



2020 ANNUAL REPORT
ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

2020 marks a turning point in many respects. The same is true for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Much has changed over the 30 years of its existence; some changes we had to get used to, others we set in motion ourselves. This year's Annual Report also differs from its predecessors. While we usually prepare by discussing various themes that we might focus on, this time the topic was more or less forced upon us.

We began the year with a new board and new ideas: we wanted to organize events to mark 75 years since the liberation from fascism, and the 200th birthday of Friedrich Engels. We intended to send our successful travelling exhibition *Schicksal Treuhand – Treuhand-Schicksale* (Destiny Treuhand – Treuhand Destinies) on tour again, in advance of the 30th anniversary of German reunification, and commemorate once again the catastrophic economic and social devastation that East Germany was subjected to at the time (the exhibition focuses on the Treuhandanstalt, the “trust agency” established in 1990 to oversee the privatization of East German enterprises). We had also intended to organize a large international conference, to be held in Leipzig in May, on the topic *Globale Solidarität – für einen Internationalismus der Zukunft* (Global Solidarity: For an Internationalism of the Future), to discuss central questions such as social justice and ecological transformation with intellectuals, politicians, cultural producers, and activists from all over the world. For autumn we had planned an event on the key points for a socially and ecologically oriented structural transformation of the automotive industry, and a sustainable mobility transition, which was to take place in Stuttgart. Well—to paraphrase Goethe—not all blossoming dreams grew ripe. It so happens that since March 2020, a little virus has completely turned private and public life upside-down, and this has presented the RLS with major challenges.

New concepts govern our everyday life: lockdown, social distancing, home schooling, working from home. Supposedly older values are being rediscovered: solidarity, social cohesion, responsibility. The coronavirus has transformed society and our everyday life, and intensified global conflicts and social polarization. The economic and social effects are tangible. After one year, the poverty rate in Germany has risen to an historic level of 15.9 percent. According to the most recent poverty report by the Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband (Equitable Social Welfare Organization), over 13 million people have been affected.

Our new board and the entire RLS have risen to the challenge. We have held fast to our core focus points: *Soziale Infrastrukturen, soziale Rechte, soziale Gerechtigkeit* (Social Infrastructure, Rights, and Justice), *Kampf gegen rechts und für eine Gesellschaft der Vielen* (The Fight against the Right and for a Society of the Many), and *Sozial-ökologische*



Dagmar Enkelmann and Daniela Trochowski

Transformation und Klimagerechtigkeit (Social-Ecological Transformation and Climate Justice). Even if the Chancellor of Germany is suddenly calling for solidarity and social cohesion, working conditions for nursing staff in hospitals and aged care homes have still not improved, children from socially disadvantaged families and immigrant households are still usually the first to fall by the wayside in home schooling, short-time allowances barely cover rent and living costs, and solo freelancers, artists, and the middle class all feel that they have been left high and dry.

The RLS has intervened in myriad ways in the debates about overcoming the crisis and its economic, social, and political ramifications. This includes studies like *Ökonomisierung schulischer Bildung* (The Economic Rationalization of School Education), *Corona als Richtungsimpuls* ("Resilience" in the Context of the Coronavirus Crisis), as well as our analyses of property-owning corporate consortia and their business practices on the Berlin real estate market, and our *Atlas of the Stateless*. In our online dossier *Solidarity Against the Coronavirus*, we compiled what a democratic politics of solidarity—both in Germany and on a global scale—should look like in a time of pandemic, what kind of politics is necessary to prevent social and economic dislocation, and how solidarity can be practically organized.

Democracy is in crisis worldwide, and authoritarian tendencies are on the rise in more and more countries. In consequence, social and political human rights are being curtailed, and basic liberal freedoms dismantled. The situation in Germany has also deteriorated further. For the first time in Thuringia, a member of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) was elected State Premier with the help of votes from the extreme-right Alternative for Germany (AfD), triggering a political earthquake—an act that will go down in German history as the breaking of a taboo. In Hanau, a right-wing terrorist murdered ten people. Family members of the victims are demanding answers, and fighting against public forgetting. The RLS supports the Initiative 19. Februar Hanau (Hanau 19 February

Initiative). Right-wing extremists and COVID-19 denialists, side by side with *Querdenker*—or self-styled "lateral thinkers"—are demonstrating against the pandemic and its consequences, and continue to expand their influence. Our periodical *LuXemburg*, in a feature issue entitled *Gegenhalten* (Resist), examined the uptick in right-wing, racist violence, its continuities, and searched for resistance strategies.

Climate change has not been put on pause by the pandemic, and the ecological crisis continues apace. Under the motto *Spurwechsel* (Changing Lanes), the RLS confronted the question of systemic social and ecological change in the transport sector. This would involve largely car-free inner city zones, free and climate-neutral public transport, more convenient bike lane networks, and demanding the abolition of the internal combustion engine itself.

If we managed to stick to our core thematic foci even during the pandemic, much else had to be rethought and reorganized. Most staff worked from home, new communications methods were tested and implemented. Online events took over from our previously numerous in-person public events. On 12 March 2020, the new *Prävention* (Prevention) taskforce met for the first time, charged with both maintaining RLS operations and discussing and advancing options for political education and the hosting of public events under the new conditions. Here, the experiences we gathered in our temporary project on digital communication and education proved useful. New interactive formats for public outreach were rapidly developed and implemented. In April, with *Ausnahme & Zustand* (State and Exception) and *Global Crisis – Global Solidarity*, two formats for interactive public talks were established, thematizing current and future conflicts during and in the wake of the pandemic. We were thus able to significantly extend the reach of our social media activities. But not everything can be done digitally. In 2020, the RLS was scheduled to move to our new building at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8A. The heart of the building is the library and archive reading room, with multiple workspaces and a large event area. Due to big increases in staff numbers in recent years, and the limitations of the construction budget, we now have two locations, as our international department has remained at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1. Overall, the move has markedly improved working conditions for staff, even if—as with any new building—there were some quirks in the first few weeks. We would have been delighted to be able to celebrate the opening of the new building with you, dear readers, and to have an open day. We promise we will make up for this in the future.

If we can pique your curiosity with this 2020 Annual Report, we welcome your interest and look forward to your visit—whether digital or analogue!


DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the Executive Board


DANIELA TROCHOWSKI
Executive Director

FOCUS: STATE AND EXCEPTION

POLITICAL EDUCATION AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE PANDEMIC

What a year! The pandemic meant that we had almost entirely to relocate our educational offerings to the digital realm, as well as deal with completely new topics and target groups. On the one hand, this offered us the chance to depart from well-trodden paths. On the other, confronting the impositions of the pandemic on a daily basis led to countless informal learning processes—as well as to “new learning opportunities”, as the pedagogical terminology so nicely puts it.

Concepts such as solidarity had to be redefined. Experiences of being forced to rely on one another raised questions about alternative ways of working and living. For the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, this meant an increasing demand for education about the basics, but also compelled us, as leftists, to more intensively confront our own relationship to the state. State measures to contain the pandemic, entailing massive restrictions to private life but leaving production more or less untouched, have once again highlighted the economy’s central importance. As with the financial crisis of 2007 onwards, in our political education work we noticed a growing interest in economic policy issues and the seminars we offer on these topics—on basic economic terms and concepts, for example. A further question that worried many of us during those months was: how are we being governed? And: how should we deal with the current boom in conspiracy theories, both new and old? Not just the aggravation of social contradictions—which each and every one of us who has children, for example, can directly experience in terms of schooling—but also actually experiencing the importance of secure employment and functional social infrastructure oriented towards the common good; these are just some of the learning opportunities that the coronavirus pandemic has bestowed on us.

There was an additional challenge: those whom we at the RLS most wish to address with our educational offerings—and to do an even better job of reaching in the future—were also those who were especially struggling to keep their heads above water last year. This meant that we had to ask ourselves: what might be the appropriate offerings for that very numerous group of people who have to care for their young children, or provide home schooling to older ones, while working from home at the same time? What would best serve those who no longer can rely on a fixed income, who live in insecurity and wait to receive money from the state? What do the many political activists and volunteers need, those whose social connections and practical routines have largely fallen away? Moreover, the imperatives of spatial and social distancing during the pandemic highlighted a special feature of political



In April 2020, the RLS switched to online formats with the help of an improvised studio.

education work: it depends, more than almost any other field, on real-life encounters and the possibility of social learning. In 2020, the RLS was thus faced with the difficult task of using digital formats to address all of these problems and desiderata.

DIGITAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION

For years now, the RLS has pursued the goal of increasing its internet and social-media presence, not least to counter misinformation and the targeted manipulation of public opinion by authoritarian forces. At this point, without a profound social media strategy and ambitious digital public relations work, left-wing politics is doomed to failure. There is an abundance of exciting digital educational formats—things like interactive maps, quizzes, and videos. These have to be brought out of their niche existence and increasingly used in situations where they can meaningfully complement and simplify analogue learning. Experiences of intensified social exclusion and the

shifting of the burden of the crisis onto the private sphere—although this trend was already clearly apparent prior the pandemic—made the search for methods of digital education and information provision much more urgent.

Then in 2020, a lot happened as though in fast forward. Digital projects that had been in the planning stages long before the pandemic were moved to the top of the agenda; large traditional conferences had to be held online; in many areas necessity generated surprising and often instructive discoveries. Disappointments also occasionally cropped up. Within a very short time frame, web conferences had to be launched, a common learning platform for all foundation employees had to be set up, and numerous other ideas implemented. Since there was not enough in-house expertise, we obtained important know-how through external studies and expert opinions, as well as pedagogical and technical consultation—for example, on massive open online courses, which feature freely accessible content and learning resources, or on geocaching (a type of scavenger hunt involving GPS).

ANALOGUE MEETS DIGITAL

We were particularly creative in our course offerings. For instance, we successfully redesigned sections of the multi-month seminar *CAMPUS für weltverändernde Praxis* (CAMPUS for World-Changing Practice) to be blended learning courses. These experiences showed that methods such as digital small-group discussions and working together on a virtual whiteboard can function well. Also positive is that in between the seminars, participants made use of the virtual realm in a self-organized manner, and so were able to exchange other more intensively. Digital courses also have enormous potential in terms of reaching people beyond the metropolises, as well as those who are unable to attend classroom events for other reasons.

Another format that has become enormously popular at the RLS over the past year is the podcast. Not without reason—in Germany, 28 percent of people listen to podcasts regularly. *Demoradio*, which reports live from left-wing demonstrations, was already in production in 2019. In 2020, more podcasts were added: *ManyPod*, on migration policy; *tl;dr* (“too long; didn’t read” in internet slang), on classics of left-wing theory; and *Rosalux History*.

With the new series *Ausnahme & Zustand* (State and Exception)—also the namesake of the main focus of this year’s Annual Report—the RLS has taken big steps toward building its own online community. In addition to numerous videos, we developed what we call an explanatory film, about “unequal pay”—an apt topic given current debates on the systemic relevance of certain occupations, and corresponding collective bargaining by unions. Our YouTube channel also saw a wide range of uses in 2020. We conducted interviews with concentration camp survivor Esther Bejarano on the 75th anniversary of the liberation from National Socialism, and with Romani Rose, chairperson of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, about antiziganism. RLS staff spoke with activist Carola Rackete about climate change and sea rescue, with scholar Roger Griffin about the theory of fascism, and with former Modrow government minister Christa Luft about the Treuhandanstalt (the “trust agency” established in 1990 to oversee the privatization of East German enterprises).

LEFT-WING INFLUENCER NETWORK

In 2020, the RLS also invested considerable resources in further training and networking opportunities for left-wing influencers—in an effort to counterbalance the manufacturers of right-wing opinion who are so present on social media. The RLS cannot itself take on the influencers’ role, but we can produce knowledge and serve as a conduit for cooperation, and offering seminars and relevant thematic publications. The study *Von Influencer*innen lernen* (Learning from Influencers) was particularly well-received. It compares the presence and

reach of left-wing YouTubers in the Anglo-American sphere and in Germany, and picks out successful communication strategies. The findings are practical and can be used to further develop the RLS YouTube channel and the potential of young left-wing media activists. A kick-off seminar in March 2020 was fully booked within 36 hours. Numerous collaborations with and among the participants have emerged, and eight more digital seminars have now been held.

LONGING FOR A REAL SEMINAR

What remains from this year of *State & Exception*? There is the feeling of an emerging routine—but also a longing for a “real” seminar, conference, or workshop, and the certainty that we will still have to handle the new social divisions, the digital challenges we have described, and an altered composition among the users of our educational and information offerings, even once the eye of the storm has passed.

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Despite its many challenges, 2020 was a successful year: we reacted quickly to the crisis, we were recognized for doing so, and were able to increase our reach.
.....

Firstly, our programmes always met with particular interest when they dealt with contemporary issues—like Black Lives Matter in the USA and elsewhere. Secondly, we received great feedback on seminars on the pandemic itself. These included the series of events on *Infektionsschutz und demokratische Grundrechte – ein Widerspruch?* (Is There a Contradiction between Infection Protection and Basic Democratic Rights?), the diverse programmes on health policy offered by the Institute for Social Analysis, and the RLS workshops where subjects like schooling during the pandemic were discussed. Thirdly, there was extraordinary demand for our qualification seminars, which offered concrete assistance in mastering the new challenges involved in doing political activism under circumstances like social distancing and lockdowns. The series *Solidarisch jetzt: Organisierung in Zeiten von Corona* (Solidarity Now: Organizing in Times of the Coronavirus) should be particularly mentioned here. Fourth, new formats like podcasts demonstrated their value. And finally, in these times of limited mobility, we were always able to enjoy considerable attention when we brought the wider world into people’s living rooms—as with the series *Global Crisis – Global Solidarity*. On the following pages, you can discover more about many of these events and formats.



Only 15 percent of all twelve-year-olds in households reliant on social benefits have access to their own computer.

THE SCHOOLS HAVE COVID

WORSENING INEQUALITIES IN THE PANDEMIC

With the first lockdown, a large segment of the population found itself confronted practically overnight with the issue of homeschooling. Soon it was on everyone's lips, people were discussing alternating instruction, as well as the importance of impact ventilation, masks, and knee bends. The coronavirus pandemic really put the German education system to the test. Many were affected, but not all were affected equally. For this reason, in 2020 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was particularly concerned with the question of how social inequalities—which the German education system already inherently consolidates and reinforces—were further exacerbated by the present crisis. More than one project focused on the fact that any kind of “return to normal” is impossible after the acute measures to contain the pandemic are over.

In May 2020, Tim Engartner's RLS-commissioned study *Ökonomisierung schulischer Bildung* (The Economic Rationalization of School Education) was published. The study describes a state school system that due to chronic underfunding and an ongoing teacher shortage is open to companies such as Google et al., which for some time now have been edging their way into schools as “pioneers” of digitalization. Tim Engartner and Karl-Heinz Heinemann (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung North Rhein-Westphalia) ran a discussion with Jürgen Kaube (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung) and Ilka Hoffmann (from the Education and Science Workers' Union, GEW), in a corona-compatible online format. Thomas Gesterkamp, in his publication *Schule in Zeiten der Pandemie* (Schooling During the Pandemic) also deals with

issues of social division and the limits to digitalization. During the first lockdown, he researched role models for approaches to structural disadvantage on behalf of the RLS. He found these precisely in schools with a high proportion of pupils who come from households where they receive minimal learning support. It was thus no coincidence that inclusion and a holistic approach were at the heart of the potential solutions. In order to learn what virtual teaching can look like, the author turned to Finland, where digital learning formats have been experimented with for almost 20 years. At the event *Die Schule hat Corona: Wie kommt sie da wieder raus?* (The Schools Have COVID – How Will They Get Better?) he discussed the results of his research with school principals and Steffen Kludt, an advisor at the Brandenburg Ministry of Education and chairman of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg.

That the goal cannot simply be a return to the old system after the pandemic was also the tenor of a discussion between experts held on November 28, organized by the RLS *Bildungspolitik* (Education Policy) discussion group under the title *Was sich nach Corona dringend ändern muss* (The Urgent Changes Needed After the Pandemic). Here, too, there was keen interest in exchanging views on the specific economic and social hardships consequent on pandemic-related policies, and their long-term effects on educational opportunities in Germany. Suggestions for the “aftermath” were offered by Rosemarie Hein (board of directors of the RLS Saxony-Anhalt), as well as representatives from schools, the GEW, and Die Linke.

To sum up: the RLS made use of the lockdown periods to specifically deal more closely with the topic of education policy, and sought out discussions with teachers, academics, and education policymakers to that end.



LIVESTREAM

„Ferien, die doch keine waren“

REIHE: Infektionsschutz und demokratische Grundrechte – ein Widerspruch?

The event *Ferien, die doch keine waren*, held on the 25 June 2020, was a cooperative project between seven RLS regional branches.

IS THERE A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN INFECTION PROTECTION AND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS?

A JOINT SERIES OF EVENTS BY THE REGIONAL BRANCHES OF THE RLS

Although in its content and form the political education work done by the RLS regional branches is in principle far from being routine, the coronavirus pandemic and the state's reaction to it still presented an exceptional challenge. In-person events were now either impossible or only possible under special conditions. In a sense, it was a matter of reinventing ourselves in the digital realm. The voluntary activists on the board and the full-time office staff had to get used to new ways of working, and tried out new formats. Our technical facilities were extended accordingly. Video conferences became the normal form for collective contact and exchange. The aim was now to be present via websites, social media platforms, and YouTube with video productions, web seminars, and digital events on current topics. Against the background of the collective learning situation and the necessity of opening spaces for left-wing conversations about the politics of the pandemic, staff from several regional branches got together to conceive and organize the online event series *Infektionsschutz und demokratische Grundrechte – ein Widerspruch?* (Is There a Contradiction Between Infection Protection and Basic Democratic Rights?). Colleagues from Bavaria, Brandenburg, Bremen, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, and Thuringia participated throughout the series.

Altogether, four events took place in 2020: the inaugural event, *Mit dem Grundgesetz unterm Arm* (Back to Basics with the Basic Law) dealt with fundamental constitutional questions about the response to the pandemic; the next event, *Ferien, die doch keine waren* (Holidays That Were No Holiday), focused on the measures taken in the context of school education, the ramifications of these, and the problems involved. Under the title *Vom Schutzraum zum Tatort* (From Shelter to Crime Scene) we brought further attention to the intensification of domestic violence during lockdowns. The event *Pandemie und die soziale Frage aus emanzipatorischer Perspektive* (The Pandemic and the Social Question from an Emancipatory Perspective) offered a space for exchanges about how the current crisis affects different social classes and strata, and how the growing social divisions might be counteracted. The livestreams were crossposted to the Facebook accounts of the participating regional branches and continue to be accessible on those pages. Through January 2021 the individual events had been accessed up to 1,200 times.

All of the participants found this new form of communication and cooperation to be highly advantageous, and want to continue using it after the pandemic as well. The content of the events was greatly enriched by the collective preparatory work. Moreover, this involved a useful transfer of technical know-how. The series *Infektionsschutz und demokratische Grundrechte* will be continued in 2021, under the title *Folgen und Politiken der Pandemie* (Consequences and Policies of the Pandemic).



The heroes of the health system are reaching the limits of their endurance.

MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER

RLS PROGRAMMES ON HEALTH IN (THE) CRISIS

Even before COVID-19, health in crisis has been a subject of analysis and discussion at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. But in the past year, the same topic has received far greater public attention. In the last financial crisis, only the big banks were considered to be of systematic importance; while today, apart from supermarket cashiers and bus drivers, this category is mainly applied to those who work in caring for the sick and the elderly.

When the pandemic hit, the healthcare systems that were there to meet it had long been at the limits of their capacity, as a direct consequence of the pressures of privatization and harsh austerity policies. Particularly in southern Europe, healthcare services have been drastically curtailed. Other European countries face a variety of problems too, as documented in the RLS's 2020 publication *Krankenhäuser in Bewegung* (The Movements in the Hospitals). Although nursing staff numbers have risen in recent years, they are yet to return to 1990s levels—while case numbers now are far higher.

In the spring of 2020, nurses were quickly declared national heroes, but mainly accorded only symbolic recognition. It is thus imperative to maintain the fight for better staffing levels and against the system of diagnosis related groups (flat rate per case). The latter is currently the subject of massive criticism—this time not only from nursing staff, who are increasingly resorting to strikes, but also for the first time

from the healthcare corporations themselves. In 2020, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung published a variety of materials on the pandemic, on working conditions in nursing, and on the question of organizing, including videos, brochures and dossiers. Much of this material can be found in *Luxemburg* magazine and on our website.

The past few months have also made clear the vital importance of returning hospitals to the control of municipalities. In private hospitals, the burdens of cost pressure and the associated reductions in spending are borne most heavily by staff. This was made clear by the publication *Unsere Gesundheit, ihr Profit?* (Our Health, Their Profit?), about the strategies of multinational healthcare corporations. Thus the RLS offered a legal opinion in support of a political campaign calling for the return of the University Hospital Giessen and Marburg (currently owned by Rhön AG) to public ownership.

All of this happened in close cooperation with ver.di, health policy activists and initiatives such as *Krankenhaus statt Fabrik* (Hospital not Factory), Die Linke in the Bundestag, the Care Revolution network, and politically committed academics and scientists. Due to the pandemic, we had to turn the *Ratschlag zur Pflege* (Advice on Care), planned to take place with the Die Linke Bundestag members, into an online event. Many of our projects and approaches to organizing are currently on hold. We, too, had to figure out ways to at least partially compensate for this via digital offerings. Not everything works online, but a surprising amount does.

Healthcare workers demonstrating in London.



ROSALUX HISTORY

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S HISTORY PODCAST

A very successful example of our efforts to establish alternative educational formats during the coronavirus pandemic is the podcast *Rosalux History*, launched in August 2020. This podcast's purpose is to "brush history against the grain" (Walter Benjamin). After all, who wants merely to retell what has been handed down by the court scribes of previous eras? The podcast aims to report on a different history, a history from below—and to show solidarity with those who today are dominated by the heirs of the ruling classes of the past. The central question is: how can we break through the narrative of the victors, and open up strategic spaces of emancipation? In 2020, Anika Taschke and Albert Scharenberg from the RLS History Department used the framework of the podcast to address various aspects of German history. Historians were invited, as well as experts from politics and various areas of society. Four episodes were produced in 2020, initially on a monthly basis. The first episode focused on the history of German colonialism. The guests were Jürgen Zimmerer (historian and African studies scholar, University of Hamburg), Manuela Bauche (historian at the Freie Universität Berlin and active in the group Decolonize Berlin) and Klaus Lederer (Berlin state senator for culture and Europe, Die Linke). The second episode, entitled *Von Bismarck zum Treuhandtechno* (From Bismarck to Treuhand Techno), was devoted to a double anniversary: 150 years since the first unification of a German state, and 30 years since reunification and the end of the GDR. The discussion partners were historian and publicist Achim Engelberg, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung chair Dagmar Enkelmann, and political scientist and artist Anna Stiede. The third episode focused on Friedrich Engels, whose 200th birthday was on 28 November 2020. Michael Brie, philosopher and chairman of the RLS Academic Advisory Board, Salvador Oberhaus, historian and deputy director of the RLS in North Rhein-Westphalia, and philosophy professor Friederike Kuster

(University of Wuppertal) were interviewed. Finally, the fourth episode, *Der lange Marsch der Migration* (The Long March of Migration), dealt with the history of the *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) in the FRG and the *Vertragsarbeiter*innen* (contract workers) in the GDR. The studio guests were Edith Pichler (sociologist, University of Potsdam), Murat Çakır (director of the RLS in Hesse) and Patrice Poutrus (historian, University of Erfurt).

Over 4,000 listeners have subscribed to the podcast. By the end of 2020, the first episode alone, on the hotly debated topic of German colonialism, had already been accessed over 6,000 times. For further information, see: rosalux.de/rosalux-history.

SOLIDARITY NOW!

ORGANIZING IN THE PANDEMIC

Solidarisch jetzt: Organisierung in Zeiten von Corona was the title of a new educational format developed by the RLS during the first weeks of the shutdown in the spring of 2020. The goal was to quickly and effectively reflect the immense transformation in the conditions for political organizing, and to give political activists the resources to adequately respond. Within a few weeks, the RLS Academy for Political Education managed to develop and offer three two-hour seminars on the following topics: 1) Getting started as an online moderator: designing lively and participatory group meetings; 2) Organizing during COVID-19: remaining active under conditions of distancing; and 3) Secure online communication during COVID-19: creative use of open-source programmes. The *Bewegungsschule* (Movement School), an association of experienced organizers whose activities are particularly aimed at strengthening social movements, helped the RLS carry out the programme. This meant that the skills being offered were made available to non-white, migrant, and non-academic circles and target groups that have rarely felt addressed by RLS events hitherto. Politically active people from very different groups and movements took part in the seminars, including the Initiative 19. Februar Hanau (Hanau 19 February Initiative), Migrantifa, feminist collectives, Palästina spricht – eine Bewegung für palästinensische Rechte und gegen Rassismus (Palestine Speaks – a movement for Palestinian rights and against racism) and the Black Earth – BIPoC Environmental & Climate Justice Collective. Trade unionists and people from the Die Linke milieu also participated, as well as representatives of left-wing educational institutions like the Kulturbüro Sachsen e. V., or stuhlkreis_revolte, a facilitator association that offers seminars, workshops, and further education throughout Germany and Europe. The plurality of the participants proved a great asset, allowing

Albert Scharenberg and Anika Taschke from the RLS History Department.





Despite COVID-19, people form a kilometre-long human chain as a sign of solidarity – participants of the Germany-wide #unteilbar action on 14 June 2020, Berlin-Kreuzberg.

everyone to draw on a wealth of experience and diverse knowledge. Between 20 and 40 people took part in the first seminars. The feedback was so positive that the RLS decided to repeat them and make them available to an even broader circle of political activists. What we found remarkable was the participants' extremely high motivation, the urgent need to exchange knowledge and ideas, and the desire to regain lost agency. All this demonstrates the relevance and the felicitous timing of this special educational programme. The thorough technical preparation and support for the events, as well as the mix of methods used, were two further factors that ensured high demand and a positive response. There was still a downside: the two-hour digital seminars could only broaden the participants' activism skills to a limited extent.

GLOBAL CRISIS - GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

A NEW DIGITAL DISCUSSION SERIES

If the coronavirus pandemic had not interrupted things, a carefully prepared international congress on *Global Solidarity* would have taken place in Leipzig in May, flanked by other events. Given the conditions, it rapidly became clear that an in-person congress was out of the question. In a situation where almost the entire world was in lockdown and physical meetings would be impossible for the foreseeable future, we tried to develop new formats in order to bring the public's

attention to RLS content and, most importantly, to the political actors with whom we collaborate worldwide. Thus, in as little time as possible, the Center for International Dialogue (ZID), which is responsible for the RLS's work abroad, came up with the regular digital discussion series *Global Crisis – Global Solidarity*.

The following considerations formed the starting point for planning the series: Our world is in turmoil. Exploding social inequality, a dysfunctional economy, the climate disaster, and right-wing authoritarianism—taken together, these represent an existential threat to our civilization, and did so long before the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic. The latter has only made clearer what many of us already knew: capitalism incapable of providing the medical goods and services that we need at affordable prices, nor of justly or effectively distributing them. In the face of the current global crisis it has no humane solution to offer.

So we invited speakers from the RLS, representatives of partner organizations, and intellectuals from the broader RLS network to hold discussions every two weeks on topics such as the global effects of the pandemic, left-wing counter strategies, as well as others. We were able to welcome many fascinating guests and speakers, including the British economist Ann Pettifor, the development economist Ndongo Samba Sylla, who works for the RLS office in Senegal, the Argentine sociologist Maristella Svampa, and the head of the RLS Beijing office, Jan Turowski. The conversations we-

re usually 45 minutes long and focused on urgent social challenges such as the social-ecological transformation, or the consequences of the measures taken against the pandemic at the expense of the poor. But there was also room for success stories: for instance, V. K. Ramachandran from the left-wing government in the Indian state of Kerala spoke about how their socialist approach to combating the pandemic was markedly more successful than efforts in most of the states with conservative governments.

Overall, in close cooperation with our international partners, we developed an interesting and informative new digital discussion series. In spite of many difficulties, valuable experience was gained, which will flow into the conception of new video formats and series in the future.

RLS-SUPPORTED PROJECTS ON THE 2020 THEMATIC FOCUS

■ Digitalcourage e.V.: *24h #unteilbar*, originally planned as a conference and festival for the 13 and 14 June 2020 in Berlin. Due to the pandemic, the action *#SoGehtSolidarisch* (This is Solidarity) took place on 14 June. The RLS supported the livestream with 10,000 euros.

■ KAIROS Europa e.V.: *Globale Steuergerechtigkeit jetzt (erst recht)! Die Zachäus-Kampagne der weltweiten Ökumene im Brennglas der Corona-Krise* ((It's Time For) Global Tax Justice Now! The Zacchaeus Campaign of the Global Ecumenical Movement in the Coronavirus Pandemic), pamphlet – 4,000 euros

■ Research and information position at the Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler (Association of Democratic Scholars, BdWi): autumn academy *Nach der Krise – vor der Krise? Die Coronapandemie und ihre Folgen für Gesellschaft und Hochschule* (After the Crisis – Before the Crisis? The Coronavirus Pandemic and the Consequences for Society and the University), 27 to 29 November 2020, online event – 3,800 euros

■ Heidi Scharf: feminist autumn academy on *Erfahrungen in der Krise* (Experiences in Crisis), 9 to 11 October 2020, Gladenbach – 5,000 euros

Announcement of the new event series by the Centre for International Dialogue.





PUBLICATIONS ON THE THEMATIC FOCUS

RLS PUBLICATIONS

Sebastian Baunack
Qualitative Anforderungen an Plankrankenhäuser
 Qualitative Requirements in Hospital Planning: Legal opinion on the federal states' scope for action
 Papers 3/2020, 24 pages
 ISSN 2194-0916

Julia Dück, Stefan Schoppenger (eds.)
Krankenhäuser in Bewegung
 International struggles for better quality of care and working conditions
 Materialien 35, 52 pages
 ISSN 2199-7713

Thomas Gesterkamp
Schule in Zeiten der Pandemie
 From homeschooling to reschooling
 Online publication 9/2020, 11 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

Cornelia Heintze, Rainald Ötsch, Axel Troost
Die Beschäftigungslücke in der sozialen Infrastruktur
 The unmet need for publicly owned service providers oriented toward the common good in Germany
 Studien 2/2020, 28 pages
 ISSN 2194-2242

Horst Kahrs, Thomas Falkner
Corona als Richtungsimpuls
 Democratic resilience, resilient democracy
 Studien 16/2020, 52 pages
 ISSN 2194-2242

Jörg Langer
Die Angst führt Regie
 Film and television makers reckon with permanent reductions in income due to the pandemic
 Standpunkte 7/2020, 6 pages
 ISSN 1867-3171

Sofian Philip Naceur
COVID-19 ist Wasser auf die Mühlen des EU-Grenzregimes
 Migration and biopolitics: Is a new era in EU border control policy looming?
 Online publication 14/2020, 13 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

Daniel Rühmkorf
Auf Sicht in die Seuche
 The renaissance of the social state under the sign of the coronavirus
 Standpunkte 9/2020, 5 pages
 ISSN 1867-3171

Julia Wasenmüller
Mehr Privatverschuldung durch Corona
 Dealing with debt – what we can learn from Argentine feminists
 Online publication 16/2020, 8 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

Halina Wawzyniak, Udo Wolf
Linke Anforderungen an Notlagenpolitik
 Online publication 15/2020, 15 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

Pia Zimmermann
Wir brauchen eine Pflegerevolution!
 A plea for radical reforms in the German nursing system
 Online publication 10/2020, 10 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

Nils Zurawski
Krise, welche Krise?
 Reflections on control and societal self-organization
 Online Publication 3/2020, 12 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

Rainald Ötsch, Axel Troost
Reichtum rückverteilen
 For the reintroduction of the progressive wealth tax
 Papers 4/2020, 14 pages
 ISSN 2194-0916

Anonymous
Gesundheitspolitik eines autoritären Militärstaates
 Egypt in the pandemic
 Online publication 7/2020, 10 pages
 ISSN 2567-1235

IN COOPERATION

Bündnis Krankenhaus statt Fabrik (ed.)
Krankenhaus statt Fabrik
 The diagnosis related groups system and the economic rationalization of hospitals –critique and alternatives
 Paperback 2020, 208 pages

Common Verlagsgenossenschaft
Globale Solidarität
 Maldekstra international 2020, 100 pages

Common Verlagsgenossenschaft
Solidarität in Zeiten der Pandemie
 An international view of the coronavirus pandemic
 Maldekstra 8/2020, 24 pages

For more on this focus see: www.rosalux.de/en/corona. All publications are available to download for free at www.rosalux.de/publikationen.

THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The COVID-19 pandemic has produced a multi-faceted crisis that is both novel in form and difficult to predict. The economic, reproductive, and legitimization crises, in addition to the environmental crisis, have all undergone complex modifications as a result. In the past year, we have had a short amount of time to come to terms with the entanglement of various epidemiological, social, and political issues. As early as April 2020, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis released a comprehensive assessment of the situation which included the developments we anticipated, published under the title *Ein Gelegenheitsfenster für linke Politik? Wie weiter in und nach der Corona-Krise* (An Opportunity for Left-wing Politics? How to Proceed in and After the Coronavirus Pandemic). Since then, we have delved deeper into several facets of our analysis, released two comprehensive dossiers, and launched concrete projects. We immediately recognized opportunities for effective intervention in the healthcare sector as well as in promoting widespread recognition and shaping of “essential” (women’s) work and social infrastructure. Furthermore, we advocated for an improved “safety net for the population” and for the abolition of the “debt brake”. We took these positions because the costs of the pandemic, the indispensable expansion of social infrastructures, as well as the necessary structural changes in socio-ecological relations all raised the question of funding and taxing everyone for the common good.

Beyond that, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis made efforts to intervene along the “production chain”, which required reaching out to non-academic audiences in their workplaces and residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods with concrete strategies and entry-level projects, studies and expert opinions, but also with easily accessible and understandable handouts and materials for organizing (educational) work, forums, and advice (on topics like housing, mobility, and care). We developed new practices of networking and organizing (drawing on the idea of transformative organizing) which require a close and sustained collaboration with initiatives and movements, unions, and with Die Linke. Furthermore, we adjusted our work to be oriented around specific campaigns that could accommodate Die Linke’s participation in government: the question became not “if”, but “how” does “rebellious governing” work?

Many of our endeavours proved to be successful. Our work and our publications reach a broad spectrum of the left. Much of it can be read in *LuXemburg* magazine, which now has more than 10,000 subscribers.

In 2020, the institute grew once again. We now employ 26 people, many of whom work part-time, in addition to 21 fellows, postdocs, and graduate students. We have also succeeded in renewing our staff and incorporating more people from a younger demographic.



RLS Cities: Rebellious Left Solidarity.

WHO OWNS THE CITY?

AN EXEMPLARY RESEARCH AND EDUCATION PROJECT FOR BERLIN

The project *Wem gehört die Stadt?* (Who Owns the City?), which the RLS Institute for Critical Social Analysis has carried out since autumn 2018, aims to work together with a range of civil society actors to foster greater transparency in the real estate market. We began by researching the ownership structures in Berlin, making them visible, and initiating a public debate around them. The project is not so much intended for housing (market) experts as for the renters who have been affected by all the sales made in recent years, and who want to find out who owns the house they live in. It connects activists with experts, offers education in the form of lectures, studies, and workshops, and makes it easy for anyone interested to conduct their own research.

For example, renters can use the names and addresses listed on the website www.wemgehörtdiestadt.de to search for clues about who owns their home. The website also contains an abundance of helpful information about the major owners and actors on the Berlin real estate market, all of which has been gathered as a part of this project over the last few years. However, there are very concrete limits to the research on property relations: information about real estate ownership in Germany is held in the land registry and land registry office,

and can only be made available if there is “legitimate interest”. Project leader Christoph Trautvetter has addressed this problem in several different studies conducted in the past year. The publication *Keine Transparenz trotz Transparenzregister* (No Transparency Despite the Transparency Register) describes the extent of the anonymity and the lack of transparency in Berlin’s residential real estate market, and analyses why the Transparency Register, which was introduced in 2017, still has not earned its name. The study *Wem gehört die Stadt?* (Who Owns the City?) which appeared in November 2020, is the first systematic evaluation of property relations on Berlin’s residential real estate market. It opens up the black box of large private owners, about whom little is known so far, and puts an end to the myth that small private landlords are the main players in Berlin’s real estate market. The central finding of the study is that of the roughly two million apartments in Berlin, about half are owned by real estate millionaires and publicly listed housing companies that can easily cope with rent caps and regulations on rent prices.

Due to the overwhelmingly positive feedback and interest, the RLS will not only continue the project *Wem gehört die Stadt?* in the coming years, but will also expand it geographically. To this end, research and educational projects are planned in other German cities for the coming years. Starting in January 2021, there will also be increased cooperation with housing market experts and tenants’ initiatives in other European



#ORGANICEsolidarity is an ongoing campaign of the IG Metall Union's youth organization.

countries which are also suffering from their cities being sold to the highest bidder and where more and more people want to know: *Who owns the city?*

HOW WE LEARN TO WIN IN STRUGGLES

TRAINING FOR ORGANIZERS

Organizing for Power is an international training and networking programme that takes place online. It brings together trade union members, organizers, and activists from all over the world and teaches them practical skills. The courses are intended for all those who—even under the most adverse circumstances—wish to make an effort to build up a strong base capable of acting in a way that would allow them to advance and win social struggles.

The first online *Organizing for Power* course took place in October 2019. It was led by Jane McAlevey, a trade union organizer, researcher, and author from the USA, and was hosted by the RLS. The event attracted over a thousand participants from various unions and social movements in more

than 40 countries. The sessions focused on introducing and implementing various organizational tools and approaches, such as the identification of “organic leaders”, one-on-one discussions, and the role of structural testing in building a base capable of action. Small break-out groups and role-playing activities were used to give participants an opportunity to put these tools to the test. Seasoned organizers from all over the world brought lessons drawn from their local struggles to the sessions.

A second course entitled *Coronavirus und alles danach!* (Coronavirus and Everything After) took place in March 2020 which attempted to develop a response to the multi-faceted crisis of the coronavirus pandemic. Those who participated agreed on the need to establish transnational spaces where trade unionists and activists can come together to forge new connections and develop common strategies. With this objective in mind, we held an international Strike School in September 2020 as part of our *Organizing for Power* programme. The Strike School was organized and led by an international team of over 130 facilitators and brought 4,500 organizers from 70 countries together for a six-part course. The course, which again included several trainers, speakers, and breakout sessions, was translated into seven languages.

Other training sessions organized by the RLS are designed to give organizers the opportunity to meet like-minded people from all over the world, to exchange ideas, and to learn from each other. To this end, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis in cooperation with the IG Metall union's youth organization will also publish the German translation of Jane McAlevey's book *A Collective Bargain: Unions, Organizing and the Fight for Democracy*.

MORE THAN A QUESTION OF FAITH

STUDY ON THE FUNDING OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Does the political left, including the RLS, have nothing better to do than worry about how religious communities are funded and inquire about their legal status? This is how some people reacted to a study published by the RLS in November 2020 written by Franz Segbers—who, until his retirement was professor of social ethics at the Department of Protestant Theology at the University of Marburg and head of the department of social ethics and social policy at the Diakonisches Werk in Hessen und Nassau.

We believe: yes, the left should deal with religious issues, insofar as these impact the entirety of social coexistence and its legal structure. The RLS has been concerned with these topics for a long time, dating as far back as the *Weltanschaulicher Dialog* (Ideological Dialogue) discussion group and its main supporters, Ilseggret Fink, Jürgen Klute, Cornelia Hildebrandt, and others.

Franz Segbers points out that there are considerable differences in how Christian religious communities and to some



The funding of Christian religious groups varies throughout Europe.

extent those of other denominations are funded in various European countries, although he observes a “convergent tendency toward cooperation between the state and religious communities in Europe”. Different parts of the political left also value religion and judge its legal status very differently: while in France a Jacobin-secular tradition was and, in many cases, still is influential, a motto of the British labour movement is that socialism owes more to Methodism than to Marxism. By investigating how religious communities in Europe are funded, Segber’s study makes an important contribution to thinking about their future place in a plural society, since, according to the author: “The way religion is funded shows the influence and role of the church in society.”

THE GEGENHALTEN ISSUE OF LUXEMBURG MAGAZINE

A COLLECTIVE APPROACH TO DEALING WITH RIGHT-WING THREATS

2020 was not only characterized by the pandemic, but also by deadly threats from right-wing terror and racism. In February, nine people were murdered in a terrorist attack in Hanau because they did not look “German”. This brutal act was the continuation of a series of attacks that included NSU activity, the murder of Walter Lübcke, and the attack on a synagogue and a local kebab shop in Halle (Saale)—all committed by perpetrators who belong to a global network of actors motivated by racist, antisemitic, and misogynist ideology. Protests broke out around the world in response to George Floyd’s murder in the USA, triggering a major debate about racism and police violence in Germany. On the other hand, new and threatening alliances of right-wing forces emerged in the form of demonstrations against state measures to contain the pandemic. For these reasons, we devoted the second 2020 issue of *LuXemburg* magazine, entitled *Gegenhalten* (Resistance), to the ongoing patterns and recent surge in right-wing violence.

It is time to take all of these issues very seriously. Right-wing violence and racism endanger the lives of many of us, they threaten our politics and the possibility of a society based on solidarity. To many, these threats convey the messages “You are not safe” and “You don’t belong” on a daily basis. Right-wing violence existed in the past, but in recent years it has taken on a new form, has become part of a worldwide authoritarian formation, which has in part taken hold in the bourgeois middle class, parliaments, and the security apparatus. All of this not only calls the self-conception of bourgeois society, which believed that it had overcome such violence, into question. It also challenges left-wing social analysis to ask: what are the causes of this violence and what do counter-strategies look like? How do we organize self-defence and solidarity? How do we deal with right-wing tendencies and racism in police forces and security agencies? Where are there left-wing answers? In short: How can we respond collectively?

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 Issue 2/2020 of *LuXemburg* magazine explores the current upswing as well as the ongoing patterns of right-wing violence. It presents lessons of resistance developed in feminist movements, in anti-fascist work, and in movements against racist police violence. It also explores the question: how can we imagine transformative concepts of security that meet the demands of social justice?

CHANGING LANES

JUST MOBILITY AND ALTERNATIVE PRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that transport accounts for one-fifth of the CO₂ emissions in Germany. Ninety-six percent comes directly from the exhausts of cars and trucks. CO₂ emissions in this sector have not fallen since 1990. The climate emergency makes the major challenge clear: only radical measures can reduce emissions.



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GEGENHALTEN
 LUXEMBURG: GESELLSCHAFTSANALYSE UND LINKE PRAXIS 2/2020
 144 pages, paperback
 ISSN 1869-0424

Download or order online at www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/43495



In October 2020, Fridays for Future supported a strike in local public transport.

At the same time, many people’s mobility needs are still not adequately met: Those who drive often spend hours in traffic jams, public transportation is overcrowded, underfunded and far from being accessible to everyone, employees are usually poorly paid and ticket prices are too high. In many rural areas, bus and train services have dwindled or disappeared entirely. Steps toward a just transport turnaround, toward a car-free and green city are essential, not only for ecological reasons, but also for the sake of reclaiming public space. This includes a massive expansion of local and long-distance public transport, significant price reductions or even free public transport, returning companies and infrastructures to public ownership, better working conditions and pay for those employed in these sectors, giving priority to pedestrian and bicycle traffic, and putting an end to combustion engines.

In 2020, the Institute for Critical Social Analysis launched a number of projects under the banner *Spurwechsel* (Changing Lanes) to support this turnaround: the advisory presentation *Creating Good Work – Mobility for All – Saving the Climate*, the research and education project *Spurwechsel: Gerechte Mobilität und alternative Produktion* (Changing Lanes: Just

Mobility and Alternative Production) and various regional and company-centred discussion forums were introduced to prioritize taking the workers’ positions and interests into account. One thing is certain: the transformation we are striving for will require an incredible amount of labour power. To this end, we pursued coalitions with environmental organizations such as Fridays for Future and BUND, with initiatives such as Changing Cities, and with ver.di, IG Metall, and the rail and transport union. These groups are also involved in the *Spurwechsel* project. The pandemic forced us to replace a major conference planned to take place in Stuttgart with a series of digital events and smaller on-site forums, which our office in Brussels and several regional branches were involved in. Despite the fact that many events had to be postponed until 2021, the overwhelming feedback we have received give us confidence in moving forward.

FELLOWS

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 in previous years 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.

Michael Brie continued his work on the history of socialism and its intellectuals in 2020, publishing the volumes *Sozialist-Werden* (Becoming Socialist) and *Sozialismus neu entdecken* (Rediscovering Socialism) to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Friedrich Engels’s birth. An expanded English version of his book *Luxemburg entdecken* (Discovering Luxemburg) was also published.

Alex Demirović contributed research and participated in discussions which helped develop a better understanding of the novel conglomeration of crises that culminated during the pandemic. His reflections helped to develop a left-wing approach for dealing with this situation. In the wake of the RLS’s *Marx200* congress, he co-edited the book *Auf den Schultern von Marx* (On the Shoulders of Marx) and wrote a contribution for a reader to mark the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg’s birth in 2020.

Tashy Endres has many years of experience as an organizer in the USA, Spain, and Berlin. Last year, her work consisted of developing practices of transformative organizing for the

German and European context and to work on creating the corresponding formats and projects for parties and social movements within the framework of the *Organizing Academy*.

Thomas Goes began working at the Sociological Research Institute Göttingen (SOFI) in 2020 on the RLS-funded project *Klassenpolitische Voraussetzungen eines Sozialstaats des 21. Jahrhunderts* (Class-Related Conditions for a 21st-Century Social State). He participated in the *Linke Zukunftsprojekte und linkes Regieren* (Left-wing Projects for the Future and Left-wing Government) discussion series and was largely responsible for organizing the RLS's third *Klassenkonferenz* (Class Conference) on the topic of the welfare state and class division (which unfortunately had to be cancelled due to the pandemic).

Dieter Klein co-authored a set of theses outlining the strategic tasks of the left in an article entitled "Für den Richtungswechsel der Politik kämpfen" (Fighting for a Change of Direction in Politics). He was heavily involved in the debates surrounding a new socialism and began preparing a comprehensive work on the problem of a "socialist mode of regulation".

Miriam Pieschke led the research project *Subjekt- und hegemonietheoretische Untersuchung des Rechtspopulismus & Entfaltung emanzipatorischer Gegenmacht* (A Subjective and Hegemony-Theoretical Investigation of Right-wing Populism and the Development of Emancipatory Counterforces) again in 2020, which the RLS is carrying out with the help of staff from the Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Sciences and various civil society initiatives. She also completed the manuscript for a reader on Rosa Luxemburg (to be published by Karl Dietz Verlag).

Rainer Rilling worked on the pamphlet *Ein Gelegenheitsfenster für linke Politik? Wie weiter in und nach der Corona-Krise*

Michael Brie



Tashy Endres



Thomas Goes

(A Window of Opportunity for Left-wing Politics? How to Proceed in and After the Coronavirus Pandemic), in addition to serving on the editorial board of the magazine *LuXemburg* for the *Bahn frei* and *Gegenhalten* issues. He was also involved in the conception of the *War and Peace* exhibition, which will be on display in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's new building.

Axel Troost continued to coordinate the RLS's *Wirtschaftspolitik* (Economic Policy) discussion group in 2020. He organized the *Gemeinsam den Strukturwandel gestalten* (Shaping Structural Change Together) discussion series with people involved in the ecology movement, trade unions, and politics. Together with Rainald Ötsch, he also released two important publications: *Reichtum rückverteilen: Plädoyer für die Wiedererhebung der Vermögensteuer mit progressivem Tarif* (Redistributing Wealth: An Apology for the Reintroduction of a Progressive Wealth Tax) and *Zerrieben und geschrumpft: Die Finanztransaktionssteuer – Aufstieg, Fall und Perspektiven einer guten Idee* (Pulverized and Shrunken: Financial Transaction Taxes – Perspectives on The Rise and Fall of a Good Idea).

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 in the socio-political field.

Even in exceptional times, the Academy for Political Education aspires to live up to this goal. In 2020, the pandemic forced us to rapidly shift a large part of our educational programmes into the digital realm. Doing so allowed us reach both our loyal audience as well as an entirely new one. While in "normal times" we offer everything from day-long workshops to weekend seminars and module-based training programmes to educational material, in 2020 we made a virtue out of necessity and hosted our usual programmes online, developing completely new formats along the way. The academy's 2020 repertoire of events included online reading courses for Marx's *Capital*, training courses on political organizing in the age of coronavirus, streaming film via social media, as well as the *ManyPod* podcast, which deals with the society of the many (*die Gesellschaft der Vielen*) and migration struggles.

What all these offerings have in common is that they are oriented towards specific audiences and are based on questions and needs arising from everyday political practice. 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's goals for the future include focusing even more on conveying a basic understanding of key political concepts and on making left-wing politics and political activism more accessible. Working in the digital realm holds great potential in this regard, although over the course of the year it also became clear that this can never entirely replace shared, emancipatory learning via in-person exchange. Nevertheless, we have received encouraging feedback on the direction our work has taken. The digital realm can be helpful for basic education, for self-learning modules, or as support for day-long workshops. By intelligently implementing a variety of methods, we are able to make complex issues easily understandable and to identify points of contact between different disciplines, which can help put the left back on the social offensive in the face of social, health, and climate crises.



Cover of the publication *Der Mauerfall aus migrantischer und jüdischer Perspektive*.

THE WALL HAS FALLEN ON OUR FEET NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE FALL OF THE WALL

Erinnern Stören: Der Mauerfall aus Migrantischer und Jüdischer Perspektive (Disrupting Remembrance: Migrant and Jewish Perspectives on the Fall of the Berlin Wall) was published on 3 October 2020 in cooperation with Verbrecher Verlag. In contrast to the state-sanctioned commemoration of the 30th anniversary of German reunification, this publication, edited by Lydia Lierke and Massimo Perinelli, brings together the perspectives of more than 20 authors who make the suppressed perspectives of migrants and Jewish people visible. They recall civil rights struggles before the fall of the Berlin Wall, those formerly employed in guest worker programmes, migrant trade union struggles, those who fled Turkey, Chile, and other dictatorships to take refuge in the FRG and GDR, the astounding determination of contract workers from Mozambique, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, and Yemen, international students, Black people in East and West Germany, Jewish life on both sides of the wall, and the struggles of Sinti and Roma in divided Germany. But the book also addresses the aftermath of this period, when, amidst the nationalist frenzy of the early 1990s in Germany, the politics and everyday lives of marginalized communities were primarily concerned with tactics of self-defence, building new social alliances, and debates about cultural recognition. For these reasons, the book is dedicated to the emergence of the postmigrant society of the many. *Erinnern Stören* focuses on the dialogue between the pre- and post-transition generations as well as on the intertwining of experiences of East and West Germany.

The contributing authors use a range of approaches to trace the dynamics of the birth of a new German nation and its effects on all those who were explicitly excluded by the slogan “We are one people”. In doing so, they highlight the fact that the fall of the wall represents a kind of caesura for migrant life in terms of remembrance culture, and link this to migrant, Black, and Jewish struggles of the 1980s and 1990s.

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The *Erinnern Stören* project can be found online at:
www.rosalux.de/erinnern-stoeren.
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A comprehensive and ever-expanding web project has also been built to supplement the book. It gathers a variety of projects from cooperation partners and fellow initiatives, including materials such as films, interviews, texts, illustrations, podcasts, and videos created by former guest workers, contract workers, refugees, international students, Black Germans, and Jews in Germany. The digital format offers a variety of media which expand and elaborate the perspectives raised in the book, which it is in dialogue with. The concept of multidirectional memory provides the methodological orientation of both the book and the web project. According to this framework, the diversity of perspectives are not in competition, but rather present an opportunity for mutual reinforcement and solidarity.

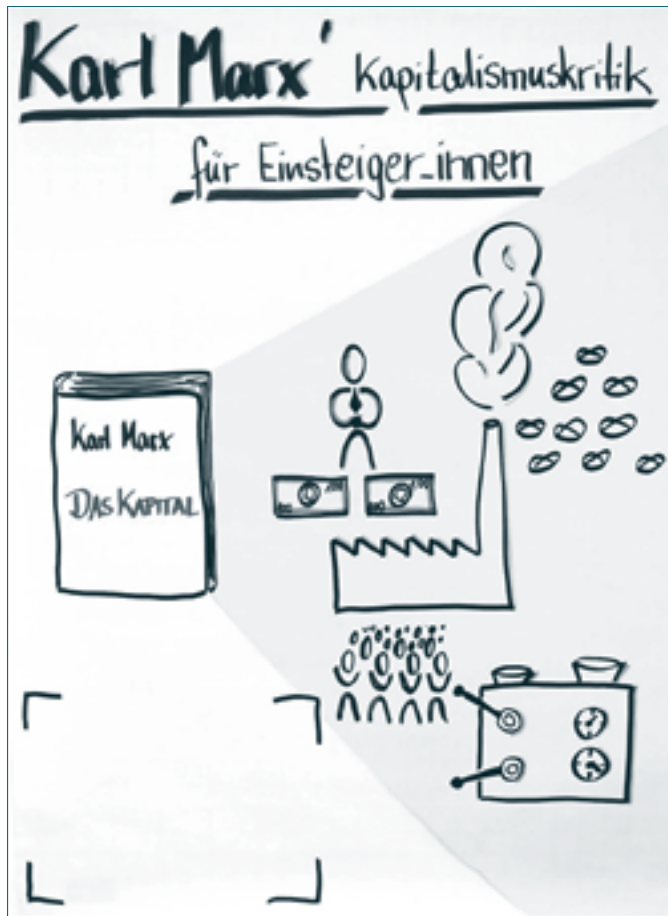
MARX FOR EVERYONE!

THE CRITIQUE OF CAPITALISM FOR BEGINNERS—ONLINE AND IN PERSON

What characterizes the capitalist mode of production? How does money become capital? What is the role of classes and class struggle? And why are crises an inevitable part of capitalism? The *Marx für Alle!* (Marx for Everyone!) workshops focused on these and other questions, using flipcharts to illustrate the central ideas and concepts of Marx’s economic theory in a methodically diverse way. The educational material *Marx für Alle! Ein Tagesseminar zur Einführung in Marx’ Analyse und Kritik des Kapitalismus* (Marx for Everyone! A 1-Day Seminar Introducing Marx’s Analysis and Critique of Capitalism), which the RLS published in 2018, was used as the basis for the workshops.

The workshop was designed for beginners who are interested in but have little or no prior knowledge of Marx. The aim was to empower the participants to adopt Marx’s economic theory as a dynamic analytical tool for understanding the capitalist mode of production in the past and present, and to inspire them to engage with Marx’s work and economic theory.

An eight-hour in-person seminar was held in March 2020, and an abbreviated three-hour version was held online in December due to the pandemic. Around 20 people attended each event, all of whom gave positive feedback. There were unique advantages to both formats. For the smaller digital event, there were fewer barriers to participation, the time commitment was more manageable, and there was no need to travel long distances. Participants from all over Germany and abroad were able to attend. The in-person seminar, on the



Flipchart: *Capital* by Karl Marx.

other hand, facilitated a more direct exchange between the participants, conversations took place during the breaks, and people got to know each other on a more personal level, which made it more likely that people would continue networking after the seminar ended. The forms of learning and teaching also differed. The in-person seminar gave participants a direct experience of the space (this is especially true of the workshop's "exhibition tour"), and they also interact in nonverbal ways.

Despite all the differences, the participants in both workshops agreed on one point: they did not think it was possible to gain such a comprehensive overview of Marx's theory in such a short time. This suggests that in-person and digital events should not be pitted against each other, since they each have their merits and can even complement each other in the future. Decisions concerning the appropriate format must take into account the intended audience and the objectives, and events combining the two can also be appropriate.

WHY DO WAGES DIFFER SO MUCH?

CLEARLY EXPLAINED IN THREE MINUTES

If you ask kids these days what they want to be when they grow up, it is not unusual to hear answers like "YouTuber" or "influencer". Video portals and social media platforms are now an integral part of our lives. YouTube, Facebook, and other platforms are no longer merely forms of entertainment that people enjoy in their free time. Especially for the younger generation, opinion, politics, and even education also circulate through these channels, resulting in major changes to their learning habits. A 2019 study found that 50 percent of all students use YouTube videos for learning. Digital formats that are entertaining and accessible to a broad audience are becoming more significant.

Even for adults, tutorials and instructional videos are playing an increasingly important role when it comes to acquiring information and knowledge. Expanding and reorienting our work to take the digital realm into account is the only way to respond to these changes in political education and to continue to reach as many people as possible. This applies not only to materials designed for self-learning, but also to those that are part of in-person educational events. That is why we at the RLS developed the three-minute pilot video *Warum sind Löhne so unterschiedlich?* (Why do wages differ so much?) in 2020. The video carefully examines well-known and commonly accepted explanations for differences in incomes. The film uses simple language, appealing images, examples, and metaphors to show why, among other things, neither the worker's performance nor the "importance" of a certain job can explain the corresponding wage, and why wage differences are primarily the result of power relationships on the labour market. The video, released on 24 November 2020, already had around 12,500 views on YouTube by the end of January 2021. We received a lot of positive feedback in addition to requests to produce additional YouTube clips.

Even if three minutes is not enough to fully analyse complex relationships, short videos can raise new questions and encourage people to look at a topic more in depth on their

Things that require explanation: Why does a manager earn more than a geriatric nurse.



own. As supplementary material to an in-person educational event, short films can also provoke interest in a topic and provide a helpful introduction.

AUTHORITARIAN FORMATIONS ON THE RISE PROSPECTS FOR LEFT-WING ACTION TO COMBAT NATIONALISM AND RACISM

In 2020, society continued to take an increasingly authoritarian turn, as shown by the rise to prominence of the *völkisch* nationalist party Alternative for Germany (AfD), the emergence of a new breed of strong right-wing anti-establishment movements in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic, and in an upsurge in deadly neo-Nazi terrorism.

On 5 February 2020, the AfD threw the entire country into turmoil. After two unsuccessful attempts, the AfD parliamentary group under Björn Höcke, of all people, helped FDP politician Thomas Kemmerich to take office as premier in the Thuringian state parliament, thus parading the local CDU and the five-percent liberals as pawns of the *völkisch*-nationalist party. The triumph did not last long: after a short time, the short-lived father figure bowed to pressure from the executive levels of his own party and conservative media outlets, among others. The rest of the month continued to be catastrophic: on 19 February an assassin driven by ethnic megalomania and racist hatred massacred nine people in Hanau. The tenth victim was the perpetrator's mother, who he also shot before committing suicide. The killer targeted the nine people because of their migration background.

A few days earlier, a group of a dozen suspicious men—all "harmless" family fathers, one of whom was serving in the police force—had been uncovered. They were part of the heavily armed right-wing terrorist Group S that planned to carry out attacks on Muslim places of worship in order to bring about the momentous "Day X". Anyone who feared that this revelation would only lead to further right-wing terrorist attacks and insurrection attempts had every reason to do so.

The year was also marked by the criminal trial of the assassin

who tried to create a bloodbath at the synagogue in Halle (Salle) in October 2019 and then killed two bystanders who happened to be in his line of fire, as well as the trial for the murder of Kassel District President Walter Lübcke (CDU) in June 2019. The attacks in Hanau and Halle (and in Munich in 2016), were carried out by a type of perpetrator who kills alone, but cannot be considered a lone wolf, since he is in silent communication with a hate-filled international online community that uses Nazism, racism, antisemitism, and crude misogyny to trigger the perpetrator into committing the crime.

In March, the coronavirus pandemic fundamentally changed everyone's daily lives. Nonetheless, in the midst of an epidemic emergency, protests against government policies swelled at so-called hygiene demonstrations, and as the second lockdown loomed on the horizon, tens of thousands of citizens took to the streets in *Querdenken* (Lateral thinking) protests. However, the growing criticism of the prevailing conditions, which resulted in a widely-accepted delegitimization of the state's response to the crisis and thus a serious division in society did not bear any trace of a leftist, class-conscious or emancipatory character, but are instead currently motivated by almost grotesque basic assumptions, false reports, and well-known conspiracy theories. Antisemitism, anti-feminism, racism, and nationalism, but also good old West German anti-communism are also basic components of this movement. It was easy for the fascist right to assimilate the initially diffuse *Querdenken* movement, which (wrongly) imagined itself to be a resistance movement fighting for freedom against dictatorial conditions and the "socialist Merkel regime", and to frame and direct this movement in such a way that resulted in the spectacular "storming" of the Reichstag building's staircase in August 2020.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung brought together experts from academia, journalism, and anti-fascist research to study the events, explore options for a left-wing response, and publish statements. The discussion group *Rechts* (Right) played just as important a role as the specialist networks *AfD-Kritische Recherche und Analyse* (AKRA) (AfD Critical Research and Analysis) and *Extreme Zeiten* (Extreme Times). The book publication *Das Faschistische Jahrhundert* (The Fascist Century) and the digital event series of the same name reached an audience struggling for orientation. The extent of anti-fascist networking efforts at the European level reflects the omnipresence of this authoritarian formation and the ubiquitous lurch to the right.

Presentation of the book *Das faschistische Jahrhundert* at Mehringhof in Berlin.



THE HISTORICAL CENTRE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism consists of an archive, a library, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg, and the History Department. The Centre's most important tasks are to consolidate the historical work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and drive further strategic development 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 the politics of remembrance; furthermore, the topic of migration and multicultural society is also being given greater consideration. The History Department organized various events in 2020, for example *Spur des Kolonialismus* (Traces of Colonialism), and *Die doppelte deutsche Einheit 1871 und 1990* (German Unification Twice: 1871 and 1990). It also publishes research, most recently on the beginnings of migrant self-organization in post-war Germany, on the "united left" and on fascism past and present. It works together with the History and History for the Future discussion groups and collaborates with numerous partners working on the politics of remembrance.

In March 2020, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg, together with Frank Jacob, organized an international conference on Rosa Luxemburg, which resulted in a two-volume publication by Büchner Verlag. In addition, the chronology of the last months of Luxemburg's life, which had previously only appeared online, was published in print, and the book *Rosa Luxemburg: A Revolutionary Marxist at the Limits of Marxism* was edited by Michael Brie for Palgrave.

The archive has secured 45 linear metres of documents, including from the Die Linke parliamentary group in the Hamburg parliament from the 19th to the 21st legislative period and also from Petra Pau; 31,523 letters from citizens to the party executive of the PDS from 1989 to 1992 were indexed by Elena Jerkin. Also worth mentioning is the publication of the audio recordings of the meeting of the Arbitration Commission on the expulsion of Politburo members from the party on 20 January 1990 by Karl Dietz Verlag, as well as the statements of the Historical Commission at the executive board of Die Linke from 1993 to 2020 in the first volume of the new archive series *sinistrA*.

The library features literature on left-wing history and theoretical education, with a particular focus on Die Linke and its surrounds, on the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and on its namesake, Rosa Luxemburg. It is also available to the public as a reference library. Altogether, the library's collection currently comprises more than 30,000 media items.

NEW SPACE FOR IDEAS AND PERSPECTIVES, KNOWLEDGE, AND EXCHANGE

THE NEW READING ROOM OF THE ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

Berlin has a new centrally located place of knowledge, a place for the exchange of ideas and the discussion of perspectives. On the first floor of its new building on the Straße der Pariser Kommune, right next to Ostbahnhof, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has created a real treasure trove, which not only facilitates the pursuit of knowledge but is also aesthetically pleasing.

Previously, the archive and the library were only accessible separately. Now the archive's records and collections and the library's books, newspapers, and magazines are available to the public in a shared, modern, and well-lit reading room. Further archive rooms are located in the same building, so that visitors can quickly get their hands on the research materials. In addition to the modern workspaces, working conditions have also been improved through extended opening hours. In future, it will be possible to work in the reading room from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. every weekday.

Furthermore, the new reading room has also been designed as a venue for events including book presentations as part of the *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-Wing Literature in Discussion) series, which previously took place in the salon at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1, but also for other political education events. In this way, we hope that the library as a centre of knowledge will become a lively place of debate and urban culture, for we see the archive and library as institutions of the collective memory of left-wing history, politics, and society. Our holdings include particular documents on Die Linke and its parent organizations the PDS and the WASG, as well as on their parliamentary work since 1989–90. The archive has extensive holdings on individuals as well as increasingly on the history of social and political movements. There are also collections of photos, posters, leaflets, films, videos, sound recordings, newspaper clippings, and material sources. Information on the archive's indexed holdings is provided in finding aids, which are available for download at www.rosalux.de/stiftung/historisches-zentrum/archiv/bestaende-findbuecher. The library catalogue can also be accessed online for research at <https://library.rosalux.de>. The library's holdings are listed in the ZDB periodicals database and will also be listed in the GBV union catalogue in future. In 2020, we also managed to completely catalogue the private library of political scientist Johannes Agnoli. The library was donated to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2006 and, with its approximately 1,500 books and pamphlets, represents a unique collection of literature on the theory and philosophy of the state.

Making this extensive material visible and usable is an important part of the work of the archive and library. The aim is to enable users to access the holdings through comprehensive research and thus to make all existing information available to all interested parties.



A citation from Rosa Luxemburg at the entrance to the new reading room.

“The only kind of force that will lead to victory is political enlightenment in everyday political struggle.” This and three other quotes by Rosa Luxemburg adorn the glass doors at the entrance to the new reading room. A visit will be worthwhile for anyone who wants to engage with left-wing politics, history, and society, learn about ideas and perspectives or exchange opinions.

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In 2020, the History Centre revamped its public relations toolkit by creating a new website for the department, www.rosalux.de/en/foundation/historical-centre, relaunching the Making History newsletter, and expanding its social media presence. The podcast *Rosalux History* was also launched.

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75 YEARS SINCE THE LIBERATION FROM FASCISM PERSPECTIVES ON REMEMBRANCE

The Historical Centre of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung marked the 75th anniversary of the liberation from fascism with various initiatives and activities. The first was a video portrait of Esther Bejarano, survivor of the Auschwitz and Ravensbrück concentration camps and long-time anti-fascist activist, which was released on 27 January 2020, the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. At the same time, we opened the exhibition *Stolpersteine – Gedenken und soziale Skulptur* (Stolpersteine: Commemoration and Social Sculpture) by the Coordination Office Stolpersteine Berlin in Franz-Mehring-Platz 1. *Stolpersteine* is a project by the artist Gunter Demnig commemorating the individual fates of those who were sent to their deaths or murdered during the Nazi era.

On 21 and 22 February, the Historical Centre organized a symposium in Hanover on the culture of remembrance. Together with initiatives, survivors' associations, political

educators, memorial employees, and politicians, we discussed the current challenges of remembrance in view of the recent increase in attacks on memorials by far-right extremists. However, the discussions also focused on new opportunities, because memorials and places of remembrance are currently opening up new digital possibilities to make their work accessible, and are thus making a significant contribution to anti-fascist educational work. In this context, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has committed itself to connecting various actors and collaborating on tackling future challenges. The symposium began with a review of 75 years of remembrance work and the question of responsibility and compensation by Germany. For example, the parliamentary head of Die Linke in the Bundestag, Jan Korte, discussed with Martin Klingner (Distomo Working Group) and Christine Glauning (Nazi Forced Labor Documentation Center) the efforts to come to terms with the past and the cultures of remembrance in the FRG and the GDR as well as in reunified Germany. After intensive workshops and further panels, Elke Gryglewski (House of the Wannsee Conference) and Ulrich Schneider (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime/ Federation of Antifascists, VVN/BdA) spoke on the final panel about digital, multidimensional, and intergenerational remembrance work.

The creation of an online dossier dealing with the liberation from fascism and remembrance culture by means of texts, audio, videos, and image collages for different target groups formed another important building block of our political education work in 2020. Special mention should be made of the contributions from abroad, which expanded the view of the anniversary to include an international perspective.

Of the publications dedicated to the anniversary, two more should be highlighted. Firstly, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung produced a two-part audio feature that focuses on the history of 8 May as the day of liberation—and the controversy surrounding it—drawing also on original recordings. And secondly, the Historical Centre published a study by Alexander Häusler and Michael Fehrenschild, *Faschismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Fascism in History and in the Present), which examines the history of fascism from an international comparative perspective.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also continues to concentrate on anti-fascism beyond the anniversary: Never again war! Never again fascism!

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VIDEO PORTRAIT

Esther Bejarano: “Ich will, dass die Menschen aufstehen!”, at www.rosalux.de/mediathek/media/element/1228

ONLINE DOSSIER

Befreiung als Perspektive (Commemorating Liberation), at www.rosalux.de/en/dossiers/commemorating-liberation

AUDIO FEATURE

Kontroverse und Kanonisierung: Die umkämpfte Deutung des 8. Mai (Controversy and Canonization: The Controversial Meaning of 8 May), at www.rosalux.de/mediathek/media/collection/425

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HAPPY BIRTHDAY, FRIEDRICH ENGELS!

Friedrich Engels was the co-founder of scientific socialism, an armed fighter for democracy in the 1848–49 Revolutions, a leading activist of the First International and the undisputed authority of the Second International. He warned against a great war between the European powers and foresaw the Russian Revolution. He was interested in communism in history and the links between gender relations, private property, and the state. He wanted to understand the dialectics of nature in order to intervene in an emancipatory and solidary way in the contradictions of people’s relations to each other and to their earthly home. Without him, Marx’s work would have been impossible and would not have been preserved. Marxism was in its origin an Engels-Marx-ism. Whoever talks about socialism today cannot and should not forget Engels.

Amira Mohamed Ali also read out some of Engels’s texts in honour of the 200th anniversary of his birth.



After the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung had celebrated the anniversary of Karl Marx's birthday two years earlier with an international conference, in 2020 we commemorated Engels on the eve of his 200th anniversary with a major digital event consisting of three lectures and a reading of ten passages from his writings. Contributions were made by the Vice-President of the German Bundestag Petra Pau (Die Linke), Peter Brandt (board member of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung) and Ines Schwerdtner (editor in chief of *Jacobin*). The reading of text excerpts, which had been selected by Manfred Neuhaus and Michael Brie, was done by the actress Giannina Erfany-Far, the chairperson of the federal Die Linke parliamentary group Amira Mohamed Ali, ver.di chief economist Dierk Hirschel, Bafta Sarbo (Initiative of Black People in Germany), SPD deputy leader Kevin Kühnert, Berlin state secretary for housing Wenke Christoph, Christa Luft (former GDR minister of economics and member of the German Bundestag), Rouzbeh Taheri (Deutsche Wohnen & Co enteignen), Albert Scharenberg (head of the Historical Centre of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung) and Janine Wissler, leader of the parliamentary group of Die Linke in the Hessian state parliament.

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 The recording of the highly acclaimed online event is available at: www.rosalux.de/mediathek/media/element/1388



Paul Levi (1883–1930) was chairman of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) from 1920 to 1921.

PAUL LEVI: THE NON-BOLSHEVIK

CONTINUATION OF THE COMPLETE WORKS WITH
 KARL DIETZ VERLAG

The fifth and sixth of the seven planned volumes of Paul Levi's complete works, which is supervised by the RLS's Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg, were published in 2020. These volumes constitute the core of this complete edition, not least because they document a turning point in global history: the split of the Communist International into a Bolshevik-affiliated wing and a democratic-socialist wing, which was carried out by the Bolsheviks between 1920 and 1922. "It was above all the German communists under the leadership of Levi who emerged as opponents of the Bolsheviks" (Alexander Vatlin). Previous historiography has largely ignored the dispute over whether the Comintern became an organization of equal parties or merely a Russian party that expanded to include foreign organizations. Since the Second Congress of the Communist International in the summer of 1919, Levi has been constantly reproached for his adherence to Rosa Luxemburg's criticisms of the Bolsheviks—and even more for his struggle against the disastrous "21 conditions" that Lenin had insisted on in order to force all independent-minded forces out of the International. The final break came after Levi's criticism of the central German March Action in 1921.

For the first time, all the relevant documents are published here, showing that these struggles were initiated and directed from Moscow and how, in this way, the—almost boundless—trust of the central German workers was abused in the most cynical way.

The Bolsheviks' action was not only directed against Levi and his followers, but also against the Italian socialists under Giacinto Menotti Serrati. The Italian Socialist Party was by far the strongest non-Russian party within the Communist International at the time. Like Levi, it refused to submit to the Bolsheviks and was therefore divided from without—from Moscow. The Bolsheviks' "victory" over Levi and Serrati transformed the revolutionary movement of the West into a pawn for Soviet Russian foreign policy. From 1936, the Comintern was also caught up in the machinery of Stalinist Terror, in which many of its members were murdered.

The complete edition edited by Jörn Schütrumpf provides the materials needed for those interested in researching Paul Levi and the political conflicts of his time.

THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY

The mission and self-conception of the regional branches of the RLS, the *Landesstiftungen*, can be described as providing local political education. The regional branches operate as independent educational organizations in each of the 16 German federal states and carry out a large part of the political education work for the RLS independently as well as in cooperation with partner organizations. Their programmes target supporters of Die Linke as well as the general public. Until March 2020, this was mainly done via in-person events, but many plans had to be substantially modified or abandoned altogether due to the pandemic. In 2020, some 800 in-person and 450 online events were offered, with around 88,000 people participating either immediately or later via access to the online documentation. The adverse conditions led to a net decrease in the number of events and participants in 2020. However, in addition to the wide range of digital events, the considerable increase in video and audio productions testified to the fact that volunteers from various associations and full-time RLS employees have adopted new types of activity and educational formats.

With around 100 events, the debate on neo-Nazism and racism was a focal point of our educational work in 2020. Issues pertaining to gender relations and feminist class politics were treated with a similar degree of seriousness. One hundred and forty events were devoted to historical and political topics, the realities and utopias of the GDR in 1989–90, and the problems of German unification. The *Schicksal Treuhand – Treuhand-Schicksale* (Destiny Treuhand – Treuhand Destinies) exhibition was shown in Rostock, Heidelberg, Magdeburg, and Bitterfeld, among other places. Social theory and social-ecological transformation were also focal points, with more than 80 events dedicated to each. An online event series organized collaboratively with the various regional branches, *Infektionsschutz und demokratische Grundrechte – ein Widerspruch?* (Is There a Contradiction between Infection Protection and Basic Democratic Rights?), analysed current debates surrounding pandemic policy and its social consequences, and was particularly well-received. Academic research was presented on the development of rural areas in Hesse and on structural change in the Rheinland coalfields. 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, donations, and membership fees. In many of the federal states, state funding can also be drawn on. In the following, we present highlights from the regional branches' educational activities in 2020.





Participants discuss a socially just mobility transition and alternative production.



The Atomium adorns the event announcement for the European Policy Forum.

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

FOR A LEFT-WING GREEN NEW DEAL AND A TRANSPORT TURNAROUND

One of the highlights from our events in 2020 was the conference on a socially just mobility policy and alternative production, which was held on 2–3 October in Stuttgart. The conference was part of the *Spurwechsel* (Changing Lanes) event series, which was organized collaboratively by the RLS Baden-Württemberg, the RLS Institute for Critical Social Analysis, the regional office in Brussels, and transform! Europe. The two days were full of lively discussions with guests from trade unions, climate coalitions, transportation companies, and politics. During the opening panel, the speakers not only outlined what necessary steps must be taken towards a social-ecological transformation, but above all emphasized the importance of forming alliances between trade unions and climate activists: a “climate turn” in the trade unions combined with a “labour turn” in the climate movement (Rhonda Koch, Fridays for Future) could contribute to a “connective class politics” (Bernd Riexinger, Die Linke). In his keynote address, sociologist Klaus Dörre (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena) explained how processes that integrate these two sectors, such as the establishment of “sustainability councils” with representatives from politics, trade unions, and business, could prevent a disruptive structural transformation that the workforce would pay the price for.

The interim report from a national study by the RLS examining how employees in the automotive industry view climate policy, transformation, and changes in transportation systems, provided concrete perspectives from the industry. Company representatives and trade union activists from the rail and automotive industries also discussed the prospects for a social-ecological transformation in transport, both through the development of alternative products and shifting the balance of power, as “changing lanes” cannot be achieved without this.

BAVARIA

EUROPEAN POLICY FORUM

European policy is far from being one of the most popular political fields: “too complicated”, “too far away”, “not that important”, “there’s nothing to say anyway” are only some of the more innocuous of the prejudiced attitudes commonly heard in left-wing debates on Europe and the EU. But merely dismissing the EU as a “neoliberal project” fails to do justice to its growing political significance.

With the European Policy Forum, founded in 2020, the Kurt Eisner Verein of the RLS Bavaria hosts regular discussions on essential and current issues in European politics. The first three events took place in 2020 via livestream in cooperation with Thomas Händel, Deputy Chair of the RLS Executive Board and former member of the European Parliament (Die Linke). After each event, registered participants had the opportunity to hold exclusive discussions with the speakers in a closed digital room, which stimulated exciting discussions. The first European Policy Forum was held in October 2020 under the title *Corona und danach – wird die Europäische Union die Pandemie überleben?* (Coronavirus and Beyond – Will the European Union Survive the Pandemic?). Martina Michels, member of the European Parliament (Die Linke) and Andreas Thomsen, office director of the RLS Brussels, participated in the discussion.

In November, European Parliament member Martin Schirdewan and economic expert Axel Troost discussed a Marshall Plan for Europe. At the third event in December, European Parliament member Özlem Demirel (Die Linke) spoke with Heidi Meinzolt from the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and Polish women’s rights activist Anna Krenz about the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention). The European Policy Forum, which attracted much interest, will be continued in 2021.



Paula Walk, Anke Schwarzenberg, Christine Herntier and Michael Thomas (front from left).



Moderator Sven Rosig (r.) with former State Secretary of Justice Ronald Pienkny.

BERLIN

THE STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN LUSATIA FIELD TRIP

The climate crisis and struggles of young activists in campaigns like Ende Gelände or Fridays for Future have a particularly polarizing effect in coal-producing regions such as Lusatia, whose inhabitants are among those most seriously affected by the energy transition. The German federal government and the Bundestag passed a resolution to phase out coal by 2038 at the latest. Yet this still does not adequately solve the conflict, since experience shows that money alone is not enough get people on board with innovations that are suitable for the future and to motivate them to contribute to the change themselves.

In Summer 2020, 30 guests accepted an invitation from Michael Thomas (Berliner Institut für Sozialforschung), Birgit Pomorin ("Helle Panke" – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin), and Paula Walk (CoalExit junior research group at the Technische Universität Berlin) to go on a day-long excursion to Lusatia, in order to become familiar with the process of transformation in this area and to discuss with those responsible for carrying it out and with representatives from civil society. In Spremberg, mayor Christine Herntier, Anke Schwarzenberg (Die Linke), Enrico Rein (Kompetenzzentrum), and Paula Walk explained what structural change really means on the ground.

The *Kultur und Zivilgesellschaft* (Culture and Civil Society) workshop led by Sven Guntermann (Bürgerregion Lausitz), Ricarda Budke (The Greens), Karsten Feucht (International Architecture Exhibition, IBA), Katja Wolf (IBA), Marion Scheier (German Trade Union Confederation), was encouraging, showing that it is indeed possible for people to take part in this transformation. Felipe Corral-Montoya (CoalExit) called attention to the major challenges faced by other coal mining regions, such as those in Colombia. The struggle for a fair distribution of energy resources and fair standards on working conditions must be conducted jointly, globally, and in solidarity. Thus, over the course of the day, it quickly became clear that supposedly minor regional issues are not so minor after all.

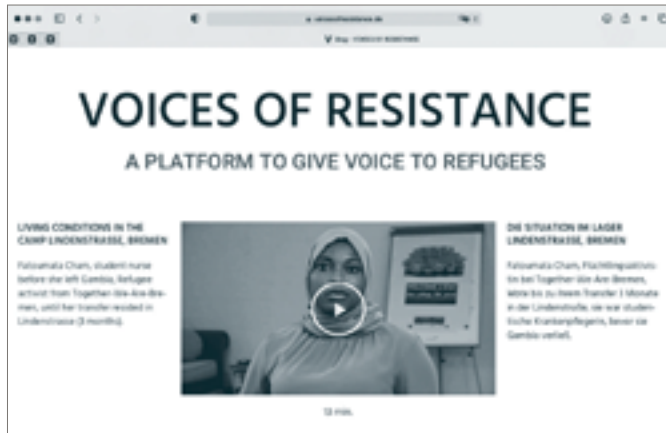
BRANDENBURG

STUDIO LIBERTALIA

We at were forced to develop educational programmes suited to the pandemic—and like so many, we made a podcast. We used the café at hausZwei at the freiLand youth and cultural centre in Potsdam, known as Studio Libertalia. In seven interviews, journalist Sven Rosig moderated conversations with representatives from civil society and politics on the impacts of the coronavirus measures. We spoke with Verena Lentsch from the Frauenpolitischen Rat Brandenburg (Brandenburg Women's Political Council) about how women were impacted differently by the pandemic and how the aid programmes failed to take gender into account; while with Uwe Prüfer from the Verbund Entwicklungspolitischer Nichtregierungsorganisationen Brandenburgs (Association of Development NGOs, Brandenburg), we discussed how the pandemic has exacerbated global injustices; and with Julia Schultheiss from the Stadtjugendring Potsdam (Urban Youth Group Potsdam) we discussed how young people had no say in the coronavirus measures. Our episode with Anita Tack, former Brandenburg Minister of Health, focused on how healthcare could be funded and organized completely differently. With former European Parliament member Gabi Zimmer, we asked if the pandemic could lead to a sustainable and democratic Europe rooted in solidarity.

The two episodes with Ronald Pienkny, former State Secretary in the Brandenburg Ministry of Justice, attracted particular interest. In the first, in May 2020, he explained what conditions allow for massive restrictions of basic rights and what must be taken into account in the tension between protecting of people's health and basic rights. In a follow-up episode in late autumn, he focused on what role parliament plays in this process.

The podcast countered widespread conspiracy theories with expert analyses.



On the Voices of Resistance website, refugees can speak for themselves.



The Speicherstadt: a symbol of the emergence of wealth in Hamburg.

BREMEN

VOICES OF RESISTANCE

The coronavirus pandemic exacerbates pre-existing problems and makes flaws in the system more obvious and thus more urgent. This is especially true for the living situation of refugees in our society. In general, they are treated differently from the rest of the population—a trend which the lockdown has only increased—and social standards, not least in the area of healthcare, do not apply for them, meaning that their basic rights are violated on a systematic basis. The idea for the online project *Voices of Resistance* was born out of a desire to counteract this racism, which has become even more apparent during the pandemic. The fact that in most discussions on refugee policy, politicians, experts, German activists, and people working in the field are allowed to have their say while refugees themselves rarely are, motivated the RLS initiative to contribute to redressing this situation with a video blog. The goal of the project is to create a platform that gives refugees and migrants a voice as well as the opportunity to present their views on things in an unfiltered and direct manner.

The *Voices of Resistance* website, launched in December 2020 in cooperation with Cooperativa-Film and the initiative Together we are Bremen gives refugees and activists from Bremen (and beyond) a voice and presents commentaries, interviews, and discussions in a series of short videos. The first statements that were released deal with the situation faced by refugees in mass shelters and camps, especially during the pandemic. Other topics covered include the public perception and attitudes towards refugees, the role of supporters, and the importance of refugees' self-organization. The blog is updated about four times a month with new video and audio contributions from refugees.

HAMBURG

TRACKING DOWN WEALTH IN HAMBURG

The pandemic forced a large part of the workforce to work either part-time or from home and confront an uncertain future, many others lost their jobs, while those who were deemed to be “essential” workers were forced to expose themselves to a higher risk of contagion. On the other hand, the majority of Hamburg’s filthy-rich residents were not faced with these challenges. Hamburg has more millionaires than any other German city. Like the rest of Germany’s super-rich, their fortunes likely only increased in the course of the crisis. At the start of the seminar, economist Christoph Ernst gave an introduction to the capitalist mode of production. This was followed by an alternative tour of the Port of Hamburg, which focused on the export of German e-waste to the Global South by sea, how shipping companies have become cartel-like formations, and the political disaster surrounding the expansion of the Port of Hamburg. To gain more than a theoretical understanding of wealth in the city, we paid a visit to several locations along the Alster river. There, sociologist Gerd Pohl gave a presentation about lucrative business ventures such as Cum-Ex, whose dealings take place behind chic facades and involve a mix of overseas clubs, private banks, and luxury boutiques. Sociologist Björn Wendt illustrated how wealth is converted into power using the example of the Bilderberg conferences, where politicians, business leaders, and media moguls meet regularly behind closed doors. On the tour with a guide from *Hinz&Kunzt* magazine, we passed expensive housing complexes a few minutes’ walk from streets filled with homeless people. Dirk Hauer, head of (Protestant charity organization) Diakonie’s expert committee on migration, used statistics to demonstrate the unequal and self-perpetuating distribution of life chances in the city’s different neighbourhoods. Those who speak of wealth cannot remain silent about poverty. And vice versa!



Live broadcast about sea rescue and European asylum policy.

Cover of the writing project *Hoping for the Other*.

HESSE

SOS EUROPE – NEW DIRECTIONS FOR ASYLUM POLICY

It was a first for the RLS Hesse. In cooperation with the Europa Union Kassel and the Linke parliamentary group in the Hessian state parliament, the event *SOS Europa – neue Wege der Asylpolitik* (SOS Europe – New Directions for Asylum Policy) took place in August 2020 in the form of a 90-minute live broadcast on public radio in Kassel. In addition to the seven participants in the studio, those interested were able to follow the broadcast on television, or via live feed on Facebook and YouTube.

Moderated by Lukas Kiepe from the European Citizens' Initiative, the event focused on sea rescue and EU asylum policy, with a focus on the possibilities for improvements. The speakers Jolanta Lisowski (Seebrücke Kassel), Doris Peschke (Diakonie Hessen), and Torsten Felstehausen (Die Linke) provided information about the current situation in the Mediterranean Sea and in the refugee camps in Greece, Libya, and other countries. They criticized the political regulations that make private sea rescue virtually impossible. The current legal situation downright criminalizes NGOs that save lives and practice an exemplary form of activism. In addition, the panel speakers addressed the root causes of migration and state refugee policy, which is primarily aimed at deterrence. A discussion outlining the demands of NGOs and refugee organizations concluded the session. The speakers advocated for the creation of safe havens and the establishment of a European asylum policy that is legally binding for all member states.

Viewers were able to raise questions and make suggestions during the livestream, which were then taken up in the debate that followed. This broadcast was a successful attempt to offer political education in a new format, despite the restrictions resulting from the pandemic.

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

HOPING FOR THE OTHER

In the last two years, the RLS Mecklenburg-Vorpommern has engaged critically with the 30th anniversary of the events of 1989–90 at length. Our investigations were focused on three main themes: what ramifications of the transformation that are still being felt today (especially for Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), what aspirations those active in the Autumn of '89 held for the future, and how these aspirations overlap with the kind of sociopolitical transformations required today. The events, digital formats, and publications all shared the desire to question the established narrative of German unification through perspectives and analyses that have received little attention to date.

The writing project *Hoffen auf das Andere: Das Ende der DDR vor 30 Jahren* (Hoping for the Other: 30 Years Since the End of the GDR), carried out together with the Vorpommern-Rügen educational centre, was a highlight of the multifaceted debate, and included workshop discussions, public readings, and lectures by Jana Hensel, Steffen Mau, Gabriele Heidenreich, and Stefan Nadolny, among others. The project gave space for individuals to share their personal memories of the events of 30 years ago and reflect on their consequences.

The collected texts contribute their own stories, anecdotes, and reflections to the discourses in politics, media, and academia on East German issues. Reflections on what individuals 30 years ago hoped for in the future elucidate biographical anchors and turning points that serve as a basis for personal evaluations of the new phase of life that began with the end of the GDR for all those who lived in the East. In this way, the texts also capture aspects of the current state of affairs in East Germany, which is the result of the specific social developments that took place after the fall of the wall. And yes, it is clear that despite all the celebrations of the anniversary of German reunification, there are still no answers or solutions to East German issues.



The seminar series aims to motivate people to help shape local politics from a left-wing standpoint.

LOWER SAXONY

CITY. COUNTRY. LEFT.

Our political life takes place in the towns and cities we live in. Nowhere else do we experience the effects of political decisions as directly as in our communities. The struggle for a better and more just society starts at the local level. However, not many people take the step of actually trying to make concrete changes and helping shape things themselves.

The RLS Lower Saxony and the Linkes Kommunalpolitisches Forum Niedersachsen e. V. are offering the seminar *Grundlagen solidarischer Kommunalpolitik* (Fundamentals of Solidarity in Local Politics) which began in 2020 and will be continued in 2021. The seminar aims to encourage people to become actively involved in politics at a local level and to help shape life in cities and communities from a left-wing orientation. Local politics is exciting and diverse, but not an easy field of activity to be involved in. How does left-wing politics actually work in the municipalities? Is there such a thing as left-wing local politics at all, or does the distinction between right-wing and left-wing not play any role at a local level; is it only practical constraints that count? The two one-day seminars are accompanied by a digital workshop and are held on demand everywhere in Lower Saxony. The seminar is led by experienced local politicians and people active in adult education. In addition to the focus on the underlying conditions for local politics, the first three workshops in Hannover, Leer, and Rotenburg (Wümme) also dealt with topics such as coalition-building and networking, public relations, and campaign planning.

Our seminar series is aimed at people who are interested in local politics, but who have not yet found their place therein. At the same time, it offers a good opportunity to prepare for the next local elections in 2021 together in the area where these elections will be held. Participants learn methods that they can use in their everyday political work—even outside the councils and committees.



8 March 2020: Remembrance of those fallen in the Ruhr Uprising in Wesel.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

100 YEARS SINCE THE RUHR UPRISING

In the spring of 1920, the workers' movement saved the parliamentary democracy which it had fought for and won the year before. The Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch on 13 March 1920 was a failed attempt by counterrevolutionary forces to destroy the democratic Weimar Republic created after the November Revolution of 1918, and to replace it with a military dictatorship. Several factors contributed to the putschists abandoning their attempted overthrow on 17 March, hardly 100 hours after it began, including the lack of support they received from the Reichswehr, but most notably the general strike called by the trade unions and the SPD and the refusal of large sections of the ministerial bureaucracy to take orders from the leaders of the putsch.

The strike movement was particularly strong in the industrial region between the Rhine and the Ruhr rivers. On 15 March 1920, the Ruhr Red Army formed out of regional *Arbeiterwehren* (workers' militias) to fend off the Freikorps who led the coup. In addition, people from all over the political spectrum formed workers' and administrative councils which took up self-managerial roles. After the Kapp Putsch had been suppressed, the bloody attempts to fight for social revolution came from the ranks of these councils.

Between 9 February and 8 March, 270 participants accepted the invitation to Dinslaken to commemorate the events of the Ruhr Uprising. Lectures, film screenings, an exhibition, excursions, reenactments, and music provided a stimulating setting in which the participants discussed how the events of March 1920 should be remembered, how struggles over their memory contributed to the formation of various currents of the workers' movement, and how the rise of extreme right-wing forces during that time can sharpen our analytical tools for understanding current developments. The programme was organized by the RLS North Rhine-Westphalia in cooperation with the Linke factions in the Dinslaken city council and the Wesel district council.



The flyer for the week-long series of events against right-wing terror.



Amaneh Abedian is a worthy first recipient of the Marta Drumm Medal.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

RIGHT-WING TERROR AND INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Even two years after the verdict was reached in the trial of the neo-Nazi terrorist group National Socialist Underground (NSU), the topic has lost none of its relevance. The crimes of the NSU and the failure of the government and society at large to investigate and prosecute this network in 2020 prompted the RLS Rhineland-Palatinate, together with the reading and working group *Rassismuskritische Bildungsarbeit* (Anti-Racist Educational Work) of the University of Mainz student council to organize the one-week online event series under the title *Rechter Terror und institutioneller Rassismus: Der NSU-Komplex und seine Aktualität* (Right-wing Terror and Institutional Racism: The NSU Complex and its Relevance). We invited people who have dealt extensively with the NSU and the criminal trials surrounding it, people who have advocated on behalf of those affected, as well as voices from the migrant community. This includes, among others, the defence attorney Mehmet Daimagüler, the co-founder of the April 6 Initiative, Ayşe Güleç, and the political scientist and pedagogue Meltem Kulaçatan. Tanjev Schultz, university lecturer and author, addressed the media coverage of right-wing terror, which is characterized by ignorance and a reversal of the perpetrator-victim relation. In this context, the way the NSU has been handled takes on a symbolic meaning: it shows in a dramatic way how the fear of terror and the need different groups in society have for security is treated with varying degrees of seriousness. Migrants who are explicitly threatened by racism and terror are time and again not only abandoned, but even criminalized, by the state. Academics, too, must accept this criticism and answer the questions of who is listened to and who is not, which problems it analyses and which it does not. Sociologist Çağrı Kahveci presented the book he co-edited, *Den NSU-Komplex analysieren: Aktuelle Perspektiven aus der Wissenschaft* (Analysing the NSU Complex: Current Perspectives from Academia), which deals with this very problem.

SAARLAND

THE MARTA DRUMM MEDAL FOR HUMANITY

On the occasion of the 200th birthday of Florence Nightingale and the 110th birthday of Marta Drumm, the Peter Imandt Gesellschaft – RLS Saarland in cooperation with the Saar branch of the Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes – Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten (Union of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime/Federation of Antifascists) (VVN-BdA) and the trade union ver.di awarded the Marta Drumm Medal of Honour for Nurses for the first time in November 2020, to Amaneh Abedian. Marta Drumm (1910–2002) was a resistance fighter and anti-fascist from Saarland. In 1935, she initially fought against the annexation of the Saar region to Hitler's Germany. After fleeing to France and with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, she joined the International Brigades as a nurse. The International Red Cross awarded her the Florence Nightingale Medal for her commitment. Amaneh Abedian, also known as Goly, was born in Iran in 1968. As a teenager, she fought first against the Shah's regime and later against the establishment of the Islamic Republic under Khomeini. Goly was 17 when police stormed the hideout of her resistance group. All but she and one other man escaped. To avoid blowing the group's cover, they pretended to be lovers. She had to marry the man without knowing him. He turned out to be a tyrant, which caused her to go into hiding with her new-born daughter and then to flee to Europe in 1991. In Germany, she began training as a nurse and became a member of ver.di. In 2017, she went on strike for the first time with her colleagues at St. Ingbert Hospital in Sulzbach. Since then, Amaneh Abedian has been fighting against the diagnosis related groups (or flat rates per case) funding model and advocating for laws regulating the allocation of personnel in hospitals. "She fights like a lion for patients and colleagues – also and especially during the pandemic": Michael Quetting, chairman of the Peter Imandt Gesellschaft, honoured the nurse with these words in his speech.



Toan Nguyen was one of the many migrant workers in the GDR.



Dennis Jannack talks with Antje Grabenhorst about women and soccer.

SAXONY

NACH89.ORG – A MULTIMEDIA JOURNEY

Since the RLS Saxony was only able to hold the planned colloquium on biographical work and changes in gender roles since 1989 as well as the *Schicksal Treuhand – Treuhand-Schicksale* exhibition on a limited basis, we had to develop new formats and ask ourselves how the experiences from the upheaval of this time could be preserved for posterity. The <https://nach89.org> website project was born to fulfil this need. The website collects articles, analyses, and interviews on the *Wendezeit* (the time around German reunification) and the years that followed. From a temporal distance, it takes a look at the events that turned an entire country and the lives of many people upside down. The site presents perspectives from academics, trade union activists, and feminists, as well as first-hand accounts of this time period. For example, Toan Nguyen tells the story of how he came from Vietnam to work in 1988 in what was then the largest stainless-steel plant in Freital in the GDR. Like all migrant workers, he lost his job overnight as a result of the political upheaval—and with it his prospects for residency. Toan scraped by from one temporary residence permit to the next. And all this while everyday racism was rampant in East Germany.

The contributions address not only the liquidation of businesses, cultural institutions, and universities, but also the return to traditional gender relations. They tell how people called their own perspectives into question and opened up new paths for themselves. The experiences of transformation from that time still reverberate today. After all, most East Germans still have a peculiar view of parliamentary democracy and the market economy because of how they were introduced to these ideas.

The website will be continuously expanded in the coming years with further documents, pictures, interviews, and videos.

SAXONY-ANHALT

FAN.TASTIC FEMALES

Soccer is more than a game and not just men's business! That's the message of the exhibition *Fan.Tastic Females – Football Her.Story*, conceived by members of Football Supporters Europe and travelling internationally since 2018. In February and March 2020, it stopped at the DJH Youth Hostel Magdeburg at the invitation of the RLS Saxony-Anhalt. The exhibition focuses on how women form an essential part of the football fan scene, presenting portraits of numerous female fans, and facts and historical detail on women in soccer. The exhibition provides information about the oldest female season ticket holder, female fan groups, and women in club leadership positions. Materials can be accessed by a QR code linked to videos in German and English.

The cooperation partners included the Landesfrauenrat Sachsen-Anhalt (Saxony-Anhalt Women's Council), the Gleichstellungsbeauftragte der Stadt Magdeburg (Equal Opportunities Commissioner of the City of Magdeburg), the Fanprojekt Magdeburg, the Kompetenzzentrum geschlechtergerechte Kinder- und Jugendhilfe (Centre of Competence for Gender Equality in Child and Youth Assistance), and the Deutsche Jugendherbergswerk Sachsen-Anhalt (German Youth Hostel Association Saxony-Anhalt). The project was also supported by the Magdeburg Women's Football Club.

The exhibition was accompanied by numerous events. At the opening, Dennis Jannack, treasurer of the RLS Saxony-Anhalt and representative of Fanhilfe Magdeburg, discussed the perception, opportunities, funding, and promotion of women in soccer with Magdeburg FFC's Manuela Knothe. Antje Grabenhorst, one of the project coordinators, explained how the exhibition was conceived and provided some background. The project and related events reached a very large audience, including many young people, who took an extremely active role in the discussions about tackling racism, homophobia, and sexism in the world of soccer fans.



Demands for expropriation at the *Mietenwahnsinn* (rent madness) demonstration in Berlin.



On the podium: Christian Kopp, Urs Lindner, and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro (from left)

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

NOT EXPROPRIATING IS ALSO NO SOLUTION

The market economy's promise to generate social prosperity for all so long as each individual strives for the highest possible profit must be juxtaposed with the fact that profit maximization leads to exploitation and the destruction of natural resources. In particular, the unequal distribution of private ownership over the means of production prevents the majority of people from having an influence on what is produced in a society and under what conditions. This is reason enough to question the idea of private property, as is being done, for example, by the Berlin campaign *Deutsche Wohnen & Co. Enteignen* (Expropriate Deutsche Wohnen and Co.), which takes aim at the city's large real estate companies. In her book *Keine Enteignung ist auch keine Lösung* (Not Expropriating Is Also No Solution), published by Karl Dietz Verlag in autumn 2019, Sabine Nuss engages in current debates about private property and increasing social division and explains the various legal, economic, and political dimensions of the concept of property, and how it has changed over time. In February 2020, the RLS Schleswig-Holstein held two discussion events with the author and publisher in Kiel and Flensburg. Sabine Nuss's nuanced polemics on expropriation can also be found on the YouTube channel of the RLS Thuringia: www.youtube.com/watch?v=5xsiFd5iE60.

The two events marked the beginning of the series *Aktuelle linke Interventionen und Literaturbeiträge* (Current Leftist Interventions and Literary Contributions). In addition to publications pertaining to contemporary social debates, left-wing classics and traditions were also discussed. Ines Schwerdtner, for example, introduced the left-wing magazine *Jacobin*, and together with the Hamburg regional branch, we held an online discussion with Phillipp Lenhard, academic councillor at the Department for Jewish History and Culture, about Frankfurt School *éminence grise* Friedrich Pollock.

THURINGIA

BREAKING THE SILENCE

Mdachi ("the German") bin Sharifu was one of the first critics of racism under German colonial rule and one of the first Black political activists in Germany. He is known, among other things, for a lecture he gave on "Unsere koloniale Vergangenheit" (Our Colonial Past) in Erfurt's Kaisersaal on 21 September 1919—shortly after the end of German colonial rule. The title alone was a provocation. Shortly before the conclusion of the Paris Peace Conference, Sharifu had also signed a petition started by Martin Dibobe, a Black subway train conductor in Berlin. The petition, addressed to the Weimar National Assembly, called for equal rights for all Afro-Germans throughout the empire, meaning both in the colonies and in Europe.

On 1 October 2020, the exhibition *Breaking the Silence: Der Zorn des Mdachi bin Sharifu* (Breaking the Silence: The Wrath of Mdachi bin Sharifu), organized by Christian Kopp and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, premiered at the Kleine Synagoge in Erfurt. The exhibition documents Sharifu's early Afro-German activism and challenges the long-standing myth of colonized people's loyalty to the German Empire.

The introductory talk, moderated by Urs Lindner, provided a vivid overview of German colonial history. In the spirit of Mdachi bin Sharifu, a native of what is now Tanzania, the focus was on resistance to colonialism and racism.

With the exhibition and the accompanying programme, the RLS Thuringia and its partners—the Thuringia branch of the Initiative of Black People in Germany, the Erfurt history museums, the State Center for Political Education and Decolonize Erfurt—are making an important contribution to the debate about coming to terms with the colonial history of Thuringia and Erfurt. Due to the pandemic, the exhibition has been extended until June 2021.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

In the capitalist world, crises are the norm. Yet 2020 marked a caesura. Political life in the Federal Republic of Germany was focused entirely on dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and its immediate social and political effects. Considered on a global scale, however, the pandemic is but one aspect of a multifaceted crisis which is only intensifying: on a global scale, this predicament is characterized by the erosion of democracy and the rise of authoritarianism, environmental catastrophes, and increasing social inequality.

How can we ensure that our 26 offices abroad, which employ more than 200 colleagues, make it through the pandemic as safely as possible? This question is the highest priority for our international department (see the contribution to the right). Many projects which had been planned for a long time in advance, such as the *Globale Solidarität* (Global Solidarity) congress in Leipzig, had to be cancelled. Nonetheless, we were still able to carry out a great deal of political work under the altered conditions. For example, our office in Brussels developed the Corona Chronicles, which documented the effects of the pandemic worldwide.

Opening our new international office in Geneva was another major step forward for the RLS. Here, we launched a programme to strengthen the international trade union movement and advocate for global social rights. The first outcome of this project was the publication on trade union struggles and an *Atlas der Staatenlosen* (Atlas of the Stateless). Together with the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, we also developed a digital organizing seminar for trade union activists. The Strike School, put together with the US organizer Jane McAlevey, lasted several days and attracted 4,500 people from over 70 different countries. The event was translated into seven languages, including Korean and Japanese.

We also had success in furthering our work on key issues such as global feminism, climate justice, and food sovereignty. Despite the pandemic, we released several publications, developed formats for online education, and hosted several networking events. Our offices in Brussels, London, and New York focused on strengthening our conception of an internationalist Green New Deal, which was discussed by left-wing organizers worldwide. Our international department also continued to work on *Maldekstra* magazine, which appeared as an insert in the *Neue Deutschland* newspaper and *Der Freitag* magazine. Special issues were devoted to climate justice, a new internationalism and global solidarity, the pandemic, and China's Belt and Road Initiative.

GLOBAL WORK IN THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The COVID-19 pandemic has created enormous challenges for the RLS's international work. In-person work at our office in Beijing was discontinued as early as the end of January 2020, forcing our staff to work from home. By the end of March, all 26 of our international offices had to be closed due to the pandemic.

However, those working in our international offices quickly found a way around the problem. Face-to-face meetings, the exchange of experiences, and networking could be moved into the virtual realm. Podcasts, webinars, and other digital formats replaced the classic ones. As many have noted, the pressure of the restrictions actually has allowed relationships to intensify in a certain sense, giving rise to more personal communication between colleagues and stakeholders linked to the RLS. Despite all the obstacles and unknowns, we quickly became aware of how privileged we are as RLS employees in Germany and abroad: our work, income, and healthcare are secure.

Taking stock of the RLS's international work and its effectiveness, we can only expect these challenges to continue to grow. Not all of our partner organizations are able to reorganize their projects at such short notice, since many activities require direct interaction. Workshops and seminars have to take a back seat during times when concrete solidarity work and humanitarian aid are needed. With economic crisis looming all over the world, many of the RLS's partner organizations are already struggling to survive. Our international division found preliminary answers to these new challenges and expectations last year, for example by supporting local information campaigns and the organization of community-based social services. In addition, many international offices have developed analyses of the economic and social consequences of the pandemic and critically monitored the political measures taken in their locations. The pandemic is exacerbating and deepening all existing social problems, conflicts, and inequalities. How we can work out left-wing answers to these crises and organize common struggles together with our partners worldwide is the central task for the RLS's work abroad.

FASHION. POWER. PEOPLE.

A DOCUMENTARY FILM PROJECT

In December 2019, fashion blogger Willy Iffland travelled with journalist Helen Fares to Cambodia to work on a project for the Asia department and the regional office in Hanoi. The goal was to find out more about the conditions under which their clothing is produced. They were accompanied by director Patrick Kohl and his film crew as they encountered people linked to the country's textile industry in very different ways. Three million people—one fifth of the total population of



The poster for the award-winning documentary film about the textile industry in Cambodia.

Cambodia—are employed in the textile industry, most of them women. Textiles make up 70 percent of the country's total exports, and 40 percent of the country's textiles are produced for the European market. Cambodia went through a process of reconstruction in the early 1990s after its involvement in the Vietnam War, the Khmer Rouge dictatorship, and a Vietnam-appointed government opposed by the US and China during the Cold War. UN intervention and an interim administration opened the country to foreign development aid and investment. To this day, Cambodia's textile sector is heavily dependent on direct investment from East Asia. Raw materials are imported from abroad and almost 100 percent of the finished textiles are exported.

The documentary film project *Mode.Macht.Menschen* (Fashion. Power. People) provides an entry-point for anyone who wants a better grasp on the complexity of global textile supply chains. Watching the two influencers encounter those involved in textile production in Cambodia encourages the viewer to question his or her own consumption and role as a political subject. Other issues addressed include safe working conditions, unionization and freedom of expression, resource consumption, and dependencies in the

global capitalist economic system. The documentary series highlights the need for the political regulation of global supply chains in order to reduce inequalities between producers and consumers. *Mode.Macht.Menschen* received nominations at 17 international film festivals and won five awards. In collaboration with the Academy for Political Education, the episodes were supplemented with interactive informational materials, making the project a comprehensive source for educational material on global textile supply chains.

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[More information can be found online at:
www.mode-macht-menschen.com.](http://www.mode-macht-menschen.com)
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A DIFFERENT KIND OF GLOBALIZATION

INTERVIEW

Jan Turowski, head of the RLS office in Beijing, reports on China's Belt and Road Initiative. The interview was conducted by Stefan Mentschel, head of the Singapore office, which is currently being established.

In 2013, China's president proposed to establish a New Silk Road. Since then, enormous amounts of funds have flowed into infrastructure projects in Asia, Europe, and Africa. What goals is Beijing pursuing with the project, today known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

If we break the BRI down into a simple formula, its mission is to revitalize the Eurasian economic region and develop it into a global growth engine by connecting it to Africa and Southeast Asia. Within China, the initiative includes very different stakeholders with different objectives—from provincial and municipal governments to state-owned and private companies and banks to the Confucius Institutes and universities. Moreover, cooperation on the BRI takes place under different regulatory systems, such as multilateral institutions and bilateral relationships. In other words, the goals are only gradually becoming explicit and are constantly being readjusted.

For example?

China wants to stimulate international demand for Chinese goods, services, and capital. At the same time, it does not intend to spend the accumulated foreign currency domestically, but rather to use it to promote investment in other countries. For example, in producing raw materials to reduce its dependence on other suppliers. The development of economic activity in the less developed neighbouring countries to the west and south also strengthens China's economic hinterlands. And last but not least, China wants to develop new land-based trade routes to make itself economically and geopolitically less dependent on international sea routes.

What opportunities does this project offer?

The BRI is such a complex project that you first have to distinguish between the different levels and stakeholders when considering the opportunities. But I think that beyond its specific features, the greatest opportunity lies in opening up the possibility for an alternative globalization that differs from neoliberal globalization. In the current, increasingly deregulated system, states can do little to regulate the power of transnational corporations. With the BRI, on the other hand, states cooperate with each other and so also take responsibility. This direct cooperation means that corporations end up being subordinate to the cooperation agreements. This is a great opportunity.

What risks does the BRI entail?

One risk is that infrastructure projects do not generate the hoped-for economic momentum and that the ruins of unfulfilled investment projects will litter the landscape. Another danger would be if China's growth were to plummet and BRI projects could no longer be financed. We must also anticipate that many countries will not be able to repay the loans they have received from China. China expects that about 30 percent of the debt will have to be written off. With such huge amounts of investment, the BRI could very quickly become a downward spiral of debt and deficits, and result in economic downturn. Another problem could be that China, the dominant trading partner, imposes certain conditions on the weaker trading partners. Finally, each individual project carries socio-economic, political, and environmental risks with new mechanisms of exploitation and displacement that can destroy the environment or social cohesion and also create geopolitical tensions.

How should we view the project from a left-wing perspective?

I don't believe that global neoliberal institutions are capable of dealing with the challenges of the future. There is an urgent need to develop and implement new global mechanisms, structures, and institutions. It remains to be seen whether the BRI will be able to meet these needs. Despite the aforementioned risks, however, for the first time in a long time there is an opportunity to challenge the West's monopoly on globalization. And from a left-wing perspective, I think that's a good thing!



In contrast to the EU Commission’s European Green Deal, the Red Green New Deal focuses on an international social-ecological transformation.

RED GREEN NEW DEAL

APPROACHES FOR OUR INTERNATIONAL WORK

The COVID-19 pandemic made the global health crisis the focal point of the political consciousness of society at large. Like the climate crisis, it exacerbates existing inequities, both globally and locally. Both crises require not only rapid responses, but also a fundamental shift in governmental and multilateral crisis management. Unlike in recent decades, when neoliberal systems of thought and austerity policies prevailed, 2020 has shown that massive state intervention can be a viable option for solving problems. At the same time, however, it became clear that the vast majority of these measures were aimed solely at ensuring a continuation of business as usual, leaving those problems that factored into these crises unaddressed. For example, a great deal of money was spent bailing out airlines, instead of investing in more climate-friendly transportation systems.

In recent years, the concept of the Green New Deal (GND), loosely inspired by Roosevelt’s New Deal (a series of social and economic reforms introduced in the 1930s in the USA), has been put forward by progressive politicians such as Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Bernie Sanders, and Jeremy Corbyn. The GND, which takes up the idea of combining state intervention in crisis situations with progressive political approaches, has been widely discussed, especially in the United States and Great Britain.

From an internationalist left-wing perspective, it is crucial that such a Green New Deal go beyond merely reducing emissions and creating jobs in new technology sectors, so as not to have a stabilizing effect on the system, as the state COVID-19

measures did. Progressive and feminist policies in areas such as care work or the demand for a four-day work week, or a universal basic income, must be taken up so that the “green” becomes a “red-green” New Deal with a clearly discernible sociopolitical component.

Beyond that, the concept must be further developed and investigated to make sure its content is suitable for the global context. The central question is to what extent the Green New Deal provides approaches to overcome the (neo-) colonial global economic and financial system as well as the outsourcing of social and ecological costs to the global South, i.e. to what extent it can become a Global Green New Deal.

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The discussions and debates about a Red Green New Deal have gained momentum at the Centre for International Dialogue and its international offices in the past year, and the concept has been featured at events and in publications. Our international debates show that thinking outside the box and incorporating criticisms and expectations from our partners across the globe is also beneficial for our work here in the global North. This can only make them better. For more information, visit: www.red-green-new-deal.eu.

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Lockdown in Brazil without support from President Bolsonaro.

“I EXPECT HUNGER AND SOCIAL REVOLT”

INTERVIEW

An interview with Torge Löding, head of the RLS office in São Paulo, on the situation concerning the COVID-19 pandemic in Brazil.

Why is it that Brazil, after the USA, is the country where the most people have died from COVID-19 so far?

If there is one country that has done just about everything wrong in fighting the pandemic, it is Brazil, and there are political reasons for that. The government denies the seriousness of the situation, and as a result, a large part of the population does not take the protective measures seriously.

Which demographic is most affected by the pandemic?

Without a doubt, it is the Afro-Brazilians who live in the favelas and do not have good jobs. That’s why Black organizations level charges of genocide at the government’s pandemic policy, since it is primarily the Afro-Brazilian majority that suffers. The strong public health system that has been built up since the late 1980s was systematically destroyed after the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, as were all other public social systems. Currently, many more people die in public hospitals than in private ones.

What are the prospects for vaccination in the near future?

Poor. Although the prestigious Butantan Institute has developed a vaccine called Coronavac, it is not as effective as other vaccines, even if it is better suited for use in the tropics as it requires less refrigeration. But the institute depends on supplies from China, and the federal government has failed to negotiate well. As a result, the institute can produce only a small number of vaccines. At the current rate, it will probably take more than three years to vaccinate everyone who wants to get vaccinated.

Is the extreme right-wing President Bolsonaro losing support because of the severity of the situation?

His approval rate has certainly been declining since the emergency aid, an initiative from the parliamentary left-wing opposition which passed last year, expired, but it is still currently at 31 percent. The fake news campaigns are effective, and the large evangelical churches are ensuring that even those who are suffering greatly from the pandemic in the favelas do not turn their backs on Bolsonaro.

Are there any prospects for a way out of the crisis?

I fear that Brazil is on its way to an unprecedented economic crisis: I expect hunger on an enormous scale, and social revolts cannot be ruled out either. Of the 176 million people in the labour force, 40 million are employed in formal jobs and 85 million in informal, precarious jobs—that’s more people than live in all of Germany. The rest have been entirely abandoned by the system, having neither formal nor informal work, and receive no social benefits or emergency assistance.

Are there any left-wing alternative proposals for dealing with the crisis?

In particular, the MTST movement of homeless workers, which is central to the re-consolidation of the Brazilian left, organizes healthcare workers, emergency aid, food distribution, and political education. There are many small examples of mutual aid and solidarity. But at the national level, left-wing forces have no common proposal.

HOW LEFT-WING IS INTERNATIONAL LAW?

A DISCUSSION ON PEACE POLICY

To what extent can international law serve to orient a left-wing peace policy and foreign policy? Are there situations in which military intervention is unavoidable? Are concepts such as humanitarian intervention or the responsibility to protect merely misused, but essentially just? Does a commitment to international law also mean approving of all measures that conform to international law, even military ones? Is it possible to develop a left-wing peace policy that responds to the contradictions between state sovereignty and human rights, between the demand for conformity to international law and emancipatory political approaches?

In order to address these questions, a two-day digital conference entitled *Linke Friedenspolitik und das Völkerrecht oder wie links ist das Völkerrecht?* (Left-wing Peace Policy and International Law, or How Left is International Law?) was held in November 2020, which built on the many years of work devoted to peace carried out by the RLS office in Beirut.

Experts were invited whose perspectives on the topic differ significantly from one another in terms of their profession and political convictions: they included left-wing politicians such as Christine Buchholz or Tobias Pflüger, as well as experts on

international law. In his opening statement, the director of the RLS's Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation, Boris Kanzleiter, emphasized that for him, international law and human rights are undoubtedly necessary, but are not sufficient conditions for a left-wing politics. Karina Theurer, head of the Institute for Legal Intervention at the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR), addressed law's Janus-face: law is always both a means for fighting domination and a means for perpetuating it. Kathrin Vogler (Die Linke), member of the Bundestag, emphasized that how left-wing international law always depends on the balance of power.

With panels on genocide prevention using the example of Rwanda, on the possibilities of peace policy in Syria, or questions of secession and annexation using the example of Crimea and Kosovo with Stefan Liebich (Die Linke), the event brought together the most relevant critical positions on the relationship between international law, human rights, and peace. The debate on how to balance these issues in a manner appropriate to emancipatory politics will be continued.

MINDS OF THEIR OWN: MIGRANTS IN THE GDR ONLINE DOCUMENTARY

"I thought I would have a better life." Orquídea Chongo shared this hope with many other "foreign labourers" who immigrated to the GDR, mainly from Mozambique and Vietnam. The online documentary *Eigensinn im Bruderland* (Minds of Their Own: Migrants in the GDR) uses the incredibly personal and moving stories of migrants to understand the history of the GDR as a country of immigration.

As early as the 1950s, young people came to the GDR as students, political emigrants, workers, and apprentices. In the documentary, they talk about their lives, their expectations, their experiences with solidarity and racism, and their struggles for a self-determined life in an at times highly regimented environment.

The GDR offered protection and political exile and lured people with promises such as training or study. Solidarity, especially with other socialist countries, was declared a major priority for the GDR. But the GDR also pursued its own interests, including combatting labour shortages, achieving recognition under international law, earning foreign currency, and growing the economy.

Eigensinn im Bruderland deals primarily with the tensions and conflicts that resulted from differing expectations. The online documentary focuses on people themselves and their determination, paying special attention to those who were hardly noticed in the GDR and who even today are forgotten behind general terms such as contract worker or political exile. Many of the migrants of that time still live in Germany today, but the majority of the contract workers were quickly sent back to their home countries after the fall of the Berlin wall.



Contract workers at VEB Lederwaren in Schwerin in the 1980s.

How formative their time in the GDR was and how traumatic their return home was in some cases can be gleaned from the movements and groups that still exist three decades after the end of the GDR. These groups organize in Mozambique, Namibia and elsewhere to fight for recognition on many different levels, for example with regard to the payment of wages transferred to their home countries.

Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is important to document these stories, especially from the perspective of the migrants themselves, to understand them as part of pan-German history, and thus to contribute to the fight against racism and ostracism. *Eigensinn im Bruderland* is a project by the Center for Research on Antisemitism at the Technical University of Berlin and "out of focus medienprojekte", received funding from the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and won the prestigious Grimme Online Award on 25 June 2020.

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The documentary can be found online at:
www.bruderland.de
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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
www.rosalux.org.ec

CONO SUR



Location: Buenos Aires, Argentina
Year Founded: 2015
Project countries: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay
Office director: Gerhard Dilger
rosa-lux-ba.org

GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

Location: Buenos Aires, Argentina
Year founded: 2019
Project countries: worldwide (focus on Latin America)
Programme director: Alex Wischnewski
www.rosalux-ba.org

BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY



Location: São Paulo, Brazil
Year Founded: 2003
Project countries: Brazil, Paraguay
Office director: Torge Löding
rosalux.org.br

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERIKA 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

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

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION POLITICS AND GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS

Location: Geneva, Switzerland
Year Founded: 2020
Project countries: UN locations
Office director and programme director of international trade union politics: Aleks Jahn
Programme director of global social rights: Eva Wuchold



AFRICA UNIT

EAST AFRICA



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

WEST AFRICA



Location: Dakar, Senegal
Year Founded: 2010
Project countries: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Cape Verde, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal
Office director: Claus-Dieter König
www.rosalux.sn

NORTH AFRICA

Location: Tunis, Tunisia
Year Founded: 2014
Project countries: Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco
Office director: Armin Osmanovic
www.rosaluxna.org

ACADEMIC COOPERATION IN NORTH AFRICA



Location: Tunis, Tunisia
Year Founded: 2015
Project countries: Tunisia, Lebanon
Office director: Nadia El Ouerghemmi
academiccooperation-rosalux.org

SOUTH AFRICA



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

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa
Year Founded: 2017
Project countries: worldwide (focus on South Africa)
Office director: Jan Urhan
www.rosalux.co.za/food-sovereignty/

EUROPEAN UNIT

SOUTHEAST EUROPE



Location: Belgrade, Serbia
Year Founded: 2010
Project countries: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Montenegro
Office director: Krunoslav Stojakovic
www.rosalux.rs

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Location: Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Year founded: 2020
Project countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo
Office director: Krunoslav Stojakovic

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPA

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

CENTRAL EUROPE



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

WESTERN EUROPE



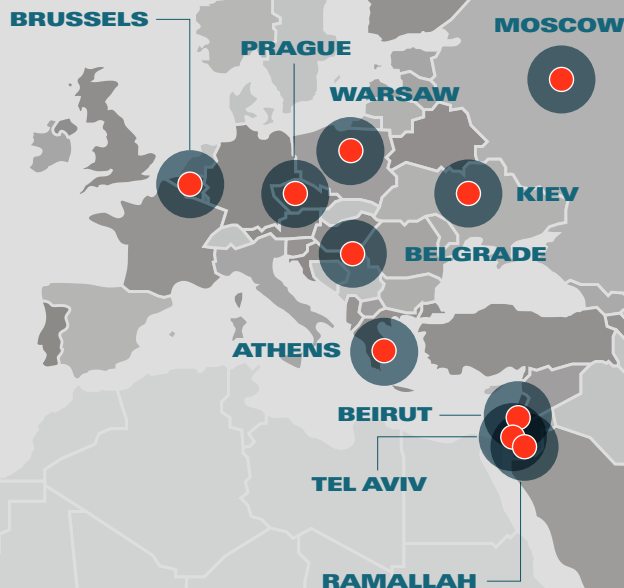
Location: Brussels, Belgium
Year Founded: 2008
Project countries: Belgium, Netherlands, France, Italy, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland
Office director: Andreas Thomsen
www.rosalux.eu

TRADE AND ECONOMICS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

Location: Brussels, Belgium
Year Founded: 2018
Project countries: worldwide (focus on Europe and EU trade relations)
Programme director: Arif Rüzgar
www.rosalux.eu

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Location: Madrid, Spain
Year Founded: 2017
Project countries: Spain, Portugal
Office director: Andreas Thomsen
www.rosalux.eu



RUSSIA, BELARUS, MOLDOVA AND SOUTH CAUCASUS



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

UKRAINE

Location: Kiev, Ukraine
Year Founded: 2016
Project country: Ukraine
Office director: Ivo Georgiev
www.rosalux.org.ua

GREECE



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

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

Location: London, Great Britain
Year Founded: 2020
Project countries: United Kingdom, Ireland
Office director: Tsafir Cohen
www.rosalux.eu/en/topic/1567



ASIA UNIT

SOUTH EAST ASIA (SINGAPORE OFFICE)

Year Founded: under construction
Office director: Stefan Mentschel
www.rosalux.de

SOUTH EAST ASIA (HANOI OFFICE)



Location: Hanoi, Vietnam
Year Founded: 2009
Project countries: Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand
Office director: Phillip Degenhardt
www.rls-sea.de

SOUTH EAST ASIA (MANILA OFFICE)

Location: Manila, Philippines
Year Founded: 2019
Project countries: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia
Office director: Liliane Danso-Dahmen
www.rosalux.de

CLIMATE JUSTICE DIALOGUE PROGRAMME



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

CHINA



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

SOUTH ASIA

Location: New Delhi, India
Year Founded: 2010
Project countries: India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan
Office director: Jakob Littmann
www.rosalux.in

CENTRAL ASIA



Location: Almaty, Kazakhstan
Year Founded: 2018
Project countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Office director: Marlies Linke
www.rosalux.de

WESTERN ASIA UNIT

ISRAEL

Location: Tel Aviv, Israel
Year Founded: 2009
Project countries: Israel
Office director: Markus Bickel
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

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

FUNDED PROJECTS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung cooperates on project funding with various political education providers from all over Germany. The funded projects fill out the spectrum of what the RLS is able to offer in terms of topics specific to particular regions and target groups.

The pandemic also hit this area of our activities hard. In previous years, applications for the funding of in-person events—like conferences, workshops, and event series—tended to make up three quarters of the volume of all applications. Once in-person events became impossible, many associations and activists had to revise their plans. That meant a considerable reduction in the number of actual applications: in 2020 we received 364, around 100 less than the year before.

The preparedness of our project partners, and the lengths they went to in reacting to the new conditions, were impressive. In-person events were converted to take place virtually—a task that often required a great deal of extra volunteer work to achieve. In addition, over the course of the year we received more applications for digital projects such as podcasts, websites, and publications.

In the end we were able to fund 109 different projects, 30 of which were overseen locally by RLS regional branches. In total 286,300 euros were awarded, of which 34,425 euros went to the regional branches as core funding.

Five major projects were supported with a total of 115,600 euros (40 percent of the overall budget):

- The Berliner Institut für Kritische Theorie e. V.: For the *Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuch des Marxismus* (Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism), for the finalizing of volume 9/2, *Maschinerie bis naturwüchsig*, as well as editorial work on volume 10, *Negation der Negation bis Phantasie* – 45,000 euros
- Three projects by the Linken Medienakademie e. V. (LiMA): the *LiMA-Bildungswoche 2020* (LiMA Education Week 2020), the *Medientage* (Media Days) in cooperation with Supernova, and the Initiative Media Residents as well as the *Zukunftscampus 2020* (Future Campus 2020) for journalists – 60,600 euros
- Digitalcourage e. V.: *24h #unteilbar*, originally planned as a conference and festival for the 13 and 14 June 2020 in Berlin. Due to the pandemic, the action *#SoGeht-Solidarisch* took place on 14 June. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung funded the livestream – 10,000 euros

Six proposals received funding of between 5,000 and 9,999 euros, 20 projects received between 2,000 and 4,999 euros, 63 received between 1,000 and 1,999 euros, and 15 projects received between 500 and 999 euros.



PROJECT FUNDING EXAMPLE: POLITICAL EDUCATION UNDER THE SIGN OF THE PANDEMIC

HEIDI SCHARF: FEMINIST AUTUMN ACADEMY ON EXPERIENCES IN THE CRISIS
 9 TO 11 OCTOBER 2020 – 5,000 EUROS

The *Feministische Herbstakademie* is one of our long-running project partners. This year it was able to take place as an in-person event, though with a greatly reduced number of participants and complex hygiene measures. Frigga Haug, one of the academy founders, was able to join via video link. Attendees participated in workshops on various aspects of the

crisis. They approached the current situation as a magnifying glass which makes the fracture lines of global crisis conditions stand out more sharply. They practised dialectics using texts by Bertolt Brecht. A workshop dealt with the question of what can be learned from the coronavirus pandemic that is of use for the “concrete utopia”, in terms of the “four-in-one perspective”. Subjective experiences of the crisis and the associated contradictions were worked through using the *Erinnerungsarbeit* (memory-work) method. In one workshop, participants analysed news reporting on the crisis—for example, how the gender balance looked in terms of which “experts” were consulted. A key thread that ran throughout



Episode illustration from the documentary podcast *Projekt Umbruch*.

the conference was seeing the coronavirus pandemic as a source of hope. It is precisely in the currently aggravated contradictions that potentials for genuine change appear.

DIGITALCOURAGE E. V.: DAY OF ACTION ON 14 JUNE 2020: #SOGEHTSOLIDARISCH – #UNTEILBAR DURCH DIE KRISE – 10,000 EUROS

The *#unteilbar* network actually had actually planned to hold a large conference in June 2020, where strategic discussions and further networking could take place. This proved impossible. Instead the RLS funded a livestream of the day of action on 14 June 2020, *#SoGehtSolidarisch – #unteilbar durch die Krise* (*#ThisIsSolidarity – #undivided by the Crisis*). Tens of thousands of people formed a human chain in different cities—Berlin, Leipzig, but also in Plauen and in Vogtland—while maintaining distance and wearing masks, to advocate for a path of solidarity out of the crisis. People who stayed home were also able to follow along with the day of action via the livestream. Activists from anti-racist groups and from the climate movement, healthcare workers, refugees, unionists, and artists all spoke at the event.

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The livestream impressively documents the many-voiced character of the *#unteilbar* movement, and how it is possible to protest in solidarity against the social consequences of the pandemic.

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FUNDED PODCAST PRODUCTIONS

MARCUS WOLF: *PROJEKT UMBRUCH*, A DOCUMENTARY PODCAST ON THE TRANSITION FROM THE GDR – 1,100 EUROS

For *Projekt Umbruch* (Project Upheaval), Renee, Daniel, Marcus, and Saskia speak with people for whom the *Wendezeit* (the transitional period following the end of the GDR) meant a change or a break in their biography, their friendship circle, their social relationships, and in part their hopes as well. How did young people experience this radical change of system? What did the collapse of the GDR mean for people who had been part of oppositional movements there; what did the *Wende* mean for non-white East Germans? How was the upheaval of 1989 and afterwards experienced, how was it worked through, how was it reflected upon? What did it mean to find one’s way in Western capitalism? What expectations did people have of the “West”, and were these fulfilled? Which of the political demands and desires for social transformation from that time remain relevant today?

The interviews are published in the form of podcasts, and discussed with experts, in order to gather testimonies about and insights into East German society: <https://projektumbruch.podigee.io/>.

INA SCHILDBACH: *AUF EINE TASSE TEE MIT INA UND KARL – DER PODCAST ÜBER ARMUT IM KAPITALISMUS – 2,000 EUROS*

According to the Federal Statistical Office, in 2019 eight percent of the working population was at risk of poverty—3.1 million people. Older people and single parents are at even greater risk on average. It can be assumed that in the aftermath of the pandemic crisis, these numbers will only increase. Worldwide, there are by now hundreds of millions of people who face a daily struggle for survival. In her tri-weekly podcast *Over a Cup of Tea with Ina and Karl*, Ina Schildbach, professor of political science at the Ostbayerische Technische Hochschule (OTH) Regensburg, confronts the issue of poverty in capitalism. In each episode Karl Marx joins her at the table for tea, and with his help Ina Schildbach analyses topics like the commodity, needs, exploitation, and class society. The podcast connects Marxist theory with the current social schisms in global capitalism. If you feel like starting a reading group, or joining a union or a left-wing party or group after listening to this podcast—you have listened well: <http://www.aufinetassetee.net/>.

LORA-FÖRDERVEREIN FÜR ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMME IM LOKALRADIO E. V.: *ZUKUNFT IN ARBEIT – ARBEIT OHNE ZUKUNFT*, RADIO SHOW AND PODCASTS ON THE WORLD OF WORK, JANUARY TO OCTOBER 2020, MUNICH AND GERMANY-WIDE – 2,000 EUROS
<https://zukunftarbeit.eu/episoden-uebersicht/>.

With 17 projects, proposals in the history/contemporary history field were most strongly represented. Some examples of the projects that received funding:

- House of Democracy and Human Rights: *Historic Turning Points – Looking Back to 1989: ... Workshops on the Ideas and Interpretations of the Upheaval in the GDR*, seminar, October 2020 in Berlin – 1,500 euros
- Globale Medienwerkstatt e. V.: *Monolog mit meinem "asozialen Großvater"* (Monologue with my Antisocial Grandfather), theatre project and workshops – 1,500 euros
- Branka Pavlović: post-production work on the documentary film *Stimmen der Erinnerung* (Voices of Memory) – 2,000 euros
- Vincent Streichhahn: *Internationale Schriften zu Geschlecht, Klasse und Emanzipation im 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (International Writings on Gender, Class, and Emancipation in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries), funding for translation – 1,000 euros
- Siegfried Ressel: post-production work on the documentary *langsames diesseits: 4 monologe* (this slow life: 4 monologues) – 1,500 euros

With 16 projects, the topic of anti-fascism/anti-racism was also among the core focuses of project funding. Among others, we funded:

- Projekt Verein e. V./Conne Island: Fifth Antifascist Youth Congress – JUKO 2020, October 2020 in Chemnitz – 2,000 euros
- iz3w e. V.: *Dossier Rechte Gewalt* (Right-Wing Violence), October 2020, Freiburg – 2,000 euros
- freier zusammenschluss von student*innenschaften (fzs) e. V.: *Hochschulpolitischer Winterkongress – Rassistische Ressentiments und Antiziganismus an Hochschulen* (Conference on Racist Resentment and Antiziganism in the Universities), January 2020 in Heidelberg – 1.500 Euro
- Soziale Bildung e. V.: *Rostock Lichtenhagen 1992 und die Medien* (Rostock Lichtenhagen 1992 and the Media), video workshop, August 2020 in Rostock – 1,000 Euro

The topic of civil rights, social movements, and unions was represented by 14 funded projects, including the following:

- aktion ./. arbeitsunrecht e. V.: Legal and political expert conference *Workers' Buy-out: Betriebe übernehmen statt schließen!* (Workplace Takeovers Instead of Closures!), June 2020 in Berlin and online – 1,000 euros
- Ebase e. V.: *MACHT Strukturen! Erstes bundesweites Vernetzungstreffen von freiberuflichen Bildungsarbeiter*innen* (POWER Structures! First Germany-wide Networking Meeting for Freelance Education Workers), October 2020, online – 1,300 euros
- Labournet.de e. V.: Overhaul of the International section of the LabourNet Germany website – 5,000 euros

We supported a wide thematic range of publications, a selection of which is listed here:

- Kai Witzlack-Makarevich, Nadja Wulff, and Coretta Storz (eds.): *Sushi, Sandmann, Sozialismus: Kultur- und Landeskunde der DDR. Ein Text- und Übungsbuch für den DaF-Unterricht* (A Textbook on GDR Culture and Geography for Teaching German as a Foreign Language), Verlag Frank&Timme, Berlin 2020 – 1,500 euros
- Harpreet Kaur Cholia and Christin Jänicke (eds.): *Unentbehrlich: Solidarität mit Betroffenen rechter, rassistischer und antisemitischer Gewalt* (Indispensable: Solidarity with Victims of Right-Wing, Racist, and Antisemitic Violence), edition assemblage, Münster, 2021 – 1,500 euros
- IKSU – Informationsstelle Kurdistan e. V.: *Jenseits der Frontlinien – Der Aufbau des demokratischen Systems in Nord- und Ostsyrien* (Beyond the Front Lines: Constructing the Democratic System in North and East Syria), paperback, published by Rojava Information Centre – 1,500 euros
- Lajos Kassák: *Ein Menschenleben: Ein Roman über die Räterepublik Ungarn 1919* (A Human Life: A Novel about the Council Republic in Hungary, 1919), funding for the translation from Tibor Silló's Hungarian, Verlag Edition AV, Bodenburg, 2020 – 1,000 euros
- Bernd Rump: *Der Traum zuvor – Storyline* (The Previous Dream – Storyline), Thelem Universitätsverlag, Dresden, 2020 – 1,500 Euro

Some projects were once again locally supervised by the RLS regional branches. Through the creation of contacts and local cooperation encourages the linking up of diverse actors in the field of political education throughout Germany. Here are some examples:

- FÜR – Freundliche Übernahme Rechenzentrum e. V.: *ÜBER-ECK Bauerbe DDR – Zum Umgang mit dem Mosaik am Potsdamer Rechenzentrum* (GDR Architectural Heritage – What to Do With the Mosaic on the Potsdamer Datacentre), symposium, Februar 2020 in Potsdam – 1,100 euros
- :// about blank Türcrew: *Female Bouncer – About the Struggles at the Doors*, evening event, February 2020 in Berlin – 1,375 euros
- about:utopia; c/o Infoladen Tübingen: *Feminismus, Kapitalismus & Sexarbeit*, talk with Ruby Rebelde, October 2020, online – 1,000 euros
- Basisgruppe Umweltwissenschaften Göttingen: *Koloniale Kontinuitäten im Naturschutz* (Colonial continuities in nature conservation), talk by Mordecai Ogada, December 2020, online – 500 euros
- Roter Baum Leipzig e. V.: *Raus aus der Blase – rein in den Konflikt! Ein Workshop zum Umgang mit Unterschieden in der Stadtteilarbeit* (Out of the Bubble – Into the Struggle! A Workshop on Dealing with Differences in Neighbourhood Work), November 2020, online – 1,000 euros

The new RLS building at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8A stands for transparency and an invitation to dialogue. It provides modern office and consultation rooms, an attractive library, and new, manifold possibilities for the hosting of events. The official opening in the main hall, in compliance with the distancing and hygiene rules, was clearly visible from the outside with a statement on the right of the public to use public space. The facade flaunted an almost 19-metre-tall banner with the slogan "Keine WARE. STADT" (Not a COMMODITY. CITY). In future this exposed space will be used to visually represent a changing series of topics of current importance.



**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**













KEINE
WARE.
STADT

ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG

Stuyf des Pariser Kommune

Am Ostbahnhof



THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

The task of the Scholarship Department is to support the next generation of left-wing scholars. This includes the selection, guidance, counselling, and political education of the scholarship holders. We prioritize supporting those most strongly affected by structural educational inequalities. Currently, 48 percent of our scholarship holders have a migration background, and 62 percent are from families in which the parents do not have tertiary qualifications.

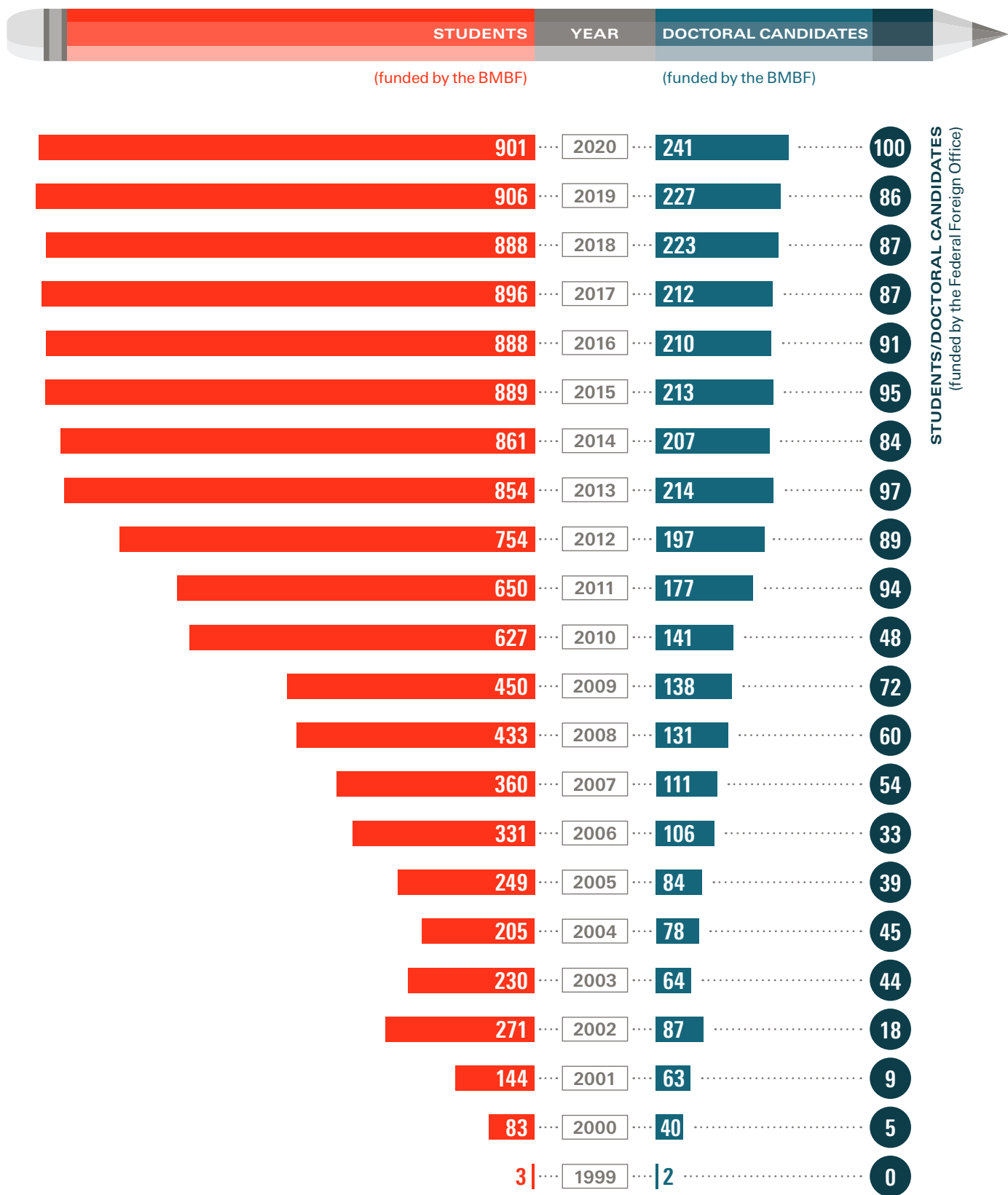
Due to the pandemic, our main tasks last year were to secure scholarship payments, organize and conduct the selection process, maintain contact with scholarship holders, alumni, and academic trustees, and develop digital educational formats.

The digitization and redesign of the introductory seminar for newly admitted scholarship holders was a colossal task. On the one hand, we missed the positive atmosphere when a large number of enthusiastic people physically come together in one room. On the other hand, the digital format offered us new opportunities to put together a wide-ranging programme. The students and doctoral candidates with scholarships commencing on either 1 April or 1 October 2020 had three days to get to know the RLS better. Furthermore, the new scholarship holders were able to exchange ideas and build a network online. The digital format made it possible to set up Rosa's Café online in order to involve colleagues from four international offices (Johannesburg, Ramallah, New York, Athens) as well as from eight regional foundations. The traditional pub crawl was replaced by a cultural programme created by former scholarship holders, which included the live streaming of a spoken word performance.

In 2020, the Scholarship Department developed the new digital series *RLS: (Um-)Wege* (RLS: (De)Tours). In these online talks, we look at what has become of the people we support and reflect with our guests on (im)possible educational pathways. On 10 February, for example, the writer and journalist Christian Baron read from his bestselling novel *Ein Mann seiner Klasse* (A Man of His Class) and on 25 November Viviana Uriona (director and philosopher) spoke about her film *Die Revolution hat keinen Trailer* (The Revolution Has No Trailer).

One thing has not changed in 2020: our work—both the selection and support of the scholarship holders during their studies or doctoral candidacy—would not be possible without the support of the approximately 200 academic trustees who work for us on a voluntary basis. They have made a significant contribution to the development of a large and widespread left-wing academic network in Germany beyond the RLS. We would like to thank them by mentioning their names for their indispensable commitment to the Scholarship Department.

FUNDING RECIPIENTS OVER THE YEARS



WORK IN PROGRESS. WORK ON PROGRESS

THE ANNIVERSARY EDITION OF THE YEARBOOK OF PHD CANDIDATES

In 2020, we celebrated the publication of the tenth volume of the RLS’s yearbook of doctoral candidates *Work in Progress. Work on Progress*. In the series, critical academics assert themselves and their texts against the neoliberal mainstream of (cultural-)industrial knowledge production at universities and higher education institutions—in times when fake news and esoteric knowledge are often more appealing than scientific facts.

In the published anniversary volume, former doctoral fellows and the co-editors underscore the special significance of the yearbook. “The name of the Scholarship Department’s publication series is a commitment to pursue a social ideal”, writes culture and theatre scholar Susanne Mansee. Social psychologist Maren Kellermann also emphasizes: “Writing down and publishing critical dissent needs as much practice and support as possible. And the yearbook offers numerous opportunities for that.” Social scientist Maria Tsenedidou describes the yearbook as a “platform for combining academic research and political engagement, which is difficult and fraught with pitfalls”. And Jane Angerjäv, director of the Scholarship Department, stresses that the yearbook helps to “integrate our socio-politically engaged scholars into the large

network of organic intellectuals and to connect empathetic academic work with political practice”.

The yearbook is thus a space for critique and feedback among the fellows and a learning space where we practice writing and publishing with our scholarship holders. At the same time, it provides opportunities for networking within the academic community.

The reciprocal relationship between science and socio-political engagement follows an understanding of critical, left-wing academia that characterizes the scholarship holders of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. With this understanding of science, which places the political as an inescapable prerequisite for every academic debate, we distance ourselves from Max Weber’s postulate of freedom from value judgement and the separation of academia and politics. For in addition to fact-based evidence and objectivity—conceived from the perspective of the subject—truth means allowing the suffering caused by present circumstances to be heard and considering necessary whatever is capable of overcoming affliction.

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The yearbook of doctoral candidates documents a success story that would not be possible without the enthusiastic commitment of our doctoral fellows, who come together year after year in editorial collectives, and without the many authors who provide insights into their research work, which is usually still in progress. We would like to thank all those who have actively contributed to the ten volumes.

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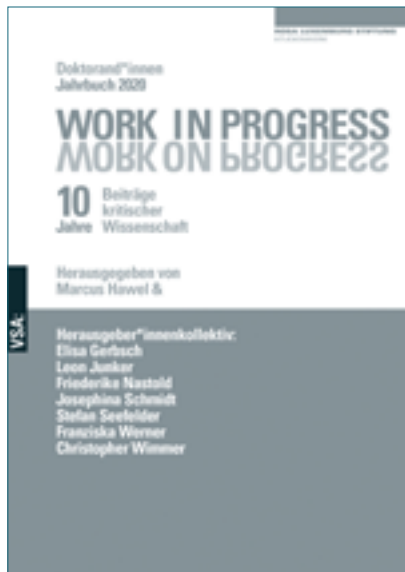
LUX LIKE STUDIUM

An interview with Songül Bitiş and Nina Borst, advisors for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s funding programme

In 2010, exactly ten years ago, you started the *Lux Like Studium* project. Can you briefly explain why such a programme was long overdue?

Educational inequalities have a long tradition in the German education system. That was already the case before 2010 and it still characterizes the system today. The results of the PISA study, which among other things reflect these systematically (re)produced inequalities, have become common knowledge. Given that the development of the German education system is characterized above all by persistent educational disadvantage, our concern to create more educational equality remains as relevant as ever.

In 2010, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research set up a programme to support under-represented groups in the organizations for the promotion of gifted students. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung decided to support young people



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Elisa Gerbsch,
Marcus Havel,
Leon Junker,
Friederike Nastold,
Josephina Schmidt,
Stefan Seefelder,
Franziska Werner,
Christopher Wimmer

WORK IN PROGRESS. WORK ON PROGRESS

10 JAHRE BEITRÄGE KRITISCHER WISSENSCHAFT
(10 years of contributions to critical academic work)
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Doctoral Yearbook 2020,
384 pages, softcover, VSA Verlag 2020
ISBN 978-3-96488-084-0

.....



Nina Borst (left) and Songül Bitiş founded the project *Lux Like Studium* ten years ago.

who want to study and whose parents do not have tertiary qualification. With this (political) decision, we want to bring the working class back into focus.

In 2011, we awarded the first 15 scholarships. In the meantime, the proportion of first-generation academics among those we support is over 64 percent, and the number is rising. In this regard, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is thus clearly at the forefront of organizations that support gifted students.

Which of the changes initiated by the project, beyond direct funding support, are particularly important for you?

Through *Lux Like Studium*, we have questioned academically standardized approaches and established new practices. Reflecting on and transforming pre-existing structures and content from the perspective of social inequality is neither particularly pleasant nor easy to implement. For almost no one finds it easy to question established practices. This is true for the Scholarship Department as well as for the entire Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. So we are all the more pleased about successful transformation processes in the Scholarship Department: the introductory seminar, for example, looks very different today than it did ten years ago; it has become much more dialogue-oriented. And the number of scholarship holders is also different than it was ten years ago.

Finally, it is important for us to mention the team composition and its work as a key factor for the success of the project. Because we were lucky enough to start afresh at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung together with Diane Benkert and were able to look at the RLS's work with a fresh eye. Although this did not spare us the odd slip-up, it also gave us an impartiality that was very helpful for our project.

What do you want to build on when you dedicate your career to the educational work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung? Which experiences from the *Lux Like Studium* project will you take with you?

We are happy that our "educational journey" will continue: *Lux Like Education Bildungsroadtrip II* (Lux Like Educational Road Trip II). Where are we headed? To inclusive education! On our journey, we will take with us the realization that unequal relations have an intersectional impact. The *Lux Like Studium* project has not only increased the proportion of first-generation academics, but also that of students who have experienced racism. In other words, it is rare for one inequality to not be accompanied by others.

On our critical educational journey, we want to continue to make the invisible visible. To hear the unheard and make it audible. We want to allow uncertainties and friction in order to learn new things, so that a different form of education becomes possible. Last but not least, transparent and appreciative communication grounded in solidarity is needed in order to grow together.

We are confident and very pleased that, even after ten years at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, we can continue to be resistant and repeatedly step out of the usual paths in order to get a much needed breath of fresh air.

- Dr Werner Abel**
Political science
- Prof Friedemann Affolderbach**
Leipzig University of Applied Sciences, social work
- Prof Ravi Ahuja**
University of Göttingen, modern Indian history
- Prof Dr Thomas Alkemeyer**
University of Oldenburg, sociology
- Dr Freia Anders**
JGU Mainz, literary studies
- Prof Jörg Arnold**
MPI Freiburg, criminal law
- Dr Felix Axster**
TU Berlin, medieval and modern history
- Dr Dario Azzellini**
Cornell University, social science
- Prof Kurt Bader**
University of Lüneburg, psychology
- Dr Andre Baier**
TU Berlin, general engineering
- Dr Nils Baratella**
University of Oldenburg, philosophy
- Prof Klaus Bastian**
Leipzig University of Applied Sciences, foundational studies
- Prof Helga Baumgarten**
University of Palestine, political science
- Dr Gisela Baumgratz**
HS Fulda, intercultural education
- PD Dr Johannes M Becker**
UMR, associate professor in peace and conflict studies
- Prof Julia Becker**
Osnabrück University, psychology
- Prof Lale Behzadi**
University of Bamberg, Arabic studies
- Prof Bernd Belina**
Frankfurt University, human geography
- apl Dr habil Sebastian Berg**
Ruhr-Universität Bochum, English studies
- Prof Dr habil Rita Bernhardt**
Saarland University, biology
- Dr Peter Bescherer**
FSU Jena, sociology
- Prof Henning Best**
TU Kaiserslautern, sociology
- Dr Margrid Bircken**
literary studies
- Dr Peter Birke**
University of Göttingen, sociology
- Dr Mai-Anh Boger**
University of Bielefeld, special needs education
- Dr Marcel Bois**
FZH Hamburg, recent history
- Prof Manuela Bojadzjev**
HU Berlin, political science
- Prof Dieter Boris**
UMR, sociology
- Prof Ulrich Brand**
University of Vienna, political science
- Prof Thomas Bremer**
University of Halle, cultural studies
- Prof Micha Brumlik**
HU Berlin, education
- Prof Hauke Brunkhorst**
University of Flensburg, sociology
- Prof Christian Brütt**
HS Darmstadt, social work
- Prof Michael Buckmiller**
Leibniz University of Hannover, social science
- Dr Zülfukar Çetin**
University of Basel, sociology
- Dr Georgia Christinidis**
University of Rostock, cultural studies
- Dr Karin Cudak**
University of Flensburg, sociology
- Dr Antonia Davidovic-Walther**
cultural anthropology
- apl Prof Dr Alex Demirović**
Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology
- PD Dr Christian Dietrich**
Viadrina European University, Frankfurt (Oder), modern and contemporary history
- Prof Dr Alexander Dietz**
Hannover University of Applied Sciences and Arts, pastoral care studies
- Dr Ina Dietzsch**
UMR, ethnologie
- Dr Thede Eckart**
UMR, psychology
- PD Dr Kristin Eichhorn**
Paderborn University, modern German literature
- Dr Andreas Eis**
University of Kassel, social science
- Prof Esra Erdem**
ASH Berlin, social science
- Dr Mechthild Exo**
HS Emden/Leer, social work
- Prof Dr Karim Fereidooni**
Ruhr-Universität Bochum, social science
- Dr Maja Figge**
Berlin University of the Arts, media studies
- Prof Andreas Fisahn**
Bielefeld University, law
- Prof Dr Andreas Fischer-Lescano**
University of Bremen, public law
- Univ Prof Dr Peter Fleissner**
TU Wien, computer science
- Dr Fabian Frenzel**
University of Leicester, social science
- Dr Jens Gaitzsch**
Leibniz Institute of Polymer Research Dresden, chemistry
- Dr Udo Gerheim**
University of Oldenburg, education
- PD Dr Stefanie Graefe**
FSU Jena, sociology
- Prof Andreas Griewank**
HU Berlin, mathematics
- Prof Melanie Groß**
Fachhochschule Kiel, social science
- apl Prof Hermann-Josef Große Kracht**
TU Darmstadt, catholic theology
- Dr Ayla Güler Saied**
University of Cologne, social science
- Prof Encarnacion Gutierrez Rodriguez**
University of Giessen, social science
- Dr Noa Ha**
TU Dresden, social science
- Prof Felix Hanschmann**
HU Berlin, public law
- Prof Johann Hartle**
ABK Vienna, philosophy
- Dr Tino Heim**
TU Dresden, sociology
- Prof Arne Heise**
Universität Hamburg, economics
- Dr Frank Henschel**
CAU Kiel, modern and contemporary history
- Dr Jutta Hergenhan**
University of Giessen, political science
- Dr Cordelia Heß**
University of Greifswald, history
- Prof Sabine Hess**
GAU Göttingen, gender studies
- Dr Andreas Heyer**
TU Braunschweig, political science
- Prof Uwe Hirschfeld**
political science
- Prof Rainer-W Hoffmann**
GAU Göttingen, social science
- Prof Wolfgang Hofkirchner**
TU Wien, computer science
- Junior Prof Martin Horsch**
University of Stuttgart, computer science
- Dr Anne Huffscheid**
FU Berlin, cultural studies
- Prof Dr Melanie Jaeger-Erben**
TU Berlin, business engineering – environment and sustainability
- Dr Anne Maximiliane Jäger-Gogoll**
UMR, literary studies
- Dr Carsten Jakobi**
JGU Mainz, literary studies
- Dr Lisa Janotta**
TU Dresden, social work
- Dr Alke Jenss**
University of Freiburg, sociology
- Dr med Petra Jung**
University Medical Center Freiburg, medicine
- Prof Ingrid Jungwirth**
HSRW Kleve, social science
- Junior Prof Olaf Kaltmeier**
Bielefeld University, history
- Dr Florian Kappeler**
GAU Göttingen, modern German literature
- Prof Juliane Karakayali**
Ev. HS Berlin, social science
- Dr Serhat Karakayali**
HU Berlin, social science
- Dr Ismail Karatepe**
University of Kassel, social science
- Prof Klaus Peter Kisker**
FU Berlin, economics
- Prof Dr habil Raimund Krämer**
University of Potsdam, social science
- Prof Jürgen Krause**
Nordhausen University of Applied Sciences, automation engineering
- Prof Franz Krönig**
TH Köln, education
- Dr Timmo Krüger**
Brandenburg University of Technology, political science
- Prof emerit Ingrid Kurz-Scherf**
University of Marburg, gender studies
- Prof Friederike Kuster**
University of Wuppertal, philosophy
- Dr phil Rosa Lehmann**
FSU Jena, political science

- Prof Kirsten Lehmkuhl**
TU Berlin, education
- Prof Stephan Lessenich**
LMU Munich, social science
- Prof Manfred Liebel**
FH Potsdam, education
- Prof Dr Daniel Loick**
University of Amsterdam, philosophy
- Prof Volker Lüderitz**
FH Magdeburg, agricultural science
- Dr Jens Maeße**
University of Giessen, social science
- Dr Stefania Maffei**
FU Berlin, philosophy
- Prof Wolfgang Maiers**
FH Magdeburg, psychology
- Prof Kai Marquardsen**
FH Kiel, sociology
- Prof Nadine Marquardt**
University of Bonn, human geography
- Prof Angela Martini**
slavic studies
- PD Dr Reiner Marx**
literary studies
- Prof Michael May**
RheinMain University of Applied Sciences, social work
- Prof Nicole Mayer-Ahuja**
GAU Göttingen, sociology
- Prof Wolfgang Menz**
University of Hamburg, sociology
- Dr Jana Mikota**
Siegen University, German studies
- Prof Matthias Naumann**
University of Klagenfurt, geography
- Prof John P Neelsen**
Tübingen University, social science
- Dr Dieter Nelles**
University of Bonn, social science
- Dr Filomain Nguemo**
University of Cologne, human biology
- Dr Roberto Nigro**
University of Lüneburg, philosophy
- Prof Karoline Noack**
University of Bonn, linguistics and cultural studies
- Dr Salvador Oberhaus**
history
- Prof Michaela Ott**
HFBK Hamburg, aesthetics
- Prof Dr Christof Parnreiter**
Helmut Schmidt University, geography
- Prof Dr Marc Partetzke**
University of Hildesheim, political science
- Dr Christian Paschke**
University of Halle, law
- Dr Stefan Paulus**
FHS St. Gallen, sociology
- Prof Martin Pinquart**
UMR, psychology
- Prof Jan Pinseler**
FH Magdeburg, communication studies
- Dr Kathrin Plank**
University of Passau, education
- Dr Andrea Plöger**
ASH Berlin, development policy
- Dr Matthias Rätzer**
TU Chemnitz, social science
- PD Dr Jan Rehmann**
New York University, philosophy
- Dr Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya**
FH Magdeburg, social science
- Prof Ursula Reitemeyer**
University of Münster, education
- Prof Tilman Reitz**
FSU Jena, sociology
- Prof Steffi Richter**
Leipzig University, Japanese studies
- Dr Dominik Rigoll**
history
- Prof Eckhard Rohrmann**
UMR, education
- Dr Sven Rößler**
PHS Weingarten, political education
- apl Prof Karla Rost**
TU Chemnitz, mathematics
- Prof Werner Ruf**
social science
- Prof Oliver Rump**
HTW Berlin, museum studies
- Prof Ulrich Ruschig**
University of Oldenburg, philosophy
- Prof David Salomon**
University of Hannover, political science
- Dr Martin Sauber**
Universität Hamburg, economics
- Dr Markus Sauerwein**
FFH Düsseldorf, social work
- Prof Wolfram Schaffar**
University of Tübingen, Japanese studies
- Prof Barbara Schäuble**
ASH Berlin, social work
- Prof Dr Renatus Schenkel**
FH Magdeburg, journalism
- Prof Tilman Schiel**
University of Passau, Southeast Asian studies
- Prof Dr Ina Schildbach**
OTH Regensburg, political science
- Dr Anja Schmidt**
University of Halle, law
- Prof Jörg Schmidt**
Anhalt University, economics
- Prof Reimund Schmidt-De Caluwe**
University of Halle, law
- Dr Imke Schmincke**
LMU Munich, sociology
- Prof Lars Schmitt**
HS Düsseldorf, sociology
- Dr Rainer Schnoor**
history
- Prof Volker Schöppner**
Paderborn University, mechanical engineering
- Prof Andreas Schröder**
Brandenburg University of Technology, physics
- Dr Jörg Schröder**
University of Rostock, sports studies
- Dr Frank Schubert**
University of Potsdam, media studies
- Dipl phil Klaus-Dieter Schubert**
University of Halle, transportation
- Prof Dr Volker Schürmann**
German Sport University Cologne, philosophy
- Dr Franziska Seeck**
Neubrandenburg University of Applied Sciences, social work
- Dr Christian Seipel**
University of Hildesheim, social science
- Prof Detlef Siegfried**
University of Copenhagen, contemporary history
- Dr Alexander Silbersdorff**
GAU Göttingen, statistics
- Prof Hans-Dieter Sill**
University of Rostock, mathematics
- Dr Robert Sommer**
HU Berlin, history and cultural studies
- Prof Ruth Sonderegger**
BK Vienna, philosophy
- Prof Susanne Spindler**
HS Düsseldorf, sociology
- Dr Anja Steidinger**
HFBK Hamburg, art education
- Prof Chris Tedjasukmana**
FU Berlin, film studies
- Dr Angelika Timm**
political science
- Prof Patrizia Tolle**
FH Frankfurt a. M., social work
- Dr Ben Trott**
University of Lüneburg, philosophy
- Dr Vassilis Tsiianos**
FH Kiel, philosophy
- Dr Pinar Tuzcu**
University of Kassel, sociology
- Univ Prof Roland Verwiebe**
University of Potsdam, sociology
- Prof Fabian Virchow**
Hochschule Düsseldorf, sociology
- Univ Prof Friedemann Vogel**
Siegen University, German linguistics
- Prof Janis Voigtländer**
University of Duisburg, computer science
- Prof Dr Heinz-Jürgen Voß**
HS Merseburg, sexology
- Dr Benjamin Wachtler**
RKI Berlin, public health
- Assoc Prof Thomas Waitz**
University of Vienna, media studies
- Prof Hans Walz**
HS Weingarten, social science
- Prof Klaus Weber**
FH Munich, psychology
- Prof Martina Weber**
HS Emden/Leer, gender studies
- Prof Barbara Wedler**
FH Mittweida, social science
- Prof Klaus Weinhauser**
Bielefeld University, history
- PD Dr Wolfgang Weiß**
University of Greifswald, geography
- Prof Felix Wemheuer**
University of Cologne, sinology
- Dr Christa Wichterich**
sociology
- Dr Maria Katharina Wiedlack**
University of Vienna, gender studies
- Prof Hanns Wienold**
sociology
- Prof Kathrin Wildner**
HCU Hamburg, urban design
- Prof Werner Winzerling**
HS Fulda, computer science
- Prof Markus Wissen**
HWR Berlin, social science
- Prof Markus Wöhr**
UMR, psychology
- Dr Benedikt Wolf**
University of Bielefeld, German literary studies
- Prof Gabriel Wollner**
University of Bayreuth, philosophy
- Prof Safiye Yildiz**
IUBH Cologne, pedagogy
- PD Dr Aram Ziai**
University of Kassel, social science
- Dr Birgit zur Nieden**
HU Berlin, social science

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

“The only constant is change” – this motto can be used to sum up the work of the Political Communication department under pandemic conditions. We can still remember the last in-person event, on 11 March 2020, an instalment of the series *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-Wing Literature in Conversation); Michael Brie presented his book about Friedrich Engels, *Sozialist-Werden* (Becoming Socialist). Around four weeks later, we had converted the Salon at the RLS’s then-headquarters at Franz-Mehring-Platz into a professional livestreaming studio, which was used to broadcast the first episode of our online talk show *Ausnahme & Zustand* (State and Exception). By now, the latter format has been successfully established as an interactive platform for questions of left-wing strategy and topics like the social and economic effects of the crisis. On 6 May, the English-language online series *Global Crisis – Global Solidarity* was launched. For this series, every two weeks speakers from the RLS talked with international partners and other experts about the worldwide consequences of the coronavirus pandemic, and their significance for left-wing politics.

Our event management procedures were also quickly adapted to current circumstances: video-based events established themselves as multimedia formats that remain permanently available online. This enabled us to further strengthen the RLS’s digital presence. There were 2.45 million visits to the www.rosalux.de website in 2020: 21 percent more than in the previous year. On our main Facebook page, we published 805 posts, and the number of subscribers increased by 10.3 percent to 81,436. Our videos were watched for a total of 494,751 minutes, our content received 105,694 likes, 9,024 comments, and was shared 29,122 times. We had 31,473 followers on Twitter, 22.5 percent more than in 2019. Through the presentation of our international activities, our English-language website was able to further establish its presence.

Public relations work, moreover, faced extensive challenges: hybrid press conferences, and the more intensive use of the PR contractor news-aktuell, a Deutsche Presseagentur (dpa) service, proved to be the best strategies for dealing with the situation.

In terms of content, the main themes were set by Christoph Trautvetter’s highly regarded study of the situation in Berlin’s real estate market, a legal opinion about the Berlin rent cap, and the study *Ökonomisierung schulischer Bildung* (The Economic Rationalization of School Education) by Tim Engartner.

In 2020, we put out just under 90 publications, a third more than originally planned. As previously, there was a more or less equal balance of print and online publications. Ten publications were reprinted due to high demand.



The event management team (absent: Frank Röser).

“WE LEARNED TO PLAN FOR UNCERTAINTIES”
ON THE REARRANGEMENTS IN EVENT MANAGEMENT




The event management team started the year full of expectations. The highlights were already in place: a large international conference in May; moving into the new building, with the induction, opening, and open day planned for autumn. Then everything changed. On 5 March, the last large conference took place, on *150 Years of Rosa Luxemburg*, which already had some hygiene provisions in place and stricter attendance records. In the following week we had to cancel or postpone all events. Our main task at that point was to prevent planning chaos. Based on the assumption that the pandemic was going to continue for some time, there was only one way forward for events management: “We gonna switch!” From one day to the next, everything had to be converted from analogue to digital. We got familiar with new video software for conferences—BigBlueButton, Zoom, and Jitsi—and developed new formats for events and outreach. We also had to translate the planning and organization of events into the digital realm. This kicked off a process of learning by doing. We also supported our colleagues in the RLS, both in Germany and abroad, with the planning and implementation of events online. Once we had our own Zoom accounts we were able to make these available for organizing the coordination—sometimes working from home, alongside looking after children and home schooling.

At the same time, the Salon in the former RLS headquarters at Franz-Mehring-Platz was converted into a studio with the help of the RLS online editors. This was only possible with tremendous extra effort on the part of staff, and the use of staff members’ personal tech supplies. By the end of April we were set up enough that we could produce on average three digital events per week, including the new series *Global Crisis – Global Solidarity* and *Ausnahme & Zustand*, but also the seminars for the international parliamentary fellows at the Bundestag, held in hybrid form for the first time, once a week from 5 May to 30 June.

In the summer months it became possible to hold in-person gatherings again. The first was a staff assembly with multiple iterations and digital attendance, including people from New York. A significant success was the open air event in Berlin on 25 June, at the Freiluftkino in Hasenheide, entitled *Von Minneapolis bis Hanau* (From Minneapolis to Hanau), focusing on anti-racist struggles. A total of 180 people took part. This was our largest in-person event under pandemic conditions—mainly organized by our trainee Emma Gottwald, in collaboration with the Academy for Political Education. Parallel to these new forms of activity, preparations for moving headquarters proceeded apace, with the taking of inventory, acquisitions, planning media technology and room setups, and visits to the construction site.

On 26 and 28 October 2020, we were able to hold the first opening events in our new 270-square-metre main hall, with up to 40 guests. In total, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, including the regional branches, was able to offer more than 1,400 events in 2020; Germany-wide, over 105,000 people attended. Some two thirds of the events took place either fully or partially in the digital realm.

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG
ON SOCIAL MEDIA

-  **FACEBOOK**
www.facebook.com/rosaluxstiftung
-  **TWITTER**
twitter.com/rosaluxstiftung
-  **DIASPORA**
joindiaspora.com/people/dc600e838b8f354b
-  **YOUTUBE**
www.youtube.com/user/rosaluxstiftung
-  **FLICKR**
www.flickr.com/photos/rosalux
-  **SOUNDCLOUD**
soundcloud.com/rosaluxstiftung

Event management in 2020 demanded an extremely high degree of patience, flexibility, and resilience. We learned to calculate for more uncertainty and to work with at least one if not multiple contingency plans. Self-organized further training events and a strong esprit de corps within our team helped us achieve this.

TALKING WITH ROSA ABOUT THE BERLIN LEFT

In 2020, for the first time the RLS events management team took on two trainees: Emma Gottwald (27) and Kjell Steffens (29). They interviewed each other about their experience of the traineeship.

Kjell: Why did you opt for a traineeship in event management?

Emma: At university I took African studies and political economy, which was fascinating. But I very quickly realized that I find working with texts too tedious. I prefer working in a team and I like manual work. So I find the event management traineeship a bit like a mix between being a building caretaker and a project manager.

Kjell: And how did you end up at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung?

Emma: I've been following the RLS since I was 16. Earlier it was that interesting place in Berlin that sends you info, merchandise, and financial aid. And it always played an important role in my life later on. At some point I did an internship in the Africa department. There are not many places that are better for left-wing events than the RLS. What did you do before the traineeship?

Kjell: After graduating from secondary school, I studied sociology and systematic musicology. While I was doing that, I became more and more interested in live music, and so I started a traineeship in event management with a record label and party organizer. I also helped organize techno parties at various locations in Berlin and Hamburg and also DJed from time to time.

Emma: Cool! What was your favourite event?

Kjell: The one that was the most fun was organizing a series of solidarity parties at the techno club //about blank. I've pretty much worked out an event on the theme of racism and club culture in my head, which I would like to make reality at some point. What was the event that you liked the most?

Emma: Probably the anti-racist *We'll Come United* parades, which were a monster in terms of logistics, but really wonderful. From my time at the RLS there was the *From Minneapolis to Hanau* event at the Freiluftkino in Hasenheide last year.

Kjell: What do you prefer as an event space—the old building on Franz-Mehring-Platz, or the new headquarters in the Straße der Pariser Kommune, next to Ostbahnhof?

Emma: Honestly, the building on Franz-Mehring-Platz. I miss

the long corridors, the open doors, and the paternoster lift. But that might also be to do with the pandemic. I think I'll only be able to properly answer your question in a year's time. What do you like most about the RLS?

Kjell: The kindness, professionalism, and solidarity with which the colleagues treat each other. Do you think Rosa Luxemburg would be happy that you're working in an institution named after her?

Emma: Well, I hope so! I'd be happy if she would come by sometime. I would show her around our new media library, and have a chat with her about the Berlin left.

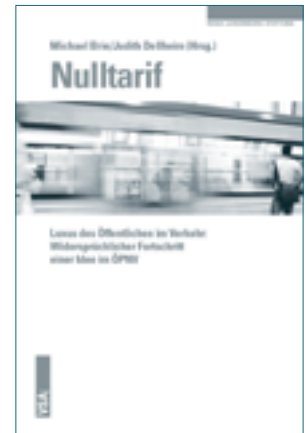
Kjell: Do you have suggestions for things the RLS could do differently?

Emma: Grants for people doing vocational training would be good. Unlike students, they can't really do part-time jobs alongside their studies—they're talented too, and they would create connections to industry. And the networking among left-wing vocational trainees is really poor. Otherwise I'm pretty happy. Do you have anything else you want to say to the colleagues?

Kjell: I'd be happy to meet them all personally soon, and am looking forward to our further work together.

Kjell and Emma enjoying their traineeship.





A SELECTION OF ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PUBLICATIONS

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 luxemburg argumente no. 18, 52 pages
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 All publications, except those published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, are available as free downloads.

DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

THE WAIT IS OVER

THE RLS MOVES INTO ITS NEW BUILDING

Since 12 October 2020, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has officially been based in its own office and events building.

After three years of construction, more than 150 colleagues were able to start working at 8A Pariser Kommune Straße. From October 2017, more than 30 trades were employed to construct ten storeys with a building area of about 5,700 m². Around 530 tonnes of steel and 1,500 m² of clinker bricks were used in the process. 1,800 m² of window area fill the office and event rooms with light. In addition, the new RLS headquarters offers 670 m² of event space.

The move was postponed due to delays in the construction process, which were partly caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Finally, however, the office furnishings arrived at the new location within a week in September 2020: office desks, shelves, cabinets, and tons of moving boxes. At the same time, the workplaces received their IT equipment. However, the correction of various types of flaws dragged on until spring 2021. The relocation of the library and archive materials did not go smoothly either. Since at the time of the planned move there were not yet stable climatic conditions in the storage rooms in the basement and on the first floor, the sensitive materials and documents had to be temporarily stored in a suitable location. By February 2021, the conditions, in particular the humidity, had been regulated to an acceptable level in the premises, so that the already installed mobile storage units in the new building could be filled.

Due to the pandemic, a big inauguration ceremony for the new building had to be postponed. Instead, management organized a creative housewarming celebration with staff. On 26 October 2020, in three successive rounds, managing director Daniela Trochowski, her deputy Katrin Schäfgen, and construction manager Axel Krumrey explained the progress of the construction project, paid tribute to the construction companies, colleagues, and planners involved, and did not miss the opportunity to raise a glass with staff, at a safe distance, to celebrate what had been achieved. Despite the constraints, there was still room to talk about structural tolerances, concrete core activation, and the mobile partition wall system with more than 100 colleagues. This was followed by the official inauguration of the new building just two days later, on 28 October 2020, in a format that was equally



Handing over the keys while complying with hygiene regulations:
from ARGE Kim Nalleweg + Trujillo Moya Architekten ...

compliant with the pandemic regulations, so that only 40 seats were available in the large event hall.

To mark the inauguration, an almost 19-metre-high banner with the slogan "Keine WARE.STADT." (No COMMODITY. CITY.) was emblazoned on the façade of the red brick building with its striking X-shaped reinforced concrete supports. This statement for the people's right to public space and the limitation of profit interests in favour of affordable housing is at the same time the first political message that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is sending to the surrounding area via its new building.

In future, changing current topics will be displayed at this prominent location directly next to the railway tracks of Ostbahnhof.

Chairwoman Dagmar Enkelmann welcomed the guests with these words: "30 years ago, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was founded. And today we are in a building that embodies important aspects of what Rosa Luxemburg stands for: transparency and openness as well as an invitation to dialogue in public space. Embedded in the urban environment, we are writing architectural history with this building at this location." Daniela Trochowski added: "We are of course delighted about the new and diverse possibilities: the state-of-the-art event technology, the bright and open library, the high-quality and appealing office and consultation rooms. But we are not only developing social and sustainable policies: for the construction, we have also paid attention to social standards and sustainable, energy-efficient construction methods. For example, by having a union ombudsman on site, we ensured that all construction workers were paid according to collective wage agreements."

In short interviews, Gesine Löttsch, deputy chairperson of the parliamentary group Die Linke in the German Bundestag,

and Max Nalleweg, member of the general design team ARGE Kim Nalleweg + Trujillo Moya Architekten, were also given the opportunity to explain the history of the development of the building from their perspective. Bodo Ramelow, state premier of Thuringia and former board member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, sent a video greeting to the guests and the RLS. After the official part of the event, the architects, construction staff, and RLS management were able to give the guests a closer look at the building in smaller guided tours. An open day is planned in 2021, as is an inauguration ceremony.

... via Axel Krumrey, head of construction staff at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung ...



to Chairwoman Dagmar Enkelmann and executive director Daniela Trochowski.



Willem-Jan Beeren



Paul Jonas Petry



THE DOOR HANDLES PROJECT

At the beginning of 2017, Willem-Jan Beeren and Paul Jonas Petry from the Alanus University of Arts and Social Sciences won the *Kunst am Bau* (Art in Architecture) competition, which the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung tendered for its new headquarters. With their project *262 Klinken* (262 Door Handles), they set themselves the goal of exchanging as many of the door handles installed in the new RLS building as possible with handles from project partners. Doors, they say, “play revealing roles by opening or closing entrances. [...] Door handles have a history—visible already in their design, but above all in the signs of wear that suggest by how many different hands they have been touched, grasped, gripped, pressed, or held countless times.”



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The project is featured on the RLS’s website at <https://klinken.rosalux.de/en> and will continue until the end of 2021. Suggestions for interesting handle swaps can be made by all staff members, but also by the RLS’s volunteer community. Around 50 swapped door handles have already been installed.
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WOMEN'S POWER IN MANAGEMENT

Along with the new board of directors, a new management team has also taken up its work in 2020. Daniela Trochowski and her deputy Katrin Schäfer have been at the helm of the RLS for a year. We interviewed them.

How did you experience your first year?

Katrin Schäfer: It was a mixture of turbulence, excitement, and joy. We had hardly started our job when the pandemic broke out and presented us with major challenges: we had to switch to digital immediately and have everyone work from home, while still remaining visible to the public. We received a lot of support and assistance.

Daniela Trochowski: I started with a lot of enthusiasm and joy. For me, the RLS is the place where we can intensively discuss left-wing issues and think about new social approaches in an unconventional and radical way. As a management team, we quickly found each other. I had a good start.

What were the two or three biggest successes in this first year?

Trochowski: Our projects *Wem gehört die Stadt?* (Who Owns the City?) and *Wer bezahlt die Krise?* (Who Pays for the Crisis?) as well as our digital trade union conference *Organizing for Power* have attracted public attention and had an impact.

Schäfer: We also hit the mark with our online project *Solidarisch gegen Corona* (Solidarity Against the Coronavirus). And of course, there is the fact that we were finally able to move into our new building in autumn 2020.

How would you describe your working relationship?

Schäfer: Very open and trusting ...

Trochowski: ... but also open to discussion. We share essential positions and can therefore often agree quickly.



Katrin Schäfer, deputy executive director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.



Daniela Trochowski has been managing the RLS since 2020.

Schäfer: We have developed a good division of labour that brings our fields of work together in a complementary way.

Katrin, you have known the RLS for 19 years and were previously the director of the Scholarship Department. What ideas did you start with in your new position?

Schäfer: First of all, with a fair amount of awe. It is one thing to manage a scholarship department with about 20 staff, but quite another to be (co-)responsible for the development of an institution with over 300 staff. I was attracted by the challenge of being able to shape the content of the RLS's work, to help raise its profile and thus increase its social impact.

Daniela, before you took office we talked about your aspirations: you wanted to define your own topics and help shape the social discourse. Did you succeed in doing that?

Trochowski: we contributed shaping public debate in the COVID-19 pandemic by shedding light on inadequate working conditions, questionable financing, and social deficits. For example, with our studies on the economic rationalization of school education, the anonymity of owners on the Berlin property market, or the employment gap in healthcare and other sectors. Our documentary film on the textile industry in Cambodia, *Mode.Macht.Menschen* (Fashion. Power. People), filled the cinema with many young people and led to exciting discussions. We will follow up on this in 2021.

What do you appreciate about each other?

Schäfer: I appreciate Daniela's organizational skills, which have already enabled us to make some changes, her straightforwardness and open way of communicating, her commitment and competence.

Trochowski: I can rely on Katrin one hundred percent. She has known the RLS for a long time and very well, yet she is open to changes. I appreciate her openness to discussion and her reliability. We make a good team.



Non finito, a photo montage by Eleni Zoumba.



Large windows provide new exhibition possibilities.

A NEW DRESS FOR ROSA

ART IN THE WINDOW TO THE STREET

The first exhibition in the new building was dedicated to our namesake Rosa Luxemburg. On display were reproductions of artworks created by students of the Athens School of Fine Arts as part of a competition organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Athens office.

Many people have an image of Rosa Luxemburg in their minds, but original photos are few and far between. In the surviving black-and-white portraits, a young woman looks seriously into the camera. These pictures can hardly capture what this outstanding woman stood for and what she represents today. And so, in the run-up to the 100th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's assassination, we conceived the idea of an art competition.

ROSA LUXEMBURG IN TIME

How do we think of Rosa Luxemburg today? What associations does she awaken in us? What does she inspire us to do? And in what way can all this find artistic expression?

With no formal restrictions, emerging Greek artists have explored the life and writings of Rosa Luxemburg and translated their impressions into paintings, installations, sculptures, and collages. The result is 28 works in which very different views of Luxemburg are expressed: powerful, sad, personal, and combative.

LARGE WINDOWS AS EXHIBITION SPACE

The new RLS headquarters also poses new challenges for the Exhibitions working group. Instead of ample wall space, the large windows in the foyer are now available as exhibition space, which means that our exhibitions can be viewed from inside and outside. The exhibition possibilities have thus expanded, but at the same time the window dimensions set limits to what can be shown. For this reason, the originals of the Greek artists were photographed and plotted onto Dibond

panels. It's a somewhat complex procedure, but one that now allows the exhibits to be viewed from both sides—both in the foyer of the new RLS building itself and from the outside on the Strasse der Pariser Kommune.

A FORMAT WITH A FUTURE

At a time when no public events were allowed to take place due to the pandemic, passers-by were able to view the exhibits on the windows: another new form of exhibition with an impact on the urban space, which we will certainly continue to use and develop after the pandemic is over.

The original artworks are still in Athens. We hope to be able to bring them to Berlin and exhibit them as soon as possible.

Der Bedarf, auszuhalten (The Need to Endure), original in plaster, leather, wire, paper by Julia Maria Makoschitz.



**HEINRICH FINK**

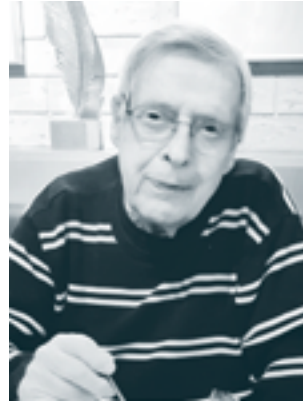
1935–2020

Heinrich Fink, anti-fascist, honorary chairman of the Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN-BdA, Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime/Federation of Antifascists), Protestant theologian, student and companion of Emil Fuchs, who committed his life to Christian socialism and the enlightenment, passed away on 1 July 2020 at the age of 85. We mourn the loss of an upstanding and committed fighter against racism and antisemitism, against xenophobia and war, and for democratic socialism.

As a university lecturer, Heinrich Fink campaigned for an animated form of Christianity in a socialist society. In April 1990, students and staff of the Humboldt University in Berlin elected him as their dean. He sought renewal and not business as usual, openness rather than more closure, until he was driven out of office. He hated superficiality and opportunism. Heinrich Fink held on to this attitude, acquired in the decades after the war and in his work for a humane society, even after the reunification of Germany.

Wherever it was necessary to raise his voice, to show his stance against inhumanity, against any curtailment of fundamental rights, against irresponsibility and historical amnesia, against trivialising or relativizing the old and new fascism, or against new wars, he stood at demonstrations with the flag of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime. This flag and its message could not and should not be overlooked. The future is only possible with the knowledge of the past. That is why it was so important for him to pass on his knowledge and his life experiences. He gave countless lectures in schools and universities as well as at church congresses. He stood in the tradition of Christian socialists and was convinced that an alternative to capitalism will prevail, through struggle, through much struggle. For him, these struggles were linked to Christian responsibility and to a humanism of action for a different, better world without fascism, racism, antisemitism, and war. He was closely associated with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for over three decades. We have lost a comrade in arms and a true friend who, with good reason, was always goading and challenging us.

Cornelia Hildebrandt and Michael Brie

**HORST ADAM**

1934–2020

On 8 May 2020, we lost our friend Horst Adam, a fighter for equality in education and a scholar with heart and intellect.

After studying education and history at the Humboldt University in Berlin, Horst Adam worked as a teacher at a Berlin secondary school and thus learned about the GDR's education system from the ground up. In 1969, he received his doctorate from the Deutsches Pädagogisches Zentralinstitut (German Central Pedagogical Institute) and his *Habilitation* (postdoctoral lecturer qualification) from Humboldt University in 1973. Adam was deputy editor in chief of the journal *Pädagogik in der DDR* (Pedagogy in the GDR), did research at the Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften (Academy of Pedagogical Studies) and taught as a lecturer at the Pädagogische Hochschule Magdeburg (Magdeburg College of Education). After 1989, he continued to work as a freelance lecturer on pressing political and educational issues, such as the changes in the education system in Germany after 1990, and addressed right-wing extremism and violence among young people.

Horst Adam was a rather soft-spoken person. His calm and thoughtful manner shaped the discussion on education policy in the PDS and later in Die Linke. He was a pleasant partner in disputes, always looking for solutions. And he remained curious and open to new things, including new ideas.

At the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, he contributed to the *Kritische Pädagogik* (Critical Pedagogy) working group. He launched it, found fellow campaigners, and brought together academic expertise from East and West. The publication series *Kritische Pädagogik*, which he oversaw, has been published since 2012 and has now grown to a considerable size.

Horst Adam had not been able to continue his work since 2018 due to a serious illness. In April 2018, he took part for the last time in a meeting of the working group, which he had still prepared himself. There were further plans for 2019, but due to his health condition he has had to entrust the work to younger academics.

Academic debate on educational issues at the RLS bears his signature to a large extent. We are very sad that he is no longer with us. We will remember him fondly.

Rosemarie Hein

THE RLS SUBSIDIARIES

As trustee, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is responsible for six subsidiary *Stiftungen*, which all deal with very different topics. The 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.

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The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung takes its role as trustee of these *Stiftungen* very seriously. It endorsed the *Grundsätzen Guter Verwaltung von Treuhandstiftungen* (Principles of Good Administration for Trustee Stiftungen), published by the Bundesverband Deutscher Stiftungen (Association of German Foundations) in 2012. We welcome and support the civil engagement of our beneficiaries. They have the expectation that their contributions will be used effectively and in a sustainable fashion.

The coordinators 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-und-Lea-Grundig-Preis.

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:

Hildegard Kiel (hildegard.kiel@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)

www.modrow-stiftung.de

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

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

Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg in Mannheim in 1910.





Seelow Heights Museum and Memorial: tour (left) and commemoration ceremony (right) on the occasion of the World Day of Peace

THE FUTURE OF REMEMBRANCE

THE MODROW-STIFTUNG SUPPORTS DIALOGUE
AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

In memory of his daughter Irina, Hans Modrow founded the Modrow-Stiftung on 1 January 2018, with the purpose of promoting the culture of remembrance and commemoration of everyday life, work, art, media, and culture in the GDR—“not backward-looking, but aimed at understanding the past”, as stated on their homepage.

Building on the research of his daughter, the cooperation with the Stiftung Herrnhuter Diakonie and the dialogue between socialists and Christians are particular focal points of the *Stiftung's* activities. In addition to the publication of the e-book version of Irina Modrow's dissertation on Nikolaus von Zinzendorf and his social utopias, two workshop conferences were held in 2019 together with the Moravian Church and supported by the Prague office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, focusing on the “model of a Christian social utopia using the example of the history and work of the Moravian Brethren”. In addition, the *Stiftung's* work is characterized by numerous book presentations and public discussions; funding was also provided for the production of a thesis paper on women's rights in the GDR and FRG, which was published in the journal *Sozialismus* in November 2019.

In 2020, the work of the Modrow-stiftung was hampered by the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, it was possible to launch further new books, to publish a text on Herrnhut, and to redesign the homepage.

The Modrow-Stiftung, together with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg and the association Alternativen denken e. V. Strausberg, used the temporary relaxing of the lockdown to organize an event in Seelow on the occasion of the World Day of Peace on 1 September 2020, to which they invited citizens and local politicians. In Friedenswald (the Woods of Peace) on the Krugberg, where trees had already been donated and planted

in April for the ensuing celebrations of the 75th anniversary of the liberation from Hitler's fascism, Hans Modrow gave an eyewitness account of the largest battle of the Second World War to take place on what is now the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. The victims were remembered with a wreath laying ceremony at the memorial.

Under the heading *Zukunft der Erinnerung* (The Future of Remembrance), politicians, historians, and other figures from the region discussed the future direction and content of the Seelow Heights Museum and Memorial in an evening event. More than 50 guests accepted the invitation, and a wide range of perspectives and opinions were discussed.

The day contributed to a deeper understanding of the problems and requirements for doing memorial work at historical sites. In order to continue the dialogue and to get the younger generation more interested in history and the memorial site, the Modrow-Stiftung pledged to support the district administrator of Märkisch-Oderland, Gernot Schmidt, in organizing a competition for pupils on the topic of *Zukunft der Erinnerung*.

Friedenswald (Woods of Peace) on the Krugberg—similar sites also exist in Poland and Russia.



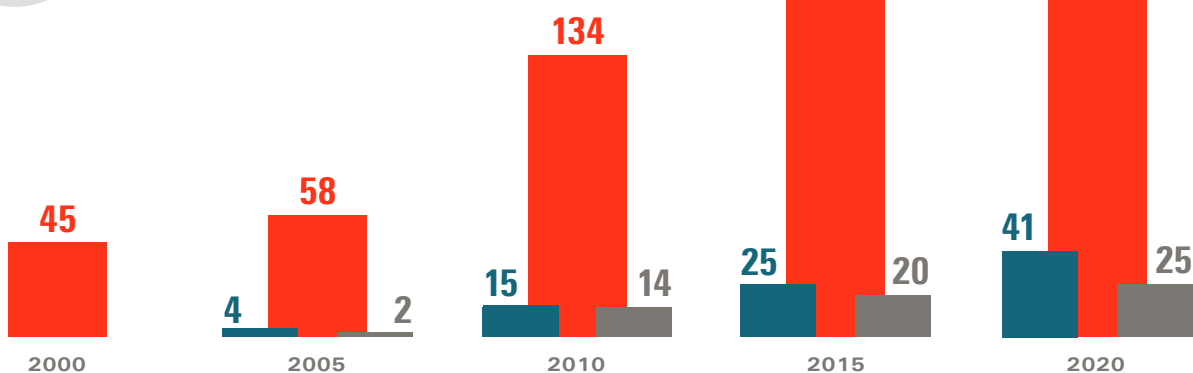
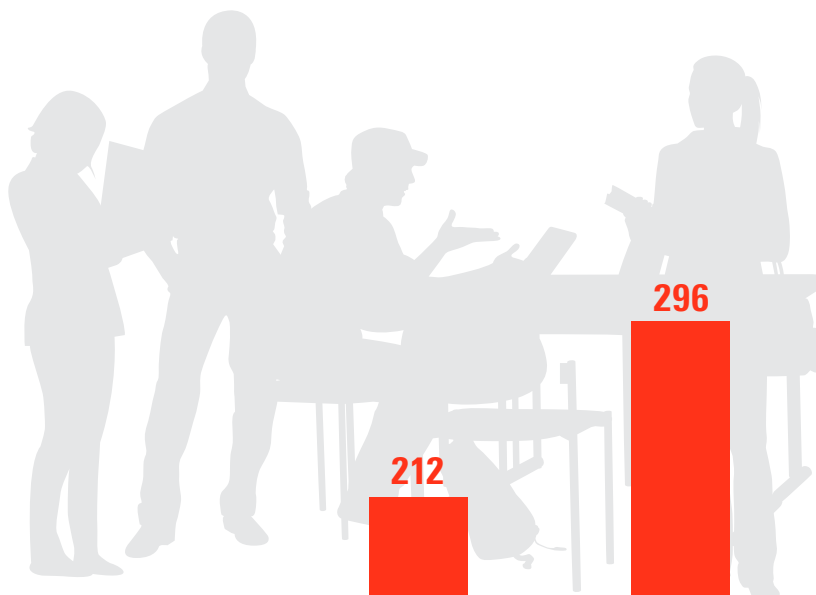
HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

RLS's employment figures of the last 21 years tell our stories and make developments visible. Founded as an association in 1990, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was granted the status of a party-affiliated *Stiftung* in 1992 for the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), today Die Linke. In 1999, after the PDS had entered the German Bundestag for the second time, the RLS received funding from the state budget for the first time—such funding is based on the average election result achieved by the party that a political *Stiftung* is affiliated with over the last four federal elections. Thus, the RLS was able to start political education work with initially four permanent positions and 18 temporary ABM (state-subsidized) positions. When the PDS failed to clear the five-percent hurdle in the 2002 Bundestag elections, it was uncertain whether the RLS's work would continue at all. It was not until the party returned to the Bundestag in 2005 that this question was clarified: the rapid growth in the number of staff reflects the party's electoral success.

The figures also show that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has always been an employer in which women play a major role: at no time have there been more men than women working at the RLS; for the past year, it has (once again) been led by a female executive director; the association's executive board is chaired by a woman; and 59 percent of all employees in leadership positions are women. In addition, we have become more diverse and have significantly expanded our sphere of action. Initially we were very East German and based our work in Berlin, but now we are active nationwide and around the world. Twenty-five employees work in 13 regional offices in various federal states, and in three federal states there are separate regional branches that act as political education organizations. In addition, the RLS has foreign offices in 27 countries on four continents, to which 41 employees are posted as office managers or specialists. Around 250 local staff are also employed in the foreign offices.

Whereas in 2000, 87 percent of the staff were of East German origin, 13 percent of West German origin, and there were no staff members with a migration background, today the RLS is much more diverse: 18 percent of staff have a migration background, eight percent were born in what is now the Federal Republic of Germany—i.e. after 1990—and 51 percent were not yet of age at the time of reunification. Only 18 percent of employees were predominantly raised in East Germany and 22 percent in the old West German federal states. We on the left have thus established ourselves in the landscape of political *Stiftungen* in every respect.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, 2000 TO 2020



Composition in percentages	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Female employees	56%	50%	55%	55%	56%
Male employees	44%	50%	45%	45%	43%
Gender diverse employees					1%
Employees with migration backgrounds	0%	0%	11%	15%	18%
Permanent employees	3%	90%	84%	78%	80%
Part-time employees	4%	16%	22%	29%	34%
Average age	47	47	45	46	46
Female employees	46	45	44	45	45
Male employees	47	48	46	48	48
Gender diverse employees					39

COMMITTEES

THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly convened on 28 November 2020—in a video conference, due to the coronavirus pandemic. Nonetheless, the session was very well attended, with more than 70 percent of the around 140 voting members present. The general debate focused mainly on topics related to the political and social ramifications of the pandemic, not least insofar as these affect the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

In her opening remarks, Dagmar Enkelmann emphasized that the lockdown beginning in March 2020 had forced the RLS as a whole to adjust its customary working procedures. But this new situation also demonstrated the RLS's favourable position, and that it is on the right track in terms of content. Themes that are currently of such importance—like social infrastructure, healthcare, and housing—must and can be taken up by the left. There are numerous examples of this from the past year: the study on property-owning consortia in Berlin, the legal opinion on a wealth tax, the *Atlas der Staatenlosen* (Atlas of the Stateless), or the sundry locally focused studies by the RLS regional branches on structural transformation and on education. Dagmar Enkelmann extended particular thanks to staff as well as the many volunteer activists involved in the RLS and its broader network for their tremendous commitment.

Daniela Trochowski recounted how the greatest challenge posed by 2020 had been to continue working under pandemic conditions, both as regards events and everyday operations, as well as in terms of communication, whether internal or external. In particular, the weekly digital live broadcasts *Ausnahme & Zustand* (see p. 6) and *Global Crisis – Global Solidarity* became showcases for political work, with the result that by (among other things) changing the formats, the RLS could also quickly intervene politically in relation to urgent contemporary issues. Thus, for example, the Strike School—which reached up to 4,500 people all over the world—and the online gala on the occasion of Friedrich Engels's 200th birthday, demonstrated the digital realm's potential as a fecund space for debates, exchange, and networking. Daniela Trochowski also thanked all colleagues for having so rapidly and flexibly adapted their work to the new and unusual conditions.

The General Assembly welcomed two external guests, Nicole Mayer-Ahuja (Göttingen) and Silke van Dyk (Jena), who led an exhilarating discussion about the socio-economic implications of the coronavirus pandemic. Finally, the General Assembly elected the 20 new members of the Academic Advisory Board.



The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's first digital General Assembly: Sabine Reiner and Sophie Dieckmann led the deliberations from the video studio at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1.

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 Karcı
 Dr Andreas Keller
 Prof Dr Mario Keßler
 Katja Kipping
 Prof Dr Dieter Klein
 Dr Thomas Klein
 Katharine Kolmans
 Jan Korte
 Marian Krüger

Prof Dr Ingrid Kurz
 Caren Lay
 Dr Klaus Lederer
 Dr Steffen Lehndorff
 Sabine Leidig
 Katrin Lompscher
 Dr Gesine Lötzsch
 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 Detlef 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 Şahin
 Dr David Salomon
 Dr Birgit Schliewenz
 Horst Schmitthener
 Christiane Schneider
 Dr Ursula Schröter
 Siri Schultze
 Dr Karin Schüttelpelz
 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
 Vera Vordenbäumen
 Dr Sahra Wagenknecht
 Dr Jochen Weichold
 Janine Wissler
 Dr Evelin Wittich
 Dr Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabriele Zimmer

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

“Helle Panke” e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin
 Kurt-Eisner-Verein – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern
 Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saarland
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg
 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.
 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

INACTIVE MEMBERS

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

As at February 2021

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

In comparison with many other political *Stiftungen*, the Executive Board takes a much more active role in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work. It assumes responsibility for the basic orientation of all of the RLS's activities, although the direction of operations is in the hands of the Executive Director. The Board, whose members, apart from the Executive Director, are volunteers, explicitly considers itself to be a political committee that meets to make guiding decisions about the work of the RLS on the basis of socio-political analyses. In 2020 the Executive Board met eight times for this purpose, sometimes over multiple days.

At its session in November 2019 the General Assembly elected a new Board to office for the next three years. This was clearly a watershed moment, as six of the total 14 members were elected to the Board for the first time. The change of Executive Director was particularly special—a role to which Daniela Trochowski was elected at the suggestion of the outgoing Board. She consequently took over Florian Weis's duties from 1 February 2020.

In real terms, apart from the development of the new building, in 2020 the Executive Board was mainly concerned with budget and human resources planning as well as important staffing decisions. This encompassed tasks such as appointing directorships of RLS offices abroad, or evaluating the strategic development of the RLS's departmental structure. In its political communiqués, the Board dealt with contemporary developments and their consequences for the RLS's work—hence, in 2020, repeatedly with the political ramifications of the coronavirus pandemic. The tremendous growth that the RLS saw over the last few years may now be coming to a provisional end. The Board was for this reason unanimous about the need to further sharpen the profile of the RLS by setting targeted thematic focus points. Hence the Board confirmed the topics *Kampf gegen rechts und für eine Gesellschaft der Vielen* (The Fight Against the Right and for a Society of the Many), *Sozial-ökologische Transformation und Klimagerechtigkeit* (Social and Ecological Transformation and Climate Justice), and *Soziale Infrastrukturen, soziale Rechte, soziale Gerechtigkeit* (Social Infrastructure, Rights, and Justice) as the foci for the ongoing work in 2021.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

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; Chair since 2012.

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

Thomas Händel (Deputy Chair): b. 1953, electronic engineer,

studied at the Akademie der Arbeit, Frankfurt; director of the IG Metall trade union's Fürth branch multiple times between 1987 and 2012, founding member of Labour and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative (WASG); member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2019; Deputy Chair of the RLS Executive Board since 2007.

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

Prof Dr Heinz Bierbaum: b. 1946, sociologist and business economist, member of the Landtag of Saarland from 2009 to 2017, president of the Party of the European Left since 2019; member of the RLS Executive Board since January 2020.

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

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

Ulrike Detjen: b. 1952, industrial bookbinder, manager of a prepress house from 1999 to 2018, voluntary activities in the community-political forum of North Rhine-Westphalia and in the regional branch of the RLS; member of the RLS Executive board since 2013.

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

Heinz Hillebrand: b. 1954, industrial manager, then studies in history, German, and philosophy; founding member of WASG, director of the political education department on the executive board of Die Linke until 2019; RLS Executive Board member since 2012.

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

Meike Jäger: b. 1963, diploma in sociology, regional director for healthcare and social affairs at ver.di Brandenburg; member of the RLS Executive Board since January 2020.

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

Gabriele Gün Tank: b. 1975, journalist, integration officer for the Berlin district of Tempelhof-Schöneberg from 2007 to 2018, executive director of the Neue Deutsche Organisationen from 2016 to 2019, member of the board of BQN Berlin e. V.; RLS Executive Board member since 2014.



DR DAGMAR ENKELMANN



DANIELA TROCHOWSKI



JAN KORTE



DR BARBARA HÖLL



MEIKE JÄGER



ULRIKE DETJEN



RICHARD DETJE



GABRIELE GÜN TANK



PROF DR ALEX DEMIROVIĆ



DR SABINE REINER



THOMAS HÄNDEL



HEINZ HILLEBRAND



SOPHIE DIECKMANN



PROF DR HEINZ BIERBAUM

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

The central task of the Academic Advisory Board is to support the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the interface between research, education, and politics. At its first meeting in 2020 the Board focused on the topic of fascism, and in particular the RLS study *Faschismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Fascism in History and in the Present), as well as with presenting the research project on this topic funded by the Scholarship Department. In a second session, a debate took place on the topic of socialism, with Raul Zelik, Michael Brie, and Markus Wissen.

Due to the coronavirus pandemic, from May 2020 the Advisory Board met via digital platforms. At a strategic council meeting with guests like Hans-Jürgen Urban (IG Metall), Annelie Buntenbach (DGB), Olaf Bandt and Carla Noever (BUND), Andrea Ypsilanti and Thomas Seibert (Institut Solidarische Moderne, ISM), Advisory Board members discussed questions of emergent social developments and potential interventions by the left.

At a session in July, the Advisory Board, together with Dagmar Enkelmann, Daniela Trochowski, and other guests, focused on the development of the RLS and its prospects. They sketched out the main purposes of the RLS, proceeding from the left's present strategic situation. An important topic of discussion was the need to root the RLS more strongly in broader society. Then the members came to an agreement about the functions of the Academic Advisory Board. On the second day of the meeting, a substantive debate took place on the relationship between permanent structural crisis and the current pandemic crisis in the world of waged work, as well as potential horizons for progressive paths for action and solidarity. The input was provided by Julia Dück (Institute for Social Analysis), Torsten Bewernitz (express), and Advisory Board member Stefanie Hürtgen.

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

Prof Dr Michael Brie (Chair): main interests: theory and history of socialism and communism, social-ecological transformation, revolutionary Realpolitik.

Prof Dr Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya (Deputy Chair): professor for child development, education, and socialization at Magdeburg-Stendal University of Applied Sciences.

Dr Wolfram Schaffar (Deputy Chair): research fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leyden, and deputy professor for Japanology at the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies at the University of Tübingen.

Dr Franziska Scheier (Deputy Chair): research assistant, consultant, and associate of the IMU-Institut, Berlin.

Prof Dr Frank Deppe: emeritus professor for political science at the University of Marburg, board and editorial committee

member at *Z. Zeitschrift Marxistische Erneuerung*, coeditor of *Sozialismus* journal.

Prof Dr Andreas Fisahn: professor of public law, environmental and technology law, and legal theory at Bielefeld University, liaison lecturer for the RLS.

Dr Rainer Fischbach: specialist in information technology, particularly on the connection between technology, nature, and society.

Dr Stefanie Hürtgen: political scientist and sociologist of work, assistant professor in economic geography at the University of Salzburg, research associate at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt am Main.

Prof Dr Mario Keßler: historian at the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam; main research interests: the histories of Zionism, antisemitism, and the workers' movement.

Prof Dr María do Mar Castro Varela: professor of social work and general pedagogy, with a focus on 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.

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

Dr Gerhard Richter: union and business consultant for industrial relations strategic development, chair of Die Linke in Buckow (Märkische Schweiz).

Prof Dr Birgit Sauer: professor of political science at the University of Vienna, vice dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, and deputy spokesperson of the Gender and Agency Research Network.

Dr Sarah Schilliger: sociologist, co-director of the Migrant Mobility, "Illegality", and Racialization in European Agricultural Labour international research project.

Dr Susanne Schulz: sociologist, Goethe University Frankfurt am Main; research interests: biotechnology, nature, and society, active in Gen-ethischen Netzwerk e. V., Berlin and in Kitchen Politics.

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

Dr Alexandra Wagner: director and founder of the Forschungsteam Internationaler Arbeitsmarkt (International Labour Market Research Team, FIA).

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

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

THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Despite the cancellation of many planned events due to the pandemic, quite a lot happened in 2020 in terms of the work of the 19 discussion groups. At the annual meeting of discussion group coordinators in September 2020, which took place in a hybrid format for the first time, three coordinators presented the groups they oversaw during the year—Peace and Security Policy, Education, and Rural Areas.

In 2020, most discussion groups made extensive use of digital communication formats—with all the difficulties that occasionally insufficient technical facilities and diverse affinities with technology bring. In the case of the Education group, for example, the presentation of Tim Engartner's study *Ökonomisierung schulischer Bildung* had to be transposed to the digital realm—which went extremely well. This enabled, among others, the editor of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zei-*

tung to take part. The coordinators also pointed out problem areas, though, which are independent of the unusual pandemic situation—generational differences, questions of the obligation to take part in the sessions of the group, or deficient technical facilities. They also pointed to potentials that could emerge from cooperation between the different discussion groups.

The Rural Areas discussion group, which is happily undergoing a sort of renaissance, concerns itself with the politically volatile topic of structurally weak regional areas. Steffen Kühn is now the full-time coordinator of this group.

At this point we would like to thank all the full-time and volunteer discussion group coordinators for their dedication, which they have continued to display under the rather difficult conditions of the present moment. They make an important contribution to maintaining the communication between the RLS and our broader social environment.

CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Horst Kahrs (horst.kahrs@rosalux.org)

COUNCIL ON RESEARCH, PHILOSOPHY, AND EDUCATION

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

CULTURE

Michaela Klingberg (michaela.klingberg@rosalux.org)

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EUROPEAN POLITICS

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FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org)

FUTURE OF THE CAR - MOBILITY - ENVIRONMENT

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HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

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LABOUR LAW

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MIGRATION

Massimo Perinelli (massimo.perinelli@rosalux.org)

PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Harald Pätzolt; full-time contact:
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PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Ingar Solty (ingar.solty@rosalux.org)

RURAL AREAS

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

THE RIGHT

Friedrich Burschel (friedrich.burschel@rosalux.org)

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

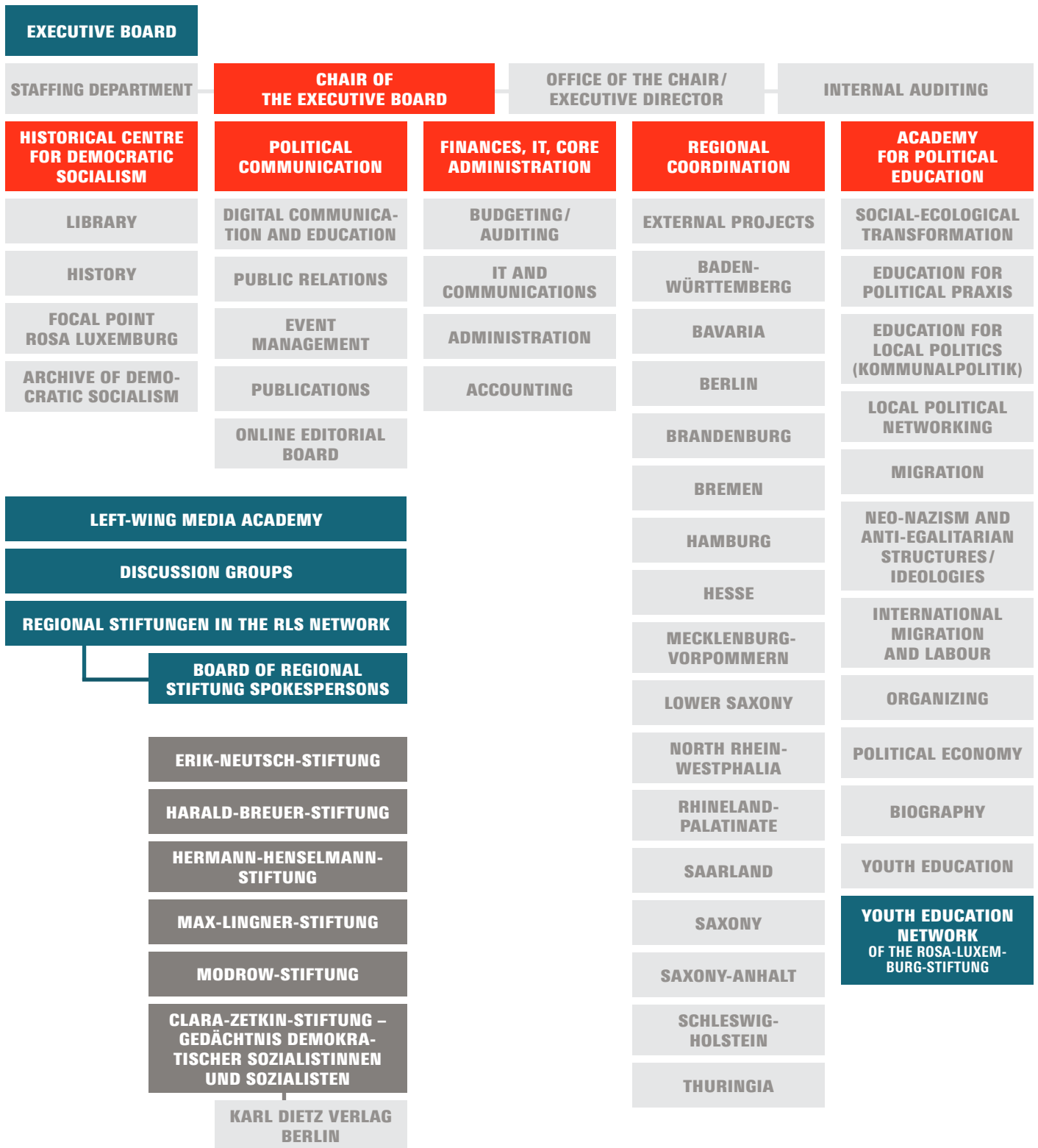
URBAN POLICY

Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)

DISCUSSION GROUPS COORDINATOR

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LEGEND

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

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

BUILDING DEPARTMENT	ANTI-DISCRIMINATION OFFICER	DATA PROTECTION OFFICER	DATA PROTECTION OFFICER
INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS	SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT	CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE	
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	ACADEMIC TRUSTEES OF THE RLS	ANDENREGION, QUITO	SOUTH AFRICA, JOHANNESBURG FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME OFFICE
ONLINE EDITORIAL BOARD	SCHOLARSHIP-HOLDER WORKING GROUPS	BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY, SÃO PAULO	WEST AFRICA, DAKAR
THE COMMONS / SOCIAL STRUCTURE ANALYSIS	SELECTION COMMITTEE	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, MOSKOW	CENTRAL ASIA, ALMATY
		SOUTH EAST EUROPE, BELGRADE	
		UKRAINE, KIEV	

THE RLS BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political *Stiftung* associated with the political 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 German Bundestag. Funding is only granted to *Stiftungen* that represent crucial, long-term political and intellectual tendencies in society. What that means exactly is determined by the Bundestag.

In practice, if the party associated with a political *Stiftung* has repeatedly been elected to the Bundestag, and has achieved the size and status of a parliamentary group (*Fraktion*) at least once, this counts as indicating the longevity of an essential tendency. The level of funding for the *Stiftung* is based on the electoral results of the respective party at the last four federal elections.

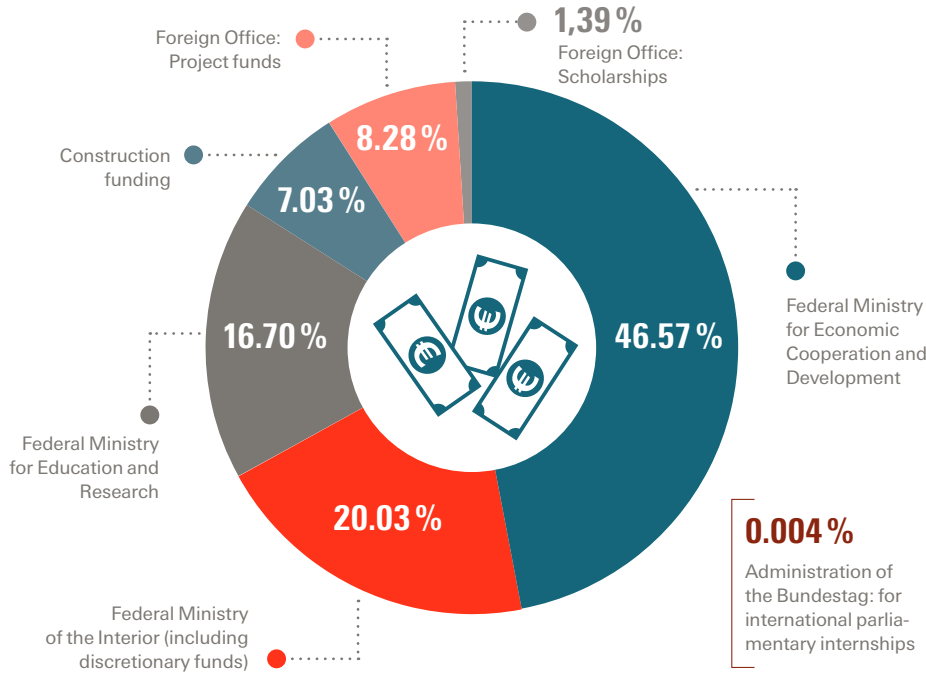
Following the successful return of Die Linke to parliamentary-group status in the Bundestag in 2005 and an increase in its share of the vote in 2009, annual contributions from federal ministries were stepped up, with the aim of ultimately providing funding on par with that received by the other party-associated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

Contributions thus rose from 30.6 million euros in 2010 to 81.6 million euros in 2020. By reporting on its income and expenses, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is fulfilling its voluntary commitment as a politically aligned *Stiftung* to publish and make transparent its use of funds, a practice to which all the party-aligned *Stiftungen* agreed in a joint declaration in 1998, and to which they have since adhered.

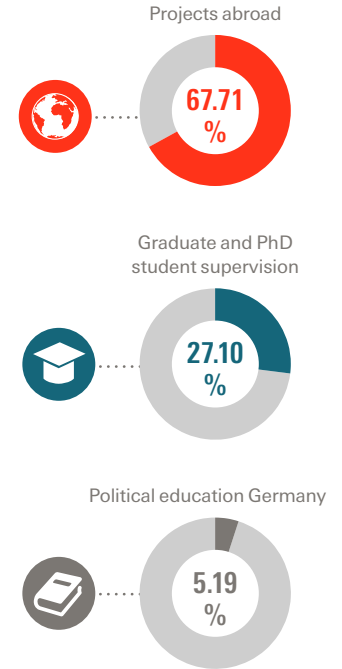
The most important financial contributions come from the BMI (referred to as core funding), the BMZ, the BMBF, and the Foreign Office. The core funding provides the backbone for our political education domestically, as well as for the maintenance of the RLS offices. The core funding also supports the 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 foreign offices, 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 2020



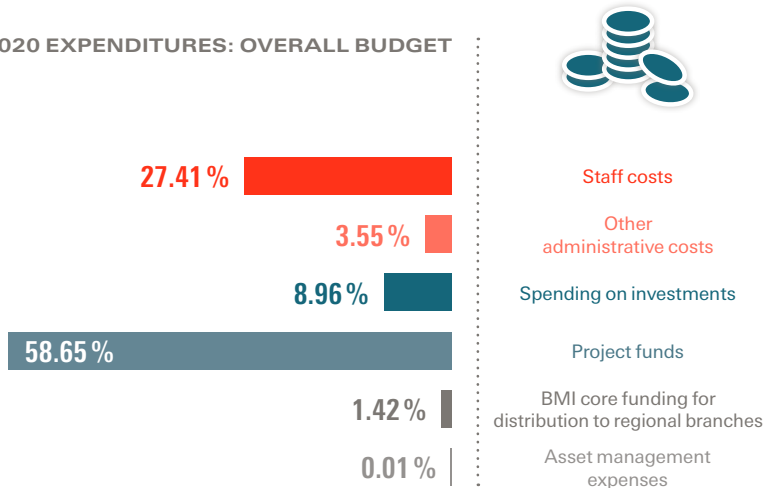
PROJECT EXPENSES 2020



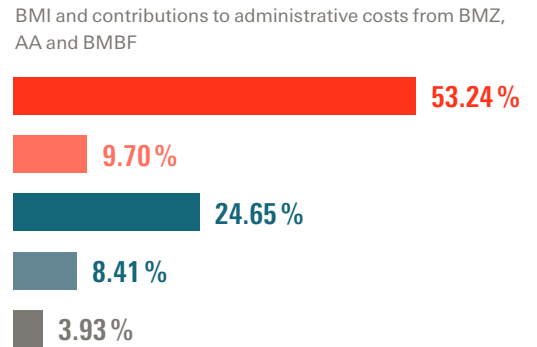
through the RLS Network to ten regional offices and partner institutions. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to pursue its statutory objectives while remaining independent—both in terms of organizational structures and in terms of staff—of the party with which it is associated. Nor is it permitted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

their use. As a politically aligned *Stiftung*, the RLS is required to have its financial management independently audited on an annual basis. For the 2019 financial year, the auditor confirmed that the core funding from the BMI and the funding provided by the other ministries for administration costs were used efficiently and economically, in accordance with regulations and legal requirements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put management accounting procedures in place that are equipped with the requisite staff and means for ensuring that funding conditions are being met in a timely manner.

2020 EXPENDITURES: OVERALL BUDGET



2020 BUDGET EXPENSE STRUCTURE WITHIN GERMANY



BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31/12/2019

Assets		31/12/2019 in euros	31/12/2018 in euros
A	Fixed assets		
I	Intangible assets		
	Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Software	309,669.70	358,680.82
II	Tangible assets		
	Real estate, rights equivalent to real estate and buildings, including buildings on third-party land	165,426.32	168,314.96
	Business and office equipment	391,813.22	285,646.85
	Advance payments for assets under construction	0.00	0.00
III	Financial assets	0.00	0.00
	Investments	19,087,141.20	10,658,538.08
	Total fixed assets	19,959,050.44	11,476,180.71
B	Receivables and other assets		
I	Other receivables	0.00	0.00
	a) Discretionary funds made available by BMI	4,062,739.00	3,331,596.00
	b) Unused discretionary funds (BMI)	-4,062,739.00	-3,331,596.00
II	Receivables from grants	1,753.21	2,204,700.00
II	Receivables from affiliates	1,153.92	1,153.92
III	Other assets	358,937.61	204,071.80
	Total receivables	361,844.74	2,409,925.72
C	Liquid assets		
	Total liquid assets	4,334,699.41	4,187,068.62
D	Accrued revenue and deferred charges	28,343.62	28,911.07
Total		24,683,938.21	18,102,086.12

Liabilities		31/12/2019 in euros	31/12/2018 in euros
A	Net assets		
I	Balance from previous year	132,308.14	138,044.96
II	Surplus/deficit	199,061.06	-5,736.82
III	Reserves	88,450.02	88,450.02
IV	Reserves	146,731.44	146,731.44
	Total net assets	566,550.66	367,489.60
B	Additional funds from grants	19,793,624.12	11,476,180.71
C	Provisions		
	Other provisions	340,205.19	278,920.55
D	Liabilities		
I	Liabilities with credit institutions	4,950.41	6,426.79
II	Liabilities from goods and services	2,927,181.11	4,099,388.45
III	Other liabilities	28,539.44	29,972.83
	Total liabilities	2,960,670.96	4,135,788.07
E	Accrued expenses and deferred income	1,022,887.28	1,843,707.19
Total		24,683,938.21	18,102,086.12

EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS AS AT 31/12/2019

		2019 in euro	2018 in euro
I	Receipts	79,587,574.70	67,465,054.81
1	Federal government grants	78,972,402.24	66,426,772.10
2	Donations	17,430.52	193,578.42
3	Membership fees	16,994.50	16,836.00
4	Income from asset management	10,597.88	5,083.74
5	Other revenue	76,363.89	59,048.63
6	Income from the liquidation of the special reserve	493,785.67	763,735.92
II	Expenditures	-79,388,513.64	-67,470,791.63
1	Costs arising through statutory activities	-46,813,293.43	-42,923,695.28
	Project expenses paid out of core funding	-2,506,533.26	-1,829,240.13
	Transfers out of core funding	-1,329,972.86	-1,191,199.80
	Grants to students and PhD students	-11,785,996.45	-11,450,343.72
	International cooperation	-30,869,143.87	-28,176,197.31
	Other project expenditures	-321,646.99	-276,714.32
2	Staff costs	-20,430,337.76	-17,656,149.71
	Wages and salaries	-16,946,272.22	-14,764,175.89
	Employment benefits	-3,484,065.54	2,891,973.82
3	Asset management expenses	-7,774.34	-8,994.14
4	Write-downs	-328,359.35	-761,545.61
5	Administrative costs	-2,997,519.68	-2,374,946.71
	Office equipment and supplies	-616,671.45	-372,092.86
	Running and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,448.98	-4,391.35
	Other administrative costs	-2,339,297.00	-1,996,272.19
	Other costs	-37,102.25	-2,190.31
6	Investments	-8,811,229.08	-3,745,460.18
III	Surplus/deficit for the year	199,061.06	-5,736.82

INCOME IN 2020 (INTERIM)

I	Income in euros	81,672,794.78
1	Grants	81,732,052.75
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (including discretionary funds)	16,373,558.50
	Federal Ministry for Education and Research	13,647,667.38
	Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	3,206.90
	Foreign Office scholarships	1,134,000.00
	Foreign Office projects	6,764,000.00
	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	38,066,308.69
	Construction materials	5,743,311.28
2	Tax-free income/donations	9,616.47
3	Membership fees	17,437.00
4	Asset management income	10,377.48
5	Other income	18,026.92
6	Revenue reductions	-114,715.84

SPENDING IN 2020 (INTERIM)

II	Expenditure in euros	-80,343,085.53
1	Staff costs	-22,022,912.83
	Of which staff costs Germany	-15,485,646.01
	a) Wages and salaries	-18,221,736.82
	b) Employment benefits and other costs	-3,801,176.01
2	Other administrative costs	-10,051,060.43
2.1	Office equipment, supplies, consumables	-7,802,325.11
	Network, software, systems administration	-443,150.06
	Maintenance and repairs	-8,922.06
	Tools and small appliances	-42,556.89
	Office supplies and consumables	-22,605.21
	Equipment rentals	-85,667.98
	Allocation to special reserve for investment	-7,199,422.91
2.2	Operation and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,941.12
	Street cleaning/winter street maintenance	-2,402.44
	Property tax	-2,538.68
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2,243,794.20
	Other expenses for staff	-166,148.86
	Office rent and room costs	-910,923.50
	Insurance	-9,505.23
	Fees and other levies	-66,513.83
	External services, contract work, administration	-510,513.35
	Advertising	-20,847.33
	Promotional costs	-8,575.23
	Hospitality costs	-540.20
	Travel costs (falling under other administrative expenses)	-39,603.45
	Postage, telephony, internet	-173,633.81
	Journals, books, media	-55,287.36
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-62,422.08
	Monetary transaction costs	-35,006.89
	Other costs, fees, donations	-19,575.14
	Vehicle costs	-13,382.63
	Other administrative costs	-151,315.17
	Other expenses	-0.14
3	Project costs	-48,262,264.10
	Total BMI project costs	-2,294,825.97
	BMI core funding allocated to third parties	-1,141,701.62
	Projects abroad	-31,904,516.49
	Supervision of students and PhD students	-12,769,906.22
	Scholarships Germany	-11,794,290.30
	Scholarships abroad	-974,009.02
	International parliamentary internships	-1,606.90
	Student networking and mentoring	-125,089.92
	Other project costs	-26,223.88
4	Asset management costs	-6,848.17

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

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

Income in euro*	2021
Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	14,998,000.00
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	10,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	39,055,000.00
Project grants from the Foreign Office	7,864,000.00
Scholarship grants from the Foreign Office	1,270,000.00

* excluding discretionary funds

Expenses in euro (partial list)	2021
Staff costs	-22,500,000.00
Other administrative costs	-2,610,000.00
of which investments	-450,000.00
Project spending (excluding permanent staff)	-51,000,000.00
Educational programme	-4,000,000.00
Scholarships	-11,000,000.00
International cooperation projects	-36,000,000.00

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“Make sure you remain human. Being human is the most important thing. And it means remaining steadfast and clear and cheerful, yes cheerful, despite everything.”

ROSA LUXEMBURG