusion through internal training and on technically implementing barrier-free access. We have started to gradually incorporate inclusion into every aspect of our work. Among other initiatives, we commissioned a tactile guidance system for the areas of the new RLS headquarters that are open to the public, translated the first texts on the website into certified simple language (*leichte Sprache*), published the RLS newsletter *Die Inkluecer\*in* (The Includer), planned the publication series *Bildung leicht gemacht* (Education made easy), founded a working group on inclusion, organized internal workshops on inclusion and diversity, offered an event in sign language on the open day, and installed the motto “Inclusion is a human right” on the façade of the new building. These measures are just the beginning in the RLS’s efforts to welcome more people with



Now the RLS’s commitment to inclusion can even be made out on the city skyline.

different perspectives and conditions, and to do justice to the complex issue of inclusion as a whole.

We are currently working on further projects. We are planning a second publication in the series *Bildung leicht gemacht* (Education made easy), in simple language. The Inclusion Working Group is currently working on a three-year inclusion strategy for the RLS, which will involve conducting a survey of its employees around the world. We also aim to create an inclusive library and to offer inclusive exhibitions.

There is a long way to go yet – but the journey is well worth it!

## HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, 2000 TO 2022

December 31 ...	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2022
<b>Staff in total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>282</b>
... in the international offices	0	4	14	25	41	43
... in the regional branches	0	2	15	20	25	25
<b>Proportional composition</b>						
Female employees	56%	50%	55%	55%	56%	58%
Male employees	44%	50%	45%	45%	43%	42%
Gender diverse employees					1%	
Employees with migration backgrounds	0%	0%	11%	15%	18%	17%
Permanent employees	3%	90%	84%	78%	80%	85%
Part-time employees	4%	16%	22%	29%	34%	28%
<b>Average age</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>47</b>
Female employees	46	45	44	45	45	46
Male employees	47	48	46	48	48	48
Gender diverse employees					39	

## THE RLS SUBSIDIARIES

As trustee, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is responsible for six subsidiary Stiftungen, all of which have very different orientations in terms of content. The Max-Lingner-Stiftung, for example, is dedicated to conserving and promoting the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959) and commemorates the art of the 20th century, which was shaped by emigration, war, and imprisonment, as well as the cultural awakening in the post-war period. The Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung promotes engagement with debates around architecture, urban planning, and social urban development. Cooperating with the subsidiary Stiftungen is intended to enrich the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's educational work, and help reach a broader public.

The Harald-Breuer-Stiftung is particularly active in Africa, and the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung focuses on artistic and literary matters as well as the conservation of the work of Erik Neutsch. The Modrow-Stiftung promotes cultural remembrance of, and reflection on, everyday life, work, art, the media, and culture of the GDR. The Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung (for the Commemoration of Democratic Socialists) is concerned with German and European history of the 20th and 21st century, in particular the biographies of labour and union movement representatives.

Most of the work at the subsidiary Stiftungen is carried out by dedicated volunteers. In addition to their socio-political activities, the subsidiary Stiftungen are also jointly responsible for funds of over two million euros.

In addition to the proceeds from the RLS's funds, the work of the subsidiaries is supported by public grants that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives from the German federal budget. Some general conditions for the use of these grants were changed in 2021. The RLS Executive Board took this as an opportunity to set the course for a readjustment of the cooperation with its subsidiaries. In addition to administrative regulations, this also involved a more practicable connection and integration of the subsidiaries' involvement in the RLS's socio-political educational work. The strict delimitation of the subsidiaries within the departmental structures of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was removed and a central coordination role was created. Axel Krumrey (axel.krumrey@rosalux.org) has been responsible for this coordination work since 1 January 2022. In future, we will handle the direct support of concrete projects of the subsidiaries in a more flexible and individual manner. In order to ensure the best possible communication in terms of content, individuals within the RLS will be assigned responsibility for specific projects. In doing so, we can build on the wealth of experience gathered by the previous liaisons, Meinhard Tietz and Andrea Reimann.

The **HARALD-BREUER-STIFTUNG** is particularly active in Africa, and contributes to international understanding and development cooperation.

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

[www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/harald-breuerstiftung](http://www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/harald-breuerstiftung)

The **ERIK-NEUTSCH-STIFTUNG** focuses on artistic and literary matters, as well as the conservation of the work of Erik Neutsch.

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

[www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/erikneutschstiftung](http://www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/erikneutschstiftung)

The **MAX-LINGNER-STIFTUNG** is dedicated to conserving and promoting the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959).

Chair: Thomas Flierl

Email: info@max-lingner-stiftung.de; info@hans-und-leagrundig.de

[www.max-lingner-stiftung.de](http://www.max-lingner-stiftung.de)

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

Chair: Thomas Flierl

Email: info@hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

[www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de](http://www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de)

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

Chair: Hans Modrow

Email: info@modrow-stiftung.de

[www.modrow-stiftung.de](http://www.modrow-stiftung.de)

The **CLARA-ZETKIN-STIFTUNG** (for the Commemoration of Democratic Socialists) is concerned with German and European history of the 20th and 21st century, in particular the biographies of labour and union movement representatives.

Chairs: Anny Heike and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan

Email: clara-zetkin-stiftung@rosalux.org

[www.rosalux.de/news/id/39808](http://www.rosalux.de/news/id/39808)



CLARA  
ZETKIN  
STIFTUNG

## *“I want to fight where there’s life.”*

### CLARA-ZETKIN-STIFTUNG

The Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung was founded in 2018 with the aim of “commemorating democratic socialists”, as stated in its full name. It combines the former Michael-Schumann-Stiftung and the Wolfgang-Abendroth-Stiftungsgesellschaft. The Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung is a subsidiary of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. It is primarily active in the field of political education and is concerned with German and European history of the 20th and 21st century, in particular the biographies of labour and union movement representatives. The main focus is on the life and political work of the women’s rights activist Clara Zetkin.

The year 2022 was marked by many changes for the Executive Board of the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung. After the death of our previous chairman and friend Detlef Nakath in October 2021, the board had to be reconfigured. In addition to the previous board members Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (chair), Anny Heike (chair), and Julia Killet (deputy chair), we were joined by our young comrade Shaya Zarrin, who took on the role of deputy chair.

Unfortunately, because of the pandemic the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung had to focus mainly on administrative and organizational activities in 2022. Public events could not yet be held again, but are planned for 2023.

In the meantime, we collaborated with our project partners, including the various regional branches of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Karl Dietz Verlag, and Bundesarchiv, to design and launch the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung website. It now features a logo and a vibrant new layout: <https://clara-zetkin-stiftung.de>.

The new website provides information about the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung’s activities, how it sees its role, and the projects it has supported to date. In addition, it provides a timeline on Clara



Zetkin’s private and political life. The revision of the website is regarded as an ongoing process carried out by the board. We consider the involvement of scholars to be necessary and useful to deepen the biographical work on Clara Zetkin, as well as to foster the “commemoration of democratic socialists”, which is one of the Stiftung’s chartered objectives.

In collaboration with the Förderverein der Clara-Zetkin-Gedenkstätte in Birkenwerder (Friends’ Association of the Clara Zetkin Memorial in Birkenwerder), two additional projects have been advanced. With our support, the association now has its own homepage, and a brochure from the 1990s on Clara Zetkin, produced by the chairwoman of the association, has been reissued and can be used for public outreach at the memorial site and beyond.

The subsidiary Stiftung also supported several publication projects, including the extensive second volume of Clara Zetkin’s letters (from 1919 onwards) and a lengthy edition of philosopher Peter Ruben’s complete works. The Clara-Zetkin-Briefband (Clara Zetkin Letters Collection) will be published by Karl Dietz Verlag in Berlin in the second half of 2023 and presented to the public at a number of events. In 2023, the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung will engage more actively in public outreach than in previous years and seek to involve new project partners in its educational work.



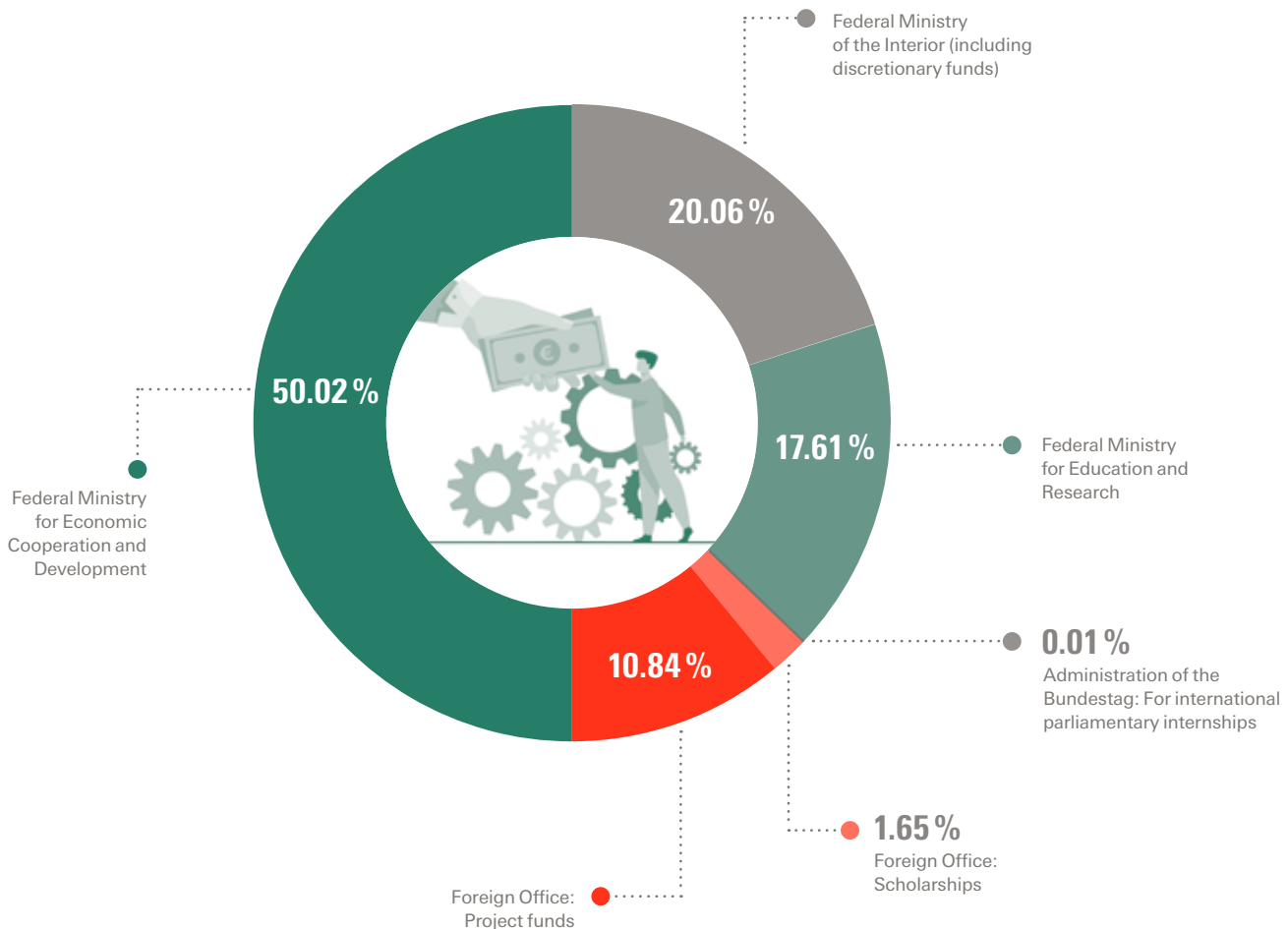
**THE RLS BUDGET**

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political Stiftung affiliated with the political party Die Linke. Like other political party-affiliated Stiftungen in Germany, it is chiefly financed out of the budget of the federal government.

Specifically, the funding for the RLS flows from the budgets of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Federal Ministries for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and for Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA), and from the Administration of the German Bundestag. Funding is only granted to Stiftungen that represent significant and enduring political and intellectual tendencies in society. What that means exactly is determined by the Bundestag.

In practice, if the party associated with a political Stiftung has repeatedly been elected to the Bundestag, and has achieved the size and status of a parliamentary group (Fraktion) at least once, this counts as indicating the longevity of an essential tendency. The level of funding for the Stiftung is based on the electoral results of the respective party at the last four federal elections. Contributions for the RLS thus rose from 30.6 million euros in 2010 to 77.8 million euros in 2022. By reporting on its income and expenses, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is fulfilling its voluntary commitment as a politically-aligned Stiftung to publish and make transparent its use of funds, a practice to which all the party-aligned Stiftungen agreed in a joint declaration in 1998, and to which they have since adhered. The most important financial contributions come from the BMI, referred to as core funding, which supplies the main backing for our political education programmes domestically, as well as for the maintenance of the RLS offices in Berlin and

**FUNDING 2022**

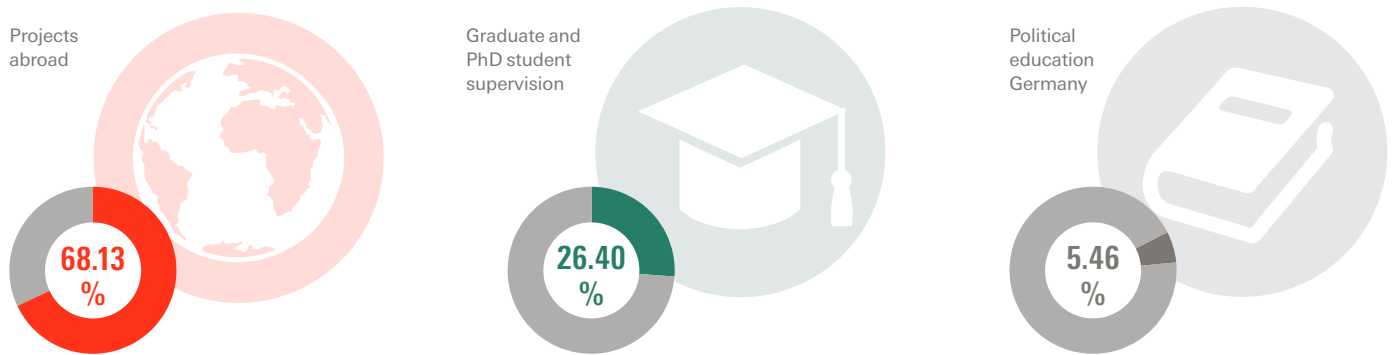


in the German federal states. The core funding is used for the running of seminars, conferences and colloquia, the purchase of teaching and learning materials, and the allocation of research funding with social and political goals, in the field of education research in particular.

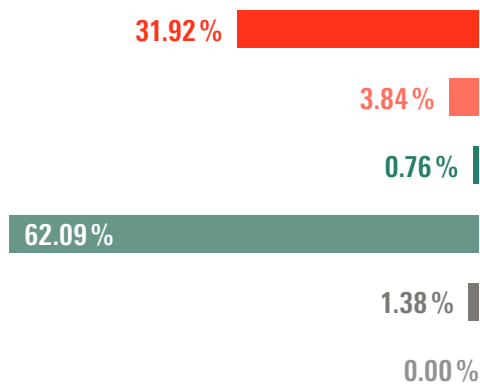
With the help of funds from the BMZ and the Foreign Office, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintains a network of international relationships. This includes financing its foreign offices, projects with partner organizations, and events abroad. Funding is now available for over 25 locations and projects in more than 80 countries. Contributions from the BMBF are allocated to fund scholarships and grants for talented students and PhD candidates. Besides these federal funds, politically-affiliated Stiftungen are also able to make use of funds from state budgets. In the RLS's case, this happens via the network of regional branches, and the funds are deployed by the latter. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to pursue its statu-

tory objectives while remaining independent — both in terms of organizational structures and in terms of staff — of the party with which it is associated. Nor is it permitted to provide this party with funds or in-kind benefits. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives annual grants in the form of funding agreements that ensure the funds are used for their designated purposes and that also provide for oversight of their use. As a politically-aligned Stiftung, the RLS is obliged to have its financial management independently audited on an annual basis. For the 2021 financial year, the auditor confirmed that the core funding from BMI and the funding provided by the other ministries for administration costs were used efficiently and economically, in accordance with regulations and legal requirements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put management accounting procedures in place that are equipped with the requisite staff and means for ensuring that funding conditions are met in a timely manner.

PROJECT EXPENSES 2022

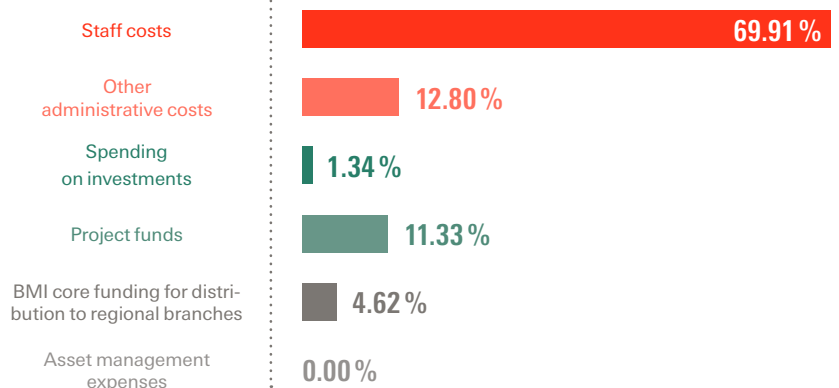


2022 EXPENDITURES: OVERALL BUDGET



2022 BUDGET EXPENSE STRUCTURE WITHIN GERMANY

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



**BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31/12/2021**

<b>Assets</b>		<b>31/12/2021 in euros</b>	<b>31/12/2020 in euros</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>Fixed assets</b>		
I	Intangible assets		
	Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Software	103,889.53	225,680.85
II	Tangible assets		
	Real estate, rights equivalent to real estate and buildings, including buildings on third-party land	159,649.04	162,537.68
	Business and office equipment	1,202,326.62	1,338,595.71
	Advance payments for assets under construction	0.00	0.00
III	Financial assets	0.00	0.00
	Investments	26,707,302.22	24,830,452.48
	<b>Total fixed assets</b>	<b>28,178,167.41</b>	<b>26,562,266.72</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Receivables and other assets</b>		
I	Other receivables	0.00	0.00
	a) Discretionary funds made available by BMI	2,966,311.00	2,145,025.00
	b) Unused discretionary funds (BMI)	-2,966,311.00	-2,145,025.00
II	Receivables from grants	0.00	0.00
II	Receivables from affiliates	2,950.45	3,950.45
III	Other assets	489,649.04	1,275,567.64
	<b>Total receivables</b>	<b>492,599.49</b>	<b>1,279,518.09</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Liquid assets</b>		
	<b>Total liquid assets</b>	<b>6,508,351.51</b>	<b>5,266,059.63</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Accrued revenue and deferred charges</b>	<b>74,390.99</b>	<b>56,305.76</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>35,253,509.40</b>	<b>33,164,150.20</b>

<b>Liabilities</b>		<b>31/12/2021 in euros</b>	<b>31/12/2020 in euros</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>Net assets</b>		
I	Balance from previous year	272,394.62	272,394.62
II	Surplus/deficit	51,431.79	-5,730.60
III	Reserves	82,719.42	88,450.02
IV	Reserves	205,706.02	205,706.02
	<b>Total net assets</b>	<b>612,251.85</b>	<b>560,820.06</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Additional funds from grants</b>	<b>28,018,427.37</b>	<b>26,399,729.04</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Provisions</b>		
	Other provisions	552,697.38	432,912.69
<b>D</b>	<b>Liabilities</b>		
I	Liabilities with credit institutions	2,938.26	10,114.02
II	Liabilities from goods and services	4,511,713.18	3,697,306.38
III	Other liabilities	28,915.60	26,553.59
	<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>4,543,567.04</b>	<b>3,733,973.99</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>Accrued expenses and deferred income</b>	<b>1,526,565.76</b>	<b>2,036,714.42</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>35,253,509.40</b>	<b>33,164,150.20</b>

## EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS AS AT 31/12/2021

	2021 in euros	2020 in euros
<b>I Receipts</b>	<b>79,706,101.99</b>	<b>80,940,908.13</b>
1 Federal government grants	78,970,688.36	80,297,579.62
2 Donations	13,518.68	7,998.99
3 Membership fees	18,131.50	17,437.00
4 Income from asset management	6,949.37	13,174.01
5 Other revenue	21,017.65	11,400.52
6 Income from the liquidation of the special reserve	675,796.43	593,317.99
<b>II Expenditures</b>	<b>-79,654,670.20</b>	<b>-80,946,638.73</b>
1 Costs arising through statutory activities	-50,923,449.84	-48,264,336.89
Project expenses paid out of core funding	-2,619,842.11	-2,294,825.97
Transfers out of core funding	-1,335,731.51	-1,143,774.41
Grants to students and PhD candidates	-12,855,970.62	-12,768,299.32
International cooperation	-33,969,640.09	-31,904,516.49
Other project expenditures	-142,265.51	-152,920.70
2 Staff costs	-22,842,669.71	-22,022,912.83
Wages and salaries	-18,793,949.48	-18,221,736.82
Employment benefits	-4,048,720.23	-3,801,176.01
3 Asset management expenses	-7,379.95	-6,848.17
4 Write-downs	-678,685.07	-596,206.63
5 Administrative costs	-2,907,990.87	-2,856,911.30
Office equipment and supplies	-585,944.60	-602,902.20
Running and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,617.72	-4,941.12
Other administrative costs	-2,317,428.55	-2,249,067.98
Other costs	0.00	0.00
6 Investments	-2,294,494.76	-7,199,422.91
<b>III Surplus/deficit for the year</b>	<b>51,431.79</b>	<b>-5,730.60</b>

## INCOME IN 2022 (INTERIM)

<b>I</b>	<b>Income in euros</b>	<b>78,114,365.28</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Grants</b>	<b>77,839,919.24</b>
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (including discretionary funds)	15,614,985.82
	Federal Ministry for Education and Research	13,710,144.01
	Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	9,678.16
	Foreign Office scholarships	1,282,700.00
	Foreign Office projects	8,283,950.23
	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	38,938,461.02
<b>2</b>	<b>Tax-free income/donations</b>	<b>455,597.59</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Membership fees</b>	<b>15,929.50</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Asset management income</b>	<b>32,423.42</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Other income</b>	<b>164,799.10</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Revenue reductions</b>	<b>-394,303.57</b>

## SPENDING IN 2022 (INTERIM)

<b>II</b>	<b>Expenditure in euros</b>	<b>-76,966,481.84</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Staff costs</b>	<b>-24,565,139.29</b>
	Of which staff costs Germany	-16,095,932.43
	a) Wages and salaries	-19,904,887.40
	b) Employment benefits and other costs	-4,660,251.89
<b>2</b>	<b>Administrative expenses</b>	<b>-3,540,864.48</b>
2.1	Office equipment, supplies, consumables	-1,203,128.65
	Network, software, systems administration	-396,747.82
	Maintenance and repairs	-131,512.86
	Tools and small appliances	-11,840.34
	Office supplies and consumables	-19,610.14
	Equipment rentals	-57,624.17
	Allocation to special reserve for investment	-585,793.32
2.2	Operation and maintenance of properties and buildings	-5,495.70
	Street cleaning/winter street maintenance	-2,957.02
	Property tax	-2,538.68
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2,332,240.13
	Other expenses for staff	-217,631.48
	Office rent and room costs	-927,887.34
	Insurance	-18,452.91
	Fees and other levies	-68,775.40
	External services, contract work, administration	-631,181.48
	Advertising	-30,017.63
	Promotional costs	-15,851.69
	Hospitality costs	-1,277.80
	Travel costs (falling under administrative expenses)	-83,237.94
	Postage, telephony, internet	-127,203.38
	Journals, books, media	59,790.28
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-63,230.64
	Nebenkosten des Geldverkehrs	-24,951.64
	Other costs, fees, donations	-11,138.89
	Vehicle costs	-10,789.23
	Other administrative costs	-38,153.28
	Other expenses	-2,669.12
<b>3</b>	<b>Project costs</b>	<b>-48,853,082.97</b>
	Total BMI project costs	-2,364,794.58
	BMI core funding allocated to third parties	-1,063,801.87
	Projects abroad	-32,558,186.63
	Supervision of students and PhD students	-12,623,321.22
	Scholarships Germany	-11,767,927.71
	Scholarships abroad	-847,315.35
	International parliamentary internships	-8,078.16
	Student networking and mentoring	-192,449.43
	Other project costs	-50,529.24
<b>4</b>	<b>Asset management costs</b>	<b>-7,395.10</b>

## EXPLANATORY NOTE:

**In 2022, core funding for political and democratic education was transferred to the following associations and Stiftungen:**

- 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.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rheinland-Pfalz 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.

**OVERVIEW OF ALL RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES ANTICIPATED FOR THE 2022 BUDGET PERIOD**

<b>Income in euro*</b>	<b>2023</b>
Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	16,640,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (estimated)	14,000,000.00
Grants from the Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary interns	10,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	36,399,000.00
Project grants from the Foreign Office	8,499,000.00
Scholarship grants from the Foreign Office	1,241,000.00
*excluding discretionary funds	
<b>Expenses in euro (partial list)</b>	<b>2023</b>
Staff costs	-23,000,000.00
Other administrative costs	-3,750,000.00
of which investments	-1,500,000.00
Project spending (excluding permanent staff)	-47,900,000.00
Educational programme	-3,400,000.00
Scholarships	-11,500,000.00
International cooperation projects	-33,000,000.00

# THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## EXECUTIVE BOARD

### CHAIR OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

OFFICE OF THE CHAIR/  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

INTERNAL AUDITING

### HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

### POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

### CORE ADMINISTRATION

### REGIONAL COORDINATION

### ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

ARCHIVE OF DEMO-  
CRATIC SOCIALISM

DIGITAL  
COMMUNICATION  
AND EDUCATION

STAFF

EXTERNAL PROJECTS

FOUNDATIONS  
IN POLITICAL  
EDUCATION AND  
PILOT PROJECTS

LIBRARY

PUBLIC RELATIONS

BUDGETING/  
AUDITING

BADEN-  
WÜRTTEMBERG

DIGITAL EDUCATION  
AND INTERNATIONAL  
POLITICS

HISTORY

EVENT  
MANAGEMENT

IT AND  
COMMUNICATIONS

BAVARIA

FOCAL POINT  
ROSA LUXEMBURG

PUBLICATIONS

ADMINISTRATION

BERLIN

EDUCATION FOR  
POLITICAL PRAXIS

ONLINE EDITORIAL  
BOARD

ACCOUNTING

BRANDENBURG

EDUCATION FOR  
LOCAL POLITICS  
(KOMMUNALPOL.  
BILDUNG)

CONSTRUCTION  
COMPLETION/  
COORDINATION  
OF DEPENDENT  
STIFTUNGEN

BREMEN

HAMBURG

YOUTH EDUCATION  
AND ORGANIZING

HESSE

MECKLENBURG-  
WESTERN POMERANIA

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL  
TRANSFORMATION

LOWER SAXONY

MIGRATION

NORTH RHEIN-  
WESTPHALIA

NEO-NAZISM AND  
ANTI-EGALITARIAN  
STRUCTURES/  
IDEOLOGIES

RHINELAND-  
PALATINATE

SAARLAND

POLITICAL ECONOMY

SAXONY

SAXONY-ANHALT

SCHLESWIG-  
HOLSTEIN

THURINGIA

## DISCUSSION GROUPS

### REGIONAL STIFTUNGEN IN THE RLS NETWORK

#### BOARD OF REGIONAL STIFTUNG SPOKESPERSONS

ERIK-NEUTSCH-STIFTUNG

HARALD-BREUER-STIFTUNG

HERMANN-HENSELMANN-  
STIFTUNG

MAX-LINGNER-STIFTUNG

MODROW-STIFTUNG

CLARA-ZETKIN-STIFTUNG –  
GEDÄCHTNIS DEMOKRA-  
TISCHER SOZIALISTINNEN  
UND SOZIALISTEN

KARL DIETZ VERLAG  
BERLIN

## LEGEND

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

# THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION OFFICER

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES OFFICER

DATA PROTECTION OFFICER

WORKS COUNCIL

### INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

LUXEMBURG MAGAZINE

PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

ONLINE EDITORIAL BOARD

THE COMMONS/ SOCIAL STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

CULTURE FORUM

FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY AND CAPITALISM

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBALIZATION

SOCIAL INFRA-STRUCTURE AND CONNECTIVE CLASS POLITICS

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

HOUSING AND URBAN POLICY

MIGRATION AND DEMOCRACY

ECONOMIC POLICY

TRADE UNIONS/ LABOUR/PRODUCTION

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION AND CLIMATE JUSTICE

SCHOOL AND EDUCATION POLICY

### SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMME

BMZ-PROJECT FOR GLOBAL ACADEMIC DIALOGUE

ALUMNI NETWORK

ACADEMIC TRUSTEES OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

SCHOLARSHIP-HOLDER WORKING GROUPS

SELECTION COMMITTEE

### CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

CID MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

#### UNITS/REGIONAL OFFICES

#### LATIN AMERICA UNIT

ANDEAN REGION, QUITO

BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY, SÃO PAULO

CENTRAL AMERICA/MEXICO, MEXICO CITY

CONO SUR, BUENOS AIRES  
GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

#### EUROPE UNIT

WESTERN EUROPE, BRUSSELS  
TRADE AND ECONOMY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

GREECE, ATHENS

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND, LONDON

CENTRAL EUROPE, PRAGUE

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE, WARSAW

RUSSIA, BELARUS, AND SOUTH CAUCASUS, BERLIN

SOUTH EAST EUROPE, BELGRAD/TUZLA

UKRAINE AND MOLDOVA, KYIV/BERLIN

#### WEST ASIA UNIT

ISRAEL, TEL AVIV  
CONFLICT ANALYSIS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

LEBANON, SYRIA, IRAQ, BEIRUT  
BEIRUT

PALESTINE AND JORDAN, RAMALLAH

#### AFRICA UNIT

SOUTH AFRICA, JOHANNESBURG  
FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE

WEST AFRICA, DAKAR

EAST AFRICA, DAR ES-SALAM

NORTH AFRICA, TUNIS  
ACADEMIC COOPERATION DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

#### ASIA UNIT

EAST ASIA, BEIJING

SOUTH ASIA, NEW DELHI

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, HANOI

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, MANILA

CENTRAL ASIA, ALMATY

#### INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND NORTH AMERICA UNIT

NORTH AMERICA AND THE UN, NEW YORK

CLIMATE JUSTICE DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION POLITICS PROGRAMME, GENEVA  
GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE, GENEVA

QUALITY CONTROL/REGULATION/ TRAINING UNIT

FINANCE AND AUDITING UNIT



## IMAGE CREDITS

Cover: Heike Schmelter, using photographs by Rawpixel/iStock and Freepik

Unless otherwise noted, all images are from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

p. 7: imago images/Paul Zinken  
p. 9: imago images/Zuma Press  
p. 10: Freepik  
p. 11 below: imago images/Alain Pitton  
p. 12: imago images/Andreas Vitting  
p. 13 above: Ian Clothworthy, [www.instagram.com/ianshotworthy](https://www.instagram.com/ianshotworthy)  
p. 13 below: picture alliance/robertharding/Bruno Morandi  
p. 15: picture alliance/dpa/Bernd von Jutrczenka  
p. 17: Still from the film on the Berlin hospital movement, [www.rosalux.de/mediathek/media/element/1729](http://www.rosalux.de/mediathek/media/element/1729)  
p. 18: Ian Clothworthy, [www.instagram.com/ianshotworthy](https://www.instagram.com/ianshotworthy)  
p. 21: imago images/Jochen Tack  
p. 23: Clarita Maria  
p. 29 below: Andreas Domma  
p. 32 left: Alexander Schlager  
p. 32 right: Julia Killet  
p. 33 left: Ruben Neugebauer/<https://flic.kr/p/x6ehWk> (CC-BY 2.0)  
p. 34 right: Sabrina Adeline Nagel, [www.siesah.de](http://www.siesah.de)  
p. 35 left: Ercan Ayboga  
p. 35 right: Soziale Bildung e. V./Dokumentationszentrum  
"Lichtenhagen im Gedächtnis"  
p. 36 left: Michael Quelle  
p. 36 right: Salvador Oberhaus  
p. 37 left: Wikipedia, Игорь Мухин (CC BY-SA 3.0), <https://commonp.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18607833>  
p. 37 right: Patric Bies  
p. 38 right: Ingrid Stude  
p. 39 left: Collettivo Autonomo Lavoratori Portuali: [www.facebook.com/CalpGe/photos/8112913832113000?locale=it\\_IT](https://www.facebook.com/CalpGe/photos/8112913832113000?locale=it_IT)  
p. 39 right: Wikipedia, [www.marxists.org/admin/legal/cc/by-sa.htm](http://www.marxists.org/admin/legal/cc/by-sa.htm)  
p. 41: Eugene Titov  
p. 42: private  
p. 43: Courtesy of Kijiweni Productions/Big World Cinema  
p. 44 left: Illustration: LaSuRivas  
p. 44 right: Hanene Bergaoui  
p. 45: Raphael Molter  
p. 52: private  
p. 53: NAH DRAN  
p. 65: private  
p. 77: Philip Eichler/Campact, <https://flic.kr/p/2oijg4> (CC-BY-NC 2.0), <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/>

## IMPRINT

Responsible: Henning Heine  
Translation: Gegensatz Translation Collective, Berlin  
Design: Heike Schmelter  
Production: MediaService GmbH  
Druck und Kommunikation, Berlin



## CONTACT

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung  
Straße der Pariser Kommune 8A, 10243 Berlin  
Phone (+49) 30 44310-0  
[www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de), [info@rosalux.de](mailto:info@rosalux.de)

Unless otherwise stated, all information and figures are current as of February 2023.

For the German-language version of this annual report see: [www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/50697](http://www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/50697)

This publication is part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's public relations work. It is distributed free of charge and may not be used for electoral campaigning purposes.



**“When you hear that prices are  
going up, don’t believe it!  
The prices don’t ‘do’ anything!”**

LEO KOFLER