

2019 ANNUAL REPORT

**ROSA  
LUXEMBURG  
STIFTUNG**



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ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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## EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

Have you been talking with your children about whether they want to continue their climate-change activism? Have you been following the debates about the rent cap or have you taken part in an initiative for affordable housing? Do you believe parliamentary democracy in Germany is threatened by the growing strength of nationalism and right-wing populism? No matter who I speak to, these are the issues that come up, and they are leading to a growing interest in political education, in discussion, and in the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

A point of focus at the very beginning of 2019 was the honouring of our namesake Rosa Luxemburg on the centenary of her murder on 15 January 1919. Our online timeline *Rosa Luxemburg in the German Revolution*, with its daily updated reconstruction of her final days, proved highly popular. With numerous events, publications, and the promotion of the documentary film, *Rosa Luxemburg oder der Preis der Freiheit* (Rosa Luxemburg or the Price of Freedom) we succeeded in making her life and work accessible to a broad audience. Our *Hommage an Rosa Luxemburg* at Kunstquartier Bethanien in Berlin honoured her memory and also allowed us to reflect on a future socialism. We will draw on these positive experiences when we begin to prepare for the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's birth in 2021.

The winter months of 1989–1990 were marked by self-confidence, hope, and a belief in the possibility of a transformation of social relations. Thirty years on, we commemorated the political upheaval in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). We developed numerous projects designed to address today's challenges, for society as a whole and for the left in particular, on the basis of what took place back then. In this regard, beyond a chronicle of selected events, central to which are the general mood of elation and the emergence of new left-wing social movements and parties, a reckoning with the actions of the Treuhandanstalt (the "trust agency" that was put in charge of privatizing East German enterprises) is also crucial. The touring exhibition *Schicksal Treuhand – Treuhand-Schicksale* documents the life stories and destinies of East Germans during this period. For many, the shuttering of the majority of the Publicly Owned Enterprises and the resulting mass lay-offs were unjust and humiliating. To date there has still been no working-through of the history of the Treuhand. And another topic was hotly debated: the myth of the *Ostfrau* (East German woman). I did a Germany-wide reading tour with the book *Emanzipiert und Stark: Frauen aus der DDR*, addressing issues to do with equality and women's emancipation in the GDR.

Feminist movements are gaining strength all over the world. They are among the most significant opponents of a global



Dagmar Enkelmann

right-wing populism. Between 12 and 15 September 2019, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the Care Revolution network and the Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie hosted the *Feminist Futures Festival* in the Zollverein former coal mine in Essen. More than 1,700 attendees, including numerous international guests from 40 different countries, exchanged experiences, debated strategies, developed connections, and created new coalitions. Apart from that, we also had a whole lot of fun together. Our conclusion? By number of attendees, the festival was the largest event the RLS has organized in its history, and also one of Germany's biggest-ever feminist events. The *Feminismus von Links* (Left-Wing Feminism) online dossier was one of the RLS's most popular publications in 2019.

Housing is a human right. But renting is becoming ever more expensive. Civil society initiatives are striving for affordable housing and an effective limit on rent increases. With its *Wem Gehört die Stadt?* (Who Does the City Belong to?) project, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is supporting renters, experts, and initiatives in the search for the real owners of buildings and land. A legal opinion commissioned by the RLS confirmed that state-level regulatory measures such as a moratorium on rent increases, a rent cap, and rent reductions are legal. This is significant not just for Berlin and Hamburg, but ultimately for all federal states with stressed housing markets.

2019 saw the strength of right-wing populist and ethno-nationalist forces continue to grow without significant hindrance. This was clear in the results of state elections in Saxony, Brandenburg and Thuringia. The CDU and the FDP—self-proclaimed parties of the bourgeois centre—are struggling to deal with the AfD. That's why cooperation among democratic parties and forces at all levels is more

important than ever, particularly at the municipal level. For that is the level at which people's immediate living environment is shaped. The *Linke Kommunalpolitik* (Left-Wing Local Politics) networking project was created under our aegis. Around 80 people active in local politics—young and old, experienced and new, from East and West, from the city and the country, from politics, social movements, administrations—met for a preparatory workshop in September in Bernau bei Berlin, in order to share experiences and develop concrete projects.

Authoritarian forces and far right parties are on the rise not only in Germany, but also internationally. We have watched with concern as all over the world social and political human rights have been curtailed, liberal achievements rolled back, and climate change denied. This has impacted the work of our international offices, especially our work with the hundreds of partner organizations, political actors, and individuals with whom we cooperate in over 80 countries. The RLS has offices abroad and overseas in more than 25 locations. Last year we began preparations for opening an office in London. In light of Brexit and the currently complicated situation in the United Kingdom, we consider it important to have a presence there.

One project in 2019 was particularly touching. In cooperation with the South African Liliesleaf Museum, the RLS supported the *Apartheid No!* project, which shed light on aspects of anti-apartheid solidarity in the GDR and FRG by means of an exhibition, online documentary, and book.

Climate change made its way into our living rooms in 2019 thanks to the Fridays For Future movement. Children and adolescents discussed the dangers of climate change with their parents and grandparents. Millions of people protested in the streets during the climate strike. The issue finally achieved the public attention that is urgently required if anything is to change. Despite 25 UN climate summits, the climate crisis is advancing dangerously. This comes as no surprise, as the multiple ecological and social crises of our time are the inevitable product of the capitalist economic system. More and more people are opposing climate change and reflecting on what they can do to resist it. Because we know that flying is the most carbon-intensive form of transport, we have developed sustainable mobility guidelines for our staff. Going forward, flights will only be permitted for trips of over 800 kilometres, or a journey time of more than ten hours—and of course, train travel instead of by car.

In this annual report, we are also happy to be able to introduce you to our newly-elected Executive Board, and especially to our new Executive Director, Daniela Trochowski. Also, you will once again learn plenty of interesting and important details about our work. I hope you find it stimulating reading.

**DR DAGMAR ENKELMANN**  
Chair of the Executive Board



## **FOCUS: LEFT-WING FEMINISM**

### **“WE HAVE A PLAN: WE WANT EVERYTHING!”**

WHY FEMINISM IS ESSENTIAL TO THE LEFT

The imperative of socialist politics is to overthrow *all* relations that degrade and exploit people. But left-wing praxis does not always actually live up to this demand in practice. Certain forms of exclusion and domination are considered to be structurally more important than others, or as marking out the terrain on which the supposedly decisive battles will be waged.

This is how feminism has fared to this day: the liberation from sexism and a hierarchical division of labour that relegates women\* to subordinate positions, the struggle against the imposition of binary conceptions of gender and against the many kinds of violence directed at women\*, and advocating for the right to have control over what happens to one's own body—none of these issues are front-and-centre in left-wing politics.

But also, not all experiences were and are considered equally significant within feminism itself. Black and migrant women\*, such as Sojourner Truth in the late 19th century, and increasingly since the 1970s, have criticized the fact that their perspectives are barely taken into consideration in feminist debates. And at the latest with the loss of the fight for the right to abortion—which had been guaranteed in the GDR—or with the first women's strike in Germany in 1994, in which one million women\* took part, the main currents of feminism in this country have become largely academic and institutionalized. The demand to overthrow *all* relations of domination, which had characterized the socialist women's movement, fell into the background, and the dominant approach became that of improving opportunities for a relatively small number of women\*. The politics of gender mainstreaming or demands for quotas within institutions of power are indicative of this restriction to issues of equality and representation. The LGBTIQ\* movement has also undergone a similar kind of taming and NGO-ization: its struggle for emancipation and equal rights has produced some real victories, but these were immediately contained; much became possible, but it also remained completely inadequate for the majority of people.

### **NEW MOVEMENTS**

But this standstill has come to an end: global mass movements of women\* and queer people have returned to the political stage with force, particularly but not only in Latin America. They are diverse and vociferous in their struggles on



On the occasion of International Women's Day, around 20,000 people demonstrated for equal rights for women\*, LGBTQ\* and people of color (Berlin, 8 March 2019).

various fronts: they are opposing neoliberalism's privatization of healthcare and its bad working conditions, they are fighting against sexual violence, racism, and environmental destruction, and they are fighting for social and global justice as the necessary foundation for freedom in relation to the body and the conditions of life.

Women\* and queer people also play a decisive role in the mosaic of global resistance to right-wing and authoritarian forces, as they incarnate both of the dimensions necessary: an antithesis to the attacks on the hard-won rights of women\*, migrants, and LGBTQ\* people, *and* the overcoming of the ruling economic order. The fact that right-wing and neo-fascist forces, but also conservatives and even centrists, increasingly invoke "women's rights" in order to attack refugees, male migrants, and Muslims once again makes clear the necessity of liberating feminism from that order's embrace—feminism must be left-wing and anti-racist.

"We have a plan: we want everything!", chant feminists in Chile. Veronika Gago, social scientist and co-founder of the #NiUnaMenos movement, showed in *LuXemburg* magazine (issue 3/2019) how emblematic these words are of the tables'

having turned: today, feminists are (once more) fighting from the perspective of women\* and queer people for the liberation of everyone, everywhere.

Feminists are posing questions that hit capitalism where it hurts: what is the meaning of care, how is care-work organized, and what does this have to do with the division of labour and gender relations? The goal is to adopt a more comprehensive perspective on work, one beyond the common left-wing tendency to reduce work to wage labour.

#### STRIKE DIFFERENTLY

Feminist Marxists who had been hibernating in academia have found a new kind of praxis in feminist strikes around the world. The resonances with other movements are conspicuous: meanwhile, neither the trade unions nor institutional politics have been able to ignore the climate strike. And in the tenth year of the crisis, in a situation where the level of organization and power base of the trade unions has never been weaker, and the composition of the working class has been completely



changed by globalization, digitalization, and the development of productive forces—in such a situation the feminist strike has revolutionized the strike-form itself. It removes the strike from the limited realm of collective bargaining law and instead links it to a radical understanding of trade unionism, one that strives to fundamentally democratize the general social organization of production, as Detlef Henschel argued on 8 March 2019, in a text for the fourth conference on trade union renewal, *Aus unseren Kämpfen lernen* (Learning from Our Struggles) held in Braunschweig.

During the workshop *Neosozialistische Klassenpolitik in der ökonomisch-ökologischen Doppelkrise* (Neo-Socialist Class Politics in the Dual Economic-Ecological Crisis) held in Berlin in autumn 2019, Tithi Bhattacharya, social scientist at Purdue University, explained how striking teachers in Chicago demanded changes to the living conditions of their students in the poor outer districts of the city. Children living in extremely cramped and precarious situations have trouble concentrating on their studies, even while at school. Expanding labour struggles in this way is crucial, and can be seen happening in other areas of care work in recent years. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has accordingly published a pamphlet by Ingrid Artus, *Frauen\*streik*, which analyses the strike movements of recent years, the vast majority of which have been in professions where women\* predominate.

In this context, the issue of *who* is actually able to strike is also being reconsidered. How can people strike in areas where there are no machines that could simply be switched off, but where the focus is on the production of life—in hospitals, care homes, childcare, youth centres, in families, housekeeping, or in political contexts?

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In all of these debates, the issue of class has returned to the foreground of feminist movements. Class is external neither to the depreciation of care work and its consequent economic undervaluation, nor to limited representations of sexual identities, nor to experiences of sexual violence. On the contrary: poverty among older women\*, violence in relationships of dependency and in precarious work situations, a lack of social participation for single parents, cramped living situations and a lack of adequate healthcare for trans\* people—these are also all class issues. Why is it so hard for the left to perceive this?

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**FEMINIST CLASS POLITICS**

With the founding of the *Feministische Klassenpolitik* discussion group in 2017, the RLS began to focus on these issues, which have defined the debate internationally. The *Feminismus für die 99 Prozent* manifesto by Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya, and Nancy Fraser draws on numerous feminist struggles to develop a political programme for the present. At its centre is the restoration of a class perspective to feminism, linking it to anti-racist struggles and expanding it to become the basis of a left-wing project. But this also means that feminism cannot remain a miscellaneous, side-show issue in the discourse of the left. A pluralist left can simply no longer afford such dismissiveness. In this sense, the manifesto, which the RLS has had translated into German, both diagnoses a crisis and presents a plan: it indicates the route towards a feminist future. The role of social reproduction and care has long featured in the RLS’s work. The first Care Revolution action conference drew attention to these issues nationally; in 2019 this network, which the RLS co-founded, celebrated its fifth anniversary. It brings together professional care workers, those who do unpaid care work, those who care for relatives, the parents of children with disabilities, and all those dependent on care, to fight for better conditions.

Bringing care work to the fore not only allows us to make fundamental criticisms of the ruling system, it also contains a utopian moment: the complete reorganization of production and reproduction is the horizon of feminist movements globally, and a care economy is their goal.

**WHAT DO WE WANT? FEMINIST FUTURES!**

Connecting the various threads, and bringing together the at times very different protagonists who have not necessarily understood themselves as part of a common struggle, was the primary aim of the *Feminist Futures Festival*. To date, the various forms of praxis have not overlapped enough—the struggles of striking care workers, refugee women\*



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Ingrid Artus  
**FRAUEN\*STREIK!**  
 ZUR FEMINISIERUNG  
 VON ARBEITSKÄMPFEN  
 Analysen, no. 54  
 28 pages, pamphlet  
 ISSN 2194-2951

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taking a stand against mass dormitory accommodation and mandatory residence, activists in the LGBTIQ\* community, and all those who are fighting for the right to abortion as much as for the right to have children. The festival was held at the Zollverein former coal mine in Essen in September 2019. With around 1,700 feminists and interested parties from more than 40 countries in attendance, the festival was not only the largest feminist networking event held in Germany in decades, but also the largest event ever organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. In cooperation with Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomien and the Care Revolution network, around 100 events were held over four days, including panels, workshops, strategic consultations, and skill-sharing sessions. There were numerous types of events oriented around self-awareness as well as a wide range of cultural events, from forum theatre, trivia, poetry slams, and a sing-along choir, to a raging party at which only people of colour performed. There were future-oriented workshops, a festival podcast, events with networking resources, and discussions about concrete strategies. There was much attention to self-empowerment as a condition for political action and for forming coalitions, as well as how left-wing structures can be made more open for marginalized groups like refugees and people of colour, but also for employees and those who are accustomed neither to socialist meeting culture nor the behavioural codes of the left-wing milieu.

Despite the diversity of voices, which is rare for left-wing events, there was a clear and overarching focus: building alliances and lines of solidarity between people affected in different ways by class hierarchy, heteronormative gender relations, and racism. The practical work of making connections was central, as common interests needn't only be "found", they also need to be created in common struggles and action, and this both internationally and across different political fields and their respective logics. The festival managed to combine networking among a broad spectrum of groups with a politically acute programme, and to intervene in both left-wing and in feminist debates; it was a high-point of the RLS's work in 2019 and its impacts will continue to be felt in the years to come. After all, the message at the end of the festival it was: What do we want? Feminist futures? When do we want it? Now!

### **WOMEN.POWER.POLITICS!**

TWO EMPOWERING SEMINARS BY THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

Women's active participation and exertion of influence in left-wing contexts is wished for in many quarters—yet it is not self-evident. In situations where women\* want to take responsibility and actively participate, they often encounter internal as well as external obstacles. The seminar *Women\**, *let's take the power*, held in Berlin in January 2019, looked at ways to recognize and dismantle such blocks.



Starting out in difficult times: *Feminist Futures Festival*, beginning of the demonstration on 14 September 2019.

To start with, analysing the role of women\* in various left-wing contexts helped with devising possibilities for action. Role models and successful campaigns play an important role here. We discussed the example of Mexican indigenous presidential candidate Marichuy, who gained attention for her exceptional engagement on behalf of the indigenous population of her country. Not one to mince words, she emphasized the destructive consequences of the capitalist system on poor communities, and the necessity of organizing. In Spain too, the old tradition of feminist resistance returned with a new vigour in the 2018 Women's Strike. A key element in this was the women's refusal to let themselves be divided. Solidarity and determination as well as exceptionally good networking led to success.

Self-determination and personal skills were important elements of the seminar. We focused on becoming conscious of our own strengths and weaknesses, in order to be able to avoid typical, debilitating forms of behaviour. We paid particular attention to considering things not just from the

control room of conscious thought, but to activate intuition as an empowering and guiding alternative authority.

The *Empowerment Seminar* in Fläming in November 2019 took a similar approach. It involved supporting 16 women\*, mostly young, who are on the way to becoming politically active. We focused on recognizing power relations and the kinds of discrimination they result in (such as sexism and racism). With the help of Augusto Boal's forum theatre, we did role-plays of everyday situations, and tested out alternative possibilities for action. In this context, the role of solidarity in revealing obstacles (in the sexist behaviour of political allies, for example) and in creating structures of support was not to be underestimated.

Both seminars aimed to strengthen women's political participation, their ability to recognize and call out discrimination, and to consolidate their own position. Feminist strikes as a form of spreading solidarity between women\*, as in Poland, Spain and Argentina, appear to be an appropriate and powerful model of resistance against the exclusion of women\* from political processes.

#### DEVELOPING AN INTERNATIONAL PROFILE

##### NETWORKING AND PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES

It is of vital importance that existing networks, strategic reflections, and practical experiences from different

movements—such as those that came together for the *Feminist Futures Festival* in 2019—remain productive in the long-term and across national borders. To this end, in 2019 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung established the Global Feminism Dialogue Programme with its own dedicated position in the Buenos Aires office. Its work is essentially interdisciplinary and aims not only to bolster class-conscious feminism as a topic within the RLS, but also to establish it as an interdisciplinary issue in social analysis and political work. The dialogue programme introduces the approaches developed by the RLS into international debates and at the same time makes suggestions from other countries usable for our work domestically. It links the activities of our regional offices with the work of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis on the topic, and it also supports the global networking of the RLS's feminist partner organizations.

To this end, a number of projects are in the works. These include publications that will disseminate crucial political concepts to an international audience—such as debates on the links between economic, institutional, and physical violence, which in Argentina in particular have led to energetic mobilizations—as well as the creation of a website that will make successful feminist organizing experiences available to activists worldwide, and also provide them with concrete tools. In order to help drive the strong momentum of the feminist movement into traditionally male-dominated organizations, in 2021 an international

A workshop during the *Feminist Futures Festival* in Essen.







The feminist movement in Argentina is one of the strongest in the world.

congress of delegates, politicians, and activists will be held on how democratic institutions can be transformed along feminist lines. An additional workshop will be dedicated to the contradictions and alliances between feminists and trade union organizing.

It is no accident that the new position is based in Buenos Aires: the Argentinian feminist movement is one of the powerhouses of an emerging feminist International.

### IN OTHER WORDS, CLASS

QUEER PERSPECTIVES ON PRECARIOUS LIFE AND SOLIDARITY

In recent years, queer feminist movements and communities have increasingly adopted intersectional perspectives that think through the interconnections between racism and sexist discrimination, but also Islamophobia and antisemitism. This facilitates a better understanding of how relations of domination in the development of subjects are interlinked with their positioning under the specific conditions of capitalist socialization. They also draw attention to differences in social power, which are accompanied by different latitudes for action. At the same time, these debates often lack a structural perspective on relations of class and domination, which could serve as points of connection for new alliances towards a common class politics.

In addition, the demands of queer and trans\* people as well as the gains won by LGBTIQ\* movements are currently under increasing attack by the right. This makes the limits of liberal identity politics ever more clear. New coalitions are needed against right-wing cultural warfare and a neoliberal capitalism that is leading to more wealth for the few and more poverty for the many and that is also fuelling climate change.

While the scene's culture has become commercialized and

privatized, many queer spaces and projects are getting displaced by gentrification. Meanwhile many queer people are active in everyday solidarity campaigns and intersectional alliances against racism, and for climate justice and the right to the city.

The well-attended *Beziehungswiese Klasse* event series focused on these very developments. Held in a number of different venues in Berlin, the series addressed a variety of topics around the precarization in the field of queer living and working conditions, and of trans\* social actors, activists, and artists. With a different audience each time depending on the venue, a variety of issues were explored—trans\* people's possibilities for organizing in the context of lives which are all too commonly precarious in multiple ways; the representations of queer feminism, class, and utopia; and the prospects for a queer International—key questions of our times. Now more than ever it is necessary to support each other politically, to organize and to resist in solidarity across borders and power relations.

### PUSH BACK THE PUSHBACK

THE 63RD SESSION OF THE UN COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Feminist movements are standing up to authoritarian regimes all over the world. Their struggle is being institutionally supported by the United Nations and its Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). Never since its inception in 1946 has the CSW been so well-attended as in March 2019, when participants gathered to make the global movement's demands legally binding. Every year, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung enables politically active women\* from its partner organizations to take part in the CSW; in 2019, seven activists travelled to New York from Europe and Chile.

Emancipatory engagement: everyday solidarity campaigns and intersectional alliances.





Detail of the Golden Rule mosaic at UN Headquarters, New York, venue for the annual CSW session.

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“Social protection systems, access to public services and sustainable infrastructure for gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls” was the rather unwieldy title of the 63rd session. If that sounds complicated and reflects the UN’s seemingly neutral language, it nonetheless fits the explosive political situation very well. Women’s and LGBTIQ\* people’s rights, equality, the right to abortion—these issues have not been so bitterly contested in the developed world for a long time.

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The UN passed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women back in 1979. It was not ratified in Federal Republic of Germany until 1985. In addition, Germany signed the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women in 2011, which came into force in 2018. After a small query made by the left-wing faction to the federal government, it became clear what the latter had done so far to implement it: almost nothing. For a long time now, there has been a lack of safe spaces in Germany for women\* threatened with violence. Most women’s refuges are overfilled, and their funding is not secure in the long term.

Yet international agreements remain important and their preservation is urgently necessary. Left-wing engagement in the UN is also of the utmost importance, because the more national-conservative government representatives are active there, the more devastating the impacts on women’s equality will be. But this struggle on the international stage can only have an impact when it is coupled with struggles in civil society. It needs strikes and street protests that are local but also internationally connected, and ideally synchronized, in order to make clear to one’s own government what is going wrong.

**WHAT’S LEFT?**

EQUAL TREATMENT AND EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE GDR

At the centre of *Emanzipiert und Stark: Frauen aus der DDR* (Strong and Emancipated: Women from the GDR), edited by Dagmar Enkelmann and Dirk Külow, are a number of in-depth interviews with over a dozen citizens of the former GDR from different generations. Moreover, the two authors, an East–West duo of Jana Frielinghaus (born 1969) and Claudia Wangerin (born 1976) have conducted impressive research and vividly depict aspects of everyday life and socio-political developments in the GDR, sometimes in direct comparison with the Federal Republic of Germany. New insights are produced by the broad perspective taken on the reminiscences and historical facts by which the representation of women\* in art, literature, science, and politics is connected to the actual concrete life experiences of engaged GDR women\*. When read today, the statistical materials on GDR socio-political measures—such as the baby year, household day, and special women-only courses of study, as well as financial assistance for giving birth, and for the care and upbringing of children—seem like a catalogue of justified demands, now that so many of these achievements are having to be fought for all over again.

Interviews with people like Simone Barrientos, Dagmar Enkelmann, Gesine Löttsch, and Petra Pau convey something of what it was like reconciling aspiration and reality of a life of equality in the GDR. And just to avoid giving any false impressions: in the GDR it was primarily women\* who did domestic and care work, in addition to their professional activities as workers, artists, politicians, or scientists.

Thanks to the inclusion of around 70 black-and-white photos, editors Dagmar Enkelmann and Dirk Külow have also succeeded in connecting these women’s experiences to the present. In her review of the book, Gisela Zimmer concludes: “*Emanzipiert und Stark: Frauen aus der DDR* appears just at the right time. Thirty years after the fall of the Wall, distance allows for another perspective. The stories are stories of women from a lost country. But what these women were capable of, what they took to be self-evident, and what made



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Dagmar Enkelmann,  
Dirk Külow (eds.)  
**EMANZIPIERT UND  
STARK**  
FRAUEN AUS DER DDR  
256 pages, hardcover  
Verlag Neues Leben  
€19.99  
ISBN 978-3-355-01880-7

.....



them strong, has not been forgotten. It is time to reclaim the things that allow women to live emancipated lives.”

**SUMMER FEMINIST CONNECT**

FEMINIST SUMMER SCHOOL IN THE WENDLAND

A networking meet-up was held in the Wendland from 30 July to 3 August 2019, with the aim of enabling exchange between politically organized women\* and facilitating mutual empowerment. The event, organized by NINA Hamburg, FLIT Solidarity Africa, and Women in Exile & Friends, and supported by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the RLS Lower Saxony, was primarily designed to allow women\* of colour, and women\* migrants and refugees to discuss perspectives and experiences that are often not given enough airtime in the discourse of white feminists.

.....

The thematic focus was provided by the questions: “What does it mean to struggle in a feminist way?” and “How can we collaborate politically?”, which were approached from a position of anti-racism and solidarity.

.....

The contents of the programme were mainly determined by the 60 participants themselves. They took the approach that “anyone can do something and can hand it on to others”. This worked well, resulting in a diverse programme in a variety of formats (workshops, presentations, discussions, open spaces)

and covering a variety of topics (self-defence and self-assertion, anti-fascism, body politics, empowerment strategies, applied theatre). This was all made possible by full-day childcare as well as the translating work that allowed the event to be multilingual (Arabic, German, English, Sorani, and Spanish).

The intensive networking led to a lot of new ideas for how people who have directly experienced racism and those who have not can work together. There is a lot of demand to organize a similar event again in 2020.

**LATIN AMERICA: FOR A PLURINATIONAL, ANTI-RACIST FEMINISM FROM BELOW**

After Latin America caused a stir with its more or less moderate left-wing governments in the years following the turn of the millennium, since at least the election of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil it has become clear that the region is drifting toward the right. Apart from a few exceptions, ultraconservative, neoliberal and far-right governments predominate, and they are intensifying social inequality and polarization, holding human beings and the natural environment in contempt, curtailing the rights of certain sectors of the population, and endangering democracy. Feminist movements in particular have spoken up against this tendency. They have established themselves as the force most opposed to the right-wing rollback.

Thousands upon thousands of women\* and queer people are on the front line in struggles over land and living space, for reproductive justice and sexual diversity, and against habitat

Network meeting: the invitation to the feminist summer school in the Wendland.





The 34th International Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Trans\*, Transvestite and Non-Binary People, held in La Plata, Argentina, 13 October 2019.

destruction by extractivism and infrastructure projects. They have succeeded in organizing themselves in all their diversity, and in mobilizing masses of people for demonstrations and strikes. Their perspectives have also influenced and lastingly strengthened other movements, such as the protests against Bolsonaro and the social uprisings in Chile at the end of 2019. The way feminist theorists have demonstrated the connections between patriarchy and capitalism, as well as between mechanisms of oppression that operate intersectionally, helps people to comprehend power structures and to fundamentally call the system as a whole into question. The strength of the contemporary movements derives from the fact that their demands go far beyond defending against a rightward lurch, and constitute alternatives to the patriarchal capitalist system. In Brazil for example, the introduction of collective and intersectional mandates for black representatives in parliament, who are in close contact with social movements, is not just a radical answer to the concentration of power and the advance of the far right. It also shows how a non-patriarchal and anti-racist politics and society could work, and it marks a radical new departure in the way we do politics.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's offices in Latin America have accompanied these feminist struggles for years. Networking and strengthening the possibilities for local actors to articulate themselves and be heard play a particularly important role in our cooperation with collectives and activists, black women's movements, peasants' movements, indigenous organizations, trade unions, politicians aligned with such movements, and feminist academics. As both feminist movements and far-right groups are active trans-regionally and internationally, it is important to expand this cooperation and to contribute to an internationalist feminist dialogue. The RLS is making a significant contribution to a left-wing, intersectional, anti-capitalist, social-ecological, and internationalist feminism in the region and beyond.

**“STRUGGLE WHERE THERE IS LIFE”**

A DRAMATIC READING FOR THE CENTENARY OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND REVOLUTION

The First World War ended a century ago. In the wake of the ensuing revolution, Kurt Eisner proclaimed the People's



State of Bavaria. Women's suffrage and the eight-hour day were introduced. On the occasion of the anniversary in January 2019, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and the Bavarian branch of the RLS staged a reading in Munich on the topic of activists for peace and women's rights. The words of a number of significant historical figures were recited. Anita Augspurg (1857–1943) was Germany's first woman jurist, and fought for the social and political rights of women from the end of the nineteenth century. Women's suffrage was her foremost aim. In 1915, she was one of the founders of the WILPF. Contanze Hallgarten (1881–1969), a suffragist and pacifist, was one of the leading women in the German peace movement. She raised the alarm about the threat of national socialism early on and was already on a national socialist blacklist at the time of the Munich Putsch in 1923. Gabriele Kätzler (1872–1954), along with her daughters, was among the communist women of Riederau am Ammersee, who sheltered many endangered revolutionaries in their home. Sarah Sonja Lerch (1882–1918) is one of the forgotten women revolutionaries. Her active period in Munich was brief: she was arrested in 1918 and found dead in her cell in Munich's Stadelheim prison. Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919) was the most important socialist involved in the German workers' movement. She was locked up for years, and ultimately murdered, for resisting warmongers. Antonie Pfülf (1877–1933) was a social-democratic member of the Reichstag (1920–1933) and active on education and women's political issues. Out of desperation, she chose suicide over Nazi rule on 8 July, 1933. Clara Zetkin (1857–1933) contributed to the German and international proletarian women's movement for over half a century.

Delegates at the peace conference held by the International Congress of Women in The Hague, April 1915.



## PROJECTS SUPPORTED BY THE RLS IN 2019 AS PART OF LEFT-WING FEMINISM

- FE.IN authors' collective: *FRAUEN\*RECHTE UND FRAUEN\*HASS: Antifeminismus und die Ethnisierung von Gewalt*, Verbrecher Verlag, Berlin 2019: €2,000
- Ben Trott (ed.): *Queer Studies Schlüsseltexte*, German translations of key texts in Anglophone queer studies, Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin 2020: €1,000
- FeLi: *Feministische Linke Freiburg: #GirlGang \*United: Her mit dem ganzen Leben* event series on sexual violence and Girl\*Gangs, January and February 2019 in Freiburg: €1,000
- Feministischer Zusammenschluss Freiburg: *Wie über das Geschlechterverhältnis reden?* conference, March 2019 in Freiburg: €1,000
- Feministische Gruppe Kreuzberg: *Feminismus und neue Klassenpolitik* conference, March 2019 in Berlin: €1,300
- Forum kritischer Wissenschaften: *Kritische Theorie und Feminismus* conference, February 2019 in Frankfurt am Main: €1,000
- Fachschaftsrat Sozial- und Gesundheitswesen der Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Ludwigshafen: *Gender, Sexismus und queerfeministische Soziale Arbeit* event series, April 2019 in Ludwigshafen am Rhein: €750
- Theater Kiel: Queer workshop by DiversityBOX Berlin as part of Theater Kiel's *ganz schön anders* week, March 2019 in Kiel: €1,000
- Bund Deutscher Pfadfinder\_innen Landesverband Thüringen e. V.: *Pro\_feministische Akademie* seminar, February 2019 in Waltershausen: €750
- The F Sisterhood e. V.: *Berlin Feminist Film Week*, March 2019 in Berlin: €2,000
- Tucké Royale: *Stonewall Uckermark: Rollende Tagung zu 50 Jahren Stonewall* event, July 2019 in Uckermark: €1,000
- Heidi Scharf: *11th Feministische Herbstakademie für Frauen – Utopien – vom Himmel in die Praxis*, conference, October 2019 in Bielefeld: €5,000
- FAMILIA\*FUTURA GbR: *FAMILIA\*FUTURA-Aktionstag zu Ein-Elternfamilien\* und Sozialer Elternschaft*, September 2019 in Leipzig: €1,000
- Forschungs- und Informationsstelle beim Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler e. V. (FIB): *Gender. Class. Crisis: Perspektiven und Fragen feministisch-intersektionaler Klassenpolitik* spring academy: €4,000

## THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The Institute for Critical Social Analysis concerns itself with prospects for fundamental social transformation. In view of the global rise of authoritarianism, the Institute's activities in 2019 focused on the following questions: how can we break through a situation in which the left is hardly visible? And how can the strategy of a connective class politics and organization from the left be further developed? In this specific crisis situation, it seemed crucial to us to define some projects that would bring immediate improvements and at the same time intervene in the existing relations of property and power. In 2019, the choice was made to support initiatives such as Deutsche Wohnen & Co. Enteignen (Expropriate Deutsche Wohnen et. al.), which focus on the socialization of housing in the public interest. Not only does this campaign offer the chance to bring previously unconnected initiatives together, it can also shift the social discourse, and thus the balance of power, in favour of other demands. For example, the expropriation campaign has improved the conditions for the enforcement of the Berlin rent cap and inspired radical reflections in other fields, like those of transportation and care work.

We are happy that last year, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis was able to create the conditions to bolster such campaigns as well as further theoretical and practical approaches to the expansion of social infrastructures (with a focus on housing, the care and health sectors, and fair transportation/structural transformation of the automotive industry). Our new consultants Moritz Warnke, Julia Dück, Fanni Stolz, and Anastasia Blinzov, as well as the fellows Markus Wissen and Ulrich Brand, will help us to identify broad but sufficiently concrete goals and initial projects—what do we want to have achieved in ten years? Who are the opponents we can expect to encounter along the way? But above all: where to start, and with whom? A firmly socialist perspective can be helpful in this search process. In the best case this can combine different interests and movements so that not only “achievable goals” are set and then pursued “with the most effective means by the shortest route”; rather, “in all partial endeavours” such a perspective “goes beyond the bounds of the existing order in its totality” (Rosa Luxemburg). This form of “revolutionary Realpolitik” combines questions of distribution with questions of power, property, and democracy, which go to the root of the matter. In this sense, in 2019 too the Institute not only contributed analytically and strategically to the debate on the future development of the left more broadly, but also worked in a substantial advisory capacity on many committees and working groups of the Die Linke parliamentary group, and provided vital space and resources for social movements and their campaigns as well as for reflection and exchange between various left-wing actors.



*Aus unseren Kämpfen lernen* — 4th conference on trade union renewal, held in Braunschweig from 15 to 17 February 2019

## LEARNING FROM OUR STRUGGLES

With several publications and conferences on “connective class politics”, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and its Institute for Critical Social Analysis continued to shape left-wing strategic debates in 2019. Under the motto *Aus unseren Kämpfen lernen. Streiks auswerten, Strategien entwickeln, politischer werden* (Learning from Our Struggles: Analysing Strikes, Developing Strategies, Becoming More Political) more than 800 people gathered in Braunschweig in February at the invitation of the RLS and regional trade union organizations. They exchanged views on current issues in more than 30 working groups: how can the movement for more hospital staff continue? What strategies can be used against mass lay-offs? How can the fight against the right be won? And how do we react to the looming crisis in the automotive industry?

Everyone agreed that for problems such as underpayment of wages, precarious employment, or the swing to the right there are no simple solutions that will take effect from one day to the next. Nevertheless, the lively discussions showed that evaluating the experiences gained in many quarters with new strategies and alliances is a worthwhile endeavour. Doing so encourages people to break with the habitus of social partnership and embark upon more conflict-oriented

approaches and different options for action. The American RLS fellow Jane McAlevey was among those who presented at the conference, and her concept of “deep organizing” conveyed a sense of confidence and orientation. Her strategic counter-proposal to classical left-wing mobilization and the representational politics traditional to trade unions can be read about in German for the first time in the book *Keine halben Sachen* (VSA: Verlag; original title: *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*) sponsored by the RLS. The women’s strikes taking place worldwide also provide meaningful context for the debates on new models of organization. One month before 8 March, the planned actions were presented at a plenary session in Braunschweig. The RLS has published an analysis of this in *Women\*strike! Zur Feminisierung von Arbeitskämpfen* (On the Feminization of Workers’ Struggles), by Ingrid Artus.

Trade unions and leftists have to confront a further unusual challenge: the current upheavals in class society are taking place in a time of “economic and ecological double crisis” (Klaus Dörre). Massive conflicts around social-ecological transformation are imminent. For the social left, communicating the social and ecological questions as a unified social-ecological question is no cliché, but a matter of life and death. But what does a radical ecological politics that is at the same time an ecological class politics look





Presentation by the organizer Jane McAlevey at the trade union meeting, 16 February 2019.

like? The *Neosozialistische Klassenpolitik* workshop, held at the end of October in Berlin, focused on these issues. The massive transformations taking place with digital capitalism, the relationship between class and gender as well as class and nature, (class) struggles for socialist infrastructure, and questions of green socialism were discussed. Two volumes were published in 2019 in the new series *Materialien zur Klassenanalyse: Klassen – Fraktionen – Milieus*, with contributions by Michael Vester, Ulf Kadritzke, and Jakob Graf; and *Demobilisierte Klassengesellschaft und Potenziale verbindender Klassenpolitik* with contributions by Klaus Dörre, Thomas Goes, and Mario Candeias. One of the conclusions they come to is as follows:

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“In principle a distinction can be made between a conservative and a transformative class politics. Transformative class politics requires the vision of a better, post-capitalist society. The incipient debate about a neo- or eco-socialist option points in this direction.” (Klaus Dörre)

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As well as publishing educational materials, in 2019 the RLS also paid more attention to the practical side of a connective class politics. Of note in this regard are the handbook for organizers, *Transformative Organizing—Reading the Practice* by Robert Maruschke, Miriam Pieschke and Rico Rokitte, the workshop *Strategie und Handwerkszeug für eine organisierende Klassenpolitik*, as well as the pamphlet *Zusammen tun! Wie gründe ich eine Mieter-Initiative?* by starthilfe@dweiteignen. The *Organizing-Academy* in Prague at the beginning of November brought organizers and activists

together from all over Europe and the USA. The general sense was that the litmus test of a connective class politics will be whether it is possible to develop projects and practices that reach beyond the usual suspects and make contact with the most marginalized members of the class—whether in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, or in the various sectors of low-waged work.

## WHO DOES THE CITY BELONG TO?

Who does the city belong to? After much discussion since the early 1990s about shrinking cities, vacancy problems, demolition, and ecological issues, last year was again dominated by the topics of skyrocketing rents, rising land prices, overt and covert homelessness, and gentrification and displacement. Yet the debates are not only about building more new housing or increasing the availability of affordable housing; the issues now go far beyond that scope. The property question, in the direct sense, is (back) on the agenda. Fundamental questions are being asked and fundamental answers demanded. In 2019, the RLS Institute for Critical Social Analysis has also undertaken to actively participate in these discussions about a rebellious, left-wing, and solidarity-based politics for housing, rent, and urban development. We offer ourselves as a platform that can be used for the exchange and networking of different political levels, actors and milieus—from local activists and elected officials, to representatives of various initiatives and social movements, to administrations and associations, as well as affected persons and critical scholars.

A highlight in this connection was the conference *RLS-Cities: Rebellisch. Links. Solidarisch.*, which took place in Berlin from 28 February to 1 March 2019. More than 400 participants, including many full-time staff from associations, trade unions, and local politics, as well as representatives of various initiatives, took part in the discussions and workshops in eight

40,000 people at the demonstration against gentrification and exorbitant rents in Berlin.



parallel forums on topics such as *Die kommunale Bodenfrage*, *Wem zahle ich eigentlich Miete?*, and *Mieter\*innenkämpfe und Kampagnen oder Wohnungsbaugenossenschaften etc. — Was jetzt gebraucht wird!* 80 speakers from Germany and other European countries presented on their areas of focus and their political practice.

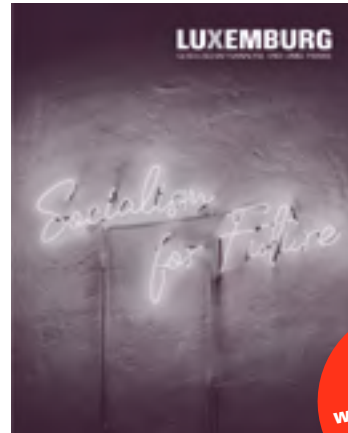
In 2019, the Institute also commissioned a large-scale study on the land question. This study sheds light on the background to the rising land and property prices in cities and their effects on the supply of housing, and deploys international examples to propose possible solutions. In addition, the RLS organized several publications and events on the “rent cap” in Berlin—which will freeze rents in the capital for five years from February 2020—and also launched the multi-year project *Wem gehört die Stadt?* This project aims to help tenants find the true owners of the houses they live in, to reveal economic connections such as those between the global financial market and the real estate sector, and to examine how financialization increases general inequality through expectations of excessive profit. This is done firstly by means of scientific data collection and analysis of ownership structures and business practices, and secondly through providing political education tools for educators, tenants, and other interested parties, and thirdly through the networking of experts. The highly acclaimed study *Profitmaximierer oder verantwortungsvolle Vermieter? Große Immobilienunternehmen mit mehr als 3.000 Wohnungen in Berlin im Profil* was released in September 2019.

## NEWS AND POLEMIC

### A DECADE OF LUXEMBURG

The first issue of *LuXemburg* appeared in the middle of the 2009 financial crisis, as the successor to *Utopie Kreativ*. It was a novel project in many respects: an aesthetically appealing magazine that functioned as an organ of left-wing

One of the campaigns directed against real estate speculation.



## «SOCIALISM FOR FUTURE»

LUXEMBURG. GESELLSCHAFTSANALYSE UND LINKE PRAXIS 3/2019  
144 pages, paperback  
ISSN 1869-0424

Download or  
order online at:  
[www.rosalux.de/  
publikation/  
id/41453](http://www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/41453)

debate for the diverse “Mosaic Left”. The crisis presented new tasks for the left: what is to be done, and by whom? How can organization begin in our everyday lives? What are the strategies towards a left-wing transformation? These questions run like a red thread through the booklets. Their main topics reflect an eventful decade: from the *Rückkehr der Kämpfe* (2/2011) to *Grünen Sozialismus* (3/2012), from *Gewerkschaftlichen Erneuerung* (1/2013) to the *Krise der sozialen Reproduktion* (4/2012), from *Solidarischen Einwanderungsgesellschaft* (1/2017) to *Feministischen Klassenpolitik* (2/2018).

The editorial staff, including both full-time employees and volunteers, consists of academics as well as activists from social movements and the parliamentary left. Christina Kaindl was a leading editor in the first three years and belonged to the founding team, together with Michael Brie, Mario Candeias, Alex Demirović, Corinna Genschel, and Catharina Schmalstieg. Since 2012, Barbara Fried has been the leading editor, and forms the core editorial team with Harry Adler, and since 2019 with Hannah Schurian.

Inspired by the debate on common goods, the magazine has been distributed free of charge since 2014. By now the magazine is printed in an edition of 9,000, and there are 3,300 e-subscriptions. Nevertheless, for a long time it remained unclear: who actually reads *LuXemburg*, and what do the readers think about it? Over 700 people took part in a survey conducted in 2019. 83 percent of responders said they find *LuXemburg* good or very good. At least 25 percent use the texts for political education work. 80 percent appreciate the design and the approach of combining theory, strategy, and practice. With its anniversary issue *Socialism for Future*, *LuXemburg* is taking a look ahead: how might a left-wing future look, in view of the climate crisis and the advance of the right?

FELLOWS

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Fellowships have existed at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis since 2012, and give politically active people from Germany and abroad the opportunity to reflect critically and strategically on their practices. Fellows have included such well-known figures as Nicola Bullard, Beppe Caccia, Elena Chatzimichali, Daniela Dahn, Nancy Fraser, Christos Giovanopoulos, Bob Jessop, Tasos Koronakis, Isabell Lorey, Mimmo Porcaro, Claire Sandberg, Tove Soiland, Bhaskar Sunkara, Gabriele Winker, Winnie Wong, Raul Zelik, and many others.

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**Alex Demirović** has been working with others since the RLS Marx200 congress on a comprehensive publication on Marx; this will be published in 2020 with Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot. He wrote the article *Konkrete Dystopie. Warum die Zukunft dem Kapitalverhältnis entrissen werden muss* for the anniversary issue of *Luxemburg*, as well as the essay *Klassen- und Identitätspolitik und die sozialistische Frage*, which he presented at the second RLS conference on class.

**Thomas Goes** used his fellowship to look more deeply into materials for a connective class politics. In this context, he presented the results of his study *Linke Potenziale und klassenpolitische Voraussetzungen. Empirische Befunde und Forschungsperspektiven*, at the RLS's second conference on class. He received a postdoctoral position financed by the RLS on the class-political preconditions for a 21st-century social state at the Soziologischen Forschungsinstitut (SOFI) in Göttingen.

**Dieter Klein** published the book *Zukunft oder Ende des Kapitalismus. Kritische Diskursanalyse in turbulenten Zeiten*. The book critically examines the contributions of Klaus Streeck, Paul Mason and others in terms of their foundations in the theory of political transformation and their strategic implications, analyses the structure of their respective narratives, and draws conclusions for the further development of the theory of political transformation. Numerous book presentations followed. Together with Michael Brie, he wrote an essay on green socialism as a "real utopia".

**Sarah Leonard** is a feminist, publicist, and activist. She lives in New York, where she writes and works as an editor for numerous magazines, including *The Nation* and *Dissent*. She is part of the movement for an international feminist strike and for reproductive justice, and is active within the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). As a Fellow, she developed a mapping of feminist movements in the USA

and conducted the workshop *Feministische Klassenpolitik und die Bewegung für einen neuen Sozialismus in den USA* in Berlin.

**Miriam Pieschke** is the coordinator of the research project *Subjekt- und hegemonietheoretische Untersuchung des Rechtspopulismus und Entfaltung emanzipatorischer Gegenmacht*, which the RLS is directing alongside local civil society initiatives and staff from the Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Sciences. The interim results were discussed in a workshop organized by the RLS. An additional research report is currently being prepared. Miriam Pieschke also completed the manuscript for a reader on Rosa Luxemburg last year, which will be published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin.

**Rainer Rilling** played a major role in the conceptual redesign of the *Luxemburg* journal and in creating the anniversary issue (the journal celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2019). Over many years of research on the topics of wealth and the future, he published a series of articles, including *Enrichissement—Ökonomie der Bereicherung* in *Z. Zeitschrift marxistische Erneuerung*, and *Future in the Making* in *Global Dialogue*. In 2019 he also organized the 17th Villa Rossa Seminar in Italy, this time on the relationship between city and country.

**Axel Troost** continued coordinating the RLS's high-profile discussion group on economic policy, which was devoted among other things to the rent cap in Berlin and plans for the so-called *Schulbauoffensive* (a large investment by the Berlin Senate in construction and renovation of schools). Together with a team of experts, he published the results of a collaborative study under the title *Nach der Kohle. Alternativen für einen Strukturwandel in der Lausitz*. In the process, he succeeded in bringing together various activists from the environmental movement, trade unions, and politicians from Brandenburg and Saxony in an ongoing exchange. He also worked alongside others in preparing the report *Die Beschäftigungslücke in der sozialen Infrastruktur*.

**Steve Williams** is a long-time organizer from San Francisco.

**Steve Hughes** was an organizer with the Working Families Party in the USA. The aim of their fellowship was to find out how practices of transformative organizing can be transferred to the German and European context and to use this knowledge for the further development of corresponding formats and projects within Die Linke and in social movements. Their workshops, such as *Strategie und Handwerkszeug für eine organisierende Klassenpolitik* in Berlin, and the *Organizing Academy* in Prague, occasioned an exchange between organizers and activists from the Federal Republic of Germany, Europe, and the USA.



**LUXEMBURG LECTURES 2019**

Under the aegis of the *Luxemburg Lectures*, the RLS invites intellectuals from all over the world to speak to audiences in Berlin. The focus in 2019 was on “transformative” or “deep organizing”, global authoritarianism, and the crises of capitalism.

26 FEBRUARY 2019

Jane McAlevey (trade unionist/organizer, New York City)

**NO SHORTCUTS.  
ORGANIZING FOR POWER**



Jane McAlevey

30 SEPTEMBER 2019

Walden Bello (author, scholar/politician, Manila)

**THE GLOBAL RISE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT**  
in conversation with Malene Gürgen

18 OCTOBER 2019

Birgit Mahnkopf (political scientist, Berlin)

**CAPITALISM ON THE TIPPING POINTS  
OF NATURE AND SOCIETY**

29 OCTOBER TO 26 NOVEMBER 2019

Jane McAlevey (trade unionist/organizer, New York City)

**HOW WE LEARN TO WIN IN STRUGGLES**  
Four-part global lecture



Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor

1 MARCH 2019

Jaime Palomera (social scientist/activist, Barcelona)

**WHAT IS BARCELONA DOING RIGHT?**

1 APRIL 2019

Stefan Peters (peace researcher, Bogotá)

**VENEZUELA: THE RISE AND FALL  
OF THE BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION**

in conversation with Raul Zelik

24 MAY 2019

Michael Walzer (philosopher, New York City)

**SECULARISM REVISITED**

5 JUNE 2019

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (author and activist, Princeton)

**FROM #BLACKLIVESMATTER TO BLACK LIBERATION**  
in cooperation with Humboldt University's *Du Bois Lectures*  
and the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin



Birgit Mahnkopf

## THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The mission of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is to provide a wide-ranging political education programme for everyone who is committed to democratic socialism in thought and action. Our objective is to strengthen participants' capacity to act with agency in the socio-political field. The Academy for Political Education has the special mission of developing and implementing appropriate formats for specific audiences based on the questions and needs arising from daily political practice.

The Academy for Political Education develops educational and support material for facilitators, as well as organizing day-long workshops, weekend seminars, and module-based training programmes, almost all of which are available free of charge. Our guiding principles include critically respecting all participants, remaining attentive in order to prevent hierarchical structures from emerging, and establishing emancipatory forms of participation. The audience for such offerings includes all those involved in Die Linke and the trade unions, as well as in social movements, initiatives, and non-governmental organizations.

The academy aims to convey a fundamental understanding of key political concepts and to open up new forms of access to left-wing politics and political activism. By challenging the rigid division between educational content and pedagogy, and employing a diverse range of teaching methods, we are able to facilitate understanding of often complex issues. We also make an active contribution to debates on political education through our publications and public events.

Last year, the Academy took a significant step into the future by digitizing its programs: digital seminars were added to existing courses, and new educational formats such as educational videos, digital exhibitions, and online games were launched. In addition, the networking project *Linke Kommunalpolitik*, which was started in 2018, has developed positively. Five model projects aiming to improve the knowledge, attitude, and tools of those active in local politics have been established nationwide. There is also a growing need for political education in schools in rural settings and in locations beyond the big cities.

Core themes last year were the *Gesellschaft der Vielen* (Society of the Many) migration, the fight against the old and new right-wing, and climate justice. Numerous interdisciplinary projects were developed to put the left on the social offensive.





Strengthening left local politics together: kick-off event in Bernau.

### STRENGTHENING LEFT LOCAL POLITICS THROUGH NETWORKING

In May 2019 local elections were held simultaneously in nine federal states. The preparations for these elections once again highlighted the challenges facing left-wing local politics, such as supporting isolated elected officials in non-urban areas, and the need to involve as many interest groups as possible in local political decision-making processes. Against this background, the RLS has decided not only to continue its long-standing commitment to strengthening local politics, but also to break new ground.

In January 2019, an initiative group was formed which brought together various perspectives: from activists working in local politics within Die Linke, from the RLS headquarters in Berlin as well as the regional offices, from communal political forums and extra-parliamentary movements. Long-term projects are to be developed over the course of two years. This offers the opportunity for careful reflection and well-founded analyses, as well as the identification of important coalition and cooperation partners. However, the projects should also leave sufficient room for spontaneity and experimentation, and should have a motivational effect. In the first half of the year, a “mapping” of left-wing local politics was carried out on the basis of 72 interviews conducted nationwide, which enabled the initiative group to define its objectives and develop a strategy for achieving them. The networking project *Linke Kommunalpolitik*, launched in 2018, is intended to help increase awareness of the local level of politics, develop new forms of political engagement, and support those active in local politics in their work and involvement. A first milestone was the kick-off event on 19 and 20 September 2019, in the Stadthalle in Bernau, Brandenburg, which hosted a meeting with 80 activists in local politics from all over Germany. At this meeting, a total of five pilot projects were agreed upon that promise to decisively advance left local politics at strategically important points. This includes the support and networking

A video giving an impression of the meeting in Bernau can be found at: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZS5OrCPRZvY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZS5OrCPRZvY).

of left-wing local politicians newly elected in Bavaria in March 2020, a *Kommunalmobil* (Community-mobile) for rural areas, and the development of ideas around the topic *Linke in Verwaltung* (The Left in Administration) in Thuringia and North Rhine-Westphalia.

The projects are to run for nine months. In June 2020, a new meeting in Bernau will take stock and evaluate their suitability for everyday local politics. A plan to consolidate tried and tested concepts and projects and to transfer them to other contexts and to tackle new projects is scheduled for the final phase of the *Linke Kommunalpolitik* networking project (which will run until the end of 2020).

### CAMPUS FOR WORLD-TRANSFORMING PRACTIS GOES DIGITAL

In September 2019, the third *CAMPUS für weltverändernde Praxis* (CAMPUS for World-Transforming Praxis) was launched. *CAMPUS* is an educational platform which offers courses and seminars by various providers. As in previous years, the training courses are aimed at people in the “left mosaic”. The main objectives are to foster the ability to intervene and act in various political fields.

Two courses organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, which take place in parallel on six consecutive dates with about 25 participants each, are essential components of the programme. In the course *Strategien fürs Weltverändern*, various traditions and theories as well as tools for political strategy development are presented, discussed, and applied. In the course *Bildung fürs Weltverändern* the participants deal with the traditions of left-wing educational concepts within social movements and learn about theoretical approaches and the prerequisites of emancipatory education for the context of movements. The two courses are complemented by the educational



FÜR WELT  
VERÄNDERNDE  
PRAXIS!

week *Let's Organize—politische Strukturen entwickeln*, which took place 14 to 18 March 2020 in cooperation with the Attacademie. Due to assembly restrictions, the courses were converted into a purely digital format. In addition, eight so-called excursions allowed for in-depth work on specific topics. These weekend events enabled interested people from the course groups to meet with other activists and exchange ideas on topics such as sustainable activism or (post-)migrant (self-)organization.

Both the two courses and the week-long workshop have been supplemented by digital elements since 2019. Formats such as webinars, virtual discussion groups with activists from various fields, collegial counselling on practical projects, as well as ice-breaking and follow-up tools in chat rooms have all been made use of. The central aim is not to use the digital programmes as a substitute for face-to-face meetings, but to use them to respond even better to the specific learning needs of our target groups and to promote networking among them. The methods of emancipatory educational work will thereby be transferred to the virtual level in order to continue to offer a subject-oriented space for collaborative learning. Experience to date shows that this is particularly successful when the participants are already in contact with each other. Many of the participants praised the large range of digital learning and counselling services, which do not require travel to and from the location and allow participants to be more flexible with their time. A brochure and a collection of handouts for educators and participants were produced to accompany the development and testing of the virtual supplements to the courses.

## STANDING UNITED

FEDERAL CONGRESS OF LEFT-WING SPACES AND YOUTH CENTRES IN CHEMNITZ

In the Federal Republic of Germany we have a history of more than 40 years of self-organised, left-wing youth and community centres. These spaces are not only important for the leisure activities of their users, they are also places to develop and live out practices for an open society based in solidarity.

Today these spaces are threatened by the strengthening of the right-wing. Again and again there are physical attacks on leftist centres and their visitors. However, the attacks are also often coming from the authorities and reactionary politicians, who stir up hatred, pose slanderous questions in parliament, or call for the cancellation of public funding as part of an effort to intimidate youth centres and left-wing meeting places, which form part of progressive civil society. Those who stand up against racism and discrimination get attacked by right-wingers and conservatives. On top of this there is the increasing pressure from the logic of the neoliberal economy: rising rents, expensive disputes

with the Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs- und mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte (the German copyright and performance rights society), and various other costs threaten numerous youth centres.

Due to these manifold problems and the acute threats to self-organized youth centres, there was a growing need for networking and the mutual exchange of experiences, tips, and strategies. In order to show a clear sign of solidarity and to fight for the preservation of emancipatory spaces, more than 150 activists from more than 25 left-wing centres, including Rote Flora (Hamburg), Potse (Berlin), DESI (Nuremberg), Spitzenfabrik (Grimma), and Tonne (Wangen im Allgäu) came together from 12 to 14 April 2019 in the Alternative Youth Centre Chemnitz under the motto *Standing United*. The congress had a very diverse program, including topics such as dealing with political and economic problems and dealing with discrimination around accessibility, the organization of press and public-relations work, the work of centres in the urban district, as well as migrant perspectives on self-organized youth centres. There were three days full of workshops, discussions, and direct exchange.

On the last day of the congress, common strategies against the current attacks and prospects for the future were discussed. The activists emphasized the necessity of and their commitment to joining forces to counter reactionary tendencies. Concrete possibilities for networking and showing solidarity and support were identified. Furthermore, the representatives of the centres agreed on the following demands and positions:

Left-wing youth centres fight for the preservation of emancipatory spaces.



■ **WE ARE PART OF SOCIETY:**

Our political, cultural, and social work is important and must therefore be supported!

■ **OUR APPROACHES ARE EMANCIPATORY:**

Do not equate us with the right!

■ **WE NEED OUR SPACES:**

They must be preserved instead of being sold!

The congress was organised by activists from different centres. Among the participants were the Autonomous Zentrum Conni (Dresden), Café Irrlicht (Schopfheim), Flafla (Herford), the Jugendhaus am Hulsberg and the Jugendhaus Buchte (Bremen), the Cultural Office of Saxony, the Unabhängige Jugendzentrum Korn (Hannover), the Unabhängige Jugendzentrum Pankow (Berlin) and the Zusammenschluss Autonomer Zentren (ZAZ, Lower Saxony). Financial support was provided by the RLS and the Bund deutscher Pfadfinder\*innen (the German scouts' association).



Lively exchange in Potsdam about organizing strategies and praxis.

**HOW WE LEARN TO WIN IN STRUGGLES**

NEW ORGANIZING PROJECTS

In 2019, the RLS dedicated itself with particular intensity to the promotion of organizing projects across numerous fields, and pursued a number of experimental approaches.

Among the new projects was the transnational workshop *Organizing for Power—Workers uniting against the rising right*, which was held for the first time in Tel Aviv under the leadership of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) and in collaboration with the Social Economic Academy (SEA). From 9 to 11 December, 60 activists from all over the world met to exchange views on practices and strategies in trade union organizing, including experiences from the miners struggles in Ukraine, the organizing of nurses in Uruguay, call-centre workers in Albania, and automobile workers in Russia. The political context of global development processes, which in many countries go hand in hand with an increase in authoritarian politics, was also included in the discussion.

In the spring of 2019, the RLS' working group on organizing (founded in 2017) published the handbook *Transformative Organizing—Reading the Practice*, authored by Robert Maruschke, Miriam Pieschke, and Rico Rokitte. The publication presents perspectives on transformative organizing, which is concerned with a fundamental change in capitalist society made by the people disenfranchised by it, and describes how transformative grassroots politics can offer solutions for (almost) everything. Robert Maruschke's brochure *Linkes Organizing*, also published by the RLS in 2019, provides practical assistance and working materials on the topic. The content and concept of this brochure is aimed at those who want to build up counter-power outside the trade unions. The publication includes interviews with Steve Williams and Steve Hughes, who were fellows at the RLS

Institute for Critical Social Analysis (IfG) in 2018 and 2019.

Additional meetings of the organizing working group, which currently includes more than 250 actors nationwide, also served as a place for the exchange between team leaders and activists. In winter, the working group met in the Agnes Reinhold neighbourhood house in Berlin-Wedding to familiarize themselves with the project located there.

The multi-part digital lecture *Organizing for Power: A Four-Step Course on How We Win* by Jane McAlevey, a trade unionist and successful organizer from the USA, was another experiment as well as a highlight. This lecture was developed in cooperation with the Institute for Critical Social Analysis and reached over 1,500 activists from 40 countries on a total of four dates, who discussed and learned from each other via Zoom. The sessions were based on McAlevey's book *Keine halben Sachen—Machtaufbau durch Organizing*, which was translated with the support of the RLS in early 2019 and published by VSA: Verlag. At the same time the *Organizing-Academy* took place again in November in Potsdam, with more than 30 participants from Germany and other European countries. Its aim is to give already active organizers space for networking and exchange on how existing strategies can be expanded. All organizing projects will be continued in 2020.

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 For more on the workshop *Organizing for Power*, see the article *Na klar, den Kapitalismus stürzen* by Sefi Krupsky at: [www.rosalux.org.il/na-klar-den-kapitalismus-sturzen/](http://www.rosalux.org.il/na-klar-den-kapitalismus-sturzen/).  
 .....

## THE HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism consists of an archive, a library, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg, and the History Department. With a current staff of 16 members, the Centre's most important tasks are to consolidate the historical work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and to contribute their own impetus to a strategic evolution of the RLS's historical focus. Besides the figure of Rosa Luxemburg, the Centre focuses on research into historical socialism and communism, as well as anti-fascism and remembrance politics; in the future, the topic of migration and multicultural society will also be given greater consideration.

The History Department is responsible for specialist historical queries. It works together with the History and History for the Future discussion groups, and collaborates with numerous partners in the field of remembrance politics. In 2019, for instance, the department published a volume of manuscripts on the repression of the left-wing opposition in the GDR, and an online series of articles on the work of the Communist International in the global South.

In 2019, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg concentrated on the German Revolution of November 1918 and the 100th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's murder. In addition, it continues to conduct fundamental research, for example with the publication of Paul Levi's *Gesammelte Schriften* by Karl Dietz Verlag.

The Archive of Democratic Socialism preserves the tradition of left-wing parties and movements. In 2019, numerous analogue documents were digitized. These are documents from the executive of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the state associations PDS Berlin and Thuringia, the parliamentary party Die Linke, the state parliamentary groups of Die Linke Hesse and Brandenburg, Bundestag members Gregor Gysi and Matthias W. Birkwald, member of the Brandenburg Landtag Anita Tack, as well as documents from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung itself.

The library (library code: B 1599) features literature on left-wing history and theoretical education, with a particular focus on the party Die Linke and its associates, on the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and on its namesake, Rosa Luxemburg. It is also available to the public as a reference library. In 2019, Johannes Agnoli's private library was catalogued and digitized. As part of the series *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-Wing Literature in Conversation), the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Salon hosted several events with authors, including Murat Çakır, Daniela Dahn and Tom Strohschneider. The Historical Centre sends out a newsletter and is active on social media.



**NO MEMORY WITHOUT AN ARCHIVE,  
NO FUTURE WITHOUT MEMORY**

In 1999, the archive was established, together with the library, as a separate department of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Since 2017, as the Archive Department, it has been part of the Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism.

The archive secures, indexes, and preserves the analogue and digital tradition of left-wing political and social parties and movements, their historical roots, and their leading representatives. This includes the documents of the party and federal executive committees of the PDS, of Labour and Social Justice—The Electoral Alternative (WASG), and the party Die Linke, including their regional associations and organizations as well as their parliamentary representations at European, federal, and state level; the documents of movements, organizations, associations and institutions, politicians, parliamentarians, and individual personalities with significance for the development of the left; and the documentation related to the RLS itself and the archival holdings.

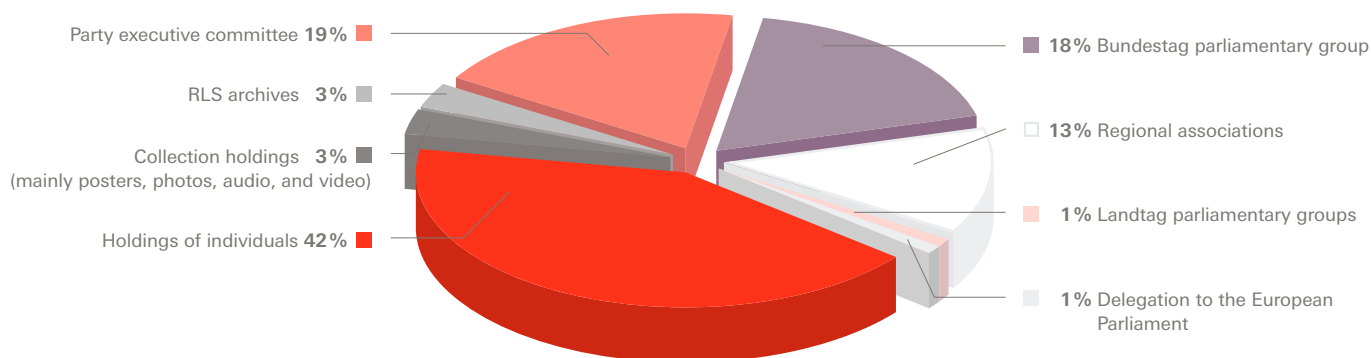
By the end of 2019, the archive comprised more than 1,600 linear metres worth of files and 7.7 terabytes of digital objects. The collection inventory amounts to approximately 1,200 audio recordings, 2,200 posters, 1,000 flyers and leaflets, 700 photos, and 200 objects. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung takes a great deal of pride in its archive. Last year, to celebrate its 20th anniversary, the RLS devoted a publication and an exhibition to it. Dagmar Enkelmann summarized the nature and role of the archive in the editorial of the booklet *Ohne Gedächtnis keine Zukunft oder Archive brauchen Gegenwart*: “Our archive [...] is something special. It is a repository that embodies the memory of leftist movements, socialist ideas,

the evolution of left-wing party politics, and democratic work since 1989. And our archive is only as good as we make it ourselves. [...] We take its 20th anniversary as an opportunity to assess the current situation and formulate new goals. This includes presenting its various roles as the memory of the party, the memory of the RLS, the memory of parliamentary work, the memory of social movements, and the memory of political personalities, and encouraging reflection and participation. [...] The authors describe [...] their understanding of left-wing remembrance and why they consider it necessary, in what it consists, who or what it serves, and what demands it must meet.”

The exhibition *Frauen Macht Politik* (Women Power Politics), on view from November 2019 to January 2020 on the premises of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, presented “selected left-wing women politicians who were and are active for the PDS or Die Linke in prominent positions as members of parliament in the German Bundestag. The diversity of the archives and collections is intended to present those socio-political debates from the period of upheaval in the FRG during the 1990s that from a contemporary perspective are of historical significance. The title [...], which is also to be understood as a demand, [...] is and remains the prerequisite for shaping a society based on gender equality.”

Since 1 March 2019 the archive has a new director, Bärbel Förster. She studied history and archival science in Leipzig and Berlin. Her professional development began as a historian and classical archivist at the Main State Archive of Saxony, in Dresden. She then gained a wide range of experience as modern archivist and records manager in the Swiss Federal Archives with the introduction of an up-to-date archive information system, in the Swiss Dance Archive with the establishment of a nationwide archive of dance production, and in the Swiss Federal Administration with the development of trans-regional and multi-agency electronic processing, management, and use of information. She also honours Ella Fitzgerald’s words: “Just don’t give up trying to do what you

**COMPOSITION OF THE HOLDINGS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG ARCHIVES (END OF 2019)**





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really want to do. Where there is love and inspiration, I don't think you can go wrong."

The information age has placed very high demands on archives. Reliable, competent, modern, and accredited, all employees of the archive have jointly developed a strategy to meet this challenge: the archive will provide comprehensive and continuous security, and will be digitally oriented. All interested parties have equal access to the documents. The implementation of international norms and standards will promote exchange and networking. Targeted investments in modern technologies and infrastructure will enable development and cooperation. The Archive deepens and develops partnerships; the archives of the political-party *Stiftungen* are particularly valuable in this respect.

At the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the archive staff are universally regarded as responsible and professional colleagues.

**REPRESSION AGAINST LEFT-WING AND EMANCIPATORY MOVEMENTS IN THE GDR**

The Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism regularly publishes a series of booklets on outstanding historical and political events. Most recently, this concerned the debates around the Russian Revolution (*Roter Oktober 1917*, Materialien No. 22, 2017) and with the November Revolution in Germany (*Emanzipation und Enttäuschung. Perspektiven auf die Novemberrevolution 1918/19*, Materialien No. 25, 2018).

The past year was marked by the 30th anniversary of the democratic upheavals and revolutionary events of the *Wendeherbst* (Autumn of Reunification) of 1989 in the GDR. For our publication '*... feindlich-negative Elemente ...*': *Repression gegen linke und emanzipatorische Bewegungen*

in der DDR (Materialien No. 29, 2019) we enlisted Renate Hürtgen, Bernd Gehrke, and Thomas Klein, a team of editors who are more capable than most of providing information about repression against left-wing and emancipatory movements in the 40-year history of the GDR. In their foreword they write about the immeasurable consequences for GDR society "of the suppression of all opinions deviating from 'party and state leadership', both outside and inside the party". For a long time, left-wing opposition was unable to find a place for a counter public, and there was no possibility of sustaining oppositional discourse. Without knowledge of these backgrounds, it is impossible to understand the emergence and praxis within the GDR of the peace, environmental, and human rights groups, which had been pushed to the margins of society.

The articles in the booklet provide an overview of the historical changes in the conditions of repression for left-wing and emancipatory movements in the GDR. They examine the various forms, mechanisms, and strategies of state repression against individual subcultures, conspiratorial discussion groups, anarchists, and against initiatives for an independent labour movement. They demonstrate that repression against left-wing and emancipatory movements was an integral part of the GDR regime. With this publication, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung continues its examination of the history and consequences of Stalinism, which is not merely a historical phenomenon of the 20th century. The discussion will be continued in the coming years, and new booklets in the Materialien series can be expected to focus on other historically-politically significant events.

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**«... FEINDLICH  
 NEGATIVE  
 ELEMENTE...»**

REPRESSION GEGEN LINKE  
 UND EMANZIPATORISCHE  
 BEWEGUNGEN IN DER DDR  
 Materialien, no. 29  
 62 pages, paperback  
 ISSN 2199-7713

## HOMAGE TO ROSA LUXEMBURG

Until 1932, the Communist Party of Germany commemorated Rosa Luxemburg on June 13th, the day in 1919 when tens of thousands of people had flocked to the *Armenfriedhof* (cemetery for the poor) in Berlin Friedrichsfelde to attend her funeral. However, by 1932, the KPD leadership had long since stopped publishing Rosa Luxemburg's works. As Ernst Thälmann put it: "Today, with the existence of the Comintern, and while socialism is being realized in the Soviet Union under proletarian dictatorship, any attempt to renew Luxemburgism and any remnant of Luxemburgism could never build a bridge to Marxism-Leninism, but only a transition to social fascism, to the ideology of the bourgeoisie."

Nothing scared Rosa Luxemburg's successors more than the political views of their former party founder. After the defeat of the KPD in 1933 and the NSDAP in 1945, the resurrected Communist Party revived the former Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Memorial as the Liebkecht-Luxemburg Memorial in January 1946. In turn, 13 June was completely cancelled as Rosa Luxemburg Memorial Day, and for decades Rosa Luxemburg was presented to the public as a lesser figure in contrast to Karl Liebkecht, the agitator, amateur theorist, and without doubt courageous anti-militarist.

That changed in 1990. Two years earlier, in 1988, on the sidelines of the official Liebkecht-Luxemburg Memorial, GDR civil rights activists had tried to unfold a poster in front of the cameras of West German correspondents: "Freedom is always freedom of those who think differently." This was the international slogan for those seeking to overthrow the power of the Politburo. While Karl Liebkecht began to disappear from public memory as early as 1990, Rosa Luxemburg's "second life" began: the publication of her letters was completed with a sixth volume. The same happened with her works in volumes 6, 7/1, and 7/2. Meanwhile, a 17-volume Rosa Luxemburg edition was published in London and New York; in Wuhan, the first two volumes of a Chinese version were nearing completion. In Leipzig the first Rosa Luxemburg Association (today Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony) was formed, and in 1999 the association Gesellschaftsanalyse und politische Bildung e.V. followed the Saxon model and changed its name to Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

In terms of the RLS's historical work, the months around the turn of the year 2018–2019 were devoted to the November Revolution of 1918, the January riots of 1919, and the murder of Rosa Luxemburg by officers of the Reichswehr. Dozens of events commemorating the revolution and the victims of the counter-revolution took place, not only in Berlin, but throughout the country, especially in Bavaria and Kiel. A highlight in the series *Ermutigungen* (Encouragements) was the Rosa Luxemburg commemoration on 12 January 2019 at Kunstraum Bethanien in Kreuzberg, featuring international guests, the deputy president of the Akademie der Künste Kathrin Röggla, and the Berlin Senator for Culture Klaus



Numerous events were dedicated to the commemoration of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg.

Lederer. At the same time, a film about Rosa Luxemburg produced for ARTE had its premiere.

Almost as successful was an event held at Berlin's Breitscheidplatz on 15 January, for which Kulturprojekte GmbH provided the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with a converted furniture van from 1918—widely deployed as a barricade in the battles of 1919—as part of its series of events *100 Jahre Revolution—Berlin 1918/19*. Gregor Gysi read Rosa Luxemburg's text *Geheimnisse eines Gefängnishofes* (Secrets of a Prison Yard), a text that was inadmissible during his time in the Eastern Bloc. In the evening, forgotten letters by Rosa Luxemburg were read in both salons of the Volksbühne.

5 March 2021 is the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's birthday. While the murder of Rosa Luxemburg has been at the centre of almost all commemorative events up to now, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung will in future focus on her birthday and thus on the life and work of its namesake.

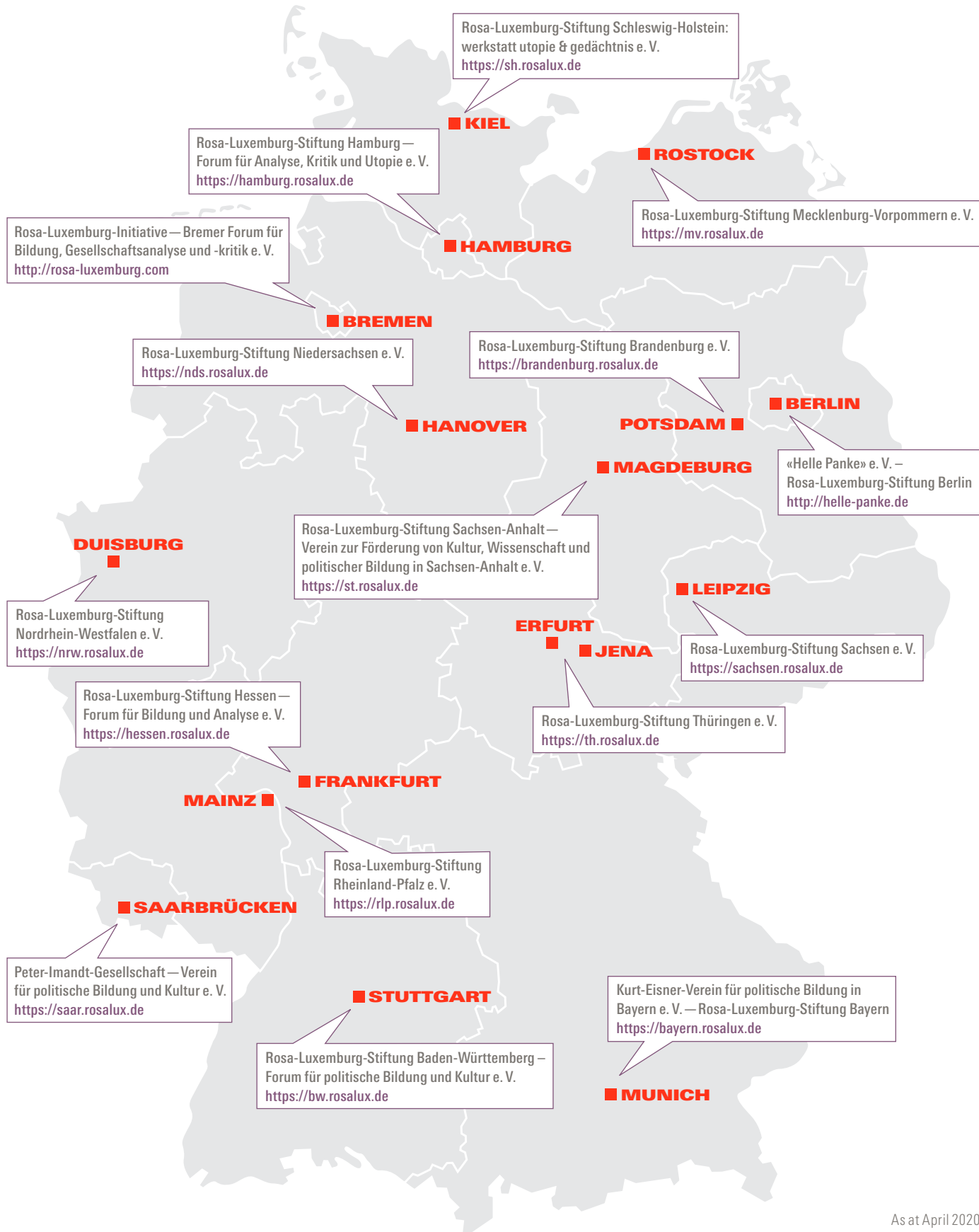
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 An instructive overview of Rosa Luxemburg and the November Revolution can be found at: [www.rosalux.de/en/dossiers/rosa-luxemburg-and-the-german-revolution](http://www.rosalux.de/en/dossiers/rosa-luxemburg-and-the-german-revolution)  
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## THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is active in each of the 16 German federal states. The 16 regional branches, the *Landesstiftungen*, carry out educational work independently as well as in collaboration with partner organizations. In 2019, some 2,200 events were organized, reaching a total audience of 106,600 participants. The RLS programmes target both supporters of Die Linke and the general public. The regional branches collaborate with local initiatives and social movements, unions, and other education providers, and, on occasion, with each other trans-regionally. In some of the larger German states, the network also includes local Rosa-Luxemburg-Clubs. The diverse educational programme of the RLS in both urban and rural areas would not be possible without the tireless work of our volunteers. The RLS Network Unit coordinates the cooperation of the different departments of the RLS with the regional branches and the international offices. The regional branches' activities are funded by the national organization, by donations, and by membership fees. In many of the federal states, state funding can also be drawn on.

With around 200 events, the debate on racism and neo-Nazism was a focal point of the educational work in 2019. 190 events were held on the issues of feminism, gender relations, and feminist class politics, more than in previous years. Historical and political topics, traditionally a focus of the regional branches, were represented with 550 events. More than 100 events were devoted to GDR history, the utopias and realities of 1989–90, and the problems of German unification. Other focal points were democracy and the state with 250, social alternatives with 290, and culture and media with 120 events. Around 330 events dealt with topics of international politics, more than 100 of them with the increase in violent conflicts, and 80 with refugees and migration. The speakers' tour *Kampf um Rojava, Kampf um die Türkei* analysed the current developments and conflicts in Turkey and Northern Syria. The modular educational programme *Politikakademie für junge Aktive* was continued in Hesse and Lower Saxony. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's central activities in 2019, such as the trade union conference *Aus unseren Kämpfen lernen* in Braunschweig, the housing policy conference in Berlin, the migration policy conference *Haymat* in Hanover, and the *Feminist Futures Festival* in Essen, took place in cooperation with the respective regional branches. In the following, highlights from the educational events organized by the regional branches in 2019 are presented.







The patron saint of the Theodor Bergmann Lectures, who died in 2017.



Portrait of Kurt Eisner, who proclaimed the Free State of Bavaria on November 8, 1918.

## **BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG**

### WORLD POLITICS FALLING TO PIECES

In memory of our friend and comrade-in-arms Theodor Bergmann, who died on 17 June 2017, and in his honour, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg organized the first series of *Theodor Bergmann Lectures* in Stuttgart in 2019. This is intended to establish a tradition of holding an annual scholarly political conference on or around the anniversary of Bergmann's death, focused on a topic with particular relevance to his life and work, and that raises for discussion the current fundamental questions of democratic socialist politics.

Theodor Bergmann (1916–2017) was Professor of Agricultural Science at the University of Hohenheim, a critical communist, a founding member of the PDS in Baden-Württemberg, and an honorary member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg. As someone who had to flee from the Nazis and live in exile in Palestine, the Czech Republic, and Sweden before he could return to liberated Germany in 1946, throughout his life he was a determined fighter against Nazis old and new. And as a critical communist and former member of the anti-Stalinist KPO (Communist Party Opposition), he fought against all forms of Stalinism in the labour movement, and for the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalin's terror. Theodor Bergmann was an optimist until the end, who wrote, worked, and believed in a democratic socialism in which the "free development of the individual is the condition for the free development of all".

The 2019 *Theodor Bergmann Lectures* dealt with the topic *Weltpolitik aus den Fugen*. The lectures focused on the current upheavals in international relations, the resulting conflicts and dangers of war, and the possibilities for peaceful conflict resolution. In 2020 the lectures will inquire into the relationship between ecology and socialism.

## **BAVARIA**

### CENTENARY OF KURT EISNER'S DEATH

Under the motto "We do not mourn his death, we celebrate his life", the association Das andere Bayern, in cooperation with the Kurt Eisner Association and many other partners, hosted an event at the Munich Town Hall for the 100th anniversary of Kurt Eisner's death. The revolutionary, founder, and first Prime Minister of the Free State of Bavaria, writer, pacifist and socialist Kurt Eisner was shot dead on his way to the state parliament on 21 February 1919, by the ethnic nationalist Graf Arco. The ceremony began with an inspiring speech by cabaret artist Max Uthoff. Kurt Eisner's grandchildren and great-grandchildren travelled to attend as honorary guests. There was also a speech given by Munich's mayor Dieter Reiter to the more than 200 attendees. The Kurt Eisner Association provides comprehensive information about Kurt Eisner on its website: <https://bayern.rosalux.de/kurt-eisner>. Exactly 100 years after Eisner proclaimed the Free State of Bavaria, two members of the association Das andere Bayern, Sepp Rauch and Wolfram Kastner, set out to find Kurt Eisner's surviving family members. After extensive research, they found Eisner's grandchildren living in Nuremberg, Baden-Württemberg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and Great Britain. At the *Hommage an Kurt Eisner* event held in Munich in November 2019, his grandchildren told moving stories from their lives lived under the name "Eisner". In addition, Nuremberg teacher Cornelia Kirchner-Feyerabend presented her school's project on Kurt Eisner's youngest son, Hans Kurt Eisner, who was murdered in the Buchenwald concentration camp. We can only hope that such exemplary work of remembrance with contemporary witnesses from Kurt Eisner's Bavarian family will also catch on in other schools. The audio recordings made with the Kurt Eisner family can be found on the Internet at: <https://bayern.rosalux.de/audiobeitraege>.



In Detroit, the fist of boxer Joe Louis represents the fight against racism.



Alrun Herbing in the scenic-musical reading about Rosa Luxemburg

## BERLIN

### CLASS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The return of the discussion about class often goes hand in hand with the accusation that the left abandoned a class analysis after 1968. Against this background, the conference *Klasse im 21. Jahrhundert*, held in Berlin in October 2019, addressed the question of whether this turn away from class broke up an affirmative concept of work and a too-narrow concept of class, and whether, in the course of this process, social contradictions were foregrounded in a way that does justice to the diversity of class composition and the techniques and experiences of domination.

The conference—organized by the “Helle Panke” (Frank Engster) in cooperation with Patrick Eiden-Offe and Falko Schmieder from the Leibniz Center for Literary and Cultural Research Berlin—was divided into three blocks in order to carry out a kind of reappraisal and update organized around the keywords renewal, expansion, and delimitation. In the first block, the subject of discussion was the history and current relevance of the concept of class. Here Janina Puder and Kim Lucht presented the (interim) results of the *Projekt Klassenanalyse Jena*. In the second block Friederike Beier and Luise Meier discussed approaches from feminism and so-called social reproduction theory, which understand class from the point of view of reproductive relationships. In the third block, the discussion was focused on the broadening, supplementation, and delimitation of the concept of class. Katja Diefenbach and Christian Frings were the speakers.

Once again it was clear that a compact day conference with three logical and chronological blocks is better received than (too) many presentations, the division into workshops, or programmes that are too long or excessively dense.

The conference was extremely well attended with around 100 participants. With the exception of one man, only women\* presented. All presentations are available in the media library, and a publication is also being prepared.

## BRANDENBURG

### FLOWERS – LOVE – REVOLUTION

In 2019, the cultural and political work of the RLS in Brandenburg was even more closely linked to the name Rosa Luxemburg than before. The performances of *Geheimsache: Rosa* by the Portraittheater Wien, the exhibition *Pflanzen für Rosa* by Brigitte Potter-Mael at the GEDOK, the documentary film *Preis der Freiheit*, and the actress Gina Pietsch’s homage to Luxemburg, *Sagen, was ist*—all this activity has shown that the ideas and life of Rosa Luxemburg encourage and motivate people to participate in democratic processes. A special highlight was the staged musical reading *Blumen – Liebe – Revolution*, developed by Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann with the pianist Oksana Weingardt and the actress Alrun Herbing, which was performed during the *Brandenburgischen Frauenwoche* in Senftenberg. The reading focused on Rosa Luxemburg, her personality, her work, as well as her activities as a committed democratic socialist and co-founder of the Communist Party in Germany. Excerpts were presented from combative speeches and from her love letters as well as remarks about her “latest craze”, the collecting and archiving of plants. Alrun Herbing played Rosa Luxemburg in all conceivable aspects of her character: vigorous in representing her political opinions, sound in her judgement concerning women’s equality, her refreshing sense of humour when it comes to topics such as flowers and the views of the old men of the Social Democratic movement, and finally also devotedly romantic when it came to her relationship with her beloved Leo Jogiches. Oksana Weingardt performed an apposite selection of music by Sergei Prokofiev, Alexander Scriabin, and Frédéric Chopin. The performance was followed by a fascinating discussion with the actors and RLS chair Dagmar Enkelmann about the relationship between democracy and advocating for necessary change both in the past and today.



Michael Rettig's production of Eribon's *Rückkehr nach Reims* in the Schwankhalle Bremen.

## BREMEN

### TOO UNCOOL, TOO DUMB, TOO PROLE?

The performance of Michael Rettig's dance theatre piece *Rosa Luxemburg* in winter 2016/17 has led to a closer cooperation between him and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative (Bremen). This collaboration continued in 2018 with *Karl Marx: ... die Verhältnisse zum Tanzen zwingen* and in 2019 led to the collaboration on *Rückkehr nach Reims* (Returning to Reims)—a polyphonic dialogue between an actor and four musicians. The production is based on the book of the same name by the French sociologist Didier Eribon, who tells the story of how on the occasion of his father's death he travels back to his native city of Reims after 20 years' absence, during which time he never saw his family. This is the starting point for a relentless autobiographical investigation into sexual and social shame, into the working-class milieu he comes from and from which he fled as a young homosexual. But also into the academic environment to which he adapts his language and gestures and from which he hides his social background. And into his own family, who used proudly to vote left, but now votes right with gloomy resignation. It is a work of research that asks about the causes of the rise of right-wing populism and does not spare criticism of a left that has become habitually and politically alienated from large sections of the working class. In his production Michael Rettig tried to make it clear that although the phenomenon of right-wing radicalism cannot be reduced to social issues—since homophobia, misogyny, racism, and nationalism have many different causes—social problems are one of the decisive causes. And this is where the whole of the left must ask itself what it has done wrong: ignorance, lecturing, high horse? Disinterest? Class, trade unions, class struggle—are these questions merely traditional costumes; do only old white men care about them? Or is there rather something like a secret or open contempt involved: too uncool, too dumb, too prole?



The historian Volker Weiß (l.) with Meinhard Meuche-Mäker (Hamburg regional branch).

## HAMBURG

### MESSAGE IN A BOTTLE FOR THE FUTURE

In 1967, Theodor W. Adorno held a lecture at the University of Vienna under the title *Aspekte des neuen Rechtsradikalismus* (Aspects of Contemporary Right-Wing Radicalism) which was first published by Suhrkamp Verlag in a large edition in 2019. Today, Adorno's speech reads like a message in a bottle addressed to the future. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death, the Hamburg office of the RLS organized an event with the same title. Volker Weiß, historian and member of the advisory board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hamburg, who wrote the epilogue to the Suhrkamp volume, was the speaker on the evening.

Adorno's lecture is not only a critique of capitalism; it takes stock of modernity as a whole. 20 years after the liberation from fascism, Adorno analyses with an extraordinary sense for social and political currents the conditions in Germany that favoured the rise of the NPD as a collective movement of a previously fragmented right. He deals with the operations of right-wing propaganda in an unusually concrete way. It is shocking how well his observations fit into the current discourse, and the sundry parallels to the rise of AfD and the extreme right today. Adorno sees right-wing radicalism as a necessary phenomenon of capitalist societies. He aptly states that the radical right projects its anger onto something other than what is really the cause of the crisis. The right feels the fragility of the whole—insecurity is its basic emotion. Adorno's topics could be from today.

With 200 visitors, a proven expert on the new right and its historical predecessors, and a thoroughly positive response, this event was a complete success. One of the main takeaways for all of us was that Adorno's core questions can help us to counteract the current politics of the radical right.





Electric mobility must also be questioned.

## HESSE

### DEAD-END ELECTRIC CAR

In 2019, ten events on the topic of “social-ecological restructuring” took place, making it one of the main focuses of political education work in Hesse. Four of the events dealt with the topic *Mit dem Nulltarif im Öffentlichen Personennahverkehr zur Verkehrswende oder mit dem Elektroauto in die Sackgasse?* (Free Public Transport Towards the Mobility Transition or the Electric Car into a Dead End?) The transportation expert Winfried Wolf gave lectures on this topic in April, May, and September in Kassel, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt am Main, and Gießen.

In his analysis of the crisis in motorized mobility, Winfried Wolf focused primarily on environmental pollution, the strain on urban environments, and the machinations of the automobile companies. In view of the enormous power of the oil-based economic sectors, he also referred to developments in China and the poor ecological footprint of production there. In addition, the cult of the electric car obscures the fact that there are completely different, simple and more convincing solutions to the “problem” of mobility. Wolf made an urgent plea for decentralized structures, the “rediscovery of proximity”, the development of the “city of short distances”, and for the promotion of non-motorized transport. The current infrastructure for electric cars will not allow any change in direction in the foreseeable future. Instead, we must rely on the massive promotion of green modes of transportation. Movements such as Fridays for Future are positively contributing to building a worldwide citizens’ movement that could force a radical turnaround in climate policy.

All the discussions made it clear that the speaker was able to open many of the participants’ eyes, how bad the ecological footprint of electric cars is, and that a massive switch to electric mobility is not possible. A total of 200 people took part in the events, and surprisingly, the proportion of women and young people was higher than usual.



For Hengameh Yaghoobifarah and Fatma Aydemir (r.) the concept of the homeland is a nightmare.

## MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

### AGAINST “CENTRIST EXTREMISM”

The Literaturhaus Rostock was well attended by 70 people on 26 February 2019 for readings by Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobifarah. Their anthology *Eure Heimat ist unser Albtraum* (Your Homeland is Our Nightmare) which publishes the work of more than 14 German-speaking authors, is a manifesto against the concept of the homeland. The concept creates a rift between people, because “actually the integration process has completely stopped”, as Fatma Aydemir summarized the current situation. Their anthology of essays was spurred by the inception of the so-called *Heimatministerium* (the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community) in Germany, for her “a symbol for everything that irritated us: the return to super conservative, right-wing positions that have now reached the centre of society. With our book we wanted to counteract this by bringing together migrant, queer, and black positions and by showing solidarity with each other.”

How does it feel to be perceived as a threat every day? What is it like to have be forced at every crisis to justify oneself in the name of one’s home country or the religion of one’s parents? How does racism affect sexuality? The essays, all of which take a personal approach, hold a mirror up to Germany. They also make it clear how problematic it is to place trust in a state that is slow and reluctant to deal with right-wing violence.

The volume of essays contributes to the deepening of the debate about belonging, racism, and anti-Semitism in Germany, and thus not only challenges a white-majority society to become aware of its privileges, but also seeks exchange among people with similar experiences.

The inspiring character of this event was demonstrated by the numerous audience questions and contributions to the discussion, which encompassed both praise and critical remarks.



Many good ideas arose while working out prospects for rural areas.



Edelweiss pirates and forced labourers were also murdered in Cologne-Ehrenfeld.

## LOWER SAXONY

“THE GOOD LIFE IN THE COUNTRY”

The majority of people in Lower Saxony live outside the large cities in rural areas. These include villages, and small and medium-sized towns alike. Some of the challenges in these regions differ considerably from those in urban agglomerations. With our local-political symposium we wanted to discuss left-wing and solidarity-based perspectives on the future of rural areas. On Saturday, 19 October 2019, we invited all interested parties to a dialogue with politicians, scientists, and socially committed people in the ecological conference house in Verden. The conference, entitled *Das Gute Leben auf dem Land*, was organized by the linken kommunalpolitischen forum niedersachsen e. V. and was attended by over 70 people from all over Lower Saxony who are active in local politics. After three keynote speeches, the methodological focus was on mutual exchange and networking in three working groups on the topics of mobility, healthcare, and dealing with intensive agriculture. Those rural areas of the state where the situation is still favourable now will face problems in the future due to the emigration of the young. Cooperative economic forms and value creation must be promoted locally, not least because locally and regionally embedded economies are particularly adaptable to socio-economic change.

For the RLS Lower Saxony, this was the first major event to explicitly address the challenges facing rural regions. The large response to the conference showed that there is a broad interest in this perspective on specific topics. Many people expressed the wish to continue to work on these topics. In future municipal policy projects we will certainly take this interest into account, and have already begun to incorporate it into further planning.

## NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

BICYCLE TOUR THROUGH THE (POST-)MIGRANT RHINELAND

Cologne is the scene of key events in recent German immigration history: from the welcoming of the millionth “guest worker” in 1964, to the strike at Ford in 1973, to the NSU bomb attack in Keupstraße in 2004.

Under the motto *Jede Jeck is ander*, the RLS North Rhine-Westphalia in cooperation with Arbeit und Leben Nordrhein-Westfalen invited people to explore everyday life and history in Cologne and the surrounding area on a bicycle tour in July 2019, led by Malte Meyer. One of the first stops on the tour, in which 16 cyclists took part, was the former Carlswerk site in Mülheim. The local cable and wire rope factory of Felten & Guillaume, one of Cologne’s largest 20th-century industrial enterprises, played an important role in the exploitation of forced labourers and the employment of migrant workers in the post-war period. In a guided visit to the Documentation Centre and Museum on Migration in Germany (DOMID e. V.), Sandra Vacca sensitized the public to the necessity and challenge of inscribing migration stories told “from below” into the collective memory. In Solingen, the group visited the memorial sites commemorating the arson attack on the Genç family home in 1993, and spoke with the political scientist and contemporary eye-witness Kemal Bozay. In the shade of the tree houses in the Hambach Forest, the participants discussed with environmental activist Peter Donatus, once a fugitive from political repression himself, about the “ecocide” in the Niger Delta and climate change as a cause of migration. In Düsseldorf, they went in search of traces of the Japanese community and Natascha Janovskaya reported on her experiences as a Jewish migrant who had moved with her family from the Soviet Union to the Federal Republic of Germany after the Chernobyl reactor accident. The educational trip sent a vivid message: Migration is the mother of all societies!



Cover of the publication for the 30th anniversary of Haus Mainusch in Mainz.



Symbolic renaming of streets in the city centre of Saarbrücken.

## RHINELAND-PALATINATE

### AUTONOMY, RESISTANCE, AND CONTRADICTIONS

“As of tonight we, students of Jogu-Mainz, are occupying the house of Mainusch”—so ran the first leaflet of the self-proclaimed autonomous cultural and communication centre on the campus of the Johannes-Gutenberg-University of Mainz, in June 1988. Since that day, the house, which has developed into one of the central social meeting places for the Mainz left, has been a contested zone that, together with the adjoining construction site, defies gentrification and rising land prices. But like many other left-wing projects, Haus Mainusch is currently threatened with eviction. The history and current situation of the centre exemplify the dynamic of displacement to which left-wing open spaces are subjected throughout Germany. The book *Kein Tag ohne. Selbstverwaltung, Widerstand und Widersprüche im Haus Mainusch* is a document to counter this dynamic, gathering together 30 years worth of photos, leaflets, and memories from Haus Mainusch. Different facets of self-government are described from a very personal perspective—gruelling evening plenary meetings, the relationship between partying and politics, and self-critical questions about the reproduction of social gender roles in Haus Mainusch.

The documentation on the history of the house, compiled by current Mainusch activists, makes an important contribution to political and social debates on gentrification, left-wing radicalism, and free spaces. The book was produced in close cooperation between the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the authors, and the Mainz publishing collective Ventil Verlag.

On a reading tour throughout Germany with more than 20 dates and well over 500 attendees, the authors presented the book in numerous autonomous centres in order to promote networking and exchange with other left-wing projects that are struggling with similar problems.

## SAARLAND

### RENAME THE STREETS—DETJEN NOT NEIKES

The RLS Saarbrücken has been dealing with the problematic street names in Saarland for many years. Already in 2011 we supported a campaign for the renaming of the Hermann-Röchling-Höhe, a district of the city of Völklingen. Röchling was the most important industrialist and Nazi backer in Saarland. Appointed as a *Wehrwirtschaftsführer* (military-economic leader) in the Second World War, his empire exploited thousands of forced labourers. In 2013 the political pressure was so strong that the district was renamed.

In the Saarbrücken city centre, a street name still honours the former mayor of the state capital, Hans Neikes (1881–1954). It was well known that Neikes had played an inglorious role in the “repatriation” of Saarland to Hitler’s Germany in 1935, but in 2018 a Berlin historian discovered that he had been involved in the disenfranchisement of the Jewish population of Berlin between 1935 and 1945. The Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft and the Saar branch of the Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes—Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten (VVN-BdA) dusted off a plan that had already been discussed in 1995 and proposed to rename the street after the mayor of Saarbrücken and antifascist resistance fighter Heinrich Detjen (1899-1968). The lives of these two denizens of Saarbrücken had crossed more than once. In a famous incident that transpired in June 1934, city council member Detjen (KP) tried to apply for Neikes’s removal from office for holding a “Führer’s birthday” celebration on April 20 and taking an increasingly pro-Nazi stance; Neikes had Detjen “removed” from the meeting room in handcuffs and locked him up in prison for three weeks.

Since not all factions in Saarbrücken’s city council felt addressed by the renaming initiative in 2019, and these also failed to propose any alternatives, the Peter-Imandt Society and the VVN-BdA hosted a symbolic renaming, attended by around 50 interested persons.





Panel discussion at the tour stop in Plauen.



Contemporary witnesses talk about the social upheavals of 1989–90.

## SAXONY

### #WANNWENNNICHTJETZT TOUR

In the summer of 2019, the *#WannWennNichtJetzt* alliance (“#IfNotNowWhen”), an association of various organizations and individuals, toured nine cities in three states in eastern Germany with a marketplace and concert tour. The aim was to bring progressive debates to the public and not to let right-wing forces take over public space. The alliance, in which the RLS Saxony took part, relied above all on cooperation with local initiatives and individuals, not least to strengthen the networking between them—it is the rebellious, open, and solidarity-oriented projects beyond the larger cities that are in particular need of visibility and support. They are not only involved in local youth work, but also foreground topics such as structural change and migration, invite discussion and exchange, and thus make an indispensable contribution to shaping and revitalizing the public sphere.

In July and August the tour made five stops in Saxony: in Zwickau, Bautzen, Annaberg-Buchholz, Plauen, and Grimma. Along the way the alliance reached around 3,700 people. As well as numerous information stands on topics such as climate justice, the (post-)reunification period, and anti-racism and anti-fascism, there were also workshops on organizing to strengthen regional structures, on remembrance culture, feminism, or on urban policy issues such as the rental vacancy rate and housing. Every stop also included a graffiti workshop, which particularly appealed to children and young people, as well as several film screenings and panel discussions, often with reference to topics specific to East Germany. Highlights of the respective tour stops were the final concerts with regional and nationally known groups. The tour succeeded in bringing progressive social ideas back into the public sphere and in strengthening local networking.

## SAXONY-ANHALT

### TALKING ABOUT DIE WENDE—30 YEARS SINCE 1989

The social upheavals of 1989–90 were drastic and their consequences still shape the political and social conditions in Germany today. On 20 November 2019, the RLS Saxony-Anhalt hosted a *Wende-Gespräch*, with protagonists and contemporary witnesses, in the Pushkin House in Halle; the event was attended by more than 60 guests. At the beginning, moderator Patrick Wagner, contemporary historian at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, invited the discussion partners to describe their particular personal memories of the GDR in the second half of the 1980s. The co-founder of the New Forum in Halle, Frank Eigenfeld, emphasized that the disenfranchisement of the people was the main problem at that time. Non-affiliated sports scholar Renate Federle underlined her opposition to the Socialist Unity Party’s claim to leadership. Michael Teske, as an engineer, reported on the precarious conditions in the combines, which stood in clear contrast to the official presentation. For Roland Claus, who in November 1989 was the last First Secretary of Halle’s district administration, the ban of the Soviet magazine *Sputnik* in 1988 signalled the end of the GDR’s survival capacities.

It was generally agreed that 1989 was only a short window of opportunity for reforms—the draft constitution quickly became waste paper and the New Forum was marginalized. The discussants cited the ideas for reform proposed at the *Runde Tische* (round tables) as positive alternatives to traditional parliamentary procedures. The public discussion of the motives, events and illusions of that period was very lively. The pride in self-empowerment and the gains in democracy and freedom were set against the loss of jobs, of social security, and the lack of social perspectives. The failure of the idea and the lasting hope for a just and peaceful society were discussed.





The abolition of paragraph 218 has been demanded for years.



Friedrich Ebert at the opening of the Weimar National Assembly on February 6, 1919.

## SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

### WOMEN'S BODIES DO NOT BELONG TO THE STATE

Kristina Hänel, a general practitioner and specialist in emergency medicine, has been campaigning for the rights of women and girls for decades. She drew national attention when, among other things, she was charged and fined for "advertisements for the termination of pregnancy" under paragraph 219a of the German penal code. The discussion about paragraphs 218 and 219a, and the situation of doctors who perform abortions, were the focus of three events hosted in April 2019 in Kiel, Flensburg, and Lübeck by the RLS Schleswig-Holstein.

Based on her own experiences, Kristina Hänel strikingly described the state repression to which doctors in this field are subjected. The attacks by so-called pro-life activists, who exploit the restrictions provided for in paragraph 219a (known as the "advertising ban") to report doctors nationwide, as well as the inadequate training of specialists in this field, were also discussed. Kristina Hänel sees her own campaign against paragraph 219a as part of the broader fight for women's rights, but at the same time she also places it in the context of her activities as a doctor and as a human being. Most notably, the numerous future doctors among the 270 participants in the RLS events, mostly young women\*, used the opportunity to talk to each other and network.

In the run-up to the events it was possible to attract a wide range of organizations for cooperation, including Pro Familia, Cornelia Möhring (Die Linke), the Literaturhaus Schleswig-Holstein, the Frauennetzwerk and the Equal Opportunities Office of the city of Flensburg, the Humanist Union, and the Women's Office of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck. Thanks is also due to the publishers Argument and Ariadne, which published Hänel's book *Das Politische ist persönlich. Das Tagebuch einer 'Abtreibungsärztin'*.

## THURINGIA

### "HOME OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT"

At the invitation of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the RLS, more than 200 people gathered in Weimar on 4 February 2019 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the first session of the Weimar National Assembly, and to discuss left-wing history and the prospects for forming coalitions. *Das ist Thüringen. Heimat der Arbeiter\*innenbewegung*—the motto hung resplendent on the stage. Thuringia's Minister President Bodo Ramelow (Die Linke) and Deputy Head of Government and Finance Minister Heike Taubert (SPD) spoke about the importance of the labour movement for politics today, and about the functioning of the red-red-green government in Thuringia. Ramelow said: "Government can only work if the parties come together with decency and dare to openly address differences and solve them together". It was clear that the parties have an awareness of their common roots.

The November Revolution of 1918 was the prerequisite for democracy, the end of the world war, social progress, and the constitution adopted in 1919. It was above all the various currents of the labour movement that forced the end of the monarchy. The historian Tim Schanetzky from the University of Jena emphasized that the Weimar Republic was both a democracy that had been won through struggle, and an endangered democracy. He argued that the republic should not only be seen from its end, but also in the light of its successes: free elections instead of monarchy, democracy, more rights for workers, and a new education policy. Schanetzky also recalled "how quickly political left-wing liberalism eroded", and became partly responsible for the destruction of democracy. Finally, Annelie Buntenbach of the DGB Federal executive committee underlined the importance of anti-fascism and broad coalitions against the radical right. The evening was framed by the band Die Grenzgänger, who performed traditional songs of the November Revolution and the labour movement.

## THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

At the very beginning of the year, commemorating the November Revolution and the 100th anniversary of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg provided the occasion to reflect on the future of democratic socialism, and on a new internationalism. This is all the more urgent given the rise of right-wing populist parties in many countries around the world. Many areas of our political work have been concerned with the growth of authoritarianism for quite a considerable period of time. Aspects of the *Globalisierung des Autoritarismus* (The Globalization of Authoritarianism) were discussed in collaboration with delegated colleagues and our milieu at an eponymous symposium at the end of August 2019. The symposium made it clear once again that progressive forces face the urgent challenge of developing left-wing counter-strategies. Joint reflections on what left-wing organizing could look like, and how it might be carried out, took place at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung on various occasions in 2019, not only in Berlin and the regional branches, but also in the RLS international offices.

These international locations were also further developed in 2019. The locally staffed office in the Ukrainian capital Kiev, which has been well established for several years, was upgraded to a full office with the secondment of Ivo Georgiev as office manager. There is now also an office in London, responsible for Great Britain and Ireland, which will be led by Tsafir Cohen after an induction phase in Berlin. In addition, work has begun on setting up a location in Tuzla (Bosnia-Herzegovina) as a locally staffed office for the Belgrade branch, and an RLS branch has been registered in Geneva. In the future, Eva Wuchold will work there as a thematic deployment in the areas of global social rights together with another deployment working on international trade union policy. Both will mainly deal with analyses and texts from a left-wing perspective, provide expertise for the RLS and its political environment, train staff and partner organizations, and accelerate their international networking. In Geneva, Aleks Jahn will support his colleagues as a financial administrator, and from now on will be responsible for the offices in Geneva, Moscow, Beirut, Ramallah, and Tel Aviv.

Alex Wischnewski, another new thematic deployment for the topic of feminism, left for Buenos Aires in September 2019, where the RLS was also able to celebrate the inauguration of new offices at a dedicated location. Finally, last year saw the expansion of the locations in Beirut (Lebanon) and Manila (Philippines) into fully-fledged international offices.

## GLOBAL SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE GLOBALIZATION OF AUTHORITARIANISM

At present, right-wing political forces and authoritarian tendencies are growing stronger in all parts of the world. This global shift to the right has various different facets. Donald Trump's electoral victory and the triumph of right-wing populist and right-wing conservative parties in Europe indicate a deep crisis in liberal democracies. In Latin America, a revived right-wing movement at times makes direct reference to the dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s, and is reversing the democratization processes of recent decades. In Arab countries, war and military rule put an end to revolutionary uprisings. Authoritarian forces are also growing stronger in Asia, as seen in India, the Philippines, and Thailand. At the *Globalisierung des Autoritarismus* symposium in August 2019, participants explored the connections between these phenomena. How can the synchronicity of the developments be explained? What similarities and differences can be identified? What counter-strategies can the left deploy?

In preparation for this symposium, we compiled various contributions to the topic in a web dossier. Under the title *Die autoritäre Welle* (The Authoritarian Wave) the authors of the fourth issue of *maldekstra* dealt with the rightward shift in social attitudes, the crisis of democracy, and the search for progressive alternatives, and gave concrete insights into global realities with reports on the situation in Brazil, Mozambique, Israel, and Russia.

In his study on the globalization of authoritarianism, Wolfram Schaffar examined whether connecting elements or common causes of the global spread of authoritarianism can be distinguished, and whether right-wing populists around the world share a common strategy. According to Schaffar, the crisis of democracy is already so deep in many countries that entirely "exceptional" forms of the state have developed, with the de facto permanent suspension of existing formal democratic structures.

Alex Demirović pointed out during the conference that the processes tending towards fascism are now manifesting themselves on multiple levels: in networks of right-wing intellectuals, in racist thugs, in a restructuring of the academic world, and in a restructuring of the public sphere. Christa Wichterich argued that from a feminist perspective, the current shift to the right is accompanied by a masculinist identity politics, which in terms of gender politics manifests itself in a patriarchal and anti-feminist ideological image of the family, in homophobia, and in macho-sexism. Birgit Sauer then stressed that the rise of anti-feminism not only represents a return of patriarchal structures, but also a deliberate right-wing modernization strategy that aims at mobilizing resentments and excluding "others".

The analysis of the causes, tendencies, and forms of authoritarianism, deepened through discussion groups on



Poster of the conference, which made the exchange of ideas with the delegates possible.

individual subject areas and regions, made it clear that there is an urgent need for the left to develop counter-strategies. Approaches to this already exist in various places and in different movements—the women's strike, for example, a practice of feminist resistance which activated hundreds of thousands of people in several countries on 8 March, but also new coalitions such as *#unteilbar* ("#indivisible"), a network of various civil society organizations which has brought many people and groups onto the streets. Finally, Heinz Bierbaum emphasized the role of trade unions as allies in the fight against the right. Even though trade unions often restrict their focus to the national level, Bierbaum sees the labour dispute at Ryanair or the struggle of the Coca-Cola workers as viable approaches to transnational networking at the European level.

These kind of left-wing, solidarity-based counter-movements exist worldwide, also because emancipatory forces are facing great political and strategic challenges. Only a global perspective can solve urgent social problems such as climate change and growing social inequality. Now is the time!

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The Dossier *The Globalization of Authoritarianism* is available online at: [www.rosalux.de/dossiers/the-globalization-of-authoritarianism/](http://www.rosalux.de/dossiers/the-globalization-of-authoritarianism/)  
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Participants in the conference *Beyond Labels, Beyond Borders* in Manila, Philippines.

**THE MANILA INITIATIVE**

**ESTABLISHING RIGHTS FOR CLIMATE MIGRANTS**

“I saw my brother and mother’s lifeless bodies float past me in the flood waters. I don’t know why I survived, but I know what killed my family,” says Joanna Sustento, climate ambassador from the Philippines. In 2013, the world’s worst hurricane to date caused 10,000 deaths in the Philippines. This is not an isolated incident; extreme weather events will increasingly threaten our lives in the future.

Those in the global North who are mainly responsible for the causes of climate change still have sufficient resources to protect themselves. Those who have contributed the least to this problem will suffer the most, because extreme weather events will primarily affect those in the global South where the necessary resources are lacking. As a result, people will flee, even if they do not actually want to. But climate migration will also become an increasingly significant phenomenon within Europe. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre estimates that by 2050 the total number of climate migrants will rise to up to one billion.

On this occasion, the Dialogue Programme Climate Justice organised the International Solidarity Conference on the Rights of Migrants in Manila from 17 to 19 September 2019, which was attended by more than 70 people from over 20 countries. Speakers included Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, David R. Boyd, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and the Environment, as well as international and regional actors from social movements, non-governmental organizations, and academia. In addition to the causes of climate change, the consequences for

climate migrants were discussed, since the United Nations recognizes the status of climate migrants and their need for protection, but legally binding regulations are still lacking. The Manila Initiative adopted at the conference calls for the rights of climate migrants to be established by law, and for those responsible to be held accountable. The Initiative was presented at the 2019 UN Climate Change Conference in Madrid.

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The conference results are available online at:  
<https://climatemigrationforum.net/>  
.....

**CLIMATE CRISIS OR CLIMATE JUSTICE:  
YOU DECIDE!**

**THE CLIMATE MAP 2.0**

Anyone who tries to spread knowledge about the climate crisis and climate justice is confronted with the same problem: paralyzing resignation. It’s easy to say, “The problems are too big anyway, nothing can be done.” This is exactly what we, the Climate Justice working group of the RLS, together with cooperation partners from the climate movement, not only wanted to avoid with our climate movement map; we wanted to reverse this trend.

Already in our first map project, the anti-coal map, we learned that the tools of “critical cartography” are excellently suited to spread knowledge in a way that encourages people to act. The new map was created with this objective in mind. It is intended to impart knowledge both about the climate crisis, and about the global movement for climate justice; for years, we have been very close to this movement, which is fighting against the crisis with all its might. In order to prevent any passivity from arising in the first place, we have built a small decision-making element into the new map itself. When you unfold the map, you see two sides. On one side, in friendly colours, the activities of climate justice groups are mapped, under the caption “We will rise”. On the other side, which is coloured aggressively, we used meticulous research to list some real consequences of the climate crisis that will lead to more climate injustice in different parts of the world. This side is captioned “or we will burn”.

In other words, the first thing the map confronts you with is not the knowledge we wish to impart—it is your ability to participate in the decision as to what the future will look like. Political education can hardly achieve more. We will rise! Are you with us?

.....  
The map can be found at: [www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/images/Dossiers/Klimagerechtigkeit/CCM\\_A1\\_Web\\_EN.pdf](http://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/images/Dossiers/Klimagerechtigkeit/CCM_A1_Web_EN.pdf)  
.....



## EUROPE, SAVE YOURSELF!

The contradictory developments that Europe has experienced in recent years present considerable challenges for the European-wide work of the RLS, which now has a presence in nine European countries.

In Great Britain, the left-wing Labour candidate Jeremy Corbyn received more votes than his predecessors, and yet Johnson's election as Prime Minister put the seal on Brexit. The end of the Tsipras government in Greece was even met with a sense of relief among some European leftists, in view of the many compromises it made under pressure from the Troika—not for long, however; the new Mitsotakis government began purging migrants and refugees from the Athens city centre, and toying with the idea of passing a law against NGOs like Russia's. Meanwhile, Putin is preparing another term of office for himself, and even if there has been an exchange of prisoners in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine after Selenski's election, and slight improvements on the border with the occupied territories in eastern Ukraine, the conflict remains far from any resolution. Meanwhile, Macron invokes European unity, yet the division between rich and poor that dominates all European societies is articulated most clearly in his own country. Meanwhile, in Europe's south-east, the accession of Northern Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, and Montenegro to the EU is being discussed, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo also want to join the Union in the foreseeable future.

Only in a few places have left-wing parties benefited from these various developments. Still, there are some reasons to be hopeful: in Spain, after years of unstable political conditions, the left-wing coalition Unidas Podemos has joined the government, and in Portugal a left-wing coalition involving the Bloco de Esquerda is continuing its work. In Finland, the left participates in a government led only by women\*, and in Poland the so-called constitutional bloc succeeded in stopping the further advance of the governing Law and Justice party.

In 2019, the RLS reacted to these developments in a variety of ways and expanded its European network. It has set up an office in London to strengthen the new young British and Irish left and is preparing a site in Tuzla, Bosnia.

The core activities of the nine European offices—in Athens, Belgrade, Brussels, Kiev, London, Madrid, Moscow, Prague, and Warsaw—are the networking and strengthening of other European left-wing actors in their struggle for a more just society; after all, the partners with whom the RLS works are precious beyond measure.

In 2019, feminism, socio-ecological transformation, and a critical approach to European history were further focal points of the RLS's work throughout Europe. Important events included the European Summer School in the Czech Republic, the participation of a European delegation in the Summer School in Prague, and the Movement film festival in Athens.

*Bye Bye and Farewell!*—one of Marie Geissler's illustrations for the publication *Europa, rette dich*.



**MALDEKSTRA: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES FROM THE LEFT**

As it was stated in the editorial for the first issue of *maldekstra* in October 2018, “A curious and critical view of the world requires a standpoint”. The name of this international journal means “left” in Esperanto, and is intended to establish just such a standpoint.

The newspaper project, produced by common Verlags-gesellschaft e.G. in cooperation with the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation, aims to always regard issues in their international context, and to seek global, social solutions to problems which—in a world both increasingly closely knit in economic, political, and cultural terms, and also increasingly fragmented—can only be dealt with on a planetary level. *Maldekstra* always approaches political issues in terms of what could emerge from them in terms of alternatives to the capitalist mode of production and progressive departures towards a world based in solidarity. In this context, too, the diverse international work of the RLS and its project partners is made more visible within Germany. Six issues were published through to the end of 2019. The thematic arc started with an issue themed around food sovereignty, in which social issues and global justice, climate change and health, working conditions and corporate profits, local movements and internationalist perspectives are mutually intertwined. The following issue was devoted to the notion of positive peace, i.e., how perspectives on how social and transformative justice can address the indirect and structural causes of conflict.

Against the backdrop of a wave of authoritarianism and a deepening crisis of democracy, the third issue went in search of *Neuer Internationalismus*: what is it that connects the global struggles for the rights of minorities and workers; what is new about them, and what are the prospects for a transnational solidarity of the many from below? One aspect

of this question was looked at more closely in the fifth issue, *Feministische Internationale*: struggles initiated by women\* around the world for rights, dignity, and a just and egalitarian society.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the upheavals of 1989–90, the sixth issue of *maldekstra* looked beyond the fall of the Wall to explore the transition to a new era, which was associated with expectations for democratization, peace dividends, and political awakening, but whose hopes were often disappointed. This issue, *Eine andere Welt*, reflected on the 1989 epochal break in order to garner new perspectives for the future.

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 Maldekstra is now included as a supplement to the weekly newspaper *Der Freitag* and the daily newspaper *neues deutschland*. Further copies find their readers via the RLS mailing list and via events. The printed edition runs to well over 60,000 copies.  
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**BUENOS AIRES: WOMEN’S POWER AND MORE**

At the end of October 2019, immediately after the defeat of the neo-liberal government of Mauricio Macri, which did not stand a chance against Alberto Fernández’s centre-left Peronists, we inaugurated the new Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung house in the Buenos Aires city centre. Our presence in Buenos Aires, founded four years earlier under the direction of Elis Soldatelli as a liaison office for the regional office in São Paulo, has now become a regional office in its own right under the direction of Gerhard Dilger. We work there with partners from Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. The original team of three has grown to fourteen employees. Alex Wischnewski also coordinates the *Dialogprogramm Feminismus*. Argentina is famously a stronghold of feminist movements. We offered our guests—partners from the Southern Cone, as well as RLS colleagues from America and Europe—a multifaceted programme to celebrate the inauguration of our newly renovated three-storey building in the Constitución district.

We commenced proceedings with a look back to the turn of the millennium, when Achim Wahl began organizing the work of the RLS in South America from São Paulo, in the wake of the first World Social Forums in Porto Alegre, southern Brazil. The arc was then traced through to the uprising against the paralyzing neo-liberal conditions in Chile, which has now been going on for months.

Guests from Berlin debated with partners from the region about socio-ecological transformation, economic democracy, and internationalism, and there was also an information round on left-wing politics in Europe and the USA. After visiting an agro-ecological farm in the province of Buenos Aires, which is run by activists from the Union of Land Workers



.....  
**FEMINISTISCHE INTERNATIONALE**  
 MALDEKSTRA #5 ON FEMINISM FOR EVERYONE, CLASS SOLIDARITY AND DIVERSITY OF FORMS OF ORGANIZATION  
 September 2019  
 .....



Activists visiting a farm near Buenos Aires.



Dagmar Enkelmann and Marlies Linke (r.) at the opening of the Almaty office.

(UTT), a highly topical debate followed on the question: “Is an Argentina without hunger possible?” The Fernández government wants to strengthen food sovereignty. However, a departure from the export-oriented economic model, from which agribusiness, oil, and mining multinationals profit, is not up for debate, because high levels of foreign debt are forcing the economy to rely more than ever on generating foreign currency. Environmental conflicts are baked in. Feminism, energy sovereignty and agroecology, left-wing trade unionism and human rights, propagating the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg: the range of topics that the team in Buenos Aires has set itself is broad. Critically examining the EU-Mercosur agreement, which would mostly benefit large corporations, will be a long-standing issue—Alberto Fernández is the only president in the region who has taken a critical stance.

**NEW CHALLENGES IN CENTRAL ASIA**

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s new international office in Almaty, Kazakhstan, opened its doors in October 2019, and now has five employees on site. Following on from the activities carried out within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States programme with partners in Central Asia, the RLS’ activities in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan are now coordinated from Almaty. The in-depth work in a region that is of eminent geopolitical importance, and which has undergone drastic processes of transformation over the past 30 years, will confront the RLS with new challenges, but will also make possible exciting insights and bring about worthwhile new contacts with local partners.

In the coming years, the office’s work will focus on three main areas. Firstly, the RLS wants to strengthen social and ecological justice and solidarity in the region, working towards a society in which all citizens have equal possibilities

for political and social participation, social, economic, and cultural rights are respected, and independent, critical thinking is promoted. In this area, for example, the RLS’s cooperation with organizations that advocate for the rights of people with disabilities or for the rights of women\* will be expanded.

After the end of the Soviet era, the Central Asian states developed in different directions, each seeking their own paths of development and nationalist solutions to problems arising from conflicts over unresolved border issues and resource use (primarily water) as well as ethnic tensions. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has therefore set itself the task of supporting cooperation within the region and promoting dialogue between relevant stakeholders from different parts of Central Asia.

The identity of Central Asia is built around many factors drawn from working through the region’s common Soviet past as well as the pre-Soviet period. In the attempt to create new national narratives, historical reference points and persons that are not necessarily uncontroversial are drawn on, causing lively debates. A third component of the Almaty office’s work is therefore to support a critical examination of history against the background of current social challenges.

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 Although the Almaty office was not opened until 2019, it has already succeeded in making contact with numerous civil society organizations and initiatives, in addition to collectively developing ideas on how to organize cooperation with cosmopolitan and progressive stakeholders in the coming years.  
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## OUR INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

MEXICO CITY

NEW YORK

QUITO

SÃO PAULO

BUENOS AIRES

### LATIN AMERICAN UNIT

#### ANDES REGION



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

#### CONO SUR



**Location:** Buenos Aires, Argentina  
**Year founded:** 2015  
**Project countries:** Argentina, Chile, Uruguay  
**Office director:** Gerhard Dilger  
[rosalux-ba.org](http://rosalux-ba.org)

#### GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

**Location:** Buenos Aires, Argentina  
**Year founded:** 2019  
**Programmländer:** worldwide (focus on Latin America)  
**Programme leader:** Alex Wischnewski  
[rosalux-ba.org](http://rosalux-ba.org)

#### BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY



**Location:** São Paulo, Brazil  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** Brazil, Paraguay  
**Office director:** Torge Löding  
[www.rosalux.org.br](http://www.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:** Sandy El Berr  
[www.rosalux.org.mx](http://www.rosalux.org.mx)

### INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND NORTH AMERICAN UNIT

#### NORTH AMERICA AND UNITED NATIONS



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

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

**Location:** Geneva, Switzerland  
**Year founded:** Under construction  
**Project countries:** UN locations  
**Office director:** Aleks Jahn (temporary)  
**Programme leader of global social rights:** Eva Wuchold





## AFRICAN UNIT

### EAST AFRICA



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

### WEST AFRICA



**Location:** Dakar, Senegal  
**Year founded:** 2010  
**Project countries:** Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Cabo Verde, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal  
**Office director:** Claus-Dieter König  
[www.rosalux.sn](http://www.rosalux.sn)

### SOUTH AFRICA



**Location:** Johannesburg, South Africa  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Botswana  
**Office director:** Jan Leidecker  
[www.rosalux.co.za](http://www.rosalux.co.za)

### FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME



**Location:** Johannesburg, South Africa  
**Year founded:** 2017  
**Project countries:** South Africa, Zambia, Germany  
**Office director:** Jan Urhahn  
[www.rosalux.co.za/food-sovereignty](http://www.rosalux.co.za/food-sovereignty)

### NORTH AFRICA



**Location:** Tunis, Tunisia  
**Year founded:** 2014  
**Project countries:** Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco  
**Office director:** Ivesa Lübben  
[www.rosaluxna.org](http://www.rosaluxna.org)

### ACADEMIC COOPERATION IN NORTH AFRICA



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

## EUROPEAN UNIT

### SOUTHEAST EUROPE



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

### LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

**Location:** Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina  
**Year founded:** Under construction  
**Project countries:** Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia  
**Office director:** Krunoslav Stojakovic

### EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE

**Location:** Warsaw, Poland  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia  
**Office director:** Holger Politt  
[www.rls.pl](http://www.rls.pl)

### CENTRAL EUROPE



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

### WESTERN EUROPE



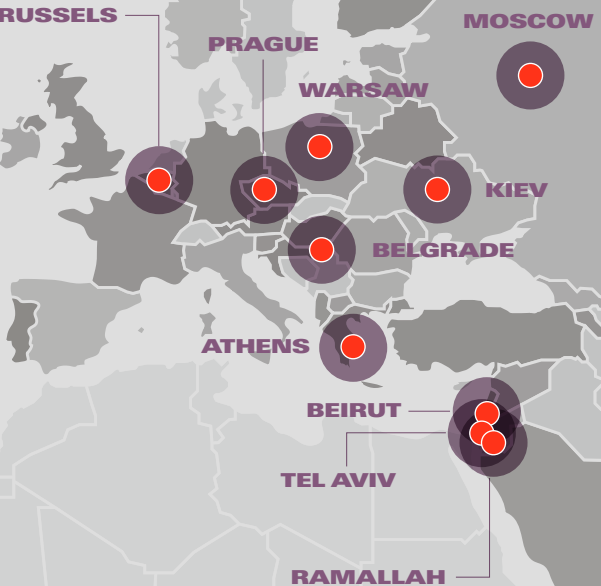
**Location:** Brussels, Belgium  
**Year founded:** 2008  
**Project countries:** Belgium, Netherlands, France, Italy, Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland  
**Office director:** Andreas Thomsen  
[www.rosalux.eu](http://www.rosalux.eu)

### DIALOGUE PROGRAMME TRADE AND ECONOMICS

**Location:** Brussels, Belgium  
**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:** Vera Bartolomé  
[www.rosalux.eu](http://www.rosalux.eu)



### RUSSIA, BELARUS AND SOUTH CAUCASUS



**Location:** Moscow, Russia  
**Year founded:** 2003  
**Project countries:** Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moldova  
**Office director:** Kerstin Kaiser  
[www.rosalux.ru](http://www.rosalux.ru)

### UKRAINE

**Location:** Kiev, Ukraine  
**Year founded:** 2016  
**Project country:** Ukraine  
**Office director:** Ivo Georgiev  
[www.rosalux.org.ua/ua](http://www.rosalux.org.ua/ua)

### GREECE



**Location:** Athens, Greece  
**Year founded:** 2012  
**Project countries:** Greece and the Mediterranean  
**Office director:** Maria Oshana  
[www.rosalux.gr/de](http://www.rosalux.gr/de)

### UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

**Location:** London, United Kingdom  
**Year founded:** Under construction  
**Project countries:** United Kingdom, Ireland  
**Office director:** Tsafir Cohen (as of September 2020)



## WESTERN ASIA UNIT

### ISRAEL



**Location:** Tel Aviv, Israel  
**Year founded:** 2009  
**Projektland:** Israel  
**Office director:** Tsafir Cohen  
[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:** Ute Beuck  
[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  
**Office director:** Miriam Younes  
[www.rosalux-lb.org](http://www.rosalux-lb.org)

### CHINA



**Location:** Beijing, China  
**Year founded:** 2008  
**Projektland:** 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:** Stefan Mentschel  
[www.rosalux.in](http://www.rosalux.in)

### 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)

### 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)

### DIALOGUE PROGRAMME CLIMATE JUSTICE



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

## ASIAN UNIT

### SOUTHEAST ASIA (HANOI OFFICE)



**Location:** Hanoi, Vietnam  
**Year founded:** 2009  
**Project countries:** Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos  
**Office director:** Philip Degenhardt  
[www.rls-sea.de](http://www.rls-sea.de)

## FUNDED PROJECTS

### FUNDED PROJECTS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung cooperates with various other political education providers throughout Germany through the funding of projects. The many calls and inquiries we received led to 460 specific applications. This often intensive communication meant we were able to develop contacts all across the left-wing spectrum. The project funding expands the emphasis of our political education work both thematically and regionally. Last year, we provided funding to a total of 153 projects, 56 of which were supervised by regional branches of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. A total of €335,500 was awarded, with €57,700 being provided to the regional branches as core funding.

### Four major projects were supported with a total of €107,000 (32 percent of the total budget):

- The Berliner Institut für Kritische Theorie e.V.: for the *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus* (Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism) publication of volume 9/2 *Mitleid bis naturwüchsig*; editorial work on volume 10 *Negation der Negation bis Phantasie*: €45,000
- Three projects by the Linke Medienakademie e.V.: the LIMA education week 2019, media weekends for activists, and the future campus for online journalism: €62,000

Nine projects received funding of between €5,000 and €9,999, 29 projects received between €2,000 and €4,999, 74 projects received between €1,000 and €1,999, and 37 projects received between €500 and €999.

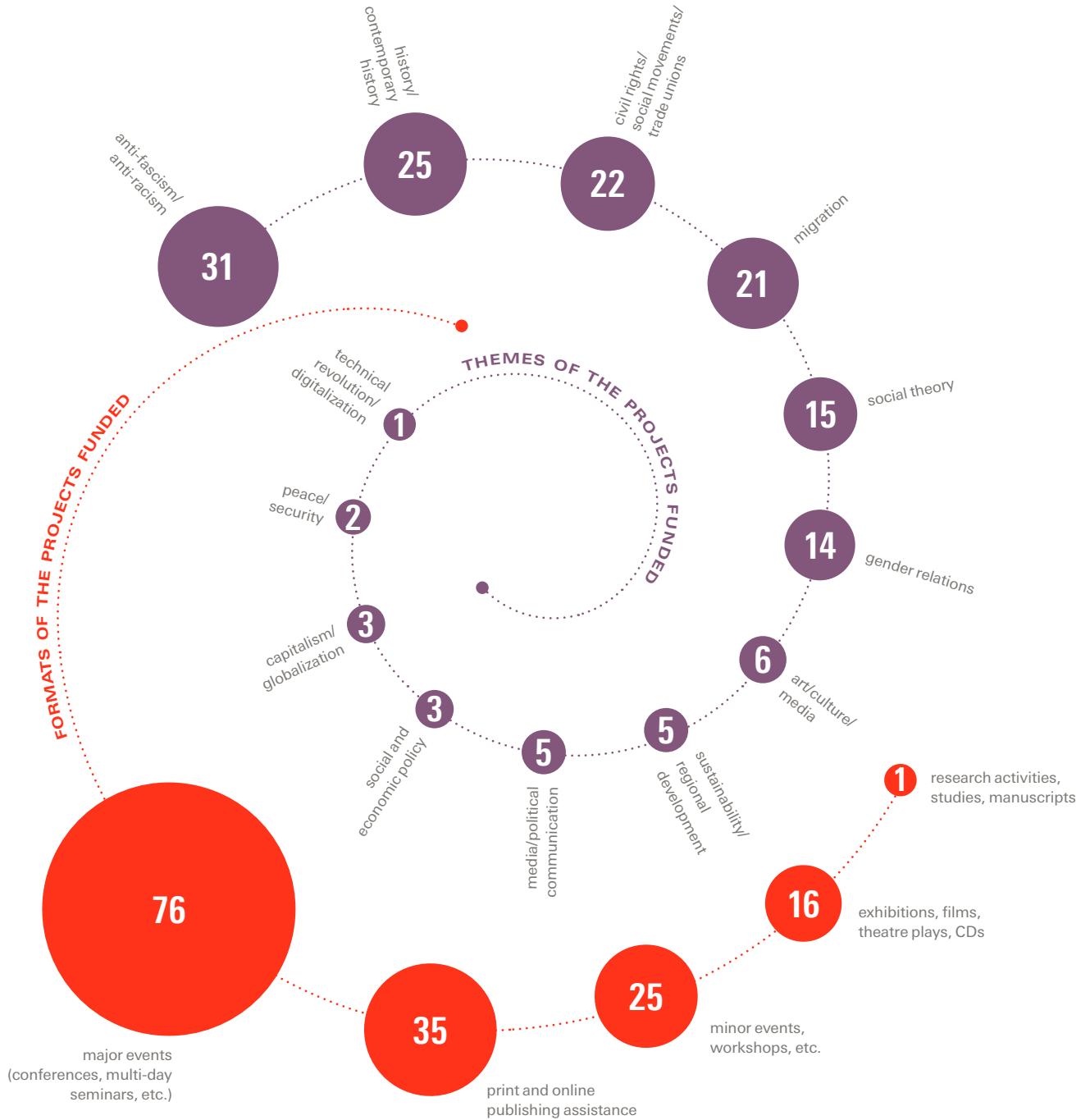
### PROJECT FUNDING EXAMPLE: LEFT-WING FEMINISM

FORSCHUNGS- UND INFORMATIONSSTELLE BEIM BUND DEMOKRATISCHER WISSENSCHAFTLERINNEN UND WISSENSCHAFTLER E. V. (FIB): SPRING ACADEMY, GENDER. CLASS. CRISIS. PERSPEKTIVEN UND FRAGEN FEMINISTISCH-INTERSEKTIONALER KLASSENPOLITIK (ISSUES AND PROSPECTS FOR AN INTERSECTIONAL-FEMINIST CLASS POLITICS): €4,000

For more than ten years, the FIB, a small academic institute within the Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler (BdWi, the Association of Democratic Scholars), has held an annual multi-day conference with a rotating theme. The spring academy, which took place in Werftpfuhl from 29 to 31 March 2019, focused on social



IN 2019, THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 153 PROJECTS



power relations from a intersectional (queer-)feminist perspective. It addressed issues around contemporary contradictions in gender relations, as well as debates around the body, sexuality, and social reproduction. Around 50 participants from different backgrounds discussed aspects of a new theory of class that incorporates ways of life and working, subjectivity, and social struggles.

**AUTOR\*INNENKOLLEKTIV FE.IN: FRAUEN\*RECHTE UND FRAUEN\*HASS. ANTIFEMINISMUS UND DIE ETHNISIERUNG VON GEWALT (MISOGYNY AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS: ANTI-FEMINISM AND RACIALIZED VIOLENCE), VERBRECHER VERLAG, BERLIN: €2,000**  
 This book by the FE.IN authors’ collective deals with feminism as a target of right-wing hostility. Misogyny and animosity



#WannWennNichtJetzt—the tour visiting Neuruppin, August 2019.

toward LGBTQ\* people have become a point of ideological convergence between the far-right, conservatives, and the so-called social centre. This is revealed in a kind of anti-feminism oriented against the progresses achieved by (queer-)feminist struggles. The FE.IN authors' collective investigates anti-feminism as a political movement, considering strategies such as changing the meaning of key terms, attacks on women's rights and their supporting structures, as well as violent and even murderous forms of anti-feminism. It also exposes how the struggle for women's rights has been used to justify racist mobilization, in cases where "white women" are represented as victims. The authors observe that this entails a kind of self-empowerment on the part of right-wing women\* that still remains anti-feminist. They propose an alternative feminism that fundamentally calls the patriarchal order into question and is rooted in anti-fascism.

#### PROJECT FUNDING ON THE TOPIC OF ANTI-FASCISM/ANTI-RACISM

##### INITIATIVE IN GEDENKEN AN OURY JALLOH E. V.: EXPERT COMMISSION ON THE CASE OF OURY JALLOH: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND PRESS CONFERENCE: €3,500

Working on the assumption that the murder of Oury Jallo in police custody 15 years ago was not an isolated incident, an international meeting about experiences of activism/organizing against racially motivated violence and state repression was organized as part of the Strategy and Analysis Conference, which took place in Berlin from 26 to 28 October 2019. The Initiative invited relatives of victims of state violence, activists from over 30 groups from all over Europe, as well as representatives of the international, independent commission of inquiry into the death of Oury Jalloh. The conference aimed to aid the organization of activists and develop a durable international network. At the closing press

conference, a representative of the independent commission of inquiry commented on a new radiological forensic report, which suggests that Oury Jalloh's death was due to gross maltreatment on the part of police officers. Others who have lost relatives to police violence also shared their experiences. The conference made a significant contribution to supporting organizations working to expose racist police violence and repression.

##### VEREIN FÜR EIN MULTIKULTURELLES EUROPA E. V.: #WANNWENNNICHTJETZT MARKETPLACE AND CONCERT TOUR IN BRANDENBURG (AUGUST 2019 IN FORST, COTTBUS, MÜNCHBERG, NEURUPPIN): €5,000

In summer 2019, in the face of increasingly strong right-wing social movements, a broad coalition organized a regional marketplace and concert tour through the east German states under the name #WannWennNichtJetzt. The four tour destinations in Brandenburg were organized by groups, including the Verein für ein multikulturelles Europa e. V. A multifaceted programme was developed in cooperation with local activists and groups. Central topics included tackling racism and right-wing structures, as well as the events of 1989 and the following period. According to the organizers, there was a lot of interest in the topic of 1989. An important goal was cross-regional networking between the different initiatives involved, in order to facilitate long-term and ongoing collaboration. This has been particularly successful in Märkisch-Oderland, for example. Overall, the cultural and educational programme of #WannWennNichtJetzt managed to reach a broad target audience, which can be considered a particular success in a rural region.

#### Projects about anti-fascism and anti-racism were the most numerous, with 31 overall. Some examples of the projects funded include:

- Maciré & Fatou: *Afropod: Kompromisslos Schwarz* podcast production: €500
- Wukania e. V.: *Neonazi Bedrohung im ländlichen Raum* event, October 2019 in Biesenthal: €500
- Larissa Gulitz/Elisa Nelvand: *Frauen in der Neuen und extremen Rechten* stop-motion film: €1,000
- Digitalcourage e. V.: documentation of the #unteilbar demonstration, August 2019 in Dresden: €1,500
- Dana Fuchs and Christoph Muck: *Antifa heißt Anruf! Organizing als eine Antwort auf rechte Raumnahme*, Unrast Verlag, Münster 2019: €900

#### Projects about (contemporary) history were also one of the focus points of project funding. Projects funded include:

- Klaus Stanjek: *Rote Räte* film screenings and supporting programme, June to November 2019 in Berlin and Bremen: €1,000

- werkraum bild und sinn e. V. (ed.): *Synagogen in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Berlin 2019: €1,000
- Initiative für einen Gedenkort ehemaliges KZ Uckermark e. V.: *Bau- und Begegnungscamp am Gedenkort KZ Uckermark*, August 2019 in Himmelpfort, Fürstenberg: €1,000
- Anna Opel and Ruth Johanna Benrath: *Ich war, ich bin, ich werde sein: Rosa Luxemburg auf der Spur. Ein Audiowalk durch den Tiergarten zum 100. Todestag*: €7,000
- flip Mainz e. V.: *Circus. Freiheit. Gleichschaltung – Circus. Freedom. Enforced Alignment* exhibition, November 2019 in Mainz: €700

## 22 projects about civil rights/social movements/trade unions, including:

- Tobias Filmar: *Erklär-Clip zum Präventionsverständnis der Poliklinik Veddel*: €2,500
- Multitude e. V.: *Común: Magazin für stadtpolitische Interventionen*, issue 1, 2019: €1,500
- OKG: *Organisieren – Kämpfen – Gewinnen: Die Tagung* conference, October 2019 in Kassel: €1,000
- Verein für Protest- und Bewegungsforschung e. V.: *Hashtags-Tweets-Protest: Soziale Bewegungen im digitalen Zeitalter* conference, November 2019 in Berlin: €1,500
- Kultopia gGmbH: *Radical Resilience: Widerständig Sein und Bleiben*, documentary film post production, September to November 2019: €1,500

## Our support for publications is thematically wide-ranging.

### A selection:

- Leonida Dada, Peter Snackosaurus, Myra Bitter, and Theo D. Zeh (eds.): *Kein Tag ohne. Selbstverwaltung, Widerstand und Widersprüche im Haus Mainusch*, Ventil Verlag, Mainz, 2019: €1,500
- Internationale Kampagne zur Abschaffung von Atomwaffen (ICAN) Deutschland e. V.: *Atommacht Deutschland: Atomwaffen-Orte hierzulande sichtbar machen*, paperback: €2,000
- Alexander Vatlin: *Das Jahr 1920: Der Zweite Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale*, BasisDruck Verlag, Berlin, 2019: €1,000
- Barbara Dunkel, Christoph Gollasch, and Kai Padberg (eds.): *Nicht zu fassen: Das Extremismuskonzept und neue rechte Konstellationen*, Universitätsverlag der TU Berlin, Berlin, 2019: €1,300
- about change e. V.: *Adopt a Revolution: Zeitungsbeilage 2019*, national: €1,500
- Horst Hensel: *Die Sehnsucht der Rosa Luxemburg*, Kulturmaschinen Verlag in Kunstbande GbR/Leander Sukov, Ochsenfurt 2019: €650
- Jan-Hendrik Schulz: *Unbeugsam hinter Gittern: Die*

*Hungerstreiks der RAF nach dem Deutschen Herbst*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt a. M./New York, 2019: €500

In addition to our new project partners, we also continued our multi-year cooperative relationships, for example with the Feministischen Herbstakademie, the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft prekäre Lebenslagen, Amaro Drom and the BdWi.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regional branches also benefited from project funding, enabling them to share contacts and organize exciting local projects through the onward transmission of core funding. As part of the focus topic *Arbeit in der Fläche*, projects located outside of major cities received particular support in our national work. Here are a few examples:

- Die Blaue Blume e. V.: event series on racism, October to November 2019 in Friedrichshafen: €700
- Bayerischer Flüchtlingsrat: *100 Jahre Abschiebehaft: Aktionstage in Bayern* event series, May 2019 in Munich, Nuremberg, Erding, Eichstätt, and Bamberg: €1,000
- JWP MittenDrin e. V.: *Politische Bildungsarbeit im ländlichen Raum stärken* event series, April 2019 in Neuruppin: €1,100
- Tischlerinnen.de: Netzwerk für Holzfachfrauen: *Tischler\*innentreffen 2019* conference, September 2019 in Zierenberg bei Kassel: €1,000
- Verein zur Förderung der Lehre im Ökologischen Landbau e. V.: 27th Witzenhäuser Conference, *Klima. Wandel. Landwirtschaft: Kühle Lösungen für heiße Zeiten*, December 2019 in Witzenhäuser: €1,000
- Bund ehrenamtlicher Richter/-innen Landesverband Nord e. V.: *Rechtsstaat und Demokratie sind keine Dauergeschenke* event, October 2019 in Banzkow: €600
- Wohn- und Ferienheim Heideruh e. V.: *Bildung gegen Rechts* seminar series, 2019 in Buchholz in der Nordheide: €500
- Todde Kemmerich: *#HambiBleibt Fotoausstellung* touring exhibition, August 2019 to December 2021 in Nordrhein-Westfalen and nationally: €1,500
- Julia Boegershausen: *Es brennt – Eine Konzertlesung über Mordechaj Gebirtig* reading, November 2019 in Görlitz: €1,000
- Bund Deutscher Pfadfinder\_innen Landesverband Thüringen e. V.: *Pro\_feministische Akademie* seminar, June 2019 in Waltershausen: €750

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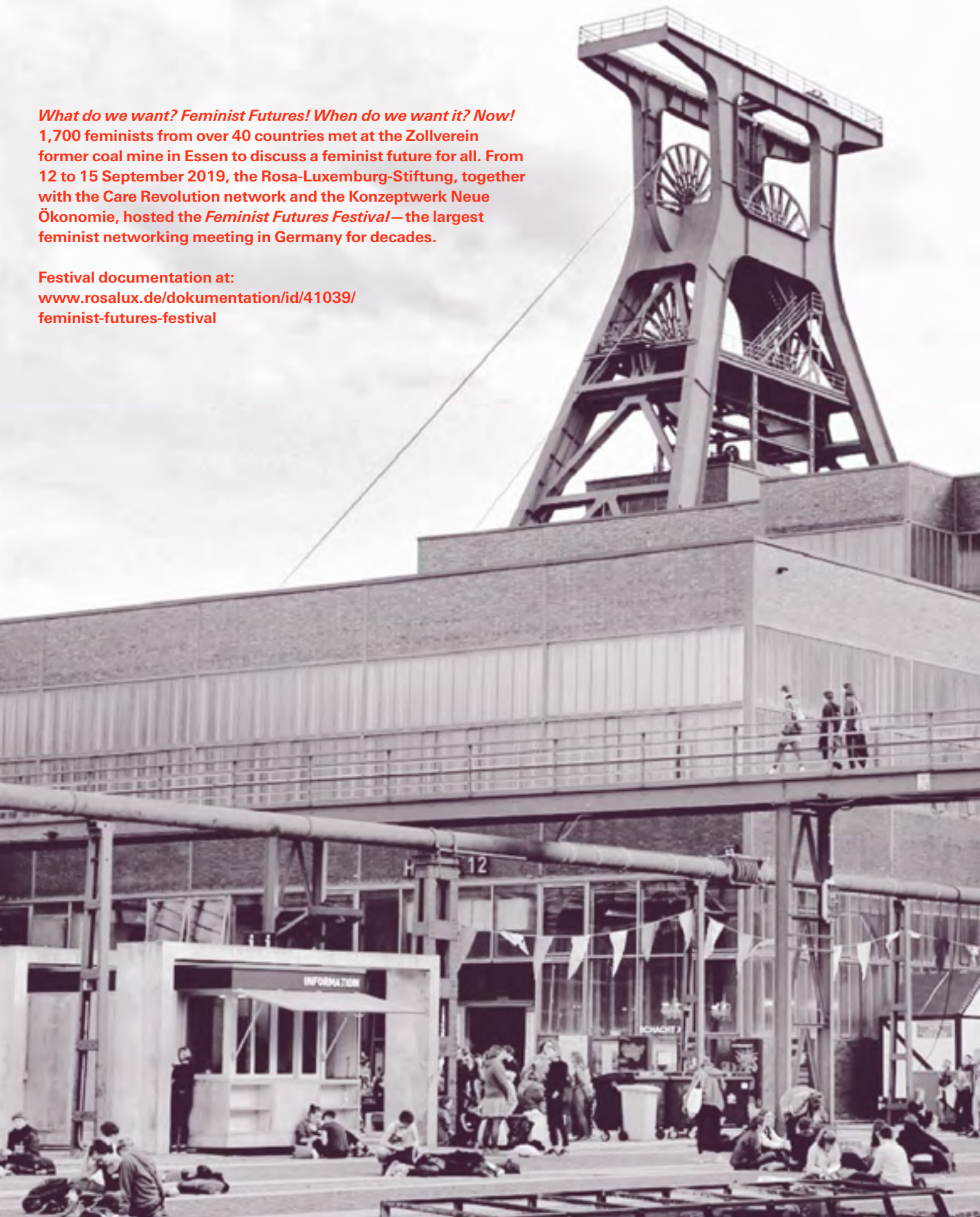
Through its project funding, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung presents a wide range of left-wing political issues to the general public. The projects supported complement the range of political education programmes run by the RLS in terms of topics, regions and target groups.

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*What do we want? Feminist Futures! When do we want it? Now!*  
1,700 feminists from over 40 countries met at the Zollverein  
former coal mine in Essen to discuss a feminist future for all. From  
12 to 15 September 2019, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, together  
with the Care Revolution network and the Konzeptwerk Neue  
Ökonomie, hosted the *Feminist Futures Festival*—the largest  
feminist networking meeting in Germany for decades.

Festival documentation at:  
[www.rosalux.de/dokumentation/id/41039/  
feminist-futures-festival](http://www.rosalux.de/dokumentation/id/41039/feminist-futures-festival)















FEMINIST  
FUTURES  
FESTIVAL

¿Qué es el Futuro?  
¿Qué es el Futuro de las Mujeres?  
¿Qué es el Futuro de las Mujeres?  
¿Qué es el Futuro de las Mujeres?  
¿Qué es el Futuro de las Mujeres?

LA CASA EN LA CALLE  
HACER EN EL COLEGIO











FEMINIST  
FUTURIES  
NOW!!!





## THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

2019 marks the 20th anniversary of the Scholarship Department of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Its central mission is to provide financial and academic support to students and doctoral candidates from Germany and abroad, in particular those from the left of the political spectrum. We prioritize those who are most strongly affected by structural educational inequalities. Currently, 48 percent of our scholarship holders come from a migrant background, and 62 percent from families in which the parents do not have tertiary qualifications.

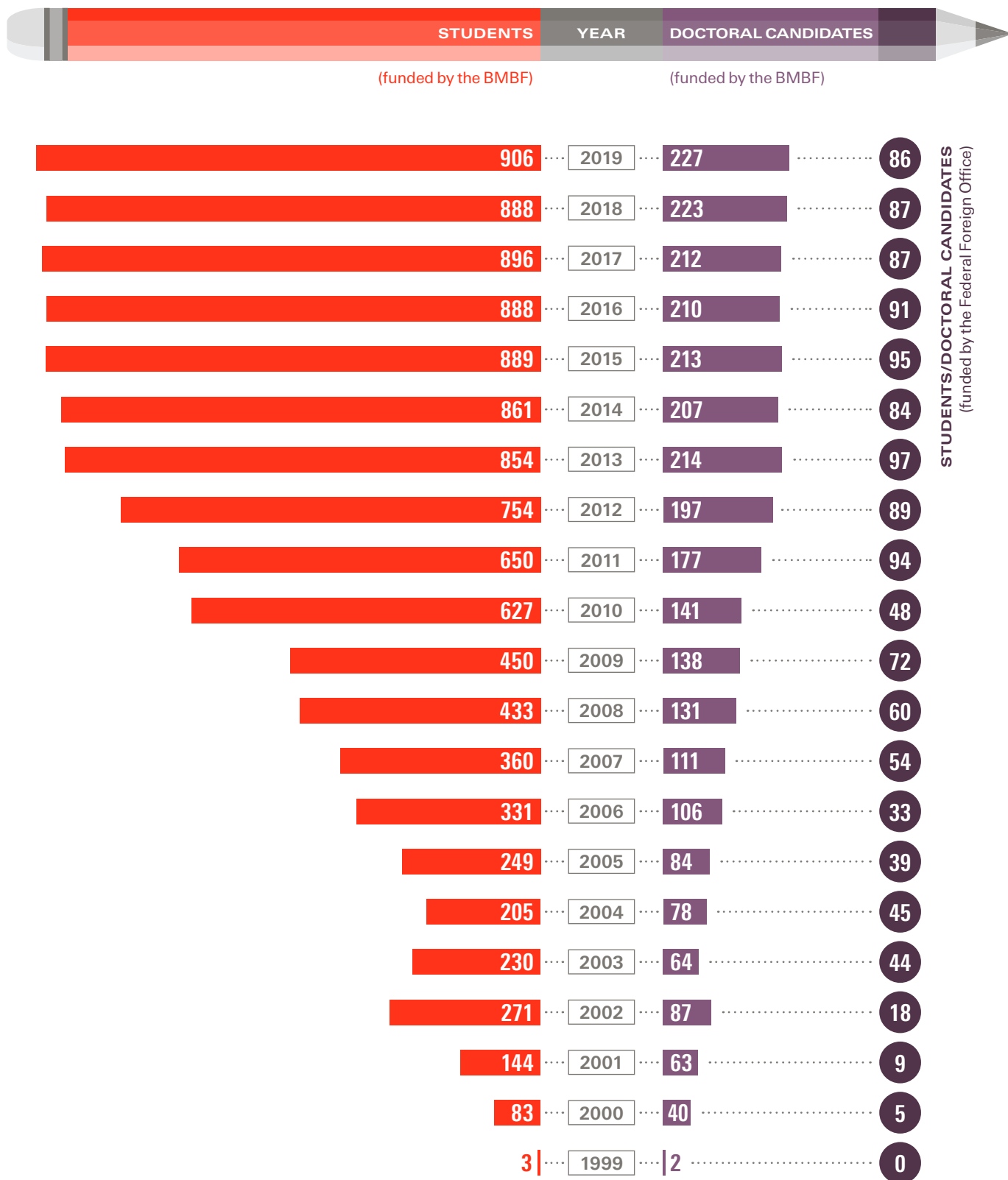
On 7 November 2019, we celebrated our anniversary with the event *RLS: Rebellisch Links Solidarisch. 20 Jahre Kampf für die Bildungsgerechtigkeit* (Rebellious Left-Wing Solidarity: 20 Years' Struggle for Justice in Education). The focus of the celebration was on former scholarship holders. The keynote speech was held by our former scholarship holder Jan Korte (member of the Bundestag and parliamentary manager of the federal parliamentary group Die Linke). Former scholarship holders Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya (professor at the Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Sciences), Isabelle Vandre (Member of Landestag, spokesperson for science and higher education policy of the left parliamentary group in the Brandenburg state parliament) and the current scholarship holder Misgin Aydemir took part in the panel discussion *Unmögliches möglich machen* (Making the Impossible Possible). The accompanying artistic programme was organized by the former scholarship holder Corinna-Marie Wolff and her group of artists. The evening was hosted by former scholarship holder Anna Lehmann (now an editor at taz).

A further highlight of the work of the Scholarship Department was the implementation of the *Global Scholarly Dialogue Programme* (GSDP) on *Authoritarian Capitalism, Reactionary Populism & Emancipatory Counter-Strategies: Global Perspectives from the South*. By 2021, twelve postdoctoral positions will be funded at research institutions in Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Mozambique, South Africa, Thailand, the Philippines, India, and Turkey. The GSDP offers a great opportunity to use global perspectives from the South on the new authoritarianism in order to develop and strengthen transnational counter-strategies. The programme, supervised by Börries Nehe and Jan-David Echterhoff, also awards scholarships for six-month research stays at German universities for doctoral students and postdocs who are also investigating various aspects of the new authoritarianism.

Our work—both selecting and then providing support for the scholarship holders during their studies or doctorate—would not be possible without the support of the approximately 180 academic trustees throughout Germany who work for us on a voluntary basis. By including their names, we would like to thank them for their indispensable commitment to the Scholarship Department.



FUNDING RECIPIENTS OVER THE YEARS





The Doctoral fellow Mareen Heying with her dissertation.

## HUREN IN BEWEGUNG

### DISSERTATION ON SEX WORKERS' STRUGGLES

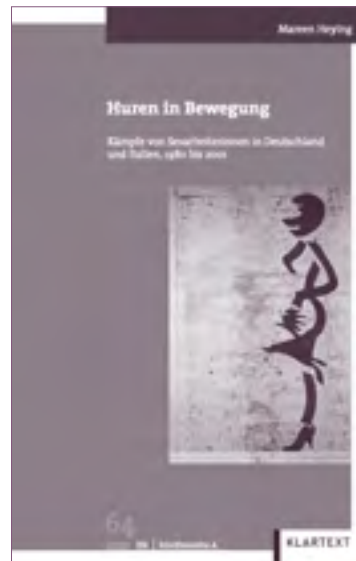
Under the title *Huren in Bewegung. Kämpfe von Sexarbeiterinnen in Deutschland und Italien, 1980–2001*, the dissertation of our former doctoral fellow Mareen Heying appeared in 2019 in the publication series of the Institute for Social Movements in Bochum. She now works as a research assistant in European Modern History at the Fernuniversität in Hagen. Her study, which was awarded the dissertation prize of the Arbeitskreis Historische Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung (working group on historical women's and gender studies), focuses exclusively on female prostitutes, since it was they who first set into motion the social movements for the rights of sex workers. In 1980, Hydra, the first autonomous support group for prostitutes in Germany, was founded in Berlin, followed in 1984 by the initiative *Huren wehren sich gemeinsam* (whores fight back together) in Frankfurt am Main. Soon more groups were established all over the country, which joined together as the *Hurenbewegung* (whores' movement) and from 1985 onwards regularly held so-called *Hurenkongresse* in various cities.

In Italy, a similar movement traces its origins back to the Lucciole Committee (*lucciole*, fireflies, is a colloquial term for prostitutes) founded in 1982 in Pordenone. The Committee

was set up out of the desire to fight back against street violence against sex workers.

Whereas in the 1980s the operation of brothels was permitted in Germany, in Italy they were prohibited. Italian law did not regulate prostitution itself; it was not a criminal offence, and only "inconvenient" solicitation was prohibited. In Germany, sex workers were obliged to undergo examinations for sexually transmitted diseases, and prostitution was considered "immoral", which made it impossible to sue for remuneration. The two prostitutes' movements were influenced not only by the respective legal situation, but also by feminist movements that in both Germany and Italy, particularly in the 1970s, fought for women's sexual and reproductive rights to bodily self-determination.

*Huren in Bewegung* traces the development of the *Hurenbewegung* in Germany and the Italian Committee Lucciole over a period of two decades. One of the central aims of this movement was the social and legal recognition of sex work, in order to improve the circumstances under which women\* engage in it. The politically active sex workers also demanded that they no longer be socially excluded. In a broader perspective, they were striving for an equal society without power disparities between the sexes. With the implementation of the law regulating the legal relationships of prostitutes in 2002, prostitution was recognized as work in Germany, which is why the study ends in 2001. In contrast to the *Hurenbewegung* in Germany, Italy's *lucciole* were not able to achieve a better legal position for prostitutes.



Mareen Heying  
**HUREN IN BEWEGUNG**  
 KÄMPFE VON  
 SEXARBEITERINNEN IN  
 DEUTSCHLAND UND  
 ITALIEN, 1980–2001  
 300 pages, hardcover  
 ISBN 978-3-8375-2071-2  
 Klartext-Verlag  
 August 2019  
 €34.95

## “I’M NOT THE KIND OF FEMINIST WHO TAKES TO THE STREETS”

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER  
GAMILA KANEW

The Scholarship Department of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung awards scholarships to both German and foreign students across all disciplines at all state-recognised universities. The duration and amount of the scholarship are based on BAföG (Federal Training Assistance Act). In addition, the RLS offers a comprehensive non-material support programme for further education and self-organized learning—including workshops for skills development in science, politics, and action, as well as coaching, conferences, holiday academies, educational tours, working groups, and regional meetings. Scholarship holders can also contribute their skills to the diverse projects of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at home and abroad. They can represent the RLS’s interests in various committees and participate in the selection of new scholarship holders. A dedicated intranet and numerous events offer excellent opportunities for professional, interdisciplinary, regional, and political networking. In addition to over a dozen staff members of the Scholarship Department, there are currently about 180 academic trustees available as contact persons for the scholarship holders.

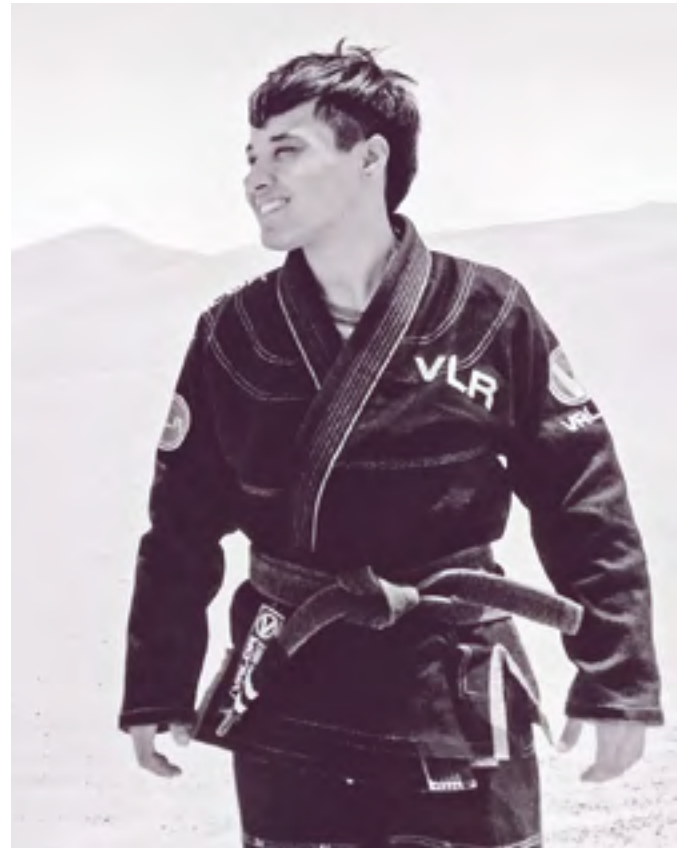
Gamila Kanew, one of the approximately 1,000 scholarship holders that the Scholarship Department sponsored in 2019 (see the statistics), introduces herself and reports on her experiences with the RLS in the following interview.

**Dear Gamila, what do you study and what are your interests?**

**Kanew:** My name is Gamila Kanew and I am currently a student at the University of Greifswald. I am 24 years old and I study geography and philosophy for a secondary-teaching degree. I spend most of my free time practising martial arts. Sport means a lot to me because it gives me the opportunity to just be myself. “Just being myself” is not always easy in my everyday life. I experience discrimination not only because of my immigrant background, but occasionally also because of my gender. What often saddens me are people who deny me the right to be a martial artist, because it is “only for men”. I would like to consciously commit myself to the promotion of martial arts for women.

**How did you become involved with the RLS and what is your favourite part of the scholarship programme so far?**

**Kanew:** I applied to the RLS at the beginning of my studies and was accepted on my second attempt. My personal highlight so far was the first regional meeting in Neubrandenburg. There we met with a consultant in the city archive and experienced an active exchange in the group. What I like about the RLS is that it has such a family



Scholarship holder Gamila Kanew is a passionate martial artist.

atmosphere. I always feel that I am in very good hands and am grateful for all contact persons.

**How and where are you active as a feminist?**

**Kanew:** I’m not the kind of feminist who takes to the streets and demonstrates. Too often I have lived through violence that achieved nothing positive. Instead, I go into direct engagement and try, especially in the field of sport, to combat stereotypes and to work together for justice and equality for women. Male athletes usually don’t want to fight with me because they think women can’t do it, or because they are convinced that they are better and will win anyway. I then show them that they are wrong and talk to them about the fact that jumping to conclusions and underestimating women has no place on the mat or in life. From time to time I also run self-defence courses for women who have been victims of violence and I try to give them more self-confidence and self-assurance.

**What would you like to see from the RLS?**

**Kanew:** It would be cool to have a women’s empowerment day with self-defence courses, self-confidence exercises, and other workshops. Apart from that, I think that the RLS already offers a lot of good and meaningful opportunities.

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- Prof Jörg Arnold**  
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FH Frankfurt a. M., nursing and health  
science
- Dr Ben Trott**  
University of Lüneburg, philosophy
- Dr Vassilis Tsianos**  
Universität Hamburg, philosophy
- Dr Pinar Tuzcu**  
University of Kassel, sociology
- Professor Dr Roland Verwiebe**  
University of Potsdam, sociology
- Prof Fabian Virchow**  
Hochschule Düsseldorf, sociology
- Prof Friedemann Vogel**  
Siegen University, German linguistics
- Prof Hans Walz**  
HS Weingarten, social science
- Prof Klaus Weber**  
FH Munich, psychology
- Prof Martina Weber**  
HS Emden, gender studies
- Prof Barbara Wedler**  
FH Mittweida, social science
- Prof Klaus Weinhauser**  
Bielefeld University, history
- Dr Wolfgang Weiß**  
University of Greifswald, geography
- Prof Dr Felix Wemheuer**  
University of Cologne, sinology
- Dr Christa Wichterich**  
Sociology
- Dr Maria Katharina Wiedlack**  
University of Vienna, gender studies
- Prof Hanns Wienold**  
Social science
- Prof Kathrin Wildner**  
HCU Hamburg, economic geography
- Prof Werner Winzerling**  
HS Fulda, computer science
- Prof Markus Wissen**  
HWR Berlin, social science/social  
studies
- Dr Markus Wöhr**  
UMR, psychology
- Dr Safiye Yildiz**  
HHU Düsseldorf, development policy
- Private Lecturer Dr Aram Ziai**  
University of Kassel, social science
- Dr Birgit zur Nieden**  
HU Berlin, social science/social studies

## POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The digital revolution is changing political communication. Parties, social movements, and political *Stiftungen* use Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube to communicate directly with citizens. Influencers are increasingly important, particularly for children and adolescents. The RLS is also trying out new digital formats, without neglecting traditional forms of public relations. We believe the classical mass media to be an important pillar of a democratic society. Press conferences and journalists' inquiries remain a high priority. Nevertheless, we are increasingly using podcasts, YouTube and livestreams in order to reach more people. *Von Influencer\*innen lernen: YouTube & Co. als Spielfelder linker Politik und Bildungsarbeit* (Learning from Influencers: YouTube et. al. as Fields for Left Politics and Education), a report we commissioned in 2019, is in high demand. On social media, the indicators of success and recognition are likes and followers. At the end of 2019 we had 72,685 Facebook fans, a 7.7 percent increase from the previous year. We achieved a high growth rate of 22.6 percent on Twitter, with a total of 25,685 followers. Overall we managed to consolidate and expand our online presence. More than two million people have visited our website [www.rosalux.de](http://www.rosalux.de), and page views reached 12.74 million. Our online dossiers *Feminismus von Links* and *Klimagerechtigkeit* were especially popular.

We put on a public event every second day of the year: from podium discussions and exhibition openings, to conventions, conferences, and festivals. The *Feminist Futures Festival* in Essen was attended by more than 1,700 people, making it the biggest ever event in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's almost 30-year history. In addition, 38 visitor groups to the Bundestag learned about us and the focus of our political education work. Our publications remain extremely popular. This was made clear not only at the Leipzig and Frankfurt book fairs, but also by the continually growing use of our online ordering portal, and the well-attended *Linke Literatur im Gespräch*. Topics included *Wohnen und Mieten*, *Beiträge zur Klassenanalyse*, and *Kampf gegen Rechtspopulismus und Rechtsextremismus*. Our department oversaw the publication of a total of 93 works, 49 of which were in print and 44 online. In 2019 we also published the special-format works *Edle Tees für Hungerlöhne*, *Kultur Neu Denken* (with texts from play readings from 2009–2018), and *Ohne Gedächtnis Keine Zukunft*, about the significance of the Archive of Democratic Socialism. In the future, the ratio between print and online publications will be slightly more balanced.

## “RED REZOS” AND LEFT-WING PODCASTS

LEFT-WING RESPONSES TO THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Social communication has undergone an enormous transformation. Social media has made political discourse faster and more diverse. During the European election campaign for example, a YouTuber named Rezo became the spokesperson of the younger generation with his video *Die Zerstörung der CDU* (The Destruction of the CDU) which has 15 million views. Fridays for Future developed into a global movement which, despite political “non-contemporaneity” (Ernst Bloch), succeeded in creating both awareness about the global nature of the climate crisis and an equally global organization via WhatsApp groups and social media. In general, our habitual forms of media consumption have changed. New media have appeared alongside and often in place of classical ones. Influencers have built impressive communities on YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok and Snapchat. In Germany alone, 32 million people use Facebook, 19.6 million use Instagram, 5.5 million use TikTok and around 6 million use Snapchat. Forty percent of Germans use YouTube at least once a week, while in younger age brackets the level is around 90 percent.

For the RLS, these developments were an occasion to look into the potential of YouTube for left-wing political education work, and to this end we commissioned the *Von Influencer\*innen lernen* study. In the English-speaking world in particular, there are a lot of demanding and critical left-wing influencers. Independence and creativity are crucial requirements for an innovative YouTube scene in Germany. With this in mind, the RLS has established training courses for budding young influencers. Over the next two years, those interested will be able to take courses on storytelling, fact checking, voice training, video production, empowerment against anti-feminism, media rights, podcasting, interviewing, and much more. Given the number of registrations and level of interest shown, the RLS’s plan is clearly right on target, and is filling a significant gap.

Last year the RLS also experimented with a number of new formats and forms. At present two podcast series are in production. *Demoradio* began in 2019, bringing together voices from demonstrations and strategic discussions about social movements. Meanwhile, *Too Long Didn’t Read* will profile classical texts of left-wing theory. In addition to our own audio features, we tried out new kinds of video interview formats and created films to accompany RLS-commissioned studies. In future, the RLS’s work as a whole, with all its thematic diversity, will be more consistently presented across various media, and the split between offline and online content will be overcome. As a non-profit educational institution, it is particularly challenging for us to find the right approach to commercially-run digital platforms such as Facebook et al. They are spaces of both politicization and the

## THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG ON SOCIAL MEDIA



**FACEBOOK**

[www.facebook.com/rosaluxstiftung](http://www.facebook.com/rosaluxstiftung)



**TWITTER**

[twitter.com/rosaluxstiftung](https://twitter.com/rosaluxstiftung)



**DIASPORA**

[www.is.gd/rosaluxstiftung](http://www.is.gd/rosaluxstiftung)



**YOUTUBE**

[www.youtube.com/user/rosaluxstiftung](http://www.youtube.com/user/rosaluxstiftung)



**FLICKR**

[www.flickr.com/photos/rosalux](http://www.flickr.com/photos/rosalux)



**SOUNDCLOUD**

<https://soundcloud.com/rosaluxstiftung>

production of hegemony, and should not be left to racists and the right wing, who are very well digitally networked. That’s one of the reasons why the RLS will enter the digital melee with even more force than it has to date.

## PRESERVING THE EXPERIENCES OF 1989 FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

THE TOURING EXHIBITION ON THE TREUHAND

Thirty years have passed since German reunification, and we are still not finished with a certain issue: the Treuhand agency. The structural and individual impacts of its actions are still being felt today.

While many East Germans were confidently protesting for freedom and democracy in the autumn of 1989, their lives would soon take an undesired turn. A total of 9,000 publicly owned enterprises employing around four million people would be made “fit for market” as quickly as possible by the Treuhand. The result: the enterprises were privatized or liquidated, and millions lost their jobs. How those people fared, and how they worked through the consequent life upheavals, is the subject of our touring exhibition, entitled *Schicksal Treuhand – Treuhand-Schicksale*.

The exhibition gives voice to those who lived through the period. Back then they were metalworkers at the Neptune shipyards in Rostock, crane operators at the Riesa steelworks, bricklayers at the Buna chemical factory, pitmen at the Bischofferode potash works, or television electricians in Oberschöneweide. In the exhibition, they confront visitors as life-sized portraits, literally eye to eye, and tell of their





Minister President Bodo Ramelow at the opening of the Treuhand exhibition in Erfurt.

experiences of powerlessness, resistance, and new beginnings. QR codes allow visitors to listen to short extracts from their stories.

.....

The experiences and feelings presented are representative of the life stories of millions of other East Germans who were—temporarily or permanently—forced into the margins of society by privatizations, closures, and mass lay-offs. Particularly galling for those affected was the fact that the Treuhand took as little notice of individual lifetime achievement or professional qualifications and skills from 40 years of life in the GDR as it did of the emancipatory experiences that were lived in 1989.

.....

At the exhibition opening in Erfurt on 20 August, 2019, Dagmar Enkelmann said: “The Treuhand’s privatization policies impacted entire generations of GDR citizens. They lost their jobs through no fault of their own and had to struggle to survive. It is important that those affected tell their stories for younger and future generations. We have connected individual reminiscences to a debate over how we need to work through the consequences of the Treuhand’s policies politically. It is time to reconsider the path to German reunification. The promise of equal social and democratic participation has not yet been fulfilled.”

In the exhibition, curated by Rohnstock Biographien, testimonies of those who lived through the period are framed

by a history of the *Volkseigener Betriebe* (publicly owned enterprises) and combines and their fate during the regime of the Treuhand agency. They serve as examples of how publicly owned assets were dealt with. In addition to the historical narratives of contemporary witnesses, the freely-available booklet accompanying the exhibition contains a historical and political presentation by economic historian Jörg Roesler, politicians Christa Luft, Hans Modrow and Bodo Ramelow, as well as GDR dissident Bernd Gehrke.

Due to the amount of interest the exhibition generated, it was repeated in the autumn, meaning that in 2019 it was shown in a total of seven locations in five states. It was shown in art galleries, office buildings, industrial museums, churches, and universities.

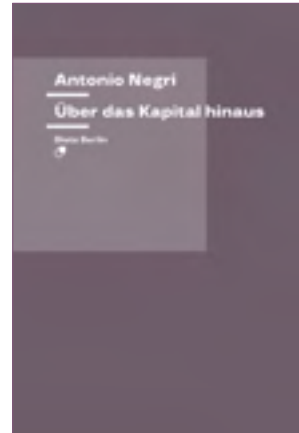
The exhibition was accompanied by numerous events, which generated a lot of interest both in the media and among the general public.



A glimpse of the travelling exhibition.



Christa Luft at the opening of the Treuhand exhibition in Berlin, 29 October 2019.



## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS BY THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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.....

# DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

## LET'S TALK ABOUT SOCIALISM

An interview with Daniela Trochowski, who was elected as the new chair of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Executive Board at the general meeting on 30 November 2019. She has been in office since 1 February 2020.

### How has your arrival been?

**Trochowski:** I was received very openly. I need to learn the ropes first, of course. I feel that there are high expectations of the RLS as a left-wing think tank and therefore also of me. Over the past 25 years, I have gained experience in various positions, most recently as State Secretary in the Brandenburg Ministry of Finance, and I am well versed in fundamental economic issues, in financial policy, and in dealing with public and budgetary funds: not completely irrelevant for good management.

### If you compare government work and political education

...

**Trochowski:** ... there are very big differences. The larger a structure, the stronger its hierarchies. In a coalition you're often mentally cutting down your own ambition in advance as regards what left-wing policies you can actually push through when you're sitting opposite a finance minister like Schäuble or Söder. Here in the RLS, on the other hand, there are flat hierarchies, transparency, and democratic co-determination. There is intensive cross-departmental cooperation, many working groups, freedom for internal debates, and public discourse. I enjoy the opportunity to think more radically, to support new proposals and unconventional approaches, and to discuss them in a left-wing environment.

### There is enormous uncertainty; right-wing populist and extremist influences are growing ever stronger – what challenges do you see for the work of the RLS?

**Trochowski:** The fight against the Right, against racism and against intolerance, is a focal point of the RLS's work. We are seeing how fascist ideas are seeping into society. Even 75 years after the liberation from fascism, we are going to be grappling with the fascism from back then and with its contemporary forms. We support and encourage all those who are defending democracy.

In view of advancing climate change, a socio-ecological restructuring of the economy is vital, not only on a national level, but globally. Furthermore: Die Linke is a party that clearly advocates for peace, which is why the RLS addresses the situation in crisis areas in order to analyze causes and develop solutions.

Some of our projects are motivated by upcoming anniversaries: 30 years of German reunification and the 200th anniversary of Friedrich Engels's birth, to name only two. And then of course





Daniela Trochowski, new Chair of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

the RLS's move to the Platz der Pariser Kommune 8a. We want to celebrate this—despite all the hassle of the move—and invite everyone to an open house day.

**Is there a need for a new form of cooperation between the political *Stiftungen*?**

**Trochowski:** Since we agree on a basic democratic consensus, we should formulate this clearly and make it more visible to the outside world. Despite all the differences, it is now important to stand together against racism and for respectful coexistence, against nationalist ideology and for the dignity of every human being.

**Encouragement and facilitation are two important terms for our identity ...**

**Trochowski:** It is important to encourage and enable people to stand up for their interests and get involved. Furthermore, I think it is important that we formulate our own topics and thus influence the discourse in society. A good example is the property question. Only five years ago, the expropriation of large real estate corporations was unimaginable. Today, there are initiatives and broad support for the idea, in order to limit social injustices. We have actively contributed to this discussion.

**You have lived in two different systems. Today, the question of what kind of society we want to live in is more relevant than ever. What is your perspective?**

**Trochowski:** I wouldn't want to have missed 20 years of GDR socialization. It gives us a great advantage in terms of knowledge. In simplified terms: we know about public property, equality for women, and social security, but also about unfreedom, lack of democracy, and surveillance. Germany today can't be compared with the old FRG in 1990. A lot has changed, for example in terms of equality for women and LGBTIQ\*. We are more progressive today than the GDR ever was. However, democratic and co-determination rights must not be restricted to the election of parliaments; they should also lead to social and economic decision-making power. There is still much to be done.

## MOVING DAY APPROACHES

THE NEW BUILDING ON THE STRASSE DER PARISER KOMMUNE IS ALMOST FINISHED

Let's start with the good news: in 2020, the RLS will be able to move into its new office and events building. This is in itself already good news, since public construction projects are rarely completed even close to on schedule. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, too, is running somewhat later than planned, but the overall outlook is good. Still, 2019 can hardly be described as easy.

The structural work dragged on, the interior fittings had to be rescheduled, and the delicate work on building services continued in the basement while the steel was still being welded and the concrete poured on the upper floors. This was



Axel Krumrey, Head of Construction of the RLS, at the topping-out ceremony for the new building on 22 August 2019.

not an optimal construction process. However, the general planning team, in close coordination with the client, tried to make up for the delay as well as possible. It wasn't until the end of July 2019 that the shell of the building was completed with the concreting of the attic and the elevator crossing on the ceiling of the eighth floor. Meanwhile, the flooring and drywall construction work inside the building was already in full swing. The topping out ceremony was held at very short notice on 22 August 2019. The ceremonial speech was given by Frank-Peter Kusche, who had been commissioned with the fair faced masonry work on the ground floor and the first floor following a corresponding call for tenders. The symbolic nail was hammered in by Dagmar Enkelmann, chair of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. In her speech, she thanked all the building contractors and the planners, and expressed her optimism that the new building would extend the RLS's influence in the space of the city. Florian Weis, Executive Director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, reminded the audience of the support provided by Dietmar Bartsch and Gesine Löttsch from the Bundestag's

Budget Committee, without which the building grant of €20.4 million would not have been conceivable.

In view of market trends, though, it was already clear at that time that the actual costs would exceed the original calculation. However, the funding body, specifically the responsible department in the Federal Ministry of the Interior, had considered this aspect and included a new construction budget in the draft budget for 2019. In total, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was thus promised an additional budget of four million euros. The condition for the allocation of these funds was a correspondingly substantiated application, which the RLS submitted to the responsible Federal Administrative Office in December 2019.

After work began in November on the clinker brick façade, and now that the striking X-columns are clearly visible behind the scaffolding, it is safe to assume that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung will take its rightful place in the cityscape.

### DEEPLY RED AND RADICALLY COLOURFUL

#### THE 12TH FESTIVAL OF THE LEFT

This year, the legendary Räuberrad sculpture stood once again on the lawn in front of the Volksbühne. The twelfth *Fest der Linken* took place on 22 June at Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz. The RLS offered an ambitious programme, which ended with a joyously received performance by Stereo Total. During the

A concert by Stereo Total concluded the *Fest der Linken*.



day, thousands of interested people flocked to various market stalls and enjoyed sweet and savoury treats from all over the world. Visitors both young and old enjoyed the colourful children's programme as well as the scintillating bingo on the stage.

The guests also got their money's worth culturally. Dagmar Enkelmann, chair of the Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, presented her book *Emanzipiert und stark: Frauen aus der DDR* in a conversation with the Vice President of the German Bundestag Petra Pau, to a packed audience in the Volksbühne's Rote Salon. Defying right-wing doomsday scenarios, Julia Fritzsche made a passionate plea for an ecological, feminist, and socialist narrative, and presented her new book *Tiefrot und radikal bunt*. The play *Die Vertreibung des Bauhauses aus Dessau 1932* (The Expulsion of the Bauhaus from Dessau, 1932) which was performed in the Rosa Luxemburg Hall, deals with the historical dimension of contemporary right-wing cultural warfare. Using source material from newspapers, the play by Lars Breuer and Stefanie Schindler dissects the Nazis' campaign against free and critical art. It is clear that the linguistic parallels to right-wing agitation against theatre and artists today are not coincidental.

The band Eyo played traditional Kurdish songs rearranged for bassoon, saxophone, and guitar. The band's history reflects the diverse diaspora of Kurdish women\* in Europe. Even if you do not understand the lyrics, listening to them makes it easy to agree with Victor Hugo's words: "Music expresses that which cannot be said and about which it is impossible to remain silent."

### HAYMAT: A PLEA FOR A SOCIETY OF THE MANY

#### A CONFERENCE REPORT

The history of migration is a diverse one, marked by life-changing experiences, resistance, and struggles. It threads its way through the biographies of many people. But how can the stories of migrants and their struggles be given greater attention; how can the official narrative of migration history be changed so that it corresponds more closely to the reality? And how can the demands for a society of the many, a society that resists homogeneous classifications of culture, nation, and ethnicity, become more visible and lead to political action? These and other questions were discussed by more than 150 participants from 5 to 7 April 2019 at the invitation of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung during numerous workshops and panel discussions at the Kulturzentrum Pavillon in Hanover. The conference, *Haymat—Anforderungen an linke Politik für die Gesellschaft der Vielen*, was attended by various migrant organizations, initiatives, scientists, and activists working in the fields of migration and self-organization. Among the participants were the Neuen Deutschen Organisationen (NDO) and the Bundesverband Netzwerke für



The opening stage of the *Haymat* congress in Hanover.



Members of the study tour to Vienna in front of the Reumannhof.

Migrantenorganisationen (NEMO) as well as representatives from International Women Space, the Alevi Federation Germany, the NSU Tribunal, the Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland, the Hessischer Flüchtlingsrat, the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland and the (post-)migrant organizing network *korientation e. V.*

The exchange of ideas and experiences was based on years of work and struggles, often conducted in the context of migration policy restrictions and shifts in discourse. The demands collected at the conference were mainly framed in terms of questions of recognition, anti-racism, and anti-discrimination. Other important topics at the conference were the strengthening of intersectional structures in feminist contexts, greater awareness and combating of discriminatory structures in schools, and better ways of addressing and commemorating the victims of racist attacks.

In this context it was also necessary to discuss the questions of how *Die Linke* positions itself towards the prospect of a migration society and how it can translate the demands made into concrete political action. In view of the intensifying debates on migration, there was a desire and a will to forge new, alternative alliances and to combine the various struggles, especially against the backdrop of the growing threat from the right.

The conference was closed with a performance by the Daughters and Sons of Gastarbeiters, a group of Berlin authors who told their families' migration stories, and a reading from the book *Deine Heimat ist unser Albtraum* by Hengameh Yaghoobifarah and Fatma Aydemir. In the end, a positive conclusion could be drawn: participants made full use of the opportunity to talk to each other and network.

## LEARNING ON THE ROAD

### EDUCATIONAL TOURS WITH THE RLS REGIONAL BRANCHES

In 2019, the RLS regional branches again organized numerous educational tours in Germany and abroad, the majority of which were approved under state laws regulating paid educational leave. Despite the comparatively high personal financial outlay required from the participants, the demand for these tours has risen sharply. The educational tours, most of which last five days, include walks, guided visits, lectures, and discussions, as well as dialogue with politically and socially committed people, with the aim of opening up new spaces for interactions and dialogue in places previously unknown to the participants. Changing the learning location often provokes a change of perspective: it stimulates new questions, views, and insights. In this sense, *Reisend Lernen* provides an intensive political education programme that brings together a variety of learning experiences.

More than a dozen tours took place in 2019, including a political-biographical tour to Warsaw about Rosa Luxemburg, a trip through Russia to learn about the country's history and politics, and a two-week trip to South Africa on the trail of post-apartheid society. Other destinations and themes were the Portuguese Alentejo and the Carnation Revolution, Italian operaismo, practices of direct democracy and local politics in the Basque Country, the Middle East conflict and its social repercussions in Israel and Palestine. The educational tours offered by the RLS regional branches deal with topics of history or politics of remembrance, but also current developments, debates, and conflicts.

An example of this is the tour run by the RLS Baden-Württemberg in October 2019: *Vom «Roten Wien» zur sozialen Wohn(bau)politik der Gegenwart*. The topics of



affordable housing, inclusive urban development, and the right to the city have been the focus of political debate in Germany for several years. Political decisions such as the abolition of non-profit housing in the 1980s, the neglect of social housing, and skyrocketing land prices have led to more and more people having to spend an ever greater part of their income on housing and ever fewer people being able to afford to live in the city.

The case of Vienna shows that such developments are in no sense the result of natural laws, and that there are political and legal possibilities to counteract them. For the 25-member group from Baden-Württemberg, including municipal elected representatives, *Reisend in Wien Lernen* involved discussions with politicians from Vienna's city administration, representatives of the Vienna Chamber of Labour and of Wiener Wohnen, —Europe's largest communal housing provider, with 220,000 communal apartments—as well as with critical urban researchers and activists, in order to learn about how modern, socially oriented architecture and urban development can contribute to solving socio-political challenges.

There are, of course, also problems and room for improvement in Vienna—for example, with regard to limited-term rental contracts in the private housing market; and the city is also no stranger to gentrification. However, the participants were able to take away a lasting impression of concrete incentives to take action in their local political practice, towards better ways of shaping urban development and housing. According to Christian Schantl of Wiener Wohnen, subsidized housing in Vienna means “affordable housing” for the vast majority of residents; it is a “classical means of strengthening the middle class, it's not only for the poorest”. The concentration of housing subsidies in new construction and refurbishment (subsidies for buildings instead of subsidies for individuals via housing benefits), an active land policy on the part of Wohnfonds Wien, as well as the principles of “no privatisation of previously subsidized housing” and limiting the rent charged to covering the landlord's actual costs are key elements of a housing and urban policy that enables Wiener Wohnen to rent out its apartments at a net price of €5.81/sqm.

*Reisend Lernen* involves getting to know and understand cities and their people, countries and their history. Accordingly, the educational tour to Vienna also dealt with the history of Austromarxism and the housing and educational policy of the “Red Vienna” between 1919 and 1934, which—until Austrian fascism put a violent end to it—laid the foundation for many of the achievements that are still in place to this day.

By visiting various community housing buildings and housing estates, the participants were able to deepen their own understanding of the topics discussed, and to get a visual impression of what social housing policy means in Vienna.

## ART OF THE COLLECTIVE

HANS AND LEA GRUNDIG PRIZE CEREMONY AT THE MUNICH DOCUMENTATION CENTRE FOR THE HISTORY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The Berlin artist Dorit Bearach and the photographer Christoph Oeschger from Zurich have been awarded the 2019 Hans und Lea Grundig Prize in the category of visual arts. Bearach accepted the award in early November at the auditorium of the Munich Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism. She received the award for her entire oeuvre. The laudatory speech praised the form, colour, and style of her paintings, which are characterized by an intensive study of the Hebrew and German languages. Oeschger was awarded the prize for a series of photographs on the situation of refugees in the camp at Calais (France). In the category art history/art education, the prize was awarded to the research and exhibition project *The Art of the Collective—Case Zemlja* by the BLOK collective from Zagreb. The curator and photographer Guy Raz (Tel Aviv) was also honoured for his work in the field of Israeli and Palestinian photographic history. In total, there were more than 120 submissions from Germany and abroad.

More information on the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize can be found at: [www.hans-und-lea-grundig.de](http://www.hans-und-lea-grundig.de).

In her welcoming address before some 70 guests, Mirjam Zadoff, director of the Documentation Centre for the History

Prizes awarded to: Guy Raz, Vesna Vuković, Dorit Bearach, Roberta Bratovic, Nina Bacun (from left to right).



of National Socialism, referred to the connections between the work of Hans and Lea Grundig and the institution, which had shown some of their works in a special exhibition in 2017. Thomas Flierl, jury member and former senator for culture in Berlin, reminded the audience that a version of Hans Grundig's main work *Den Opfern des Faschismus* ("To the Victims of Fascism") had been shown in the exhibition *Künstler der Ostzone* in Munich in 1947. Additionally, curator Kathleen Krenzlin, also a member of the jury, presented the plan for a research project to be carried out in collaboration with the Akademie der Künste (Berlin): based on the transcriptions of the Berlin citizen science researcher Klaus Leutner, she will edit, annotate, and publish the entire correspondence between Hans and Lea Grundig from the mid-1920s to 1958. The first volume will be published with the help of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

### THE JÖRG HUFFSCHMID PRIZE FOR CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

On 18 October 2019, for the fifth time, the Arbeitsgruppe Alternative Wirtschaftspolitik (Attac), the scientific advisory board of Attac, the Euromemo Group, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung jointly awarded the prize for an outstanding dissertation and final thesis in the field of political economy. The prize commemorates the Bremen economist Jörg Huffschnid, who died in 2009.

Gábor Scheiring, who is currently working at Bocconi University in Milan, is the first researcher from Hungary to be awarded the Prize. In his dissertation, *The Wounds of Post-*

*Socialism. The Political Economy of Mortality and Survival in Deindustrialising Towns in Hungary*, Scheiring shows through an extensive empirical study that the neoliberal shock therapy in Hungary after 1989, associated with a deindustrialisation of the country and high unemployment, led to a massive increase in the mortality rate. In the opinion of the jury, Gábor Scheiring's work is highly relevant in terms of health policy as well as economic and social policy.

The other winner of the prize was Felix Gnisa, whose Master's thesis, *Subsumtion und Entgrenzung. Zum Verhältnis von Produktivkraft, Herrschaft und Technik in der Plattformökonomie* elucidates aspects of digitization that are otherwise rarely addressed. He is able to demonstrate the continuing relevance of a Marxist critical social theory



Winners of the Jörg Huffschnid Prize 2019: Gábor Scheiring (left) and Felix Gnisa.

Awarded for the fifth time in 2019: the Jörg Huffschnid Prize.



to the analysis of the most recent phenomena of capitalist industrial development. The speech in honour of Gábor Scheiring was given by Heide Gerstenberger of the University of Bremen, the speech in honour of Felix Gnisa was given by Thomas Sablowski of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. This time the award ceremony took place within the context of the conference *Regulation des Kapitalismus im Umbruch: Den Tiger reiten! – Perspektiven kritischer politischer Ökonomie und alternativer Wirtschaftspolitik*, which was well attended with around 200 participants.

Jörg Huffschnid would have been 80 years old on 19 February 2020. His books *Die Politik des Kapitals* (1975) and *Politische Ökonomie der Finanzmärkte* (1999) shaped countless economic debates in Germany and abroad.

**THE RLS SUBSIDIARIES**

As trustee, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is responsible for six subsidiary *Stiftungen*, which all deal with very different topics. This cooperation serves to develop shared potential models for work in political education. A diversity of offerings helps to address a wider audience and thereby enrich the RLS's educational work.

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The subsidiary *Stiftungen* engage in committed and predominantly voluntary work. In addition to their socio-political function, the subsidiary *Stiftungen* are also jointly responsible for funds of over two million euros.

.....

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung takes its role as trustee of these *Stiftungen* very seriously. It endorsed the *Grundsätzen Guter Verwaltung von Treuhandstiftungen* (Principles for Good Management of Subsidiary Foundations) published by the Bundesverband Deutscher Stiftungen in 2012. We welcome and support the civil engagement of the *Stiftung* benefactors. They have the expectation that their contributions will be used effectively and in a sustainable fashion. The coordinators of this role at the RLS are Meinhard Tietz (meinhard.tietz@rosalux.org) and Andrea Reimann (andrea.reimann@rosalux.org).

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The **MAX-LINGNER-STIFTUNG** is dedicated to conserving and promoting the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959). In addition, it works with the Hans-und-Lea-Grundig-Stiftung, for which it administers the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize.  
Chair: Thomas Flierl  
Email: info@max-lingner-stiftung.de;  
info@hans-und-lea-grundig.de  
Contacts at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:  
Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org);  
Henning Heine (henning.heine@rosalux.org)  
www.max-lingner-stiftung.de

The **HERMANN-HENSELMANN-STIFTUNG** promotes engagement with questions around architecture, urban planning, and social urban development.  
Chair: Thomas Flierl  
Email: info@hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de  
Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:  
Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)  
www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

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  
Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:  
Andreas Bohne (andreas.bohne@rosalux.org)  
www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/  
harald-breuer-stiftung

The **ERIK-NEUTSCH-STIFTUNG** 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  
Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:  
Christine Gohsmann (christine.gohsmann@rosalux.org)  
www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/erikneutsch-stiftung

The **MODROW-STIFTUNG** promotes cultural remembrance of, and reflection on, everyday life, work, art, the media, and culture of the GDR.  
Chair: Hans Modrow  
Email: info@modrow-stiftung.de  
Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:  
Uwe Sonnenberg (uwe.sonnenberg@rosalux.de)  
http://modrow-stiftung.de

The **CLARA-ZETKIN-STIFTUNG** (for the commemoration of democratic socialists). The *Stiftung* is concerned with German and European history of the 20th and 21st century, in particular the biographies of labour- and union-movement representatives.  
Chair: Detlef Nakath  
Email: detlef.nakath@rosalux.org  
Contact person at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung:  
Andrea Reimann (andrea.reimann@rosalux.org)  
www.rosalux.de/news/id/39808



The 3rd issue of *Henselmann* was dedicated to the conference *Wende-Bauhaus | Bauhaus-Wende*.





Festive inauguration of the library with André Gast (Verein Rettung Schloss Blankenburg).

### AN IMPORTANT CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FORCE THE ERIK-NEUTSCH-STIFTUNG

The Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung holds Erik Neutsch's extensive personal library as well as a large collection of documents and testimonies from the writer's life and literary work. The library alone contains 6,123 volumes. It has now been opened to the public in the Great Palace of Blankenburg. The association Rettung Schloss Blankenburg e. V. provided the conditions for the presentation of the library: the restoration of an appropriate room in the castle, its technical outfitting, and the installation of the new shelves commissioned by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

The inauguration was celebrated with a festive function on 10 June 2019. The actor Matthias Brenner, the present director of Halle's Neues Theater, read from Neutsch's Grünewald novel *Nach dem Großen Aufstand* (After the Great Uprising). Students from the high schools in Blankenburg and Halberstadt recited poems by Neutsch and the band Spirit Flow provided the perfect musical accompaniment. Afterwards, almost 100 participants visited the new library, which will be used in the future as a place for readings, discussions about literature, and a learning venue for high schools.

To date there is no biography about Erik Neutsch, which is why the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung has set itself the task of developing the groundwork for one, under the direction of Eva Schäfer, making use of existing archives and interviews with contemporary witnesses, former journalists, writers, friends and comrades-in-arms, as well as studies of Neutsch's works. To mark Erik Neutsch's 90th birthday on 21 June 2021, the *Stiftung* has launched a literary competition for young authors, the theme of which is *Wendepunkte* (turning points). The aim is to find out how today's social processes, upheavals, and diverse turning points are reflected, evaluated, and influenced by the younger generations. The three-part prize is endowed with a total of €6,000. A selection of the texts will

The Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung wants to make the life and work of the writer Erik Neutsch accessible to the public. Erik Neutsch is one of the most important authors of the GDR and East Germany, not least because of his best-known novel *Spur der Steine* (Trace of Stones).



In the new library: Evelin Wittich (3rd from right) and Eva Schäfer (right).

be published in an anthology. The board members of the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung hope the competition will also be joined by participants in the poetry slam that it hosted in cooperation with the Friederike-Caroline-Neuber-Stiftung Blankenburg, on 9 March 2019 in Blankenburg's Old Town Hall.

Another highlight of the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung's work in 2019 was the celebration for Erik Neutsch's birthday at the IMUSET industrial museum in his native town of Schönebeck. Despite sweltering heat, more than 70 guests listened to a reading from the novel *Nach dem Großen Aufstand*, which was accompanied by pictures from the *Bauernkriegspanorama* (Panorama of the Peasants' War) by Werner Tübke—likewise a scion of Schönebeck. The deputy mayor of the municipality paid tribute to Neutsch, welcomed the *Stiftung's* work in Schönebeck, and promised the city's support for the literary competition launched on that day.

## HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

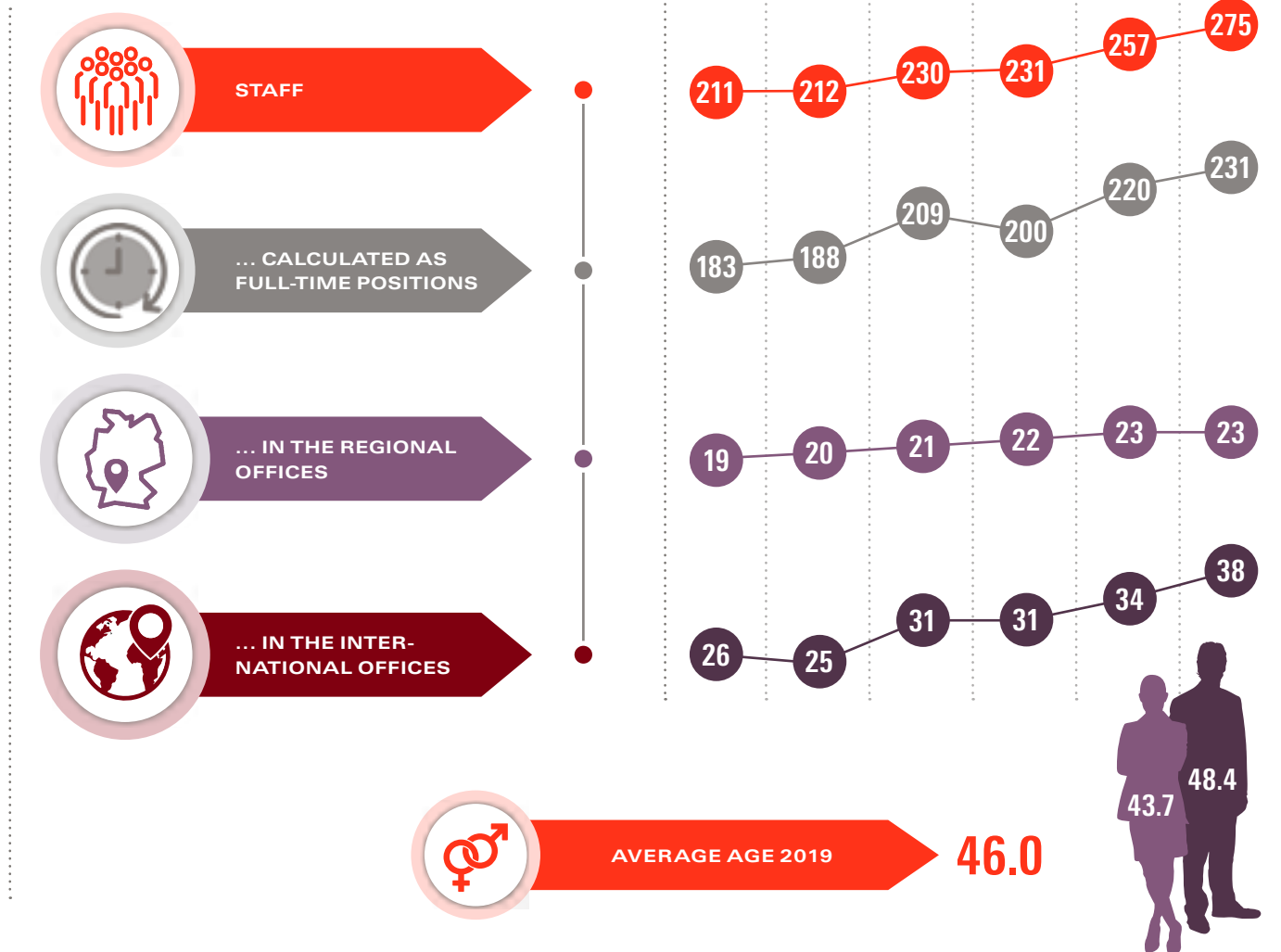
In 2019, the collective bargaining partners in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung successfully renegotiated the collective agreement on broader co-determination. In the 2013 collective bargaining agreement, the parties had already reached a settlement that granted employees extensive co-determination rights.

In the renegotiations, all parties agreed that they did not want to fall behind the achievements of the previous collective bargaining agreement. Since the end of 2019, a representative of the Works Council has been attending board meetings in an advisory capacity. In addition, the deputy department heads, and now all temporary managers with at least five employees under their supervision, also receive managerial feedback from their employees in the middle of their term of office. Apart from this, the challenge is now to negotiate a works agreement on participation in the planning process. Other key items were and are:

- Department heads are appointed on a temporary basis. A reappointment is possible.
- In selection procedures for department heads, the employees of the respective division have a say in the formulation of the selection requirements and can send two representatives to the selection committee.
- After the end of the appointment period, a reappointment by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's executive board requires the approval of at least 50 per cent of the employees of the respective division.
- The Works Council is granted extended co-determination rights in the case of terminations or decisions that effect an individual employee's working conditions. It is also involved in the decision on accelerated (or extended) promotion to a higher experience level in the remuneration category. In addition, a company agreement provides for remuneration above the general pay scale for management functions.
- Employees have co-determination rights in the selection of new colleagues in their department by participating in the development of job profiles. In addition, two employee representatives participate in the selection process with one third of the decisive votes.
- Employees can participate in all matters relating to the department, in particular in personnel and work planning, work organization, and division of labour.
- Finally, the collective bargaining agreement has established a conflict management and regulation system that is specifically regulated in a works agreement.

A collective bargaining agreement strengthens employees' rights, but also carries the risk of disturbing harmonious relations within the company. Thus, employees and managers should approach the agreements with sensitivity.

## HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, 2014 TO 2019



Proportional composition	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Female employees	56%	55%	56%	56%	55%	56%
Male employees	44%	45%	44%	44%	45%	44%
Employees with a migrant background	15%	15%	16%	15%	17%	17%
Permanent employees	76%	78%	73%	80%	82%	78%
Part-time employees	24%	29%	30%	24%	39%	31%
On parental leave/sabbatical/leave of absence	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	3%
Trainees	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%

### The staff also includes

Interns <sup>1</sup>	36	34	39	19	23	25
State-funded volunteers				1	2	3

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



## COMMITTEES

### MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly convened on 30 November 2019. The meeting was particularly well-attended, with over 80 percent of the now 140 voting members present. The main topics discussed were the rise of the right, the tough situation of the left in Germany and Europe, as well as the different strategic approaches for organizing progressive majorities.

In her opening remarks, Dagmar Enkelmann concluded that 2019 had been a difficult for the left in general, and for Die Linke in particular, especially given the manifest consolidation of authoritarianism globally. Yet there were also glimpses of hope, such as the climate movement. Enkelmann identified the climate crisis as the fundamental challenge of our time. In 2019, Die Linke suffered serious electoral defeats. Now the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung must do its part to assist the party in holding strategic debates necessary for it to find its place in the German political landscape. She thanked the RLS members as well as the numerous volunteers active within the RLS and its surrounding milieus for their intense dedication.

Looking back, Florian Weis suggested that certain projects were highly successful or had advanced well, while others needed further development; but that on the whole he was satisfied with 2019. He noted that in future, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung should be active primarily as an enabler, encourager, and network creator; perseverance will be needed for this. Ultimately it is also a question of strengthening those who are not discouraged by suffering defeats. After eleven years, Florian Weis decided not to apply to renew his role as Executive Director. He thanked the members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for their successful collaboration.

The general assembly then elected the Executive Board. Dagmar Enkelmann, Thomas Händel, and Sabine Reiner were confirmed in their roles as Chair and Deputies of the Executive Board respectively. The membership elected Daniela Trochowski, former state budget secretary in Brandenburg, as Executive Director. She assumed the role in February 2020. Along with Florian Weis, Detlef Nakath, Dörthe Putensen, Peeter Raane, Rainer Rilling, and Sybille Stamm also resigned from the Executive Board. The General Assembly elected Heinz Bierbaum, Alex Demirović, Richard Detje, Sophie Dieckmann, and Meike Jäger to the Executive Board. The membership also elected Michael Brie and Frank Deppe to the Academic Advisory Board.



The new Executive Board after the elections at the meeting of the General Assembly: back row (left-to-right): Heinz Hillebrand, Heinz Bierbaum, Meike Jäger, Ulrike Detjen, Jan Korte, Sabine Reiner; front row: Gabriele Gün Tank, Barbara Höll, Daniela Trochowski, Sophie Dieckmann, Dagmar Enkelmann, Thomas Händel, Richard Detje, Alex Demirović (not shown).

## MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

### FULL MEMBERS

Jan van Aken  
 Marwa Al-Radwany  
 Renate Angstmann-Koch  
 Dr Dietmar Bartsch  
 Yasmina Bellounar  
 Prof Dr Günter Benser  
 Prof Dr Heinz Bierbaum  
 Dr Joachim Bischoff  
 Steffen Bockhahn  
 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  
 Gerda Daenecke  
 Daniela Dahn  
 Prof Dr Alex Demirović  
 Prof Dr Frank Deppe  
 Richard Detje  
 Ulrike Detjen  
 Sophie Dieckmann  
 Dr Cornelia Domaschke  
 Dr Dagmar Enkelmann  
 Klaus Ernst  
 Ilsegreg Fink  
 Dr Thomas Flierl  
 Wulf Gallert  
 Wolfgang Gehrcke  
 Claudia Gohde  
 Dr Stefanie Graefe  
 Dr Bärbel Grygier  
 Ates Gürpınar  
 Dr Gregor Gysi  
 Dr Noa K. Ha  
 Sofia Hamaz  
 Thomas Händel  
 Karl-Heinz Heinemann  
 Heiko Hilker  
 Heinz Hillebrand  
 Dr Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann  
 Dr Barbara Höll  
 Florian Höllen  
 Klaus Höpcke  
 Dr Steffen Hultsch  
 Meike Jäger  
 Dr Gerda Jasper  
 Dr Lukrezia Jochimsen  
 Kadriye Karci  
 Dr Andreas Keller  
 Prof Dr Mario Keßler  
 Katja Kipping  
 Prof Dr Dieter Klein  
 Dr Thomas Klein  
 Katharine Kolmans

Jan Korte  
 Marian Krüger  
 Prof Ingrid Kurz  
 Caren Lay  
 Dr Klaus Lederer  
 Dr Steffen Lehndorff  
 Sabine Leidig  
 Katrin Lompscher  
 Dr Gesine Lötzsck  
 Prof Dr Christa Luft  
 Dr Helmuth Markov  
 Ulrich Maurer  
 Prof Dr Margit Mayer  
 Sahra Mirow  
 Dr Hans Modrow  
 Cornelia Möhring  
 Margret Mönig-Raane  
 Prof Dr Oliver Nachtwey  
 Dr Dettlef Nakath  
 Helga Nowak  
 Dr Onur Ocak  
 Dr Harald Pätzolt  
 Petra Pau  
 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  
 Prof Dr Jörg Roesler  
 Dr Bernd Rump  
 Dr Reyhan Đahin  
 Prof Dr David Salomon  
 Dr Birgit Schliewenz  
 Horst Schmitthener  
 Christiane Schneider  
 Dr Ursula Schröter  
 Siri Schultze  
 Dr Karin Schüttpelz  
 Dr Reinhard Semmelmann  
 Kathrin Senger-Schäfer  
 Dr Petra Sitte  
 Prof Dr Susanne Spindler  
 Sybille Stamm  
 Regina Stosch  
 Gabriele Gün Tank  
 Jessica Tatti  
 Güldane Tokyürek  
 Daniela Trochowski  
 Eva Völpel  
 Vera Vordenbäumen  
 Dr Saha Wagenknecht  
 Dr Jochen Weichold  
 Janine Wissler  
 Dr Evelin Wittich  
 Dr Ulrich Wolf  
 Ulrike Zerhau  
 Gabi Zimmer

### INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

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

### HONORARY MEMBERS

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

### NON-ACTIVE MEMBERS

Dr Lutz Brangsch  
 Dr Mario Candeias  
 Wenke Christoph  
 Evelyn Edler  
 Dr Stefanie Ehmsen  
 Kerstin Kaiser  
 Stefan Nadolny  
 Norbert Schepers  
 Dr Jörn Schüttrumpf  
 Dr Marion Schüttrumpf  
 Dr Florian Weis  
 Fanny Zeise

As at November 2019

## THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung bears responsibility for the basic orientation of the RLS's work as a whole. Apart from the Executive Director, the Board's 14 members work on a voluntary basis and explicitly consider themselves to be a political committee that meets to make guiding decisions for the RLS on the basis of socio-political analyses. In 2019, the Executive Board met nine times, sometimes over multiple days. In comparison with many other political *Stiftungen*, the Executive Board takes a very active role in directing the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work.

In 2019 the Executive Board was mainly occupied with budgetary and staff planning as well as key staffing decisions and the development of our new offices. Given our annual budget of around €70 million, plus construction funds, and a workforce of around 260 people, the Board carries a significant burden of responsibility. While the Executive Board is responsible for the orientation of the RLS's work as a whole, the directors are responsible for its everyday operations. In the next few years, the allocation of tasks between the association and the company will need to be defined more clearly. At the same time, the diversity of input from volunteers is an enormous resource, which is why negotiations between the various parties in the RLS remain useful.

Over the last 20 years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been undergoing continuous growth, which may now be drawing to a provisional close. With this in mind, the Executive Board was unanimous about the need to maintain the activities of the regional branches, the ideal level of support for scholarship holders, and support for external projects at its presently high level, in times when our financial means are no longer continually growing. At the centre of the political discussions was the growing strength of global authoritarianism and the development of left-wing movements, in particular Die Linke. As a result of these recommendations, the Executive Board decided that the thematic focus points for the year 2019–20 would be the social state in the 21st century, the struggle against the right-wing, as well as strategies for social-ecological transformation. From these fields, the RLS will develop strategies for transformative projects.

## MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD (2019)

**Ulrike Detjen:** b. 1952, industrial bookbinder; from 1999 to 2018 manager of a prepress house, active member of the RLS North Rhine Westphalia since 2008; RLS Executive Board member since 2013.

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

**Thomas Händel** (Deputy Chair): b. 1953, electronics engineer, studied at the Akademie der Arbeit, Frankfurt; director of the IG Metall trade union several times between 1987 and 2012, founding member of WASG; member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2019; Deputy Chair of the RLS Executive Board since 2007.

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

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

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

**Dr Detlef Nakath:** b. 1949, historian; researcher at Helle Panke e.V. from 2003 to 2006; head of the RLS Brandenburg from 2006 to 2015; RLS Executive Board member from 2014 to 2019.

**Prof Dr Dörte Putensen:** b. 1949, historian; Associate Professor of Modern History at the University of Rostock, executive board member at the RLS Brandenburg from 2010 to 2014; RLS Executive Board member from 2014 to 2019.

**Peeter Raane:** b. 1941, diplomat and businessman; wages secretary and executive board member of the Holz und Kunststoff trade union (IG Metall since 2000); executive board member at the RLS North Rhine Westphalia from 2007 to 2012, RLS Executive Board member from 2008 to 2019.

**Dr Sabine Reiner** (Deputy Chair): b. 1962, political scientist and economist; secretary of the ver.di trade union since 2002; RLS Executive Board member since 2004, Deputy Chair since 2012.

**Prof Dr Rainer Rilling:** b. 1945, studies in political science, sociology and modern history; head of the Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler from 1983 to 1998; Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Marburg since 2002; RLS Executive Board member in 1999–2000 and from 2014 to 2019.

**Sybille Stamm:** b. 1945, political scientist; secretary of ver.di trade union since 1973, and from 2001 to 2007 regional director of ver.di in Baden-Württemberg, co-editor of *Sozialismus* journal; RLS Executive Board member from 2014 to 2019.

**Gabriele Gün Tank:** b. 1975, journalist; integration officer for the Berlin district of Tempelhof-Schöneberg from 2007 to 2018; head of the Neue Deutsche Organisationen until 2019; RLS Executive Board member since 2014.

**Dr Florian Weis** (Executive Director): b. 1967, historian; employed at the RLS since 1999; Executive Director from 2008 until February 2020.





**DR DAGMAR ENKELMANN**



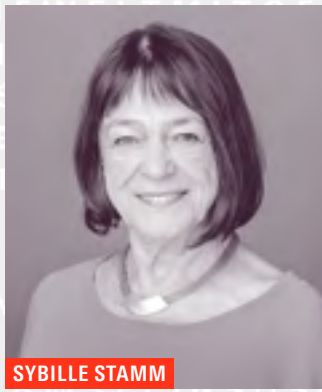
**DR FLORIAN WEIS**



**JAN KORTE**



**DR BARBARA HÖLL**



**SYBILLE STAMM**



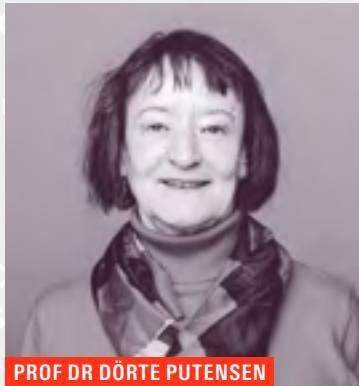
**ULRIKE DETJEN**



**PEETER RAANE**



**GABRIELE GÜN TANK**



**PROF DR DÖRTE PUTENSEN**



**DR SABINE REINER**



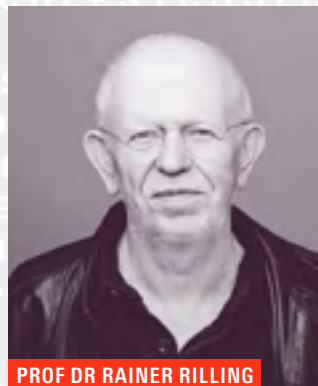
**THOMAS HÄNDEL**



**HEINZ HILLEBRAND**



**DR DETLEF NAKATH**



**PROF DR RAINER RILLING**

## THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

The Academic Advisory Board is responsible for supporting the academic work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the interface between research, education, and politics.

On the basis of previous discussions about the rise of the right-wing and developments in rural areas, the board considered issues around progressive municipal politics at the January 2019 meeting. Stefan Thimmer (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung), Andrej Holm (Humboldt University), and Margit Mayer (Advisory Board) contributed to the discussion. Stefanie Kron (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung), Susanne Schultz, and Sarah Schilliger (University of Basel) also discussed how cities can act in solidarity and support refugees.

At the May 2019 meeting, Academic Board member Wolfram Schaffar presented his study, entitled *The Globalization of Authoritarianism*, which he wrote in preparation for the conference of the same name. In the second half of the meeting, different RLS activities in the area of public relations were presented and discussed.

For its December meeting, the board addressed the issue of fascism, in particular the study planned by the Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism entitled *Faschismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Fascism, Historical and Contemporary) as well as presenting research projects supported by the Scholarship Department. Raul Zelik (fellow), Michael Brie (senior fellow), and Markus Wissen (Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht Berlin) spoke on the topic of socialism. At this meeting the board's members also elected Michael Brie as the new Chair, as Alex Demirović was leaving at the end of 2019 due to his election to the Executive Board.

## MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD (2019)

**Assoc Prof Dr Alex Demirović:** Senior Fellow at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. Research interests: democracy and socialism; academic trustee of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

**Prof Dr Andreas Fisahn:** Professor of Public Law, Environmental and Technology Law, and Legal Theory at Bielefeld University.

**Prof Jörg Hafkemeyer:** Lecturer at the Universität der Künste Berlin and the Deutsche Journalistenschule in Munich; member of the Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie.

**Dr Stefanie Hürtgen** (Deputy Chair): political scientist and sociologist of work; research associate at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt am Main.

**Prof Dr Michael R. Krätke:** Professor of Political Economy at the Lancaster University, UK, and Director of the Institute for Advanced Studies. Research interests: political economy, Marxism, anti-capitalism.

**Prof Dr María do Mar Castro Varela:** Professor of Social Work and General Pedagogy, with an interest in diversity, especially gender, 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. Research interests: US and comparative politics, urban policy, social movements.

**Prof Dr Wolfgang Methling:** Emeritus Professor of Animal Health at the University of Rostock. Environment minister (1998–2006) and deputy premier (2002–2006) of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

**Dr Gerhard Richter:** Union and business consultant for industrial relations strategic development; chairperson of Die Linke in Buckow (Märkische Schweiz).

**Prof Dr Steffi Richter:** Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Leipzig; academic trustee of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

**Prof Dr Birgit Sauer:** Professor of Political Science at the University of Vienna. Research interests: theories of the state and democracy, governance and gender, comparative gender politics, multiculturalism.

**Dr Wolfram Schaffar** (Deputy Chair): Visiting Professor in Asian Studies at the University of Tübingen.

**Dr Sarah Schilliger:** Sociologist, co-director of the *Migrant mobility, 'illegality', and racialization in European agricultural labour* international research project.

**Dr Susanne Schultz:** Head of the *Demografisierung des Politischen* DFG project, former head of the Latin America office of the RLS.

**Dr Thomas Seibert:** philosopher and ethnologist, member of medico international, activist with attac and the Interventionistische Linke (IL). Research interests: political philosophy (Marxism, existentialism, deconstruction).

**Dr Axel Troost:** economist and politician, director of the Memorandum-Gruppe and board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne, member of the Die Linke federal executive committee.

**Dr Alexandra Wagner:** director and founder of the *Forschungsteam Internationaler Arbeitsmarkt GmbH*. Research interests: labour markets and the politics of working hours. Founding member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

**Dr Christa Wichterich:** freelance journalist, lecturer in gender studies, social and political science, consultant and expert in development cooperation.

**Prof Dr Markus Wissen:** Professor of Social Science at the Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht Berlin. Research interests: social-ecological transformation processes.

## THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

There are 18 discussion groups presently active at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. While they were initially mainly voluntary structures, since 2007 they have become established communication forums, in which experts discuss both historical and current issues with interested people. Their largely semi-public nature creates spaces that nurture the exchange of divergent perspectives. The strong involvement of volunteers and individuals from the RLS's political and intellectual milieu means that the discussion circles tend to exhibit certain similarities. Nonetheless, they differ with regard to the issues they address, the way they are organized, and the connections they create between public events and internal communication. Some forums, such as the *Wirtschaftspolitik* discussion group set up in 2017, operate primarily internally, but most

tend towards a mixture of both public events and the discussion of particular issues in a more closed setting. The range of groups is constantly changing and is oriented around the need to discuss specific issues. For example, the *Bildungspolitik* discussion group, newly established in 2017, has already hosted sundry events; pertinent studies on topics relevant to education policy have been created at its behest. The *Zukunft Auto – Mobilität – Umwelt* discussion group held a well-attended conference on the social-ecological transformation of (car-based) mobility in November 2019, and a larger conference to be held in Stuttgart on the same topic is being prepared for autumn 2020. And of course we should not forget the *Rechts* discussion group (on right-wing extremism), which, in light of the rising strength of such movements in Germany and beyond, is making an important contribution in terms of education and networking.

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### LABOUR LAW

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### PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

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### HISTORY

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### HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

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### URBAN POLICY

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### DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORLDVIEWS

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### ECONOMIC POLICY

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

### FUTURE OF THE CAR - MOBILITY - ENVIRONMENT

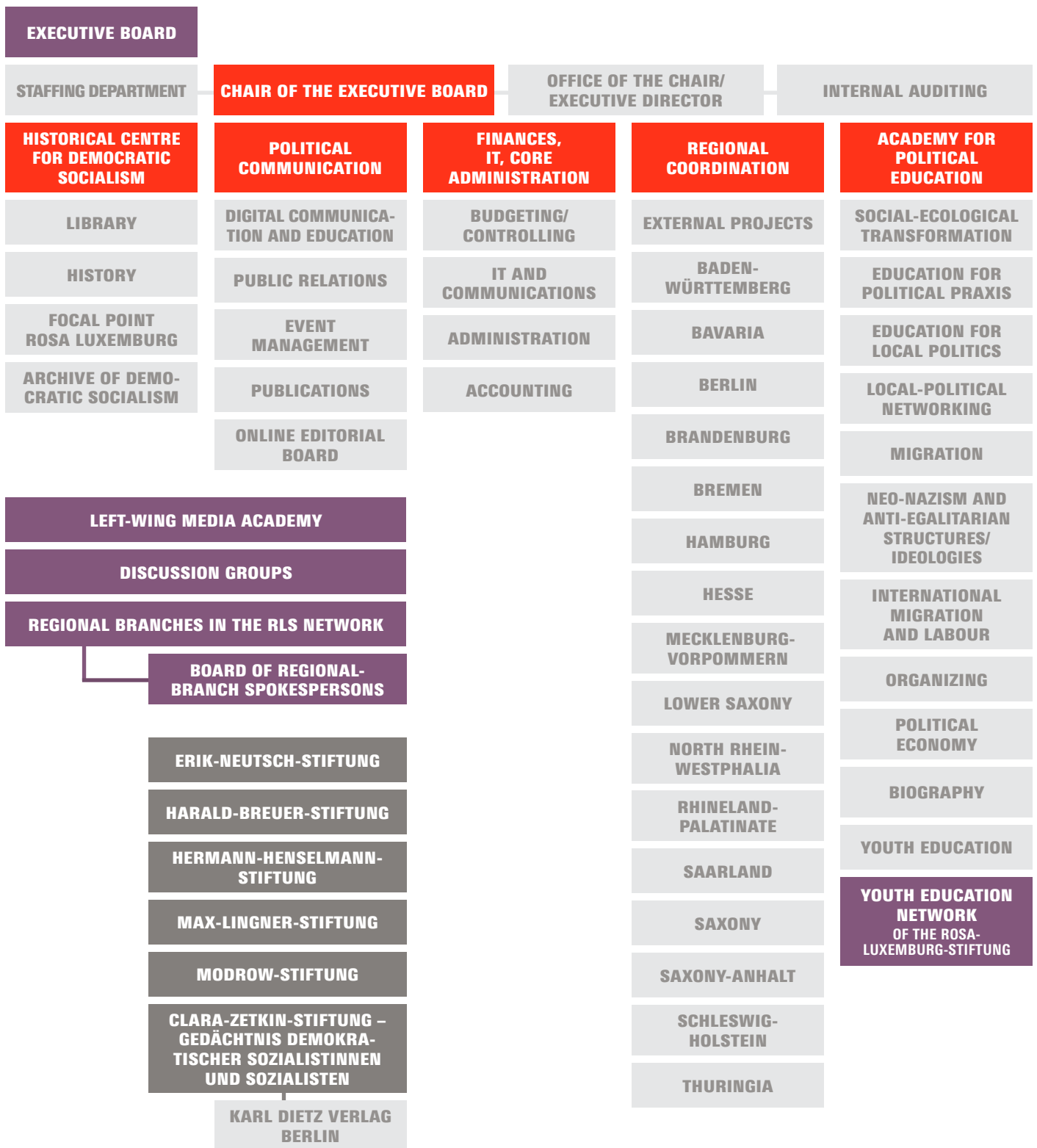
Stephan Krull; full-time contact: Mario Candeias  
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### DISCUSSION GROUPS COORDINATOR

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)



# THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



## LEGENDE

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

# THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

BUILDING DEPARTMENT	ANTI-DISCRIMINATION OFFICER	DATA PROTECTION OFFICER	WORKS COUNCIL
<b>INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS</b>	<b>SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT</b>	<b>CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE</b>	
LUXEMBURG MAGAZINE ED. RLS EXEC. BOARD	ADDITIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMME	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS	
PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	BMZ-PROJECT FOR GLOBAL ACADEMIC DIALOGUE	UNITS/REGIONAL OFFICES	
DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE	ALUMNI NETWORK	LATIN AMERICA UNIT	AFRICA UNIT
SOLIDARITY ECONOMY	<b>ACADEMIC TRUSTEES OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG</b>	ANDES REGION, QUITO	SOUTH AFRICA, JOHANNESBURG FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE
ONLINE EDITORIAL BOARD	<b>SCHOLARSHIP-HOLDER WORKING GROUPS</b>	BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY, SÃO PAULO	WEST AFRICA, DAKAR
COMMONS/SOCIAL STRUCTURE ANALYSIS	<b>SELECTION COMMITTEE</b>	CENTRAL AMERICA/MEXICO, MEXICO CITY	EAST AFRICA, DAR ES-SALAM
CULTURE FORUM		CONO SUR, BUENOS AIRES GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE	NORTH AFRICA, TUNIS ACADEMIC COOPERATION DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE
FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY AND CAPITALISM		INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND NORTH AMERICA UNIT	WEST ASIA UNIT
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBALIZATION		NORTH AMERICA AND THE UN, NEW YORK	ISRAEL, TEL AVIV
SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND CONNECTIVE CLASS POLITICS		GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE, GENEVA	LEBANON, SYRIA, IRAQ, BEIRUT
PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY		EUROPE UNIT	PALESTINE AND JORAN, RAMALLAH
HOUSING AND URBAN POLICY		WESTERN EUROPE, BRUSSELS TRADE AND ECONOMY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE	ASIA UNIT
MIGRATION AND DEMOCRACY		GREECE, ATHENS	CHINA, BEIJING
TRADE UNIONS/LABOUR/PRODUCTION		UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND, LONDON	SOUTH ASIA, NEW DELHI
		CENTRAL EUROPE, PRAGUE	SOUTH EAST ASIA, HANOI
		EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE, WARSAW	SOUTH EAST ASIA, MANILA CLIMATE JUSTICE DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE
		RUSSIA, BELARUS, AND TRANSCAUCASIA, MOSCOW	CENTRAL ASIA, ALMATY
		SOUTH EAST EUROPE, BELGRADE	
		UKRAINE, KIEV	

## THE RLS BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political *Stiftung* associated with the party Die Linke. Like other *Stiftungen* associated with political parties in Germany, it is mainly financed through the budget of the federal government. Specifically, the funding for the RLS comes out of 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 Bundestag. Funding is only granted to *Stiftungen* that represent crucial, long-term political and intellectual tendencies in society. How this gets more precisely interpreted 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 is considered as indicating the longevity of a preponderant tendency. The level of funding for the *Stiftung* is based on the electoral results of the respective party in the last four federal elections.

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

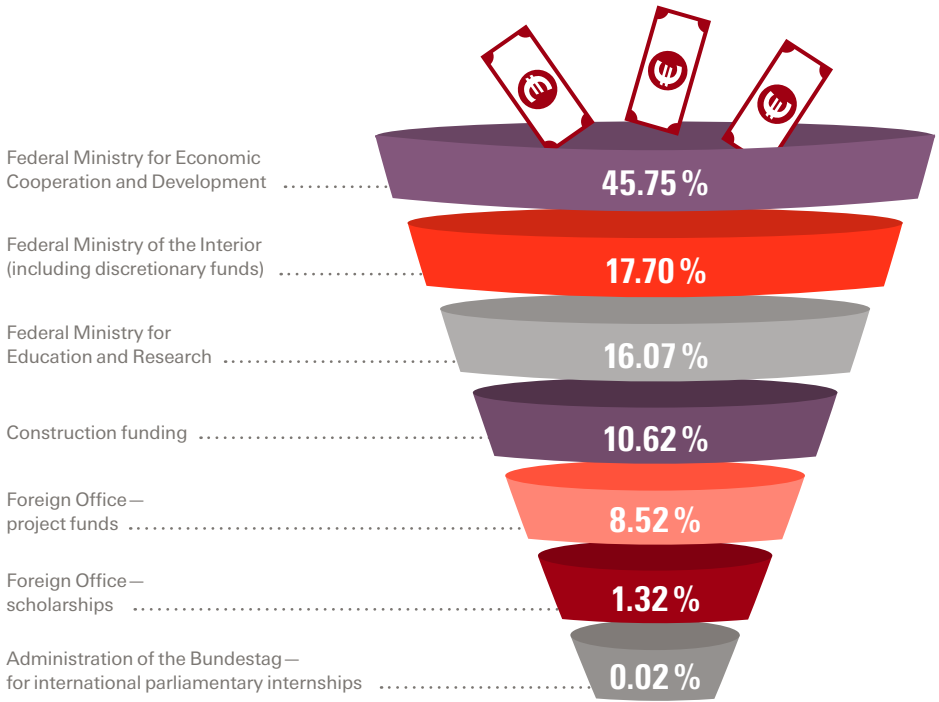
Contributions thus rose from €30.6 million in 2010 to €79.3 million in 2019. By reporting on its income and expenses, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is fulfilling its voluntary commitment as a politically aligned *Stiftung* to publish and make transparent its use of funds, a practice to which all the party-aligned *Stiftungen* agreed in a joint declaration in 1998, and to which they have since adhered.

The most important financial contributions come from BMI (referred to as core funding), BMZ, BMBF, and the Foreign Office. The core funding provides the backbone for our political education domestically, as well as for the maintenance of the RLS offices. The core funding also supports the running of seminars, conferences and colloquia, the purchase of teaching and learning materials, and the allocation of research funding with social and political goals, in the field of education research in particular.

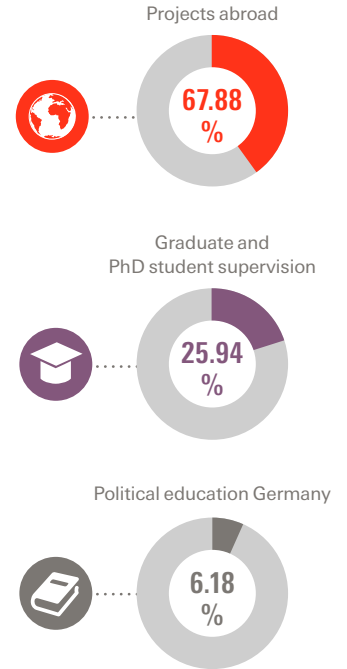
With the help of funds from the BMZ and the Foreign Office, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintains a network of international relationships. This includes financing its offices abroad, projects with partner organizations, and events abroad. Contributions from the Ministry for Education and Research are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



**FUNDING 2019**



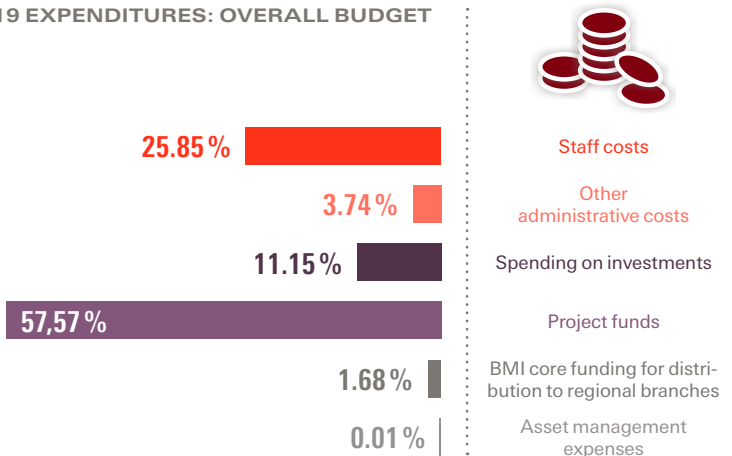
**PROJECT EXPENSES 2019**



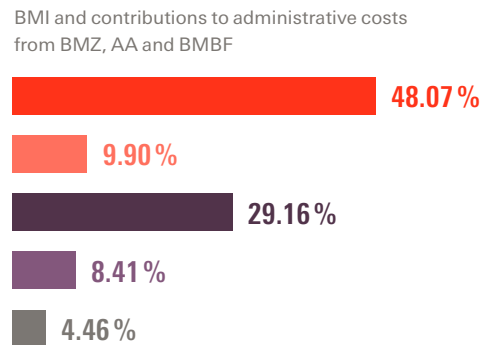
through the RLS Network to ten regional offices and partner institutions. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to pursue its statutory objectives while remaining independent—both in terms of organizational structures and in terms of staff—of the party with which it is associated. Nor is it permitted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

uses. As a politically aligned *Stiftung*, the RLS is required to have its financial management independently audited on an annual basis. For the 2018 financial year, the auditor confirmed that the core funding from BMI and the funding provided by the other ministries to cover administration costs were used efficiently and sparingly, in accordance with the regulations and legal requirements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put in place management accounting procedures that are equipped with the requisite staff and means for ensuring that funding conditions are being met in a timely manner.

**2019 EXPENDITURES: OVERALL BUDGET**



**2019 BUDGET EXPENSE STRUCTURE WITHIN GERMANY**



**BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31/12/2018**

<b>Assets</b>	<b>31/12/2018 in euro</b>	<b>31/12/2017 in euro</b>
<b>A Fixed assets</b>		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
Software	358,680.82	694,208.81
II Tangible assets		
Real estate, rights equivalent to real estate and buildings, including buildings on third-party land	168,314.96	-
Business and office equipment	285,646.85	421,679.98
Advance payments for assets under construction	0.00	0.00
III Financial assets	0.00	0.00
Investments	10,658,538.08	7,373,567.66
<b>Total fixed assets</b>	<b>11,476,180.71</b>	<b>8,494,456.45</b>
<b>B Receivables and other assets</b>		
I Other receivables	0.00	0.00
a) Discretionary funds made available by BMI	3,331,596.00	1,446,857.00
b) Unused discretionary funds (BMI)	-3,331,596.00	-1,446,857.00
II Receivables from grants	2,204,700.00	0.00
II Receivables from affiliates	1,153.92	1,153.92
III Other assets	204,071.80	226,266.48
<b>Total receivables</b>	<b>2,409,925.72</b>	<b>227,420.40</b>
<b>C Liquid assets</b>		
<b>Total liquid assets</b>	<b>4,187,068.62</b>	<b>3,904,655.88</b>
<b>D Accrued revenue and deferred charges</b>	<b>28,911.07</b>	<b>43,898.64</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,102,086.12</b>	<b>12,670,431.37</b>

<b>Liabilities</b>	<b>31/12/2018 in euro</b>	<b>31/12/2017 in euro</b>
<b>A Net assets</b>		
I Balance from previous year	138,044.96	105,644.76
II Surplus/deficit	-5,736.82	51,922.35
III Reserves	88,450.02	88,450.02
IV Reserves	146,731.44	127,209.29
<b>Total net assets</b>	<b>367,489.60</b>	<b>373,226.42</b>
<b>B Additional funds from grants</b>	<b>11,476,180.71</b>	<b>8,494,456.45</b>
<b>C Provisions</b>		
Other provisions	278,920.55	238,862.62
<b>D Liabilities</b>		
I Liabilities with credit institutions	6,426.79	5,899.45
II Liabilities from goods and services	4,099,388.45	1,854,138.82
III Other liabilities	29,972.83	86,387.18
<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>4,135,788.07</b>	<b>1,946,425.45</b>
<b>E Accrued expenses and deferred income</b>	<b>1,843,707.19</b>	<b>1,617,460.43</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,102,086.12</b>	<b>12,670,431.37</b>

**EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS AS AT 31/12/2018**

		<b>2018 in euro</b>	<b>2017 in euro</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>Receipts</b>	<b>67,465,054.81</b>	<b>61,713,831.79</b>
1	Federal government grants	66,426,772.10	60,965,473.35
2	Donations	193,578.42	40,943.90
3	Membership fees	16,836.00	16,897.50
4	Income from asset management	5,083.74	
5	Other revenue	59,048.63	38,011.98
6	Income from the liquidation of the special reserve	763,735.92	652,505.06
<b>II</b>	<b>Expenditures</b>	<b>-67,470,791.63</b>	<b>-61,694,309.64</b>
1	Costs arising through statutory activities	-42,923,695.28	-39,344,882.47
	Project expenses paid out of core funding	-1,829,240.13	-1,742,491.53
	Transfers out of core funding	-1,191,199.80	-1,030,828.33
	Grants to students and PhD students	-11,450,343.72	-11,451,877.79
	International cooperation	-28,176,197.31	-24,915,980.09
	Other project expenditures	-276,714.32	-203,704.73
2	Staff costs	-17,656,149.71	-16,249,101.98
	Wages and salaries	-14,764,175.89	-13,708,579.06
	Employment benefits	-2,891,973.82	-2,540,522.92
3	Asset management expenses	-8,994.14	
4	Write-downs	-761,545.61	-652,505.06
5	Administrative costs	-2,374,946.71	-2,452,934.93
	Office equipment and supplies	-372,092.86	-309,326.33
	Running and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,391.35	-13,064.14
	Other administrative costs	-1,996,272.19	-2,098,144.26
	Other costs	-2,190.31	32,400.20
6	Investments	-3,745,460.18	-2,994,885.20
<b>III</b>	<b>Surplus/deficit for the year</b>	<b>-5,736.82</b>	<b>19,522.15</b>

**INCOME IN 2019 (INTERIM)**

<b>I</b>	<b>Income in euro</b>	<b>79,507,150.57</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Grants</b>	<b>79,389,350.19</b>
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (including discretionary funds)	14,052,765.99
	Federal Ministry for Education and Research	12,754,299.64
	Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	16,398.30
	Foreign Office scholarships	1,045,390.00
	Foreign Office projects	6,764,000.00
	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	36,327,893.14
	Construction funds	8,428,603.12
<b>2</b>	<b>Tax-free income/donations</b>	<b>83,373.15</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Membership fees</b>	<b>16,994.50</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Asset management income</b>	<b>10,597.88</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Other income</b>	<b>70,746.48</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Revenue reductions</b>	<b>-63,911.63</b>



**SPENDING IN 2019 (INTERIM)**

<b>II</b>	<b>Expenditure in euro</b>	<b>-79,031,994.72</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Staff costs</b>	<b>-20,430,337.76</b>
	Of which staff costs Germany	-14,329,096.90
	a) Wages and salaries	-16,946,272.22
	b) Employment benefits and other costs	-3,484,065.54
<b>2</b>	<b>Other administrative costs</b>	<b>-11,770,704.78</b>
2,1	Office equipment, supplies, consumables	-9,427,900.53
	Network, software, systems administration	-457,269.45
	Maintenance and repairs	-3,436.50
	Tools and small appliances	-68,500.32
	Office supplies and consumables	-27,879.76
	Equipment rentals	-59,585.42
	Allocation to special reserve for investment	-8,811,229.08
2,2	Operation and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,448.98
	Street cleaning/winter street maintenance	-1,910.30
	Property tax	-2,538.68
2,3	Other administrative costs	-2,338,355.27
	Other expenses for staff	-217,872.43
	Office rent and room costs	-916,889.58
	Insurance	-8,744.61
	Fees and other levies	-51,931.46
	External services, contract work, administration	-342,234.75
	Advertising	-29,990.97
	Promotional costs	-30,785.01
	Hospitality costs	-2,053.50
	Travel costs (falling under other administrative expenses)	-169,785.37
	Postage, telephony, internet	-157,707.68
	Journals, books, media	-54,095.01
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-68,465.25
	Monetary transaction costs	-30,153.46
	Other costs, fees, donations	-205,898.17
	Vehicle costs	-11,742.76
	Other administrative costs	-38,779.21
	Other expenses	-1,226.05
<b>3</b>	<b>Project costs</b>	<b>-46,823,177.39</b>
	Total BMI project costs	-2,506,533.26
	BMI core funding allocated to third parties	-1,329,222.86
	Projects abroad	-30,879,680.23
	Supervision of students and PhD students	-11,802,041.98
	Scholarships Germany	-10,880,659.30
	Scholarships abroad	-905,337.15
	International parliamentary internships	-16,045.53
	Student networking and mentoring	-270,712.03
	Other project costs	-34,987.03
<b>4</b>	<b>Asset management costs</b>	<b>-7,774.34</b>

## EXPLANATORY NOTE:

**In 2019, 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.
- Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft – Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt – Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein: werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V.
- Max-Lingner-Stiftung
- Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung
- Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung
- Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung

**OVERVIEW OF ALL RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES ANTICIPATED FOR THE 2020 BUDGET PERIOD**

**Income in euro\***

Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	14,040,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (estimated)	13,000,000.00
Grants from the Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary interns	20,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	37,580,000.00
Project grants from the Foreign Office	6,800,000.00
Scholarship grants from the Foreign Office	1,057,000.00

\* excluding discretionary funds

**Expenses in euro (partial list)**

Staff costs	-21,000,000.00
Other administrative costs	-2,750,000.00
of which investments	-450,000.00
Project spending (excluding permanent staff)	-48,600,000.00
Educational programme	-4,000,000.00
Scholarships	-11,000,000.00
International cooperation projects	-33,600,000.00

#### COLOPHON

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Project management and proofreading:  
TEXT-ARBEIT, Berlin  
Design: Heike Schmelter  
Production: MediaService GmbH  
Druck und Kommunikation, Berlin  
Translation: Gegensatz Translation Collective, Berlin

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Unless otherwise stated, all information and figures  
are current as at January 2020.



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**“One of the first great proclaimers of socialist ideals, the Frenchman Charles Fourier, wrote these memorable words a hundred years ago: In any society, the degree of female emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation. This is perfectly applicable to present-day society.”**

ROSA LUXEMBURG